COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CLASS FORMATION IN EARLY JUDAISM:

A POSTCOLONIAL READING

by

Royce Manojkumar Victor

Bachelor of Science, 1988
Calicut University, Kerala, India

Bachelor of Divinity, 1994
United Theological College
Bangalore, India

Master of Theology, 1999
Senate of Serampore College
Serampore, India

Dissertation

Presented to the Faulty of the

Brite Divinity School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in *Biblical Interpretation*

Fort Worth, Texas
U.S.A.

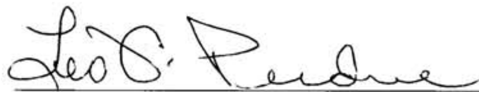
May 2007

COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CLASS FORMATION IN EARLY JUDAISM:

A POSTCOLONIAL READING

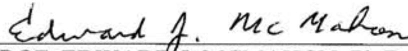
APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE:


PROF. LEO G. PERDUE, Dissertation Director

PROF. CAROLYN OSIEK, Reader

PROF. DAVID L. BALCH, Reader


PROF. EDWARD J. MCMAHON, Ph.D. Director

PROF. NANCY RAMSAY, Dean

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As author of this paper, I grant permission to the Mary Counts Burnett Library, Texas Christian University, to provide a photocopy of the paper to any requesting institution or individual, with the understanding that it be for scholarly use only.

04. 12. 2007

WARNING CONCERNING COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted materials.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and achieves are authorized to furnish photocopy or reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

© 2007 by
Royce Manojkumar Victor

Acknowledgments

It is a delight to have the opportunity to thank the people who have helped me with the writing of this dissertation. Right from beginning to the completion of this study, Prof. Leo Perdue, my dissertation advisor and my *guru* persevered with me, giving apt guidance and judicious criticism at every stage. He encouraged me to formulate my own questions, map out my own quest, and seek the answers that would help me understand and contextualize my beliefs, practices, and identity. My profuse thanks to him. I also wish to thank Prof. David Balch and Prof. Carolyn Osiek, my readers, for their invaluable comments and scholarly suggestions to make this study a success.

I am fortunate to receive the wholehearted support and encouragement of Bishop George Isaac in this endeavor, and I am filled with gratitude to him.

With deep sense of gratitude, I want to acknowledge the inestimable help and generous support of my friends from the Grace Presbytery of PC(USA), who helped me to complete my studies in the United States. In particular, I wish to thank Rev. David Wasserman, Rev. Jeff Finch, Dr. William J. Carl III, Carol and Bob Adcock, and Peggy and Tommy Wadley. Without their constant encouragement, generosity of spirit, and ready willingness to help, my stay and studies in this country would not have been as smooth or as pleasant.

I want to thank many others from the various aspects of my life for their participation, support, and encouragement during the writing of this dissertation. Dr. Gregory Cuéllar, Dr. Israel Kamudzandu, Anirudra Thapa, Prof. Toni Craven, Dr. Jeff Williams, Dr. Edward McMahon, and Dr. Steven Sherwood deserve special thanks.

Above all, I wish to express my deepest gratitude and admiration to my wife, Bindu and our son, Joel who endured hardships and inconveniences such an undertaking imposes on a family. Without their support and encouragement, I could not have achieved this goal.

Contents

Introduction ... 1
Early Jewish Society and Classes ... 8
Sources ... 13
1 The Books of First and Second Maccabees ... 14
2 Schools in Early Judaism and the Greco-Roman World ... 18
I. Introduction to Postcolonial Reading and Historiography ... 25
Introduction ... 25
Greco-Roman Culture and Western Historiography: An Overview ... 28
Postcolonialism and Education ... 33
Postcolonial Historiography ... 37
Postcolonial Theories ... 41
1 Edward W. Said ... 41
2 Homi K. Bhabha ... 42
3 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak ... 46
4 The Subaltern Group ... 48
5 Conclusions ... 54
Postcolonial Historiography and Present Study ... 57
II. Historical Overview of Third and Second Centuries BCE ... 65
Introduction ... 65
Diadochi ... 67
Ptolemaic Dynasty ... 71
Alexander, Diadochi, and Israel ... 73
Israel under Ptolemies ... 77
1 Ptolemaic Administration and Policies ... 82
2 Ptolemies and Israel ... 91

The Seleucid Dynasty 93
The Seleucid Administration and Policies 97
Jews and Policies of the Empires 107
Judea and the Hasmonean Uprising 113
1 Antiochus IV and Hellenization 123
2 The Revolt and the Aftermath 128
III. Hellenism and Material Culture in Israel 136
Introduction 136
Hellenization and Israel 143
Cultural Features of Hellenism in Israel 145
1 Language 145
2 Greek Names 160
3 Material Culture 164
i Houses and Other Buildings 167
ii Tombs and Funerary customs 171
iii Pottery 174
iv Lamps 181
Summary and Conclusion 183
IV. Hellenistic Education and Early Judaism 194
Introduction 194
School System in Early Judaism 195
1 Ben Sira 197
Ben Sira and Education 205
2 Writings from Qumran 212
i Qumran Community and Education 213
ii Summary 219
3 Josephus 223
4 Philo of Alexandria 227

5 Rabbinic Literature 230
6 Conclusion 236
Hellenistic Education in Israel 239
1 The Gymnasium and the Jews of Israel 242
2 The Curriculum of the Gymnasium at Jerusalem 247
Conclusion 250
V. British Education in Colonial India and Class Formation 254
Introduction 254
Pre-Colonial Education in India 254
The Western Colonial Education before the British 261
The Colonial British Education 266
Education and Class Formation in Colonial India 274
Drawbacks of the Colonial Educational Policies 290
Conclusion: Education and Class Formation in Ancient and Modern Societies 295
Bibliography 316
VITA 358
ABSTRACT 359

Introduction

The term “postcolonialism” appeared during the second half of the twentieth century when many colonies obtained independence from their colonizers. Soon, the contemporary critical discourse appropriated the term in a wide range of disciplines, ranging from art and literature to philosophy and theology.[1] Perhaps the most difficult task facing the field of postcolonial studies is how exactly to delineate the term “postcolonial.” In spite of the lively debate on definition during the last two decades, this term remains an ambiguous concept to many. Although the prefix “post” often marks a specific moment in time, postcolonialism does not only refer to the post-independence period of the former colonies, but it also refers to a movement beyond the historical experiences of colonialism and decolonization. Therefore, postcolonialism can be seen as following the onset of colonialism rather than its aftermath.[2]

Postcolonialism has made a major impact on current modes of cultural analysis. Over the past decades, it has brought several issues—such as empire,

---

1. Postcolonial studies have emerged as a meeting point as well as a battleground for a variety of disciplines and theories. Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 3. However, there is little consensus regarding the proper object and scope of postcolonial studies.

2. For various arguments and discussions on this issue, see Ibid., 3-4.

ethnicity, migration, and race—to the forefront of academic knowledge and has critically examined their connection with cultural, economic, and political forces. Most importantly, postcolonialism designates the field of scholarly criticism, which has reshaped traditional disciplinary boundaries by studying literature together with politics, history, sociology, and other such disciplines.[3] As a result, postcolonialism proposes an interdisciplinary analysis of issues by moving beyond the traditional literary criticism and study of culture.

The colonial discourse often promotes the innate superiority of Western culture by positing the Western people as subject of the discourse, while marking the native, heathens, women, blacks, and indigenous people as the "others" who need to be controlled and subjugated.[4] Postcolonialism questions this mode of analysis of the white person as the "center" and other multitudes at the "periphery." It even questions the notion of such binaries as "center-periphery," "self-other," etc.[5] Although postcolonialism intends to bring those who were in the "periphery" to the "center," it

---

3. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin affirm that "postcolonial" encompasses all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. They, for the first time in "postcolonial studies," point out the relevance of having cross-cultural readings in "postcolonialism." See Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.

4. R.S. Sugirtharajah, "Biblical Studies after the Empire: From a Colonial to a Postcolonial Mode of Interpretation," in *The Postcolonial Bible*, edited by R.S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 15.

5. Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-colonialism,'" *Social Text*, no. 31-32 (Spring 1992): 85-86.

does not have an objective to promote the notions of the "other," the "subaltern," the "subject," and the "marginalized." In other words, postcolonialism does not have any intention to re-articulate the "center" or the "periphery," which are the inventions of the imperial projects. Rather, postcolonialism listens to the voices of the voiceless without *moving* anyone to the "periphery." Therefore, postcolonialism can be better understood as an articulation of plurality of "centers," as a re-inscription of multiplicity of emergent identities.

The task placed before a postcolonial reader is not an easy one. The term "postcolonialism" is always an open-ended one. The postcolonial reading never meant to give answers but meant to pose questions; it never ends a discussion, but begins it. It challenges the dominant modes of analysis, and critiques the cultural, political, and linguistic hegemony of the West over non-Western cultures and societies.

The colonial experience is similar in the ancient as well as in the modern world. Subjugation, oppression, and exploitation have been common in colonialism in all ages. The colonizer's supremacy over the invaded people and resultant arrogance toward the invaded cultures have been the universal characteristics of colonialism. The experience of colonialism and imperialism is not only confined to political arena, but it also encompasses every aspect of life. The colonizers invaded the peoples and nations not only politically and economically, but also culturally and emotionally. The tools of this invasion and continuing domination were not only military and

economic; they also included the developing class stratification in which the colonized were judged in terms of their degrees of usefulness to the empire.

Colonizers used education as one of the major devices to propagate the cultural values, ethos, and lifestyle of the colonizer. Education also has become a major way of eliminating indigenous elements of civilization, including language, social values, and religion. It was because colonial governments realized that they could gain power not only through physical control but also through the domination of the mind .[6] The process of colonial education was an attempt to strip the colonized people off from their indigenous learning structures and draw them into the social, political, economic, and moral configurations of the colonizers. They implemented this mental control especially through a central intellectual location, primarily the school system.

The colonial mentality in the ancient world was not merely based on racism, which is basically a modern invention.[7] The ancient people did have color consciousness, but this awareness of color was by no means a political or ideological

---

6. Gail P Kelly and Philip G. Altbach, "The Four Faces of colonialism," in *Education and the Colonial Experience*, edited by Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1984), 1. Also see Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Port Smith, NH: Heinemann, 1981), 3.

7. Cornel West, *Prophetic Fragments* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 100. West points out that a French physician François Bernier (1620-1688) was the first anthropologist to specify the term "race" and to classify human bodies based on color. Bernier presented his theses in his article, "A New Division of the Earth," published in 1684.

basis for enslaving, oppressing, or demeaning other peoples.[8] On the other hand, the superiority of ancient colonizers was established more on a cultural basis. For example, one can see the Greek cultural arrogance in the writings of ancient Greek writers, such as Plato and Plutarch. As Plato explains,

> Such was the natural nobility of this city, sound and healthy was the spirit of freedom among us, and the instinctive dislike of the barbarian, because we are pure Hellenes, having no admixture of barbarism in us. For we are not like many others… who are by nature barbarians, and by custom Hellenes, but we are pure Hellenes, uncontaminated by any foreign element, and therefore the hatred of the foreign has passed unadulterated into the lifeblood of the city.[9]

Plutarch made it even clearer saying, "The difference between Greeks and barbarians was not a matter of cloak or shield, or of a scimitar or Median dress. What distinguished Greeknness was excellence, while wickedness was the mark of the barbarian . . . .[10] This cultural arrogance can be seen throughout their attitude towards other cultures.

---

8. Frank M. Snowden Jr., *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 14-17, and 43-46; Nicholas F. Gier, "The Color of Sin/The Color of Skin: Ancient Color Blindness and the Philosophical Origins of Modern Racism," *Journal of Religious Thought* 46, no. 1 (Summer-Fall 1989): 42-52; and Cain Hope Felder, *Race, Racism and the Biblical Narratives* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 1-2. Also see the discussion based on the term "Cushite" in Rodney Steven Sadler Jr., *Can A Cushite Change His Skin? An Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible* (New York and London: T & T Clark, 2005).

9. Plato, *Menex.* 245d.

10. Plutarch, *Alex. fort*. 1. 328c-329d.

Education is crucial to any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of its social structure. In every ancient culture, there existed some form of education to convey knowledge from one generation to another. The colonial powers established their education system and policies wherever they entered and made their impact. The education that colonial powers introduced among the colonized was characteristically different from indigenous system of education. The colonizers formed their educational program in such a way so that they could create a separate class among the colonized. The colonizers needed a group of indigenous intellectuals which was not only meek and suppliant in their attitude towards the colonizer but also felt a degree of loathing for their fellow citizens. This class was formed mainly to establish an effective imperial administration and functions as a channel of communication for ruling the colony. The new class was educated in such a way that they would be effective interpreters between the colonizers and the millions whom they governed. Eventually, "learning some skills and elements of a cultural patrimony went hand in hand with assimilation of and submission to the rules of the dominant order."[11] Of course, one might be curious to know how far this assimilation between these two cultures went in the ancient Jewish society.

---

11. Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 9.

In order to examine the cultural assimilation in the ancient Jewish society, this dissertation discusses and analyzes the establishment of the Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, mentioned in First and Second Books of Maccabees, from a postcolonial perspective.[12] By studying the transition from the traditional Jewish educational system, mentioned in Ben Sira; writings of Qumran, Philo, and Josephus; and early rabbinic writings, to the Greek gymnasium, the study determines how the institution of the gymnasium had been used to educate the elites and enable Greek citizens, the Hellenes, and the Hellenistic Jews to function politically, ethnically, and economically within the larger Greek empire, particularly in Judea, and thus create a separate class among the colonized Jewish people. I also draw a similar historical incident from the modern colonial period, namely, the British colonial era in India. The study examines how the education in India initiated by the British in the early nineteenth century played a similar role in creating a distinct class among the colonized Indians.

The main objective of the dissertation is not only to find similarities between ancient colonial Hellenistic education introduced in Israel through the establishment of gymnasium and more recently in the modern British colonial education system in

12. Not everyone agrees that one can look at the ancient society through the eyes of postcolonialism. I am aware of the negative criticism of Roger Bagnall who, failed to recognize colonialism in the ancient Egypt, argues the "impossibility" to decolonize the Ptolemaic Egypt. See Roger S. Bagnall, "Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, edited by Paul Cartledge, Peter Gransey, and Erich Gruen (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 225-241.

India, but also to demonstrate how a postcolonial historiography provides insight into the policies of cultural infusion adopted by Hellenistic empires, in particular, through the expansion of Greek education. Conversely, the cultural policies of the Greeks also provide insight into modern expressions of imperialism. Therefore, this dissertation is an inquiry into how colonialism functions educationally in ancient and modern worlds.

Early Jewish Society and Classes

An analysis of social classes in the early Jewish society and other ancient societies is a significant element of this study. In order to understand the class dynamics in early Jewish society, one must first define "social classes." Social classes are closely related to wealth, political power, and prestige or honor. While the first two characteristics are closely related and are often hard to distinguish, prestige or honor is more discernable than the others. According to Max Weber who wrote an influential work on the social structure of ancient Israel in *Ancient Judaism*,[13] class is the layer of persons who share a common economic interest.[14] Karl Marx defines class in terms of the extent to which an individual or social group has control over the

---

13. Max Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (New York: Free press, 2002).

14. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich (New York: Bedminster, 1968), 302-05. Here Weber differs from Marxian social analysis based on the problem of *exploitation*. Weber's class concept is mainly centered on the problem of *life chances*. However, I am more convinced by Marxian social analysis.

means of production. In Marxist terms, a class is a group of people defined by their relationship to the means of production. In his classical work on ancient Greek society, De Ste. Croix defines class distinction more clearly,

> Class (essentially a relationship) is the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure… By *exploitation* I mean the appropriation of part of the product of the labour of others…. A class is a group of persons in a community identified by their position in the whole system of production, defined above all according to their relationship to the conditions of production and to other classes.[15]

A social class is different from social groups and categories. A social category is a collection of persons such as intellectuals, feminists, or senior citizens who share a common status. They have a common interest and may meet regularly. On the other hand, a class includes multiple social categories within its perimeter. In other words, members of a particular class are also members of multiple and diverse groups.[16] In other words, groups are not classes.

Despite their differences, the above definitions assume the existence of plurality of classes in any given society by virtue of their control over the means of production. In these social relationships, certain persons are often being mistreated or unfairly used for the benefit of others. As Croix elucidates, this exploitation may be

---

15. G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 43.

16. Mark R. Sneed "A Middle Class in Ancient Israel?" in *Concepts of Class in Ancient Israel*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, edited by Mark R. Sneed (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 55.

direct and individual, such as among wage-laborers, slaves, serfs, tenant-farmers, or debtors by particular employers, landlords, or moneylenders, or it may be indirect and collective, as in taxation, military conscription, or forced labor.[17] Regarding classes and exploitation, Croix poses series of key questions:

> Who controls what is produced? Who can persuade or compel others to do what they want done and by what means? Whose ideas and interpretation of the common life prevail? What limits in production, politics, and ideology are set by the environment and by the preceding interplay of social forces as they impinge on the moment?[18]

As Croix points out, in cases of imperial occupation of land, as in the case of the Hellenistic occupation of Israel, each member of the imperial force is directly involved in the control of the means of production. Class struggles within the subject community were usually affected by the support given by the imperial power or its agents to the exploiting class or classes within that community.[19] In this case of colonial subjugation, the people of the land fell under a foreign "tributary mode of

---

17. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 44.

18. Norman K. Gottwald, "Sociology (Ancient Israel)," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, edited by David Noel Freedman et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992), 82. Gerhard Lenski raises a similar, but more simple, question on this issue: "Who gets what and why?" See Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 1.

19. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 44.

production."[20] In this mode of production, while the work relations of the great majority of people of the land continued to be largely unchanged, the occupying power imposed heavy tribute on the fruits of their labor.[21] We can see this mode of production in the history of many countries, including ancient Israel.

Some scholars disagree with the fact that ancient Israel had class distinctions. According to them, class distinctions were negligible, even if they existed.[22] However, a vast number of scholars are convinced that a dichotomized class system existed in the ancient Israelite society. Norman Gottwald proposes a dichotomy consisting of "the exploiters and the exploited, the dominators and dominated, the

---

20. In the "tributary mode of production" (sometimes known as "the Asiatic mode of production" or the "feudal mode of production"), the laborer has access to the means of production with the obligation of tribute to a lord or a ruling elite, the owner of the land. In this system, the two kinds of people are rulers and the subjects. Most importantly, the "tributary mode of production" controls production politically rather than through the direct control of the means of production. Wolf, using Marxian categories such as "production," social class, and the state, provides a good outline of various modes of production. He identifies three modes of productions, namely "kinship," "tributary," and "capitalistic." Eric R. Wolf. *Europe and the People Without History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

21. See Norman K. Gottwald, "Social Class as an Analytic and Hermeneutical Category in Biblical Studies," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112, no. 1 (1993): 5. Also see Samir Amin, *Class and Nation, Historically and in the Present Crisis* (New York and London: Monthly Review, 1980), 46-70.

22. For e.g., Shunia Bendor, *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (Beit 'Ab): From the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy*, Jerusalem Biblical studies 7 (Jerusalem: Simor Ltd. 1996), 216-28; and John Holladay Jr., "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (Ca. 1000-750 BCE)," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, edited by Thomas E. Levy (New York: Facts On File, 1995), 368-398.

ideologically superior and the ideologically inferior."[23] Frank Frick puts forth another form of class distinction: ruling class versus the "people of the land," governors versus the governed, royal versus nonroyal.[24] Some others prefer a tertiary class division: upper, middle, and lower class.[25] However, I do not agree with those who argue for the existence of a third class (a middle layer) in ancient Israel. The middle class can well be a part of the higher class or an appendage of it.[26] In conclusion, the early Jewish society basically had two distinctly distinguishable major classes,

---

23. Gottwald, "Social Class as an Analytic and Hermeneutical Category in Biblical Studies," 4.

24. Frank Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 100-103, and 112. Also see Robert Coote and Keith Whitelam, "Emergence of Israel: Social Transformation and State Formation Following the Decline in Late Bronze Age Trade," *Semeia* 37 (1986): 107-47; and Volkmar Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995).

25. For e.g., Daniel Snell, *Life in the Ancient Near East 3100-332 BCE* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 86-87. Snell classifies the society into three categories: a ruling class or nobility, a middle class of warriors, and a lower class of slaves and free peasants.

26. For a comprehensive study on the possibility of the existence of a middle class in ancient Israel, see Sneed, "A Middle Class in Ancient Israel?" 53-70. In this article, Sneed affirms that only two economic classes existed in the ancient Israel: *the master class* and *the slave class*. All others, including the intellectuals, were a part or an appendage of the master class. Grabbe also points out a similar idea. Lester Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995), 169. Also see the discussion of classes in early Roman society in Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), 3-13. Carter classifies the society into (1) *the elite*, which includes warriors, tax collectors, administrators, patrons, judges, and priests, and (2) *the nonelite*, which comprised of 97 percent of the population.

namely upper and lower classes. This dissertation analyzes different class groups prevalent in the ancient Jewish society and compares them with the similar class groups that existed in the colonial India.

Sources

A lack of availability of sources is one of the major problems in the study of the education system that existed in ancient Jewish community in various times of history. Moreover, the sources available to us are often fragmentary. In this situation, archaeological sources become significant to the study because their reliability is not in question. However, since these sources do not speak for themselves, a scholarly interpretation becomes necessary. One should bear in mind that any historical reconstruction based on archaeological evidence is no more than an educated guess. This particular situation is the reason for many disputes that existed among ancient historians. A reconstruction presented by one historian is often dismissed as a wishful fantasy by others. Whereas, literary sources provide us with a far more comprehensive view of what might have happened in the past. But when we read an ancient historical text, we cannot be certain that the author is telling it objectively.[27] Unlike in modern historiography, where one can compare one writing with another to gain a proper perspective, in ancient history writing, we often have only one point of

27. Here I am not arguing that modern history writing is entirely free from bias.

view and nothing with which to compare. Therefore, this study attends to the fact that the written sources need to be treated cautiously.

1 The Books of First and Second Maccabees

The books of Maccabees talk about the violent reaction of the Jews against the forced Hellenization of the second century BCE. They describe the revolt of the Jews in Judea against the Seleucid Empire. Each work independently deals with the problem of how Jews maintained their own cultural and religious identity within the larger empire of the Seleucids.[28] One may consider these writings as two different responses of the colony of Judah to the ancient colonizing process. First Maccabees, assumed to be originally written in Hebrew, [29] represents an effort of the writer to write the history of Judah and covers the period between the revolt of the Maccabees and the accession of John Hyrcanus to the high priesthood in 134 BCE. Second

---

28. Robert Doran, "The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, commentary and Reflections," in *New Interpreters Bible*, vol. 4 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 3.

29. David A. de Silva, *Introducing the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 247. In his *Commentary on Psalm 1*, Origen in the second century CE indicated that the Hebrew text of First Maccabees was still extant in his day. He calls the book Σαρβηθσαβαναιελ. But its meaning is still obscure. Possibly a φ ("f") has been dropped out of the first word in the text. If one accepts this argument, it would then represent "The history of the house of the warriors." Origen's important comment survives in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 6.25.2. For more discussion in this subject, see Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Hasmoneans: The Dynasty of God's Resistor's," *The Harvard Theological Review* 68, no. 1 (January 1975): 53-58.

Maccabees, written in Greek,[30] represents a condensation of a five-volume work of a Jason of Cyrene, the epitomater. This text details the events leading to the revolt and the activities of Judas up to 161 BCE. It is more concerned with priestly matters, including the succession to the office of the contested high priesthood and the importance of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The First Maccabees makes use of the historiography of the period in many ways. Second Maccabees, while showing the influence of Greco-Roman literary conventions in its narratives, portrays the confrontation between Judaism (2: 21; 8: 1; and 14: 38) and Hellenism (4: 13). The Hebrew-Aramaic literature of the Hellenistic period shows an intensive interest in the historical tradition of its own people. In style and content, the Book of First Maccabees deliberately follows the tradition of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. This imitation of style is not an accident. The author consciously sets out to show how the Maccabean revolt followed ancestral traditions.[31] The authors make their attitude towards the Gentiles clear in these two books. This attitude is particularly evident in their discussion of the gymnasium in Jerusalem in the second book of Maccabees. For the author of this book, the change in educational system symbolizes the destruction of the Jewish ancestral religion, and he is particularly antagonistic toward Jews participating in the Gymnasium. However,

---

30. Daniel J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 138-39.

31. Doran, "The First Book of Maccabees," 20.

the rejection of "Greek manners" (ἑλληνισμος) (1 Macc 8: 17; 2 Macc 4: 13; and cf. 11: 24) was only a temporary one. From the beginning, the Jewish resistance movement reflected no real cultural unity; rather it was multifarious in nature. The orthodox Chasidim later fought side by side with former followers of the high priest Jason or the Tobiad Hyrcanus from the former Ammon.[32] Eupolemus, the priest and the early Hasmonean ambassador to Rome, had a Hellenistic education and tried to rewrite biblical history in Greek language with a strong national but, at the same time, rather liberal religious tendency. In writing these histories, the authors address the needs and problems of their day and stress on the importance of direct personal retribution by the Lord of history.[33] In other words, in these history writings, the authors look at the contemporary events in the light of the saving experiences of the past in order to support the Jewish community of believers against the manifold influences of the Hellenistic environment.

The authors of the books of Maccabees express their negative attitude towards the Greeks. This attitude is particularly evident in the discussion of Jason's effort to turn Jerusalem into a Greek *polis* (πόλις)that would have included the establishment of a gymnasium in Jerusalem. In addition to physical training and pre-military

---

32. Martin Hengel, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 13, edited by John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 22.

33. Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism: *Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003), 100.

exercises, the Greek gymnasia were used to propagate Hellenistic culture (literature, rhetoric, language, and grammar), virtues and thought (philosophical schools) as well as other curricular subjects like medicine, science, architecture, and music.[34] It is implicit in the books of Maccabees that this change in educational systems, transitioning from the Jewish traditional educational structure to the Hellenistic gymnasium, would have been a major force in the destruction of not only the Jewish ancestral religion and other elements of its native culture, but also the political constitution of the Jewish colony, as they introduced and made the Greek language, literature, philosophy, and moral values dominant in Jewish society. The gymnasium was part of an effort to overturn an indigenous learning system and the social world and replace them with Hellenistic ones. Thus, the effort was to eliminate the religion, moral values, and social character of early Judaism through cultural eradication; it also transformed Judah and the Jews into Hellenes. Jason, as the leader of this effort, was a key representative of the skilled and learned indigenous persons who would gravitate toward Greek culture and repudiate traditional Judaism, and hold its practitioners in distain. As a result, Jason enjoyed the Greek patronage, office of the high priest.

---

34. Ilsetraut Hadot, "Gymnasiums," in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of Ancient World,* vol. 5, edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 1054.

2 Schools in Early Judaism and the Greco-Roman World

We have limited sources to reconstruct the traditional early Jewish education. Among these, two sources are in Hebrew. The first source is Ben Sira, translated by his grandson into Greek from its Hebrew original.[35] Originally written around 180 BCE,[36] the versions of this book have come down to us in a couple of forms of Greek as well as in Old Latin and Syriac.[37] The book was translated into Greek sometime

---

35. Approximately two-thirds of the text has survived in the original language in a variety of textual recensions, at times fragmentary, making the textual history of the book extremely complicated and thus problematic for translators. Important discussions of the textual history of Ben Sira include those of Conleth Kearns, "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," in *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture,* edited by R. C. Fuller, et al. (London: Nelson, 1969), 541-562; Hans Peter Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach*, BZAW 112 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970); Patrick Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Anchor Bible 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 51-82; and Benjamin G. Wright III, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text*, SCS 26 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989). For the printing of the extant Hebrew manuscripts, see Pancratius Cornelis Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis*, Vetus Testamentum Supplement 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). For a comprehensive review of examinations of the texts of Ben Sira and a listing of comparative columns, see Friedrich V. Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*, Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 1-86. Reiterer presents his own versification of the texts in order to provide a convenient way of referencing Ben Sira in pp. 87-247.

36. Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 10.

37. For a discussion of the complicated issues involved in the text criticism for the book, see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 51-62. Also see Milward D. Nelson, *The Syriac Version of the Wisdom of Ben Sira Compared to the Greek and Hebrew Materials*, SBLDS 107 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988).

between 132 and 116 BCE.[38]

Ben Sira describes his profession as a "scribe" or a scholar of the sacred writings (Sir 39:1-11) and invites students to his school (Sir 51:23). According to him, wisdom as a subject matter would have included traditional knowledge (the teachings of the ancestors), Scripture, pious behavior, parables and proverbs, reflection on the commandments, proper speech and etiquette, and the skills of diplomacy (Sir 6:32-37; 8:8-9; and 38:34-39:10).[39] There is little doubt that the audience of this teacher of Scripture would have likely been the children of the aristocracy who attended either the residential temple school in which he may have taught or in his home where he would have served as a tutor.[40] Therefore, this book is a potential ancient source that can shed some light on the ancient Jewish education system.

The second source comes from the writings from Qumran, especially 1Q28a 1:6-9, which discusses the educational system that existed in that particular

---

38. There are two Greek translations of Ben Sira. One is referred to as GKI and the other GKII. GKI is represented in four major uncial manuscripts, namely, A, B, C, and S (and certain minuscules) and in the text of Ben Sira's grandson. GKII is not contained in any single Greek manuscript but can be reconstructed from Joseph Ziegler's Origenic and Lucianic recensions and represents a later expanded Hebrew recension. The Latin text was translated from GKII sometime in the second century CE. The Syriac translation appears to have been done by some Ebionite Christians sometime by the early fourth century CE. For a detailed study, see the monograph by Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parent Text*, 4-6.

39. See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 398-99.

40. Robert Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18 (1944): 85-86.

community during the Second Temple period.[41] In particular, 1Q28[a], known as *Rules of the Congregation*, talks about the educational laws of this community.[42] This text is important to our study precisely because of its association with the period of Seleucid rule and education.

In addition, some Hellenistic Jewish texts also provide information about Jewish and possibly Hellenistic education. Philo of Alexandria is the major source for the understanding of Jewish education in the Greco-Roman diaspora.[43] It may be that, as a probable citizen of Alexandria, he attended a Greek gymnasium[44] in addition to a Jewish school of some type. Even though he lived in the diaspora, his writings are

---

41. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 101. Also see Lawrence H. Schiffmann, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Study of the Rule of the Congregation*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 38 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989).

42. Emmanuel Tov, "Scribal Practices," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, James C. VanderKam (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 827-31.

43. E.g., *Spec. Laws* 2.230, *Prov.* 2.44-46, and *Congr.* 74-76. Philo's writings furnish us with a great deal of firsthand information concerning the religion of the Jews outside of Israel, New Testament background, and the interaction of Judaism with other cultures. For more information, see Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo And The History of Interpretation*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 14 (Washington DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983); Ellen Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews and Proselytes*, Brown Judaic Studies 290, Studia Philonica Monographs 2 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996); and P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden; Brill Publishers, 1997).

44. The most important Roman source for the gymnasium is Plutarch, who lived and wrote shortly after the time of Philo (c. 45–120CE).

important in providing not only some insight into the Greek gymnasium in Alexandria, but also in providing valuable information about the ancient Jewish education system. It is obvious that Philo grew up in a Jewish family and received the best available Jewish education. Many of his writings reveal his familiarity with Jewish Scripture as well as Jewish oral traditions.[45] Philo provides important resources that shed light on the history of that time. We must draw much of what we know about Hellenistic Judaism from Philo.

The writings of Josephus provide another important source for understanding early Jewish education.[46] In *Life,* 7-12, he speaks about the Jewish education of his time. Although his tendency for exaggeration and creative fabrication is well known, especially when speaking of himself, his writings do provide some information about his education.

A number of rabbinic texts testify to the existence of schools in Israel during the Second Temple period. For example, *b. Baba Batra* 21a mentions Rabbi Joshua son of Gamela (63 CE), who amended the law of children's education to instruct; he insisted "that teachers of school-children be placed in every city-state and in every

---

45. For e.g., Josephus, *On the Life of Moses*, 1.4.

46. For a good introduction to Josephus' work, see Shaye J.D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian,* Columbia Studies in the Classical tradition 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); Pere Villalba I. Varneda, *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988); and Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1990).

town and that [children] be brought there at the age of six or seven." The purpose of this law was to change or correct an earlier situation in which only the fathers could send their children to Jerusalem to study. This social reform extended the education of children to the entire society rather than confining professional education to the children of the rich.[47] Another important source is *b. Shabbat* 12a, according to which the sages of the School of Shammai objected to teaching children on the Sabbath day. This text also gives some clues about the education system that existed among the Jews in this period.

Plutarch (c. 45- 120 C E) is the most important source to understand the education that existed in the Greco-Roman world. In *Moralia*, he deals with the topics: "The Education of Children," "How to Study Poetry," "On Listening to Lectures," and "On Music."[48] Plutarch gives some valuable information about the features of education that was available to the upper class Roman society.[49] While

---

47. The sequences of this reform are written in *b. Baba Batra* 21a as follows: "Said Rabba: From the time of the ordinance of Joshua b. Gamela and onward children are not sent from one town to another to go to school, but they can be required to go from one synagogue to another in the same town.… And said Raba, The number of students for an elementary school teacher is twenty-five, and if there are fifty, we appoint two; if there are forty, an assistant, (all) at the expense of the locale." Jacob Neusner, *The Talmud Babylonia: An Academic Commentary* 22 (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1996), A.83.

48. Plutarch, *Moralia,* vol. 1, LOEB Classics, translated by Frank C. Babbitt (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1927).

49. Even though Plutarch lived in the Roman period, his perspective basically was Greek.

Philo of Alexandria gives information about the Jewish understanding of education, Plutarch presents the contemporary education from Roman point of view.

Chapter One explains the significance of a postcolonial reading of the deuterocanonical texts of Maccabees and other relevant early Jewish writings and the history of the ancient Jews. This chapter also discusses the methodology – historical analysis and historiography – employed in this study. This section of the study critically evaluates the Western historiography and proposes an alternative form of historiography.

Chapter Two provides a historical summary of the third and second centuries of BCE. The chapter briefly deals the period of Diadochi; it also discusses the periods of Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires, their characteristics, administration, and policies, and examines their impacts on the people of Judea. The chapter also studies the political role the Judeans played in the Mediterranean politics. Finally, the study discusses the various aspects of the Hasmonean uprising, including the policies of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and their impact on the Jewish society.

Chapter Three begins with a discussion of the concept of "Hellenization." Since there are many different views of Hellenization in the land of Israel, including Hellenization in Jerusalem, this chapter outlines these different understandings of and arguments concerning Hellenization; it also includes my own views about the process of Hellenization, mainly the intrusion of Hellenism into the local culture. Moreover, it discusses material culture, adoption of Greek names by the locals, and the influence of Greek language and its supremacy over the local language. This study includes a

brief discussion of the architecture, pottery, and other elements of material culture as well as written texts and epigraphy.

Chapter Four concentrates on education as a cultural tool of Hellenization as reflected in the early Jewish writings, including the First and Second books of Maccabees. Primarily, it focuses on Greek gymnasia, the resultant transition from the early Jewish educational system to the gymnasium; it also examines how the gymnasia were used to propagate Greek culture, virtues, and thought. In addition, there will a discussion of how the institution of the Greek gymnasium was used to educate the elite and to enable Greek citizens, Hellenes, and Hellenistic Jews to function politically, ethnically, and economically within the larger Greek empire.

The final chapter is an analogous postcolonial reading of the introduction of British education system to colonial India, especially in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth century. The primary aim of British education in colonial India was to create a separate class in Indian society. In fact, the colonizers succeeded in their mission of establishing class order through the introduction of a colonial educational system.

I. Introduction to Postcolonial Reading and Historiography

Introduction

The first use of the term "postcolonialism" occurred in 1959 when the British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* used it in reference to India which gained its independence in 1947.[1] The wide variety of literature that has appeared from different parts of the world, especially from those countries that were under colonial rule, during this period has been grouped under this new category. This variety of literature includes writings in English, anthropology, and cultural studies. As a lens for critical reading, postcolonialism magnifies, and draws attention to the importance and presence of minority and subjugated voices that have been once lost, overlooked or suppressed in the histories. "Postcolonialism" can be defined, in simple terms, as the social, political, economic, and cultural practices that arise in response and resistance to colonization by the Western empires and trading companies that had grown rich in profits through exploitation, beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the post-World War II period.[2]

---

1. See *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 3, 691.

2. Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 57-8.

Even though many have spoken cynical words about the current popularity and academic marketability of postcolonial criticism, it is not easily to reject the fact that postcolonialism has provided valuable new perspectives on the world's so-called "marginal literatures." One's understanding of postcolonialism is largely determined by the way in which how he or she reads the prefix 'post' in "postcolonialism." If read as a reference to temporal succession, the term "postcolonialism" applies to that which follows colonialism. On the other hand, if one defines colonialism as the way in which unequal international relations of economic, political, military, and cultural power are maintained, the colonial era is not really over. In this sense, we are in the era of "neo-colonialism."[3] That is to say, viewing colonialism as "a homogeneous thing of the past"[4] forgetting the present day realities leads to the risk of ignoring the

---

3. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of the independent Ghana, was the first one to use the term "neo-colonialism." As he points out, "Neo-colonialism is... the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case." Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), ix.

4. Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Cultures: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 13. Postcolonialism has a long history if one considers that it begins from the very first moment of colonial contact. See Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 117. For Sugirtharajah, "post-colonial" is a term that indicates the historical period aftermath of colonialism, and "postcolonial" is a reactive resistance discourse of colonized who critically interrogate dominant knowledge systems in

historical, geographical, and political reality of different forms of colonization that are present today. Anne McClintock puts it clearly in her statement that the reading of postcolonialism, which follows colonialism, divides history into a series of teleologically-directed phases that progresses from the pre-colonial via the colonial to the post-colonial. This description of history as a linear march of time falls into the same trap as the metanarrative of western historicism by arranging world history around the single binary opposition of colonial/postcolonial.[5] Postcolonialism, therefore, is about questions of agency, subjectivity, power, and justice, all couched within the resounding question of who gets to speak and on whose behalf.

Postcolonial criticism is a way of engaging with the textual historical and cultural articulations of societies disturbed and transformed by the historical reality of colonial presence. In the beginning, critics conceived postcolonialism not as a grand theory, but as a mode of creative literature and of a discourse of resistance discussion that emerged from the former colonies of the Western empires. Later, postcolonialism

---

order to recover the past from the Western slander and misinformation of the colonial period, and who also continue to interrogate neo-colonizing tendencies after the declaration of independence. R.S. Sugirtharajah, "Charting the Aftermath: A Review of Postcolonial Criticism," in *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12.

5. McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism,'" 84-85.

becomes a methodological category and a critical practice.[6] However, as Sugirtharajah spells out,

> as a field of inquiry, postcolonialism is not monolithic but rather a field which provides and caters to a variety of concerns, oppositional stances, and even contradictory positions. It provides valuable resources for thinking about those social, cultural, political and historical contexts in which domestication takes place. As a style of inquiry, it emerged more or less simultaneously in a variety of disciplines including Anthropology, Geography, International Studies, History, English, Music, and Medieval Studies. When used in conjunction with "theory" or "criticism," the term "postcolonialism" signifies a distinct methodological category and acts as a discursive force.[7]

Postcolonial reading focuses particularly on the way in which literature (1) by the colonizing culture distorts the experience and realities of the colonized people and ascribes to them inferiority, and (2) by the colonized peoples' attempts to articulate their identity and reclaim their past in the face of that past's inevitable otherness. It can also deal with the way in which literature in colonizing countries appropriates the language, images, scenes, traditions, and other aspects of colonized countries.

Greco-Roman Culture and Western Historiography: An Overview

Western scholarship often portrays classical Greek culture as the creator of the Western binary opposition between two worlds: the Greek world that formed the

---

6. Sugirtharajah, "Charting the Aftermath: A Review of Postcolonial Criticism," 11.

7. Ibid.

foundation of Western civilization and the barbarian world of the other, the subaltern, or the colonized. As Edward Said puts it,

> In Classical Greece and Rome geographers, historians, public figures like Caesar, orators, and poets added to the fund of taxonomic lore separating races, regions, nations, and minds from each other; much of that was self-serving, and existed to prove that Romans and Greeks were superior to other kinds of people.[8]

This stratum of opinion treats ancient Greeks as both “white” and “European.” They were people who built and continued to shape the formative character of Western civilization. Subsequently, Western ideology is founded on an intrinsic racism and a high degree of xenophobia, both of which led to an inflated sense of assumed superiority. For a generation, now, an increasing number of scholars from within the former and present empires built by the West, and those who live and work within the former colonies reject strongly the stereotypical interpretation[9] that caters the white

---

8. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism,* 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 57. Also see Dennis Porter, “Orientalism and Its Problems,” in *The Politics of Theory: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1982*, edited by Francis Barker et al. (Colchester: University of Essex, 1983), 179-93; and Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Verso, 1997), 40-53.

9. Emil Ludwig, one of the proponents both of Mediterranean studies and of a naive kind of “hybridity,” was aware of this anachronism. Emil Ludwig, *The Mediterranean: Saga of the Sea*, translated by Barrows Mussey (London: Whittlesey House, 1942). However, he proposes that Greeks belonged to a special, biological “Mediterranean Race,” whose amazing achievements and civilization depended not on ethnic purity but on racial hybridity. One can see a “liberal-racist” attitude that at a certain level warns the “European” anachronism in relation to the ethnicity of ancient Greece. One has to accept the fact that Hellenism was a synthesis of many ethnic

European and now North American superiority over other peoples and cultures. There is little question that this stereotype misinterpretation has had a deleterious effect on the interpretation and writing of history.

Western civilization and its historiography have often taken pride, entering into unbounded hubris, in claiming the ancient Greco-Roman civilization as its foundation and in extending its claimed superior elements into other parts of the globe. However, this view of the Western *Übermensch*, constructed from the materials of racism in which non-Western peoples are lesser human beings, derives from an intrinsic xenophobia that led to the desire to control the other. Before the European Renaissance, there was little evidence of European superiority. The only major ancient civilization in the West was the Greco-Roman. Therefore, in science, mathematics, philosophy, and the arts, Europe, and now America, had to trace its roots to either Greece or Rome. In so doing, the West either ignored, deprecated, conquered, or eliminated the civilizations of Asia and Africa in order to shape a unified world according the standards of the West. Thus, one can see the close connection between ancient Greek civilization and the modern Western world.[10]

Racism and xenophobia, which compose part of the psyche of Indo-Europeans in the West, are forces that postcolonialism must confront in order to carry out its enterprise of escaping the cultural and economic bondage of Western domination.

---

groups and cultures. We will discuss this issue in detail when we talk about Hellenism in the third chapter.

10. See, for e.g., Said, *Orientalism*.

Although xenophobia and racism often overlap in many ways, they are distinct phenomena. Whereas racism usually entails distinction based on differences in physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair type, facial features, and so forth, xenophobia, or "fear of the other," leads to behavior based on the idea that the foreign originates from outside the community or nation.[11]

Because differences in physical characteristics are often taken to distinguish the "other" from the common community, it is usually difficult to differentiate between racism and xenophobia as motivations for behavior.[12] At the same time, the

---

11. ILO, IOM, OHCHR and UNHCR, *International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia: A discussion paper prepared by International Labor Office (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), in consultation with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)* (Geneva: ILO, IOM, OHCHR, in consultation with UNHCR, 2001), 10-11.

12. This phenomenon of fear of other mainly depends on how we define racism. Racism can be defined as the belief that humans are divided into hereditary groups that are innately different in their social behavior and capacities, which therefore can be ranked as "superior" or "inferior." These judgments are subsequently used to legitimate the unequal distribution of the society's resources, specifically, various forms of wealth, prestige and power. See M.N. Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives* (Belmont, Wordsworth, 1994), 27. Most importantly, as Vorster points out, the term "racism" can also be used to describe "bias" and intolerance between groups other than racial, such as ethnic and religious groups. That means, racism can be applied not only to racial discrimination but also to many other forms of discriminations. Vorster further identifies three major factors that cause conflicts: ideology, greed, and fear. One can identify these primary causes in all conflicts that occurred and occurring in this world. J.M. Vorster, "Racism, xenophobia and human rights," *The Ecumenical Review* (July 2002): 1-2. Among these pivotal reasons, as he points out, colonialism is a good example for greed. To acquire natural resources, colonial powers colonized territories and subjected the indigenous peoples. Political structures were developed to secure access to and possession of resources. Moreover, in colonialism, ideology was also used as a

expression of xenophobia may occur when the practitioners of a particular culture and bearers of certain racial features consider those from another culture and race to be outsiders and in some fashion threatening. Studies have noted that the tensions and manifestations of racism and xenophobia often are expressed in severe economic inequalities and the social marginalization of the "other." Prime targets for xenophobia and racism are those perceived to be outsiders or foreigners, including migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, displaced persons, and non-nationals,[13] who came from the former colonies, and who went through severe exploitation by the colonial powers for centuries. In addition, those who reside outside the empire's cultural and economic domain, whether members of former colonies or populations not conquered, are also targets for discrimination and exploitation.

The colonial experience, which is the focus of this dissertation, is similar in the ancient world as well as in the modern. Subjugation, oppression, and exploitation have been common in all ages of colonialism. Colonialism and imperialism are not only confined to the political arena, but also cover every other aspect of life. The colonized were invaded not only geographically, politically, and economically, but

---

comfortable tool to justify the underlying greed. We will see this phenomenon of colonialism in the following chapters of our study. In sum, The common denominator in racism and ethnicism is the consciousness of the distinction and tension between us (as the "in group") and them (as the "out group") develop within a society. With the "we feeling," and subsequent solidarity, in one's group as the standard, a group (whether ethnic, racial, or religious) can judge other groups by the standards and values of their own, producing one's own group as superior to others.

13. Ibid., 18-19.

also culturally and emotionally. The tools of this invasion and continuing domination were not only military and economic. They also included the development of a class stratification through which the colonized were judged in terms of their degrees of usefulness to the empire.

Postcolonialism and Education

Education is one of the major tools used to propagate the cultural values, ethos, and lifestyle of the colonizer among the colonized. The intention of the colonizers was not to introduce an education for the first time to the indigenous people; rather the colonizers formulated the new education system in such a way as to eradicate and replace the native culture and values with the new. One can easily conclude that such a learning system comes from supremacist ideas of colonizers. Thomas Macaulay asserts his viewpoints about a British colony, India, in an early nineteenth century speech. Macaulay insists that he has "never found one among them (the colonized) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." He continues his attack, saying,

> It is, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in Sanscrit (sic) language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England.[14]

---

14. Thomas B. Macaulay, "Minute on Indian Education," <http://humanitas.ucsb.edu/users/raley/english/macaulay.html> (accessed November 16, 2005). Macaulay was not only a well-known Victorian essayist, poet, and

The colonial program of education has become a major way of eliminating indigenous elements of civilization, ranging from language, to values, to religion. The colonizers realized the importance of education, along with political power, to achieve a complete control of a subject person.[15] Kelly and Altbach further observe that "education in…colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture."[16] Gauri Viswanathan brings more clarity to this point, arguing, "cultural assimilation (is)...the most effective form of political action and cultural domination works by consent and often precedes conquest by force."[17] In sum, the primary aim of the process of colonial education was an attempt to strip the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them into the social, political,

---

historian but also a colonial administrator. As a staunch Whig, he served in the House of Commons in England, was a member of the Supreme Council of India, and served as the Secretary of War. He has been remembered in literary history as the author of the *History of England from the Accession of James the Second* and book reviews for the *Edinburgh Review*. He is also remembered in postcolonial studies for this classic statement of cultural imperialism, which proposes education as a tool to propagate colonial interests among the colonies, in this case, among the Indians. His attitude can be found in Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Speech in Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 10 July 1833," *Macaulay, Prose and Poetry,* selected by G.M. Young (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 716-18.

15. Kelly and Altbach, "The Four Faces of Colonialism," 1; and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 3.

16. Ibid., 4

17. Gauri Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India 1813-1854," *Social Text*, no. 19/20 (Autumn 1988): 85.

economic, and moral configurations of the colonizers. The colonial powers implemented the mental control over the colonized especially through a central intellectual location, primarily the school system.

Postcolonialism offers a powerful critique of the colonial education program. This reading perceives education as more than simply benign and neutral; rather it allows discussion of the positive and negative consequences of education, particularly when it was a tool used against the colonized. As mentioned earlier, in contrast to the physical interactions and abuses of colonization, education dominates the colonized indirectly, appearing humble in its purpose of bettering their uneducated or so-called savage minds. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin explain this aspect more clearly, saying

> [The colonial] education…establishes the locally English or British as normative through critical claims to "universality" of the values embodied in English literary texts, and it represents the colonized to themselves as inherently inferior beings – "wild," "barbarous," "uncivilized."[18]

Moreover, by thus controlling the cultural and psychological domain, the oppressor nation tries to ensure the situation of a slave who takes it that to be a slave is the normal human condition.[19]

Postcolonial studies have also discovered and explicated the close relationship that existed between colonial education and class formation. By strategically

---

18. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, 426.

19. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (London: James Curry, 1993), 51.

implementing the new education system, the colonial administration primarily aimed to create a separate class among the colonized. Rodney points out the transition that took place from the traditional African education system to the education introduced by the European colonial powers in Africa. He explains,

> education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure . . . The most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans in sharp contrast with that which was later introduced (that is, under colonialism)... The main purpose of colonial school system was to train Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole . . . Colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.[20]

The new colonial education policy created a special class among the colonized. Rodney further observes,

> the educated Africans were the most alienated Africans on the continent. At each further stage of education, they were battered and succumbed to the white capitalist system, and after being given salaries, they could then afford to sustain a style of life imported from outside . . . That further transformed their mentality.[21]

This situation was not only the case only in Africa but also a reality throughout the colonies. That is to say, colonial education did more than corrupt the

---

20. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Harare: ZPH, 1981), 263. Rodney observes that the colonial machinery created a military elite that later became military dictators in the post-independence era in Africa. He points out many examples of this phenomenon.

21. Ibid., 275.

thinking and sensibilities of the colonized, it filled them with abnormal complexes that de-indigenized and alienated them from the needs of their environment. Colonial education has thus dispossessed and put of out the control of the local intellectuals the necessary forces for directing the life and development of their society.

The colonizers needed a group of indigenous intellectuals whose members were not only meek and suppliant in attitude towards the colonizer, but also were filled with a degree of loathing for their fellow citizens. The primary aim of the formation of this particular class was to establish an effective imperial administration, and channels of communication for ruling the colony. The members of the new class were educated to be effective interpreters between the colonizers and the populations whom they governed. By learning the skills and elements of the colonizer's culture that offered the rewards of patronage, the dominant order's culture and rule were assimilated and put into effect.[22]

Postcolonial Historiography

One of the crucial tasks of postcolonialism is to challenge the historiography proposed by Western thought. For Western colonialism, hegemony is a practically ubiquitous goal. As Fanon points out, colonialism tried its best to teach the colonial population that before the arrival of foreign powers savagery and internecine tribal warfare dominated the local history, and that if the colonists were to leave the

---

22. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 9.

colonized people would fall back into “barbarism, degradation, and bestiality.”[23] Fanon went on to say that colonialism portrayed itself as a mother, not as a caring and loving mother, but rather as a mother who reigned over and restrained her wayward child from practicing evil deeds. What the colonial mother did was to “protect the child from itself, from its ego, and from its physiology, its biology, and its own unhappiness which is its very essence.”[24] He concludes, “By a kind of perverted logic, it (colonial power) turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it.”[25]

A colonizing power must convince, if not the larger native population, at least the subaltern elite that the colonizer’s interests are its own, and the colonizer seeks to do so not only through economic and political control, but also more subtly through the control of education and media. Between these two categories, education was the major tool for this purpose. Colonization is often more than the simple exploitation of another culture’s people and resources; it is an ideological struggle, an attempt to shape what a culture perceives as actual reality. Thomas Macaulay’s 1835 “Minute on

---

23. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 169.

24. Ibid., 170.

25. Ibid., 169. For Fanon, culture and nation are not isolated entities but are closely related and are the core of every national and cultural consciousness that develops into an international cosmopolitan consciousness.

Indian Education"[26] is a classic instance of this attitude. He articulated the goals of the imperial educational policy succinctly: "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, opinions, words, and intellect."[27] One could find any number of other examples that illustrate the imposition of European systems of politics, law, church government, trade, agriculture, fashion, sport, and so forth on the colonized. J.N Farquhar, a contemporary of Macaulay, would write:

> The new educational policy of the Government created during these years the modern educated class of India. These are men who think and speak in English habitually, who are proud of their citizenship in the British Empire, who are devoted to English literature, and whose intellectual life has been almost entirely formed by the thought of the West, large numbers of them enter government services, while the rest practice law, medicine or teaching, or take to journalism or business.[28]

Postcolonial historical analysis is a critical approach to the history of the modern world, including Europe and the ancient world, that contests the organizing principles of modernization, imperialism, and nationalism.[29] Although most work in

---

26. See above note 14.

27. Ibid.

28. B.D. Basu, *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Modern Review Office, 1934), 91-92.

29. In his recently published book, Uriah Y. Kim has made a comprehensive critique of western historiography from a postcolonial perspective, especially from an Asian-American perspective. He made a constructive criticism of historiography

this genre, deal with the modern history of Asia, especially of India, its insights encompassed a large number of historical problems.[30] Postcolonial historians have focused their work around a critique of colonialism, arguing that conventional accounts of the West's relations with Asia and other parts of the world have uncritically accepted the world-view of the colonial powers, based on Western notions of rationality, race, and cultural dominance that have their roots in the Enlightenment. Not forgetting the works of others like Fanon,[31] one can see Edward Said's classical work *Orientalism*[32] as breaking ground for this debate.

---

proposed by the Enlightenment in the third chapter "Whose History is it Anyway?" particularly in pp. 87- 113. See Uriah Y. Kim, *Decolonizing Josiah: Toward a Postcolonial Reading of the Deuteronomistic History* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005).

30. The most consistent attempt to apply postcolonial insights to historical problems has been in the historiography of modern India, especially through the work of a group of historians (the *Subaltern Group*) who produced a series of volumes entitled *Subaltern Studies* in the 1980s and 1990s. It was originally published by the Oxford University Press in Delhi and later by its mother press. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982-1999).

31. Fanon wrote several influential books in French, later translated into English, which include *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963); *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, or A Dying Colonialism, translated by Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965); *Toward the African Revolution* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); and *Black Skin, White Masks*, translated by Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

32. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (First published in 1978).

Postcolonial Theories

1 Edward W. Said

Said's most celebrated work *Orientalism* is a critique of the academic field of the so-called Oriental Studies, which has been a scholarly pursuit at most of the prestigious Western universities for several centuries. Oriental Studies has been a composite area of scholarship comprising philology, linguistics, ethnography, and the interpretation of culture through the discovery, recovery, compilation, and translation of Oriental texts. Said gives a satisfactory explanation for the importance of Oriental studies in the Western universities, arguing, "knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control."[33]

Said directly challenged what Euro-American scholars traditionally referred to as "Orientalism." For the West, Orientalism is an entrenched structure of thought, a pattern of making certain generalizations about the part of the world known as the "East." Said challenges this view and argues, "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')."[34] He further explains,

---

33. Ibid., 36.

34. Ibid., 43.

> Orientalism is not only a positive doctrine about the Orient that exists at any one time in the West; it is also an influential academic tradition (when one refers to an academic specialist who is called an Orientalist), as well as an area of concern defined by travelers, commercial enterprises, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels and accounts of exotic adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples, and civilizations.[35]

Said's criticism of western historiography has been a milestone in the field of postcolonialism and its writing of history. His groundbreaking work has alerted us to the understanding that the "Orient" is less an actual place than a frame of mind. In addition, he defines "Orient" not as a territory but as a mode of thought. However, this definition does *not* mean that more or less any place can be *de facto* Oriental. As Said spells out clearly, "The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later Western empire."[36]

2 Homi K. Bhabha

Together with Said, there are two other prominent personalities, Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorthy Spivak,[37] whom one cannot leave out when talking

---

35. Ibid., 203.

36. Ibid., 202-03.

37. Robert Young calls them "the holy trinity" of postcolonial criticism. However, when bestowing this title Young does not mean that they all speak same idea, or propose a single way of reading. Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 163.

about postcolonial criticism. Bhabha came to prominence through a series of essays published in the 1980s and early 1990s. Only in 1995 were a majority of these essays brought together in one book.[38] Bhabha's approach to colonial discourse is different from Said's stand, which Bhabha sees as too reliant on over-simplifying binaries, such as East and West, colonizer and colonized, and latent and manifest Orientalism. Bhabha tries to bring a new theory. He uses "deconstruction" to dismantle the false opposition of "theory" and "political practice"—a distinction reminiscent in many ways of Marx's distinction between superstructure and base. Bhabha advocates a model of liminality that perhaps dramatizes the interstitial space between theory and practice—a liminal space that does not separate but rather mediates their mutual exchange and relative meanings. Unlike many others, Bhabha argues that European theoretical frameworks are not necessarily intellectual constructs that ignore the political situation of the dispossessed Third World.

Instead of victors and victims, Bhabha stresses ambivalence and negotiation. Even an illiterate peasant may not have been defenseless in the face of Western imperialism, he argues. He provides the example of a group of nineteenth century Hindu farmers who told British missionaries that they had nothing against Christianity but could not accept a Bible written by a meat-eater.[39] This attitude made

---

38. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993).

39. Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs and Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 144-65.

the locals to turn away from Christianity and thus conversion effort failed, he points out.

While analyzing V.S. Naipaul's *The Return of Eva Peron***,** Bhabha argues that the "English book" (namely, the Bible) is an emblem of colonial rule, desire, and discipline. The European book has become a "sign taken for wonders" that "figures those ideological correlatives of the Western sign-empiricism, idealism, mimeticism, monoculturalism (to use Said's term) that sustain a tradition of English cultural rule."[40] He further explains his argument by saying:

> The discovery of the English book establishes both a measure of mimesis and a mode of civil authority and order. If these scenes, as I have narrated them, suggest the triumph of the writ of colonialist power, then it must be conceded that the wily letter of the law inscribes a much more ambivalent text of authority. for it is in between the edict of Englishness and the assault of the dark unruly spaces of the earth, through an act of repetition, that the colonial text emerges uncertainly...[;]consequently, the colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference.[41]

Here Bhabha's argument concurs with Jacques Lacan's[42] and Jacques Derrida's[43] notions of "repetition with a difference," that is a "mimetic" rereading of

---

40. Ibid., 160.

41. Ibid., 162.

42. Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis, The Seminar of Jacques Lacan , Book 11*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998). This book was published in French in 1973 and later translated into English in 1981.

European poststructuralism. In other words, Bhabha's argument is a hybrid mimicry or repetition of and already existing "English Book." The major thrust of Bhabha's argument is that the colonized subjects' repetition of the English book invariably involves a changing of its nuances—subversion that translates eventually into political insurgence:

> If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs. The ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority enables a form of subversion, founded on the undecidability that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention.[44]

In a more recent writing, Bhabha elucidates and summarizes his position that "hybridity," an "in between space" in which the colonized translate the binaries imposed by the colonial project, and "mimicry" are strategies forged by the colonized as ways to respond to colonial power.[45]

---

43. Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference, trans. Alan Bass* (London: Routledge, 1978). This book was originally published in French in 1967.

44. Ibid., 165.

45. Homi K. Bhabha, "The Vernacular Cosmopolitan," in *Voices of the Crossing: The Impact of Britain on Writers of Asia, the Caribbean and Africa*, edited by F. Dennis and N. Khan (London: Serpent's Tail, 2000), 139.

3 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

Spivak also uses deconstruction as a critical tool to rethink the oversimplified binary opposition of "colonizer" and "colonized" and to question the methodological assumptions of postcolonial theorists. Her reputation was first made for her translation and preface to Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology*,[46] and she has since applied deconstructive strategies to various theoretical engagements and textual analyses: from feminism, Marxism, and literary criticism to, most recently, postcolonialism.

In her well-discussed essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[47] Spivak, using Antonio Gramsci's[48] striking term s*ubaltern* for oppressed people, points out that

---

46. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976). This edition of the book is a translation of the French original *De la grammatologie* published in 1967.

47. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

48. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), was an Italian writer and philosopher who analyzed political and cultural issues from a Marxian perspective. He was the first one to introduce the philosophical use of the term "subaltern." Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince, and Other Writings*, translated by Louis Marks (New York: International Publishers, 1967); and idem, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971. The term "subaltern" ordinarily refers to any person, or group of inferior rank and station, and thus it can be employed in discussions of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and religion. This term became popular in 1980s when a group of Indian historians, later known as the *Subaltern Group*, used it to rewrite Indian history. I will come back to this term and the *Subaltern Group* later in this chapter.

anyone who has achieved enough literacy and sophistication, the ability to produce a widely-read piece of fiction is almost certainly by that very fact disqualified from speaking for the people he or she is supposed to represent. She questions whether Indian women imbibed with the nonsecular ideologies of Hinduism have a say in their own existence and what agency these women secure in the perpetual resurrection of the roles that construct their gendered domination. She continues to argue that

> In seeking to learn to speak to (rather than listen to or speak for) the historically muted subject of the subaltern woman, the postcolonial intellectual systematically 'unlearns' female privilege. This systematic unlearning involves learning to critique postcolonial discourse with the best tools it can provide and not simply substituting the lost figure of the colonized.[49]

Even though Spivak recognizes the "epistemic violence" done upon Indian subalterns, she suggests that any attempt from the outside to improve their condition by granting them collective speech invariably will encounter the following problems: (1) a logocentric assumption of cultural solidarity among a heterogeneous people, and (2) a dependence upon western intellectuals to "speak for" the subaltern condition rather than allowing them to speak for themselves. As Spivak argues, by speaking out and reclaiming a collective cultural identity, subalterns will in fact re-inscribe their

---

49. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 296.

subordinate position in society. That is why she argues, "the postcolonial intellectuals learn that their privilege is their loss."[50]

4 The Subaltern Group

During early 1980s, a group of Indian historians got together and started to rethink and rewrite the history of South Asia, especially the history of India. By their effort, a series of historical studies, *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*,[51] have been published since 1982. This group of scholars has been known as the Subaltern Studies group. This series of studies has a global presence that goes well beyond India or South Asia as an area of academic specialization. The intellectual reach of *Subaltern Studies* now also exceeds that of the discipline of history. Later, a Latin American Subaltern Studies Association was established in North America in 1993.[52]

---

50. Ibid., 296.

51. Ranajit Guha et al. eds., *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, 10 vols (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982-1999). For a comprehensive bibliography on the Subaltern Studies, see Henry Schwarz, et al., <http://www.lib.virginia.edu/area-studies/SouthAsia/Ideas/subalternBib.html> (accessed February 7, 2007).

52. Their founding statement is presented in "Founding Statement: Latin American Subaltern Studies Group." *Boundary* 20, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 110-21. See also John Beverley, *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). Beverley focuses mainly on Latin America. E. Mallon, "Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1491-1515.

As noted earlier, the word *subaltern* derives from Gramsci's "Notes on Italian History." However, the writers of this group, especially Ranajith Guha, are well aware of the term's relationship to the realm of the military, to designate a non-commissioned officer of inferior rank, or even an orderly. Guha takes the meaning of the term from the 1989 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, which describes the word *subaltern* "as a name for the general attribute of subordination in South Asian Society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender, and office or in any other way."[53] Also, the word *subaltern* in "Subaltern Studies" stands for something resembling the subordinate "classes" that are note quite "classes," in the same sense of E.P. Thompson's class analysis of eighteenth century English history as a history of "class struggle without class."[54] The Group clarifies that, the term "subaltern" points to relations of subordination and domination without the entrapment of the more familiar but rigid categories of class derived from orthodox Marxism.[55]

---

53. Ranajith Guha, "A note on the terms 'elite,' 'people,' 'subaltern,' etc., as used above," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 1, edited by Ranajith Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 8.

54. For Thompson's social analysis, see E.P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" *Social History* 3, no. 2 (May 1978).

55. For more details about this argument, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Invitation to a Dialogue," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 4, edited by Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 375-76.

The primary aim of this project is to rethink colonial historiography from the perspective of the discontinuous chain of peasant insurgencies during the colonial occupation. As Guha makes clear, "we are indeed opposed to much of the prevailing academic practice in historiography…for its failure to acknowledge the subaltern as the maker of his own destiny. This critique lies at the heart of our project"[56] In the introduction of the first book of the series, Guha explains the paradigm shift in focus of the new historiography:

> The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism – colonist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism…shar[ing] the prejudice that the making of the Indian nation and the development of the consciousness-nationalism which confirmed this process were exclusively or predominantly elite achievements. In the colonist and neo-colonist historiographies these achievements are credited to British colonial rulers, administrators, policies, institutions, and culture; in the nationalist and neo-nationalist writings – to Indian elite personalities, institutions, activities and ideas.[57]

In other words, Guha and his colleagues criticize all existing approaches to the historiography of India and classify them as elitist. Guha criticizes that all of the previous historians wrote the history of nationalism as the story of an achievement by the elite classes, whether Indian or British. For all their merits, these histories could

---

56. Ranajit Guha, "Preface," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 3 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), vii.

57. Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of Historiography of Colonial India," *Subaltern Studies* 1, 1.

not explain, “the contributions made by people *on their own*, that is, *independent of the elite* to the making and development of this nationalism.”[58]

One can see the writings of the Subaltern group as a response to the colonial historiography. Colonial historian Edward Thomson wrote:

> Indians are not historians, and they rarely show any critical ability. Even their most useful books, books full of research and information, exasperate with their repetitions and diffuseness, and loose effect by their uncritical enthusiasms….So they are not likely to displace our account of our connection with India.[59]

After the emergence of these writings, when we examine the Indian historical field, no one doubts that the old colonial histories are to be displaced with the new. The interpretation of Indian history is now largely an affair of the Indians themselves.[60]

The Group, inspired by Marxian analysis of the society, owed a certain intellectual debt to the Italian Marxist Gramsci in trying to move away from a

---

58. Ibid., 3; emphasis in original.

59. Edward Thomason, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925), 27-28.

60. See Vinay Lal, “The Subaltern School and the Ascendancy of Indian History,” in *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers (Rochester, NY: The University of Rochester Press, 2002), 238.

deterministic, Stalinist reading of Marx.[61] However, this historiography differs from English Marxist historiography in many ways. As Dipesh Chakarbarty points out,

> Subaltern historiography necessarily entailed (a) a relative separation of the history of power from any universalist histories of capital, (b) a critique of the nation-form, and (c) an interrogation of the relationship between power and knowledge (hence of archive itself and of history as a form of knowledge). In these differences, lay the beginning of a new way of theorizing the intellectual agenda for postcolonial histories.[62]

Spivak and O'Hanlon made some important criticisms of Subaltern Studies in late 1980s.[63] They pointed to the absence of gender questions in its discourses. It is a striking feature that the first six volumes of this series incorporated the work of no women writers of Indian history, with the exception of an article by Tanika Sarkar.[64] Spivak and O'Hanlon also made a more fundamental criticism of the theoretical

---

61. Dipesh Chakrabarty, "A Small History of Subaltern Studies," in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 471.

62. Ibid., 472.

63. See Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, edited by Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3-32; Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject: Subaltern Studies and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," in *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 1 (1988): 189-224. Spivak encourages the Group's contribution, but at the same time she also criticizes them. For her more criticism on this group, see Gayatri Chakrabarty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

64. Tanika Sarkar, "Jitu Santal's Movement in Malda 1924-1932: A Study in Tribal Protest," in *Subaltern Studies* 4, 136-44.

orientation of the project by indicating that the new historiography operated with an idea of the subject – "to make the subaltern the marker of his own destiny" – which had not wrestled at all with the critique of the idea of the subject mounted by poststructuralist thinkers. The later works of this group took these criticisms seriously and tried to answer the questions raised.[65]

Another important area of criticism of this group of writings involves the absence of writings by the Dalits or about history of the Dalits, historically the most disempowered segment of India's population and now at least 160 million in number. Not until 1996, when Volume IX of *Subaltern Studies* was published, did even a single page discussed these most oppressed of the land.[66] A serious historian of India can never avoid the struggle of the Dalits denied full human status by the society throughout the centuries. Fortunately, they are correcting this serious omission in their series.

---

65. The group deals with the gender issues in Ranajit Guha, "Chandra's death," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 5, edited by Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 1987), 135-165; Partha Chatterjee, "The Nation and Its Women," in *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 116-134; and Susie Tharu and Tejaswini Niranjana, "Problems for a Contemporary Theory of Gender," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* , vol. 9, edited by Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 1996), 232-60.

66. The first article on the *Dalits* issue appeared in the series in 1999: Kancha Ilaih, "Productive Labour, Consciousness and History: The Dailtbahujan Alternative," in *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 9, edited by Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 1996), 156-200.

However, as mentioned earlier, the Subaltern Studies has exceeded the original historiographical agenda that it set for itself in the early 1980s. The series now has both global and even regional locations within the circuits of scholarship it navigates. It has grown beyond the realms of Indian history and now travels with other postcolonial theories.

5 Conclusions

The crucial mission of postcolonial historiography is to bring the "marginal" to the "center" without removing someone to the "periphery." The "marginal" are those who left out of literature and history in the past, or history in general. Postcolonialism shares its project of dismantling the center/margin binarism of imperial discourses with postmodernism that emerged in Western society. While postmodernists bring the marginal into the center "by rewriting history in favor of those who have been excluded from power— women, homosexuals, blacks, Native Americans, and other victims of oppression,"[67] the postcolonial "writer adopts the positions of those already written out of, or marginalized by, the western record of historical materialism oppressed or annihilated peoples [and] women."[68] As Ashcroft

---

67. Gene Edward Veith, *Postmodern Times: A Christian Guide to Contemporary Thought and Culture*, *Turning Point Christian Worldview Series* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994), 57.

68. Helen Tiffin, "Post-Colonialism, Post-Modernism and the Rehabilitation of Post-Colonial History," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 23, no. 1 (1988): 176.

and others point out, one can see in both movements concerns about the decentering of discourse, the focus on the significance of language writing in the construction of experience, and the use of subversive strategies of mimicry, parody, and irony.[69] In other words, both postcolonialism and postmodernism critically examine an "emergent or dominant culture."[70]

Postcolonial history, then, has at its heart a critique of imperialism and empire. As Tiffin clarifies,

> The dis/mantling, de/mystification and unmasking of European authority that has been an essential political and cultural strategy towards decolonization and the retrieval of creation of an independent identity from the beginning persists as a prime impuse [sic] in all postcolonial literatures.[71]

That is to say, postcolonial history seeks to uncover the internal history of colonized peoples, especially of "subalterns," those repressed within society, whose identity is imposed from outside by historians and other commentators of the dominant society. This approach means to assert the validity of other cultures and to assess the extent to which Western cultural models have determined identities and cultural norms in the

---

69. The deconstruction of the centralized, logocentric master narratives of European culture is very similar in both. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, 117.

70. There are other places where one can see the convergence of ideas of these two movements. Since this subject is beyond the scope of the study, I am not going deep into it.

71. Tiffin, "Post-Colonialism, Post-Modernism and the Rehabilitation of Post-Colonial History," 171.

non-Western world. The construction of knowledge, including science and the analysis of the natural world, is of crucial importance.

John McLeod summarizes the task of postcolonial historiographical analysis.[72] The first task of postcolonial literary analysis is rereading Western canonical texts in order to detect conscious or dormant colonial elements in them. The second task of postcolonial reading is to encourage critics to search out not only literary but also other texts, such as historical discourses, official documents, and missionary reports, to learn how the colonized were represented and how they resisted or accepted colonial values.[73] The third task is to perform literary analysis of literature that emerged from the former colonies as a way of writing back to the center, questioning and challenging colonialist discourses, and in the process producing a new form of representation.[74]

---

72. John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 17-29.

73. The post-structuralist views of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan provide a theoretical outline to this section of analysis. The critics who are in the forefront are Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravarthy Spivak, and the *Subaltern group*. Bhabha argues that hybridity, which is an "in between space" in which the colonized translate the binaries imposed by the colonial project, and mimicry are strategies forged by the colonized as ways to respond to colonial power. Homi Bhabha, "The Vernacular Cosmopolitan," 139. Spivak points out the difficulties in recovering the voices concealed in colonial texts and reading them as potentially rebellious. See Spivak, "Can Subaltern Speak?"

74. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989). The groundbreaking book in this area of study not only focuses on Anglophone postcolonial writing, but further theorize a distinction between standard

Postcolonial Historiography and Present Study

The aim of this study is to analyze the history of the Jews of the Hellenistic period, especially during the time of the Seleucid Empire in second century BCE, from a postcolonial perspective. The study looks at various aspects of the establishment of the Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem and examines the historical transition that occurred from the early Jewish education system to the new gymnasium model of education. The dissertation also intends to determine the goals of the cultural form of indoctrination in Hellenistic culture as revealed in the shape of the gymnasium. The relationship between the educated class in this period and the Hellenistic policy of education will also be studied. Finally, there will be an analogous postcolonial reading of the introduction of the British education system to colonial India, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This dissertation is an inquiry into how colonialism functioned and functions educationally in ancient and modern worlds.

The Second Temple period was the time when the Jews underwent subjugation by various world empires of the time—Persian, Greek, and finally Roman. Among these foreign powers, the Greeks had a long-lasting impact on the culture and religion of the Jews. One can see this subjugation in every aspect of Jewish life. The most important characteristic of this period is that the Jews became

---

British English as a metropolitan language, and “english” (spelled in lower case) as its postcolonial mutation, a distinction that at once binds colonizer and colonized in a binary opposition and homogenizes the multiple ways in which English has been transformed in different (post)colonial settings.

"no people" in their own land. As Bhabha puts it, they were "unhomely"— not at home in one's own land.[75] They were in captivity within their own land. The captivity also scattered them throughout the empire; everywhere, as a minority, finding themselves reduced to a powerless people. The "powerless" and the "defeated" people of the land had to accept the "authority" of the winning "aliens" and their culture. This history of conflict and confluence is reflected in the texts written during this period. This history of cultural and political invasion of the Hellenism was one of the long-term reasons that led to the Hasmonean Revolt of mid Second century BCE. The historical narratives found in the First and Second books of Maccabees serve as Jewish responses to the occupying power. These historical tensions, possibly convergences too, make the postcolonial historical analysis and historiography important to this dissertation. The invading empires marginalized the Jews in their own land and sought to suppress their voices. The postcolonial historical analysis and historiography attempt to hear the voices of the oppressed that have been suppressed.

A postcolonial reader is also aware of the issues related to ancient historiography. In the ancient world, writing was always confined to a particular class of people in the society. Given the nature of their writing systems, the goal of literacy for all people was not at all realistic in those days. With the many demands that religion, government, and survival put on these people, it was just not possible for a large portion of the population to devote the time and energy needed to master the art

75. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. He explains this term as people who were cut off from their former identification with identity.

of writing.[76] While most historians are reluctant to put a specific number on the level of literacy in ancient societies, it is clear that in most ancient societies literacy was not a realistic expectation for the vast majority of the people.[77] Consequently, the literacy

---

76. Many scholars have acknowledged the difficulty of confidently placing a value on the level of literacy in ancient societies. They point out that the literacy figures from the ancient world do not necessarily reveal the complexity of ancient writing systems. According to Herman Vanstiphout, "In any case, the relative complexity of the writing system will have had little or nothing to do with the spread of literacy. Japan has the highest degree of literacy by very far in comparison to some other industrial giants, which goes to prove that literacy is far more dependent on a nation's political and social priorities than on the intricacies of the script." Herman Vanstiphout, "Memory and Literacy in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 4, edited by Jack M. Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 2188-89. For the discussion of scribal training, see Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959), 3-9; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 228-287; C. B. F. Walker, *Reading the Past: Cuneiform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 33-39; H. W. F. Saggs, *Civilization before Greece and Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 98-113; and Benjamin R. Foster, "Transmission of Knowledge," in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, edited by Daniel C. Snell (Malden, MA, Oxford, UK and Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 245-52. For writing and politics of writings in the ancient world, see Jean-Jacques Glassner*, The Invention of Cuneiform: Writing in Sumer*, translated by Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Microop (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 177-227.

77. See H.W.F. Saggs, *Civilization before Greece and Rome,* 104-105. J. Nicholas Postgate points out that prior to the invention of an alphabet, "Literacy surely reached its peak in Old Babylonian times . . . both in the variety of roles it played and, one suspects, in the number of people who could read and write." J. Nicholas Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of* History (London: Routledge, 1994), 69. Barry J. Kemp argues that Old Kingdom Egypt was divided into three classes: "literate men wielding authority derived from the king, those subordinate to them (doorkeepers, soldiers, quarrymen, and so on), and the illiterate peasantry." Barry J. Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c. 2686-1552 BC," in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History,* edited by Bruce G. Trigger, Barry J. Kemp, David O'Connor, and Alan Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 81.

was confined to a small privileged group of people in the society. This affluent group often represents their class in their writing enterprise. This historiography is what Guha calls "elitist" historiography.[78] Postcolonial reading makes one aware of the biases and prejudices of this historiography created by the influential class in the society. The ancient Jewish society is in no way different from this ancient social reality. They also had an educated class, those who could read and write, in the society. This scribal class in Judaism, which emerged in the post-exilic period with a definable historical character, and whose tasks and procedures were abundantly mentioned to in canonical and extra-canonical rabbinical literature, had a major part in the epochal transformation of ancient Israel into ancient Judaism and ancient Israelite exegesis into ancient Jewish exegesis.[79] One can categorize the Jewish writings that appeared during the Hellenistic period, like Qohelet and Ben Sira, which also talk about schools (e.g., Sir 51: 23), under this particular group.[80] The postcolonial reader seeks to overcome this bias and to hear the voice of the *subaltern*

---

78. Guha, "On Some Aspects of Historiography of Colonial India,"1.

79. For earlier comments on this class, see Elias J. Bickerman, *Ezra and the Maccabees* (New York: Schocken, 1947), 67-71. In Judah as elsewhere in the ancient West Asia, the scribes can be identified as "intellectuals," or as "sages," or as "the wise," and especially responsible for the "wisdom literature." For a detailed discussion of this matter, see the articles in John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue, eds., *The Sage in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

80. For more discussion, see E.W. Heaton, *The School Tradition of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

of the period. When we deal with the ancient writings, we need to be aware of this fact.

A postcolonial reading always opts for an oppositional stance, one that intentionally adopts a posture of resistance in approaching familiar stories "from the other side," the losing side, the side of the unheard voice, the side of incidents not recorded in the history. Such a stand always pushes us to see things from the side of the oppressed/colonized. It also encourages us to think about what they need for their liberation. Postcolonial reading provides a voice to the untold stories of the text. Ashcroft and others define *postcolonialism* as dealing with "the effects of colonisation on cultures and societies"[81] and postcolonial reading as "a way of reading and rereading texts... to draw deliberate attention to the profound and inescapable effects of colonisation on literary production; anthropological accounts; historical records; administrative and scientific writing."[82] Therefore, postcolonial reading helps us to hear the voice of the oppressed during the mid second century BCE, the time of Seleucid invasion and rule of Israel.

A postcolonial reading also rejects the universalism inherent in the liberal humanist readings of traditional criticism in favor of an acceptance of issues of cultural difference in literary texts. Culture itself is seen as a web of conflicting

---

81. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 186.

82. Ibid., 192.

discourses. Thus, it champions a celebration of hybridity and encourages a writing back from the margin or periphery to the center. As Sugirtharajah points out, postcolonialism has a multiplicity of meanings depending on location. It is

> a mental attitude rather than a method, more a subversive stance towards the dominant knowledge than a school of thought… it is a reading posture … a critical enterprise aimed at unmasking the link between power and idea which lies behind Western theories and learning… a discursive resistance to imperialism, imperial ideologies, imperial attitudes and their incarnations.[83]

Segovia makes this point clear when he writes of a postcolonial "optic," which is used in biblical studies for transformation.[84] Here he stresses the point that *an* "optic" not *the* "optic" in full engagement and dialogue with the host of other models and other "optics." However, the goal of this new reading is not merely one of analysis and description, but rather becomes one of transformation: the struggle for "liberation" and "decolonization."[85]

---

83. R.S. Sugirtharajah, "A Postcolonial Exploration of Collusion and Construction in Biblical Interpretation," in *The Postcolonial Bible,* 93.

84. Fernando F. Segovia, "Biblical Criticism and Postcolonial Studies: Toward a Postcolonial Optic," in *The Postcolonial Bible*, The Bible and Postcolonialism, 1, edited by R.S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 64.

85. Ibid.

Such an “optic” identifies at least three levels of reading[86] the biblical text. The first recognizes that one must consider the texts of ancient Judaism within their socio-cultural contexts in ancient West Asia and the Mediterranean world, where a succession of empires ruled. Second, the “optic” involves an analysis of the readings and interpretations of the texts of Jewish and Christian antiquity that takes seriously into account their broader socio-cultural context in Europe and North America. Third, most importantly, a postcolonial “optic” challenges my position as a postcolonial reader, one who is on the margins, who reads the text knowing that there is always resistance and agency in the face of colonial texts. As an Indian postcolonial reader, my connection with the colonizer and my privileged position in the society endure and call for entering into dialogues with the colonized and recognizing their resistance and agency in the face of colonizing texts. Through this postcolonial “optic,” I am trying to read the history of the cultural invasion of Hellenization and its education policy over the land of the Jews who lived during the second century BCE.

The crucial task before us is to identify the “fragments” of alternative histories that lie buried in the dominant discourse. In this process, we may need to read between the lines to hear the voices buried under the text. In other words, the aim is to rescue the history of the “repressed,” and to give it autonomy against the grand narrative of history itself. Our responsibility is to uncover the internal history of

---

86. Ibid., 56-63. Here I am following Segovia’s three levels of “optics.”

colonized peoples, the Jews of the second century BCE, and those repressed within society, whose identity contemporary historians and other commentators often impose from outside. Although the existing studies do provide much information about the structure of the colonial state, the operation of its various organs in its historical circumstances, and the nature of the alignment of classes that sustained it, they fail to explain the role of the powerless in the function of society and to acknowledge, far less interpret, the contribution made by indigenous people on their own.

II. Historical Overview of Third and Second Centuries BCE

Introduction

When Alexander of Macedonia died unexpectedly at the age of 33 in 323 BCE, after conquering a vast territory, he left no legal heir to his throne.[1] Thus, a period of an intense power struggle followed among his military generals and political leaders over the issue of the control of the gigantic empire. The era was filled with several battles and political tensions between the successors of Alexander, usually known as Diadochi (Διάδοχοι meaning "successors" of Alexander of Macedonia) to gain authority over the kingdom. The intention of this chapter is to look at the major features of the history of this era, focusing especially on the religious and political aspects of Judaism in Israel.

It took several years before new political structures and something approaching stability and peace could be attained in the Hellenistic world. Even after the new contours of authority were clear, many wished to challenge them, so that

1. Arrian, *Anab*. 7.24.1-27.3. Arrian, in 7.26.3, gives an account of Alexander's reply to the question about his heir. There Alexander answers τῷ κρατίστῳ, which literally means "to the strongest". However, it could also mean "to Craterus" (τοι κρατερôι), who was one of his favorite army leaders, considering κρατιστῳ as a wordplay of Craterus. However, there is no other evidence to prove the historicity of this event. Also, the leaders of the empire did not accept this idea when they considered the ruler of the empire after Alexander's death.

peace was never a permanent state of affairs in those days. The political events of this period are well known through the writings of the ancient historians. We are able to piece together narrative accounts of events in detail not only from Diodorus' history, but also from several other sources, including the biographical writings of Plutarch and the annalistic documents of Porphyry.[2] However, one should question the credibility of these ancient sources. Most of these ancient written sources are from the invaders' perspectives, written in the intruders' language, Greek or Latin, and shaped by outsiders' attitude of superiority.[3] They fundamentally follow the pattern of political propaganda of the invader. They often try to highlight the virtues of the invaders and disparage the people and culture of the other. Several historians of this era have seriously engaged this issue in their writings. Jona Lendering's book is a good example of this.[4] As Lendering points out, most ancient historians effortlessly

---

2. For a detailed examination of the sources with which to reconstruct the period between Alexander's death and the conference of the leaders of the empire held at Tripardeisus, see R.M. Errington, "From Babylon to Tripardeisus 323-320 B.C.," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90 (1970): 49-77.

3. Bosworth has given a long list of ancient written sources in his book. See A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 295-300.

4. Jona Lendering, *Alexander de Grote: De ondergang van het Perzische rijk* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2004). The book provides a rare balance between Western (Greek and Roman) and Asian (Babylonian) sources. Jan P. Stronk has reviewed this book in English in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2005.07.35. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-07-35.html> (accessed June 12, 2006).

succeed in brushing aside the necessity of using the non-western sources to reconstruct the period.[5]

Diadochi

There was heated discussion among the leaders of the empire in Babylon, after the death of Alexander. But they could not come to any solid solution to solve the problem of hierarchy. After much turmoil, they reached a compromise.[6] According to this agreement, Perdiccas became *Chiliarch*, a position that made him second only to the kings, Alexander's son Alexander IV born to his wife Roxane, and his half brother Arrhidaeus (Philip III). The empire was finally divided among the negotiating leaders of the empire.[7]

---

5. Ibid., 13.

6. Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 2-8.

7. Arrian describes the divisions of the empire as follows: Egypt and Libya, and the vast territories beyond went to Ptolemy. Syria was given to Laomedon, Babylonia went to Seleucus, Caria was held by Asander, Great Phrygia, Lycaonia and Pamphylia were assigned to Antigonus, Cilicia was given to Philoxenus, Mesopotamia and Arbelis went to Amphimachus, Persis was entrusted to Peucestas, Parthia was given to Philip. Cappadocia and northward from Taurus mountains to Nicanor, and Lydia went to Clitus, Hellespontine Phrygia to Arrhidaeus, Carmania to Tlepolemus, and Media as far as the Caspian Sea to Peithon. Stasander became the ruler of Arians and Drangians, Stasanor was to rule Sogdia and Bactria, the land of Parapamisians was left to Oxyartes, Alexander's father in law, and the countries on the river Indus along with the city Pattala were assigned to Porus.

The early settlement initiated by Perdiccas soon collapsed.[8] Perdiccas's attempt to maintain the unity of the empire under his own leadership, as well as those of his did not reach a settlement.[9] Disagreements about the assignment of satrapies and the powers of the regent soon led the leaders to open conflicts. Perdiccas tried to exert overall authority over the empire leading to the formation of an alliance to oppose him. In 321 BCE, he was assassinated while invading Egypt.[10] Fresh negotiations at Tripardeisus in Syria settled the basic divisions of the realm in 321 BCE. The discussions repeated in 311, and the struggle continued and finally settled with Antiogonus' death in the battle of Ipsus in 301 BCE. The new satrapies and the powers of regent adopted royal titles in 306-05 BCE. Although the scope of this study does not allow me to go into detail about the events that led into the divisions of the empire of Alexander of Macedonia,[11] a concise sketch of the events that took place during this time will be provided in order to understand better the political situation of Israel during these days.

---

8. Walter Ellis gives a detailed report of the solution that emerged out the initial meeting held after the death of Alexander. See Walter M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 26-28.

9. Alan E. Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History: Interpretations of Ptolemaic Egypt*, Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 2 (Lanham, New York and London: University of Toronto, 1989).

10. Diodorus, 18. 37.5.

11. Graham Shipley gives a brief summary of the events of the time. See Graham Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (323-30 B.C.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 41.

Antigonos tried to strengthen his position in Asia, conquering many of his neighboring territories. In 315 BCE, he expelled Seleucus from Babylon and acquired authority over it. But Seleucus took refuge with Ptolemy in Egypt. This act provoked both the former allies and the enemies of Antigonos who demanded Seleucus' reinstatement.[12] Antigonos refused it and launched an ambitious war of propaganda against Cassander and other successors of Alexander. He called for the freedom and autonomy of all Greek cities.[13] Ptolemy also issued a similar statement. These actions followed a series of bloody wars in Karia, Thrace, and later in Israel until 301 BCE.

Antigonos gradually gained more power and conquered still more territories. By now, he expanded his power over most of Asia Minor, Syria and most probably Israel.[14] Many scholars believe that, if there was one successor who had his sights firmly set on reuniting the old kingdom of Alexander, it was surely Antigonos. In 312 BCE, Antigonos and his son Demetrius launched an attempt to attack Egypt using Palestine as a base, but Ptolemy defeated them in a battle at Gaza and invaded Palestine. However, Ptolemy's position in Coele-Syria was not secure this time.[15] Many times, he had lost his control over this area to Antigonos and Demetrius. In the

---

12. Diodorus, 19.57.

13. Ibid., 19.62.1.

14. We do not hear anything about Israel or Judea from ancient writers of this period. I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

15. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, 44-45.

same year, Ptolemy helped Seleucus to restore his position in Babylon. In 311 BCE, a peace treaty implicitly recognized a four-way division of the empire. According to this treaty, Egypt was given to Ptolemy, Babylonia to Seleucus, Asia Minor to Antigonos, and Macedonia and Greece to Cassander. Lysimachus obtained Thrace and Bithynia.

In 306, Antigonos' son Demetrius defeated Ptolemy at sea. By this time, Antigonos and Demetrius were acknowledged as kings (*basileus*).[16] Before long, Ptolemy, Lysimachos, Seleucus, and Cassander adopted the title of king (*basileus)*. This event had been important to the history of the Greeks. By accepting the title *basileus,* they became independent leaders of their own territory.[17] With this development, the expansive empire of Alexander had officially broken into pieces, each one having its own ruler.

Antigonos set up a Hellenic league at Corinth in 302 BCE on the model of Philip's in 338 BCE, with his son Demetrius as its *hegemon*.[18] In 301 BCE, however, at the age of 81, Antigonos died in battle of Ipsus in Phrygia by the combined armies of Cassander, Lysimachos, and Seleucus. Lysimachos now became the master of most of Asia Minor, while Ptolemy of Egypt gained Israel and southeastern Asia

---

16. Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander*, 32-35.

17. 1 Macc 1: 7-9 gives a brief account of the divisions of Alexander's empire and adoption of the title.

18. See M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 42.

Minor, although he did not take part of the war at Ipsus directly. As we have seen, historians often regard the battle at Ipsus as a turning point in the history of this period. The battle resulted in the division of the short-lived Alexandrian Empire into three main power centers: Macedon in the west, Syria and Babylonia (under the Seleucids) in the center, and Egypt (under the Ptolemies) to the south. Thus, the battle of Ipsus is an important battle because it finalized the breakup of an empire. Seleucus claimed Syria, including that part which Ptolemy had conquered, but finally gave up his arguments before Ptolemy.[19] However, Seleucus acquired the lion's portion of Antigonos' holdings and secured the victor's spoils of the war at Ipsus.

Ptolemaic Dynasty

Ptolemy gained power over Egypt after the death of Alexander and became one of the prominent successors to Alexander's mighty empire. He always took a leading role in Alexander's campaigns as well as in the events that took place after his death. After Alexander's demise, Ptolemy took Egypt and the surrounding area as his own share, but also intervened in the affairs of the other Hellenistic Kingdoms. Ptolemy, during the turmoil after the death of Alexander, had brought the mummified body of Alexander to the city of Memphis in Egypt and kept it there while he or his

---

19. Diadorus, 21. 5.

son Ptolemy II Philadelphus prepared a tomb for it in Alexandria.[20] As the struggle between the other Greek generals continued, he strengthened his political and military position in his realm. Ptolemy took advantage of the conflict between Seleucids, Antigonos, and Lysimachus, proclaimed himself as the King of Egypt in 305 BCE, and accepted the name Ptolemy I Soter ("savior"). Ptolemy I became a great patron of culture and learning. He made his capital Alexandria, an important cultural center. Its museum was the first known, and its library was the largest in the ancient western world. Historians believe he was the author of a lost history of Alexander's campaigns. After his death, his successors had to deal with the Seleucids, over the control of Syria, Asia Minor, Israel, and Cyprus. All of Ptolemy's efforts for making his kingdom stronger were successful. He and his later family members were able to maintain their independent status until when the last member on the line, Cleopatra VII, who died in 30 BCE. Cleopatra drew the wrath of Rome over her alliance with Mark Antony. The Roman emperor Octavian annexed Egypt to his mighty empire by defeating Cleopatra at the naval battle of Actium in 31 BCE.

---

20. Although several ancient writers give the impression that Alexander's body was to be buried at the Siwah shrine of Zeus-Ammon in Libya (e.g., Diodorus, 18.3.5; Quintus Curtius Rufus, 10.5.4; and Justin, 12. 15.7), there are many modern theories about Alexander's burial place and tomb. However, the location of his tomb is still unknown.

Alexander, Diadochi, and Israel

The ancient Western historians make practically no mention of Israel and the Jews at the time of Alexander's invasion or during the period of the struggles of the Diadochi. On the other hand, only from Josephus, the Jewish historian from the first century CE, do we hear about Alexander's visit to the Jerusalem temple on the way to Egypt, and about his receiving the city's submission personally.[21] He also writes about Alexander's acknowledging and worshipping the Jewish god by sacrificing in the temple at Jerusalem. However, nowhere in the writings of the classical Greek historians, who extensively wrote about Alexander's life and his campaigns, is there a mention of the conquest of the Persian province Yehud or of the Jews. These accounts concentrate instead, largely on the bloody conquests of the king and occupation of lands and give the impression that most of the cities in Coele-Syria, which includes Phoenicia and Israel/Judah, had already submitted to Alexander either before or during the siege of Tyre.[22] This evidence (or lack of evidence) leads us to

---

21. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.1-7. We also hear about Alexander's meeting with Jewish leaders in the Talmud (Yoma 69a).

22. Peter Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 2. The city of Tyre, one of the significant ports in Phoenicia, refused to surrender in spite of the Macedonians' use of highly sophisticated siege-machines. Alexander besieged the city for seven months before capturing the city. The people of the city fought bravely and were able to give heavy damage to the invading army. Alexander besieged the city from the land as well as from the sea. The city was on an island and the Tyrians took advantage of their

think that Josephus' account is almost certainly a fabrication, either by Josephus himself or by one of his sources. The truth seems to be that since Jerusalem was of no military or economic significance to the invaders, there was no reason for Alexander who had fixed his mind on the rich resources of Egypt, to bother to go to Judah in person.

Some of the later rabbinic sources picked up the account of Josephus and developed it further.[23] However, the Talmudic and Midrashic sources, which are of legendary character, do not speak of the king's visit to Jerusalem, but rather relate that the Jewish high priest and his retinue met Alexander at Kefar Saba on the coastal

---

position. Alexander built a causeway to the island. Finally, after a fierce battle, in 332 BCE, the Macedonians captured Tyre and systematically massacred the city dwellers. About 8,000 Tyrians were killed, about 2,000 of them were crucified along the coast, and the remaining city population, which was about 30,000, was sold into slavery. For more details of these bloody incidents in the world history, see A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 64-68. For Alexander's occupation of Gaza, see Arrian, *Anab*. 2.26-7; Diodorus, 17.48.7; and Curtius, 4.6-9. Arrian also speaks about Alexander's immediate movement to Egypt after the conquest of Tyre. Arrian, *Anab*. 3.1.1.

23. E.g., Megillat Ta'anit, iii and Baraita in Yoma, 69 a. For details, see the discussion in Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 41-50. A number of indirect evidences are discussed in Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 15-16; and S. Choen, "Alexander the Great and Jaddus the High Priest According to Josephus," *The Association of Jewish Studies Review* 7-8 (1982-83): 41-68. On the other hand, Josephus's story has some defenders, see Arnoldo Momigliano, "Flavius Josephus and Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem," *Athenaeum* 57 (1979): 442-48; and Aryeh Kasher, "Some Suggestions and Comments Concerning Alexander Macedon's Campaign in Palestine," *Beth Mikra* 20 (1975): 187-208 (Hebrew).

plain.[24] Interestingly, these Jewish texts not only report the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem, but also argue that this visit marked the final separation of the Samaritans from the Jewish cult community (the so-called Samaritan schism).[25] However, the historicity of the dating of this schism is still in confusion and under debate.[26] According to these sources, Alexander personally destroyed Samaria and turned the city into a Macedonian military colony. Again, the value of this event is supplemented by another remark in the writings of the Chronicles of Eusebius to the effect that it was not until Perdiccas was governor (296/5 BCE) that the city was

---

24. Baraita in Yoma 69a is identical with Megillat Ta'anit, iii: "When the Samaritans had obtained permission from Alexander to destroy the Temple in Jerusalem, the high priest Simon the Just, arrayed in his pontifical garments and followed by a number of distinguished Jews, went out to meet the conqueror, and met him at Antipatris, on the northern frontier. At sight of Simon, Alexander fell prostrate at his feet, and explained to his astonished companions that the image of the Jewish high priest was always with him in battle, fighting for him and leading him to victory. Simon took the opportunity to justify the attitude of his countrymen, declaring that, far from being rebels, they offered prayers in the Temple for the welfare of the king and his dominions. So impressed was Alexander that he delivered up all the Samaritans in his train into the hands of the Jews, who tied them to the tails of horses and dragged them to the mountain of Gerizim; then the Jews plowed the mountain [demolished the Samaritan temple]." Also see Genesis Rabbah lxi; Tamid, 31*b et seq;* Tamid, 32*a* and many other similar texts.

25. See above note. Also Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 2-7.

26. For a brief narration of the issue of the Samaritan schism, see Robert T. Anderson, "Samaritans," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 940-47; Richard J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Oxford: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002). Hjelm reviews all serious proposals of the Samaritan origins. Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: a Literary Analysis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Also see Frank Moore Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 173-202.

resettled.[27] In the writings of Josephus and later in the Talmudic texts, one can see the aspirations of an oppressed people to become "victorious" over their invader as well as over the group, the Samaritans, who challenged their religious beliefs and existence at least in the literary texts. In order to accomplish this goal, they fabricated a grand story.

It is possible that the political and economic insignificance of the small Jewish temple state in the mountains between the Dead Sea and the coastal plain offered little attract the attention of the Greek historians.[28] However, the land of Israel had been a crucial battlefield between the Persians and Egyptians, and for this period, the struggle was between Ptolemy and Antigonos. Even though the battle at Ipsus established Ptolemy's authority over Coele-Syria, the whole area remained one of the major unsettled frontiers of the Hellenistic period. Subsequently, wars and political tensions continued to occupy the land. The land could not enjoy freedom and peace during this period. The Israelites had been under subjugation of aliens throughout the Second Temple period, meaning that they were always under the threat of invasion

---

27. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 4 and 12 n.10. Schäfer provides an English translation of the text. Schäfer also discusses contradictions regarding the date and personal involvement of Alexander in the destruction, etc., within these narrations. Curtius Rufus also mentions the event of destruction of Samaria by Alexander in his biography of Alexander. Curtius Rufus, *History*, IV. 8.9-11. Since these issues are still under debate and not directly related to our study, I am not dealing with them in detail here.

28. Martin Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period*, translated by John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 17.

and killings. This oppressed condition continued into the Hellenistic and Roman periods as well.

Israel under Ptolemies

Even though Coele-Syria had fallen into the hands of Ptolemy after the battle of Ipsus in 301 BCE, the formal right of authority had remained in the hands of Seleucus.[29] Demetrius, the son of Antigonos retained control over the sea and the Phoenician coastal cities of Tyre and Sidon because of his powerful fleet. Demetrius took advantage of this situation and was able to create disturbances in Israel. In 296 BCE, he said to have destroyed Samaria. However, the ancient sources say nothing concerning Demetrius's rule of Israel.[30] Ptolemy continued his campaign over the land and brought all the cities of Coele Syrian coast under him by 286 BCE.

Coele Syria was vital to Egyptian empire for many reasons. The harbors of Phoenicia and the forests in Lebanon provided the natural resources for the naval might of the Ptolemies. These territories formed a vital military buffer for Egypt against any attack from the north. Above all, the Levant was crucial for the commercial and caravan routes from Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, and the Eastern countries to the Mediterranean world. From the economic point of view, it represented a valuable extension to Egypt. Egyptian dependency on

---

29. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 55.

30. Ibid., 424, n. 42.

foreign mercenaries for their army compelled them to hold this land, because most of their army came from the people of this region.[31] The Ptolemies felt it important to keep a firm hand on Phoenicia and Israel not only militarily, but also fiscally and administratively. Therefore, losing this land means losing their political predominance and even their lives. The official name of the province was "Syria and Phoenicia," but the ancient sources often refer to it simply as "Syria," where both Israel and Phoenicia are also meant.[32]

During the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the Egyptians penetrated even further into the land of Israel.[33] Apart from the brief period of the invasion of Antiochus III (219-217 BCE), about a century of Ptolemaic rule brought a period of

---

31. The Ptolemies did not include the local Egyptians in their army at this time. They mostly depended on foreign mercenaries. There were Idumean, Arabian, and Jewish auxiliaries in the Ptolemaic military. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 6.

32. Perhaps in this way the Ptolemies wanted to express a claim to all Syria. The particular designation appears even in some of the Seleucid documents. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, n. 4, 3

33. The correspondence of Zeno, who was a steward of a large estate in the newly reclaimed Fayum, which the "finance minister" Apollonius had received as a present from the king, narrates the administrational practice of the land. Zeno collected an extensive correspondence of his master. These papyri are valuable resources for the study of this period. William Linn Westerman and Elizabeth Sayre Hasenoehrl, eds., *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century BC dealing with Palestine and Egypt*, Colombia Papyri 3, Greek Series 3 and 4 (New York: Colombia University Press, 1934). For more detailed discussions, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 60-64; and Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 23-24. Papyri related to the Jews have been collected in Avigdor Tcherikover et al., ed., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954-64), 115-46. Also see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 7, 21-24, 39-42, 47-8, and 267-9.

relatively peaceful situation to the disputed provinces.[34] However, the Ptolemies' relationships with their neighboring states were not always peaceful. The Seleucids and the Ptolemies fought several wars during this period.[35] However, the first three Syrian wars seem to have affected the country only in the north.[36] Throughout the third century, the boundary of the two kingdoms remained relatively constant, apart from minor alterations.[37]

In the Fourth Syrian War, in 219 BCE, Antiochus III was able to occupy a large of part of Coele-Syria. In the following year, Antiochus further advanced along the Phoenician coast as far as Galilee, capturing Philoteria, Scythopolis, and the fortress of Atabyrion on Mount Tabor. He crossed the Jordan, occupied Pella, Kamoun, and (G)ephron in Transjordan, stormed the fortresses of Gadara, Abila, and Rabbath Ammon, and sent a detachment of troops to Samaria. However, we do not hear anything about the situation in Jerusalem or even in Judea. Most probably, the troops of Antiochus also occupied Judea during the campaign. During this campaign,

---

34. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 59.

35. There were six major wars, the *Syrian Wars*, fought by the Ptolemies and the Seleucids: the first Syrian War: 274-71; second War: 260-253; third (Laodikean) War: 246-241; fourth War: 219-211; fifth War: 202-200; and sixth War: 169-168 (Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt). See Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander*, 202-3.

36. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 7.

37. For details, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 61, n. 56, and 428.

some of the military leaders of Ptolemy came over to Antiochus' side.[38]All these events facilitated his conquest of the land. The maladministration at court and nepotism under Ptolemy Philopator ushered in the downfall of the Ptolemaic kingdom. A large part of the population of the territory, except Sidon, Samaria, Gaza, and most probably Judea, changed their allegiance to the Seleucids.[39]

However, in 217 BCE, Philopator retaliated. Armies met at Raphia on the southern border of Judea. Despite some initial successes, Antiochus was unexpectedly defeated. Antiochus had to vacate immediately the territory that he had won over the two previous years. Hengel notes one of the most significant factors of this war. For the first time in the history of the Ptolemies, the local Egyptians were trained and battled for their country along with the Macedonian troops. However, this new move created a national consciousness among the Egyptians against the Greek ruling class.[40] Until then, the Greeks had monopoly over everything in the empire including the army, but now the national consciousness led to the native population's stand against the intruders. This decisive turn in the history of Egypt marked the beginning of the end of Ptolemaic kingdom. Sources speak about Philopator's and his sister

---

38. Ibid., 73-4, 54.

39. Ibid, 96; also see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 8.

40. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 8.

Arsinoe's visit to and stay in Judea, presumably in Jerusalem. 3 Macc 1: 10-16[41] reflects the conflict among the Jews during this time.

The Ptolemaic kingdom, despite this victory, was slowly plunging into deep troubles. The collapse of the empire was inevitable. There were Egyptian uprisings that shook the kingdom. The newly trained Egyptian troops fought against the army of occupation.[42] The mysterious deaths of Philopator and his sister/wife Arsinoe in 205 BCE made the situation worst. The incompetence of the guardians of the five-year-old Ptolemy V Epiphanes revealed the weakness of Egypt. Using this encouraging situation, Antiochus III, in alliance with Philip V of Macedon, attacked the Ptolemaic kingdom.[43] In 199/98 BCE, Antiochus occupied the "Syrian and Phoenician" provinces and concluded the war in 199/198 BCE. This battle is

---

41. The passage speaks about the king's leaning towards mysticism, and his exaggerated reverence for Dionysus.

42. As we have seen, the military training of the locals created a new national consciousness among the Egyptians against the invading Greeks. Polybius gives some information about the Egyptian revolt against the Ptolemies. See Polybius, 5. 107.1, and 14. 107.1. Willy Clarysse provides a long list of primary sources that talk about the Egyptian revolt and aftermath. See the website: <http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/lecture/revolt.html#edfu> (accessed May 15, 2006). For details about the series of Egyptian revolts, see Graham Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander*, 203-04; also see Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire,* translated by Tina Saavedra (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 153-9. Hölbl discusses various primary sources as well as secondary sources regarding the domestic resistance in Egypt that took place between 206 BCE and 186 BCE.

43. For a detailed discussion, see Edwyn Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy: A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1968), 285-6.

considered as a most significant milestone in the history of Coele Syria, including Judea. More than a century long occupation of the Ptolemaic empire had ended, and a new era was initiated with another annexation, this one by the Seleucids from the east.

1 Ptolemaic Administration and Policies

There are two important views about Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. First, after the conquest of Alexander there was a grand civilizing process: "mankind" was now united under the influence of Greek culture and education. In this world, Syrians, Jews, Persians, and even Egyptians submerged their native cultural practices in order to enjoy the elevating experience of Greek *paideia* (παιδεία), the writings, teachings, and worldviews of Greek philosophers, historians, orators, and poets: Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Homer.[44] This view also posited the thesis that Ptolemies revitalized, and then exhausted the local culture by means of a strong central administration that monetized the economy and increased agricultural productivity. However, one can question this myth of "unification of the mankind." Egyptians and other conquered people had to learn Greek in order to understand the administration of their land. They had no choice but to leave their own language behind. By the second century CE, Egyptian even came to be written with a Greek

---

44. W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 19 (1933): 123–66.

alphabet (Coptic).[45] A second view is that the Ptolemies can be seen as economic imperialists, like the British in India or the Dutch in Indonesia, extracting wealth from the hapless natives to enrich the conquering few. The Ptolemies exploited the economy of the country for their own interests, particularly to support their expensive foreign warfare to expand their imperial control.[46]

The Egyptian royal administration was large and elaborate.[47] Except for Greek cities,[48] they ruled at every level of the administration, assisted by a staff of close trusted men called *philoi* (φίλοι means "friends"), who were the Hellenistic equivalent of the old Macedonian *hetairoi* (ἑταῖροι means "companions"), and of the

---

45. We do not know exactly when the Egyptians started to use the Greek alphabet to write spoken Coptic. For more discussion, see George Posener, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1959), 52.

46. Eric Turner, who reconstructed the Egyptian history of the second quarter of the third century BCE, calls it a period of intense and expensive warfare. By the middle of this century, the crown was squeezing everything available out of the economy to achieve the imperial aspirations. Eric G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 7, Part I, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), 139-159.

47. According to Jones, the Ptolemaic administration was one of the most rigidly centralized bureaucracies that the world has ever seen. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 297.

48. A different type of administration was exercised in the Greek cities. Cities such as Naucratis, Ptolemais, and Alexandria practiced their own laws and had a theoretical self-government. Turner provides a brief account of the status of Greek cities in this period. See Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt," 144-6.

Persian king's *retinue*.[49] This group consisted of Macedonians, Greeks, and Alexandrians.[50] The king used and relied on these groups for military, administrative, and diplomatic purposes.[51] The papyri refer to this group of people and their activities in many places. Later, in the second century, some changes occurred in the administrative structure. While the practice of appointing individuals at the court to the position of "friend" continued, a second system of titling, an honorific one, grew up, whereby officials in the administration received honorary court titles, graded in rank according to the administrative offices they held.[52] The administrative system

---

49. Hölbl, *A History of Ptolemaic Empire*, 58.

50. Mooren made an extensive study of the circle of *Philoi* during the entire period of the Ptolemies. See L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prospography* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975). This group of people came from all parts of the Greek world, attracted by the hope of riches, advancement, and the exercise of power. There were artists, writers, philosophers, doctors, scholars, and refugees among the "friends." The available evidence shows that members of this group were not mere servants of the crown but sharers in power. For e.g., see W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 219, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903-05); and also Diodorus, 21.12.

51. In G. Herman's analysis on "friends" of the king, he argues that this title was more informal, causal, and un-institutional. He points out that the negative attitude that reflected in ancient Greek inscriptions on the title leads us to believe that this title was more informal than an official one. G. Herman, "The 'Friends' of the Early Hellenistic Rulers: Servants or Officials?" *Talanta* 12-13 (1980/81): 103-49. However, the negative attitude can also reflect Greek civic unfamiliarity with bureaucracy itself, seeing official titles as servile status rather than office.

52. Alan E. Samuel gives a detailed account of the changes introduced in the Ptolemaic system. Alan E. Samuel, "The Ptolemies and Ideology of Kingship," in *Hellenistic History and Culture*, edited by Peter Green (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), 186.

grew larger and became more complex and difficult to control.[53] The Zenon Papyri[54] reveals this complicated administrative structure. This collection of documents also provides a comprehensive survey of the different forms of official exploitation to which the highly regimented *fellahin* were subjected.[55]

At the top of the government was the king assisted by secretaries for military issues and for communications. There was also high administration officials called the *dioiketes* (manager of the domain) assisted by the *oikonomoi*.[56] Egypt was traditionally divided into 40 districts, which were called *nomen*. Each of these nomen was ruled by a *nomarches*. Later the military governor or *strategos* slowly gained more power at the cost of these *nomarches*.

Taxes and rents were the major source of income of the country. A wide variety of papyri containing payment-orders, receipts, contracts, tenders, and other

---

53. P.M. Fraser draws the distinction between the court circles, meant for administering the empire, and the internal administration of Egypt as a "state." This "dual administration" policy blended in the second century BCE. See P.M Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

54. See above notes 33.

55. F.W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 106-07.

56. *Oikonomoi* were financial officials of the empire. Some of them oversaw royal possessions, and others managed local taxes and other economic matters.

matters of everyday fiscal, and economic life provide evidence for this.[57] The exploitation of the land was characterized by planning. The king was the sole owner of the whole country.[58] However, only part of the land was cultivated directly as "crown land" by the king.[59] The other major portion of the land was given for cultivation to the *cleruch*.[60] The farmers obtained their sowing-seed annually from a central council and they were only allowed to keep as much as they needed. The profits of the land were already estimated and taxed. There were many state-monopolies like beer, olives, salt, and papyrus. In the industries of these monopolies were the workers and civil servants: they obtained the needed things and had to give the products to the king. The trade was also a state-monopoly, and the king treated the exports of the country as his personal possessions, and thus a source of personal profits.

The important point that we need to consider here is the compulsory displacement of the people. The Ptolemies strategically encouraged immigration of people from other occupied countries. They understood that in order to hold the

---

57. Papyri Petrie, 104, written by a high official, is a good example of the payment of rent. J.P. Mahaffy and J.G. Smyly, eds., *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, 3 parts (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1891-1905).

58. Diodorus, 18.039.05.

59 This land includes that owned by the powerful Egyptian temples. The crown peasants cultivated the "crown land."

60. These were the people displaced by the empire from the occupied countries and brought to Egypt. We will discuss this group later in this section.

country securely against enemies they needed human power. There is a wealth of evidence indicating a great influx of foreigners of all nationalities during the first fifty years of Ptolemaic control.[61] The immigrants were given land in different parts of the country for cultivation.[62] These new immigrants were used for numerous purposes including especially cultivating the land all over the empire[63] and for serving in the army when called on. These new immigrant soldiers also were known as *cleruchs* (*klerouchoi*), and later as *katoikoi*. Thus, economically, the king could save a lot of money that he would have spent on keeping mercenaries all the time and also had a

---

61. For e.g., Diodorus, in 19. 85. 3-4, notes that after the battle of Gaza (312 BCE), Ptolemy sent the prisoners to Egypt with the instruction that they were to be distributed among the *nomes*' (provinces). Their number was more that 8,000. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 109.

62. No evidence has survived to show whether similar displacement of the locals was necessary to accommodate the immigrants in the land. It is quite possible that there was enough exploitable, but never irrigated, good land available without displacing the existing tenants. However, tensions existed between the natives and the incomers. For e.g., see *Papyri Cairo Zenon* 59610, which speaks about the difficulty in getting the Egyptians and the foreigners to work together. Therefore, there is every chance for displacement of the locals, in order to avoid tensions, included in the land reforms.

63. The new land category "*cleruchic* land" was introduced in order to cater the needs of the new immigrants. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 108-09. Tebtunis Papyri, 5, 2. 36-43 shows that eventually the land, which was given to the immigrants (*cleruchic* land), became private property. Bernard P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt and J. G. Smyly et al., eds., *The Tebtunis Papyri*, 4 vols. (London and New York: Egypt Exploration Society, 1902-76).

stable income from various taxes from the farming land of the immigrants.[64] On the other hand, the displaced people lost their land, culture, and identity. The strategical displacement stripped these people of their identity. What they had now was the things given them by their conquerors. Consequently, the captivity scattered the displaced people throughout the country; everywhere they became minority reducing them to a powerless mass.[65]

The invasions by Alexander and the Ptolemies did bring a new element of class consciousness [66] that led to the introduction of a Greek and Macedonian ruling class, over Egypt and later over the Hellenistic world. Polybius describes the three classes of population in the second half of the second century:

---

64. This land was taxed just like any other land in the country. For e.g., see Papyrus Revenue Laws, column 37. 15-18. B.P. Grebfell, ed., *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896). Though fragmentary, this papyrus of c. 259 BCE) has many columns that deals with tax farming, orchards, and vineyards. It also speaks about the elaborate rules that demonstrate the detailed control of the government over the growing, pressing, and selling of oil.

65. Most of these immigrants were scattered and forced to live in the countryside. Moreover, the Ptolemies never encouraged them to move into cities. Interestingly, the Ptolemies did not build many cities. Other than Alexandria, which was the heart of Ptolemaic administration, we do not see many cities founded by the Ptolemies in Egypt. Of course, several cities that were usually associated with temples (e.g., Memphis, former capital of the country) existed during this period. For this argument, see Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 113-14.

66. I will discuss the crucial issue of the class system of the Hellenistic world in the next chapter. However, I am making a preliminary drawing of this matter here in order to get an understanding about the unique class formation policy of the Hellenistic empires. The creation of this ruling class was the direct outcome of the decisions taken by Alexander’s successors, who after Alexander’s death decisively rejected the “racial fusion” idea of Alexander and expelled all the Medes and the Persians from the positions of authority. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 65.

> It is inhabited by three classes of people, first the native Egyptians, a volatile group, hard to control; secondly by the mercenaries, a numerous, overbearing and uncultivated set, it being an ancient practice there to maintain a foreign force which owing to the weakness of the kings had learnt to rule rather than obey; thirdly there are the Alexandrians themselves, a people also not genuinely civilized for the same reasons, but still superior to the mercenaries [or to the other two categories] for though they are mixed they come from a Greek stock and have not forgotten Greek customs.[67]

The upper class, which consisted of newcomers[68] to the land, had many privileges in the society. They possessed monetary resources and the permission to invest them. Because of their participation in estimating, checking, accounting, and the provision of capital by way of advanced payments, they may be regarded in a sense as the king's partners, beneficiaries alongside the king in what have usually been represented as enterprises jealously reserved for the crown.[69] The ruling class strategically excluded the natives from this class. In addition, the Greeks always tried

---

67. Polybius, 34. 14. 1-5. Alexandria had a special status throughout the Hellenistic period. As Walbank notes, it was never consider as a part of Egypt. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 113. Alexandria's official title, Alexandria-by-Egypt, during the Roman period reveals the precise nature of the city.

68. These new immigrants in the land included the large number of mercenaries whom Alexander the Great left behind to hold strategic points like Egypt. These groups of people later settled down in the land.

69. Eric Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt," 154. In the *Revenue Laws*, a variety of terms describes this particular group of people: the "holder," "administrator," "purchaser," "manager" of the contract, "shareholder," "chief buyer," etc.

to keep themselves aloof from the natives.[70] Then again, the Egyptian priesthood, which might have maintained itself on equal terms with the newcomers[71] failed to resist the pressure that the king exerted in order to incorporate them economically in his general system.[72] This class structure permeated soon throughout the Hellenistic world. Throughout the empire, the indigenous people were forced to occupy the lower strata of the class ladder.[73] They were oppressed politically, socially and culturally. When Greek became the official language of polite society, administration, and command in their own country, the natives required the help of interpreters to deal with the authority.

The system of exploitation only worked well for a short period. Already at the end of the third century, the bureaucratic system worked less smoothly. From the side of the farmers there was passive resistance against the burdens determined by the upper classes, and they often moved to the temple-economies, to the places controlled by the powerful temples. Later on, the native farmers completely fled from the king-

---

70. There are indeed some exceptions. Some examples of inter-marriage between the poorer Greeks, of whom we know only little, and the natives are known from 256 BCE. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 116-17.

71. The Egyptian temples were ancient, rich, and powerful. Their sources of wealth were now limited to what was necessary for the maintenance of the temples.

72. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 115.

73. Zenon Papyri, 66. 2. 19. 21; and Papyri Yale, 46, col. i., l. 13 speak about the discriminations that existed against the indigenous people. J.F. Oates A.E. Samuel and C.B. Wells, eds., *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (New Haven and Toronto: Yale University Press, 1967).

controlled farmland. After a while, they also started to resist the king actively by forming bands of robbers, and at the beginning of the second century, a separation movement among the local leaders erupted. All these factors led to the uprising against the system and finally led to the dissolution of the empire.

2 Ptolemies and Israel

"Syria and Phoenicia" essentially followed the same economic system practiced in Egypt. Many cities had "independent" or "semi-independent" status in economic terms (πόλις *polis*). We do not know whether or to what extent the Jewish people in Israel were granted a special semi-autonomous status in this period. Although there is no precise information concerning taxation in Judea, the taxation policy was unlikely to have differed from the tax system operating elsewhere in the province. That means, a fixed tribute had to be paid to the king.[74] The Zenon Papyri give some insights into the situation in the land and economic activities of Ptolemy II. Members of the upper class were the real beneficiaries of the economic system that was imposed by the Ptolemies. On the other hand, the rural population was exploited even more than before. They were the primary objects of exploitation. The primary aim of the upper class was to ensure that their control over the economic productivity

---

74. This tax system can be deduced indirectly from the decree of Antiochus III, who upon his accession to the throne, exempted certain groups among the Jewish population from the poll tax, the wreath tax, and the salt tax and waived a third of the tribute for the entire population. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 48, and n 167.

would not suffer.[75] Also, interestingly, an indigenous upper class interposed itself between the rural population and the state apparatus, comprising aristocratic owners of the large estates and the priestly nobility who "collaborated" with the Ptolemies in the exploitation of the people on the basis of common economic interests.[76] In sum, the conquerors and those who supported them enjoyed power and authority, while others had to suffer more severely than ever before. In the history of colonialism and imperialism, the invaders have always been able to obtain support from an upper class indigenous group that they created among the colonized. In return, the new group was used for the effective expansion of imperial motives. In this case, the Ptolemies were able to create an upper class among the Jews who were given some economic privileges. In addition, the invaders made use of the new group was to exploit the larger rural population and to carry out the program of subjugation of the land as the colonizers planned. This colonial policy is exactly what is meant by the expression, *divide and rule*. A legacy of exploitation commenced in which the muscles, not minds, of colonized people were utilized to extract potential resources from the colony for the sole benefit of the colonialist. The Ptolemies effectively exercised this policy throughout their colonies.

Here we should also be aware of the presence of another group of the land, the Macedonian and Greek settlers who migrated from Greece along with Alexander and

---

75. Ibid., 93-94.

76. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 17-18.

his successors.[77] It was a policy of the Hellenistic kings to encourage Greeks to emigrate to the countries under their rule. There were permanent military and civilian settlements of these newly emigrated Greeks all over the Hellenistic kingdoms. The fostering of *polis* in the Hellenistic kingdoms was a vital means of maintaining Hellenistic dominance over the native population. This minority group of settlers always enjoyed higher status in the society through out this period.[78] The Ptolemaic empire was in no way different from the typical features of Hellenistic colonialism practiced in general.

The Seleucid Dynasty

Although the Seleucid kingdom dated its beginning in 312 BCE[79] when

---

77. I have already mentioned the role of this group when discussing the administration of the Ptolemaic Egypt.

78. Stern estimates their number at no more than several hundreds of thousands. Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 22. However, even if their number goes up to one million, that number is still mere trifle when compared to that of the natives. Aryesh Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period [332 BCE-70 CE]* (Tübingen: JCB Mohr, 1990), 21-22. I will discuss the issue of classes within the Jewish society during the Hellenistic period in the next chapter.

79. Diodorus, 19. 80-6; 93; Justinus 15.1. 6-9; and Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 5-6. This was the year when Seleucus attacked Demetrius who was in control of Babylon and Mesopotamia. Seleucus continued his campaign in Mesopotamia. Diodorus, 19. 90-2; and Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 7. 2-3.

Seleucus I Nicator seized Babylon in his own name, his empire was not actually established until the defeat of Antigonos I at Ipsus in 301 BCE.[80] Later in 281 BCE, Asia Minor was incorporated into the Empire by defeating Lysimachus in Lydia.[81] The Seleucid Empire extended from the Aegean Sea in the west to what is now Afghanistan in the east, containing about one and a half million square miles that include the territories of Persia, Media, Elam, eastern Lydia, and northern Syria.[82]

Around 246 BCE the Seleucids lost substantial territory in the east, as a nomadic group called the Parni settled in the satrapy of Parthia. During the same period, the satrapy of Bactria in the east also claimed independence from the

---

80. For detailed reports on the battle at Ipsus, see Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 28-30; and Diadorus, 21.1. 4b. 5, speak about the aftermath divisions of the conquered land.

81. For more details, see Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, eds., *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); idem, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and Dov Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics 219-169 BCE* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1998).

82. Musti provides a detailed description of the geographical area of the empire. Domenico Musti, "Syria and the East," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 7, Part I, *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 181-2. Also Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 55 speaks about his thundering conquest of the East. However, it is not clear whether these places were occupied before or after the battle of Ipsus.

Seleucids.[83] However, the Seleucid king, Antiochus III ("the Great")[84] reconquered much of these regions between 209 and 204 BCE when he campaigned in the east as far as the Indus Valley.[85] In the west, as mentioned earlier, the Seleucid king fought several wars with his fellow Macedonians, the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. Finally, the Syrians crushed the Egyptian forces in the Fifth Syrian War fought at Panium in 198 BCE. The Ptolemies were forced to cede the Levant to Antiochus, who then proclaimed himself as conqueror of the East.

In 196 BCE Antiochus crossed the Hellespont and two years later he added

---

83. There is a dispute about the chronology of the Parthian and Bactrian divisions of the empire at this point. While a "high" chronology, which is supported mainly by Bickermann, places at least the initial stage of the process of the separation during the reign of Antiochus II, a "low" chronology, which is promoted by J. Wolski, transfers these events to the reign of Seleucus II , in particular to the period of so-called "War of the Brothers" (between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hieraz, c. 240-39/237 BCE). E.J. Bickerman, "Notes on Seleucid and Parthian Chronology," *Berytus* 8 (1944): 73-83; and J. Wolski, "The Decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of the Parthian Beginnings," *Berytus* 12 (1956-8): 35-52. H.H. Schmitt has further substantiates the "low" chronology. H.H. Schmidt, *Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit*, Historia Enizelschr, 6 (Stuttgart: Wiesbaden, 1964).

84. Antiochus III was the last king to claim the ancient Persian title the "Great King." Therefore, he is usually known as Antiochus "the Great."

85. Polybius, 11. 39, 11-16; 13. 9. 4-5. For a detailed analysis of these events, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 84-90, and 197-202.

the region of Thrace to his empire.[86] This conquest brought the Seleucid Empire into direct contact with the emerging Mediterranean power of Rome.[87] In 190 BCE Romans for the first time set foot in Asia and the following year they met the huge Seleucid army at the Battle of Magnesia. In that decisive combat, Antiochus was completely defeated and the Seleucid Empire lost its possessions in Anatolia.[88] The Romans annihilated the main army of the Seleucids and forced Antiochus to accept a paralyzing war indemnity, give up Asia Minor, and send hostages to Rome. Years later, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE) carried out an initially successful campaign in Egypt but had to withdraw from his newly possessed land before the compelling Roman forces.[89] The latter part of his reign saw the further disintegration of the Empire. The Eastern part of the kingdom remained nearly uncontrollable, as

---

86. Appian, *Hist. rom.*: *The Syrian Wars*, 26-30.

87. Livy, *History of Rome,* 33-38; Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 1, and 3.

88. Polybius, 21.4, speaks about the formulation of the famous peace pact of Apamea (188 BCE) in which Rome laid down terms of peace for Antiochus. For details of the condition of the pact, see Polybius, 16-21; and Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 1-44.

89. Polybius, 26. 10, narrates the story of the meeting of the Roman envoy Popillius Laenas and Antiochus at the outskirt of Alexandria Eleusis. Also see Peter Green, Alexander *to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles**:** University of California Press, 1990), 432-3. Green mentions how the Romans made Antiochus to "swallow his pride." Polybius also speaks about Rome sending inspectors to investigate Antiochus's further imperial plans, Polybius, 30. 25 -26. By all these, Rome had put an end to the Seleucid imperial aspirations to occupy the West.

Parthians started to capture the Persian lands; and Antiochus' aggressiveness led to armed rebellion in Judea in the form of the Maccabean revolt. Efforts to deal with both the Parthians and the Jews proved fruitless, and Antiochus himself died during an expedition against the Parthians in 164 BCE.[90]

The Maccabean revolution in 167-164 BCE resulted in the loss of Judah, while most of the eastern provinces of the Empire had declared independence from the Seleucid Empire by the year 141 BCE. Over the next few decades, the Seleucids, who now ruled more of a kingdom than an empire, managed to shore up control of the last of their territories, and managed to hold them until the year 64 BCE. The Seleucid Empire officially ended when the Roman general Pompey defeated Syria in 64 BCE. The eventual result was that these regions, which included Judah, became Roman provinces.

The Seleucid Administration and Policies

Unlike other Hellenistic kingdoms, the Seleucid Empire had the peculiar characteristic of the variety of peoples and cultures. The Seleucids had to face ancient civilizations like Babylonian and Indus Valley civilizations. Also, the Greek cities of Western Asia Minor and the Iranian peoples of the eastern satrapies, or the Arabs of south and in Bactria of north had little in common. Any unity, which the Seleucid realm might possess, the king had to impose on it with the aid of the bureaucracy and the army.

---

90. Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 46.

Though Antioch-on-the Orontes in northern Syria was nominally the capital, Sardes-on-the-Hermus in Lydia and Seleceia-on-the Tigris supplemented Antioch as important administrative centers sharing the responsibility for this vast kingdom.[91] Under this regime, the city of Antioch became a major regional center in northern Syria, strategically located between the other two main administrative centers. Like other Hellenistic kings, the Seleucids ruled with the help of their "friends" and a Greco-Macedonian elite class quite separate from the native populations whom they governed. Moreover, other people were almost completely excluded from the administration and decision-making.[92] Here again, as in other Hellenistic kingdoms, the policy of joint authority of natives and immigrants had never been popular in his army nor in his administration. The natives were always outside the boundary of the decision-making process. In their own land, they were held to be inferior to the aliens who invaded them. Like other Hellenistic kings, the Seleucids also encouraged

---

91. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 124.

92. The role of the Greeks as a ruling class is discussed in the article: Christian Habicht, "Die herrschende Gesellschaft in den hellenistischen Monarchien," *Vioerteljahrschrift fur soziologie und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 45 (1958): 1-16. In this article, Habicht provides a sample of several hundred names of personalities who were in the top-level administration or military structure. Of these names, the number of "other" names never goes more than 2.5% of the total names. The few people who appear are mainly commanders of bodies of native troops. Hannibal, the exiled Carthaginian leader, who was a member of Antiochus III's war council during the war with Rome, was an exception to this common trend.

immigration of the Greeks and Macedonians and liberally granted land and planted new cities,[93] and these new immigrants became "royal peasants" (λαοί–*laoi*)[94] of the kingdom.[95] With the passage of time, the gap between different peoples in the empire grew rapidly. These sharp divisions among the peoples might be one of the major reasons for the rapid disintegration of the Empire, especially in the east.[96]

The Seleucids had an enormous military force in the form of armies, cavalries, chariots, war elephants, and a powerful navy. Garrisons of troops were established in

---

93. W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*, vol. 7, 1, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1932). This inscription from Sardis of uncertain date describes in detail an estate granted by Antigonos to one Mnesimachus. Though this inscription was from the period of Antigonos, when he held Asia Minor, there is no reason to think that Seleucus brought any substantial change to the system that he found in Antigonos' kingdom.

94. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 127.

95. See C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Age: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934). This collection of letters of Hellenistic rulers is a study of philology and historical interpretations. The letter of Antiochus I (c. 275 BCE) about grants of land made to Aristodicides of Assus (Inscription no. 2. 2, 22-5) gives an impression that the *royal peasants* continued to live in villages that were assigned to them. Inscription no. 18. 2. 1-14, which was from Antiochus II (c. 245) to Metrophanes, probably the governor of the Hellespont satrapy, gives another good example of the taxes imposed on the land. This inscription further reveals that the occupant of the land may join to any city of choice. Walbank concludes that it was a usual requirement that the recipients of the estates were to be attached to the cities of their choice. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 129.

96. For this argument, see Arnaldo D. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 137-39.

the various satrapies to maintain control over it. The appearance of a "phalanx of Macedonians"[97] gives the impression of strong presence of Macedonians in the army. However, historians doubt that all these troops were of Macedonian ethnicity. These troops were given land on which to settle. The Macedonians were established on the land in military settlements known as *katoikiai*. Some other Macedonians might have been settled individually like the Egyptian *cleruchs* on the lands granted to them.[98] These colonies preserved a firm distinction and separation from the indigenous people.[99] This colonial program of the Seleucids was a little different from that of Ptolemaic Egypt. In Egypt, the Greco-Macedonian colonists appeared to have been scattered throughout the countryside, and to have been absorbed as individuals into the pre-existing economic structures. On the other hand, the Seleucid colonial program involved an administrative centralization, and a total centralization and separation from the natives.[100]

The military settlements or *katoikiai* fulfilled several purposes. These

---

97. Appian, *Syrian War*, 32.1; and Polybius, 30. 25. 5.

98. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 129.

99. On the problems about colonization, besides the classical work, see Getzel M. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization*, Historia Einzelschriften 30 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978).

100. Musti, *Syria and the East*, 200.

settlements of trained soldiers[101] functioned as a military reserve on which the king could draw in the event of war. In days of peace, these places acted as garrisons, maintaining order and defending vulnerable points against invasion. The settlers of the *katoikiai* also pursued civilian occupations, primarily in the cultivation of the land.[102] Also, these lands were taxed and thus provided a stable income to the king.[103]

The foundation of new Greek cities all over the Empire is another important strategy of the Seleucids.[104] These cities were named after either the Seleucid family

---

101. Unlike Alexander's settlements, these settlements consisted mainly not of veterans, but of active soldiers.

102. It is true that not all Anatolian *katoikiai* were military settlements. There are records of several dozens of civilian *katoikiai*, and many, if not most, of whose members were from the native population and were liable, if the need arose, for call-up like the military *katoikiai*. Josephus, *Ant*. 12. 3, 4 speak about Jewish settlements. Polybius, 5. 78. 5, also gives same impression of indigenous presence in the settlements.

103. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 132-3.

104. A great number of Greek cities had been established during the Seleucid period, especially under Seleucus I and Antiochus I. Appian credits Seleucus with thirty-four dynastically named foundations: Sixteen Antiochs, Five Laodiceas, Nine Sleucias, Three Apameas, and One Stratonicea. Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 11.57. However, the archeological evidence indicates that historians have erred in crediting Seleucus alone with founding all the cities named Antiochs and Laodiceas since later kings of the dynasty founded many of them. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 20. All these pieces of evidence reveal the vigorous building program of the dynasty. The newly founded cities were laid out on a rectilinear grid-pattern, taking accound of course of the topography of the site. An inscription from the Attalid capital, Pergamum, details the duties of the *astynomoi*, magistrates responsible for the conditions of the streets, the water supply, and the public lavatories, with details of fines for contraventions of the regulations. W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis graeci inscriptions selectae* (Leipzig: Hildesheim, 1903), 483

or names of Macedonians or Greek gods.[105] Some of the old native cities also were renamed during this period.[106] The foundations of these Greek cities were a part of the colonizing process of the Seleucids. A strong current of colonialism swept throughout the Empire. The flood of new colonial policy even reached the far east of the Empire, as far as Afghanistan and India. These policies became the basis and instrument of Hellenization.[107]

Greek cities were characteristically different from traditional urban dwelling places of the ancient world. These Hellenistic colonies shared several characteristics.

---

105. It is sure that these naming were according to the interest of the Greek and Macedonian settlers in the territories. The naming of the cities and the new administrative structure of the settled land helped the settlers to have a "home feeling." Antioch, Apamea-on-the-middle Orontes, Seleuceia-in-Pieria, Laodiceia-on-the-Sea, and Seleuceia-on-the-Tigris are examples of cities named after the Seleucid family.

106. For e.g., Jerusalem was renamed Antioch (2 Macc 4: 9).However, there is a dispute about the translation of 2 Macc 4: 9. Bickermann, on the one hand, argues that the setting up of a Greek *politeuma*, with gymnasium and ephebic organizations, in Jerusalem created a second and parallel government in the city alongside the temple state. On the other hand, Tcherikover believes that Jerusalem became a Greek city under the name of Antioch. E.J. Bickermann, *The God of Maccabees* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 59-61; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and Jews*, 404-06. Either of these versions can be defended, and the arguments are not decisive one way or the other. It is true that Jerusalem had experienced a heavy impact of Hellenism during this period.

107. Hellenization primarily means the spread of Greek culture, institutions, ideas, and the Greek language. I will discuss this matter in detail in the next chapter. A brief discussion of the Hellenization program of the Seleucids is found in Musti, *Syria and the East*, 216-8. A thorough discussion of this issue can be seen in Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 141-87.

"The polis was a complex hierarchical society built around the notion of citizenship."[108] They had a citizen assembly, a council,[109] and a set of elected magistrates.[110] They were culturally Greek, at least in their public life, and followed and recognized only the Greek language and Greek customs. In sum, there was no room for official bilingualism[111] or biculturalism in these cities. One should also note

---

108. Ian Morris, "The early polis as city and state," in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1991), 26. For an excellent study on the citizenship in Greek *polis*, see Diana Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate*, American Classical studies 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

109. The council was elected from among the citizens of the city. Many of the activities of these assemblies must have been ceremonial and repetitive. The conducting of festivals, the administration of justice or guardianship of boundaries (judicial and geographical), etc. were the responsibilities of the council. J.K. Davis, "Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 7, Part I, The Hellenistic World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 307. One can see the parallel in the military colonies of Hellenistic kingdoms.

110. Most Hellenistic cities had a government described as "democratic," best understood as self-government. Polybius, 2.38.6. See the brief discussion with a comprehensive bibliography, J.K. Davis, *Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World*, 306. For "magistrates," see Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, 89-113.

111. Recent scholars have emphasized the Hellenistic Greek practice of monolingualism and evasion of the Eastern cultures. See the chapters 1 and 6 of Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*; and the chapter 2 of idem, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1977).

the role played by the Greek gymnasia.[112] The gymnasium of the Hellenistic city, like the gymnasium of the classical city, was a combined athletic, social, and educational center. But in the Hellenistic colonies, it was also something of a test of one's "Greeknness."[113] One had to be naked in order to participate in activities of gymnasia, which was considered Greek custom, and which was an offense to many other cultures.[114] These cities functioned as military garrisons, as we have already seen in the nature of *katoikiai*, to protect the political interests of the empire, and as a cultural and social tool of Hellenistic colonialism.

As mentioned earlier, taxes provided the major source of income of the

---

112. For information about the gymnasium, see Robert Doran, "The High Cost of a Good Education," *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, 94-115; and Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*. Also see Martin P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistiche Schule* (München: C. H. Beck, 1955); H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956); and Daniel Kah and Peter Scholz, *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel, 8. (Oldenbourg: Akademie Verlag, 2004). Also see Jean Delorme, "Gymnasion," *Étude sur les Monuments consacrés à L'Éducation en Grèce, dès origins à l'Emipre romain* (Paris: Boccard, 1960), 253-315; Chrysis Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'Éphebie Attique dès Origines à 31 avant Jésus Christ* (Paris: Boccard, 1962); and Stephen G. Miller, ed., *Arete: Ancient Writers, Papyri, and Inscriptions on the History and Ideals of Greek Athletics and Games*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2004).

113. Gymnasium along with theaters became architecturally and culturally the defining institution of Greek urban civilization. I will discuss the role played by gymnasia in the Hellenistic world in the fourth chapter.

114. On the one hand, there were people who recognized the gymnasium as an inevitable cultural institution; on the other hand, there were people who saw it as a symbol of alien influence. Jewish culture is a good example of the latter attitude.

kingdom. The satrapies of the Empire functioned as the administrative units for the collection of taxes and tribute, and continued the political role and functions of their previous organizations in the Achaemenid Empire. The provinces also were involved in some manner, although the evidence is too sparse to know the details, in the local judiciary. Taxation could provide important and needed revenue,[115] but at the same time, the absolving local, powerful social groups from taxation could build political support. The governance of the satraps was given to the ruling king's friends, and relatives, who received large land grants for loyal service.[116] In this aspect, the Seleucids were similar to the Ptolemies and the other Hellenistic kingdoms.

The Seleucids had absolute control over the strategically important mountain passes and roads that connected the West with the East and that allowed them to

---

115. Polybius, 21. 41. 2 speaks about Seleucid tax laws. There were several kinds of taxes enforced throughout the empire. There were Poll taxes (*epikephalaion* or *syntaxis*), a tax on sales (*epionion*), a tax on slaves (*andrapodikon*), a tax on salt (*peri ton balon*), a crown tax (*stephanitikos*), and an extra-ordinary tax (*eisphora*) for use of harbors, imports, and exports. Josephus, *Ant.*, 12. 138-44 speaks about a letter from Antiochus III to the Jews that allows exemption from the more humiliating taxes to the priests of the Temple in Jerusalem.

116. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 47-48;

dominate overland trade between the Mediterranean world and East Asia.[117] There was rapid development in economic ties with central Asian kingdoms,[118] and urban regions on either end of the Seleucid Empire became important centers for trade and cultural exchange. The Seleucid rulers also made important military alliances in the form of royal charters, including one in 200 BCE with the Judean city of Jerusalem, which received a degree of fiscal and political independence in return for military aid to the Empire.[119] Also, cities such as Hierapolis and Jerusalem had to pay royal

---

117. There is evidence of royal promotion of trade and commerce, for e.g., grants of *ateleia* (tax immunity) by Seleucus II to Rhodian merchants unloading cargoes in Syria. Polybius 5. 89. 8-9. There are also the grants of *ateleia* for promoting commerce at fairs and festivals, such as the village Baetocaece in Syria. C.B. Wells, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Period: A Study of Greek Epigraphy* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 70; and M.M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 178. Also see M. Austin, "Hellenistic Kings, War and the Economy," *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986): 450-66.

118. Coin finds, material finds (such as amphorae and imported objects), customs dues, and local taxes attest to an active trade relationship among these places. The trade with India in specific Indian products like teak, spices, jewels, and precious stones can be documented both from literary references and, in the case of jewelry, surviving objects from which one can recognize the origin of the stone used in the jewelry. For a detailed study of gems and precious stones, see John Boardman and Robert L. Wilkins, *Greek Gems and Fingerrings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*, rev. ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001).

119. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138-146. Earlier, in 305 BCE, Seleucus went to Indus valley to control the Mauryan uprising. But eventually, he had to sign a formal peace treaty with the Mauryan king. He recognized the Mauryan supremacy in the regions that they were already in control, setting up the Hindukush as a border, and married off one of his daughters to King Chandragupta, receiving 500 war elephants in return. Later these elephants played a crucial part in the battle of Ipsus. The two sides also exchanged envoys and maintained official diplomatic relationships.

taxation imposed by the king, but could also benefit from royal bequests of money and land.[120]

Jews and Policies of the Empires

As seen earlier, the land of Israel had been a battleground for the ongoing conflicts between the Diadochi, especially between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid monarchies. Moreover, these wars did have a great impact on Judean politics. Among these wars, the Fifth Syrian War was a turning point in the history of the Jews.[121] Although this battle did not bring any changes to the political structure of the Judea, from this time forward Jews started actively involving themselves in power politics. Up to this time, the Jews were passive in the politics of the empire, but from the Fifth Syrian War onwards the Jews did not limit themselves to expressing support

---

120. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 60-61.

121. As far as we know, the Fourth Syrian War (219-17 BCE) was the first war between the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid kingdoms fought in the land of Israel. Dov Gera, *Judea and Mediterranean Politics 219 to 161 B.C.E.* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1998), 3. For information on this war and new political developments, see Polybius, 5.58.2-5.61.2, 4.37.5, 5.40.1-3, and 5.61.3-5.62.3. For other war developments, see Polybius, 5.66.1-2, 5.68.1-5.70.9, and 5.70.12-5.71.12. For Fifth Syrian War, see Polybius 3.2.8; Josephus, *Ant.*, 12.131; and Justin 31.1.1-2. For the capture of Gaza by Antiochus III, see Polybius 16.18.2, 16.22.1-7, and 29.12.8. For the end of the war, see Polybius, 16.18.1-16.19.11, 16.39.3, and 28.1.3; and Josephus *Ant.* 12.136; 12.132. Also see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 2:523–25, and 546–47; and Dov Gera, "Ptolemy, Son of Thraseas, and the Fifth Syrian War," *Ancient Society* 18 (1987): 63-73.

passively for one or another of the rival empires instead, many of them actively supported Antiochus III.[122]

Politically, the war did not bring any difference to the life of the people of Judea. The land of Judea continued to be occupied by foreign powers and had to pay a high levy to the occupying nation. Moreover, during the reign of Antiochus IV, the tax was even heavier than before because of the high costs of military adventures by the Seleucid king.[123] By this time, the Jews in Jerusalem who had largely became the supporters of the Seleucids, presumably following the lead of the high priest Simon and the Tobiads,[124] were the chief ones to feel the weight of Ptolemy's vengeance.[125]

---

122. Dov Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics*, 35.

123. For the details of the economic oppression under Antiochus IV, the ascension of Jason to the place of high priesthood, and related events, see Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 35-6.

124. The Tobiads were the members of the family founded by Tobiah, who was probably the opponent of Nehemiah mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah; Josephus, *Ant.* 12: 160-236; and 2 Macc 3: 9-14. The Zeno Papyri also mentioned this family. Many generations of this family supported the Ptolemies and opposed the high priestly family of the Oniads. See the discussion in Benjamin Mazar, "The Tobiads," *Israel Exploration Journal* 7 (1957): 137-45, 229-38; Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Tales of the Tobiads," in *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, *Part 3: Judaism before 70*, edited by Jacob Neusner (Ledien: Brill, 1975), 85-123; and VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*,168-181. For further bibliography and details, see Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Though among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Minneapolis: Fortress, Press, 1996), 23-4.

125. Josephus narrates this event briefly, *Ant.* 12. 135. Also Polybius, 21.6.4.

The pro-Syrian group in Jerusalem supported the Syrians by besieging the Egyptian garrison in the citadel.[126] However, the book of Daniel speaks of this event in negative terms.[127] It is now clear that there were two rival groups, pro-Ptolemies and pro-Seleucids, among the Jews in this period.[128] However, it is hard to assess the depth of this division, because of the lack of direct evidence for the first half of the second century.[129] Thus, the century-long struggle of the great powers over Coele Syria led to a division among the Jewish community in Israel. On the one hand, the imperial struggle for the land caused the occupied to think independently. On the other hand, they were divided among themselves not for the purpose of their own goodness, but rather for the sake of pursuing imperial politics to their own advantage.

Antiochus III made an extra effort to gain the favor of the populace this time. There are three pieces of evidence available to support this fact. Josephus has

---

126. Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 133, 136, and 138.

127. Dan 11: 14; for a discussion of this event, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 77-89.

128. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 40. Jerome in his commentary on Daniel, which is based on Porphyry's *Adversus Christianos*, alludes to such factions. See the text and Stern's commentary in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors,* vol. 2, 464L, 464N.

129. See Robert Doran, "Parties and Politics in Pre-Hasmonean Jerusalem: A Closer Look at 2 Macc 3: 11," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1982 Seminar Papers*, edited by K.H. Richards (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 107-111.

preserved two of these,[130] while the third was discovered in the neighborhood of Beth-Shean/Scythopolis: (1) a letter from the king to an official named Ptolemy, *strategos*[131] of Coele Syria, in favor of the Jews and their Temple;[132] (2) extracts from a royal edict concerned to preserve the ritual purity of Jerusalem and the Temple;[133] and (3) a correspondence consisting of six letters from the period between 201 and 195 BCE, which mention the possessions of Ptolemy son of Thraseas, the *strategos*, in the plain of Megiddo.[134] In these documents, soldiers were forbidden to build camps that would require support from the population of Ptolemy's villages or to drive them from their homes. In this way, the king was probably countering the

---

130. Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 138-44.

131. During this period, the country was divided into various administrative units called *nomoi* (which was similar to the administrative districts of the Ptolemaic Egypt), at whose head stood in each case a politico-military *strategos,* who was in charge of the economic and fiscal administration. For more details of the administration of the country, see Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 13. Josephus also mentions this word, Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 350.

132. R. Marcus, in *Josephus* VII, Loeb Classical Library, (London: Harvard University Press, 1961), 743-46;

133. Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 145-46.

134. Y. H. Landau, "A Greek Inscription Found Near Hefzibah," *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966): 54-70. For discussion of these documents, see Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians*, 42.

acts of violence perpetrated by his troops.[135] In addition, the king could attract many Jews to his side against the Ptolemies.

Throughout these events, as we have seen earlier, a large number of the Jews were on the side of Seleucids. Due to the rival parties among the Jews and to the ambitious conquerors, Jerusalem had suffered severely during this war.[136] However, Antiochus' favorable policy towards the Jews had changed the political situation considerably. One of the king's decrees,[137] mentioned earlier, which was addressed to the *strategos* Ptolemy, promised the Jews not only his support to rebuild the city and the Temple, but also exemption from tribute for three years and the release of Jewish prisoners. In addition, the king granted the Jews internal "autonomy," that is, to practice their own laws in their territory. Antiochus' strategy did not bring any development in the situation of the Jews, but the moves were meant to bring the Jewish populace to his side in the competition that he had with Ptolemies on the authority over the land.

However, the political situation of Judea became more complicated even after this new occupation. This era marked the rise of another world power, Rome, which

---

135. Hengel provides a detailed study of Antiochus III's policy towards the Jews. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 42-48.

136. Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 129-30, and 139.

137. Ibid., 12, 138-144. For more details, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 10.

defeated Antiochus III in 191 BCE at Thermopylae and forced him to retreat to Asia Minor, thus successfully restricting any further military ambitions. The war continued and ended disastrously for Antiochus during the battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE. The peace of 188 BCE was an enormous humiliation and disaster for him. Antiochus had to retreat behind the Taurus Mountains, was forced to dismantle his fleet, and was not allowed to initiate any military actions or recruit soldiers in the Aegean. Moreover, the populace in the empire had to pay very high war reparations to Rome. This defeat and humiliation were the beginnings of the end of the Seleucid Empire.

By this time, the Egyptian power also had weakened considerably. Antiochus IV Epiphanes made use of this situation and invaded Egypt as far as Alexandria during 170-169 BCE. In 168 BCE, Antiochus raided Egypt again and sacked Cyprus. However, as we have already seen, he had to surrender many of the fruits of his victories to the Roman forces. The defeat at the hands of Rome had shaken the Seleucid kingdom, giving encouragement to the national independence movements in the eastern provinces, and in Phoenicia and Coele Syria, which paved the path for the Maccabean revolt in Judea.[138]

---

138. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 11.

Judea and the Hasmonean Uprising

We have only fragmentary literary information about the Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora in the Pre-Hasmonean period,[139] i.e. in the years between 333 and 175 BCE. In addition, we have little information about the interaction between the Hellenistic culture and Judaism during this period. Our most important sources for this period are the First and Second Books of Maccabees and Josephus' *The Jewish War* and *The Antiquities of Jews*.[140] The archeological excavations at various sites in Jerusalem, Jericho, Gezer, Mt. Gerizim, and other places are also providing valuable

---

139. The terms "Maccabean" and "Hasmonean" are usually used to refer the family of Mattathias as well as the events related to their lives. Scholars also use these terms to indicate the state over which some of the family members ruled. The term "Maccabeus" (perhaps "hammer") seems to have applied first to Judas (1 Macc 2: 4; 3: 1; and 2 Macc 8: 1), and its original usage may have been meant only for him. Josephus provides the information that Mattathias's great-grandfather was named *Hasmonaios* (*Ant.* 12. 265), thus Hasmonean is perhaps a preferable term when referring to the family or to their period.

140. Most scholars now agree that Josephus based his review of the period on the Antiochus Epiphanes' decrees to the days of Archelaus on the works of Nicolaus of Damascus. One can see this fact especially in his works *The Jewish War*, and in Books 14-17 of *Antiquities*. See Henry St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929), 66; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ [175 B.C – A.D. 135],* vol. 1, revised and edited by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973), 84; and Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities*, 8.

material evidence from the Hasmonean period.[141] The non-Jewish sources are almost completely silent, and where they do provide any information, very little of it concerns the adoption of Hellenistic culture by the Jews.[142] This avoidance demonstrates the political impotence of the Jews. On the other hand, most of the Jewish sources from this period are essentially religious and nationalist propaganda.[143] One can consider these sources only as "indirect evidence" of the penetration or rejection of Hellenism, since either there is no mention at all of links with the Hellenistic world, or if the writing is polemical or apologetic, the accounts

---

141. I will discuss the material culture of this period in the next chapter.

142. Numerous Greek historians have dealt with this period, but, unfortunately, only fragments of these works survive today (e.g., writings of Polybius, Posidonius, Diodorus, Nicholas of Damascus, Strabo's *History*). At times, we find valuable historical information in them that confirms, expands, or rectifies accounts of the Books of Maccabees and the works of Josephus.

143. For e.g., Goldstein and others show that the author of the First book of Maccabees, which is an important text from this period, as the "Hasmonean Propagandist." The primary aim of the author was to demonstrate the right of the Hasmonean dynasty over the land. Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 41 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 1-21, and 62-78. Also see idem, *Semites, Iranians, Greeks and Romans: Studies in their Interactions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 18-21; and 228-29. One would also question the reliability of the writings of Josephus. However, as far as one can check, Josephus followed the outlines of his sources faithfully, but he often took liberties in details and interpretations of facts. Therefore, one must be cautious about his evaluations. Memories of the Hasmonean period are also preserved in later rabbinic tradition, especially in the Fasting Scroll (*Megillat Taanit*), and in various other passages of the vast rabbinic literature. We have many other sources from relatively later periods. These documents include Megillat Antiochus, Seder Olam Rabbah, Yosippon, and the Samaritan Chronicles.

are tendentious.[144] Bearing this in mind let us look into the Jews and Judaism in the era of cultural advancement of Hellenism.

After the invasion of Alexander and his Macedonian army, the leaders and intellectuals of the nations forced to become colonies in the new empire, including Jews in Judea, soon realized that the new invaders were not only a political force but also were a potential cultural power that could invade their cultural values as well as their lands. Jews in Judea once again became largely subject to larger historical movements and often found themselves the victims of the changing configurations of power in Syria, Egypt, and the west, especially Greece, and later Rome, during the struggle of the Diadochi. The land of the Judaism had always been a battleground between powerful interests engaged in empire building that sought to control the vast land mass of northeastern Africa, western Asia, and the west, along with the caravan routes between the nations of the east and eventually Europe and the sea lanes reaching throughout the Mediterranean and its adjacent lands. Along with Greek political powers, Hellenic culture through the process of Hellenization became the major tool of unifying vastly different societies that composed the countries that they conquered. The empire of Alexander and the smaller ones of the later Diadochi were the earliest expression of western political and cultural imperialism. The influence of the new civilization was reflected in many spheres of life. Almost all historians agree that there was rapid advancement of Hellenistic culture during this period in the land.

---

144. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians*, 51.

However, scholars still debate the question of how far the Hellenizing process had advanced within the Jewish society by this time.[145] It is evident that Hellenism as a cultural force permeated the land as witnessed by the material culture (epigraphy, architecture, and pottery) and by the many literary pieces composed in Greek even by Jews of Israel. However, the height of this advancement needs to be evaluated carefully.

There were several reasons for the Hasmonean uprising. Although a detailed analysis of the reasons for the revolution is beyond the scope of this study, it would be helpful to give a brief outline of the revolt here in order to understand the political overview of the period. Clearly, cultural imperialism was one of the major long-term reasons for the revolt. In order to identify with the ruling class, one had to accept the customs and practices of them. To adopt the new culture, the conquered population had to leave many of their old traditional values and cultural norms. The subjugated people could aspire to an upward social mobility, which the new social structure offered, only through conversion to the new culture. Some Jews saw it as an easy ladder to ascend into the higher strata of the society, and joined with other subjugated *ethnoi* of the empire who wished to enter into the Greek cultural world. However, only a few had the capability to do so. The entry to the newly introduced gymnasium and other Greek institutions was limited to those who enjoyed the citizenship of a

145. I will discuss this crucial issue in the next chapter.

polis and had the wealth and social standing to merit inclusion.[146] During the time of Antiochus IV, the high priest Joshua who adopted the Hellenistic name of Jason and his followers played the role of the people who control the list of adoption.[147] This long history of cultural and political invasion of the Hellenism was one of the long-term reasons for the Hasmonean Revolt that took place in mid Second century BCE.

At the same time, there was an immediate reason for the revolt. Antiochus IV in 174 BCE deposed Onias III from the position of high priest, in favor of his brother Jason. Jason offered Antiochus both money, and cooperation in controlling the land, if he appointed him to this important position. Antiochus accepted the offer, and appointed Jason as high priest for three years (174-171 BCE). During that time, he built a gymnasium[148] in Jerusalem, a cultural and educational institution instrumental in the promotion of Hellenistic culture. This made the situation in Jerusalem more complex. We do not exactly know the motive behind Jason's action. According to Green,

> It seems clear that what Jason envisaged was a privileged enclave, a Greek-style *politeuma* [polity] within the Jewish theocracy; and probably no more, in

---

146. See above note 112.

147. Josephus, *Ant*. 12.237-39. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 197-203.

148. I will discuss the role of the gymnasium played in extending colonialism effectively among the colonized in the fourth chapter.

> fact, than the creation of a specially favored cosmopolitan class dedicated to social and political advancement via the promotion of Hellenism.[149]

However, one could clearly perceive the idea of the adoption of the new culture in his action. Moreover, he was trying to identify with the ruling class, and its political power. Jason's actions appear to involve more than Green's idea of the reformation of Jewish religion and social life. In other words, by imposing a Greek form of polity on the Jewish social life and religion, the Hellenizer's objective was more than updating the religion (a reformation of religion) to embrace and merge with a new culture. Jason, and presumably many others like him, became willing tools of imperialism in promoting the empire's cultural values, economic power, and social prestige over the conquered people. He and his followers wanted to identify with the "superior culture" of by the colonial powers, but at the price of sacrificing much of their former cultural identity. Jason was by no means treading a solitary course. According to 1 Macc 1: 11-15, there was an influential group of Jews was with him.[150] Definitely, this new move created an internal tension within the Jewish community. Although a number of Jews supported his moves, he had to face tough oppositions from the religiously conservative and traditional leaders and people who saw such an accommodation to be an abandonment of the faith of the ancestors and the life giving traditions of their social and religious lives.

---

149. Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 508-09.

150. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 71-74.

Bickermann emphasizes the complex interplay of family feud that paved a path to the revolt.[151] One can see the family tensions between Oniads and Tobiads to gain power and authority over the community. They not only made use of the greed and economic requirements of the kings by bribing them, but also misused the power of offices and influence to fulfill their own ambitions. When they tried to introduce Hellenistic cultural elements and institutions into the community, they may not have realized the strength of the opposition they would encounter. In any case, the entire Jewish community in Judah had to pay for this ambition through the interweaving forces of accommodation and conflict. Until 170 BCE, the opposition appears to have been limited to a struggle between different individuals and factions of the local aristocracy.[152] However, the power struggle between the elites soon became the people's problem. Unquestionably, this corrupt nature of leadership of the community poured oil on the Jewish fires of revolution against their religious and localized political leadership brought together in the office of the high priest. Again, one can see the effective use of the *divide and rule* policy of the colonizer.

Three years after the instatement of Jason to the high priesthood (175-162 BCE), a rival to Jason named Menelaus made a better offer to Antiochus IV. As a result, the king replaced Jason with Menelaus, who was not a member of the Oniad

---

151. Elias J. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: studies on the meaning and origin of the Maccabean revolt*, translated by (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 69.

152. Josephus, *J.W.* 1.31. See Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*, University of South Florida studies in the History of Judaism (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 16.

family. He quickly plotted to have Onias III murdered.[153] In 170 BCE Jason and his followers attacked Jerusalem, and forced his rival, Menelaus, to take refuge in the citadel in Jerusalem.[154] Our sources do not help us to understand how long Jason could hold Jerusalem and other related matters. Antiochus used this incident as a pretense to intervene militarily in the affairs of Judea. However, again, the sources do not help us to understand the details of these events.[155] At that time, Antiochus was involved in a successful campaign against the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt, and on his return to Syria in 169 BCE [156] he invaded Jerusalem, slaughtered not only the

---

153. 2 Macc 4.

154. 2 Macc 5: 5-7; and Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 240.

155. Tcherikover argues that Jason was ousted by a popular revolt. *Hellenistic Civilization*, 187-89; and also Jonathan A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 41 A (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), 250. However, the Book of Second Maccabees does not support this argument. For this argument, see Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 17.

156. 1 Macc 1: 20-22; and 2 Macc 5: 11-21. Our sources are not clear about how many times Antiochus visited Jerusalem. 1 Macc 1: 20 gives a date of his visit 143 Sel. (fall 170-69 or Spring 169/68 BCE), the time of his first Egyptian campaign. On the other hand, 2 Macc 5: 1 attributes the capture of Jerusalem to Antiochus's second Egyptian campaign which was ended by a Roman ultimatum in the summer 168 BCE. Dan 11: 28 and 30 seem to suppose that Antiochus intervened in Jerusalem on both occasions. However, it is not clear whether he was personally present in both visits. Josephus clearly speaks about two visits of Antiochus (*Ant*. 12. 246-248), but his chronology is more confusing. The details of the chronology of these events remain controversial. For an assessment of these events, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People,* vol. 1, 150-153. Also see K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judaa: Eine Untersuchung zur judisch-hellenistischen Geschichte [175-163 v. Chr.]* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 32-40, 126.

Jews who opposed him but also women and children, and plundered the temple. Menelaus and his supporters aided him in all these activities. He reinstated Menelaus as the high priest.[157] He became the first non-Zadokite[158] to come into that highly revered position in the Jewish community, at least since the beginning of the second Temple Period. The ultimate result was utter turmoil in Jerusalem and other parts of Judah.

As we have seen, in 168 BCE Antiochus began another campaign against the Ptolemaic kingdom in order to consolidate his previous gains, but prior to achieving his intentions, he had to yield to the power of Rome and agree to the terms set before him by Roman envoy Popilius Laeneas. Antiochus withdrew unwillingly; instead of

---

157. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 192. 2 Macc 5: 5-7, 11, 24; and cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 1.31-32.

158. Zadokites were presumably the descendents of Zadok, the high priest under King David (2 Sam 15: 24-37). According to Ezek 44: 6-31, the Zadokites were the only legitimate priests in Judaism. In the Damascus Document 4: 1-4, one of the Qumran texts, the members of the sect are called the “sons of Zadok.” In another Qumran scroll, the Community Rule, authority in the Qumran community is given to “the priests, the Sons of Zadok.” (e.g., 5: 2b-3a). For a detailed study on this term, see George R. Berry, “Priests and Levites,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 42, no. 3-4 (1923): 227-238; Theophile James Meek, “Aaronites and Zadokites,” *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 45, no. 3 (April 1929): 149-66; H. H. Rowley, “Zadok and Nehushtan,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58, no. 2 (Jun 1939): 113-141; and Stephen L. Cook, “Innerbiblical Interpretation in Ezekiel 44 and the History of Israel’s Priesthood,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 193-208.

continuing the Egyptian campaign, he turned his attention towards Jerusalem.[159] He sent his troops led by Mysarch Apollonius to Jerusalem. The Syrian troops tore down the city wall, burned parts of the city, built a new fortified quarter, and settled down there. From there he exercised Seleucid control over the temple,[160] ending traditional sacrifice at the Temple.[161]

Soon after this campaign, there were decrees against the free practice of the Jewish religion.[162] Sometime in 167 BCE,[163] the Seleucids banned the observance of the Torah. Severe punishments, even death penalty, were given to those who possess

---

159. Many scholars consider this phase of the Syrian campaign to Jerusalem as “forced Hellenization.” For e.g., see Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 30. 1 Macc 1: 29 (also 2 Macc 5: 24: It is generally agreed that the change in name in the text is based on a mistranslation of 2 Macc 5: 24 from Hebrew) speaks about the coming of Mysarch Apollonius as Antiochus’s envoy. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 18. I will discuss these events and the concept of “forced Hellenization” by Antiochus IV later in this chapter.

160. The Syrian army includes non-Jews as well as Jews. 1 Macc 1: 39; 2 Macc 1: 34; and Josephus, *Ant.* 12. 252.

161. 1 Macc 4: 39.

162. 1 Macc 1: 41-50.

163. For the dating of this event, see Jonathan A. Goldstein, *Semites, Iranians, Greeks and Romans: Studies in their Interactions*, Brown Judaic Studies, 217 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 194-197.

the copies of Torah.[164] Those Jews who would not cooperate would be killed and their wives and children sold into slavery.[165] The Jews were forbidden to circumcise their children, observe the Sabbath,[166] in short, to do anything that would mark them as Jews. A pagan altar was erected upon the altar in the temple, and animals, including pigs, were sacrificed to the Olympic Zeus.[167] The worship of the other Greek gods was also introduced in Jerusalem and other parts of Judea; pagan altars were built and Jews were encouraged to participate in sacrifices at these altars.

1 Antiochus IV and Hellenization

The meaning and practice of Hellenization have been subjects of debate for many years.[168] However, there is little consensus among historians concerning Antiochus' actions and, more importantly, the motive for his actions. The primary sources are both incomplete and polemical, which makes historical reconstruction

---

164. 1 Macc 1: 41-57; 2 Macc 6:1; Dan 11: 31-33; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.32-35; and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.248-256.

165. James D. Newsome, *Greeks, Romans, Jews: Currents of Culture and Belief in the New Testament World* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 10-12.

166. 1 Macc 1: 51-52, 56-58; and 2 Macc 6: 6-11.

167. 1 Macc 1: 54-57 (cf. 2 Macc 6: 1-5).

168. I will take up this issue in the next chapter.

difficult. Many scholars have tried to reconstruct the period and the events.[169] Schürer looks at the anti-Jewish decrees found in the books of First and Second Maccabees as Antiochus' ambition to Hellenize Judea in order to bring unity and stability to the Seleucid kingdom.[170] When some of the Jews did not cooperate, they had to go through persecution. Bickermann did not accept this argument. He argued that there is evidence that Antiochus had no interest in changing the religious beliefs and practices of his subjects.[171] For this reason, he rejected the historical validity of 1 Macc 1:41-43. According to him, the cause of the Antiochian persecution was not Antiochus IV, but the extreme Hellenists Menelaus[172] and the Tobiads,[173] who hoped to reform their religion in order to remove the barriers between the Jews and the surrounding Hellenistic world and to abolish Jewish particularism. Hengel has taken up

---

169. See the summaries in Bickermann, *The God of the Maccabees*, 24-31; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 175-85; Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*, 99-111. Also see the work of Daniel J. Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution*, Old Testament Studies (Wilmington DE: Michael Glazier, 1988).

170. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. 1, 147-48.

171. See Otto Morkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes 8 (Copehhagen: Gyldendal, 1966).

172. Menelaus obtained the office of the high priest in 172 BCE by outbidding Jason at the court of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He escorted Antiochus IV to profane the temple (2 Macc 3: 4, 4: 1-4, 5 etc.). Also see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 203-239.

173. See the above note 123.

Bickermann's thesis and elaborated it further. He finds two major aims of the Hellenistic reformers: on the one hand, the complete abolition of the Mosaic law, and on the other, a radical reform of religious practice.[174] When some Jews raised their voice against this new form of Judaism, Menelaus and the Tobiads requested and received military support from Antiochus IV for suppressing dissent.

For Tcherikover, it was the Hasidim who drove Jason and his supporters from Jerusalem (2 Macc 5:7), and then attempted to restore things to the way they were under Onias III. Antiochus, however, re-established Menelaus in power. Tcherikover proposes that, although never stated in the sources, the revolt of the Hasidim widened after the departure of Antiochus IV, which led him to send Apollonius with troops in order to suppress it. Since the revolt was religiously inspired, Antiochus IV had no option but to outlaw traditional Judaism. The native Syrian troops that accompanied Apollonius to Jerusalem formed a military colony and resided in the Akra. These new citizens of Jerusalem used the temple to worship their gods; the Hasidim interpreted this as the desecration of the sanctuary. Like Tcherikover, Bringmann also rejects the view that Antiochus IV persecuted the Jews for religious reasons, because they would not abandon their ancestral religion and embrace Hellenism. Rather, Bringmann thinks, his aims were more political and practical.

Goldstein proposes another interesting idea. He finds similarity between the action taken by Antiochus IV against the Jews and the Romans' handling of

---

174. See also Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 267-303.

religiously inspired dissent.[175] He argues that the years that Antiochus IV had spent in Rome as a hostage had introduced him to the Roman method of handling the troublesome cult of Dionysus in Rome. Antiochus is supposed to have identified Judaism as the cause of the political problems in Jerusalem, in the same way that the cult of Dionysus was the cause of civil turbulence in Rome, and took steps to repress the Jewish religious practices according to the Roman *modus operandi*.

In sum, most scholars have an agreement on some facts in this matter. First, there were several attempts during this time to change Jerusalem into a Hellenistic city, or at least to establish a privileged enclave of Hellenistic Jews residing in the city.[176] Second, there were Jews who supported this Hellenistic mission. Third, there were rigid resistances against the Hellenization project.[177] The only confusing

---

175. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees,* 104-60.

176. There is no doubt that the Hellenization project had been an ongoing process since the invasion of Alexander of Macedonia. However, the intensity of this process had reached its peak in the first half of the second century BCE.

177. Sievers, based on R. Hilberg's classification, classifies eight possible groups that were present among the Jews in relation to the invading culture of this period: (1) active collaboration, (2) voluntary compliance, (3) Compliance under compulsion, (4) paralysis, (5) evasion, (6) alleviation, (7) non-violent resistance, and (8) armed resistance. See Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 21-26. While discussing the Jews in the Diaspora and their interaction with Hellenism, Barclay points towards the possibility of several layers of cultural assimilation among the Jewish community in the Diaspora. According to him, there are four layers of assimilation: (1) high Assimilation; (2) medium Assimilation; (3) low Assimilation; and (4) unknown Assimilation. See John M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan [323 BCE – 117 CE]* (London: University of California Press, 1996), 103-24. But here, I would like mention only the two simple divisions, pro-Hellenists and anti-Hellenists, since other groups are not so relevant to

question is who took the initiation to carry out the Hellenization project in Judea, Antiochus himself or his army (without Antiochus' consent?) or somebody from within the Jewish community. We have much information about the vigorous Hellenizing programs of the Diadochi and the later Hellenistic kingdoms. The cultural policy of the Seleucid Empire was in no way different from that of their ancestors and other Hellenistic kingdoms. All the Hellenistic rulers carried out the program successfully wherever they extended their power. As mentioned earlier, those colonized people who wanted to identify with the ruling class tried their best to adopt the new culture and values. These pro-Hellenists were ready to give up everything for the sake of new culture and to identify with the ruling class. One can see these facts in the lives and works of Tobiads and others.

The cultural and political advancement did attract a group of the colonized and the invaders made use of them for their purpose of carrying out their colonial program. This shrewd colonial policy helped them to form a new group who were attracted to the colonial culture among the colonized. Therefore, with all these facts, it is hard to discard completely the fact that Antiochus IV did not have a Hellenistic program in his mind when he conquered Judea. Rather, in my view, Antiochus had a clear political as well as cultural ambition when he entered Jerusalem. He needed both resources and cultural hegemony. As Bickermann and Hengel confirm, there

---

our study at this moment. However, I am not arguing that only these two groups existed in relationship with the Hellenism during this period. Of course, the cultural invasion of the Hellenism was a complex movement, and there were several layers of indigenous people in relation to the invading Hellenistic culture. I will discuss this matter in detail in the next chapter.

were tensions in the Jewish community between the extreme Hellenists and traditionalists. Antiochus and his army tactically made use of this tension and the local people who had some kind of affinity towards the invading culture to conquer the land and the culture. Since the Jewish community had always been intimately associated with religion, the demolition of the religion and its social and cultic structures was the only way to enter into the community and to achieve these ends. Eventually, by all these measures, the real political power went into the hands of non-Jews. Moreover, these events became the immediate reasons for the Jewish revolt under the leadership of Mattathias.

2 The Revolt and the Aftermath

Our sources speak about a resistance movement against Syrians led by Mattathias, a priest from the village of Modein along with his five sons, Judas, Jonathan, Simon, John, and Eleazar.[178] They challenged the political authority of the Seleucids over the land. It appears a substantial part of the Jewish population

---

178. Macc 2: 1-5. Very little is known about the origin of the Hasmonean family. We know that they are from a place called Modein. 1 Macc 2: 70, 9: 19, 13: 25; and Josephus, *J.W.* 1. 36. On the other hand, 1 Macc 2:1; and *Ant*. 12.265 claim that Mattathias was originally from Jerusalem. It is possible that he had lived in Jerusalem for some time before going to Modein. Interestingly, the Second Maccabees does not mention Mattathias's name at all. Because of this absence, some scholars think that his story was a literary fiction. Consider, for e.g., B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabaerbucher* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1900), 46. However, this argument is unlikely because Mattathias is mentioned in various independent sources. For more discussion about this subject, see Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 29-40.

supported the revolt.[179] They adopted guerilla warfare against the Seleucids. The pious Jewish group of Hasidim, who had initially fled to virtually inaccessible wastelands, was soon to join forces with the Hasmonean family.[180] When Mattathias died (probably in 166 BCE), the leadership passed on to his son Judas, often known as Judah Maccabeus, from whose surname the family name is derived. By 165 BCE the Jewish revolt against the Seleucid monarchy was successful. The Syrians had to revise their policy on the Jews and Judea.[181] The Hasmoneans liberated and rededicated the temple at Jerusalem.[182]

---

179. 1 Macc 2: 29-30, and 42-43.

180. 1 Macc 2: 42.

181. 2 Macc 11: 16-21, and 27-31. We do not know whether the letter mentioned in vv.27-31 was sent by Antiochus IV himself or by his successor Antiochus V. Some scholars believe that Antiochus IV sent the letter shortly before his death at the end of 164 BCE. For e.g., Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 61 n. 92. The important development here to note is the change in attitude of the Seleucids toward the Jews.

182. 1 Macc 4: 36-59; 2 Macc 10: 1-8; and Josephus, *Ant*. 12.316. The Jews celebrate this event of restoration of the Temple and the consecration in 164 BCE as the festival of *Hanukkah*. This Julian date is correct only if Jerusalem followed the Babylonian calendar exactly, which is somewhat doubtful for this period. For different view points and hypotheses see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 23, and 276-280. Bringmann dates the rededication of the Temple in 165 BCE, based on reading the year 148 as a Seleucid Macedonian date. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform*, 26. Such an interpretation has the great advantage of enabling one to maintain the sequence of events mentioned in 1 Macc 4-6: dedication of the Temple (165 BCE), expeditions outside Judea (Spring/Summer 164 BCE), and the death of Antiochus IV (late Fall 164 BCE). However, a Macedonian date requires to disregard the natural reading of several dates given in the book of First Maccabees Therefore, it is not acceptable. For more discussion, see Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*. 82-83.

The warfare continued and the Jews had to fight many more battles against the Syrians to gain their short-lived independence. The significant happening in this period of independence was the change in attitude of the Hasmoneans. Their primary motive of protecting their religion and culture from invading alien culture slowly changed. Judas now set out to consolidate his own political authority over the land. He fortified the Temple Mount and the important stronghold of Beth-Zur.[183] Then he carried out military campaigns in the areas adjoining Judea.[184] He established a new Jewish dynasty in Judea unrelated to the former Davidic rulers.[185] Another notable

---

183. 1 Macc 4: 61-62.

184. 1 Macc 5 talks about many successful military campaigns that the Hasmoneans carried out during this time.

185. It is not clear why the Hasmoneans changed their policy to imperial expansion. The simple answer is that they expanded their kingdom because the political situation was in favor of them. However, their later religious policy, especially of John Hyrcanus I, of converting the conquered people to Judaism is very strange. When they imposed Judaism on their newly conquered subjects, the Hasmoneans may have been motivated by the biblical idea that the Land of Israel should be "unpolluted" by idolatry. Or they may have been inspired by the example of their allies the Romans, who had for centuries been successfully expanding their territories by combining exceptionally violent military activity with judicious grants of Roman citizenship to some of the people they conquered. For more discussion, see Seth Schwarts, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 40. Also, see William V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327-70 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979); Morton Smith, "Rome and the Maccabean Conversions - Notes on 1 Macc 8," in *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, edited by Ernst Bammel et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 1-7; and Shaye Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 109-74.

happening of this period was shifting Jewish political alliance from the Syrians to the Romans, a political necessity if a semblance of self-rule were to continue. But, eventually, even this limited freedom that they were enjoying during this era was lost during the imperial period of Rome when prefects reporting either to the senate or to the emperor were commissioned to maintain Roman rule over the provinces. What at first appeared to be a political alliance that would achieve some Jewish independence resulted in tyrannical control by Rome.

The First Book of Maccabees speaks about Judas sending a legation to Rome, at that time a newly emerging great power and an opponent of the Syrians, in order to request "amity and confederacy" with the Romans.[186] In fact, this treaty[187] gave a boost to the Roman imperial ambition toward east. Although the pact offered some level of freedom to the Jews, the alliance did impose Roman superiority. History proves that the agreement later became a heavy burden of subjugation of the Jews to the voracious appetite of Roman power.

It took more than two decades of fighting before the Maccabees forced the Seleucids to retreat completely from Judea. In the year 142 BCE, the Jews again became masters of their own fate. However, by the end of the war, Simon was the only one of the five sons of Mattathias to survive, and he ushered in an 80-year period

---

186. 1 Macc 8: 17; and 2 Macc 11: 34-38. However, according to 2 Macc, the initial contact with Rome had already been made under Antiochus V. However, the authenticity of the letter from the Roman legates to the Jews is disputed.

187. 1 Macc 8: 23-28.

of Jewish independence in Judea. One of the important developments of the revolt was the coming of the high priesthood to the Hasmonean family.[188] Now the Hasmoneans were the rulers of the land as well as the religion.[189] The sources (especially 1 Macc) do not tell us how this offer of priesthood came about. Most probably, this was a shrewd political move of Alexander Balas (c. 150-145 BCE), to bring Jonathan to his side against his rival Demetrius. Now the high priesthood and political leadership were combined in one person. In fact, when Alexander Balas gave these titles ("Friend" and High Priest) to Jonathan, he became the representative of Alexander in Judea. The strategical move was primarily a politically motivated one in order to gain the support of this powerful Jewish group in the power politics in Syria. One cannot negate the fact that primarily political and economic considerations were involved in this move. However, religious questions were generally much intertwined

---

188. 1 Macc 10: 15-20; and Josephus, *Ant*. 13.43-45. Alexander Balas, a rival of Demetrius of Syria, offered this title to the Hasmonean Jonathan. According to our sources, Alexander offered Jonathan not only the title and insignia of a "friend," but also the high priesthood of the Jews. On the other hand, according to *Ant.* 20.238, Jonathan was appointed high priest not by Alexander but by "the descendants of the sons of Asamonaios" who "had been entrusted" (i.e. by God) with the leadership of the nation.

189. We do not know much about the acceptance of the Hasmonean priests by the people. For a brief discussion of this matter, see Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 52-54; and Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 83-86.

with political ones in Judean social life.[190]

The peace that the land enjoyed did not last for long. Antiochus VII sent an expedition against the Jews in 135 BCE and established a siege against Jerusalem. Although Simon repulsed it, in the attendant disorder he was murdered. John Hyrcanus, Simon's son, subsequently managed to gain the crown.[191] He fought against Antiochus VII and his successors and remained in power until his death 105 BCE. Under him, Judea enjoyed its greatest political power.

We do not know much about the internal politics of the Jewish community of this period. Both 1 Maccabees and Josephus are completely silent in this matter. Both of these sources now centered on the foreign policy of the Hasmoneans, especially their relationship with various Seleucid rulers. However, there are a few references to Jonathan's domestic opponents.[192] These pro-Hasmonean sources always describe them with pejorative terms, and often classify them with lawlessness.[193] However,

---

190. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 85-86.

191. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.236-48; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.61; Diodorus, 34/35.1; Eusebius, *Chronicles*; and Justin 36.1. In *J.W.* 1.61, Josephus mentions that John opened the tomb of David and took 3,000 talents, 300 of which he used to bribe Antiochus to lift the siege (see *Ant.* 7.393). On the other hand, in *Ant.* 13.249, Josephus points out that Antiochus lifts the siege after successfully negotiating with John. John opens the tomb only after Antiochus departs.

192. 1 Macc 10: 61, 64, 11: 4-5, 21, 25-26; and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.252, 264.

193. 1 Macc 9: 23, 58, 69, 10: 61, 11: 25, 61, and 11: 21.

historical reconstructions of these opposing groups are simply impossible.[194]

John Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son Aristobulus I, who died a year later. Another son, Alexander Jannaeus, then took the throne. Upon his death (78 BCE) his widow, Salome Alexandra, who had also been married to Aristobulus, became queen. After her death, her son John Hyrcanus II, who had been high priest, acquired the temporal rule as well, but his more energetic brother, Aristobulus II, revolted. A civil war followed and resulted in Roman intervention and the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey (63 BCE). This invasion ended Jewish political authority over the land. The Roman conquest of Jerusalem marked an important milestone in the history of the Jews. A chapter of political independence ended and a new era of subjugation and diaspora begun.

The author of the First book of Maccabees interprets the Judean War of 167-142 BCE as a war of liberation against the foreign rulers who had used Hellenism as a

---

194. We do not know how much active were the "Hellenizers" of Judaism in this period. Definitely, their ambition could not have subsided by this short period of time. The relationship between the Hasmoneans and the Qumran community also has to be carefully studied. However, an analysis of this subject is not easy task because the Qumran documents often represent so many different viewpoints and obscure in their historical references. For a brief discussion on this issue, see Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 86-87. For groups within Judaism in this era see Albert Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); also see Schwarts, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 91-95.

means of penetrating into Jewish society.[195] The changes that the Hasmonean family and the revolt brought into the character and religion of the Jews are great and sudden. The revolt placed an immediate check on the advancement of the Hellenism in the land. However, the restriction imposed on the Hellenization process did not become a permanent stand of the dynasty that begun with the revolt. It is now an accepted fact that the Maccabean revolt was not just against foreign rule, but also against those Jews embracing Hellenism. In reality, the struggle that began as civil war, when the Seleucids gave their support to the Hellenizers of Jerusalem, took on the character of a war of national liberation. Therefore, it is more appropriate to read this history as a struggle of Jews against imperial powers, both political and cultural, which dominated their country and sought to limit if not eliminate the force of their traditions.

195. Paolo Sacchi, *The History of the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 285 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 224.

III. Hellenism and Material Culture in Israel

Introduction

Postcolonial scholars illustrate the intrinsic relationship that exists between power politics and culture. Gramsci explains that cultural domination always works by consent and often precedes conquest by force. Power operating concurrently at two clearly distinguishable levels produces a situation where

> the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and "intellectual and moral leadership"…. It seems clear … that there can, and indeed must be hegemonic activity even before the rise to power, and that one should not count only on the material force which gives in order to exercise an effective leadership.[1]

The history of colonialism clearly reveals the fact of how effectively the colonizers made use of their culture and values to promote their primary motive of subjugation and to exercise power on the colonized. Cultural imperialism always worked hand in hand with colonialism throughout the history. In this chapter, let us look at the material culture of the people of Israel during the Hellenistic period and try to understand how the indigenous people reacted to the invading culture of Hellenism.

1.Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 57. While talking about the Italian intellectuals and their roles in the society, he pictures hegemony as an equilibrium between civil society and political society, as an equilibrium between "leadership" based on consent, and "dominion" based on coercion in broader sense.

The Western scholarship has promoted the notion that Greek culture stands as an insular, isolated, near-miracle of burgeoning intellectual and artistic eminence. They promoted the notion of "Hellenocentrism," an idealized vision of Greek civilization, in the ancient world.[2] Moreover, the Western scholarship often portrays the Greek culture as superior to others, spread throughout the countries where Hellenistic political power prevailed. In other words, the West has described the splendid culture of the ancient Greeks as emerging like a miracle from a genius of its own, owing practically nothing to its neighbors.

This chapter is an inquiry of the "depth" of the Hellenization that intruded into the Jewish culture during the Greek invasion of the land. However, I want to make clear that, this chapter is not a microscopic search for evidence of something Greek in Israel that avoids all evidences of local culture, which is important to our study. I also want to make sure that by using the term "Hellenism," I do not have any intention to prove that the spreading of Greek culture all over the Ancient Western Asia and Northern Africa was a one-way street.[3] Rather, I think that ancient Asian and African

---

2. For the use of this term and argument, see Tessa Rajak, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002), 3.

3. Rajak, "The Hasmoneans and the Use of Hellenism," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome*, 64-5. Rajak points out that Hellenization was not just a matter of native cultures being permeated with the Greek one, but it was a two-way process. Also see the arguments in the well-documented book Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 64 (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

culture did have an immense impact on Greek culture and society. Unfortunately, we do not have a term, corresponding to the phrase "Hellenization," with which to label this phenomenon of spreading eastern culture to the west.[4] As Bailey articulates,

> The Greeks were not only good conquerors, they were also masterful imitators and incorporators of the culture of other people. This syncretism of Greco-Roman culture with indigenous culture was termed "Hellenism." To name the

---

Especially see pp. 55-136. Sterling describes the long historical process of blending different cultures in the ancient world.

4. For the Eastern cultural influence on Greek culture and society, see the lone voice of Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, translated by Margaret Pinder (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998); and idem, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004). Also see Martin L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1999); and Arnaldo D. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*. Although I agree with Walter Burkert's revolutionary study, I do not agree with his use of the term *Orientalizing*. As Edward Said points out, the term *Orient* was a European invention and it "connotes the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth century and early twentieth century European colonialism." Said, *Orientalism*, 2. In other words, it is a derogatory term used by the colonizers to mention their subjects of the East. I would prefer to use the term "Easternization," which includes both Asian and African cultures that had contact with the Greco-Roman cultures during the various imperialistic programs. However, the term "Easternization" is not a new term. Some contemporary scholars have already used and are using this term in their scholarly exercises. For e.g., Collin Campbell, *Easternization of the West* (Colorado: Paradigm Publishers, 2006). Campbell shows that the cultures of the West, especially after the 1960s, are undergoing a revolutionary process of change due to the influence of the former subjugated cultures of the East. His focus is more on the contemporary Western culture rather than talking about the ancient culture. Also, Raphael Kaplinsky and Anne Posthuma, *Easternization* (London: Routledge, 1994). In this book, the author talk about the industrial influence of the Eastern countries, especially Japan, on the Western society. At this juncture, I would like to propose the same term *Easternization*, equivalent to the concept of *Hellenization*, to denote the Eastern influence on the ancient Greek culture and society, as well as on the modern Western society.

> syncretism after only one of the parties, however, is supremacist or hegemonic ploy. Thus, the term, 'Hellenism' is a white supremacist term to make us think that the Greeks had more influence on the ancient word than they did.[5]

However, the scope of this study does not permit us to go into the issue of the impact of Eastern culture on the West. Therefore, this study only deals with the cultural and political impact of Greek culture among the people of Israel. With all these points in mind, let us now move on to understand the spreading of impact of Greek culture in Israel.

The word "Hellenism" is not a creation of modern historiography, for it existed in antiquity.[6] In the modern world, it was Johann Gustav Droysen who introduced the term "Hellenism." For him, "Hellenism" was the civilization of the Greek-speaking world that emerged following the conquest of Alexander of Macedonia. Droysen describes the term as the expansion of Greek culture to the

---

5. Randall C. Bailey, "The Danger of Ignoring One's Own Cultural Bias in Interpreting the Text," in *The Bible and Postcolonialism*, 75. Hellenism, in fact, was a synthesis of Greek culture and the native cultures of Western Asia and Northern Africa. However, Western scholars often picture this term as a Western phenomenon. For Hellenism as a cultural phenomenon, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1991), 60-62.

6. In the classical period the verb `Ελληνιζειν and the rare noun `Ελληνισμος were used in the sense of "to speak good Greek" but gradually came to mean, "to imitate the ways of the Greeks" (cf. 2 Macc 4: 13). Acts 6: 1 also uses the word `Ελληνιζται as opposite to the group of `Εβραιοιas. The scope of this study does not allow me to discuss the ancient usage of this term. For various connotations of the term in ancient and modern times, see R. Laqueur, *Hellenismus* (Giessen: Akademische Rede zur Jahresfeier der Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität, 1925). Also see R. Bichler, *"Hellenismus": Geschichte und Problematik eines Epochenbegriffs* (Darmsstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).

Greek-occupied places under the auspices of Greek education during the period from Alexander (356-323 BCE) to the Roman Imperial rule (c.30 BCE).[7] In fact, Droysen divides the history of the world in a chronological order by introducing the age of "Hellenism" without being fully aware of the fact that the notion of Hellenism that he propounded had two different aspects—the political and the cultural—and that there was a problem in relating to one aspect to the other.[8] The cultural impact cannot be limited to one specific period. The interaction between Greek culture and other cultures started even before Alexander when the Greek mercenaries fought in Persian armies, after the Persian invasion of Greece, and when Greek traders introduced

---

7. Johann Gustav Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 3 vols, edited by E. Bayer (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1952-3). Vol. 1 was originally published in 1836. Momigliano points out that Droysen was not clear about the chronological limits he intended to give to this period. Sometimes, he considers the period between Alexander, and the invasion of Egypt and Syria by Arabs. Some other places he defines Hellenism as the time between the conquest of Alexander and Jesus. For a critical reading of Droysen's theory and historiography, see Arnoldo Momigliano, "J.G. Droysen: Between Greeks and Jews," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), 307-323.

8. Droysen regarded Hellenism as the "modern period of antiquity." Droysen, *Geschicte des Hellenismus*, vol. 3, xxii, cf. xvii. Modern scholars have confirmed this idea of division of history. See Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 1, History*, Cult and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (New York and Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1996), 41. Hengel strongly concurs with this idea and argues that Alexander's expedition has to be understood as the designation of an apparently clearly defined culture that because of its aggressive character sought to take over ancient Judaism, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 3 also, idem, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 51-2.

wares and ideas from the Hellenistic world.[9] Hellenism, therefore, is a largely Greek cultural milieu of Hellenistic, Roman, and to a somewhat more limited extent Byzantine periods. However, one can see the climax of Hellenism during the period of Alexander's conquest and the period of the Diadochi, and their successors in their respective kingdoms, when they established Macedonian and Greek political dominion over the nations and initiated the expansion of Greek language, education, and culture, until the arrival of the new world power Rome.

The scholars often use terms "Hellenism" and "Hellenization" interchangeably to signify the ways in which Greek culture affected other cultures. However, as noted earlier, the cultural impact was not a one-sided movement but the Greek culture also had gone through changes when it interacted with other cultures during the conquest of Alexander and aftermath.[10] There are several attempts made to

---

9. Elements of Greek culture, including Athenian coins, statuettes, and decoration on household objects were found in West Asia before the time of Alexander. For a brief discussion about the Hellenistic influence in this period, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 32-35, and 61-65.

10. See above note 9. Though there was an aggressive cultural movement of Hellenism in non-Greek world, the Hellenistic world was a mixture of many cultural forces. That is to say, when speaking about Hellenization, one has to deal with not only the impact of Greek culture on non-Greek world, but also the interplay of a wide range of cultures during this period. For additional reading on the Eastern influence on Hellenistic-Roman world, see S.J. Lieberman, "A Mesopotamian Background for the So-called Aggadic 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 58 (1987): 157-225.

explain "Hellenism" and to distinguish it from "Hellenization."[11] Hellenism is the characteristically classical Greek cultural setting and Hellenization is the larger cultural current of the Hellenistic age, which included Greek and Macedonian as well as Eastern components. Fundamentally, as Levine points out,

> Hellenism describes the conscious process of adopting Greek ways and the internalization of whatever political, social, and symbolic implications may accrue to such a deliberate process; Hellenization is the broader inculcation of a culture, often on a subconscious level. Hellenism describes an overall cultural setting; Hellenization is the ongoing process of cultural symbiosis.[12]

The phenomenon of Hellenization touches all aspects of life, which includes religion, literature, art, philosophy, economic, social, political, and material. However, how deeply this penetration had gone into other cultures is the issue before us. The primary intention of this chapter is to look into the whole process of Hellenization in the Jewish community of Israel during the Hellenistic period.

---

11. See P. Grimal, et al., *Hellenism and the Rise of Rome* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1969), 1-20; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1-3; Jonathan Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition,* vol. 2, *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, edited by E.P. Sanders et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 64-69; G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1990), xi, and 1-13; Uriel Rappaport, "Hellenization of the Hasmoneans," in *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*, edited by Menachem Mor (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 1-2; Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 16-32; and Rajak, "The Hasmoneans and the Uses of Hellenism," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome*, 61-80.

12. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 16.

Hellenization and Israel

We have only fragmentary information available about the Jews in Israel and the Diaspora and about the interaction between the Hellenistic culture and Judaism in the Pre-Maccabean period, i.e. in the years between 333 and 175 BCE. The non-Jewish sources are almost completely silent, and where they do provide any information, very little of it concerns the adoption of the Hellenistic culture by the Jews. The avoidance of the Jews in the writings is only to show the political impotence of the Jews. Then again, most of the Jewish sources from this period are essentially religious and nationalist propaganda. One can consider these Jewish sources only as "indirect evidence" of the penetration or rejection of Hellenism, since either there is no mention at all of links with the Hellenistic world or, if the writing is polemical or apologetic, the accounts are tendentious.[13] Bearing these issues in mind, let us look into the Jews and Judaism in the era of cultural advancement of Hellenism in Israel.

Almost all agree that there was cultural advancement of Hellenism during this period in the land. However, scholars still heatedly debate the question of how far the Hellenizing process had advanced within Jewish society by this time.[14] One school of

---

13. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 51.

14. Scholars consider that the search for Greek institutions and Greek philosophical ideas in other cultures and writings is helpful to understand the Hellenistic influence on other cultures and people. See the studies of S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 1-13; Louis Feldman,

thought, following Emil Schürer, argues that quite considerable progress had already been made, the Hellenists had the upper hand, and the only path open to the devout being "to become a sect." Elias Bickermann, Martin Hengel, and Jonathan Goldstein are among the most important scholars in this group.[15] On the other hand, one finds Victor Tcherikover and some other scholars stressing two main points: (1) much of the Hellenizing process was confined to a particular class of Jews, namely the Jerusalem aristocracy and its peripheral elements; and (2) the Hellenization encountered and cited by scholars is frequently an external manifestation, serving political ends rather than reflecting deep-rooted cultural assimilation. Samuel Sandmel, Fergus Millar, Louis Feldman, Menahem Stern and Moshe David Herr are the important figures in this group.[16] One can summarize the arguments on

---

"How much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 57 (1986):106-8; and Louis H. Feldman, "How much Hellenism in the land of Israel?," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 33 (2002): 290–313, which is republished in idem, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 71-102. Another interesting study done by R. Harrison, "Hellenization in Syria-Palestine: The Case of Judea in the Third Century BCE," *Biblical Archaeologist* 57 (1994): 98-108.

15. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish People*, 145. Similar view can be seen in the writings of Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees*, Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*; J. Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," 64-69; and idem, *1 Maccabees*.

16. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 118-120; and 202-03. This view has been followed by several scholars including Samuel Sandmel, "Hellenism and Judaism," in *Great Confrontations in Jewish History*, edited by S.M. Wagner and A.D. Breck (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1977), 21-38; Louis H. Feldman, "How much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine,"106-08; idem, "Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism' in Retrospect," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977): 371-82; Fergus Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's Judaism and Hellenism," *Journal Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 1-21;

“Hellenization” in the following points: It would be (1) the suppression of a native culture, and language, and their replacement with Greek; or (2) the creation of a hybrid form of Greek, and indigenous cultures; or (3) the addition of Greek elements to the native culture whose leading features remained visible and relatively constant.[17] It is evident that the Hellenism as a cultural force invaded Israel ruthlessly; however, one has to critically evaluate the intensity of its advancement, and nature.

Cultural Features of Hellenism in Israel

1 Language

One of the most important influences on Israel that came from Hellenism was the spreading of a new language, Greek (*koine*).[18] Its sphere of influence went far

---

Moshe David Herr, “Hellenism and Judaism in Eretz Israel,” *Eshkolot*, new series 2-3 (1977-78): 20-27 (Hebrew); and Menahem Stern, *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991) (Hebrew). There was an earlier debate among the scholars on this issue when discussing on the possible interpretation of the excavation of the Bet She`arim. For minimalist position, see G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History,* vol. 2 (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1958), 248-77 (Hebrew). For maximalist position, see B. Lifshitz, “Greek and Hellenism among the Jews of Eretz Israel,” *Eshkolot* 5 (1967): 20-28 (Hebrew). On the other hand, in Liebermann, we can see a middle position, see S. Liebermann, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962), 91-92.

17. For summarization of this matter, see Rajak, “The Hasmoneans and Hellenism,” 65.

18. For discussion of the languages spoken in Israel during the period, see J. M. Grintz, “Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960): 32-47; R.H. Gundry, “The Language Milieu of First Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (1964): 404-08; N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?*

beyond that of Aramaic, the official language of the Persian kingdom of the Second Temple period.[19] Soon, Aramaic became the language of the illiterate, who needed no written remembrances. Language is always a general indicator of cultural affiliation.

(Leiden: Brill, 1968); Joseph Fitzmyer, "Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 501-31; K. Treu, "Die Bedeutung des Griechischen fur die Juden im romischen Reich," *Kairos* 15 (1973): 123-44; B.Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974), 259-306; C. Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, edited S. Safrai and M. Stern (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 1007-39; G. Mussies, "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora," *The Jewish People in the First Century,* 1040-64; J. Barr, "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in the Hellenistic Age," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, edited by W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 79-114; Martin Hengel, *The "Hellenization" of Judea in the First Century after Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1989); N.M. Waldman, *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1989), 79-135; Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*, 46-58; idem, "The Location of Cultures in Second Temple Palestine: The Evidence of Josephus," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 4: The Book of Acts in Its Palestine Setting*, edited by R. Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 1-14, and 7-18; E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people*, vol. 2, 20-2874-80; H.B. Rosen, *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures: From Outgoing Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 5-39; Seth Schwarts, "Hebrew and Imperialism in Jewish Palestine," in *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*, edited by Carol Bakhos (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 53-84; and Pieter W. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, 154-176.

19. Schwartz, *Hebrew and Imperialism in Jewish Palestine*, 61. On Aramaic as the primary spoken language of Palestine, see Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people*, vol. 2, 20-28. For a good survey of this matter, see J.C. Greenfield, "Aramaic in the Achaemenian Empire," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, edited by Ilya Gershevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 698-713. David Noy does a similar discussion on issue of the choice of language based on his study among the Jews in Italy. David Noy, "Writing in Tongues: The Use of Greek, Latin and Hebrew in Jewish Inscriptions from Roman Italy," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48 (1997): 300-11. Also see L.V. Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora*, Religions in the Greco-Roman World 126 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 176-209.

However, one should be careful when studying inscriptions alone to determine the influence of the language. Many times, inscriptions have only limited value in determining everyday language patterns. When studying the inscriptions, one needs to take careful note of the circumstances in which they occur, and the purpose for writing the writing.

The study of the available epigraphical sources is one way in which we can understand the influence of Greek culture in the land. However, there is a serious handicap in this matter in that there is no comprehensive corpus of all the epigraphic materials from Israel covering the period between Alexander and Mohammad.[20] For

---

20. The estimate is that there are about 6,000 to 7,000 texts available from this period. Van der Horst gives new information about the formation of a new group, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae*, which will be covering all inscriptions found in the land, including the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights, dating from the fourth century BCE to the seventh century CE. See van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 155. Until the newly formed group come up with their volume, we have to depend on the available materials published in large number of books. Among these books, the most important one is J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, vol. 2 (Vatican City: Pontificio Isituto di Archelogia Cristiana, 1952). In this volume, Frey collected 530 Jewish inscriptions from Palestine. Other valuable collections available in B. Bagatti and J.T. Milik, *Gli Scavi del Domius Flevit (Monte Oliveto-Gerusalemme) parte I: La necropolis del periodo romano* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Publishing House, 1958); B. Mazar, *Beth She`arim I: Report on the Excavations 1936-1940* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1973); M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She`arim II: The Greek Inscriptions* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974); N. Avigdad, *Beth She`arim III: Report on the Excavations During 1953-58* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1976); J. Naveh, *One Stone and Mosaic: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Jerusalem: Sifriyat Ma'ariv, 1978) (Hebrew); R. Hachlili, "The Goliath Family in Jericho: Funerary Inscriptions from a First Century A.D. Jewish Monumental Tomb," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 235 (1979): 31-65; Lea Roth Gerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem Yad Yitzhak ben Zvi, 1987) (Hebrew); and L.Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the*

our purpose, we need to concentrate on the Jewish inscriptions, leaving aside other materials. Even then, "from the third century BCE we find almost exclusively Greek inscriptions in Palestine,"[21] which run into possibly some 6,000.[22] Van der Horst tries to come up with a percentage of Greek inscriptions from this period. Of Frey's 530 inscriptions, 315 (60 percent) are in Greek, including bilingual ones.[23] Among the 43 inscriptions from the cemetery of Dominus Flevit, 12 (29 percent) are in Greek. In Beth She`arim, of the 246 epitaphs about 218 are in Greek (88 percent). Among the 32 tomb inscriptions of the Goliath family, 17 are in Greek (53 percent). Some 87 of Rahmani's 240 inscribed ossuaries (16 of which are bilingual) are in Greek (37 percent). He concludes that the overall average of Greek inscription is slightly more

---

Collections of the State of Israel (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority and Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994). Also, one needs to look at the numerous articles published in different journals, such as *Israel Exploration Journal* and the *Revue Biblique*, on this matter.

21. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 58.

22. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 156.

23. Mussies counted 440 Jewish inscriptions written in Greek found from Israel. His study was based on the available texts in *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. See G. Mussies, "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, vol. 1, part 2, edited by Samuel Safrai and Menahem Stern (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 1042.

than 53 percent.[24] Levine argues that about 35 percent of the inscriptions from Second Temple Jerusalem alone are in Greek, and when we add to these the funerary inscriptions from Beth She`arim and Jaffa the overall percentage of Greek inscriptions goes up to 55 percent.[25] Van der Horst points out that when we add the unpublished collection of 30 ossuaries from Scythopolis, which are all in Greek, the average percentage goes above 55 percent.[26]

How do we interpret this phenomenon of finding more than 50 percent of inscriptions excavated in Judea are in Greek? These inscriptions clearly demonstrate that a large number of inhabitants of the land preferred Greek to any other languages. However, how deep the infiltration of Greek language in the community went is a debated question. On the one hand, we have Hengel who argues that approximately 10-20 percent of Jerusalem's population spoke Greek.[27]On the other hand, we have many others who speak about huge numbers of Greek-speaking population in

---

24. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 156-7.

25. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 180.

26. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," n12, 167-8. He concludes that the percentage of Greek inscriptions found from the Jewish Diaspora is about 85 percent. See Pieter W. van der Horst, *Nieuwe Testament en de joodse grafinscripties uit de Hellenistische-Romeinse tijd* (Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1991).

27. Martin Hengel, "Der vorchristliche Paulus," in *Paulus und das antike* Judentum, edited by Martin Hengel and U. Heckel (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 257-58. Also idem, "Jerusalem als Judische und hellenistische Stadt,"*Judaica, hellenistica et*

Jerusalem.[28] However, the interpretation of this data is not as easy as many think.

Some of the major questions before us are how representative these evidences are. What percentage of the population had inscriptions made? What percentage of existing inscription has been discovered? As Levine points out, since most of these inscriptions were found on ossuaries and sarcophagi, it is likely that the families and relatives of the interred were mostly familiar with the Greek language,[29] and also that many Jews might have been too poor to erect tombstones inscribed epitaphs. One thing we know for sure is that the percentage of the population represented in these inscriptions is meager.[30] Due to the absence of ample evidence, Feldman's argument that so many ossuaries have inscriptions in Greek only to prevent non-Jews from

---

christiana: Kleine Schriften II (Tübingen: Mohr, 1999), 147. In this book, Hengel argues of 10-20 percent of population in Jerusalem could speak Greek.

28. For e.g., see Baruch Lifshitz, "Jerusalem sous la domination romaine," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt* 2, no. 8 (1977): 459. Also see Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959), 36.

29. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 76. For a study of epigraphy, see R. MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982): 233-46.

30. When considering the population of the Jews in this period, one discovers that the representation of inscriptions always falls way below 1 percent. For a detailed description of this subject, see van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 158-60. He assumes that the representation is as low as .025 percent. That means that the tombstones or honorary inscriptions on the graves of about 99.975 percent of other Jews have not been preserved or recovered.

molesting the graves is not much convincing.[31] Then who were these represented people? Do they represent any class? Levine considers that most of these inscriptions probably originated from middle and upper class strata of Jerusalem populace. On the other hand, van der Horst negates this idea and argues that there is ample evidence that the epitaphs in Greek represent a wide stratum of the population.[32] He points out the luxurious and expensive sarcophagi and poorly scratched names on potsherds or wall plaster that marked the grave of the deceased. For him, sarcophagi represent the upper class and the wealthy, and the poorly scratched potsherds represent the poor populace. However, he was not fully sure about the interpretation of the latter. van der Horst knows that the poorly scratched names on potsherds or wall plaster do not always necessarily represent the poor but still argues that they represent the poor.[33] On the other hand, Levine's argument becomes more acceptable when he argues, "the desire to emulate Greco-Roman mores (and the means to do so) was far more

---

31. Louis H. Feldman, *Jews and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interaction from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 14, and 22.

32. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 159. He argues that the tombstones found at Beth She`arim are not only of rabbis and public officers but also of merchants and artisans. Also see R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 103; and James Barr, "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 102 with note 4.

33. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 159.

pronounced among the upper than the lower social strata."[34] Therefore, it is highly probable that these Greek inscriptions mostly represent the upper level of the society who had more acquaintance with Greek culture and more knowledge of Greek language.

The inscriptions in synagogues also have significance in the subject. It is important to note that more than one third of the synagogue inscriptions from Israel are in Greek.[35] Many scholars analyze this phenomenon, and opine that most of the Jews of this era did know Greek.[36] These scholars argue that most of these writings were meant to be read by the regular visitors of these buildings, that is, common people who were members of the local community. These evidences lead this group of scholars to a conclusion that most of the locals did have some knowledge of Greek.[37] However, it is also possible that these writings represented the official

---

34. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 24.

35. Lea Roth-Gerson, *The Greek Inscription from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel*.

36. Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. 2 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), 123; A.W. Argyle, "Greek Among the Jews of Palestine in the New Testament Times," *New Testament Studies* 20 (1973/74): 88; also see G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 5 (Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre of Macquarie University, 1989), 21

37. Such was not only the case of Jews but also of Samaritans. Many of the dedicatory or honorary inscriptions discovered in various Samaritan synagogues are in Greek. See G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel,* vol. 2, *Die samaritanischen Synagogen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), 572-73, and 631. Also see Pieter W. van der

religion rather than the language of the common people. They were neither meant to be read nor understood by all who came there, but rather they represented the official acceptance of a new language. One can perceive the use of Greek in these places as the tendency of the officials of the religion who wanted to identity themselves with the rulers and their culture. This phenomenon can be compared with the Christian church's use of the ancient languages like Latin and Syriac everywhere in the church, when a vast majority of the populace did not understand them. This tradition continues with the use of English in non-English speaking places when the majority of people do not understand it. One can see this tendency, however, as the attitude of the higher influential class within the Jewish society towards the foreign culture.

Literature is another important field that is to be taken seriously here. When Josephus wrote his works in first century CE, he spoke about many natives of Jerusalem who had good command of Greek.[38] The writings of Theodotus are helpful source to reconstruct the literary activities of this period.[39] Eupolemos, who is to be

---

Horst, "Samaritans and Hellenism," in *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity: Essays on Their Interaction*, 2nd ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 49-58

38. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.263-64.

39. The writings of Theodotus may be dated between from the late third to the mid-second century BCE and the time of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE). See the discussion in Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. 2, Poets (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 68-70. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, eds. *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 229-30.

identified with one of the emissaries sent to Rome by Judah Maccabee in 161 BCE,[40] wrote a history of biblical Judea in Greek.[41] The writings of the anonymous Samaritan are another notable example from this period.[42] We have yet another significant writing that comes from this period, the translation of Ben Sira by his grandson,[43] who migrated to Egypt, translated Ben Sira's work into Greek, presumably having gained knowledge of Greek while he was in Israel, most probably in Jerusalem. At about the same period, a Greek epitome known as 2 Maccabees was written most likely in Jerusalem that summarized Jason of Cyrene's five-volume history of Judah Maccabee. The official texts in honor of Ptolemy IV Philopator in Marisa and Joppa and of the great warning inscription with letters of Antiochus III and Seleucus IV from Hephzibah in Scythopolis were also in Greek.[44]

---

40. 1 Macc 8:17; and 2 Macc 4:11. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Feldman and Reinhold, eds. *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans*, 227-28.

41. Fragments of his writings have survived in the writings of historian Alexander Polyhistor. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 92-95.

42. His work survives only in five fragments (or possibly six fragments) in the Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio Evangelia*, embedded in quotations from the historian Alexander Polyhistor, and in the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 88-92.

43. Ben Sira lived in the first half of the Second century BCE in Jerusalem.

44. For more details, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 59.

According to the Letter of Aristeas, which is most probably from Alexandria,[45] the high priest chose, for the translation of the Torah into Greek, six men from each tribe who had distinguished themselves through their knowledge and "not only had a mastery of Jewish literature," but had also acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek.[46] As Hengel notes, this report of 72 Jews knowing Greek at the time of Philadelphus may be an exaggeration, but we can conclude that at the time of the composition of the letter knowledge of Greek could be taken for granted among Palestinian Jews of the aristocracy,[47] who could read and write. The books of Maccabees show that not only the members of the Hellenistic party but also many

---

45. The author's thorough knowledge of Alexandria leads us to a conclusion that the author lived in Alexandria. In v. 16, the author seems to associate himself with those who also call God the Creator "Zeus," that is, Greeks or Hellenists; on the other hand, his special knowledge about Jerusalem and the temple worship (vv. 83-118) indicate that Aristeas was most probably a Jew. James H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* vol. 1, 381. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Feldman and Reinhold, eds. *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans*, 17-19.

46. Letter of Aristeas, 121. The date of this work is uncertain. The king referred to is Ptolemy II (Philadelphus 285-247 BCE). There is also a reference to this king's father, Ptolemy I (Lagos), who abdicated in 285 and died in 283. Josephus, who lived in first century CE paraphrases this work in his *Ant.* 12. 12-118. From these pieces of evidence, one can conclude that the Letter of Aristeas was written between ca. 250 BCE and 100 CE. Most scholars believe that the period was ca. 150-100. For details, see James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, *Expansions of the Old Testament and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic works* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 8-9; also see Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 19.

47. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 60.

supporters of Judas and his brothers had a command of Greek.[48] We also have evidence of rabbis' banning of Greek education from as early as second century BCE.[49] However, the percentage of Greek-knowing population in Israel is again a question before us. Definitely Greek made a good impact on the higher class, but we can assume that its impact on the lower classes was not that substantial compared to that on the higher class.

The writings from the Qumran caves are another important source from this period. One needs to look at the presence of Greek texts at Qumran seriously. The Qumran community, which had a strong conservative nature, probably had an unusually high percentage of literate members.[50] According to Emmanuel Tov's inventory list, about 3 percent of the Qumran texts are written in Greek.[51] One can make out that even in a conservative setting like this; there were people who could

---

48. This is the only way in which the embassies to Rome and Sparta and the tedious negotiations with the Syrian rulers are conceivable. 1 Macc 8, 12: 1-23, 14: 16-24, etc.

49. m. Sotah 9: 14; and j. Megillah 1.11.71c.

50. James C. VanderKam, "Greek at Qumran," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, 175.

51. See Emmanuel Tov, "Appendix III: A Listof the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2 edited by P. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden, Köln and Boston: Brill, 1999), 669-717. Most of these writings are dated back to second century BCE to first century CE. VanderKam, "Greek at Qumran," 178. Also see the discussion in, Louis H. Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 31-2.

handle the scriptures in Greek. However, it is highly probable that Greek was not the dominant language at Qumran and also possible that most of the Qumran residents were not completely convinced of the validity of transmitting the divine word in a "foreign" language.[52]

The coins minted, and seals used during this period offer significant evidences. Many of the coins and seals that come from this period have Greek inscriptions and symbols like the Athenian owl, the Ptolemaic eagle, and various human figures including Ptolemy and his wife. Presumably, Alexander Jannaeus was the first to mint bilingual coins, with Greek on one side and Hebrew on the other.[53]

---

52. L. Greenspoon, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bible," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, vol. 1, edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 113.

53. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv: Am Hasefer, 1967), Plates II/III, nos. 5, 5a, 7, 8, 9; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, vol. I, 219-28, 603-4. The symbols appearing on the coins from the Hasmoneans period had non-living beings such as anchors, cornucopia, a wheel, star, or floral representation. No living beings or representation of sacred places was inscribed. This peculiar inscriptions are significant because one can see a dramatic change, a change from using religious symbols (Ex 25: 18-20; and 1 Kings 7: 44) to non-living and non-religious symbols, in the Hasmonean attitude. With few exceptions, this attitude continued until the late second century CE. For views on this subject, see Boaz Cohen, "Art in Jewish Law," *Judaism* 3 (1954): 167; M. Avi-Yonah, *Oriental Art in Roman Palestine* (Rome: University of Rome Press, 1961), 13-27; Morton Smith, "Goodenough's 'Jewish Symbols' in Retrospect," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967):60; N. Avigad, *Beth She`arim*, 277-78; G.J. Blidstein, "The Tannaim and Plastic Art: Problems and Prospects," in *Perspectives in Jewish Learning* 5, edited by B.L. Sherwin (Chicago: Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1973), 22-23.

Later, Herod minted purely Greek inscriptions on Jewish coins and weights.[54] On the other hand, Greek inscribed coins had been minted and circulated in "Hellenistic" cities in Israel since the third century BCE. The minting of these coins, of course, indicates the adoption of a foreign norm. However, it is hard to use coins for our analysis because the rulers often used the coins as instruments of political propaganda.[55] The coins obviously reflect the contemporary practice of the political entities seeking recognition and legitimacy by minting the coins. In addition, coins were one of the most public vehicles at the disposal of the political entities. Therefore, the coins were often used, and are using, to convey a political message that the rulers wished to transmit to their people. The rulers often effectively made use of this convenient tool.

---

54. Hengel, *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, 8. These coins bore Herod's royal title, together with a repertoire of contemporary symbols (e.g., tripod, diadem, wreath, and eagle). See Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, vol. 2 (Dix Hills, NY: Amphora Books, 1982), 22-30.

55. For detailed discussions, see Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967); idem, Ancient Jewish Coinage, 2 vols. (New York: Amphora Books, 1982); idem, *City Coins of Eretz Israel and the Decapolis* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1985); L. Mildenberg, "Yehud-Munzen," in Palestina in vorhellenistischer Zeit, edited by H. Weippert (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), 721-28; Dan Barag, "Jewish Coins in Hellenistic and Roman Time," in *A Survey of Nuismatic Research, 1985-1990*, vol. 1, edited by Tony Hackens et al. (Brussels: International Numismatic Commission, 1992), 106; and Andrew Meadows, "Money, Freedom, and Empire in the Hellenistic World," in *Money and Its Uses in the Hellenistic World,* edited by Andrew Meadows and Kirsty Shipton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 53-64. Also see the remarks in J.C. Greekfield, "The Languages of Palestine, 200 BCE-200 CE," in *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations*, edited by H.H. Paper (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978), 147. On seals, see the survey in Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture in the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period* (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1982), 202-13.

All of the evidence, mentioned above, points toward the fact that the use of Greek in Israel appears to have been widespread. The final establishment and dissemination of the Greek language was probably the most notable and most permanent fruit of Alexander's expedition. The Greek merchants used *koine* Greek, the laws were promulgated in it, and also treaties were concluded in accordance with a uniform basic scheme. It was the language of both diplomats and people of letters and to some extent it was the language of the common people too. In fact, anyone who sought social respect or even the reputation of being an educated person had to have a command of Greek. It is certain that flawless command of the Greek language was the most important qualification for taking over Greek culture.[56] However, the widespread Greek evidences do not mean that most of the Jews were monolingual, speaking only Greek, at this time. It is hard to come to any conclusion about the state of lower classes of the land regarding this matter, because hardly any archeological material speaks directly about them. In sum, for most of the Jews in Israel, especially those who resided outside the urban areas, Greek remained a second language.[57] That is, besides Aramaic, Greek was widely used and understood. However, the intensity

---

56. For a detailed study on this matter, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 58-61.

57. Mussies, *Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora*, 1058; Fitzmyer, *Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D*, 46; and van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 166.

of use of Greek varied strongly according to locality and period, social status and educational background, and occasion and mobility.[58]

2 Greek Names

Another significant area in which one can see Greek influence is in the introduction of Greek names among the people in Israel. During this time, many had Greek names. It shows the gradual infiltration of Hellenistic civilization to the country. Let us briefly examine the Greek names and their significance to our study. When we study about names, we should remember several things. First, parents are the one who choose a name to their children. If a generation bears certain names, this tells us more about the environment of the parents' generation than it does about the children's generation.[59] Second, in certain cases, the name also speaks of the name bearer's generation. This naming happens when the situation compels one to adopt a new name in life for survival or when one becomes more ambitious. When the new cultural setting becomes so attractive, the situation compels one to adopt its norms and behaviors.[60]

---

58. van der Horst, "Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy," 166.

59. Tal Ilan, "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 78, nos. 1-2 (1987): 1.

60. One can compare this situation of adopting new names to the context of adopting "American" names by the new immigrants from East Asian countries in the United States of America. On the one hand, the usual East Asian names are difficult for others to pronounce. This situation leads the new immigrants to a state of embarrassment and creates an inferiority complex within them. On the other hand, the

During this era, government officials often had Greek names. For example, the last Persian governor of Samaria, Sanballat, seems to have given his daughter the Greek name Nikaso. She later married Manasseh, the son of the Jewish high priest.[61]

Many people used to have double names, which was an intermediate stage in the Graecizing of name. Thus, for dealing with Greeks and on journeys a person had a Greek name, while at home and among Semites he/she had a Semitic name.[62] In the tomb inscriptions of Marisa from the end of the third century BCE, we find an assorted mixture of Phoenician, Idumaean, and Greek names. The tombs found in Shechem, one of the main Samaritan cities, also witness Greek names.[63] However, among the Jews, this transition was a little slower than that of other communities. They too had double names or altered their Hebrew names to Greek names. The theophorus name of Daniel and his companions in "Babylon" show that people were not so sensitive on this point in the early Hellenistic period (Dan 1: 7; 4: 5). One cannot say that here we have a condemnation of foreign names. Rather, these names in the book of Daniel are merely a feature of historicizing realism. Here one should note that Daniel and his comrades bear their pagan names without any objection, so to speak as their second names.

---

adoption of names reveals an obvious cultural adoption by the immigrants to identify with the majority group.

61. Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 303.

62. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 61.

63. Ibid.

By the middle of second century BCE, many had only Greek names. In the books of Maccabees, we come across a large number of Greek names. The first example is the fathers of the ambassadors sent by Jonathan and Simon to Sparta and Rome, Numenius son of Antiochus, Antipater son of Jason and Alexander son of Dorotheus.[64] 2 Macc 14: 19 mentions the parliamentarians who sent by Nicanor to Judas for peace negotiations, including a Posidonius, a Theodotus, and a Mattathias. 2 Macc 12: 19, 24 and 35 mention two cavalry officers in Transjordan who bore the names Dositheus and Sosipater. This tendency to have Greek names continued in the Hasmonean period. Although the first Hasmoneans staged resistance to the Hellenization, the foreign culture did make its influence on the later generations of the Hasmonean family. When taking the example of Hasmonean family, one can see the interesting transition. While the first Hasmoneans had Hebrew names, many later Hasmonean family members bear Greek names. The number of Greek name-bearers increased as time went on.[65] Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, Alexander Jannaeus, Salome Alexandra, and Antigonos are some examples of these names.

---

64. 1 Macc 12: 16, 14:22, 24, 15: 15; and Josephus, *Ant.* 13. 169, 14: 146. According to 1 Macc 8: 17, the above mentioned Jason perhaps already traveled as an ambassador to Rome under the rule of Judas. Some scholars identify him with Jason of Cyrene. For more information, see *Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism*, 64.

65. Ilan makes a detailed study about the Greek names of the Hasmoneans. Ilan, “The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans,” 1-20. Also see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 252-3.

It is interesting to note that during the Hasmonean period, the names of family members became popular names of the people. The Hebrew names of Mattathias, Simon, John, Judas, and Eleazar were most common, and they constituted over 30 percent of the total male population.[66] On the other hand, the popularity of the Hasmonean Greek names was much lower.[67] Only about 2 percent of the Greek names of the Hasmoneans were found. Among the Greek names, Alexander was the most popular one among the Jews.[68] For the common people, the earlier generations of Hasmoneans who had Hebrew names were heroes. Thus, many people adopted their names. However, when later Hasmoneans became more and more Hellenized, their names became more and more unpopular.[69] One can see a silent resistance to the foreign culture here. However, as seen earlier, the rate of Greek names increased with the advance of Hellenization in the land. More and more Greek names appeared among the Jewish community. That is, initially the Greek names were not popular

---

66. Tal Ilan, "Names of the Hasmoneans during the Second Temple Period," *Eretz Israel* 19 (1987): 238-41. In this article, she collected and analyzed about 2000 male names from Eretz Israel. She argues that the popularity of the Hasmonean revolt was the reason for the frequent use of the names of the heroes of the revolt.

67. Out of 2000 names collected by Ilan, only 47 are Greek. See Ilan, "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans," 14.

68. M. Cassuto-Salzmann, "Greek Names among the Jews," *Eretz Israel* 3 (1954): 187. (Hebrew)

69. Ilan, "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans," 15.

among the Jews but later many had double names, both Greek and Hebrew, and finally more and more people started adapting only Greek names.

As seen in the last chapter, Greek influence can also be noticed in the names of the Hellenistic cities of this era. A great number of Hellenistic cities were established in Israel during this period,[70] especially along the Mediterranean coastline and in Transjordan area. Many of these cities had been renamed or had adapted Greek names. Many of these "new" cities were named after their founding rulers or after Greek deities. Thus, Rishpon became Apollonia, Rabbath-Ammon, Philadelphia; Acco, Ptolemais; Beth-She`an, Scythopolis, etc. In some cases, the ancient names remained, with only their pronunciation Hellenized. For example, Ashqelon became Ascalon; Ashdod, Azotus; Yavneh, Jamnia; Jaffa, Joppa; Gader, Gadara, etc.[71]

3 Material Culture

One cannot fully comprehend the history of Israel without knowledge of the material culture of the land. The material culture of the Jewish population of this period reveals the influence of the Hellenistic culture. This influence was evident in architecture, pottery, clothing, etc. Levine argues that since the Jewish people never

---

70. The Hellenists did not erect these cities but rather established them on the foundations of ancient cities. For this argument, see Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel*, 14-15, and 32.

71. For details, see Menachem Stern, "Judaism and Hellenism in Eretz-Israel in the Third and Second Century BCE," in *Acculturation and Assimilation: Continuity and Change in the cultures of Israel and the Nations*, edited by Yosef Kaplan and Menachem Stern (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1989), 50-52 (Hebrew). We have already dealt with this issue in detail in the last chapter.

had a unique material culture of their own, the contemporary culture of the foreign rulers often determined their own expression.[72] One cannot completely accept Levine's statement, because every culture has its own features and significance. And these features are often transmitted through many avenues, including material culture. The material culture includes how they built their homes, public buildings, streets, and city walls, and how they decorated their buildings, how they made their pottery, and how they wore their clothing.

As seen earlier, this period marked the establishment of numerous cities. Many of them were old existing cities that underwent a great deal of development during the Hellenistic period. Ptolemais (Akko), which profited greatly from the decline of Tyre, is a good example for this fast development.[73] The cities were well

---

72. Levine, *Hellenism and the Jewish World of Antiquity*, 22-3. Levine argues that from time to time, the Jews adopted the regnant styles and fashions of the time.

73. The archeological excavations at Akko have brought to light a defensive round tower, very similar to that of Samaria, which also dates from the end of fourth century BCE. See the exploration reports from Akko. Moshe Dothan, "Akko," *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, no. 3-4 (1974): 276-79; idem, "Akko," *Israel Exploration Journal* 25, no. 2-3 (1975): 163-66. idem, "Akko 1976," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26, no. 4 (1976): 207-08; and idem, "Akko 1978", *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1978): 264-66.idem, "Akko 1980," *Israel Exploration Journal* 31, nos. 1-2 (1981): 110-12. Moshe Dothan and D Conrad, "Akko 1982," *Israel Exploration Journal* 33, no. 1-2 (1983): 113-14; and idem, "Akko 1983," *Israel Exploration Journal* 34, nos. 2-3 (1984): 189-90.

fortified in order to defend against the enemies.[74] One needs to note the importance of the expansion of Jerusalem during this period. The city had grown rapidly and had expanded westwards, going beyond the rocky spur situated to the south of the Temple, or "Lower City." The built-up area spread into the central valley and on to the immense western hill, or "Upper City."[75]

The town planning is an important characteristic of this period.[76] This planning is evident in almost all cities of this period. The archeological excavations at ancient cities of Jerusalem, Samaria, Gezer, Mareshah, and others disclose the characteristic town planning of this period. The cities had well-paved streets, which were often wide (two to eight meters) and on a rectilinear plan, and delimiting blocks of more or less regular rectangular shape. The feeling for comfort and the convenience of life were apparent in the conception of cities of this era. Usually one

---

74. For a brief description of the fortification of the cities during this period, see Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 5-13. The intense fortification of cities continued through the periods of the Seleucids and the Hasmoneans.

75. For more details of the Jerusalem in the Hellenistic period, see Lee I. Levine, "Second Temple Jerusalem: A Jewish City in the Greco-Roman Orbit," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 53-68. Levine also deals with this matter in the second chapter: "Second Temple Jerusalem" of his book, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 33-95. Also see the important articles in Y. Yadin ed., *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City 1968-1974* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1975).

76. The geometrician and philosopher Hippodamos of Miletus introduced this characteristic of Hellenistic town planning.

main street ran straight across the city from east to west or, in some cases, north to south, ending at a great public square, but the secondary streets were often irregularly laid out in a loose, wide-meshed pattern of squares. They often ended in blind alley instead of leading right up to the city wall. The streets were sometimes lined with small shops.[77]

i Houses and Other Buildings

The constructions of dwelling places of this period also bear characteristic Hellenistic features. The traditional "four-room house"[78] type was modified in accord with Greek style. This new structure had an inner courtyard, the center of the dwelling place, and often a peristyle, which usually included a side entrance and vestibule. This new style brought light and air into all the rooms, which were constructed around the courtyard in a row. This new fashion of building has been discovered in Gezer, Mareshah, Samaria, and many other places in Israel. The sense

---

77. The city of Samaria is an example of this.

78. According to this expert Iron Age building construction, the building was quadripartite, made up of three long parallel rooms and a transverse room. Often the room in the middle was used as a courtyard with access from the street. In the post-exilic period, this pattern changed. Buildings started to have a larger courtyard, but the courtyard remained open on its fourth side. These alterations might have occurred because of the influence of Mesopotamian building construction. For more details on "four-room house" construction, see Avraham Faust and Shlomo Bunimovitz, "The Four-Room House: Embodying Iron Age Israelite Society," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, nos. 1-2 (March-June 2003): 22-31. The attached bibliography is especially useful for further information. Also see the interesting article of Douglas R. Clark, "Bricks, Sweat and Tears: The Human Investment in Constructing a 'Four-Room' House," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, nos.1-2 (March-June 2003): 34-43.

of comfort and convenience was often in evidence in these building programs. The walls have niches hollowed out which served as cupboards. In addition, these houses often had latrines and baths attached to them. The floors of the courtyards were usually paved and those of the bedrooms were well plastered and often covered with beautiful mosaics. The walls of the rooms were plastered and in many cases well decorated (for e.g., in Jaffa walls were decorated with seashells) and painted with multicolored geometric designs.[79] The archeological evidences also reveal that most of these cities and urban dwellings were completely destroyed at the end of the second century or the first half of the first century BCE. However, various peoples repopulated and redeveloped the region in the last third of the first century BCE at the time of Herod.

Within many of the houses, especially the houses of the elite, the dinning room may be identified based on plan and decoration. It is now evident that in ancient

---

79. The most noted Hellenistic paintings and decorations come from the little town of Tel Anafa in the Upper Galilee. The rich remains of stuccoed decoration and mosaics found there belonged to a dwelling built in about 150 BCE and destroyed half a century later (c. 80 BCE), probably during or after the campaigns of Alexander Janneus against the pagan cities that he annexed into his kingdom. See the articles in Sharon C. Herbert, *Tel Anafa*, vol. 1, i and ii, *Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary series10 (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum 1994); and Andrea Berlin and Kathleen Warner Slane, *Tel Anafa,* vol. 2, *The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary series 10 (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1997).

houses, most rooms were multifunctional.[80] However, by the later second and first centuries BCE many houses in both the Hellenistic east and Republican Italy did include at least one clearly designed “special-purpose” room, which can be identified as a dining room, usually located immediately off the house entry or central courtyard.[81] These rooms often were large with more than one entrance. Also they typically had decorated walls, with painted frescoes and sometimes stuccoed panels and moldings, and often mosaic floors. These types of rooms were usual in Jewish palatial houses, especially in the first century BCE. They were found first in the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho, and then at all Herodian palatial and villa sites: Jericho, Masada, Herodium, Caesarea, and Samaria-Sebaste.[82] However, no private

---

80. Many pieces of archeological evidence support this fact. For e.g., the excavations at Olynthus and Pompeii found debris indicative of household activities such as weaving, cooking, eating, and even sleeping randomly scattered throughout houses. See J. Berry “Household Artifacts: Towards a Re-Interpretation of Roman Domestic Space,” in *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Journal of Roman Archaeology supplementary series 22 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 1997), 183-95; and Nicholas Cahill, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 84-147.

81. K. M. Dunbabin, “Ut Greaco More Biberetur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch,” in *Meals in a Social Context*, edited by I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 83-89; and idem, *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36-50.

82. Ehud Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2001), gs. 9, 22, 30, 34, 35, 42, 44, 47, 55, 62, 103, 107-109, 113, and 129; K. L. Gleason, “Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace,” in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*, edited by A. Raban and K. Holum (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1996), g. 2; D. Barag,

residences known to us in Judea, Jewish Galilee, or Gaulanitis from the first century BCE have such specially planned or decorated rooms. This situation changed in the first century CE when more and more houses appeared, which had decorated dining rooms.[83]

In conclusion, formal dining in the Hellenistic or Roman mode was a cultural innovation first adopted by the Hasmonean ruling class in the early first century BCE. Through the late first century BCE, it seems to have remained as a royal practice. Later the elite class of Jerusalem imitated this custom. This significant behavior of the upper class of the land helps to distinguish the wealthy from others not only by lifestyle but also more dramatically by culture.[84]

"King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 125 (1993): 8-9, and 14-15. For decoration and shape of these rooms, see S. Rozenberg, "The Wall Paintings of the Herodian Palace at Jericho," in *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence*, edited by K. Fittschen and G. Foerster (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), 121-38.

83. N. Avidad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Shikmona, 1980), fig. 64. Also see K. Hoglund and E. Meyers, "The Residential Quarter on the Western Summit," *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, edited by R. Nagy, C. Meyers, E. Meyers, and Z. Weiss (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 40. Also see the photograph in Bonnie Rochman, "Mass Grave May Date to Jewish Revolt: Josephus Gets a Boost," *Biblical Archaeological Review* 23 (1997): 26.

84. Andrea M. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36, no. 4 (2005): 451.

ii Tombs and Funerary customs

Tombs and funerary customs are another important area in which one can see the Hellenistic influence among the Jews.[85] Traditionally, caves were used as burial places in Israel. When their capacity was seen to be insufficient, artificial hypogea were added to them by digging into the soft rock. A vertical shaft gave access to the funerary chamber that contained one or more bodies.[86]

---

85. For issues related to the study of tombs and burial custom, see L.Y. Rahmani, "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs Part I," *Biblical Archeologist* 44, no. 3 (Summer 1981):171-77; L. Y. Rahmani, "Ossuaries and *Ossilegium* (Bone-Gathering) in the late Second Temple Period," in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, edited by H. Geva (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 191-205. Steven Fine, "A Note on Ossuary Burial and the Resurrection of the Dead in First-Century Jerusalem," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000): 69-76; idem, "Why Bone Boxes?" *Biblical Archaeological Review* 27, no. 4 (2001): 39-44, and 57. For an alternative view, see Eric Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," *Biblical Archeologists* 33 (1970): 2-29. For more detailed study on this subject, see N. Avigad, "Jewish Rock-Cut Tombs in Jerusalem and the Judean Hill-Country," *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967): 119-42 (Hebrew); H. Geva and N. Avigad, "Jerusalem Tombs," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, edited by E. Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1993), 747-49; N. Sagiv, B. Zissu, and G. Avni, "Tombs of the Second Temple Period at Tel Goded, Judean Foothills," *'Atiqot* 35 (1998): 159-61; S. Weksler-Bdolah, "Burial Caves and Installations of the Second Temple Period at the Har Hazom Observatory (Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem)," *'Atiqot* 35 (1998): 161-63; R. Abu Raya and B. Zissu, "Burial Caves from the Second Temple Period on Mount Scopus," '*Atiqot* 40 (2000): 1-12 (Hebrew); and F. Vitto, "Burial Caves from the Second Temple Period in Jerusalem (Mount Scopus, Giv'at Hamivtar, Neveh Ya'aqov)," *'Atiqot* 40 (2000): 65-122.

86. For a detailed study on ancient custom of burials and tombs, see Joseph A. Callaway, "Burials in Ancient Palestine: From Stone Age to Abraham," *Biblical Archaeologist* 26, no. 3 (1963): 73-91; and L.Y. Rahmani, "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs Part II," *Biblical Archeologist* 44, no. 4 (Fall 1981): 229-35.

Although the vast majority of people continued to practice the old burial system, the Hellenistic period witnessed an important development.[87] Almost everywhere in the country, burial places were of an extremely simple sort, consisting of mere pits dug out of the soil or rock, which could be covered by a slab.[88] Either

---

87. Andrea M. Berlin, "Power and Its Afterlife: Tombs in Hellenistic Palestine," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 2 (2002): 138-48. Berlin points out that in the early Hellenistic period, the Jewish tombs resembled the contemporary Phoenician tombs. Later, during the late second century BCE, these two styles departed from each other and they both adopted their own unique architectural features. She also points out that the Hellenistic Jews, in many places, reused the earlier tombs that were readily available to them. Also see N. Avigad, "The Architecture of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period," in *Jerusalem Revealed: Archeology in the Holy City 1968-74*, edited by Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1975), 17-20. Berlin reiterates her position in Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," 453-66. The comparison of Jewish tombs between the First and the Second Temple period indicates that Jews living in the Hellenistic period continued the essential aspects of First Temple period burial practices. These practices include a primary burial within a family tomb, the later gathering of bones without regard for individual identification, and the giving of household goods, all of which reveal a continued belief in an afterlife. The presence of small bowls for eating and drinking, along with the cooking pots, may also reflect ritual repasts at the burial site. These gatherings could take place within the sizeable courtyards in front of the tomb chambers.

88. Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," 18. These types of shaft tombs became more common among the Jews in the later period. For a detailed study of the features of these tombs, see Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," 462-4. The largest shaft tomb cemetery has been found at Khirbet Qumran, where about 1200 such tombs are neatly laid out to the west of the site. Archaeologists found other tombs at 'En el-Ghuweir (17 tombs) and Hiam el-Sagha, both south of Qumran; at Mamilla (one tomb), East Talpiyot (two tombs), and Beit Safafa, just south of Jerusalem (53 tombs, though there were probably more); and at Horbat Egoz in the Judean hills (seven tombs). For more details, see É. Puech, "The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumran and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 312 (1998): 21-36; Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2002), 168-75;

this large number of people could not afford a more elegant burial or they turned their face to the new customs. At the same time, there were elaborate rock-cut tombs with several chambers found in some places, especially in Jerusalem. The highly structured elegant Jewish tombs excavated in Kidron Valley across from Jerusalem are good evidence for the new developments in burial system.[89] However, one should note that this change was adopted only a small portion of the population. This conclusion is obvious because of the number of well-decorated elegant tombs was scanty.[90] These "display tombs" of Jerusalem had a special purpose, as Berlin points out. It is believed that these ornamental tombs were to advertise the power of the city and its inhabitants. These tombs also were intended to demarcate the space of the deceased and to show their identity. Therefore, they were closely connected with power and authority. This suggestion also points out that vast majority of people continued to practice the old burial system, or they could not afford to adopt the new burial system.

P. Bar-Adon, Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of theDead Sea, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1977): 12-24; and Boaz Zissu and Haim Moyal, "Jerusalem, Beit Safafa (West)," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 18 (1998): 94-95.

89. According to Berlin, the Hasmonean monumental tomb built by Simon Maccabee at Modein (1 Macc 13: 27-30) influenced the city dwellers at Jerusalem to build elaborate tombs at Kidron Valley. For a study of the features of the Hasmonean tomb at Modein, see Berlin, "Power and Its Afterlife," 144-47. For details about monumental tombs, see Geoffrey B. Waywell and Andrea Berlin, "Monumental Tombs: From Maussolos to the Maccabees," *Biblical Archaeological Review* 33, 3 (May/June 2007): 54-65.

90. Berlin, "Power and Its Afterlife," 138. She calls the highly decorated tombs of Kidron Valley "display tombs."

In this period, the multi-chambered *hypogea* became numerous and larger as the cities developed. *Kokim* chambers became characteristic of this period. These *kokim* are deep and narrow niches dug perpendicularly in the wall of the funeral chamber.[91] After the body buried there, a stone slab was used to seal this niche. These tombs were often decorated with murals of bright colors, which is Hellenistic in character. Inscriptions in Greek, which usually named the occupant of each niche, marked the *kokim* tombs. In sum, the Jewish tombs of the Hellenistic period show particular features of the social life. That is, while most of the Jews of the land continued to follow their ancient customs, a small elite group who inhabited in cities particularly in Jerusalem, adopted new customs. The *kokim* tombs and the "display tombs" of the Kidron Valley represent this small group of Jews.

iii Pottery

Pottery is an important type of archaeological evidence that leads to know the intensity of the Hellenistic influence on the Jewish community of this period. It reflects the evolution of material culture and also the situation of the land during a particular time. One notes that even though the workshops began to use more mechanical and more rapid methods, pottery production in Israel during the Hellenistic period was not industrialized. For a long time, the processes remained in the hands of the craftsmen. That is, the manufacture was to a large extent by

---

91. Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," 20-21.

individuals and even though forms were in the main standardized, complete uniformity did not occur.[92] In the middle of first century BCE, numerous pottery workshops were established in Jewish populated places in Israel, especially around Jerusalem.[93] This increase in number of workshops might be due to the rising demand for pottery.[94] At all these workshops, the products were basic kitchen pottery,

---

92. Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," 28. The author points out that each piece of pottery differes from the other in some detail and has therefore kept the mark of the hand that fashioned or painted it.

93. For Jerusalem, see Isadore Perlman, Jan Gunneweg and Joseph Yellin, "Pseudo-Nabataean Ware and Pottery of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 262 (May 1986): 77-82; and Jodi Magness, *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology Circa 200-800 CE*, JSOT/ASOR monograph series 9 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993). For Qumran, Roland de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran," *Revue Bibliques* 63 (1956): 533-77, especially 543-44; and Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 52-53. For Kfar Hananya, David Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee. A Study of Local Trade* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993), 235; idem, "On the Chronology of the Common Pottery of Northern Roman Judaea/Palestine," in *One Land, Many Cultures: Archaeological Studies in honour of Stanislao Lo.reda OF,* edited by G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni, and L. D. Chrupcata (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003), 5-32, especially 15-16. For 'el-Jumeizah, Andrea Berlin, *Gamla*, vol. 1, *The Pottery of the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006). Also see Rachel Bar-Nathan, *The Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations*, vol. 3, *The Pottery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 196; Malka Hershkovitz, "The Pottery of the First and Second Centuries CE from Giv'at Ram," *Eretz Israel* 19 (1987): 314-25 (Hebrew); and Benny Arubas and Haim Goldfus, "The kilnworks of the Tenth Legion Fretensis," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, Journal of Roman Archaeology supplementary series 14, edited by J.H. Humphrey (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1995), 95-107, especially see page 95.

94. For an analysis of various possible reasons for the establishment of pottery workshops, see Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," 420-22, and 24-25.

primarily cooking pots and casseroles. These products were hardly any different from those of the Iron Age or the Persian Period, or those made in the Roman Period.[95] Their paste was red in color, about 3mm thick and usually ribbed. Later after 150 BCE, the paste became extremely delicate and fragile. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period, there was a particular kind of large jar (50 to 60 cm height) with a broad body and a narrow neck, found all over the land.[96] The size and form of this jar is pretty much standardized throughout the country. They were everywhere in the country. One could conclude that the population of this region widely used this kind of jar for storing things like wine.

Yet another notable piece of evidence is the widespread presence and form of stone vessels.[97] Textual evidences speak about the ritual uses of the stone vessels.

---

95. Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," 29-30.

96. On the form and other details of the pottery, see Bar-Nathan, *Jericho*, 28-31. See also S. Loreda, *La Ceramica di Macheronte e dell'Herodion*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior 39 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1996), 25-30; Berlin, *Gamla*; and D. Avshalom-Gorni and N. Getzov, "Phoenicians and Jews: A Ceramic Case Study," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, edited by Andrea M. Berlin and J. A. Overman (London: Routledge, 2002), 74-84.

97. J. Cahill, "Chalk Vessel Assemblages of the Persian/Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in *Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, vol. 3, *Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports*, edited by A. de Groot and D. T. Ariel (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 190-274; Yitzhak Magen, "Jerusalem as a Center of the Stone Vessel Industry during the Second Temple Period," *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, edited by H. Geva (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 244-56; idem, "The Stone Vessel Industry during the Second Temple Period," *Purity broke out in Israel: Stone Vessels in the Late*

John 2: 6[98] and Mishnah *Parah* 3: 2[99] are examples for this. However, there is no scholarly agreement on how and in what exact circumstances many of these stone vessels were used, and thus no real insight on what inspired and sustained demand for the precise array of vessels produced.[100] The distribution pattern of this pottery is also significant to our study. They are common throughout Judea and Galilee, but almost non-existent in Samaria. Understanding stone vessels as carrying a message of Jewish identity could explain Samaritan disinterest in them.[101] The absence of this peculiar pottery tells us the message that the Samaritans wanted to separate from the Jews in every respect. The abundant presence of these vessels leads us to a conclusion that

---

Second Temple Period (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1994) 7-28; idem, *The Stone Vessel Industry*, 138-47, 163; E. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and Its Religious Aspects According to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings" in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus*, edited by M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 223-44; and Shimon Gibson, "Stone Vessels of the Early Roman Period from Jerusalem and Palestine-A Reassessment" in *One Land, Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislao Lo.reda OFM*. G. Claudio Bottini, edited by L. di Segni, L. Daniel Chrupcata (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003), 287-308.

98. John 2: 6—Now six stone jars were standing there (Cana) for the Jewish rites of purification.

99. Mishnah *Parah* 3:2 speaks of stone cups to take water from the Siloam Pool. However, this text does not actually link the vessels with any specific purity rituals. Several rabbinic rulings deemed stone vessels among a select group able to maintain or transmit purity to water. See Yitzhak Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period. Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 138-42; Mishnah Kelim 6:2, 10:1, Oholoth 5:5, Parah 5:5, Yadayim 1:2; Betzah 2:3; and Tosefta Shabbat 16:11.

100. Gibson, "Stone Vessels," 302-3.

101. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 433.

these pots were comparatively inexpensive compared to clay bowls and plates, which were made from the imported fine clay from Phoenician and Italian workshops.[102] Stone pots were prepared from indigenously available materials and by locals. Everyone in the society and all over the country used these pots. However, the imported clay pans, plates, and vessels were found in the elite homes, and not found everywhere.[103] The spreading of this foreign pottery to the land was also slow. In the third and second century BCE, they were rarely present in coastal cities but absent everywhere else in the country.[104] This form of pottery slowly crept into the country and reached the homes of the elite. In the south, in Jerusalem and Judea, Italian pans appeared in palatial buildings in palaces like Jericho, Herodium, Masada, and the Upper City of Jerusalem. However, in the rural settlements, including Qumran settlement, they are completely absent.[105] That is, only the upper wealthy class used

---

102. Ibid., 432-3.

103. For e.g., during first century BCE, imported clay pans occurred only at palatial sites, such as Caesarea and Jericho, and there is no evidence of their local production. Bar-Nathan, *Jericho*, 138-39.

104. B. Guz-Zilberstein, "The Typology of the Hellenistic Coarse Ware and Selected Loci of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Excavations at Dor, Final Report*, vol. I B, *Areas A and C: The Finds*, edited by E. Stern, Qedem Reports 2 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1995), 300.

105. M. Burdajewicz, "Typology of the Pottery from Khirbet Qumran (French Excavations 1953-1956)," *American Schools of Oriental Research Newsletter* 51-53 (2001): 14. Also see R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Fine Ware and Lamps from Area A," *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*, vol. 2, *The Finds from Areas A, W, and X-2. Final Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003), 215-17. Later in the first century CE,

these imported stylish pans, and they were unusual among the dwellings of the common people. One can see the use of this particular vessel as a vehicle of foreign culture into the land. In addition, the kitchen pottery of Jerusalem's upper classes reveals culinary sophistication—and a certain culinary separation from other Jews.[106]

Although one can see foreign influence in big urban centers like Jerusalem, Ptolemais (Akko), or Samaria, where there was a great influence of Hellenism, in Israel as a whole the pottery style continued to be essentially independent. The local made vessels were to some extent inferior in the quality of their paste and by their glaze.[107] The common people used indigenous pottery, whereas the elite slowly started using the imported pottery. It is evident that the arrival of Hellenism did affect the local pottery style, but the traditional style continued all over the land.

The material culture revealed through archeological excavations helps us to come to certain conclusions about the social life of the populations in Israel during the Hellenistic period. The foreign culture that came into the land along with the military conquest slowly penetrates the local life. However, the rate of incursion was not equal among the various sections of the society. Soon the elite class of the society, especially in Jerusalem, entertained in formal dining rooms of Hellenistic

---

the local potters started making these pans. But the quantity and distributions were limited. See Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 441-42.

106. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 442.

107. Marie-Christine Halpern-Zylbersterin, "The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine," 29. The archeological excavations have found many imported vessels in Israel. Most of these imports are fine table vessels with a black glaze.

style, prepared foreign cuisine dishes in Italian-style pans, which were usually imported, and used beautifully decorated serving dishes and individual place settings. The upper class in Jerusalem built elaborate, public display tombs whose large courtyards and impressive façades provided a classicizing backdrop for opulent funeral ceremonies. The adoption of the new customs and social norms by the influential class in the land likely accompanied and fostered a sense of social superiority. On the other hand, people in Galilee and Gaulanitis chose to live by a different cultural ethic. Decorated serving vessels and display tombs were completely absent in almost all of these areas of these two regions. This absence suggests that the affect of Hellenism on their population was too little, and their practical conception of observant Judaism was more stringent. Moreover, their attitude towards foreign culture was not accommodative but rather repulsive. That is, Jews in Israel chose to acquire obvious markers of identity throughout this period. This evidence blends well with the view provided by Josephus and other writers of this era that Jews in Gaulanitis, Galilee, Judea, and Idumea (but not Samaria) identified themselves as *Ioudaioi*, defined not according to precise prescriptions but rather by shared beliefs and practices—in ancestral laws, keeping the Sabbath, traveling to Jerusalem for pilgrimage festivals, and paying the annual temple tax.[108] Finally, this evidence

---

108. Josephus, *Ant*. 16.162-66; David Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution 6-74 C.E* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 177-79; Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 22, and 61; S. Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, edited by Lee I. Levine (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 81; Paula Fredriksen,

demonstrates a sharp fissure slowly emerged between the elite class in Jerusalem and other social classes.

iv Lamps

The study of ancient lamps is another significant area to our study. The people in Israel had been using a simple wheel-made oil lamp. It had the form of a small bowl with a round base and its rim turned inward, thus creating a nozzle for the wick.[109] The lamp industry underwent a major transition during the Hellenistic period, especially at the end of first century BCE.[110] During this period, the potters of Israel developed a new form for the lamps. This new form was a combination of the double-convex body of late Hellenistic-period lamps, with a short flaring nozzle (usually called "spatulate") similar to a popular Italian form. The newly fashioned lamp soon became popular throughout Judea, Galilee, and Gaulanitis. These lamps

---

Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews : A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity (New York : Knopf, 1999), 176-78; Sean Freyne, "Behind the Names: Samaritans, *Ioudaioi*, Galileans," in Galilee Through Centuries: Confluence of Cultures, edited by Eric M. Meyers (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns), 51-3; Shaye J.D. Cohen, *The beginnings of Jewishness, Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*, Hellenistic Culture and Society (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000); Levine, *Jerusalem*, 388; Eric Gruen, "Roman perspectives on the Jews in the age of the Great Revolt," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, edited by Andrea Berlin and A. Overman (London: Routledge, 2002), 27-42 and Andrea Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," 468.

109. Archaeologists know this lamp as the "folded wheel-made lamp."

110. Bar-Nathan, *Jericho*, 112-13, and 189-90; see also R. Rosenthal and R. Sivan, *Ancient Lamps in the Schloessinger Collection*, Qedem 8 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1978), 80; and Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, 88.

appeared also on the coast (e.g., Caesarea, Dor), in Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste, Tell en-Nasbeh), Transjordan (Amman, Dibon), Idumea (Marisa), and in the Nabatean Negev (Oboda).[111] The analysis of clay reveals that a vast majority of these lamps found in various places were made out of clay from Jerusalem.[112] The most distinctive feature of these lamps is the absence of any decoration. In this case, the potters did not follow the Italians lamps, which used to have images and scenes, from which they copied the form.[113] We do not know the reason for avoiding decoration on the lamps. Since it is not difficult to add some decoration to the lamp mold, the absence of decoration could most possibly be a purposeful act. [114] It might be a

---

111. Rosenthal and Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, 80-81; D. Barag and M. Hershkovitz, "Lamps from Masada," in *Masada* IV: *The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 44-58; Loreda, *Macheronte*, 110-14; Bar-Nathan, *Jericho*, 112-13, 189-90; R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Hellenistic and Early Roman Fine Ware and Lamps from Area A," *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem conducted by Nahman Avigad*, *1969-1982*, vol. 2, *The Finds from Areas A, W, and X-2, Final Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003), 219.

112. For e.g., lamps found in Masada, Jerusalem, Khirbet Qumran, and Gamla are considered to be made of clay from Jerusalem. See the studies, J. Yellin, "Origin of the Lamps from Masada," in *Masada* IV: *The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965*, *Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 118; Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel, "Pottery of Qumran," 75, g. 2.2, and table 1.2; Andrea Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 434.

113. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 436.

114. Barag and Hershkovitz, "Lamps from Masada," 46; C. C. McCown, "Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Lamps," in *Tell en-Nasbeh*, vol. 2, *The Pottery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 58; and Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 436.

deliberate creation of an identity meant to separate the user from the Hellenists. The spread of the use of stone vessels and the newly fashioned lamps took place at almost same time. Since both were primarily produced in Jerusalem, and both were meant to use for indoor activities, did these two acts have any religious value? It is highly probable that the use of these were meant to add "purity" to household activities.[115] It is possible that the subjugated people who were longing to regain their identity and freedom created these household objects in order to separate them from the invading "foreign culture." One can also see this phenomenon as a silent protest against the invasion.

Summary and Conclusion

The study of conflict and/or confluence between Hellenism and Judaism as two cultural milieus has been one of the most engaging and productive areas of research in the modern study of Jewish history in antiquity. Empires throughout history established using war and physical compulsion (military imperialism) to acquire domination over other peoples and their culture. In the long run, populations have tended to be absorbed into the dominant culture, that is the culture of the conquerors, or acquire their attributes indirectly. In addition, imperialism always spells trouble for the culture and rights of the indigenous or less powerful groups in colonized societies. In Israel, it is apparent that there were influences of the culture of

---

115. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 436.

the conqueror, Hellenism, in Judaism and the life of the Jews after its arrival in the land. The question is how far Hellenization permeated the Jewish society in Israel. Based on our study, we can come to several conclusions. Primarily one needs to accept that the Jewish society, just like any other cultures, could not completely close their doors to the invading culture. They did adopt many things from the "foreign" culture. However, the impact of the new culture on the local society was not evenly distributed geographically and socially.

The upper class homes in Jerusalem had highly decorated dining rooms of Hellenistic style, prepared dishes (possible foreign cuisine) in Italian-style pans, and used beautifully decorated serving dishes. They built elaborate, public display tombs and had lavish ceremonies in large courtyards, and placed impressive façades on the tombs. The royal families of the Hasmoneans and Herod particularly followed the luxurious foreign cultural practices and customs, including adoption of Greek names. The elites in Jerusalem also followed these customs. However, one needs to study carefully the reason for this adoption. We can also assume, as mentioned earlier, that their adoption likely accompanied and fostered a sense of social superiority.

On the other hand, Jews in other parts of Israel and the lower classes followed a different lifestyle and cultural ethic. Most of them did not follow any of the newly developed customs and cultural norms. They continued to follow their traditional burial system, and tried to keep their identity by using stone vessels and pots for cooking and specially formed traditional lamps for households. It is sure that these cultural elements still had gone through tremendous changes by accommodating them

from other cultures. It is understandable that the economy was one of the barriers for many to adopt many of the highly expensive foreign cultural elements like decorated dining rooms, ornamented pottery, and adorned display tombs. However, one cannot be completely sure that all people who did not adopt the new cultural norms were poor. It is probable that they were a group of people, who included the poor and the rich, who did not want to adopt the new cultural elements, and who want to continue with their traditions. The intensity of the amalgamation can be seen more in the cities and less in the countryside, and more among the rich and less among the poor. In sum, one can see amalgamation of two cultures in several layers in different places.

The Greek language had a strong impact on the local population. Especially among the aristocracy, it became their prime language. Many had good knowledge of Greek by this time. It entered even into the religious circles too. Greek became acceptable in synagogues, and it made its presence felt even among the conservative circles like the Qumran community. The presence of Greek in these places does not mean that Greek was the primary language of all in the land. Greek gained a status of prominent language of the land. Knowledge of Greek also became a social status symbol.[116] Many literatures were written in Greek during this time, including the Greek translation of the Hebrew scripture. On the other hand, one can see the gradual decline of the use of the existing languages, Hebrew and Aramaic.

---

116. Accepting the customs and culture of the conqueror and identifying with the ruling party were often considered as high status in the society. Thus accepting Greek culture and norms gave the colonized a higher status, at certain level, in the society. I will take the issue of class distinction among the Jews later in the study.

One of the most significant markers of cultural identity is language. The demise of a language, as a spoken language, leaves no archaeology, unlike a dead person or object. When a language that has never been written down dies, it is as if it never existed. Imperialism or colonialism has always been at the heart of the murder of languages. The underlying reason for this sabotage is that the more linguistically coherent the society is the easier it is to control. Take away a person's language, and one robs them of the ability to express unique cultural concepts. The people in Israel became victims of the language incursion. As seen earlier, *koine* Greek arrived along with the Greek merchants and business people, later it became the accepted language of the people, and soon, it became the official language of the Hellenistic, both Ptolemaic and the Seleucid, empires. Since it became the language of the rulers, the common people had to master it. This language invasion weakens the existing languages of the land, Aramaic and Hebrew.

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, one can perceive the growth of a strong movement within the Jewish society. This new group was basically rebellious to the foreign cultural and political invasion. Even though their reactions were not always violent, their rejection of the new culture and foreign dominion can be demonstrated by their material culture.[117] Most of the time, this was a silent movement within Jewish society in Israel which wanted to preserve their identity and separation from the "alien" culture. More interestingly, none of these actions was

---

117. As Hengel illustrates how this silent movement culminates in the violent Hasmonean revolt. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*.

according to either Levitical stipulation or Halakhah or any other legal codes of the period. This movement emerged outside of all of these legal codes.[118] One can view this trend as a genuine aspiration of conquered people for freedom and identity.

---

118. Berlin labels this new phenomenon within Judaism as "household," "mainstream," "common," or "normative" Judaism. See Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt," 467, especially see n. 140. She points out that none of these issues appears in any of the previous scholarly writings. This argument is missing in Safrai's articles "Religion in Everyday Life," a summary based on rabbinic sources thought to date from this era. S. Safrai, "Religion in Everyday Life," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, vol. 2, edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 793-833. F. Vitto summarizes rabbinic rulings on ceramic purity, but none of these antedates the second century CE. F. Vitto, "Potters and Pottery Manufacture in Roman Palestine," *University College, London, Institute of Archaeology Bulletin* 23 (1987): 47-64. A comparative review of Galilean and Judean Halakhah from the Second Temple period reveals their essential similarities, and the absence of rulings regarding household behavior. See L. Schiman, "Was There a Galilean Halakhah?" in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity,* edited by L. Levine (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 143-56; and Martin Goodman, "Galilean Judaism and Judean Judaism," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3, *The Early Roman Period*, edited by W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 596-617. John Poirier also argues that purity practices in the Second Temple period had no connection either to the temple or to *halakha*. John Poirier, "Purity Beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (2003): 247-265. Definitely, the new trend was a significant movement within Judaism. It was a part of the popular religious movement, which was clearly different from the so-called "official" religion. For an excellent study of popular and official religion, see Leonard Norman Primiano, "Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife," *Western Folklore* 54, no. 1: *Reflexivity and the Study of Belief* (January 1995): 37-56. Primiano calls the popular religion a "Vernacular religion," which takes seriously what people feel, say, and experience. He points out that the "official" religion is a western scholarly concept sustained partially out of deference to the historical and cultural hegemony of Christianity that has set the dominant tone for the Western culture. And the "official" religion also practices religion vernacularly. A religion cannot become "official' just because some empowered members within that religious tradition practice them. When we go with the "official" religion, it would take us to a limited scope of religion by the assumption that religion is synonymous with institutional or heirarchichal authority. However, it is hard to find evidence of ancient popular religious practices, since most

We need to clarify the question of identity here. There has been some debate on this issue especially in last two centuries. The issue before us is which of the following features of identity should be given more prominence: political, religious, ethnic, or cultural. Some scholars consider the identity primarily to be of a religious and ethnic character.[119] Some others argue that the Jewish identity in antiquity is best understood only in religious terms.[120] Yet another group looks at the whole issue in terms of other forms of identification, which includes ethnic and political identity.[121] However, none of these above definitions is convincing since each of them conveys only partial truth. Therefore, it would be appropriate to regard identity as a form of the larger cultural or ethnic character. In other words, identity sets off a group of people from other groups with whom they interact or coexist in terms of some

---

archeological evidence dervices from the remains of the empowered members of the religious tradition. One can only come to some assumptions of the popular practices by analyzing different material remains and reading in between the lines of the various relgious and non-religious texts that emerged during the particular period.

119. For e.g., see K. Goudriaan "Ethnical Strategies in Graeco-Roman Egypt," in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic* Egypt, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, edited by P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992), 74-95, especially see pp. 94-95; and Jacob Neusner, "Was Rabbinic Judaism Really 'Ethnic,'" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57 (1995): 281-305.

120. A. Thomas Kraabel, "The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33, no. 1(1982): 454-55.

121. and U. Ostergard, "What is Ethnic and National Identity?" in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, edited by Peter Blide et al. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992), 16-38; and S. Schwarts, "Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine," *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 3-37.

distinctive criteria.[122] These criteria can include language, religion, history or any other aspects of culture. However, this identity is totally different from the concept of race, which received substantial emphasis in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Let me conclude my argument in Jones's words,

> Although Jewish identity in antiquity may have been primarily based on religious practices and beliefs, the formation of religious-based identity involves comparable processes to those which can be observed in other culturally-based forms of group identification. Furthermore, there is an evidence that the forms of identification exhibited by Jewish communities in antiquity often incorporated other cultural and political facets. Thus, to consider Jewish identity as a form of cultural identity opens up the interpretation of Jewish self-identification, and identification by others, to the possibility of other possibility of other political, cultural and territorial-based constructions of identity, alongside religious ones.[123]

Throughout the study, we have seen different forms and features of cultural imperialism that exercised its power over the subjected people. Cultural imperialism could refer either to the forced acculturation of a subject population or to the voluntary embracing of a foreign culture by individuals who do so of their own free will. Since these are two entirely different referents, the validity of the term can be

---

122. Siân Jones, "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Journal for the study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 31, edited by Siân Jones and Sarah Pearce (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 31-32. Also see Sarah Pearce and Siân Jones, "Introduction: Jewish Local Identities and Patriotism in the Graeco-Roman Period," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 13-28.

123. Jones, "Identities in Practice," 32.

called into question. It is good to inquire where the Jews stood during the Hellenistic imperialistic world. Do they fall in the first category or in the second? The "receiving" culture can see cultural influence as either a threat to or an enrichment of its cultural identity. It seems, therefore, useful to distinguish between cultural imperialism as an (active or passive) attitude of superiority, and the position of a culture or group that seeks to complement its own cultural production, considered partly defective, with imported products or values.

We have seen that Hellenism made a remarkable impact on the local culture and daily life by the end of the Second Temple period. However, the rate of impact varied from location to location, class to class, and people to people. While the urban centers experienced a higher level of influence, the rural areas were hardly affected. This tendency was also same with the class divisions. While there was a higher level of influence of Hellenism among the influential class of Jews, its influence was undeniably little among the lower classes, although we have only limited knowledge about them. In other words, the imperial forces did not have much concern about the poor and the destitute that lived in rural areas, since this group did not have anything to do with the decision making of the society. Rather, the primary target of the imperial cultural policy was the city-dwelled influential who made decisions on behalf of the society. They knew that by converting the influential class to the invading culture, they would be able to exercise their power over the entire land and people. The acceptance of the new culture by the influential class mostly was a voluntary act. The fortunate thing for the rulers was that they had no need to exercise

any force to implement their culture on the influential or to attract the locals to their culture. We will discuss this matter in detail in the next chapter.

It is sure that the advancement of the new culture was not smooth in every place. There was resistance, which was in some aspects strong, against the culture which came along with the conquering political power. Feldman asserts, "the question is not so much how greatly Jews and Judaism in the Land of Israel was Hellenized, as how strongly they resisted Hellenization."[124] Even though one cannot see a noticeable resistance against the invading culture everywhere in the land, as Feldman argues, there were silent confrontations between these two cultures. The fact is that, despite the physical changes that were mostly imposed by the rulers, there was a strong trend among the people, especially among the common people, to retain their traditional beliefs and culture.[125] On the other hand, the lower strata of the society and the conservative religious circles did not completely close their doors to the new culture. In fact, the cultural invasion was much slower in these sections of the society

---

124. Feldman, "How much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine," 83.

125. Eric M. Meyers, "The Challenges of Hellenism for Early Judaism and Christianity," *Biblical Archaeologists* 55, no. 2 (June 1992): 86.

when compare to other sections of the society.[126] However, the Hasmonean victory over the Seleucids put a check on the advance of Hellenism.[127]

It is true that the Judaism of the Second Temple period absorbed many elements from Hellenism, when Jews came into contact with it. At the same time, there were strong reactions from some Jews against the course of the cultural amalgamation. However, the cultural assimilation was not a dichotomy of those who completely immersed themselves in the invading culture and those who totally rejected it. One can easily perceive several layers of absorption of the new culture among the Jews in Israel. Many of the rich city dwellers readily accepted the Hellenism, and completely submerged themselves in it. They even rejected their own cultural and religious identity in order to adopt the new. In contrast, the majority of the population who lived outside the city tends to reject or avoid all things Greek. One can identify several levels of cultural assimilation in between these two extreme positions.[128] In sum, the Jews did not accept the new culture uniformly anywhere in

---

126. The development of Hasidic apocalyptic, with its strong syncretistic elements, conceivable in the first half of the second century BCE, is a good example for this matter. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 248.

127. It is now an accepted fact that the Hasmonean war of independence was not just against the foreign rule in the country but also against those Jews who embraced Hellenism. In reality, the revolt was more a civil war between the Orthodox and the Hellenistic Judaism. Therefore, it is right to read this history as a struggle of Jews against imperial powers and culture that dominated their culture and religion.

128. See the above note 177 of the Second Chapter for the discussion of Sievers' categorization of Hellenistic influence in the Jewish community in Israel. He points our eight layers of assimilation between the Hellenism and the Jewish culture.

Israel. Therefore, one cannot talk about a standard form of cultural assimilation in Israel during the Hellenistic period. Rather, one can see a multiple layers of assimilation of the foreign culture in this period.

For details, see Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters*, 21-26. Barclay, while discussing the Jewish community in the Diaspora mentions four layers of assimilation. See Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 103-24. Many Jews made use of Greek culture, values, and ideas in order to express Jewish culture and religion. Philo of Alexandria is an example for this type of assimilation. One can see yet another layer of assimilation in Ben Sira who showed Hellenistic *influence* in his writings. At the same time, many Jews completely or partially rejected the Hellenistic culture and values.

IV. Hellenistic Education and Early Judaism

Introduction

Education has been used a major device to spread the colonial values among the colonized. Postcolonial studies have exposed and explicated the close relationship between colonial education and class formation. The colonial education program was primarily aimed in such a way to create a separate class among the colonized. The colonizers needed a meek, suppliant group of indigenous intellectuals whose members also felt a degree of loathing for their fellow citizens. This class was formed mainly to establish an effective imperial administration and channels of communication for ruling the colony.

The primary aim of this chapter is to discuss and analyze the establishment of the Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, mentioned in early Hellenistic Jewish texts, from a postcolonial perspective. This chapter examines the transition from the traditional Jewish educational system to the establishment of Greek gymnasium. Based on the study of several texts—Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, Josephus, and early rabbinic literature—the investigation seeks to determine how the institution of the gymnasium was used to educate the elites and enable Greek citizens, Hellenes, and Hellenistic Jews to function politically, ethnically, and economically within the larger Greek empire and particularly in Judea, by creating a separate class among the Jewish population. To understand the transition to a Greek gymnasium in Israel we need to

have knowledge of the educational system existed in Israel among the Jews before the arrival of the Hellenistic culture.

School System in Early Judaism

When we speak of "schools" in the ancient world, we should be careful about one important thing. The word "school" tends to provide a picture of a corporate, perpetual institution housed in a large building filled with teachers, students, classrooms, and other offices. However, the ancient world did not have a similar school structure. Compared with modern schools, the schools of the ancient world were less formal and smaller, with fewer students and teachers.[1] Therefore, one should not look at this ancient institution in modern terms.

Scholars have noted the absence of evidence that sheds light directly on the existence of the institution of a school in early Judaism.[2] Evidence is thin of schools in not only in Israel but also in the entire Greco-Roman world.[3] Texts and archaeological excavations have revealed only isolated instances of schools that can be identified as such with assurance. We have only limited Jewish sources with which

---

1. For a brief discussion on this matter, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 114-15.

2. Nili Shupak, "Learning Methods in Ancient Israel," *Vetus Testamentum* 53, no. 3 (2003): 416. Shupak points out that archaeologists have found no literature regarding the institution of school from Mesopotamia and Egypt.

3. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 17.

to reconstruct the traditional early Jewish education. One cannot jump to the conclusion that the silence of sources indicates the absence of schools, or that they were so common that no one ever thought it necessary to mention what was obvious to all.[4] Nearly every culture has some form of education aimed at transmitting knowledge from one generation to another. The form of transmission, and the values which were taught, might be different from time to time, culture to culture, and location to location. As Marrou points out,

> Education is a collective technique which a society employs to instruct its youth in the values and accomplishments of the civilization within which it exists. It is therefore a secondary activity, subordinate to the life of the civilization of which it forms a part, and normally appearing as its epitome.[5]

We do have adequate evidence in the early Jewish literature that talks about knowledge and wisdom and their conveyance from one generation to another. In the Hebrew Bible, education originated with the desire for order and continuity. The Bible also intended education for moral formation, the building of character. The wisdom literature in the Bible consist of the sayings of older generations, who were more experienced, aimed at preventing the younger from falling to the pitfalls of daily

---

4. James L. Crenshaw, “Education in Ancient Israel,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104, no. 4 (1985): 603.

5. H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, translated by George Lamp (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), xiii. He specifically clarifies that “normally” is used here to indicate that since irrational societies impose an absurd education that has no relevance to life on their youth.

life. The corpus of wisdom literature teaches the value of the integrity of the family, and the importance of raising voices for protecting the general well-being of people.[6] In other words, the principal focus of this teaching was moral formation, the building of character,[7] and preparing children to face challenges in the society. Now let us examine some of the major early Jewish texts that deal with education.

1 Ben Sira

The book of Ben Sira[8] is the major work that gives information about the school system in early Israel.[9] About two-thirds of Ben Sira, originally written in Hebrew, has survived in the original language through a variety of textual translations, at times fragmentary.[10] These variant texts make the textual history of

---

6. James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 1.

7. William P. Brown, *Character in Crisis: A Fresh Approach to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

8. This book is known by a variety of names in different translations. "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," the title of the book found in most English translations, employs the Greek form of author's name and is derives from manuscripts of a Greek translation of the work that Ben Sira's grandson made from its Hebrew original. In the early Latin Church, the book was known as "Ecclesiasticus," which means "belonging to the church."

9. The form of the author's name is different in the Greek and Hebrew texts of 50: 27. For detailed discussion on this matter, see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 3-4, 557, and 579-80.

10. Fragments of three manuscripts of Hebrew original have been found at Qumran and in the ruins of the Herodian fortress at Masada. For Qumran manuscripts, see Maurice Baillet, J. T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

this book extremely complicated and thus problematic for those who attempt to translate the text.[11] The use of local language is significant. It not only followed a standard Seleucid policy that allowed the use of native tongues but also revealed Ben Sira's conservative attitude towards religion and culture. Instead of adopting the dominant alien language, he chose the language of the land for his writings. However, the use of Hebrew in writing does not negate the prominence of the Greek language, as we have seen in the last chapter, during the period.

1962), 75-77; for the Hebrew in Sir 51: 13-22, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsa), Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 79-85. For the Masada manuscript, see Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Scoeity, 1965); John Strugnell, "Notes and Queries on 'The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada,'" *Israel* 9 (1969): 109-19; and Corrado Martone, "Ben Sira Manuscripts from Qumran and Masada," in *Ben Sira and Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28-31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands*, BZAW 255, edited by Pancratius C. Beentjes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 81-94. Scholars have recovered large parts of the remainder of the Hebrew texts from six fragmentary medieval manuscripts. For details, see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 5-11.

11. For discussions of the textual history of Ben Sira, see Conleth Kearns, "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, edited by R. C. Fuller, et al. (London: Nelson, 1969), 541-562; Hans Peter Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach*, BZAW 112 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970); Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 51-82; and B. G. Wright, *No Small Difference*. For the printing of the extant Hebrew manuscripts, see Pancratius Cornelis Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: a text edition of all extant Hebrew manuscripts and a synopsis*, Vetus Testamentum Supplement 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). For a comprehensive review of examinations of the texts of Ben Sira and the listing of comparative columns, see Friedrich V. Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*, Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 1-86.

Ben Sira was a professional sage and scribe who studied and taught in Jerusalem.[12] Was he a priest? Many scholars have seriously discussed this question. His use of language of *Shema* (Deut 6: 5) in 7: 29-31, his devotion to Aaron more than Moses (45: 6-24-25; cf. 45: 1-5), and his extraordinary praise of the high priest Simon in chapter 50 caused many to think that he was a priest or a close observer of temple services.[13] On the other hand, some others argue against Ben Sira's being a priest because of the absence of a specific priestly calendar and cultic concerns.[14] However, Qumran literature suggests that Israelite priests, as their counterparts in other cultures, could produce and collect both explicitly cultic and non-cultic instructional literature.[15] Even so, one cannot fully negate his possible priesthood. Therefore, one may sensibly conclude that Ben Sira was a scribal scholar, writer, and

---

12. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 53. He may even be a temple scribe, a group mentioned by Antiochus III in his decree concerning the Jews. Josephus, *Ant*. 12.138-144. Also see Hengel, *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians*, 121

13. For arguments of Ben Sira as priest, see Helge Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter: Eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor- makkabäischen Sofer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehrertum* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1980), 4-39; and Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 103. Also see Saul Mitchell Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *Harvard Theological Review* 80 (1987): 261-86.

14. For e.g., see John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 37.

15. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 207 n. 24.

teacher who functioned under the oversight of the Zadokite priesthood, and ultimately the high priest himself.

In his writings, Ben Sira describes his profession as a "scribe," or scholar of the sacred writings (39:1-11), and invites students to his school [בית מדרשׁ *bêt midrāš*] (51:23).[16] One correctly interprets the term *bêt midrāš* as a physical, residential for students who came from afar to learn from Ben Sira instead of considering the term as a metaphor to speak of wisdom's house (cf. Prov 9:1-2).[17] This notion is clear when one reads this passage along with other numerous references to teaching and learning throughout the book. The teacher must have charged fees for instruction, room, and board.[18] The term *midrāš* connotes searching

---

16. For a detailed study of Ben Sira's professional activities, see Jan Liesen, "Strategic Self-References in Ben Sira," in *Treasurers of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of* Wisdom, Festschrift M Gilbert, edited by N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1999), 63-74. On Ben Sira as a scribe, see Helge Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter*; Burton L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1985), 89-107; John G. Gammie, "The Sage in Sirach," in The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East, edited by John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 355-72; and Wolfgang Roth, "On the Gnomic-Discursive Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach," *Semeia* 17 (1980): 59-79.

17. Oda Wischmeyer, *Die Kultur des Buches Jesus Sirachs*, BZNW 77 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1995), 175-76. He argues that the reference is clearly metaphorical.

18. See Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter*. Stadelmann, based on his interpretation of 51: 25, argues that this education was free, where the teacher tells his potential students that they may acquire wisdom without gold. However, a better explanation of this verse is to interpret it as the common sapiential statement that

for the meaning of something. In this particular context, the term can be understood as studying, reflecting on, and searching for the meaning of scriptural texts in a school (*bēt*).[19] There are several possibilities about the identity of Ben Sira. It is likely that Ben Sira was a teacher and a scholar-sage who taught and wrote in the temple school.[20] It is also possible that his school functioned in his home, or he taught in a synagogue school for Jewish youths studying to be teachers, scribes, sages. The other possibility is that he taught in a Sabbath school for laity in Jerusalem during the early part of the second century BCE.[21] According to Ben Sira, wisdom as a subject matter would have included traditional knowledge (the teachings of the ancestors), parables

---

wisdom is worth more than precious stones and wealth and that it cannot be purchased rather it has to be learned (cf., e.g., Prov 8:10-11).

19. Also see 2 Chr 13:22; and 24:27. For the late biblical and rabbinic meaning of *midrāš*, see Gary G. Porton, "Defining Midrash," *The Study of Ancient Judaism* I, edited by Jacob Neusner (New York: Ktav, 1981), 55-92; and Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of the Midrash* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990). Later the term came to mean the literature that interpreted the Scripture. The origin of this type of literature known by this name is not clearly known. But there is little doubt that Ben Sira understood at least part of his work, particularly the *encomium*, in the same way.

20. See Roth, "On the Gnomic-Discursive Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach," 59-79.

21. For a detailed discussion of Ben Sira as a learned scribe and teacher belonging to the priestly class, see Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter*. Also see Leo G. Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 188-211. The argument about his priestly connection is based on his strong support of the temple (Sir 24), his glowing eulogy to Simon II (Sir 50), the emphasis he places on the Torah and the equation of it with the wisdom, and his strong support of cultic religion (e.g., Sir 31:21-32:26 = GK. 34:18-35:20). However, Ben Sira makes no claim that he has a priestly lineage.

and proverbs, Scripture, reflection on the commandments, pious behavior, proper speech and etiquette, and the skills of diplomacy (6:32-37; 8:8-9; and 38:34-39:10).[22]

As Hellenization continued to transform Jewish culture, society, and religion both in Diaspora and in Israel, the Book of Ben Sira represents a conservative, though not reactionary, position of those Jews of Israel who did not wish to participate too much in the new social and cultural metamorphosis of Judaism in the land of Judah, including Jerusalem.[23] This attitude is evident in his teachings and his use of language. However, he was not completely negative toward Greek culture and philosophy. While standing firm on the traditional path of Judaism,[24]

---

22. See Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 398-99. Ben Sira's writings included not only Israelite wisdom traditions but also the wisdom lore of other parts of the ancient West Asia and Africa. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 54; Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, SBLMS 28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

23. The Dead Sea community at Qumran and the community at Leontopolis in Egypt, which erected a rival Jewish temple, were two important reactionary centers against the Hellenization of Jerusalem and Jewish religion. See C. T. R. Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 432-33. Also see Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirachs erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), xxxiii-xxxiv; and Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 134-153. These scholars find more antagonism between Ben Sira and the Hellenism in Ben Sira's writings.

24. As Blenkinsopp points out, it is the Torah, not Greek philosophy, that provides the path of truth for the sage. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 19.

he was open to the Hellenistic civilization.[25] As many point out, Ben Sira was perhaps the last sapiential teacher who wished to combine the two Jewish social entities: a nationality and a way of life.[26]

---

25. Many scholars recognize Ben Sira's positive attitude toward Hellenism, while standing on Jewish tradition. See Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*. Also see Raymond Pautrel, "Ben Sira et le Stoïcisme," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 51 (1963): 535-49; Theophil Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesus Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); and Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). For Ben Sira's adaptation of Greek thoughts and the philosophy of Stoicism, especially the doctrine of providence, see Otto Kaiser, "Die Rezeption der stoischen Providenz bei Ben Sira," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 24 (1998): 41-54; Ursel Wicke-Reuter, *Göttliche Providenz und menschliche Verantwortung bei Ben Sira und in der Frühen Stoa*, BZAW 298 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000). Also see Ursel Wicke-Reuter, "Ben Sira und die Frühe Stoa. Zum Zusammenhang von Ethik und dem Glauben an eine göttliche Providenz,"in *Ben Sira's God. Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference Durham-Upshaw College 2001*, edited by Renate Egger-Wenzel (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 268-281. For an assessment of the relationship of Ben Sira to Hellenistic philosophy, in particular Stoicism, see David Winston, "Theodicy in Ben Sira and Stoic Philosophy," in *Of Scholars, Savants, and Their Texts*, edited by Ruth Link-Salinger (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 239-249. Also see the essay by S. L. Mattila, "Ben Sira and the Stoics: A Reexamination of the Evidence," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 473-501. Another study one needs to consider in this matter is Theophil Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus*. He points out several places where there is, in his estimation, dependence on Hellenistic philosophies. However, Middendorp's work claims too much and is methodologically unsound, since he builds his case by randomly selecting a Greek understanding and then paralleling it with an idea in Ben Sira. For a critique of his book, see Hans Volker Kieweler, *Ben Sira zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Th. Middendorp* (Frankfurt: Erscheinungsjahr, 1992).

26. See John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 19-24. The religious practices that confirmed one's Jewish birth and shaped identity included especially synagogue attendance, observation of the Sabbath, and the practice of dietary laws. Also see Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 402-418.

The commonly accepted date of Ben Sira is the first quarter of the second century BCE,[27] just after the annexation of Judea to the Seleucid Empire by Antiochus III after he defeated Ptolemy IV at the battle of Panium (Caesarea Philippi in northern Galilee).[28] Some scholars even date the book between 196 and 180 BCE.[29] Some others place push the date up to 175 BCE.[30] The early date is set by the death of the high priest Simon II, whom Ben Sira mentions in chapter 50, who is described as a figure of the past.[31] The later date is the beginning of the Hellenistic reform under Antiochus IV prior to the Maccabean revolt, to which he does not allude. However, the sage does point to tensions with political powers (4:26-27; and 8:1). One may safely assume that since Ben Sira was deeply concerned about Torah, he would not have bypassed those events in his writings.

---

27. For a thorough and detailed bibliography, see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 93-127.

28. For a detailed treatment of Antiochus III, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Smarkhand to Sardis*, 188-216.

29. For e.g., James L. Crenshaw, "The Book of Sirach: Introduction," in *The New Interpreters Bible*, vol. 5 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 603-637.

30. David S. Williams, "The Date of Ecclesiasticus," *Vetus Testamentum* 44 (October 1994): 563-56.

31. Most scholars agree that this Simon was Simon II. For this argument, see Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 8-10. However, some others think that Ben Sira is referring to Simon I, who was high priest roughly a century earlier. For this argument, see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 141-57.

Apart from the above arguments, other scholars base their assumptions on the claim of the Greek translator of the book[32] that he was the grandson of the author, and that he came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of "Euergetes." Since only two Ptolemies bore this epithet, including Ptolemy III Euergetes who reigned only twenty-five years (247-222 BCE) thus Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145-117 BCE) must be intended. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes ascended the throne in the year 170 BCE, together with his brother Philometor; but he soon became sole ruler. The translator must, therefore, have gone to Egypt in 132 BCE. This argument leads to a conclusion that the book was originally written sometime in early quarter of the second century BCE, particularly around 175 BCE.[33] The translation was completed probably after the death of Euergetes in 117.[34]

Ben Sira and Education

As a teacher, Ben Sira warns his students about association with the unscrupulous rich and powerful, gives them instruction on etiquette at

---

32. Ben Sira's translator explains the date of his arrival in Egypt and his reasons for rendering a translation to the original Hebrew work of his grandfather in the prologue of the translation.

33. For a detailed argument on this issue, see David S. Williams, "The Date of Ecclesiasticus," 563-556.

34. This date is suggested by Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 18; Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 134.

banquets,[35] and his frequent advice on riches, lending, and almsgiving. Do these teachings provide any clue to social status of students of this sage? On the one hand, Nickelsburg argues that most of his students must have come from among the youths of the Jerusalem aristocracy.[36] On the other hand, Tcherikover considers that the teacher aimed these warnings precisely at the poor in the society.[37] For Tcherikover, the students of Ben Sira came from lower strata of the society. It is true that these passages contrast rich and poor in the society and provide warning against association with the powerful. However, there is no reason to think that Ben Sira explicitly addressed these verses to the poor in the society. Rather most of his pupils would have been from the Jerusalem aristocracy who attended either the residential temple school in which he may have taught or in his home where he would have served as a tutor.[38] In Ben Sira's time, Jerusalem had become a cosmopolitan center. The city was not only the cultural and religious center of all Judaism, both in and outside the

---

35. On banquets and banqueting, see Collins, Jewish Wisdom, 32-33; and Benjamin G. Wright III and Claudia V. Camp, "Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect: Ben Sira's Discourse of Riches and Poverty," *Henoch* 23 (2001): 153–174.

36. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 54.

37. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 146-47. He especially cites Sir 8: 1-2 and 13: 2, 7, and 15-23 to support his argument.

38. R. Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18 (1944): 85-86; and Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt*, xxi.

province of Judah, but also culturally diverse.[39] Ben Sira would have lived in a city that had become increasingly prosperous and cosmopolitan.

As mentioned earlier, Ben Sira most probably taught in a religious school.[40] Also, he likely had no connection with a gymnasium (γυμνάσιον) or *ephebeia* (ἐφηβεῖα) because, even though there are areas where one can see Greek influence in his writings, he certainly possesses neither a comprehensive understanding of Greek

---

39. The development is evident in the architectural forms of the city revealed by the archaeological excavations in western Jerusalem by Nahman Avigad, and the Temple mount by Benjamin Mazar. The excavations of multilingual inscriptions point to a cultural diverse city. See Eilat Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: the Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1989); and Hillel Geva, ed., *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad* 1969-1982 *Architecture and Stratigraphy- Areas A, W and X-2* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000). Also see the article on "Jerusalem" in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., edited by Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 698-767; also see Levine, *Jerusalem*.

40. This religious institution could be attached to the Temple in Jerusalem. See Roth, "On the Gnomic-Discursive Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach," 59-79. See also A. Lemaire, "The Sage in School and Temple," *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 180. It is also possible that he was associated with a synagogue, which served as a house of reading of the Scripture, prayer, and worship without sacrifice and a center for public affairs of the community from third century BCE. The Synagogue was the place where the community would assemble for social and religious activities, including study and learning. Only after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in 70 CE did the synagogue became clearly the major "place of prayer" (προσευχή), place of worship, in addition to being a public gathering place and a center for study. For more details, see Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 133. Also see Shemuel Safrai, "The Synagogue," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions,* vol. 2, edited by Shmuel Safrai and Menahem Stern (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1988), 908-944.

philosophy nor a grasp of Hebrew that reflects a highly developed Greek rhetorical style.[41]

Ben Sira's writings reflect a more writing-supported oral education of literate elite or leaders of the society (33: 18-19; 39: 4). As he makes clear, "only the one who has little business can become wise" (38: 24). His comments lead us to the conclusion that he intended his "wisdom," like that of most ancient sages, for the small minority who had the time to master higher education.[42] However, these texts do not completely negate the entrance of poor and working class into the education system, although it was rare.[43] His student body might include some of the poor, who

---

41. For Ben Sira's knowledge of Greek philosophy, in particular Stoicism, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 146-150 and 159-162; and Johann Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira*, BBB 37 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1971), 48-54, and 143-145. He also was familiar with Isis Aretalogies. See the argument in Hans Conzelmann, "The Mother of Wisdom," *The Future of Our Religious Past*, edited by J. M. Robinson (New York: Harper, 1971), 230-43; and Burton L. Mack, *Logos und Sophia: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 40-42. For the contention that Ben Sira read and borrowed from the Egyptian wisdom literature, especially Papyrus Insinger, see Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*.

42. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 80, and n.168; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 38; Wischmeyer, *Die Kulture des Buches Jesus Sirach*, 175-77, and 181.

43. Here one needs to take the literacy rate of the Jewish population in Israel seriously. During the Hellenistic period, with the rapid increase of urbanization the Jewish literacy rate increased slightly, but most of the Jewish population remained an agrarian society and the large majority of the inhabitants continued to work as farmers in the countryside. As a rule of almost universal validity, it has been established that "the more agricultural the society, the higher the percentage of the illiterate people." Bar-Ilan assumes that in some rural towns and settlements, the literacy rate might be below one percent, and some villages may not even have had a

could spend time on studies. When he talks of education, he presupposes that parents are the primary teachers of their children (8: 9; 30: 3-4; cf. 14: 26). He also envisions the Aaronide priests as those responsible for teaching the people God's commandments (45: 5, 17).

His teaching shows many resemblances to the data seen in the teaching of early Israel. Orality was a key medium of instruction.[44] His use of "listen to" and "hear" the instruction (e.g., 3: 1; 6: 23, 33, 35; 16: 5), and his definition of a

---

single individual who could read. In cities in Israel, the literacy rate may have been 2-15 percent. Considering 70 percent of total population lived in rural settings, and 20 percent urban population with a literacy rate of 1-5 percent and 10 percent of highly urban population with a literacy rate of 2-5 percent, one can say without exaggeration that the total literacy rate or Jews in Israel was likely less than 3 percent. For this argument, see Meir Bar-Ilan, "Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries C.E.," in *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*, vol. 2, edited by Simcha Fishbane et al. (New York: Ktav, 1992), 46-61. For further discussion, see Albert Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Association and Ancient Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, edited by Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1998), 93-111. Also see Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 81 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2001), 18-38. For a traditional understanding of ancient Jewish society as a "literate society," see Joseph Naveh, "A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script," *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968): 68-74; Alan R. Millard, "The Practice of Writing in Ancient Israel," *Biblical Archaeologist* 35 (1972): 98-111; idem, "An Assessment of the Evidence for Writing in Ancient Israel," in *Biblical Archaeology Today*: Proceeding of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem April 1984, edited by Janet Amitai (Jerusalem: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1985): 301-12; idem, "The Question of Israelite Literacy," *Bible Review* 3 (1987): 23-31; and idem, "Were Words Separated in Ancient Hebrew Writing?" *Bible Review* 8 (1992): 44-47.

44. I do not say that orality was the key medium of instruction. It is possible that writing was another medium of instruction. For discussion of this matter, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 208.

"teachable student" as "one who has an attentive ear," (3: 29) are in accord with ancient teachings. It is clear that he was using writing as his medium of teaching to pass the knowledge to "future generations" (e.g., 24: 33-24; cf. 39: 32). He also calls upon his students to lay his written teachings to their "heart" in order to "become wise" (50: 27-29). Consequently, memorization had become a major way of Ben Sira's teachings.

Regarding the curriculum of his school, he clearly describes how the true scribe studies the "law of the most High," "wisdom of the ancients," "prophecies," "sayings of the famous," "parables," and "proverbs" (39: 1-5). These phrases do not have any connection with the tripartite canon of the Hebrew Bible,[45] or bipartite listing of "Torah and Prophets." Here Ben Sira mentions the wide variety of then available non-prophetic instructional literature before and after "prophecies." He was trying to give an overview of specifically Israelite teachings through his writings.[46] Among these subjects mentioned in chapter 39, Torah was the center and the

---

45. Some scholars consider these phrases in Ben Sira, especially in verse 39: 1, as a reference to the tripartite Hebrew canon. For this argument, see Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 452. They also interpret 39: 2-3 as references to foreign wisdom, which Ben Sira obtained through his travels abroad (39: 4, cf. 51: 13). For studies about a possible presence of foreign wisdom in Ben Sira, see Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, 27-106; Skehan and De Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 46-50; and Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 39-41.

46. For details of this argument, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 209.

foundation of all his teachings (10: 19; 19: 20; 21: 11). This special feature of Torah-centric education in Judaism continued through the first century CE.[47]

The teaching system reflected in Ben Sira's writings points towards the importance of priests in carrying out some type of education. He presents Moses as the one who first taught Israel the commandments (45: 1-5) and the priest Aaron, as the one commissioned to carry on this task (45: 17). Therefore, Aaronide priests bore the responsibility of teaching their people the traditions written in the Torah.

The Greek gymnasium, the state sponsored education system of the Hellenistic empires, likely influenced the curriculum of Hellenistic Jewish schools.[48] However, the physical activities and sports, which were major elements of the gymnasia syllabus, probably would not have been a part of this education. In addition, Greek epigraphy and various texts written during the Hellenistic period suggest that the Jewish schools would have taught the Jewish ancestral traditions and Torah,[49] and introduced the new ideas and knowledge of Hellenism in both Greek and the native languages of Aramaic and Hebrew. As Carr points out, Ben Sira is a genuine example

---

47. Safrai, "Education and the Study of the Torah," *The Jewish People in the First Century* 1, 945-970.

48. Carr calls it Greek-Israelite hybridity in education. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 211-12. Also see Elias J. Bickermann, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 170-74, and 191; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 75; Wischmeyer, Kulture, 199-200; and Catherine Hezser, 70-71, and 104.

49. For Ben Sira, Moses plays a role like a *Jewish Homer*, and the role of the Torah as the core of Jewish education is like that of the *Iliad* and to a lesser extent *Odyssey* in the gymnasia curriculum. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 212.

of a form of Jewish hybridity in which Second Temple Judaism reacts to the Hellenistic curriculum in process of shaping an indigenous Israelite Hebrew form of textuality and education.[50]

2 Writings from Qumran

The Khirbet Qumran[51] texts provide suggestions of various levels of education and textuality in early Judaism. In contrast to many other early Jewish texts that give indirect evidence about education, Qumran texts provide direct testimony to a process of education, along with physical evidence of textuality and education.[52]

Although the scholars suggest many theories about the identity of the Qumran community, a consensus has not materialized. Many scholars suppose that this group is identical with the Essenes described by Josephus, Philo, and the Roman author Pliny the Elder, or at least a splinter group of such Essenes. On the other hand, in recent years, some others, especially Jewish scholars, who have found close parallels between some of the laws in the Qumran texts and legal interpretations espoused by

---

50. Ibid. This does not mean that the Second Temple Jewish curriculum accepted everything offered by the gymnasia.

51. For a fascinating account of the events related to the discovery and purchase of the scrolls, see John C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account*, revised edition (Upland, CA: Upland Commercial Printers, 1988). Also see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 1-16. For an up to date account of discovery and publication of the findings from Khirbet Qumran, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between Bible and the Mishnah*, 119-122.

52. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 215.

the Sadducees, propose that the community was possibly a sect of the Zadokite priesthood.[53] The history of the Jewish sect who lived in Khirbet Qumran is highly complicated and uncertain. However, one can conclude that this community was part of a large reform movement in second century BCE Judaism, a group of "sons of light" who had rejected the current temple cult in Jerusalem, separated from the "sons of darkness," and taken up life in the desert to await God's intervention. This community could most possibly be Essenes or a break off group of it, which had pious Jewish beliefs and background.

i Qumran Community and Education

The Qumran community is known for its emphasis on the education of children and young adults. This group of people can be viewed as a studying

---

53. For a comprehensive survey of the issue or origin, see Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 18 (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1995), 21-23; and Charlotte Hempel, "Qumran Community," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 746-51. For detailed response to those argue against the link between the Essenes and Qumran, see Florentino García-Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gorningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 526-36; and Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, "Qumran Community: Essenes or Sadducean?" *Heythrop Journal* 36 (1995): 467-76. For recent studies on this issue, see J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Philip R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics,* South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 134 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); and the articles in part IV of the recently published book, Gabriele Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 249-329.

community, which considered the study of Torah and its interpretation to be not only the privilege of its leadership, but also the duty of the community as a whole (1QSa 1: 6-8).[54] According to this passage, the education occurred during two important periods, each lasting for ten years. Before the age of ten, children should learn the Torah and other writings. One can assume that the children obtained an elementary education prior to the age of ten, before they could advance to the subjects listed in 1QSa 1: 6-8. At the age of twenty, a boy enters among those registered in the community and can marry. After ten more years of study, he is eligible for full inclusion in the assembly upon approval of the "sons of Aaron" (1QSa 1: 8-16).[55]

The Damascus Document (4Q266 9 iii 6-7)[56] clarifies the duties of the "Overseer," who was the teacher of the youth or young adults in the family camps.[57]

---

54. Steven D. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 52-54. He points out that 1QSa 1: 6-8 is the earliest and only evidence from the Second Temple period for a mandatory, communal curriculum of studies for children (55-56).

55. Ibid. Also see Michael O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 103-51.

56. For English translation, see J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 71.

57. Bilhah Nitzan, "Education and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of their Background in Antiquity," The Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/10th/papers/nitzan.htm#>. (accessed on October, 17, 2006). He further discusses the meaning of book of Hagy mentioned in 1QSa 1: 6-8. For various arguments on *sepher hagi*, see Naphtali Wieder, *The Judean*

Carr further explains that instruction of people was the duty of a "priest."[58]

The Qumran caves also gave another glimpse of education by providing a probable student writing exercise. Archeologists found a small piece of inscribed leather or parchment with meaningless words on it ("4Q Therapeia"). It is clear that this parchment was a production of elementary instruction.[59] But if 4Q Therapeia is a scribal instructional exercise, why is there just one such exercise in this huge corpus of documents? If the corpus was really produced by the scribes, should not there be evidence of some more "exercises"? The answer is simple; who would really want to preserve all that scrap unless it was absolutely required for the life of the community.

Scrolls and Karaism (London: East and West Library, 1962), 215-36; J. Licht, *The Scroll of Regulations from the Desert of Judah: The Manual of Discipline* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1965), 255-56; Fraade, "Interpretative Authority at Qumran," 56-58; Martin Jafee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism 200 BCE- 400 CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 31, and 173-74; Armin Lange, "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung," in *Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible*, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 159 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 19-20.

58. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 216. He stresses the point that Qumran community had a priest-centered education system as in Ben Sira.

59. Naveh was the first one to question the earlier notion of this document's interpretation as a medical document. Joseph Naveh, "A Medical Document or a Writing Exercise? The so-called 4QTherapeia," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 52-55. For argument of elementary education, see Emmanuel Tov, "The Scribes of the Texts Found in the Judean Desert," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, edited by C. A Evans and S. Talmon (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 140; and Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 221.

In other words, such elementary exercises would have been most likely to be discarded without storing them with other valuable texts.[60] Emmanuel Tov provides a list of copies of texts that were possibly written as student exercises. He considers these texts as student exercises because of their poor style and other characteristics. These texts include a copy of Genesis 48 on a single sheet, a section of a Daniel-Susanna tradition, a fragment of Enoch, and a version of Psalm 89.[61]

We have another probable example of education material that comes from 4QExercitium Calami A (4Q 234), which contains several words written in different directions. Also 4QExercitium Calami A and B (4Q 234 and 360) are Hebrew examples of the sort of list often used just after learning of the alphabet in Hellenistic education, which is a list of names following the order of the alphabet.[62] Instruction in

---

60. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 221 n. 11. On the other hand, Haszer points out that it is not fair to identify all the finds as scribal exercises. See Haszer, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, 85-88. However, one cannot completely ignore Carr's argument of considering them as scribal exercises. The widespread documentation of the use of abecedaries in education, the poor quality of the writing in several examples, and the attestation of the use of alphabetized names in Hellenistic education suggest that most of these examples are reflections of training in writing. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 242 n. 5.

61. Emmanuel Tov, "Scribal Practices Reflected in the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 1, edited by Peter W. Flint and James VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 403-29. He also provides relevant discussions.

62. For a discussion of similar Hellenistic education model, see H. Maehler, "Die griechische Schule im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World: Proceedings of International Colloquium, Leuven, 24-26 May 1982* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), 196-97; Cribiore, *Gymnastic of the Mind*, 150-63. Also see the discussion in Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 179-80.

the Hellenistic model progresses from the learning of the alphabet and list of names to the copying, recitation, and memorization of longer stretches of text from Homer, gnomic literature, dramas, and other texts.[63] One can surmise that the Qumran community shared a similar method of learning with that of the Hellenistic educational system.

Qumran also yielded several wisdom texts that have an instructional character. The largest among them is 4Q Instruction (4Q415-418),[64] formerly known as 4Q Sapiential[a].[65] It includes instruction for a student (*mevin*)[66] and detailed regulations for forms of community life. The plurality of these manuscript fragments

---

63. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 221.

64. This was a large sapiential text, estimated to have been twenty-three and thirty or more columns long. For these estimates, see John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2; 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin): 4Q415ff. with a re-edition of 1Q26*, Discoveries from the Judaean Desert, vol. 34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 18-19.

65. For translation of these texts, see John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, *Discoveries from the Judaean Desert* 34. The date of these texts is disputable. Some argue for a predate of Qumran split from the temple, For an overview of this material and various arguments related to its date, see Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4Q Instruction*, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 219-32.

66. This word can be translated literally as “one who understands [or ‘is learned’],” a student, or expert in the making. For a translation of this word, see Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV*, 3; and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “The Addressees of 4Q Instruction,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller (Leiden, Brill, 2000), 65-69.

points towards its popularity and importance in the Qumran community, but their fragmentary condition often makes it difficult or impossible for scholars to make interpretive decisions.[67] This text was a compilation of units of practical wisdom and related to a theological framework with cosmological and eschatological components.[68] The cosmological and eschatological assertions are the object of revelation, to which the author repeatedly appeals in his references to the "mystery that is to be."[69]

Unlike other contemporary instruction of wisdom texts, the author of 4Q Instruction assumes the possibility, if not always the fact, of poverty.[70] 4Q416 and 417 announce, "You are poor." However, they are not explicit as to whether the poverty is material or spiritual, but the context of the community indicates that

---

67. For the discussion of the fragmentary condition, see Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV*, 1-31. The seven or eight manuscripts that preserve parts of the instructions for a young sage comprise well over four hundred fragments.

68. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 169. For studies on wisdom part of this material, see Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 118-121.

69. Collis has given a good meaning and interpretation of this phrase. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 121-125.

70. Collins argues that this text "has no precedent in Jewish wisdom literature for its insistence on the poverty of the addressee." In Enoch (1 Enoch 92-105) the poverty of the addressee is implied but it has a very different tone, as it repeatedly pronounces woes against the rich and promises the poor redress in the life to come. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 118-19. For different opinions about poverty mentioned in the text, see Tigchelaar, "The Addressees of 4Q Instruction," 69-71; and Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 127-67.

material poverty is involved. Clearly, the alienated community of Qumran with its limited resources was in the mind of the speaker when uttering these words. When compared with the society in Jerusalem that lived in abundance, those who opted to come to Qumran were literally in poverty.

Several other Qumran texts also show strong links with instructional material. The book of hymns, the "Hodayot," entirely or in part attributed to the priestly "teacher of righteousness," has vocabulary and phrasing similar to the Instructional works.[71] The Damascus document, discovered in the Genizah of a Cairo synagogue, opens up with a wisdom-like exhortation to those who have entered the covenant (CD 11: 2-13), and the later redactions of the Rules of the Community are also important materials that have instructional content.[72]

ii Summary

Several of the texts found at Khirbet Qumran share the scribal practices of the community. These evidences provide a clear indication that the community gave

---

71. Daniel Harrington, "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 253; Sarah Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot" (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1987); Florentino García Martínez, Eibert. J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 146-203.

72. For discussion of the wisdom element in the Damascus Document and other issues, see Lange, *Weisheit und Pradestination*, 233-70. Also see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 225-235. Carr explains how the Qumran community used the wisdom literature, Torah texts, and other forms of literature for instructional purposes.

importance to education. When discussing the widespread education that existed in Qumran, Fraade calls the community one of the "studying communities," in which the interpretative authority rested not with particular leaders but with the community as whole.[73] Also, "entering the community is tantamount to entering the study and practice of its esoteric Torah," he continues.[74] The texts that found from Qumran provide some evidence of an educational system and curriculum that existed in the community. Unlike many other communities, at Qumran education was open to everybody. As Fraade notes, the community considered Torah study and interpretation not the prerogative of its leadership, but rather the duty of the whole community.[75] In this matter, Qumran was an egalitarian community in which everybody had an equal opportunity for education.

Although most of the texts discovered from Qumran are in Hebrew,[76] and Aramaic, Greek was not completely out of sight. As mentioned earlier, several Greek

---

73. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," 46.

74. Ibid., 53. This statement does not mean that the community was egalitarian but it was a strict hierarchical organization. Each member's status within the community depended on the "insight" he had gained: "within his class each man is assigned a rank, from which he may be upgraded or downgraded on the basis of his examined knowledge and deeds" (1QS 5: 23-24).

75. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," 52-54.

76. For a recent discussion of use of Hebrew as vernacular in Qumran and other Jewish societies in Greco-Roman period and bibliography, see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, 226-50.

texts were also found in Qumran corpus. Therefore, one cannot assume that the isolation of Qumran community from the mainline society helped them to escape from the Hellenistic influence. Even though the founders of the community may have been hostile toward some Hasmonean leaders or priests who may have introduced Hellenistic elements into the temple and the society, numerous aspects of the community reflect Hellenistic structures of association and textuality.[77] We have already seen an example of using a type of Hellenistic education system (writing names in alphabetical order) in 4QExercitium Calami A and B (4Q 234 and 360) earlier.[78] However, one cannot conclude that sectarians have completely ignored their ancestral tradition to adopt a new culture. They revered the Torah and other earlier Hebrew writings with high respect, giving Torah a privileged status among all other writings, a status similar to that of Homer's work among the Hellenistic corpus of writings. In the Damascus document the community is called "House of the Torah"

---

77. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 238. He finds cultural hybridity in the Qumran community, as in Ben Sira. He even thinks that the establishment of the Qumran library was a result of the Greek library system. Also see Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity*, 20.

78. There are several other examples one can point out about the hybridity of Qumran and Hellenism. For e.g., the imitation of Greek art of warfare and weapons mentioned in the War Scroll and other texts that describe the messianic war. This evidence shows the author's good knowledge of the Hellenistic art of warfare and weapons. For an interesting discussion on Qumran and Hellenism, see Martin Hengel, "Qumran and Hellenism," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, edited by John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 46-56. He envisions a possibility of a monographic treatment on this subject.

(CD 20: 13) and elsewhere the members are referred to as “the men of the Torah” (4Qsd 1: 1).[79] In sum, the Qumran community defended vigorously its traditional Torah-centric educational system. At the same time, its members were open to the foreign cultural elements.

4Q Instruction [4Q415-418] points towards another important fact. This most popular document in Qumran employs the second-person singular, and the implied communal setting is one’s home and family. Thus, the person addressed is expected to marry, to raise a family, and to engage in business transactions rather than to live in an isolated setting like Qumran. Naturally, one may think about a context outside of the secluded setting of Qumran, where family life and business transactions were the norm for the origin of this document. In addition, the numerous parallels between the language of the Instruction and the nonsectarian language of the Instruction on the Two Spirits in 1Qs 3-4[80] make us assume that the Instruction was composed prior to the founding of the Qumran community.[81] The Essene communities that existed before the founding of Qumran community might be the origin of some these

---

79. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran,” 53.

80. For a detailed study of this matter, see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4Q Instruction*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 194-203.

81. For a discussion of the dating of the manuscripts, see John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, *Discoveries from the Judean Desert* 34, 42, 74-76, 144-47, 214-17, 476, 506-7, and 535.

documents, which later some of them were brought to Qumran because of their popular use in instructional purpose. The production and popularity of these instructional materials also help us to conclude that a similar form of education method existed in the society even before the foundation of Qumran community. In other words, the educational system that one can perceive among the Qumran community was not their invention, but was a continuation of a more ancient instructional system that existed prior to the founding of the Qumran community. However, the community gave more importance to education and instructed its members to devote more time for learning.

3 Josephus

Josephus who lived in first century CE is an important figure because he was the author of the largest corpus of Jewish writings that has survived from the Greco-Roman period. The information about his life and career comes primarily from his *Life*, an autobiographical appendix attached to the *Jewish Antiquities* at 20.268,[82] and from his *History of the Jewish War*. His other important writing, *Against Apion*, also

---

82. Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus (CE 37 - c.100)," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3, *The Early Roman Period*, edited by William Horbury, W.D. Davies and John Sturdy (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 982; Steve N. Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 121; and Harold William Attridge, "Josephus and His Works," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Literature of Jewish People in Period of Second Temple and Talmud, edited by Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1984), 188.

provides valuable information about his life. Although scholars have noted his tendency for exaggeration and creative fabrication, especially when speaking of himself, [83] his writings do provide some information about his life and activities including education. Even though Josephus lived in a comparatively later period, his writings perhaps would shed some light on the earlier days of education in Judea.

Scholars generally accepted that the purpose of writing *Life* was to defend himself and his account of the *Jewish War* against the criticisms and attacks of his opponents, especially Justus of Tiberius, whom he addresses directly (*Life* 336-67).[84] There is another opinion that he wrote this text to present himself as a person whose deeds during his public life exemplified the virtues of the ideal aristocrat[85] and thus validate the content of his *Ant.* to which *Life* was attached.

Education was important to Josephus. In several of his writings, he mentions his educational background and the educational system. In *Life* 7-9, he describes the education that he received from his father, who was a priest. Again, in *Life* 198, he

---

83. For a critical analysis of Josephus as historian, see Shaye J.D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*. For a careful analysis of his tendency for exaggeration and creative fabrication, see Tessa Rajak, *Josephus, the Historian and His Society*, 11-45; Steve N. Mason**,** *Flavius* Josephus *on the Pharisees. A Composition-Critical Study*, Studia Post-Biblica 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 311-71; idem, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 34-52; and Feldman, “Josephus,” 901-921.

84. For details, see Feldman, “Josephus,” 982-83; and Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 73-76.

85. Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 121-31. He points out that the *Life* presents him as “unusually impressive spokesman for his nation” (p. 121).

describes that the education that he received was intended to enable him to know "the laws" and "customs of the fathers." In *Ant.* 20.264, he continues that the aim of the Jewish education was to obtain an "exact knowledge of the law," and the ability to interpret "holy scriptures." He also received education in Greek prose and poetry (*Ant*. 20.263). From these passages, one can conclude that he had education from Jewish as well as Greco-Roman schools.

Josephus describes how the Sabbath and synagogue played important role in Jewish education and learning. In *Antiquities,* he clearly mentions how Moses established the Sabbath as a day devoted to learning the customs and the law (*Ant*. 16.43). In *Against Apion*, he further clarifies that Moses demands Jews to leave all their other works and study "the law" every week (*Ag. Ap*. 2.175). Again in *Ag. Ap*. 1.60, he insists that Jews pride themselves above all in the education of their children, which involves observance of the laws and devout practices. He makes clear in *Ag. Ap*. 2.204 that "the Law" requires that all children "be taught letters" and "learn both the laws and the deeds of their forefathers, in order that they may imitate the latter, and, being grounded in the former, may neither transgress nor have any excuse for being ignorant of them."[86]

The significant development in Josephus's writing is his emphasis in "reading" the texts (see his emphasis in *Ag. Ap*. 2.204) instead of the traditional

---

86. I have used the translation from H.S.J. Thackeray, *Josephus I: The Life, Against Apion*, LOEB Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 375.

learning method of "memorization." There is no doubt that this was the first appearance of the idea of universal (male) education in Judaism. Does he speak of a universal Jewish literacy? Or was it a mere exaggeration? Josephus probably represents more an emergent ideal than a reality.[87] As many point out, we have a similar phenomenon of ideal verses reality in Hellenistic education.[88]

The educational system he depicts is a Torah-centric one. He clarifies that learning the "law" is the starting point of education (*Ant*. 4.211). In addition, Jews' thorough grounding in law from childhood engraved the laws on their souls (*Ag. Ap*. 2.178). A similar idea of the "law" graven on hearts can be seen in *Ant*. 4.210-211. In *Ag. Ap*. 1.38-41, Josephus mentions the contents of Jewish scripture, where he mentions twenty-two books,[89] which evidently became the curricula of the Jewish education of Josephus's time.

In conclusion, from the writing of Josephus, one can only assume the educational system that he received and existed in his time. First, there are several indications that he had both Jewish as well as Greek education, but we do not know whether he attended a gymnasium, or the Jewish curriculum that he mastered

---

87. Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era*, 121; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 41-47; and Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 247.

88. See the discussion in Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 187-90.

89. For discussion about the significance of twenty-two, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 248-51.

included Greek education. The education he mentions was a Torah-centric education, which gave high reverence to Torah. In addition, the educational system had a close association with synagogue. In other words, the educational system Josephus mentions might be a synagogue-centered learning structure.

4 Philo of Alexandria

We do not have much information about the life and history of Philo.[90] The few facts about his life come from occasional hints in his own writings and a small number of external references (e.g., Josephus). According to these hints, Philo came from a wealthy aristocratic Jewish family,[91] and lived in Alexandria during the end of first century BCE and in the first part of the first century CE (c.15 BCE-c.50CE).[92]

---

90. He is also often known as Philo Judaeus, which means Philo "the Jew."

91. From Josephus's writings, we can get some valuable information about Philo. In *Ant.* 18.259, he mentions that Philo was the brother of *Alabarch* Alexander Lysimachus, who held a high position in the Roman bureaucracy in Egypt. This Alexander was rich enough to adorn the temple gates in Jerusalem with gold and silver plating (*J.W.* 5. 205) and to provide the Jewish king Agrippa I with a loan of two hundred thousand drachmas (*Ant.* 18. 159-60). J. Schwartz, "Note sur la famille de Philon d'Alexandrie," *Annuaire de L'Institut de Philogie et d'Historie Orientales et Slaves* 13 (1953):591-602; S. S. Foster, "A Note on the 'Note' of J. Scwhartz," *Studia Philonica* 4 (1976-77): 25-32; Daniel R. Schwartz, "Philo's Priestly Descent," *Nourished with peace: Studies in hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, edited by F.G.Greenspahn, E. Hilgert and B. L. Mack (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 155-71; and Katherine Evans, "Alexander the Alabarch: Roman and Jew," in *Society of Biblical Literature, 1995 Seminar Papers*, edited by Eugene H. Lovering Jr. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 576-594.

92. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 212-3.

Philo is important to the study of Judaism and the Greco-Roman period because of the volume of his writings that have been handed down.[93] His two known names, *Philo Alexandrinus* and *Philo Judaeus*, are also significant. The former shows not only his relationship with the Egyptian metropolis Alexandria where he spent most of his life but also because of his great knowledge of and love for Greek culture, and especially Greek philosophy (e.g., *Prob.* 13, where he praises Plato and Greek philosophy). The latter reveals his close connection with his religion, Judaism.[94] Although the nature of the education that he pursued is enigmatic and may only be inferred from his writings, it is highly possible that he had a Jewish education as well as a Hellenistic one.[95] His excellent knowledge in both traditions is evident in his

---

93. Most of his writings have been lost but many of them have been preserved. For a list of Philo's lost works, see Jenny Morris, "The Jewish Philosopher Philo," in *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ by Emil Schurer,* vol. 3, 2, and 868. Many church fathers treasured Philo's works and seized upon his concept of the *Logos*, thinking that it was the same as the *Logos* of the prologue of John's Gospel. For e.g., Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria. For details, see Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 14.

94. His affinity towards Judaism is evident in *Mig*. 89-94 and in several other passages.

95. It is likely that Philo attended a Hellenistic gymnasium in Alexandria. His schooling in Greek *paideia* is obvious, not only from his excellent command on the Greek language, but also his knowledge of Greek writers, especially the philosophers. In his essay *On the Preliminary Studies*, he describes in detail Greek *paideia* carried out in the Greek schools. He mentions the curriculum consisting of philosophy, grammar, geometry, and music. He calls philosophy the "lawful wife" (*Prelim. Studies*, 74-76), since all other areas of study were the "handmaidens" who served what held the most elite position among the intellectual ideals. Philosophy was

excellent command of the Greek language, knowledge of philosophy, science, law, and mathematics, as well as Jewish tradition, scripture and practices. As Barclay notes, this grounding education helped him to move freely between Hellenistic and Jewish social environments.[96]

Even though Philo lived in Egypt, his writings provide important evidence of various forms of Jewish textuality that existed in Israel as well as in other parts of the Roman world in the first half of the first century.[97] One may assume that he had a good knowledge of Jewish community in Alexandria as well as elsewhere.[98] In *Prov*. 2.64, he mentions his travel to Jerusalem and Judea and his visit to the temple where he offered prayers and sacrifices. When he talks about wisdom in Israel and Syria (*Prob*.), he mentions the Essenes (*Prob.* 75) and their using of Sabbath and synagogues for special study of Torah and many other subjects (80-83). In *Spec.* 2. 60-64, he talks about Sabbath day as an ancient institution instituted by Moses for study of "philosophy," particularly the truths of duty to God and humanity. According to his experience and view, Sabbath and Sabbath gatherings are for study and

---

divided into the areas of logic, ethics, and physics (especially cosmology), likely a curricular structure that reflects the disciplines of the Hellenistic schools.

96. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora,* 161.

97. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of Heart*, 244.

98. He was elected to a delegation to represent the Jews before the Roman emperor Caligula (*Spec. Laws* 3: 1-6). For historical issues of this event, see Erwin W. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Jadaeus*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1962), 31-32. While he was in Rome, he was very much concerned about his responsibility for all Jews in every land (*Legat.* 184-94, 281-84, and 330). He knew that he was representing the entire Jewish community.

learning.[99] In other words, according to him, Jewish synagogues/schools are cultivators of Jewish virtue and "philosophy." In *Spec.* 2.64, he mentions the curriculum of these schools as the study of "laws," "sacred laws," or "laws of the fathers," and about the "sacred institution," Judaism. His whole emphasis was placed on the study of Torah, which was the center of the curriculum. In Philo's writings, what we perceive is a synagogue-centered educational system that had Torah as the focus.

5 Rabbinic Literature

Even though these writings were produced in a later period, they certainly have the potential to reflect not only their contemporary situation but also earlier periods. Several passages in the rabbinic literature[100] mention the existing educational system, especially the primary schools. b.B.B. 21, y. Ket. 8:11, 32c, y. Meg. 3:1, y. Ket. 13: 1, 35c are some of the often-quoted texts that speak about Jewish education. According these texts, the education of children (more precisely "sons"[101]) were

---

99. For his view on this matter, see *Dreams* 2.123-129; *Embassy* 311-313; and *Embassy* 155-57.

100. Rabbinic literature, in the broader sense, can mean the entire spectrum of Judaism's rabbinic writings throughout history. However, the term usually refers specifically to the literature from the Talmudic era, which roughly comprises of the first seven centuries of CE.

101. Since none of the sources has mentioned education for girls, it is assumable that girls were unlikely to have attended the schools. If girls received education at all, they received it at home from their parents or relatives. See the discussion in Aaron Demsky and Meir Bar-Ilan, "Writing in Ancient Israel and Early

primarily the responsibility of their fathers (cf. Deut 6: 7).[102] Many believe that the failure of the practice of father educating sons led to the establishment of a new system, public school system.[103] One can perceive this change as a response to the contemporary need. When more sophisticated educational systems such as Greco-Roman education, available to them, the Jews felt the need of having a more polished educational system for themselves. Eventually, the older system of father teaching son gave the way to the new school system.

Earlier scholars have argued without any doubt that elementary schools existed during the Second Temple period spread throughout the land of Israel in early rabbinic times.[104] Based on Josephus and Talmudic sources, mentioned above, they

---

Judaism, Part I: The Biblical Period," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by Martin Jan Mulder (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 1-20. Also see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 44.

102. The Deuteronomic commandment can be considered that this education system was the common practice in First Temple period. For more discussion on this issue, see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 57; and Drazin, *History of Jewish Education*, 39-40;

103. See Eliezer Ebner, *Elementary Education In Ancient Israel: During The Tannaitic Period*, *[10-220C.E.]* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1956), 43.

104. For this argument, see Wilhelm Bacher, "Das altjudische Schulwesen," *Jahrbuch fur die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums* 6 (1903): 48-81; Louis Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints* (New York and Philadelphia: Meridian Books and Jewish Publication Society, 1928); Ebner, *Elementary Education*, 38-42; Shmuel Safrai, "Elementary Education, Its Religious and Social Significance in the Talmudic Period," *Cahiers D'Historie Mondiale* 11 (1968): 149-50; Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1961), 57-59; Nathan

believe that this system was successful, and almost all Jewish parents sent their sons to the school.[105] One can see the close connection between Torah, which Jews were obliged to observe, and education in this argument. Jews started to learn reading in order to gain knowledge of Torah through reading of Torah.[106] On the other hand, some of the scholars agree that the attendance in schools was not mandatory, therefore only certain people sent their children to school.[107] Some even stress the point that only people of financially sound background were able to send their children to these schools.[108]

Some of these scholars realize that none of the other sources of this period (e.g., Philo or Josephus) mentioned this kind of elementary learning system.[109] In addition, scholars widely agree that the lack of reliable historical evidence make it

---

Drazin, *History of Jewish Education from 515 BCE to 220 CE* (New York: Arno Press, 1979); and Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 40-68.

105. For e.g., Drazin, *History of Jewish Education*, 61; and Gerhardson, *Memory and Manuscript,* 58.

106. For discussion on this issue, see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 45.

107. Ebner, *Elementary Education*, 49; Judah Goldin, "Several Sidelights of a Torah Education in Tannaite and Early Amorical Times," in *Exploring the Talmud,* vol. 1, *Education,* edited by Haim Z. Dimitrowsky (New York: Ktav, 1976), 4.

108. See Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript,* 59; and Safrai, "Elementary Education," 167.

109. For e.g., see Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 58-9. However, he explains the discrepancy in distinguishing private and public schools. He confirms that at the end of the Second Temple period, "private elementary schools" existed in all the Jewish towns and in larger villages of Israel.

impossible to prove the existence of widespread school system during this period.[110] The Talmudic sources often mentioned by some scholars to prove the existence of a school system were written in a later period, and these texts may not accurately reflect the historicity of the Hellenistic period.[111] The Talmudic texts should be considered anachronistic and idealistic depictions of a Jewish educational system in the pre-70 CE era.[112] However, this reality does not negate a synagogue-centered educational system that prevailed during this period.[113] That means, the synagogues were the center for study and learning of Torah.

Several passages of Mishnah, Tosefta, and tannaitic Midrashim also speak about parents and individual teachers who engaged in instructing children. M. Shab 1: 3, T. Shab 1: 12, T. Meg 3: 38 [cf. M.Meg. 4: 10], M. Wid 4: 14, T. Hag. 1: 2 are some of these passages. Notably, all these passages talk about teachers rather than

---

110. See the discussion and quotations in Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 46. She points out that b.B.B.21a mentions teachers not schools, and y. Ket. 8: 11, and 32c mention school but does not deal with the founding of the institution of the school and also not with the establishment of a network of schools.

111. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 47. Also see Nathan Morris, *The Jewish School: An Introduction to the History of Jewish Education* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937), 3-4.

112. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 47.

113. Morris, *The Jewish School*, 4. He points out that there is no mention of the Jewish elementary schools either in the Hebrew Bible or in the New Testament. However, a number of the second Temple texts speak of homes and synagogues from which one could attain knowledge.

schools.[114] A variety of names used to mention teachers is known from these passages. For example, *chazzan*, *sofer* and *paedagogue*, which were loan words from Greek, are the terms appearing to denote instructors of various kinds. However, private tutors might be rare in Jewish context because we do not have much reference about them. Only wealthy people might hire a private tutor for their children.[115] In other words, rabbis associated the phenomenon of the *paedagogue* with the non-Jewish and/or highest strata of society only.[116]

The later Jewish texts of the Amoraic period also are interesting to note here. However, while emphasizing the teaching of children within the family just like Tannaitic texts, the Amoraic documents do mention schools. Talmud Yerushalmi has several reference of the responsibility of fathers to teach their sons.[117] In y. Hor. 2: 5, 46d, y.M.Q. 3:1; 81d and many other similar passages mention the teachings in synagogues and study houses. Here “study houses” [בית וועד] are portrayed as

---

114. For a detailed discussion on these passages and others, see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 48-68.

115. Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 114. Also see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 60. She points out that only a single reference of hiring a private teacher by a rabbi in the whole corpus of the texts.

116. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 60. This is very similar of the Greco-Roman society. These kinds of tutors were considered luxury and were usually employed by the upper class only. For more discussion, see Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 35.

117. Y.Suk. 3: 12, 54c; Y.Qid 1:7, 61; and T.Qid. 1:1 are some of the examples.

places where children were taught.[118] The children could also be instructed in the house of their teacher, which was similar to the ancient Indian Gurukul education system in which the disciples (śisya') lived in the *Guru's Ashram* during the course of their education that usually lasted for twelve years,[119] or other convenient places.[120] However, synagogues continued to be the main centers of learning mentioned all over the texts. In addition, it is likely that the "study houses," which were mentioned sometimes side by side with synagogues, were associated with or attached to the synagogues.[121] The rapid growth of synagogues in Israel during this period and the repeated mention of "schools" in the Amoraic texts lead us to conclude that schools that were often associated with synagogues were widespread in this period. Since this time period is beyond the scope of our study, I shall not pursue the features of education in this period.

---

118. For a study of the terms בית וועד and בית מדרש, see Catherine Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 66 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997), 2002. She points out that these two terms are used synonyms to denote "study houses."

119. R.C.Mishra and Aparna Vajpayee, "Sanskrit Schools in India, Department of Psychology, Banaras Hindu University, <http://www.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/teachers/dasen/SanskritSchools.pdf>, 4-5. (accessed September 15, 2006).

120. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 59.

121. Ibid.

6 Conclusion

From the above study, we can come to certain conclusions about the education system that prevailed during the Second Temple period. The question “did they have an education system at all?” has to be carefully evaluated here. Education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure, and every society had its own way of transmitting knowledge from one generation to another. Also, the system might be different from one society to another. One of the significant characteristics of colonialism is its constant attempt to degrade the indigenous social systems, especially the education system. Thomas B. Macaulay, a nineteenth century education “specialist,” is a good example for this attitude. While reporting the “need” for the introduction of English education to colonial India, he wrote in 1834, “I have never found one among them (who argued for use of indigenous languages for education) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.”[122] The primary goal of this attitude was to negate the credibility of the indigenous system. The argument of the non-existence of educational systems in the ancient Jewish society can be seen as a part of a colonial program that argues for absence of an education system in other cultures.

---

122. <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (accessed October 11, 2006).

Among the ancient Jews, elementary education was primarily the responsibility of the family, especially of the father. This system was not an invention of this period, but rather a continuation from the earlier days (cf. Deut 6: 7). Several passages of Ben Sira, Josephus, Philo, and Rabbinic literature confirm this idea. These writings also reveal that this primary education was mostly based on oral transmission of knowledge.

When the Jewish society met new challenges, it had to look for new systems of education. Especially, the introduction of the more sophisticated Hellenistic education a system (gymnasium) was a great challenge for the Jewish society. The Jewish writings and the archaeological evidence from Masada, Jericho, and elsewhere demonstrate that the Greek education co-existed alongside Hebrew education in the Second Temple period, especially during the late period, despite the emergence and persistence of anti-Greek themes in Judaism.[123] However, I do not think that the old system was a total failure and completely ceased, as many scholars believe.[124] On the other hand, the realization of new challenges caused them to think about the new system. They tried to establish a more polished educational system for themselves. As

---

123. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 242-3. Also see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 85-88; For a brief description of the rabbinic references to Jewish schools of Greek, see Pieter van der Horst, “Jewish Poetical Tomb Inscriptions,” in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, edited by Jan Willem van Henten and Pieter van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 136-38. In this matter, also see Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 71.

124. For e.g., Ebner, *Elementary Education*, 43.

mentioned earlier, one can see the changes in Jewish education that took place during this period as a response to the contemporary need of the community.

All the available evidence points towards the fact that the new education system was primarily centered around Torah and synagogue or temple. Ben Sira 51: 23, where he invites students to "my school" [בית מדרשׁי– *bêt midrāši*], provide a slightly different picture. However, it appears that Ben Sira possibly taught in a school related to a religious institution. This school could be in the temple or in a synagogue, which served as a house of reading of Scripture, prayer, and worship without sacrifice and as a center for public affairs of the community.[125] Also, he envisioned a Torah-centric education. This system of school had been carried out throughout the writings of Second Temple period and later.

Even though this education was open to everybody in the community, we do not know how many had utilized this facility. Although Josephus and Philo and also rabbinic literature boasts that all Jews know the Law of Moses, we are not sure about its historical reliability. As Ben Sira makes clear, "only the one who has little business can become wise" (38: 24). Based on this and other social realities, one can conclude that education in the ancient Jewish world was purely voluntary. Those who needed it, those who had the resources, and those who had the incentive could acquire

---

125. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 133.

an education.[126] As we have seen, the Qumran community, in which everybody was expected to obtain education, was perhaps the only exception in this matter.

Another important factor we need to note here is that the Jewish education system did not completely close its doors to the invading Hellenism. This feature is true of both urban as well as rural communities, like Qumran. When Jews learned Aramaic and Hebrew, they also studied Greek. While they defended their traditional Torah-centric educational system, educated Jews were ready to share and accept some elements from the Homer-centric curriculum of the Hellenism.

Hellenistic Education in Israel

The Hellenistic educational system came with the invasion of the Hellenistic political forces. Alexander and later his Macedonian successors established gymnasia all over their empire. They introduced the Greek institution throughout the land from Asia Minor to Bactria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. It was the policy of the Hellenistic kingdoms to establish Hellenistic institutions, including educational ones, wherever they went and conquered.[127] The establishment of Greek institutions became one of the primary tasks of the Greek colonization. The newly established

---

126. Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 33. She calls this kind of education system as "self-regulating system."

127. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 99-100. Also see J.K. Davies, "Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World," 257-320.

Hellenistic gymnasium soon became a cultural symbol of Greek nationalism, Greek identity, and a centre of Greek culture. In sum, education was the heart of Hellenistic civilization in contrast to the preceding civilizations.[128]

Educational institutions were important to the life of the Greek settlers of the *polis*. Since the Greek settlers in the *polis* were isolated in a foreign land, one of their primary concerns was to enable their children to preserve the distinguishing marks of the Hellenic character by educating them Greek values and traditions.[129] The Greeks always wanted to maintain their identity, remaining aloof from the indigenous culture and people. The Greeks were known for their lack of interest in the language and culture of the peoples ruled by them.[130] In other words, the Greeks wanted to impose their superiority not only in politics but also in culture over the subjugated people and their indigenous culture. There were also other important intentions for the establishment of these educational institutions. Many times training in these institutions was directly related to citizenship of the *polis*. In fact, actual exercise of citizen rights, which includes political participation, was delayed until after the

---

128. For more discussion in this subject, see Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 97-100. He calls the Hellenistic era as "the civilization of the 'paideia.'" Also see, Hengel, *Hellenism and Judaism*, 65-70.

129. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 99; and Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, 87.

130. Hadot, "Gymnasium," 1057.

completion of education in the gymnasium, and for some the *ephebia*.[131] In other words, this education provided people with certain privileges in the society, and eventually created class divisions. This feature shows another face of the Greek education system. Greek educational institutions were not closed. Rather, these institutions were open to certain locals and people of other cultures. Isocrates explicitly clarifies that "the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and . . . the title 'Hellenes' is applied to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood."[132] It was an open invitation to other cultures and people to assimilate into the Greek culture through attaining a Greek education. Since achieving the Greek education was a necessary requirement to attain citizenship in *polis*, it became an important part of the society. Most often, the citizens of the *polis* paid fewer taxes than the non-citizens and people who lived out of the cities.[133]

---

131. Although this training was not a formal prerequisite for acquisition of citizenship, its completion was a cultural requirement of all who claimed to be Hellenes. For a comprehensive bibliography and details of this matter, see Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, 73-5; 87-88. Also see Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 156-57; and Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 49.

132. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 4.49. For a discussion on class divisions in Hellenistic society, especially Egyptian society, see Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 115-20. Also see K. Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988); A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 61-63; and Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 43-4. They all point out that ethnicity was determined by social labeling and not simply by descent.

133. Barclay points out the Roman poll tax (*laographia*), which applied differentially according to the three recognized classes: Romans, citizens of Greek cities, and *pergrini* (foreigners). While the Romans exempted the first two classes

Moreover, the education offered them a new civic status in society. In other words, in acquiring *paideia*, others gained not only certain literary resources and other knowledge but also a system of values that constituted in Greek eyes the very essence of civilization.[134] The gymnasium education was a prerequisite for social success in the society. This newly created division of classes in the society made education in the gymnasia even more attractive. In all these senses, gymnasia were an integral part of the Greek colonies throughout the Greek empire and they were established everywhere the Greeks conquered other peoples to promote Greek values and customs.

1 The Gymnasium and the Jews of Israel

As mentioned earlier, we have only limited evidence about the education, including gymnasium, during this period. The earliest Jewish description of the establishment of a gymnasium in Israel found the narrative in the two books of Maccabees. 1 Macc 1: 14-15 and 2 Macc 4: 9-14 talk about the foundation of a gymnasium and the *ephebate* associated with it by Jason in Jerusalem, probably in 175 BCE.[135] Later, Josephus mentions Herod building gymnasia in Damascus,

---

from paying taxes, or paid less, the third class, which comprised of the majority, had to pay heavy tax. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 49.

134. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 95.

135. cf. Josephus, *Ant*. 12.251. For a careful analysis of the sources, see Doran, “The High Cost of a Good Education,” 94-115. Archaeologists have found documentary evidence of education in Greco-Roman Egypt. For collections of these materials, see Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman*

Ptolemais-Acco, and Tripolis at his own expense.[136] Even though Israel was under Hellenistic rule since 323 BCE, there is no other evidence for the existence of gymnasium in Israel prior to Jason's initiation for establishing gymnasium in Jerusalem.[137] But it is highly probable that there were Greek education institutions in the Greek *polis* of the land even before second century, since it was a policy of the Greek kingdoms. However, one can conclude that the establishment of the gymnasium by Jason in Jerusalem mentioned in both books of Maccabees was the first gymnasium established in Jerusalem.

According to 2 Macc 4: 7-8, the Oniad Jason purchased the high priesthood from the Seleucids for three hundred and sixty talents and an addition of another eighty talents from another source and tried to Hellenize Jerusalem with the permission of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He established a gymnasium near the temple at Jerusalem[138] and enrolled the youth of the community.

Egypt, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), 137-40; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 175-284; idem, *Gymnastic of the Mind*; and Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, 275-87.

136. See Josephus. *Bell.* 1. 422 and cf. 2.560. Josephus also mentions Herod's bringing athletic festivals, musical contests, wild beast fights, and gladiators to Jerusalem (*Ant*. 15.267-75).

137. For a brief discussion on other available data, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 70-73. He points out that the Phoenicians and other neighbors of the Jews had already gone ahead, accepted the Hellenistic culture by establishing gymnasia in their land, and thus became "Hellenes" of a special kind.

138. According to 2 Macc 4: 12, the gymnasium was built on an area "under the acropolis." We are not sure where this area was. It is possible that the gymnasium

These young men wore the typical Greek hat πέτασος (*petasos*), as a symbol of their commitment to the Greek way of life (2 Macc 4: 12). They underwent a vigorous Greek education, including athletics in the nude, which was an abomination to the Jewish faith. The Jews even tried to remove their circumcision marks in order to participate in the activities of gymnasium without embarrassment (1 Macc 1: 15, cf. *Ant*. 12.5.1).[139] Their relationship with the temple and religion gradually declined. Even the priests neglected the temple sacrifices in order to participate in the activities in the gymnasium (cf. 2 Macc 4: 7-15).[140]

The establishment of the gymnasium and other efforts to Hellenize Jerusalem constitutes a decisive turning point in the history of Judaism in the Second Temple

---

was located on the southeastern hill of Jerusalem and the gymnasium could possibly be situated on the western hill. See Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 445-65. Also see B. Mazar and E. Eshel, "who built the first wall of Jerusalem," *Israel exploration Journal* 48 (1998): 268.

139. The practice of ἐπίσπασμος (stretching the foreskin) had been severely condemned by the Jews. It was considered as breaking of the law and the covenant. On the other hand, one can assume that this custom did continue even after the severe opposition from the traditional Jews. This fact is evident from a later composition, Jub. 15: 33-34. For more discussion on this subject, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 74, 278, and 289. Also see Dirk Schultheiss, Michael C. Truss, Christian G. Stief, and Udo Jonas, *Uncircumcision: A Historical Review of Preputial Restoration*, *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery* 101, no. 7 (June 1998), <http://www.cirp.org/library/restoration/schultheiss/> (accessed October 24, 2006).

140. Doran, "The High Cost of a Good Education," 94. He describes in detail all the facilities available in a typical Greek gymnasium and the costs involved in building such an institution. Also for a more recent bibliography, see Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (Harrisburg, London and New York: Trinity Press International, 2003), 344-383.

period. This historical incident became the immediate reason for the Jewish uprising against Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and the rejection of Hellenization by a group. Since we have dealt with the reasons for the Jewish revolt in mid-second century BCE and events related to it in second chapter, I do not want to go back to them again. It is worth noting that the revolt did not erupt soon after the creation of the gymnasium but it broke out after about eight years (1 Macc 2: 45- 48; cf. 2 Macc 8). Both these books consider the Hellenistic reform as apostasy to Jewish faith, practice, and tradition. This reform in Jerusalem has three important aspects: (1) the abolishment of τὰ κείμενα (the "royal privileges") granted to the Jews (2 Macc 4: 11); (2) the abolition of the Jewish τὰς μὲν νομίμους καταλύων πολιτείας (constitution and social system) (2 Macc 4: 11); and (3) the introduction of the Antiochian citizenship in Jerusalem (2 Macc 4: 9).[141] The establishment of the gymnasium (2 Macc 4: 9) obviously referred to the third aspect. The Books of Maccabees, especially the passages mentioned above, presuppose that Jews enjoyed a privileged position granted by the Seleucids. Josephus, in *Ant.* 12. 138-44; and 145-6, mentions the privileges granted to Jerusalem and Jews by Antiochus III the Great after the conquest of Israel in 198 BCE. Freedom from taxation for the temple personnel, a three-year release from taxes for the inhabitants of the city, and freedom to have a

---

141. L. Dequeker, "Jason's Gymnasium in Jerusalem (2 Macc 4: 7-17): The Failure of a Cultural Experiment," *Bijdragen: International Journal in Philosophy and Theology* 54, no. 4 (1993): 375.

constitution in accordance with the ancestral laws are some of the privileges granted by the king.[142] The reformers did not have any concern about these privileges granted by the foreign power. On the other hand, they tried to adopt the foreign culture in order to please the invading power and to be like their masters. The writers of the books of Maccabees condemn them as breakers of the covenant (1 Macc 1: 15), calling them lawless, godless people, renegades (1 Macc 3: 5; 6: 21; 7: 5, 9; 25, 73; 2 Macc 4: 13; 4: 17; 8: 2; 10: 10). For the Jews the reform was absolutely an apostasy.

According to 2 Macc 4: 9, Jason obtained the right to confer Antiochene citizenship confer upon the adherents of the reform in Jerusalem by paying an additional hundred and fifty talents to the king. The new decree also gave permission to convert Jerusalem into a Greek *polis*. In order to please the king, the city was named after Antioch.[143] That was to introduce τά῾ Ελληνικά (the Greek way of life) in Jerusalem. Jason's first step in this way was establishing a gymnasium in

---

142. Also see E.J. Bickermann, "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 37, no. 4 (April 1947): 387-405.

143. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 277; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 161-4; idem, "Was Jerusalem a Polis?" *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964): 61-78; Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 113, and 118; Bringmann, *Hellenistiche Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judaa*, 90; and Doran, "High Cost of Good Education," 107-8. For an alternate view, see Dequekar, "Jason's Gymnasium in Jerusalem," 380-81. Dequekar argues that the primary aim of the reformers was not to end the ancestral religion but to end the Jewish particularism and segregation. The reformers saw these Jewish characteristics as the cause of the many disasters that happened in the history of the Jews, especially after the exile. He further observes that the reform have been mainly cultural and political, although it had repercussions on religious life. However, it is now evident that imperialism caused more problems in the land than Jewish segregationalist attitudes.

Jerusalem. He built a gymnasium at the foot of the acropolis, close to the temple, the center of Jewish religion. When we read about this event along with other actions of the empire such as abolition of financial privileges of the temple and the abrogation of the ancestral laws regulating Jewish identity, we can see that it was a planned, organized, and conscious reform fashioned in order to impose the culture and norms of the empire upon the conquered people. It was the empire's plan to assimilate the colonized into the ruling culture by separating them from their ancestral identity. When Jason and his followers were ready to adopt Greek customs and became Hellenes, the colonization became easier for the empire. However, building the gymnasium was purely a voluntary act on the part of the Jews. In effect, it became, according to Gramsci, "domination by consent."[144] For the empire, it was a political advantage to have faithful subjects and a Hellenized colony on its southern border in the face of the Egyptian challenges. Why did the reform, especially the newly established gymnasium fail? In order to understand this matter, we need to know something of the curriculum of the gymnasium.

2 The Curriculum of the Gymnasium at Jerusalem

It may be assumed that the gymnasium at Jerusalem followed the same pattern and same curriculum of the Greek gymnasium in other places of the Greek world, since there is no reason to think they had a distinct program. Greek education usually

144. Gramsci juxtaposes "domination by consent" and "direct" domination as two ways of implementing hegemony over others. See Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 57.

had three stages: primary, secondary, and tertiary.[145] At the age of seven, students started learning the elementary skills of reading, writing, and computing.[146] At ten or eleven children would move to the next level, a secondary school. In this stage, students were to master more complex texts, to practice more difficult writings, and to master grammar. In addition, they learned the content of some of the Greek masters, such as Homer, and used them to enhance their own rhetorical and writing skills. The third stage, which was the advanced level, was the truly important level. About the age of fifteen youths would enter this level, which usually occurred in the gymnasium that was the major source of education. Instead of going to gymnasium, students could also go to a tutor, to a philosopher, or an orator.[147] The specially trained grammarians taught the students the classical poets and classical writers.[148] Among the classical writers, Homer was the center of all studies, from the

---

145. For a comprehensive study of Greek education, see Hock, "Paul and Greco-Roman Education," 199-207. It also provides a substantial bibliography on this subject.

146. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, 150-59; Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 165-88; and Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, 90-151.

147. At this stage, most students preferred rhetoric than philosophy. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 194-96. For e.g., Epictetus, *Diatriba*, 2.27, 24.24-26, and 3.1.1, 34. Marrou points out that rhetoric was the queen of all subjects during these days (pp. 194-205).

148. Philo, *Prelim. Studies*, 148; Plato, *Axiochus*, 366e; and Sextus Empiricus, *Against Mathematicians*, 1.49

preliminary stage onwards.[149] The students also learned the writings of Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschylus, and Sophocles and studied their literary quality, teachings about life, and their elegant Greek style. Along with literature, students also learned art, mathematics, medicine, music, astrology, and geography. The curriculum also includes philosophical subjects such as metaphysics, and ethics and the writings of the great philosophers Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zenon, and Epicurus. The students began with compositional forms and exercises called προγυμνάσματα (*progymnasmata*) that taught style and argumentation.[150] At this stage, physical exercise was an integral part of the curriculum. This comprehensive curriculum was intended to create an ideal person who knows major areas of knowledge, physically fit from training in sports, and the embodiment of important virtues. In the gymnasium, neither the language nor the history of the subjugated people was taught even to a small extent. The medium of instruction was strictly and exclusively Greek.

The gymnasium in Jerusalem also included an ἐφηβεῖα (*ephebeia*) (2 Macc 4: 9). The *ephebeia* was generally described a life stage in Greece between childhood and manhood, more specifically puberty, and the more narrow sense the phase at its

---

149. Homer's prominence becomes clear from a number of historical references. For e.g., Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 7. "Homer was not a man but a god" was one of the first sentences that children copied down in their handwriting lessons. For a detailed discussion, see Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 162-3. Yamauchi, in a recently published article, analyzes various scholarly views on the issue of historicity of Homer. See Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Historic Homer: Did It Happen?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 33, no.2 (March-April 2007): 28-37, and 76.

150. Hock, "Paul and Greco-Roman Education," 204.

conclusion.[151] In early days, this was mainly to give military training to citizens. However, during the Hellenistic period, *ephebeia* simply meant higher, probably the highest, education in which only few people could participate. Students were given sophisticated military training along with philosophy and other subjects at advanced levels. Most importantly, the cultic elements, including the cultic worship of ancestors, were included in the curriculum. The *ephebeia* became an institution for the physical and intellectual education for the elite in this period. Usually this education took place in the gymnasium itself, in a specially separated room.[152] The *ephebes* formed a clearly defined group that was externally recognizable by virtue of hairstyle, clothing, and behavior.[153]

Conclusion

Even though there was a considerable growth in educational institutions during the Hellenistic period, the colonizers and the indigenous upper class continued to holdfast its control over these institutions. The colonial social situation made the poor and the peasants impossible to enter into them. The lower stratum of the society

---

151. Hans-Joachim Gehrke, "Ephebeia," *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, vol. 4, edited by Hubert Cancik et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 1018.

152. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 186.

153. For e.g., 2 Macc 4: 12, which mentions the unique hat (πέτασον) used by the *ephebes* to identity themselves with the education that they gained from the gymnasium.

continued to be alienated from the main stream of the society and their voices were never heard. As we have seen, the educational institutions mainly concentrated on the *polis* (πόλις) where the upper class and the influential lived while the majority of the population lived in the impoverished countryside *chora* (χώρα). This was a general fact of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

The colonial motif behind the education offered in the gymnasium and the *ephebeia* was to train people to form a special community of the *polis* at an accelerated tempo by getting to know its practices in the cultural, social, and military-political spheres, and by practicing these in the execution of certain actions in a manner appropriate to their age, by physical training, military education, and learning of other subjects. It is clear that the establishment of gymnasia among the non-Greek places had a close relationship with the political advancement of Hellenism in the land. The curriculum in the gymnasium was created in such a way as to attract indigenous people, especially the higher classes and the influential, to Hellenism and to prepare them mentally to imitate the Greek way of life and culture. Thus, the institution was established to construct a social advancement of Hellenism among the non-Greeks. The curriculum was aimed to create a perfect Greek in thought and practice.

The gymnasium brought Greek customs and practices in to the foreign land. The Jews found the curriculum in the gymnasium was totally against the cultural norms of their tradition. As we have seen, athletic training in the nude was a

characteristic activity of the gymnasium. For the Jews, it was a disgrace to be naked in public. Many Jews were offended by this practice. The attempt to remove circumcision marks in order to avoid embarrassment by the Jewish *ephebes* was considered breaking the covenant that they had with God. The culture that the gymnasium promoted was alien to the locals and in many ways an offense to their ancestral culture. The program did not have anything to do with the indigenous culture, practices, and history. Apart from the land in which the gymnasium stood, everything else was alien to the Jews. Most importantly, the Hellenistic reform failed because of the knowledge that the gymnasium had its roots in paganism, idolatry, and apostasy.[154] The performance of Hellenistic cultic rights in the gymnasium was offense to the Jewish beliefs. These practices were considered a great transgression to their ancestral religion. For the Torah-centric community, it was a shock to see an alien pagan culture through its education system marching into their culture and religion. Thus, the establishment of the Hellenistic educational institution became one of the primary reasons for the eventual failure of the reform.

The colonial educational policy to create an indigenous class, which was supportive of the colonial policies and values, was not a peculiar phenomenon of the ancient world. Rather, it continued its significance through out the history of

---

154. Here I am disagreeing with Dequeker, who argues that the religious affiliation of the gymnasium is not that important when compared to political affiliations. For him the Jewish reform failed because of political reasons. Dequeker, "Jason's Gymnasium in Jerusalem," 385-6.

colonialism. Even in the modern period, the colonial powers made use of education as a weapon for achieving their imperial aspirations. The British colonial education policy adopted in India during the early part of the nineteenth century is a good example for this. Let us now look into the issues related to the British education policy and see how it facilitated the British colonial desires.

V. British Education in Colonial India and Class Formation

Introduction

The colonial administrations always had a secret agenda when they introduced education into the colonies. They did not intend to educate the entire population of the colonies. Rather, their aim was to teach the colonial values and worldviews to the upper influential class of the land so that through them they could effectively control the land. Throughout the centuries, this education policy has been the history of most colonies around the globe. In the last chapter, we saw an example of colonial education and its motifs from the ancient world. In this chapter, let us briefly look into the education of colonial India, and see how far this argument is factual in the colonial enterprise of the modern world. This chapter will be a postcolonial reading of introduction of the British educational system in colonial India, especially during the nineteenth, and the early twentieth centuries. In order to see the transition to the British colonial education, and its significance in the land, let us briefly look into the education system that existed in pre-colonial India.

Pre-Colonial Education in India

India has a long history of civilization. A recorded history of formal and informal education in India dates back to between 3,000 and 4,000 years, to the Vedic

period when education was primarily based on Vedic philosophical verses and scriptures complied in an archaic form of Sanskrit.[1] This education system was predominantly localized all over India. The local peoples tailored the education system to fit their needs. We do have a few instances of centralized education system from ancient times. The ancient education centre at Nalanda, existed from fifth century BCE to the twelfth century CE, which was one of the first residential universities of the world, is a good example for non-local education centers. These education institutions provided education that included philosophy, mathematics, logic and grammar.[2] The usual medium of instruction in these institutions was Sanskrit or Pali, a language used among the Buddhists, both of which were non-local languages. Even though the rulers and wealthy often supported and influenced education through patronage, they never had control over it.[3] Conversely, the local

---

1. Amita Gupta, *Early Childhood Education, Postcolonial Theory and Teaching Practices in India: Balancing Vygotsky and the Veda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 37.

2. For details about Nalanda and non-local education centres in ancient India, see Anant Sadashiv Altekar, *Education in Ancient India* (Varanasi: Nand Kishore & Bros., 1965); and S.C. Gosh, *The History of Education in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001).

3. E. Annamalai, "Nation-Building in Globalised World: Language Choice and Education in India," in *Decolonisation and Globalisation: Language-in-Education Policy and Practice*, edited by Angel M.Y. Lin and Peter W. Martin (Clevedon, Buffalo and Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2005), 20. Although Gupta emperors founded Nalanda, they never exercised any control over the curriculum or any activities of the institution. Nalanda used to offer a wide range of courses including the study of scriptures of Mahayana and Hinayana Schools of Buddhism, Vedic texts, Philosophy, logic, theology, grammar, astronomy,

institutions were purely under the control of the *guru* of the institution. He had the sole authority over the curriculum and the learning process. Students go to his house for learning and often stay in the guru's home until they finish learning. However, these institutions usually did not deviate from the broad desires of the community that it served. The educational needs of the people often depended on their caste.

Caste divisions were a unique part of Indian society.[4] One needs to understand the caste dynamic in order to understand Indian society. The religious caste divides the society into four castes, *Brahmin*, *Kshethriya*, *Vaishya,* and *Sudra*, arranged in hierarchical order with the outcaste, the *Panchamas* or *Dalits*, at the bottom. However, socially the caste system is more complicated, with far more castes and sub-castes and other divisions. The caste divisions relate closely to the occupation in the society. Each caste is expected to perform certain duties, which is known as *Varnashrama Dharma*, in the society. *Varna* means pre-destination of the choice of

---

mathematics, and medicine. There were many other similar educational institutions established during this period. The institutions at Vikramshila and Takshashila are some of them. Also see Jyotsna Kamat, " Education in Karnataka Through Ages," <http://www.kamat.com/database/books/kareducation/index.htm> (accessed November 7, 2006)

4. For uniqueness of caste in the Indian Society, see Ashwin Kumar, "Theory of Uniqueness of Indian Caste System," *International Journal of Human Sciences* 2, no. 2 (2005): 2-7. However, I do not want to highlight the "uniqueness" of caste system ignoring its oppressive nature.

man's[5] profession, and *dharma* means a divinely ordained duty assigned to a person. The law of *Varna* is that a man shall follow the profession of his ancestors for earning his livelihood. *Varna,* therefore, is in a way the law of heredity.[6] According to the doctrine of *Varnashrama Dharma,* the *Brahmin*, who come the first in caste hierarchy, are to be the spiritual and temporal guides (the priests of the society), teachers, and exponents of law. The *Kshethriya* are the warriors, princes, and kings - in short, the nobility. The *Vaishya* took on the tasks of agriculture and business, and the *Sudra* included individuals who performed service communities – manual and agricultural laborers, artisans, masons, and so on. The outcaste or *Dalit* is placed nowhere in the society.[7] While the first three castes are the privileged citizens of the society, others lived as servants to the high castes. One receives the rewards for performing one's *dharma* in the next life. The doctrine of *Varnashrama Dharma* does

---

5. Here, I am intentionally using sexist language in order to highlight the fact that the caste system does not give any place to women in the society. They are the most oppressed group in the world and the poorest of the poor. For women's place in the society, see S. Agarwal, *Genocide of Women in Hinduism* (Jabalpur: Sudrastan Books, 1999).

6. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Removal of Untouchability* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1954), 40-2.

7. For details, see Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications* (Delhi: Vikas, 1970); and Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, poverty, and the state in modern India* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For a classic study on the caste system in India, see J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India, its nature, function and origins* (Cambridge: The University press, 1946).

not allow a man to change his inherited profession. He has to live, and perform his duties for the "well being" of the society, as the doctrine teaches, as long as he lives. Gandhi articulates the caste policy by supporting it. As he says, "The only profession after his heart should be the profession of his fathers….We should be satisfied with those we have inherited from our forefathers."[8] While the high caste had rights on the property and land, the *Sudras* and the Outcastes had no rights to land. In other words, in economic terms, the lower castes had no control, or not even had "operational control" over production. Interestingly, the *Sudras* and the *Dalits* constitute approximately 55-60 percent of Indian population. Here again, as in the case of the ancient Hellenistic kingdoms, the minority rules the majority. In the decision-making process, the low castes had no role to play, and always had to live away from power. These groups were the poorest of the poor in the land, as in the case of peasants who lived far away from the *polis* of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

The doctrine of *Varnashrama Dharma* also relates to purity and pollution in the society.[9] Many status differences in Indian society are expressed in terms of ritual purity and pollution. These notions of purity and pollution are extremely complex and vary greatly among different castes, religious groups, and regions. The purity and

---

8. Gandhi, *The Removal of Untouchability*, 48-9.

9. For discussion on purity and pollution related to caste, see Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus; and Mendelsohn and Vicziany, *The Untouchables*.

pollution have nothing to do with hygiene. Broadly speaking, the case system associates purity with the high-status castes and pollution with the low-status castes. Some kinds of purity are inherent, or inborn. That is to say, a member of a high-ranking *Brahmin* is born with more inherent purity than that of a member of a low-ranking *Sudra* caste. Unless the *Brahmin* defiles himself in some extraordinary way, throughout his life he will always be purer than the *Sudra*. This religious law prohibits all sorts of social mingling between the people of different castes, especially between the higher castes and *Sudras* or *Dalits*. Even a touch from a member of a lower caste pollutes a member of a higher caste. In sum, all human are born unequal with unequal capacities in order to perform functions of unequal importance to God.

The low castes, the *Sudras* and the *Dalits*, were also strictly denied of education opportunities and learning.[10] It was simply impossible for the lower castes to attend school with students of the high castes. The caste prejudices were too strong

---

10. For educational disparities within the caste system, see P. Sainath, *Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996); Jean Dreze and Geeta Gandhi Kingdom, "School Participation in Rural India," *Review of Development Economics* 5 (2001): 1-24; and Vani K. Borooah and Sriya Iyer, "Vidya, Veda, and Varna: The influence of religion and caste on education in rural India," *The Journal of Development Studies* 41, no. 8 (2005): 1369-1404. Also see S. Narula, *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's "Untouchables"* (London: Human Right Watch, 1999).

to accept each other within the society in those days.[11] Therefore, when talking about education in pre-independent India, the lower castes and the *Dalits* do not come in the education scenario at all.

Sanskrit, which has been the liturgical language of the high caste people, was the medium of instruction for the *Brahmins*, since they had to deal with the priestly texts written, in Sanskrit.[12] Pali was the common language for the Buddhist monks, and the local languages were used for the instruction of all other groups who were engaged trade, artisans, and so on. In sum, education served the purpose of preparing the different groups of people to perform their socially ascribed roles, and the choice of language to be taught was the one needed for each person's roles.[13] In other words, the curriculum of the pre-colonial education was shaped according to need of the society and intended to equip people to face the challenge in life. Again, as mentioned above, the choice of jobs, and the medium of instruction were depended on the caste group to which one belongs. The education was free and open to most people in the high castes (not including women, who were in most cases avoided) as early as the

---

11. For the caste discrimination among the caste society, see Autar S. Dhesi, "Caste, class synergies, and discrimination in India," *International Journal of Social Economics* 25, nos. 6, 7, and 8 (1998): 1036-1041. The author also deals with the contemporary caste discrimination.

12. Sanskrit study was the exclusive the privilege of the Brahmin caste.

13. Annamalai, "Nation-Building in Globalised World," 20.

beginning of the Christian era.[14] According to a British survey conducted by William Adam in early 1830s, during this time more than 100,000 schools existed in the eastern states of Bengal, and Bihar alone. These facts suggest that almost every village had its own school during this period.[15]

The Western Colonial Education before the British

India had gone through a series of foreign conquests and administrations until the mid twentieth century. Among them, the Islamic invasions from the Asia Minor, and Persia, and the Western colonial powers from Europe were significant. The Islamic rule did influence Indian educational system, especially during the period between 1000 and 1700 CE.[16] The Muslim rulers introduced Islamic schools that functioned adjacent to the mosques. These schools existed alongside the indigenous educational institutions. Many Muslim rulers greatly promoted indigenous education.

---

14. Asha Saini, "Literacy and Empowerment: An Indian Scenario," *Childhood Education* 76, no. 6 (2000): 381-84.

15. For details, see J. di Bona, *One Teacher, One School* (New Delhi: Biblia Impex Private Limited, 1983); and Pankaj Goyal, *Education in Pre-British India*, <http://www.infinityfoundation.com/mandala/t_es/t_es_goyal_education_frameset.html> (accessed November 8, 2006). Also, see F.E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education: An Inquiry into Its Origin, Development, and Ideals* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1980).

16. For a brief history of Muslim invasion and rule, see Peter Robb, *A History of India* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2002), 59-115. Also see John McLeod, *The History of India* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 29-67.

The high standards of education during this time led to the establishment of several village schools, and colleges. Delhi became a great center of learning.[17] Persian and Arabic were introduced in the Indian education, and in society. Soon, Persian, a foreign language for the majority, became the court language in many places. A number of Indian writings, including the classics like *Mahabharata and Ramayana*, were translated into Persian language. The rulers gave great importance to Persian poetry, music, dance, and arts. A new language known as Urdu emerged from the mingling of the prominent Indian language Hindi and Persian during this period.

On the other hand, the Islamic rule also brought some negative elements into the society. The first characteristic that the Islamic regime promoted was the gender segregation and discrimination. Women could not be seen or heard in public, and with the implementation of the *purdah* system, women's lives in Muslim dominated regions became even more sheltered and homebound with decreasing rights to obtain education in particular. The second, and perhaps the most important, impact of Islamic rule was that the new educational philosophy promoted conformity and discouraged the critical thinking or speculation that had been valued in Hindu and Buddhist educational philosophers.[18] Even after the introduction of new

---

17. Some of the prominent centers of education include Firuzabad, Badaun, Agra, Jaunpur, Bijapur, Golkonda, Malwa, and Multan. For more details, see Amita Gupta, Amita Gupta, *Early Childhood Education, Postcolonial Theory and Teaching Practices in India*, 43-4.

18. Gupta, *Early Childhood Education, Postcolonial Theory and Teaching Practices in India*, 43-4.

understanding and values to the educational system, the indigenous education and values did continue, and mainly focused on villages.

From sixteenth century onwards, India witnessed the arrival of various European colonial powers. The Portuguese were the first who landed in the country in 1498 CE, followed by the Dutch, the French, the Danes, and finally the English. The Portuguese mainly focused on the Christian missionary work. Soon after their arrival, Roman Catholic missionaries started coming to the country and opened a number of educational institutions. Portuguese and Latin were taught in the elementary schools, which usually were attached to the Christian churches, and the missionary stations. The Portuguese also started orphanages for Indian children that provided some instructions on agriculture and industrial work. They also started colleges and seminaries. The first Portuguese Jesuit College was established at Chaul in Goa in 1575, and later at Bandora in Salsette and some other places.[19] For the first time in India, the Portuguese missionaries introduced printing by starting a printing press in Goa in 1556, and later in Ambalcatta, Cochin, Angamale, and Panikkayal.[20] The primary goal of the Portuguese educational enterprise was evident in the answer of a Portuguese sailor, who first landed in India, to the question about the cause of his

---

19. For details, see S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India: Modern Period* (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1957), 14-15.

20. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning by Early European Settlers* (Bombay: Longmans, 1915), 102-104.

coming to India, “We have come to seek Christians, and spices.”[21] In other words, they came merely for doing Christian missionary work, and for commercial purposes. Through their vigorous missionary efforts, they did get many converts to Christianity, and continued their impact on them. Their activities ended with the decline of their power, but the parish schools that they established primarily for the Christians continued. The effect of the Portuguese on the Indian educational system at large was limited because of several reasons. First, their political control over the land was limited to certain pockets. Second, their power did not last for a long time. The Portuguese did not consider the indigenous education as worthy at all and completely left it alone. The schools and colleges that they started did not have much impact on the larger Indian community.

The Dutch policy in India was strictly commercial, so they did not turn their attention to other matters. However, the French did start primary schools in their settlements. In these schools, unlike other European colonies, the medium of instruction was the local languages, and teachers were mainly Indians. French language was taught to both French settlers, and to the Indians in the French secondary school established in Pondicherry.[22] The French ambition of building an empire in the country did not work out well. The British literally wiped out them from

---

21. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 12-13.

22. T.N. Siqueria, *The Education in India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1952), 27.

the land. Eventually, by the first half of the nineteenth century, their jurisdiction was restricted to small pockets of Mahe, Yanam, Karakal, Chandranagore, and Pondicherry. These political events made the French impact on Indian educational system nominal.

The history of the Danes was little different from that of the other European powers. They were able to establish factories in Tranquebar in Tamil Nadu and at Serampore near Kolkotha in the seventeenth century. These factories and other investments were ultimately sold to the English in 1845. Although the Danes never were a political power in India, they did have some impact on the education system, and especially in the religious realm. Tranquebar and Serampore are still the strongholds of protestant missionaries. The theological seminary in Serampore is considered as the mother seminary of all protestant seminaries in India. The Danish protestant missionaries opened numerous primary schools for the "heathens," and the "Mohamedans."[23] Like the French, the Danes used the local languages as medium of instruction in the schools. However, English language was taught in the religious seminaries and teacher's training schools.[24] The Dutch also did not try to make any changes in the local educational system, since they could not find anything "good" in it. For them, the locals were "heathens" and needed to be taught. This attitude left

23. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 17.

24. Siqueria, *The Education in India*, 29.

them unconcerned about the indigenous educational system. Because of their political deficiency, they could not do much in the Indian educational field.

The Colonial British Education

Although the British East India Company was established in December 31, 1600, the education policy was introduced only in early part of nineteenth century. Trade was the initial objective of the company. This primary goal was soon shifted to territorial domination as it followed the footsteps of other rival European trading companies of French, Dutch, and others. Within a span of two centuries, the company gained control over the entire subcontinent. When it took Delhi from the Mughals in 1803, the invasion was completed.[25] The entire land, except a few pockets of territories, came under the direct administration of the company.

Even though the British, especially the Christian missionaries, established many educational institutions before nineteenth century, the company did not actually adopt any educational policy for India.[26] The company continued to maintain its detachment from the education field. The schools established by the British citizens and various British organizations continued to function independently. The name of Charles Grant, a former employee of the company, is important to note at this

---

25. For a detailed report of invasion, see McLeod, *The History of India*, 67-74; and Robb, *A History of India*, 116-126.

26. For a comprehensive study of the British education institutions in India before nineteenth century, see Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 18-28.

juncture. In 1792, Grant published a treatise entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain." In this paper, he observed, "the true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The *Hindoos* err, because they are ignorant."[27] He believed that the Britain should immediately act to renew the land of India through the introduction of Christianity, English language and literature, and by means of western mechanical sciences.[28] In 1796, he further argued that English should be used as the medium for communicating "light and knowledge," and the capability in using English would prove to be the best remedy for the "disorders of Asiatic peoples."[29] His argument was, in brief, that the East India Company should instantaneously involve itself in the field of education and also support the Christian missionary work to achieve the goal of "renewing" India and her people.[30] However, neither the British Parliament nor the company accepted his thesis immediately.

---

27. H. Sharp, ed., "Grant's Observations," in *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1920), 81; also see the articles in B.R. Garg, ed., *Charles Grant: The Forerunner of Macaulay's Educational Policy* (Ambala: The Associated Publishers, 2003).

28. Ibid., 82.

29. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 24.

30. For details, see Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 28-9. Also see Krishna Kumar, *A Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), 23-4. The policy makers of British India found that Indians suffered from serious "defects of character." For e.g., see F. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 54-7.

When the British Parliament renewed the Charter of the East India Company in 1813, it also sanctioned a sum of one hundred thousand Indian Rupees exclusively for educational purposes. However, the company's directors could not make immediate decisions on various issues related to education in India. There were heated debates on such issues as whether to provide higher education only to the high classes or to give elementary education to the masses, whether English should be introduced as the medium of instruction, whether to encourage the indigenous education or abolish it, and so on. One group of educationalists, the "Orientalists," supported the continuation of indigenous education system and ethos while another group, the "Anglicists," supported the introduction of the English education and values.[31] The arguments culminated in the production of the historical "Minute on Indian Education," written by the legal member of the Governor-General's Council, Thomas Macaulay (1800-60).[32]

Macaulay, in his influential minute, categorically rejected all the claims and arguments of the "Orientalists," supported the education of the classes, and made a

---

31. For historical development of this subject, see "Introduction" of Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir, eds., *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 1-72. Also see Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 31-72; and Gauri Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Beginnings of English Literary Study in British India," 87-89.

32. <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (accessed November 16, 2006).

vigorous plea for spreading Western learning through the medium of English.[33] In his brief article, he articulated the supremacy of the Western culture, and English language:

> I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the oriental plan of education.[34]

We can summarize Macaulay's arguments as follows: first, he highlighted the "better" quality of the literature embodied in the English language over other Eastern languages. Second, he explained that English was a medium for "useful knowledge." He completely rejected the value of Arabic and Sanskrit, and he implied that English was the best of all languages. Third, he rationalized the adoption of English as the

---

33. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 73.

34. <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (accessed November 16, 2006).

language of international communication.[35] Finally, he clarified the ultimate goal of the imperial educational policy succinctly: "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, in morals and in intellect."[36]

Macaulay and his supporters dreamed that the English education would make it easier to bring cultural changes in the land, and thus would make an easy pathway for English culture to enter into the land. In a letter to his father, Macaulay later wrote,

> No Hindu who has received English education ever remain attached to his religion. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years from hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytize,

---

35. Joel Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc. 1998). For the significance of use of language in colonial education, see Norrel A. London, "Ideology and Politics in English-Language Education in Trinidad and Tobago: The Colonial Experience and a Postcolonial Critique," *Comparative Education Review* 47, no. 3 (2003): 287-320. For Macaulay's arguments in favor of English, see Sharp, "Macaulay's Minute," in *Selections from Educational Records*, 107-117. For use of English in science education in colonial India, see Satpal Sangwan, "Science Education in Colonial Constraints," *Oxford Review of Education* 16, no. 1 (1990): 81-95.

36. <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (accessed November 16, 2006). For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Suresh Chandra Ghosh, "'English in Taste, in Opinions, in Words and Intellect': Indoctrinating the Indian through Textbook, Curriculum, and Education," in *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in British Colonial Experience*, edited by J.A. Mangan (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 175-93.

without the smallest interference in their religious liberty, merely by natural operation of knowledge and reflection.[37]

The British administrator William Cavendish Bentinck readily accepted the recommendations of Macaulay and implemented them throughout the country.[38] In 1837, English was made the language of administration, and thus the East India Company officially entered into the Indian education field. There was a rapid growth in English schools and colleges were the result of the new policy.[39] The government promoted English education in many ways. A grant was allocated exclusively for English education in the country. Although the new educational policy did not complete abolish the indigenous learning, the discrimination in the educational field was apparent. A contemporary journalist observed, "In Bengal, with its thirty-seven million, the Government bestows 8,000 rupees annually on Vernacular Education! One-third the salary of a Collector of the Revenue! As much is expended on 200

---

37. Quoted in C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London: Longmans, 1838), 45.

38. For details, see Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 77-8.

39. H.R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India* (Bombay: Longmans, 1917), 110. For details about the establishing new English schools all over India, see Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 100-108. Also see Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 17-22.

prisoners in jails!"[40] The Company formulated this policy according to Macaulay's suggestions. As he argued, "what we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth; it is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error."[41] Most importantly, English became a compulsory subject for matriculation, and high schools. English education in high schools became a requirement for university, and college admissions.[42] The indigenous educational institutions had to go through hard times due to financial crisis and the English domination,[43] and eventually they had to withdraw completely from the scene. English as the medium of instruction began to dominate the entire educational field.

The effect of colonial introduction of English education in the country was enormous. Ngugi wa Thiong'o calls the introduction of English as the medium of

---

40. *Calcutta Review*, June 1854, 305. Quoted in Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 104.

41. <http://www.mssu.edu/projectsouthasia/history/primarydocs/education/Macaulay001.html> (accessed November16, 2006).

42. See the discussion in S.N. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India* (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1956), 59-61.

43. For e.g., in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, the enrollment for Hindu Mathematics dropped from 32 in1832 to 8 in 1833. The enrollment for English classes, on the other hand, rose steadily: 66 in 1832 to 82 in 1833. For more details, see Surendra Prasad Sinha, *English in India* (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1978), 34. This was not only the case of one institution but for all institution that taught in vernacular medium and subjects all over the country. For a discussion of this subject, see Modhumita Roy, The English of India: Class Formation and Social Privilege, *Social Scientist* 21, no. 5-6 (May-June 1993), 51-2.

instruction in the non-English speaking world a “cultural bomb,” whose effect was,

> to annihilate a people’s beliefs in their names, in their languages, in their environments, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other people’s languages rather than their own.[44]

The people in India had to go through the same situation as Ngugi mentioned. The educational policy promoted a new kind of knowledge. Its function was to erect the past as a pedestal on which the triumphs and glories of the colonizers and their instrument, the colonial state, could be displayed to best advantage. The Indian history, assimilated thereby to the history of England, would henceforth be used as a comprehensive measure of difference between the peoples of these two countries.[45] A new class in Indian society, which was completely alienated from the land, emerged soon after the introduction of the English education. One can see the similarities

---

44. Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The politics of language in African literature*, 3. For a detailed discussion of introduction of English as the medium of instruction and the position of Indian languages in education, see Bernard S. Cohn, “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” *Sabaltern Studies 4: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, edited by Ranajit Guha (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 276-329.

45. The colonial education promoted a new form of historiography, which was purely colonial in nature and dominant in character, see Ranajit Guha, “Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography,” in *Subaltern Studies 6: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, edited by Ranajit Guha (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 211.

between this class formation in the colonial Indian society and the class formation in the Hellenistic Israel. In both cases, the colonial policy on education led the subjected peoples to form a new class.

Education and Class Formation in Colonial India

While accepting the recommendations of Macaulay, the colonial administration had an apparent vision. By this time, the colonial government had been struggling against serious obstacles in carrying out the administration. The complexity of culture and language made difficult for the Company to exercise power over the occupied territory. The Company needed interpreters and scribes to carryout business effectively in the country. When the new educational policy was adopted, the administration sincerely hoped that the policy would solve many contemporary problems that they faced in the country. They earnestly expected that the colonial education would spread the liberal ideas of the West among the native influential class, who would then cooperate with government in carrying out the administrative interest in the land. In other words, the primary aim of the new policy was to create a unique English-educated class among the colonized who would be sympathetic and supportive of the colonial administration and policies. This was exactly the same situation of the ancient Hellenistic kingdoms. When the colonizers introduced gymnasium into the colonies, they had a similar motif of creating a group of the indigenous populace, who would unconditionally support the colonial policies and values.

When we look at the scenario of English education in this period, we can easily summarize the goals of the new educational policy as follows. First, the new education policy was expected to produce English-educated Indian servants for the colonial administration to carry out the colonial activities in the land. In other words, the colonial education was intended to create a "servant class," who would be loyal to the administration. More clearly, the colonial government never planned to encourage education as such, but rather to create a body of Indian clerks and petty officials who would serve the cause of British administration.[46] Second, as mentioned above, by introducing English as the medium of instruction, the administration expected English to become a connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. Thus, the gap between the colonizers and the colonized could be eliminated. Another aspect of the new curriculum is important to note here. When English education was introduced, soon the Company officials realized the danger of "classless" educational activities of the Christian Evangelical mission in India. They considered books with egalitarian ideas dangerous because such books might cause discontent and upheaval in the country against the colonial rule. Instead, the officials introduced books that promoted

---

46. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India,* 55-6. The new education policy did not take subject studies seriously. Their main concentration was on language learning. We will come back to the issue of the failures of English education in India later in this chapter.

punctuality, honest, diligence, loyalty, and sexual restraint.[47] The colonial rulers did not want to take any risks in educating the subjected people the significance of "classless" society. Rather, as in the case of the colonial context of the ancient Judea, the prime intention of the new education system was to create a rigid class of people who were loyal to the colonial administration and dedicated to its policies.

It is important to note that Macaulay saw education as a luxury not meant for ordinary people. The colonial government did not consider the actual needs of the country, and the ordinary people were left to themselves without any attention. Like in the Hellenistic Israel, most Indians lived in villages[48] and engaged in some kind of farming and agricultural work. The colleges and schools had never taken any initiative to teach farming, manures, rotation, silage, soil-banking, and other agriculture related courses.[49] Therefore, throughout the colonial period, India lacked

---

47. Michael Mann, "'Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress': Britain's Ideology of a Moral and Material Progress in India – An Introductory Essay," in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, edited by Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann (London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004), 19.

48. According to 2001 Census, about 72% of the Indian population still lives in rural areas. For census data, see <http://www.censusindia.net/results/rudist.html> From this data, one can easily imagine the percentage of population in rural areas in the early nineteenth century, when urbanization was in its primary stage. One can easily assume that about 85% of Indians lived in rural areas in this period.

49. At the time of independence in 1947, India had only 16 agricultural colleges and 10 veterinary colleges. The agricultural college could admit only 1500 students per year. This figure would represent three agricultural graduates, if everyone who enrolls graduates, per year per million of the Indian farming population. One can easily figure out the negligence on the part of the colonial

educated farmers who were able to apply their education into the land.[50] Education became entirely alien to the land and the people. Also education institutions were mostly concentrated in urban centers whereas villages, where the vast majority lived, were left alone.[51] Again one can recognize similarities between the conditions of the Indian peasants and the peasants who lived in far away villages of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Both these groups continued to be alienated from the main stream of the society, and most importantly the colonial education completely ignored their needs.

During this period, a large number of people migrated from rural areas to urban centers.[52] The impoverishment of the rural areas, shortage of job openings, and lack of good educational opportunities in villages were some of the prominent reasons

---

government in this vital area. For data, see Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 71.

50. Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 114-5. Also see the discussion in Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 70-2.

51. See the discussion in Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 26-31. Also see the table of *Institutions in Rural India, 1950-51* in page 72.

52. Here one can question the colonial notion of the immobility of colonial population. For the colonial argument of "immobility" and discussion, see Paul Cashin and Ratna Sahay, "Internal Migration, Center-State Grants, and Economic Growth in the States of India," *IMF Staff Papers* 43,1 (Washington D.C.: International Monitory Fund, 1996), 123-71. Also see Arjan de Haan, "Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration: A Critical Review of the Migration Literature," *Journal of Development Studies* 36, no. 2 (1999): 1-47; and idem, "Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India," *Journal of Development Studies* 38, no. 5 (2002): 122-3.

the migration.[53] Many talented young people and their families left their village homes in search of education. Wealthy families moved to cities to give education to their children. This phenomenon further worsened the situation of the countryside. As Mukerji says, “It [migration] drains away the potential leaders of rural areas and the resident upper or middle class is more or less absent in villages.”[54] On the other hand, cities also suffered due to the high rate of migration. The cities could not accommodate the soaring number of immigrants. Many of the new immigrates finally landed up in urban slums.[55] One can summarize the situation in two causes. First, there was a lack of education opportunities available in the rural areas since the cease of the indigenous educational system and the British policy of priority of cities over villages. Second, people were longing to attain good education. Here the question is, who were the people attracted to the new educational system?

The caste society of India has been a puzzling problem for sociologists. None of the Western social analyses or theories is adequate to analyze the caste society of India so far. We have already seen the caste dynamics in Indian society. The beliefs of *Varnashrama Dharma* and “purity and pollution” made the low castes and the *Dalits* simply impossible to attend schools and gain knowledge. Education has been a

---

53. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 20-1.

54. Ibid., 21.

55. See D. Spencer Hatch, “Extension Experience in India,” in *Farmers of the World*, edited by E. des Brunner, I.T. Sanders, and D. Ensminger (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 64.

privilege of the high castes throughout the centuries. We neither see any earnest attempt on the part of the colonial administration to uplift the poor and oppressed of the society nor eradicate the caste system from the society.[56] The administration had little interest in the well-being of the poor and the oppressed; rather, the British concentrated more on the welfare and interests of the influential. One needs to remember that providing opportunities to the disadvantaged social categories without taking into account their inabilities to act on it would not necessarily ensure the intended result. The general educational policy did not change the life situation of the poor in the country. The poor continued to be poor throughout the colonial Indian history, and even after. Therefore, it is obvious that those who were attracted to the new education system were the high castes, and thus the high class of the society.[57] English education was considered as greater social privilege of the upper castes. In addition, the new education created even greater inequality among the caste groups, a much wider gap than that of the earlier society.[58] The schooling became a principal

---

56. For a detailed discussion of caste in colonial India, see Nicholas B. Dirks, "Castes of Mind," *Representations* no. 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (Winter 1992): 56-78, especially see pages 59-61, and 76-77. Also see idem, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnocity of an Indian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

57. It is hard to translate caste hierarchy into class order. In many cases, caste and class affiliations do overlap. However, generally, the *Sudras* and the *Dalits* are the economically poor in society, both in villages and urban areas. They occupy the lowest class position in the society, whereas the high castes fill up the higher positions in the class hierarchy.

process by which the colonizer indoctrinated the colonized for roles suited to the political, social, and economic needs of the colonizer.[59]

Economic and socio-religious mobility were the major hindrances for the poor in India to enroll in schools. We have already seen the caste allied socio-religious restrictions imposed upon the poor to prevent them from achieving knowledge. The cost of education was another important factor that pushed away the poor from schools. The direct cost of schooling, expenditures such as books, fees, uniform, and so on, and indirect costs in terms of foregone earnings while child was at school were key economic factors for the poor.[60] The poor could not overcome these hurdles in order to achieve knowledge. Instead of trying for the upliftment of the poor, the colonial government introduced the new education policy based on the "filtration theory."

Alexander Duff, a Scottish missionary to India, explains the colonial theory of "filtration" and practices like this. Filtration means "to educate the few first, and

---

58. See the discussion in Andre Beteille, *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patters of Stratification of Power in a Tanjore Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 209. Also see Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Longmans, 1974). Carnoy argues that "far from acting as liberator, Western formal education most countries as a part of imperialist domination" (p. 3).

59. See the argument in Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. Also see a similar position in Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).

60. Modhumita Roy points out that the Presidency College at Calcutta charges Rupees 12 per month when monthly lower middle classes salaries did not much exceed that figure. See Roy, "The English of India," 50.

allow them to teach the masses later."[61] Mayhew makes this concept clearer saying, "education was to permeate the masses from above. Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and steady steam to irrigate the thirsty plains."[62]

However, the latter part of this theory never worked out nor did the government take any action to practice the theory. It was obvious that in a society where there was a strong caste prejudice, the "filtration theory" was not suitable for education policy. The new education system created a huge gap between English-educated people and others. The products of this education used their knowledge for their own material gains and never cared for others. As Humayun Kabir observes, "if we go to the villages, we see that the so-called 'educated' men do not even know how to talk to the so-called 'illiterate' person. The illiterate also do not feel at home with the so-called 'educated.'"[63] The new class was alienated from the society; or more correctly, the members of new group themselves created a detachment from their fellow citizens as Macaulay visualized. As in the case of the Hellenistic Jews, the

---

61. Alexander Duff, *India and India Missions Including Sketches of Gigantic System of Hinduism: Both in Theory and Practice*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1840), 406.

62. Arthur Innes Mayhew, *The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India, 1835-1920, and of Its Bearing On National Life and Problems in India To-Day* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928), 306.

63. Humayun Kabir, "New Education," in *Gandhi as an Educationist: a Symposium*, edited by Vishwa Nath Sahai Mathur (Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co. Ltd., 1951), 10.

English-educated Indians adopted many foreign customs and practices. Fanny Parkes in her *Wanderings of a Pilgrim* describes the cultural assimilation of the high class Indians. She narrates an Indian party setting:

> "In the room one side…a handsome supper was laid out, in the European style…where ices and French wine were in plenty for the European guests. In the rooms on the other sides…were groups of nach girls dancing and singing.... The house itself was splendidly furnished where everything was in European style with the exception of the owner."[64]

Many English-educated Indians voluntarily adopted English lifestyles. Their houses were furnished with British designed furniture, lamps, utensils, and cookware, and many of them faithfully imitated the English style of dressing. The English education not only gave the locals some material advantage but also became a status symbol in the Indian metropolis. A native *gentleman* did not want to confess his ignorance of English. It would seem as if he would lose caste in the eyes of an Englishman of high rank by addressing him in the vernacular.[65] The colonizers exploited the caste consciousness and caste-related social status of the indigenous people for their benefit. However, as in the case of ancient Israel, not all Indian wealthy high castes

---

64. Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque: During Four-and-Twenty Years in the East, with Revelations of Life in the Zenana*, Reprint edition (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2003), 29-30. This book was originally published in 1850 in London.

65. See C. Boutros, *An Inquiry into the System of Education Most Likely to be Generally Popular and Beneficial in Behar and the Upper Provinces* (Serampore: Serampore Press, 1842), 9.

accepted the foreign culture and norms. While a segment of local intelligentsia strongly advocated the new reforms in Education, many others vehemently opposed it. Yet another group of intellectuals viewed English education as "the window on the world," an opportunity to counteract conservative tendencies within indigenous society which the institution of British rule in many instances had maintained, legitimized or recreated.[66] As in the case of ancient Israel, here one can see several layers of cultural assimilation in Indian society during this period.

The "minute on education" of Macaulay was employed as a mighty weapon to suit the convenience of the rulers. As Mukerji noted in 1956, "more than one hundred years have passed since Macaulay wrote his Minute and more than three lakh[67] schools and colleges with over thirty million students have been established in India, but education is confined to a small section of the people."[68] Education and knowledge never "filtered down" to the masses. The vast majority of the common people continued to be illiterate. The colonial rulers used education for their material gain and did not pay any attention to the masses, and thus a wide gulf developed

---

66. Rammohun Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar are examples of this group who viewed English education as "the widow on world." For a discussion on this group, see Roy, "Englishing of India," 52-4. Interestingly, this group did not advocate the "westernization" of Indian culture. Rather, their criticism was mainly directed against the Hindu orthodoxy.

67. Lakh, an Indian numeral, is equal to one hundred thousand.

68. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 54.

between the educated and the uneducated people. J.N Farquhar, a contemporary of Macaulay, wrote:

> The new educational policy of the Government created during these years the modern educated class of India. These are men who think and speak in English habitually, who are proud of their citizenship in the British Empire, who are devoted to English literature, and whose intellectual life has been almost entirely formed by the thought of the West, large numbers of them enter government services, while the rest practice law, medicine or teaching, or take to journalism or business.[69]

This report of the new class formation was echoed even in the British Parliament. As Horace Wilson observed before the House of Commons on July 5, 1853, "In fact, we created a separate class of English scholars, who had no longer any sympathy, or very little sympathy with their countrymen."[70] Peter Robb describes the situation in India as follows.[71] The merchants, landholders, professionals, and clerks began to form a layered society within the Indian society, especially in Indian cities. This new group was usually known as *bhadralok* (respectable people) .[72] Since members of this class

---

69. B.D. Basu, *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Modern Review Office, 1934), 91-92.

70. A.N. Basu, *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers*, Part I (Bombay: Asia Publishing, 1952), 86.

71. See Robb, *History of India*, 143-4.

72. The word *bhadralok* is an elite class that emerged under the impact of the colonial rule. The word *Bhadra*, which is a Sanskrit term, denotes many values including property, particularly homestead property. The term *bhadralok* was also used to mention behaviorally refined people. This term first emerged in Bengal and in

worked in various jobs, the economic earning also varies from person to person. This new group began to acquire particular interests and characteristics as a result of living under the Company rule. Among the Hindu *bhadralok* were those whose high caste status and access to English education defined their status in the society. In fact, an entry into the English education institutions assured one a place in the colonial bureaucracy.[73] The members of the newly formed class were ready to spend anything to acquire this new status in the society. Many of them did not live in luxury but concerned about maintaining their status, which they acquired through education.[74] The *bhadralok*, Robb writes of the situation of Calcutta, was composed of such "babus" (learned men), in reformed knowledge-based professions, especially law, journalism, the civil service and education. Print— books, pamphlets, and journalism—came to be a major means of communicating views. [75] The caste society

---

Bengali language. Then it spread all over the country. From early nineteenth century, a *bhadralok* class began to emerge as a social category and became practically an institution in the mid-nineteenth century. For a detailed study of this class and their social role, see Tithi Bhattacharya, *The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848-85)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005). However, she likes to see Bhadralok as a social status rather than a separate social class.

73. Especially entry into the elite educational institutions in large cities provide a person higher status. John McGuire, *The Making of a Colonial Mind: A Quantitative Study of the Bhadralok In Calcutta, 1857-1885* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1983), 47.

74. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see Bhattacharya, *The Sentinels of Culture*, 63-4.

75. Robb, *History of India*, 144.

of India became more complicated with the introduction of this newly formed English-educated class. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of the Independent India observed that the British had created two worlds in the country, "the world of British officers (including English-educated Indian officials), and the world of India's millions."[76] One can summarize the education as following. On the one hand, the colonial education gave faithful customers to British goods. It produced a cheaper and a more efficient way of meeting the demands of a vast administration that encompassed areas of immense linguistic and cultural variety. On the other hand, for a small group of Indians, English education gave better job prospects and social "upward" mobility at certain level.[77] However, for India as a nation the new policy became a great loss of indigenous and traditional values, practices, and knowledge.

The colonial administration clearly divided the country into two, the urban centers and villages. The colonizers developed a highly centralized administration system, and did not care for the rural areas, and rural life. They gave utmost care to the urban centers, and the villages were left out on the periphery in all aspects. As mentioned earlier, during this period, as mentioned earlier, there was a massive relocation of people, in search of better job, education, and living conditions, from the impoverished villages to cities. Most of the educational institutions were established

---

76. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (New York: The John Day Company, 1946), 304.

77. See the discussion in Roy, "Englishing of India," 55.

in urban areas. The newly formed educated class also concentrated in the urban areas, since many of them found jobs in government firms. English education and "salaried jobs"[78] had become a social imperative by this period. Since English education was a requirement for getting a job in government, which was the largest employer of the land,[79] it became an attraction to many. There was a rapid growth of Indian employees in the colonial government service. In Bengal alone, in1800, only 49,322 Indians were employed in the government, particularly in the Revenue and Judicial departments. In 1851, the number increased to 138,142.[80] At the same time, the government did not pay this Indian minority adequately. As Mukerji observed, out of 2,813 Indian employed as uncovenanted[81] servants in 1849, only 493 received salaries above £ 240 per year and 1,147 received salaries between £ 24 and £ 120 per year.[82] On the other hand, the Europeans employed in the high-ranking offices were

---

78. The terms "salaried men" and "salaried job" had been used to denote the English-educated class who had been working for the colonial government. For a detailed discussion of these terms, see Bhattacharya, *The Sentinels of Culture*, 54-63.

79. See the discussion in Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 115-6.

80. S.N. Mukerji, "Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38," in *Elites in South Asia*, edited by E. Leach and S.N. Mukerji (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 40.

81. The highest posts in government were reserved by law for the "covenanted service," later known as Indian Civil Service or ICS (now Indian Administrative Service or IAS).

82. Mukerji, "Class, Caste, and Politics in Calcutta, 41.

paid well.[83] As mentioned earlier, most of these English-educated Indians served in various public offices as low paid clerks. The rulers always treated them as subordinates.

The newly formed Indian educated class is clearly distinct from the colonial ruling class. Just as we examined the ancient colonial subjects in Judea, we can also analyze this case through the nature of control of resources. The colonial ruling class always kept the "strategic control," which is the power to employ resources or to withdraw them based on its own interests and preferences. On the other hand, the newly formed class was involved in the "operational control," which was the control over the day-to-day use of the resources.[84] The "strategic control" of the colonial India was in the hands of the covenanted members of the Indian Civil Service, in which the Indian representation was very little. Although the law did not prohibit Indians from entering into this elite service, in practice it was difficult for Indians to attain this job. The expense to travel to England for the examinations, the prejudice against crossing the sea that was prevalent among the Indians, the nature of the syllabus, and the official reluctance to admit Indians into this vital service were some of the major hindrances that prevented Indians from entering into this higher

---

83. For details, see Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 116.

84. See R.E. Pahl and J.T. Winkler, "The Economic Elite: Theory and Practice," in *Elites and Power in British Society*, edited by A. Giddens and P. Stanworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 114.

position.[85] By 1887 only a dozen Indians had entered the covenanted service.[86] In sum, as in the case of the Jews in the Hellenistic kingdoms, the colonized Indians played little or no role in decision-making. The colonial education policy continued its triumph over the subjugated peoples by creating a distinct group, who were meek and supportive of the colonial policies and values, among the indigenous peoples. The "Hellenized Jews" of the Hellenistic Israel and the "Brown Englishmen" of the colonial India functioned similar ways in which the colonizers could make use of them in order to achieve their imperial aspirations.

---

85. For the official British policy on the admission of Indians into the "covenanted service," see chapter four of Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 131-193. For a detailed discussion of the British colonial policy in recruiting to the key positions in law and order department, see David Arnold, "Bureaucratic Recruitment and Subordination in Colonial India: The Madras Constabulary, 1859-1947," in *Subaltern Studies* vol. 4, *Writings on South Asian History and Society*, edited by Ranajit Guha (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 1-53.

86. Report of the Public Service Commission, 1886-87, 53 quoted in Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 116-17. However, after the World War I, one can see a rapid decrease in colonial enthusiasm in India. At the end of the 1930s, only half of the Indian Civil Service's officers were the English and the rest was from the locals. These facts indicate an interesting fact that the high positions in the colonial Indian government were no longer attractive to the colonists rather it became a burdensome for them. For a brief discussion of the "white man's burden" ideology, see Mann, "'Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress,'" 1-2. For the impact of the First World War on Britain's imperial mission in India see Margaret Macmillian, "Anglo Indians and the civilizing Mission, 1880-1914," in *Contribution to South Asian Studies* 2, edited by Krishna Gopal (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 73-109. Also see Michael Adas, "The Great War and the Decline of the Civilizing Mission," in *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Hornor of John R.W. Smail*, edited by Laurie J. Sears (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 101-21.

Drawbacks of the Colonial Educational Policies

The English medium education in India had several drawbacks and limitations. In many ways, it was a failure. Learning subjects in an alien language, which was often poorly commanded, encourages learning through memorization. This educational system did not promote a critical and a creative thinking, and help to face the problems of real life or the needs of the society. Then the knowledge became imitative and not interpretive. Adequate knowledge of language prevented the necessary interactions between teacher and students in the classroom learning process. Memorization became the major learning tool of this system of education. The students who have been successful, intellectually and communicatively, in this educational system were from socio-economically privileged homes and schools. This education in a way "silenced" the lower class students who could join the English medium schools in the classrooms because of their inability to communicate in that language.[87] Along with language, the colonial education also brought values and worldview of an alien society, which was strange in the student's mind. This system eventually led them to total confusion. Only a handful could overcome the confusion caused by this education system.

---

87. For a detailed study of failure of British policy of introducing English as the medium of instruction, see Annamalai, "Nation-Building in Globalised World," 26-7. Also see, Kazim Bacchus, "Curriculum Development in a Colonial Society," in *Education and Society* 14, no. 2 (1996): 3-21.

The new education system did not care about Indian history and culture. As Mukerji notes, "the Indian colleges and universities are exotics from the West. They were transplanted to India with root, branch, and foliage all complete in one day."[88] As seen earlier, the new education system looked at the indigenous culture and history as "darkness" that needed "eradication." The history taught in the schools was the history of the colonizers, with a modified history of India that glorifies the colonizers. The new history completely removed the colonized from history. In sum, the colonized child did not learn about his or her own history but about the unknown settings of his or her colonizer's history. The colonized literally became "divorced from reality."[89]

By promoting English as the language of instruction and administration, the colonial administration tried to make the colonized ashamed of their own language and culture, so that they would want to identity with the "higher" culture of the rulers. As the Bishop of Avila said to Isabella of Spain in 1492, "language is the perfect instrument of empire."[90] The Bishop was talking about the relevance introducing Spanish into the "New World" of the Spanish empire. The British realized the importance of language and introduced their language into their colonies. In our

---

88. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 75.

89. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 106.

90. Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959), 8.

context, one can perceive the Bishop's powerful statement in two ways: its argument illustrates some of the techniques by which a dominant culture attempted to establish the primacy of its language over that of a subjected culture, and its own use of language operates as an "instrument" to establish the empire of Englishness over Indians.[91]

Several other downsides can be traced in the colonial education in India. The rapid growth of unemployment was one the major problems the country had to face. As Mukerji points out, "very soon higher education outstripped the economic development of the country and the supply of educated persons out grew the supply of jobs."[92] The most important failure was the inability of the educational system to relate its activities to the practical needs of the society. The educated people could not translate their learning into practical life because of their insufficiency in vocational training. Industrial and technological education remained stagnant, and country had not been developed economically. The number of liberal arts graduates was much higher than that of engineers, teachers, agricultural experts, and public health

---

91. Roberts analyses this statement from the perspective of the Welch people of the mid nineteenth century and shows the depth of colonial motive in manipulating its language over subjugated people. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, "'Under the Hatches:' English Parliamentary Commissioners' View of the People and Language of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Wales," in *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity, and Cultural History*, edited by Bill Schwartz (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 193.

92. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 56.

workers, which were the immediate need of the society. The majority of the educated persons, especially graduates in liberal arts, either were unemployed or were working for low salaries as clerks or petty officials. As in the case of ancient world, the modern colonial education policy once again proved that it was exclusively created in order to produce "servants" for the administration.

The examination oriented education system was another major issue. The prime importance that was given to examinations "put a premium on book-learning of a narrow kind at the expense of original thinking and real scholarship."[93] This type of education discouraged critical thinking and life application of the learning. Narrow specialization in the higher education was yet another issue of higher education system. The colonial education produced students with unbalanced outlook. Students were trained in narrowly specialized areas such as subjects in liberal arts, science, and so on. There was practically no connection between science and art subjects. The new graduates were literally ignorant of subjects other than their specialization. The over-emphasis on training of English language, literature, and morals made all other subjects subordinate to these objects. Other than English language education, there were no sincere attempts from the part of colonial educators to teach science subjects

---

93. Mukerji, *Higher Education and Rural India*, 58. He points out that the examination-work was the only activity of the Indian universities until 1920.

or any other subjects.[94] The centralized curriculum imposed all over the country completely closed its door to local interests and needs. The decisions on education always came from the center and made the peripheral silent. These policies in education made clear that education propagated by the colonial administrations was not meant for the people or the country but for the administration. Also it was carefully created in such a way to prepare a body of native individuals for discharging public duties for the administration.

94. See the treatment of this subject, Satpal Sangwan, "Science Education in Colonial Constraints," 89-90. Also see E. Annamalai, "Medium of Power: The Question of English in Education in India," in *Medium of Instruction Policies: Whose Agenda? Which Agenda?* edited by J.W. Tollefson and A.B.M. Tsui (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003), 177-194.

Conclusion: Education and Class Formation in Ancient and Modern Societies

Throughout the centuries, colonial education has always been a part of the "civilizing mission." The primary intention of this mission was to "civilize" the "uncivilized," "savages," "heathens," and "pagans." This colonial "mission" attitude has been a reality in the ancient world as well as in the modern. The modern colonial powers such as the British functioned and function in similar ways and forms as the ancient ones. During the colonial period in India, the British initially called this mission an "improvement" or "betterment" and, later on a "moral and material progress" movement. All these colonial operations can be summarized in the term "civilizing mission."[1] One can see this mission as a mode of colonizing the subjected population. The primary aim of the mission was to make the colonizing process easier and thus to make colonial administration stronger and more effective. The colonizers constantly asserted that whatever they did in the colony was meant to "improve" the colony and to "bring" the fruits of progress, development, and modernity to the subject peoples. The argument behind this colonial project was to make people, who were "different" and "inferior," similar and equal by being civilized. As Mann notes

---

1. See the analysis in Mann, "'Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress,'" 4-10. He points out that this term is borrowed from the French *mission civilisatrice*,

“This [civilizing project] was the self-inflicted ‘duty’ of the ‘white man’ whose ‘burden’ derived from the permanent atonement of original sin as well as from the sympathetic attitude of the philanthropic Enlightenment.”[2] Once colonized peoples achieved equal and similar status, then the basis of colonial rule would vanish, thus destroying the foundation of self-legitimation. This reality ultimately explains why the colonizers could never admit similarity or equality between themselves and the subject peoples.[3]

The colonial situation in the ancient world was not much different from the modern period. When the Greeks conquered the Eastern world, they carried a similar “civilizing mission” with them. One can notice the colonial mentality of cultural superiority over the subject population in the history and attitude of the ancient colonial powers. The colonizers realized the importance of achieving control over the colonized minds along with establishing a territorial power. The introduction of the gymnasia to the colonies can be perceived as a colonial strategy to accomplish control over the colonized minds. Most importantly, the colonial education aimed not at educating the entire subjugated population but only the indigenous upper class. The new education was highly expensive and beyond the reach of ordinary people. The history of reception of colonial education, both in the ancient and the modern world, clearly reveals this fact.

---

2. Mann, “‘Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress,’” 5.

3. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture*, 66-84; and Mann, “‘Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress,’” 5.

Even though there was a substantial growth in the primary level education in Greek kingdoms during the Hellenistic period, especially between 450 and 350 BCE, the higher education continued to be set aside for the upper classes.[4] During this period, the upper class and aristocracy continued enjoying the right to enter into higher education. As in the case of gymnasia in other parts of the Hellenistic world, the entry to the gymnasium in Jerusalem also was reserved for the elites. In other words, it was not open to everyone but only to the influential class, the aristocracy, in the society. Thus, the new educational system was not meant to provide a "sophisticated" Greek education to all the population of the land. Rather, the primary aim of gymnasium was to transform the Jewish temple state of Jerusalem into a Greek *polis* (πόλις) through a limited Greek educated population.[5] As a result, the majority of the Jewish population received the status of *perioikoi* (περίοικοι),[6] which constituted the lowest stratum in the social ladder. These people had nothing to do with the decision-making process in the society. They continued to be the victims of colonialism and imperialism in a society where class distinction was prevalent.

---

4. For e.g., see Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XLIII. 3136. Also see Frederick A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450-350 BC* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964), 314. The elites used the gymnasium as a gathering place to socialize, and to pursue intellectual activities. See Cribiore, *Gymnastic of the Mind*, 35.

5. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 74.

6. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 163-5; and Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 74.

During the Hellenistic period, the kingdoms were essentially divided into the rural area χώρα (*chora*) and the urban area (*polis*). Every *polis* had its own *chora* in the sense of its own rural area or fields. Also, except where a native population had been reduced to a subject condition, there was generally no fundamental difference between those who lived in or near the *polis* and the peasants who lived in the countryside *chora*, even if the latter were noticeably less urbane than the former.[7] However, in colonized countries, such as Israel, a fundamental difference existed between these two places. While wealth and power accumulated in the *polis* where the upper classes and the Greek settlers lived, most people who lived in the *chora* were in impoverished condition.[8] It is important to note that, during this period, cities were not self-reliant in resources but dependent on the countryside. According to Jones,

> their incomes consisted in the main of the rents drawn by the urban aristocracy from the peasants …. The splendors of civic life were to a large extent paid for out of rents, and to this extent the villages were impoverished for the benefit of the towns… The city magnets came into contact with the villagers in three capacities only, as tax collectors, as policemen, and as landlords.[9]

---

7. For a detailed discussion on this matter, see Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 9-19.

8. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 16-17. He points out that the gap between the exploiters (*Hellene*) and those from whom they drew their sustenance (*barbaros*-native) was very real and wide.

9. A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City: From Alexander to Justinian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 268, 287, and 295.

It is possible to translate these social divisions that prevailed in the Hellenistic society into Marxian terms: (1) the property system, (2) the legal system, and (3) the division of labor. In Marxian analysis, these are the three key categories used to maintain inequality within a society. Firstly, the position of the ruling groups depended on their control over production system as the ultimate source of their wealth and power. Secondly, the domination of the legal system legitimized their control over property through ownership rights and the use of sanctions, including coercions to enforce and safeguard the distribution of property in their favor. Finally, the division of labor further reinforced the social hierarchy as occupational positions, gave individuals and groups an access to the control of property and the means of production.[10]

One can identify two types of control over production here. On the one hand, there was "strategic" control, the power to employ resources or to withdraw them in line with one's own interests and preferences. This power was essentially the

---

10. Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 109-10. I agree with the authors that it is impossible to transfer the Marxian categories of class division, which he developed in the context of nineteenth century industrial society of Europe, to ancient societies. However, we can make use of Marx's class analysis to the study of ancient societies. Also see Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, Sather Classical Lectures 43, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 49-51. Finley rejects Marx's whole concept of class as an instrument of analysis. He attempt to substitute Marx's class analysis as a scheme of social stratification with what he calls "a spectrum of statuses and orders" (67-8).

prerogative of the colonial ruling class. On the other hand, there was "operational" control, which was a control over day-to-day use of resources already allocated by the colonizers. The new indigenous class held control in this second sense. The decisions were always made at the strategic level and passed to the operational level for implementation.[11] The new indigenous elite class could only function within a framework laid down by the ruling colonial officers who had the strategic control. The aspiration of the local elites to be in the colonial "ruling class" was one of the foremost reasons for their voluntary acceptance of the new culture.[12]

The society in Israel had gone through precisely this form of exploitation and there were struggles to gain control over the agrarian product throughout the biblical period.[13] All the wealth and power accumulated in Jerusalem while the countryside

---

11. For a similar social analysis that applied to the British society, see R.E. Pahl and J.T. Winkler, "The Economic Elite: Theory and Practice," in *Elites and Power in British Society*, edited by P. Stanworth and A.Giddens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 114.

12. See Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 34. Seal argues that the social change and nationalism should be studied as reflections of status aspirations. Here he challenges the Marxian social analysis based on "exploitation."

13. Knowledge of the very fact of this struggle is significant and critical to understand the biblical passages. For this argument, see Gottwald, "The Expropriated and Expropriators in Nehemiah 5," 1-20. The same situation of land as the primary means of production and foundation of wealth and was the basis of the social, political, and religious entities could be traced in the entire area of the Ancient West Asia. See Norman K. Gottwald, "A Hypothesis about Social Class in Monarchic Israel in the Light of Contemporary Studies of Social Class and Social Stratification," in *The Hebrew Bible in Its Social World and in Ours*, edited by Norman K. Gottwald (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); and idem, "Social Class as an Analytic and

became more and more impoverished.[14] The upper class that lived in Jerusalem had effectively controlled the property and the land. The fundamental class division in the land was not exclusively between those who had land (the propertied) and those who had none (the non-propertied), but it was, as Gottwald notes, rather between those who lived solely by their labor and those who drew on the uncompensated labor product of others. The heads of state, officials, large landlords, merchants, and high ranking priests constituted the upper class that extracted products of the labor by means of taxation, labor conscription, tribute, religious offerings, confiscation of property, interest on loans, and debt foreclosures. Whereas the village cultivators, hired labors, local artisans, traders, and low ranking priests formed the majority of the population of inferior class.[15] As it is clear, the ruling upper class had always been a minute minority compared to the vast majority of people who constituted the lower class. This division of class in the society continued through the Roman period. As a result, the peasants and others who lived in the countryside had little or no direct

---

Hermeneutical Category in Biblical Studies," *Journal of Biblical Studies* 112, no.1 (1993): 3-22.

14. It is noted that King Herod and his descendants lavished wealth that drew from other parts of their kingdom on Jerusalem. Many of their majestic building programs were based mostly on the expense of the poor. See Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judea: The Origin of the Jewish Revolt against Rome*, *AD 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 52. Here I am not neglecting the enormous income that the temple at Jerusalem generated from both the Jewish and from the gentile pilgrims. For detailed discussion and sources of Herod's building program, see Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 174-215.

15. Gottwald, "The Expropriated and Expropriators in Nehemiah 5," 10.

influence in the affairs of the state and society.[16] In addition, this population usually never had any involvement in the urban activities and decision making process. Sophisticated education such as gymnasium was simply impossible for them to attain. It is highly probable that they never had anything to do with the Hellenistic education in Jerusalem.

As in the case of Jerusalem, the Hellenistic educational institutions were often concentrated in the *polis*. As noted earlier, the right of admission to the Hellenistic educational institutions was controlled and monopolized by the influential people of the city. The elites and influential class adopted many Hellenistic cultural elements in their lives. We have seen their attraction to Hellenism through archeological and textual evidences. The Hellenistic education was well accepted among the people of the upper class. The colonizers presented the new educational system in an attractive manner to draw the indigenous population, especially the young generation, towards the culture of the invaders. For example, according to 2 Macc 4:14-15, the priests in the temple even neglected their duties at the temple in order to participate in the activities of the gymnasium. Their allegiance was no longer to their ancestral practices and customs but to the newly introduced Greek culture and its norms. Soon, the invading culture could attract the young generation of the elite class of subjected people through education, and make them its humble followers.

---

16. As discussed earlier, early Jewish society had only two distinguishable classes, upper and lower. All other were a part or appendage of the higher class. For a comprehensive discussion, see Sneed, “A Middle Class in Ancient Israel?” 53-70.

The general attitude of the local elite towards the foreign culture was often a voluntary submission without any compulsion on the part of the colonizers.[17]

The situation in the colonial India was not much different from that of the Hellenistic Israel. During the British period, the new educational policies made the education immensely expensive and became inaccessible to the poor and the peasants. The government generally avoided the actual needs of the country and the people. As seen in the last chapter, the British administration primarily concentrated in the metropolis, where the influential and the rich locals lived and ignored the needs of the villages, where the vast majority inhabited and engaged themselves in agriculture related works. The rich and the influential enjoyed, at a certain level, the facilities, including education, that were established in the metropolis. During this period, as in the case of the Hellenistic period, most of the educational institutions, including schools and colleges, were concentrated in cities. The colonial educational system neither took any step to teach agriculture related courses nor taught the farmers the modern skills and techniques used in farming and agriculture. Not only the medium of instruction but also the subjects that were taught in the schools made the colonial education alien to the land and its people. As Altbach points out,

> Most colonial powers, when they concentrated on education at all, stressed humanistic studies, fluency in the language of the metropolitan country, and

---

17. The forced Hellenization by Antiochus IV Epiphanes was an exception. However, the Hellenistic education was introduced to the natives much before the Hellenization project of Antiochus IV.

> the skills necessary for secondary positions in the bureaucracy. Lawyers were trained, but few scientists, agricultural experts, or qualified teachers…. Emerging elite groups were Western-oriented, in part as a result of their education.[18]

The above analysis of colonial educational system shows the real motif behind the colonial education policy. The new education system was not meant to teach the entire population but to form a distinct class among the colonized educated under colonial tutelage. Thus, education became one of the effective tools for the propagation of colonialism and a means of conquering the native culture. In fact, education could conquer another kind of territory, the minds of the local elite class, and thus it could help the colonizers to achieve their objectives.

The implementation of a strategic colonial educational policy confirms Gramsci's well-noted discussion on hegemony. He defines hegemony as a form of power achieved through a combination of consent and coercion. According to him, the ruling class achieves domination not by force or coercion alone but by creating subjects who willingly consent to be ruled.[19] In other words, hegemony is achieved

---

18. Philip G. Altbach, "Education and Neocolonialism," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, edited by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 453.

19. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 57. Gramsci was not the originator of the term "hegemony." In fact, one can see the similar ideas in the writings of Friedrich Engels and Max Webber. Gramsci, however, provides a more detailed description of the role that intellectuals play within the apparatus of orthodoxy. See the discussion in Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antiono Gramsci," *New Left Review* 100 (1976): 5-78, especially in 15-18; Paul Piccone, *Italian Marxism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 10-11; and John Hoffman, *The Gramscian*

not only by direct manipulation or indoctrination but also by playing on people's common sense. Raymond Williams describes this process of utilizing people's common sense as the "lived system of meanings."[20] In ways similar to those of other colonial powers, the Greeks and the British effectively made use of both of these strategies – forced manipulation and exploitation through consent – to establish their hegemony over the subject people. Using Gramsci's idea of "dominion with consent" Viswanathan looks at the specific colonial situation in India and suggests that the British preferred "voluntary cultural assimilation as the most effective form of political control." She further argues that the British made use of English literary studies "an instrument of discipline and management" to counteract the possibility of imminent rebellion and resistance from the indigenous population.[21]

Education played a crucial role in converting the local elites into loyal subjects of the colonial power and its values; it ultimately established them as a separate class within the colonized peoples. This stratagem was exactly what

---

Challenge: Coerecion and Consent in Marxist Political Theory (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 51-75.

20. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 110. Also see idem, "Hegemony and the Selective Tradition," in *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook*, edited by Suzanne de Castell, Allan Luke, and Carmen Luke (London: Falmer, 1989), 57–72.

21. Viswanathan views the new English curriculum as a "defensive mechanism of control" against indigenous rebellion, on the one hand and as a way to ease the tensions among the various internecine rivalries of interests between the East India Company, the English Parliament, the free-traders and the Indian elite on the other hand. For further discussion, see Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 10.

happened in Jerusalem. When the colonizers introduced gymnasium, it attracted many locals to it. People were ready to leave the native values to achieve the "higher" values such as public performance of nudity presented by the colonizers. The gymnasium brought the cultural codes of the colonizers, the language, values, and schemes of perceptions to wherever it was established.[22] Leaving the indigenous values voluntarily for the sake of attaining new values made the indigenous elites a new community who were loyal to the newly attained values and their advocates. Thus, the local elites were trying to attain a new status in the society by "mimicking" their masters through the adoption of master's language, dress, and so on. In other words, the colonial subjects were seeking to imitate the cultural behavior of the powerful in order to escape from being characterized as the "other."[23]

By "mimicking" their colonial masters, the local upper class had a dual agenda. First, the local elites thought that through the accomplishment of the colonial education, they could attain a social position among the colonizers; and second, by virtue of their social position, they could exempt themselves from the category of "other." However, the history reveals that the indigenous populace could never fully achieve either of their aspirations. Rather, those who adopted the foreign culture and

---

22. Foucault notices the intrinsic relationship existed between the material institutions of the society, schools and colleges, employment possibilities, avenues of rule and so on, and the cultural codes of that society, language, values and schemes of perceptions. Michel Foucault*, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

23. This usage is akin to what Bhabha calls "mimicry." Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," in *The Location of Culture* (NY: Routledge, 1994), 86-87.

values constituted a separate class among the subject people. They eventually became the "brown Englishmen" in colonial India and the "Hellenized Jews" in Hellenistic Israel. The colonizers made use of service of their mimicmen as "servant class" in their administration as an effective tool to transmit the colonial values and ethos to the rest of population. The colonizers were thus able to successfully exercise their power through their new loyal subject class of those who had achieved the colonial education. The new class functioned as the mediator between the colonizers and the colonized. This class was exactly what the colonizers were trying to create among the subject population through the introduction of their strategic educational policy.

In the scheme of class hierarchy, the invaders always occupied the highest position. Below them were the local elite, the "new middle class," and then the lower class, comprised of indigenous population. The Greeks and Romans did not consider the indigenous people as equals to them.[24] There was not much difference in the colonial British attitude toward their subjects. Like the Greeks and Romans, the British always tried to keep a distance from the locals. It was evident in the

---

24. In this issue, I disagree with Sherwin-White and Kuhrt who argue that the Greeks did not consider the local population as "second-class citizens," and the divisions in the society were more political rather than ethnic and cultural. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 167-70, and 186. The major evidence that they consider to prove their argument was the co-inhabitance of the population in the Hellenistic cities. However, one has to note that the indigenous population hardly was granted citizenship in the *polis*. For example, Delia points out that neither the Ptolemies nor any of the Roman emperors had ever conferred Alexandrian citizenship on the indigenous Egyptians. See Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship*, 42-45.

colonizers' relationships with the subject populace that they considered the local people as the "other" and continued with their *übermensch*.[25]

Throughout the Hellenistic kingdoms, the gymnasium education opened doors to many native elites to a gainful status in the society as the most important attraction. At a certain level, the educated were able to identify themselves with the colonizers, the masters of the land. The aspiration to be like their masters was one of the crucial motives to obtain the new education. The new status provided with them many new advantages, including citizenship in the city. As Seal notes, the colonized have always aspired to move from the lower level to the upper level of social status in order to control the resources and means of production.[26] In addition, the colonizers never seriously promoted social conversion of the colonized because the colonizers knew that the incorporation of the colonized into the colonizer's social status would be a step towards "the disappearance of the colonial relationships."[27] The colonizers

---

25. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and many other ancient peoples regarded the Jews as threat to them in different forms. The Greco-Roman xenophobia directed against Jews was not based on some concrete actions of some Jews, in contrast to the proper behavior of others, but from the very beginning aimed at all Jews as Jews, irrespective of what they do. For a detailed discussion of this matter, see Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitude toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 197-211. I want to add further to this argument that the colonial forces always had xenophobic attitude not only to the Jews but also toward all their subjects throughout the history.

26. Seal, *Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 34.

27. See the discussion in Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 72-73. He reminds us that "religious salvation" and "social salvation" that promoted by the colonizers were not a reality in the history.

did not want to dismantle the hierarchy that they created in the colonial world. Memmi further clarifies the issue by saying, “All efforts of the colonialist are directed towards maintaining the social immobility, and racism is the surest weapon for this aim.”[28] In order to attain the “progression” in status one needs to have wealth and influence. Those who could achieve this goal at a certain level were the powerful and the wealthy in society. It was difficult for the poor to achieve “progression” in terms of social status. Thus, the history of colonialism reveals that the colonizers never allowed the colonized to achieve the goal of being their own masters or even equal with their colonial masters. Some hindrance such as legal, educational, etc. always prevented them from achieving their goal. Such was the case not only for the colonized of ancient Judea but also for the colonized of all other periods.

The colonial education system in Judea converted the native upper class into a new class of “Hellenized natives.” Here one should remember that not all people of the upper class accepted Hellenism or supported the Hellenization program in Jerusalem. Thus, they refused to rise to the status of the new class. The family of Mattathias (the Hasmonean) who moved from Jerusalem, settled in Modein (1 Macc 2: 1), and later led the revolt is a good example of a group that did not have allegiance to Hellenism.[29] However, the majority of the elites were attracted to or inclined to

---

28. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 74.

29. Josephus, in *Ant*. 12.158-236, identifies several influential families in Jerusalem: the Oniad family of Zakokite high priests Onias III and Jason (2 Macc 3: 1, and 4: 7); the Bilgah family, Simon, Menelaus, and Lysimachus (2 Macc 3: 4, and

indulge in Greek culture and its values. In the previous section, we have seen this transition of the upper class Jews to the new culture. In other words, even though not every one in the local culture was supportive of this transition, the local elites, unlike their poorer neighbors, were more likely to speak Greek fluently, decorate their houses in Greek fashion, use new forms of utensils and lamps, and adopt Greek names. That is to say, the newly formed class was Jewish in origin but Greek in taste, opinions, words, and intellect.

Formation of a new class among the subject population that was loyal to the colonial principles was important to the colonizers. The cooperation of the local ruling class was vital to the colonial administration. It is equally true to the ancient as well as the modern world. The colonizers often deliberately selected the local dominant class through which they could effectively translate their political aspirations into local terms. The Ptolemies and the Seleucids, as well as the modern British were no exception in this matter.[30] The colonizers consolidated their power by

---

4: 23-29); the Hakkoz family, John and Eupolemus (1 Macc 8: 17; and 2 Macc 4: 11), the Hasmoneans; the family of Jakim, Alcium (1 Macc 7: 5); and the Tobiads. For more discussion on the influential lay and priestly families in Jerusalem, see Doran, "The First Book of Maccabees," 7-8; Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judea*, 36; and David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context and Significance* (Michigan: Baker Academic Press, 2002), 260-3.

30. It is worth notify the crucial role that the loyal armies played for the success of the empires. The notable fact is that the control of the army was often in the hands of the leaders of the local elite class. For a detailed discussion on the important role of the armies in formulating kingship in Hellenistic kingdoms, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 114-16. For information on the appointment of non-Greeks in the administration by the Ptolemies, see C.B. Wells, "The Role of Egyptians under the First Ptolemies," *Proceedings of the 12th*

attracting the natives to make the colonial system work. One can see a similar policy implemented by the earlier Achaemenid Empire and Alexander of Macedon.[31] This deliberate political policy was crucial for both the Greek and the modern British empires to function effectively in a non-Greek and non-British setting and to maintain the power. The Greeks and the British understood that the easiest way to win the local approval was to please the ruling class. They needed human power, military expertise, bureaucratic structure, and administrative personnels for the success of the colonial rule. In other words, the colonizers needed a local "servant class" to effectively execute their colonial interests and programs. However, in ancient Greek empires official posts such as governors and military generals had often been reserved for the Greeks and Macedonians.[32] In a similar way, the British "covenanted servants" occupied the higher office in the British colonial administration. The newly formed local class was granted the responsibility of managing local affairs and

---

International Congress of Papyrology, American Studies in Papyrology 7 (Toranto: A. M. Hakkert, 1970), 505-10; and Alan Edouard Samuel*, From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1983). For the Seleucid period, see Susan Sherwin-White, "Babylonian Chronicle Fragments as a Source for Seleucid History," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42 (1983): 265-70.

31. For Alexander's policy of "fusion" toward the Persian elites, see Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 65. It is important to note here that Alexander had concern for the welfare of the elites and selected them for the marital relationships. At the same time, he completely neglected the rest of the population.

32. Among the governors in ancient world, there were only three persons of Iranian origin at the time of Alexander's death. *Diodorus* 18.39, and 6. Also see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 121-2. During the time of Achaemenids, the Iranians occupied all these higher posts.

representing and governing the masses of farmers, soldiers, artisans, herders, traders, and slaves.[33]

The colonists often occupied the highest rank in the society and controlled the decision-making process. As in the case of Greek, the English education introduced in colonial India did not aim to educate the entire Indian population; rather, it confined learning to the local elites in order to create a class of Indians who were educated in the English language to assist the colonial administration. The colonizers wanted to form a group of people, the "brown Englishmen" similar to the "Hellenized Jews" of ancient Judea. The new class was supposed to be punctual, honest, diligent, and loyal to the colonial government; in fact, this class was English in taste, opinion, morals, and intellect but Indian in blood.[34] As the Greek education of the ancient, the English education eventually achieved the goal of its promoters. Eventually, during the process of cultural assimilation, the members of the new educated class lost their

---

33. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 124-5.

34. The production of a class of mimicmen was the ultimate vision of Macaulay, which he articulated in his famous "Minute on Indian Education," 1835. See <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (accessed November 16, 2006). Most interestingly, later the same elite English-educated Indians took initiative to form Indian National Congress in 1885, which subsequently led the nation to independence. The leaders of the Congress were usually English-educated high caste people, including Jawaharlal Nehru and M.K. Gandhi. This is to say, the Indian people successfully used the technique "using master's tool to dismantle master's house." See the discussion in Bruce Tiebout, *English Education and Origin of Indian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940). For the role of Indian National Congress in Indian political scene, see the essays in Jim Masselos, ed., *Struggling and Ruling: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1985* (Delhi: ASAA Publications, 1987).

connection with their land and its people. M.K. Gandhi summarizes the results of colonial education as follows:

> The foreign medium has caused brains fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own lands… Among the many evils of foreign rule, this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has estranged them for the masses...[35]

Although India won independence from England in1947, the country is still struggling with the colonial educational policy. The government of India has made several changes in the education system so far, but one can still see colonial influence on many areas of educational system, including the effect of English language on Indian education system.[36] English continued to enjoy a prominent position in education system as well as in the society. At the time of independence, English was given an associate position in administration and was supposed to be terminated officially after fifteen years of India's independence, but it still remains the main

---

35. Mohandas K. Gandhi, "Basic Education," *The Selected Works of Gandhi*: vol. 6, *The Voice of Truth*, <http://www.mkgandhi.org/edugandhi/education.html> (accessed November 30, 2006).

36. Not only in India, but also in almost all former colonies there are problems of dealing with the continuing impact of colonialism. See the discussion in Mark Bray, "Education and the Vestiges of Colonialism: Self-Determination, Neo-Colonialism and Dependency in the south Pacific," *Comparative Education* 29, no. 3 (October 1993): 333-48.

administrative language of India. In many Indian minds, English still symbolizes better education, better culture, and higher intellect. Even today, schools in India that emphasis English are known as better schools, and the same is the case at the university level. Although the number of English educated people, the new elites, has been small, they continued to enjoy an easy access to power, wealth, and status in the society.[37] The class created by the colonial administration through education continues to hold power in the independent India. In other words, English education continues to be a status symbol in the society, and this desire for social status explains the high demand of English education, especially among the urban working class and rural farming class. However, soon after the independence, there was a quick decrease in number of English medium schools in India due to the nationalist demand for education in vernacular. According to the report of National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), a government organization set up to assist the government in educational matters, about 10% of total schools in India are English medium and most of them are in private sector;[38] these schools cater to the needs of the influential urban middle and upper classes that produce the decision

---

37. See the discussion in Annamalai, "Nation-Building in Globalised World," 21-6. About 4 percent of the total population uses English in India. David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 101. Also see Braj B. Kachru, *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-Native Englishes* (Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd, 1986), 8.

38. National Council of Education Research and Training, "Chapter 11," in *Sixth All India Educational Survey: Main Report* (New Delhi: National Council for Educational Training and Research, 1999), 463.

makers of the society. In fact, the dual medium of education has created dual nations based on linguistic differences; one, where English is the medium of instruction and another where education is conducted through local Indian languages. These different schools produce students with different aspirations, worldviews, and personal attitude about the self and the society.[39] Apart from the failures of English education, the colonial policies of creating a "class of native Englishmen" and "divide and rule" still have their impacts on Indian society. Even in the local vernacular medium of education, the colonial perspectives and interests that had been introduced by the colonial forces are still evident. Deconstruction of the colonial mode of knowledge continues to be a challenging task facing the country. Let me conclude in the words of Said,

> All writers, intellectuals, and citizens necessarily confront the question of how as people living and working in one culture they relate to other cultures. Never has this been more of a challenge than during the postimperial period when the rise of nationalism has stimulated a more acute sense of ethnic difference and particularity. So long as England ruled India, for instance, the native elites in Delhi and Calcutta who were educated in British schools were taught that the English language, European culture, and the white race were inherently superior to anything that the Orient might produce by way of languages, cultures, or human species.[40]

---

39. For these arguments, see Krishna Kumar, "Two Worlds," in *Learning from Conflicts* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1996), 59-74; and R.N. Srivastava and V.P. Sharma, "Indian English Today," in *English in India: Issues and Problems*, edited by R.S. Gupta and Kapil Kapoor (New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991), 189-206.

40. Edward W. Said, "Decolonizing the Mind," in *Peace And Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process* (London: Vintage, 1996), 92.

Bibliography

Adan-Bayewitz, David. *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University press, 1993.

———. "On the Chronology of the Common Pottery of Northern Roman Judaea/Palestine." In *One Land, Many Cultures: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislao Lo.Reda Of*, edited by L. Di Segni G. C. Bottini, and L. D. Chrupcata, 5-32. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003.

Adas, Michael. "The Great War and the Decline of the Civilizing Mission." In *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Honor of John R.W. Smail*, edited by Laurie J. Sears, 101-21. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Agarwal, S. *Genocide of Women in Hinduism*. Jabalpur: Sudrastan Books, 1999.

Aguilar, Mario I. "Rethinking the Judean Past: Questions of History and a Social Archaeology of Memory in the First Book of the Maccabees." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 58-67.

Alexander, Philip S. "Hellenism and Hellenization as Problematic Historiographical Categories." In *Paul beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen, 63-79. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Alford, B. H. *Jewish History and Literature under the Maccabees and Herod*. London and New York: Longmans Green, 1913.

Alon, G. *Studies in Jewish History*. Vol. 2. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1958.

Altekar, Anant Sadashiv. *Education in Ancient India.* Varanasi: Nand Kishore & Bros., 1965.

Amin, Samir. *Class and Nation*: *Historically and in the Present Crisis*. New York and London: Monthly Review, 1980.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 9. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Anderson, Perry. "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci." *New Left Review* 100 (1976): 5-78.

Anderson, Robert T. "Samaritans." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 6, edited by David Noel Freedman et al., 940-47. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Annamalai, E. "Medium of Power: The Question of English in Education in India." In *Medium of Instruction Policies: Whose Agenda? Which Agenda?* edited by J.W. Tollefson and A.B.M. Tsui, 177-94. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003.

———. "Nation-Building in Globalised World: Language Choice and Education in India." In *Decolonisation and Globalisation: Language-in-Education Policy and Practice*, edited by Angel M.Y. Lin and Peter W. Martin, 20-37. Clevedon, Buffalo, and Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2005.

Applebaum, Shimon. *Judea in Hellenistic and Roman Times: Historical and Archaeological Essays*. Vol. 40. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

Argyle, A.W. "Greek among the Jews of Palestine in the New Testament Times." *New Testament Studies* 20 (1973-74): 87-89.

Arnold, David and David Hardiman, eds. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 8. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Arubas, Benny and Haim Goldfus. "The Kilnworks of the Tenth Legion Fretensis." In *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, edited by J.H. Humphrey, 95-107. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1995.

Asensio, Victor Moral. "Poverty and Wealth: Ben Sira's View of Possessions." In *Der Einzelne Und Seine Gemeinschaft Bei Ben Sira*, edited by Renate and Ingrid Krammer Egger-Wenzel, 151-78. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1998.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds. *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

———. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.

———. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Attridge, Harold William. "Josephus and His Works." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period, Literature of Jewish People in Period of Second Temple and Talmud*, edited by Michael E. Stone, 185-232. Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1984.

Aune, David Edward. *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987.

Austin, M.M. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

———. "Hellenistic Kings, War, and the Economy." *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986): 450-66.

Avigad, Nahman. "The Architecture of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period." In *Jerusalem Revealed: Archeology in the Holy City, 1968-74*, edited by Y.Yadin, 14-20. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1975.

———. *Beth She`Arim III: Report on the Excavations During 1953-58*. Jerusalem: Massada, 1976.

———. *Discovering Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: Shikmona, 1980.

———. "Jewish Rock-Cut Tombs in Jerusalem and the Judean Hill-Country." *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967): 119-42.

Avi-Yonah, M. *Oriental Art in Roman Palestine*. Rome: University of Rome Press, 1961.

Avshalom-Gorni, D. and N. Getzov. “Phoenicians and Jews: A Ceramic Case Study.” In *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, edited by Andrea M. Berlin and J.A. Overman, 74-84. London: Routledge, 2002.

Bacchus, Kazim. “Curriculum Development in a Colonial Society.” *Education and Society* 14, no. 2 (1996): 3-21.

———. “Curriculum Development in a Colonial Society.” *Education and Society* 14, no. 2 (1996): 3-21.

Bacher, Wilhelm. “Das Altjudische Schulwesen.” *Jahrbuch fur die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums* 6 (1903): 48-81.

Baillet, Maurice, J. T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux. *Les Grottes De Murabba’ât*. Discoveries in the Judean Desert. Vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Bakhos, Carol, ed. *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.

Balch, David L., Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks, eds. *Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

Bar-Adon, P. “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at En El-Ghuweir on the Shores of The dead Sea.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 227 (1977): 1-26.

Barag, Dan. *Jewish Coins in Hellenistic and Roman Time: A Survey of Nuismatic Research, 1985-1990*. Vol. 1. Brussels: International Numismatic Commission, 1992.

———. “King Herod’s Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste.” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 125 (1993): 3-18.

Barag, D. and M. Hershkovitz. “Lamps from Masada.” In *Masada IV: The Yigael Yadin Excavations*, *1963-1965: Final Reports*, *44-58*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.

Barclay, John M. G. *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)*. London: University of California Press, 1996.

Bar-Ilan, Meir. “Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries CE” In *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*, edited by Simcha Fishbane et al., 46-61. New York: Ktav, 1992.

Bar-Kochva, Bezalel. *Judas Maccabeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Bar-Nathan, Rachel. *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations*. Vol. 3, *The Pottery*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003.

Barr, J. “Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Hellenistic Age.” *In The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, 79-114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989.

Barrera, J. Trebolle. *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Bartlett, John R. *1 Maccabees*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

———. *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Barton, John, ed. *The Biblical World*. 2 vols. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Basu, A.N. *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers*, Part I. Bombay: Asia Publishing 1952.

Basu, B.D. *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*. 2nd ed. Calcutta: Modern Review Office, 1934.

Baumgarten, Albert. *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

———. "Greace-Roman Voluntary Association and Ancient Jewish Sects." In *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, edited by Martin Goodman, 93-111. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Baumgarten, M. *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*. Discoveries in the Judean Desert. Vol. 18. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Beck, Frederick A. G. *Greek Education*, *450-350 BC*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964.

Becking, B. "The Hellenistic Period and Ancient Israel: Three Preliminary Statements." In *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, edited by Lester L. Grabbe, 78-90. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

Beentjes, Pancratius Cornelis. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis*. Vetus Testamentum Supplementary Series 68. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

———, ed. *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28-31 July 1996*, *Soesterberg, Netherlands*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997.

Bendor, Shunia. *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of Family (Beit 'Ab): From the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy*. Vol. 7. Jerusalem Biblical Studies. Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1996.

Berlin, Andrea M. "Power and Its Afterlife: Tombs in Hellenistic Palestine." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65, no. 2 (2002): 138-48.

———. "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36, no. 4 (2005): 417-70.

———. *Gamla*. Vol. 1, *The Pottery of the Second Temple Period*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006.

Berlin, Andrea and Kathleen Warner Slane. *Tel Anafa,* Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 10. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1997.

Berlinerblau, Jacques. "Preliminary Remarks for the Sociological Study of Israelite "Official Religion." In *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and*

Judaic Studies in Honor of Barch A. Levine, edited by Robert Chazan, William W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, 153-70.Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999.

Berry, George R. "Priests and Levites." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 42, no. 3-4 (1923): 227-38.

Berry, J. "Household Artifacts: Towards a Re-Interpretation of Roman Domestic Space." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*. Journal of Roman Archaeology supplementary series 22, edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 183-95. Portmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997.

Beteille, Andre. *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patters of Stratification of Power in a Tanjore Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Bevan, Edwyn. *The House of Ptolemy: A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1968.

Beverley, John. *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Bhabha, Homi K. "Signs and Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817." *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 144-65.

———. "A Good Judge of Character: Men, Metaphors, and the Common Culture." In *Race-ing Justice, Engendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*, edited by Toni Morrison, 232-50. New York: Pantheon Books. 1992.

———. "Postcolonial Criticism." In *Redrawing the Boundaries: Transformation of English and American Literary Studies*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt and Giles Gunn, 437-65. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1992.

———. "Postcolonial Authority and Postmodern Guilt." In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, 56-68. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.

———. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1993.

———. "The Vernacular Cosmopolitan." In *Voices of the Crossing: The Impact of Britain on Writers of Asia, the Caribbean and Africa*, edited by F. Dennis and N. Khan, 133-42. London: Serpant's Tail, 2000.

Bhattacharya, Tithi. *The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal [1848-85]*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bichler, R. "*Hellenismus": Geschichte Und Problematik Eines Epochenbegriffs*. Darmsstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.

Bickerman, Elias J. "Notes on Seleucid and Parthian Chronology." *Berytus* 8 (1944): 73-83.

———. *Ezra and the Maccabees*. New York: Schocken, 1947.

———. *The Maccabees: An Account of Their History from the Beginnings to the Fall of the House of the Hasmoneans*, translated by Moses Hadas. New York: Schocken Books, 1947.
———. "The Warning Inscriptions of Herod's Temple." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 37, no. 4 (1947): 387-405.
———. *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt*, translated by Horst R. Moehring. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
———. *The Jews in the Greek Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
Bilde, Per. *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988.
Birnbaum, Ellen. *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews and Proselytes*. Brown Judaic Studies 290. Studia Philonica Monographs 2. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996.
Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995.
Blidstein, G. "The Tannaim and Plastic Art: Problems and Prospects." In *Perspectives in Jewish Learning*, edited by Byron L. Sherwin, 1-26. Chicago: Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1973.
Boardman, John and Robert L. Wilkins. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. Revised ed. London: Thames & Hudson 2001.
Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
———. *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishers, 2002.
———. *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
Bonner, Stanley F. *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
Borgen, Peder. *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996.
———. *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
Borooah, Vani K. and Sriya Iyer. "Vidya, Veda, and Varna: The Influence of Religion and Caste on Education in Rural India." *The Journal of Development Studies* 41, no. 8 (2005): 1369-404.
Bosworth, A. B. *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
———. *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
Boutros, C. *An Inquiry into the System of Education Most Likely to Be Generally Popular and Beneficial in Behar and the Upper Provinces*. Serampore: Serampore Press, 1842.

Bowen, James. *A History of Western Education.* Vol. 1, *The Ancient World: Orient and Mediterranean*. New York: St. Martin Press, 1972.

Bowersock, G.W. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Bowman, A.K. *Egypt after the Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Boyarin, Daniel. *Intertextuality and the Reading of the Midrash*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1990.

Bray, Mark. "Education and the Vestiges of Colonialism: Self-Determination, Neo-Colonialism and Dependency in the South Pacific." *Comparative Education* 29, no. 3 (October 1993): 333-48.

Brenk, Frederick E, ed. *Relighting the Souls: Studies in Plutarch, in Greek Literature, Religion, and Philosophy, and in the New Testament Background*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag,, 1998.

Bringmann, K. *Hellenistische Reform Und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa: Eine Untersuchung Zur Judisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte [175-163 V. Chr.]*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983, 1983.

Brombert, Victor. "Orientalism and the Scandals of Scholarship." *American Scholar* (Autumn 1979): 532-41.

Brow, John Pairman. *Ancient Israel and Ancient Greece: Religion, Politics, and Culture*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.

Brown, William P. *Character in Crisis: A Fresh Approach to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.

Bugh, Glenn R., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Burdajewicz, Mariusz. "Typology of the Pottery from Khirbet Qumran (French Excavations 1953-1956)." *American Schools of Oriental Research Newsletter* 51-53 (2001): 14.

Burkert, Walter. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, translated by Margaret Pinder. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998.

———. *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Cahill, J. "Chalk Vessel Assemblages of the Persian/Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods." In *Excavations at the City of David*, *1978-1985*, *Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, edited by A. de Groot and D. T. Ariel, 190-274. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992.

Cahill, Nicholas. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. New Haven: Yale University press, 2002.

Callahan, Allen Dwight. "The Arts of Resistance in an Age of Revolt." In *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, edited by Richard A. Horsley, 29-40. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.

Callaway, Joseph A. "Burials in Ancient Palestine: From Stone Age to Abraham." *Biblical Archaeologist* 26, no. 3 (1963): 74-91.

Campbell, Collin. *Easternization of the West*. Colorado: Paradigm Publishers, 2006.

Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Longmans, 1974.

Carr, David M. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Carter, Warren. *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006.

Cartledge, Paul. *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*. 2nd ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Cartledge, Paul, Peter Garnsey, and Erich Gruen, eds. *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography, Hellenistic Culture and Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Cashin, Paul and Ratna Sahay. "Internal Migration, Center-State Grants, and Economic Growth in the States of India." In *International Monetary Fund Staff Papers* 43, 1, 123-71. Washington D.C.: IMF, 1996.

Cassuto-Salzmann, M. "Greek Names among the Jews." *Eretz Israel* 3 (1954): 186-90.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37 (Winter 1992): 1-26.

———. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

———. "A Small History of Subaltern Studies." In *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, 467-85. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Chamouz, Francois. *Hellenistic Civilization*, translated by Michel Roussel. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 2, *Expansions of the Old Testament and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. New York: Doubleday, 1985.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princton University Press, 1994.

Chatterjee, Partha. and Gyanendra Pandy, eds. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 7. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Clark, Douglas R. "Bricks, Sweat and Tears: The Human Investment in Constructing a 'Four-Room' House." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, no. 1-2 (March-June 2003): 34-43.

Clarysse, Willy. "The great revolt of the Egyptians (205–186 BC)." The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri Lecture Series of University of California, 16 March 2004, <http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu/lecture/revolt.html#edfu> (15 May 2006).

Clifford, James. "Review of Edward W. Said' Orientalism." *History and Theory* 19 no. 2 (1980): 204-23.
Coggins, Richard J. *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered*. Oxford: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002.
Cohen, Boaz. "Art in Jewish Law." *Judaism* 3 (1954): 165-76.
Cohen, Getzel M. *The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding*, *Administration and Organization.* Historia Einzelschriften 30. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978.
Cohen, Shaye J.D. *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
———. "Alexander the Great and Jaddus the High Priest According to Josephus." *The Association of Jewish Studies Review* 7 (1982): 41-68.
———. *The Beginnings of Jewishness, Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 31. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999.
———. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*. 2nd ed., Library of Early Christianity. Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006.
Collins, John J. "Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre." *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1-19.
———. *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees: With an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre*. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1981.
———. *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*. Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997.
———. *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997.
———. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
———. *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
Collins, John J and Robert A Kugler eds. *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2000.
Collins, John J and Gregory E. Sterling ed. *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.
Conzelmann, Hans. "The Mother of Wisdom." In *The Future of Our Religious Past*, edited by J. M. Robinson, 230-43. New York: Harper, 1971.
Cook, Stephen L. "Innerbiblical Interpretation in Ezekiel 44 and the History of Israel's Priesthood." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 193-208.
Cooper, Frederick. "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *American Historical Review* (December 1994): 1516-45.
Cooper, Frederick, et al., ed. *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Coote, Robert and Keith Whitelam. "Emergence of Israel: Social Transformation and State Formation Following the Decline in Late Bronze Age Trade." *Semeia* 37 (1986): 107-47.

Coundouriotis, Eleni. *Claiming History: Colonialism, Ethnography, and the Novel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Crenshaw, James L. "Education in Ancient Israel" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104, no. 4 (1985): 601-15.

———. "The Book of Sirach: Introduction." In *The New Interpreters Bible*. Vol. 5, 603-37. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997.

———. *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence*. New York: Doubleday, 1998.

Cribiore, Rafaella. *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. American Studies in Papyrology 36. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.

———. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

———. *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Croix, G.E.M. De Ste. *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Cross, Frank Moore. *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Crystal, David. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Dancy, John Christopher. *A Commentary on I Maccabees*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1954.

Davies, Philip R. *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 134. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.

Davis, J.K. "Cultural, Social and Economic Features of the Hellenistic World." In *Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 7, Part I, *The Hellenistic World*, edited by F.W. Walbank et al., 2 ed., 257-315. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

———. "The Interpretation of Hellenistic Sovereignties." In *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, edited by Daniel Ogden, 1-21. Duckworth: The Classical Press of Wales, 2002.

de Haan, Arjan. "Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration: A Critical Review of the Migration Literature." *Journal of Development Studies* 36, no. 2 (1999): 1-47.

———. "Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India." *Journal of Development Studies* 38, no. 5 (2002): 115-42.

de Vaux, Roland. "Fouilles De Khirbet Qumran." *Revue Bibliques* 63 (1956): 533-77.

Delia, Diana. *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*. American Classical Studies 23. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.

Delorme, Jean. “Gymnasion.” In *Étude Sur Les Monuments Consacrés À L’éducation En Grèce*. Paris Boccard, 1960.

Demsky, Aaron and Meir Bar-Ilan. “Writing in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism, Part I: The Biblical Period.” In *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by Martin Jan Mulder, 1-20. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.

Dequeker, Luc. “Jason’s Gymnasium in Jerusalem (2 Mac 4:7-17): The Failure of a Cultural Experiment.” *Bijdragen* 54, no. 4 (1993): 371-92.

Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976.

———. *Writing and Difference*, translated by Alan Bass. London: Routledge, 1978.

deSilva, David A. *Introducing the Apocrypha*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002.

Dhesi, Autar S. “Caste, Class Synergies, and Discrimination in India.” *International Journal of Social Economics* 25, no. 6, 7, and 8 (1998): 1030-48.

di Bona, J. *One Teacher, One School*. New Delhi: Biblia Impex Private Limited, 1983.

Dienst, Richard. “Imperialism, Subalternity, Autonomy: Modes of Third World Historiography.” *Polygraph* 1 (Fall 1987): 67-80.

Dirks, Nicholas B. “Castes of Mind.” *Representations*, *Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories*, no. 37 (Winter 1992): 56-78.

———. *The Hollow Crown: Ethnocity of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Dirlik, Arif. *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Dittenberger, W., ed. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae 219. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903-05.

Doran, Robert. *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*. Washington D.C: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981.

———. “Parties and Politics in Pre-Hasmonean Jerusalem: A Closer Look at 2 Macc 3: 11.” In *Society of Biblical Literature 1982 Seminar Papers*, edited by K.H. Richards, 107-11. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982.

———.. “The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections.” In *The New Interpreter’s Bible*. Vol. 4, 1-178. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996.

Dothan, Moshe. “Akko.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, nos. 3-4 (1974): 276-79.

———. “Akko.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 25, nos. 2-3 (1975): 163-66.

———. “Akko 1976.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 26, no. 4 (1976): 207-08.

———. “Akko.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1978): 264-66.

———. “Akko 1980.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 31, nos. 1-2 (1981): 110-12.

Dothan, Moshe and D. Conrad. “Akko 1982.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 33, no. 1-2 (1983): 113-14.

———. “Akko 1983.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 34, nos. 2-3 (1984): 189-90.

Drazin, Nathan. *History of Jewish Education from 515 BCE to 220 CE*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

Dreze, Jean and Geeta Gandhi Kingdom. "School Participation in Rural India." *Review of Development Economics* 5 (2001): 1-24.

Droysen, Johann Gustav. *Geschichte Des Hellenismus*, edited by E. Bayer. 3 vols. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1952-3.

Duff, Alexander. *Indian and India Missions Including Sketches of Gigantic System of Hinduism: Both in Theory and Practice*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1840.

Dumont, Louis. *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implication*. Delhi: Vikas, 1970.

Dunbabin, K. M. *The Roman Banquet*: *Images of Conviviality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Dunbabin, K.M. "Ut Greaco More Biberetur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch." In *Meals in a Social Context*, edited by I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen, 83-89. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998.

Dutch, Robert Stanley. *The Educated Elite in First Corinthians: A Social-Scientific Study of Education and Community Conflict in a Graeco-Roman Conflict.* Journal for the study of the New Testament Supplement series 271. London and New York: T & T Clark, 2005.

Ebner, Eliezer. *Elementary Education in Ancient Israel: During the Tannaitic Period [10-220 CE]*. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1956.

Efron, Joshua. *Studies on the Hasmonean Period*. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 39. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1987.

Ellis, Walter M. *Ptolemy of Egypt*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Errington, R.M. "From Babylon to Tripardeisus 323-320 B.C." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90 (1970): 49-77.

Evans, Katherine. "Alexander the Alabarch: Roman and Jew." In *Society of Biblical Literature, 1995 Seminar Papers*, edited by Eugene H. Lovering Jr., 576-94. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

Fanon, Franz. *A Dying Colonialism*, translated by Haakon Chevalier. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

———. *Black Skin, White Masks*, translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

———. *Toward the African Revolution*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

———. *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Constance Farrington. London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Faust, Avraham and Shlomo Bunimovitz. "The Four-Room House: Embodying Iron Age Israelite Society." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, nos. 1-2 (March-June 2003): 22-31.

Felder, Cain Hope. *Race, Racism, and the Biblical Narratives*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.

Feldman, Louis H. “Hengel’s ‘Judaism and Hellenism’ in Retrospect.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977): 371-82.
———. *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
———. *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1996.
———. “Josephus (CE 37 - C.100).” In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 3, *The Early Roman Period*, edited by W.D. Davies William Harbury, and John Sturdy 901-21, 1189-97. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
———. “How Much Hellenism in the Land of Israel?” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 33, no. 3 (2002): 290 – 313.
———. *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
Feldman, Louis H and Meyer Reinhold, ed. *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.
Fine, Steven. “A Note on Ossuary Burial and the Resurrection of the Dead in First-Century Jerusalem.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000): 69-76.
———. “Why Bone Boxes?” *Biblical Archaeological Review* 27, no. 4 (2001): 39-44, and 57.
Finley, Moses I. *The Ancient Economy*, rev. ed. Sather Classical Lectures 43. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
———. *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*. New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1985.
Fischel, H.A. *The First Book of Maccabees*. Schocken: Reprint edition, 1985.
Fitzmyer, Joseph A. “Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 401-31.
———. “Qumran Community: Essenes or Sadducean?” *Heythrop Journal* 36 (1995): 467-76.
Foster, Benjamin R. “Transmission of Knowledge.” In *A Companion to the Ancient near East*, edited by Daniel C. Snell, 245-52. Malden, MA, Oxford, UK, and Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
Foster, S. S. “A Note on the ‘Note’ of J. Scwhartz.” *Studia Philonica* 4 (1976-77): 25-32.
Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
Fox, Michael V. *Qohelet and His Contradictions*. Bible and Literature Series 18. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989.
Fraade, Steven D. “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44, no. 46-69 (1993).
Frazer, P.M. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
Fredriksen, Paula. *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity*. New York: Knopf, 1999.
Freeman, Kenneth J. *Schools of Hellas*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1969.

Frey, Jean-Baptiste. *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936-52.

Freyne, Sean. "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee." In *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, edited by Lee I. Levine, 75-91. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

———. "Behind the Names: Samaritans, Ioudaioi, Galileans." In *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures*, edited by Eric M. Meyers, 39-56. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999.

Frick, Frank. *The City in Ancient Israel*. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.

Fritz, Volkmar. *The City in Ancient Israel*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Fuks, Gideon. "Antagonistic Neighbours: Ashkelon, Judaea, and the Jews." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 42-62.

Gafini, Isaiah. "The Historical Background." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, edited by M.E. Stone, 1-31. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.

Gammie, John G., and Leo G. Perdue, eds. *The Sage in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Gandhi, Mohandas K. "Basic Education." In *The Selected Works of Gandhi*: vol. 6, <http://www.mkgandhi.org/edugandhi/education.html> (30 November 2006).

———. *The Removal of Untouchability*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1954.

García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert. J.C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

García-Martínez, Florentino and A.S. van der woude. "A 'Gorningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 526-36.

Garg, B.R., ed. *Charles Grant: The Forerunner of Macaulay's Educational Policy*. Ambala: The Associated Publishers, 2003.

Gehrke, Hans-Joachim. "Ephebeia." In *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. Vol. 4, edited by Hubert Cancik et al., 1018-22. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.

Gera, Dov. *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics 219 to 169 BCE*. Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1998.

———. "Ptolemy, Son of Thraseas, and the Fifth Syrian War." *Ancient Society* 18 (1987): 63-73.

Gerhardsson, Birger. *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*. Uppsala: Gleerup, 1961.

Geva, Hillel, ed. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982: Architecture and Stratigraphy- Areas A, W and X-2*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.

Geva, H. and N. Avigad. “Jerusalem, Tombs.” In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, edited by E. Stern, 747-49. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1993.

Ghosh, Chandra. “English in Taste, in Opinions, in Words and Intellect’: Indoctrinating the Indian through Textbook, Curriculum, and Education.” In *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in British Colonial Experience*, edited by J.A. Mangan, 175-93. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

Gibson, Shimon. “Stone Vessels of the Early Roman Period from Jerusalem and Palestine-a Reassessment.” In *One Land, Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislao Lo.Reda Ofm. G. Claudio Bottini*, edited by L. Daniel Chrupcata by L. di Segni, 287-308. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003.

Giddens, A and P. Stanworth, ed. *Elites and Power in British Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Gier, Nicholas F. “The Color of Sin/the Color of Skin: Ancient Color Blindness and the Philosophical Origins of Modern Racism.” *Journal of Religious Thought* 46, no. 1 (Summer-Fall 1989): 42-52.

Ginzberg, Louis. *Students, Scholars and Saints*. New York and Philadelphia: Meridian Books and Jewish Publication Society, 1928.

Glassner, Jean-Jacques. *The Invention of Cuneiform: Writing in Sumer*, translated by Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Microop. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Gleason, K. L. “Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace.” In *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*, edited by A. Raban and K. Holum, 208-27. Leiden, New York, and Köln Brill, 1996.

Goff, Mathew J. *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4Q Instruction*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 50. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Gold, Arthur. “Us and Them.” *The Nation* (24 March 1979): 309-10.

Goldin, Judah. “Several Sidelights of a Torah Education in Tannaite and Early Amorical Times.” In *Exploring the Talmud*. Vol. 1, *Education*, edited by Haim Z. Dimitrowsky, 3-18. New York: Ktav, 1976.

Goldstein, Jonathan A. “The Tales of the Tobiads.” In *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*. Part 3, *Judaism before 70*, edited by Jacob Neusner, 168-81. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

———. *1 Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible. Vol. 41. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976.

———. *Semites, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans: Studies in Their Interactions*. Brown Judaic Studies 217. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1976.

———. “Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism.” In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*. Vol. 2, *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, edited by E.P. Sanders et al., 64-69. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.

———. *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible. Vol. 41A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
Goodblatt, David, Avital Pinnick and Daniel R. Schwartz, ed. *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January,1999*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001.
Goodenough, Erwin Ramsdell. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. Vol. 2. New York: Pantheon Books, 1954.
Goodenough, Erwin W. *An Introduction to Philo Jadaeus*. 2nd ed. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962.
Goodman, Martin. *The Ruling Class of Judea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome AD 66-70*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
———, ed., Jews *in Graeco-Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
———. "Galilean Judaism and Judaean Judaism." In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 3, *The Early Roman Period*, edited by W. D. Davies W. Horbury, and J. Sturdy 596-617. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Gordis, Robert. "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18 (1944): 77-118.
Gordis, R. "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18 (1944): 77-118.
Gosh, S.C. *The History of Education in Ancient India*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001.
Gottwald, Norman K. "Sociology (Ancient Israel)." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 6, edited by David Noel Freedman et al., 79-89. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992.
———. *The Hebrew Bible in Its Social World and in Ours*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.
———. "Social Class as an Analytic and Hermeneutical Category in Biblical Studies." *Journal of Biblical Studies* 112, no. 1 (1993): 3-22.
Goudriaan, K. *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988.
———. "Ethnical Strategies in Graeco-Roman Egypt." In *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*. Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, edited by T. Engberg-Pedersen P. Bilde, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle 74-95. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992.
Goyal, Pankaj. "Education in Pre-British India," "Education in Pre-British India," <http://www.infinityfoundation.com/mandala/t_es/t_es_goyal_education_frameset.html> (8 November 2006)
Grabbe, Lester. *Priest, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel*. Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995.
Grabbe, Lester L. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. Vol. 1, *The Persian and Greek Periods*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

———. *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh*. London and New York Routledge, 2000.
———. “Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions-and New Thinking.” In *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*, edited by Lester L Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, 107-33. London and New York: T & T Clark International, 2003.
Gramsci, Antonio. *The Modern Prince, and Other Writings*, translated by Louis Marks. New York: International Publishers, 1967.
———. *Prison Notebooks*, translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
Gransey, Peter and Richard Saller. *Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.
Greekfield, J.C. “The Languages of Palestine, 200 BCE-200 CE.” In *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations*, edited by H.H. Paper. Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978.
Green, Peter. *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.
———. *Alexander of Macedon*, *365-323 BC*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
———. *Hellenistic History and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
Greenfield, J.C. “Aramaic in the Achaemenian Empire.” In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, edited by Ilya Gershevitch, 698-713. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
Greenspoon, L. “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bibl.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, edited by Pieter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 101-27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
Grenfell, Bernard P., ed. *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.
Grenfell, Bernard P. et al., eds. *The Tebtunis Papyri*. 4 Vols. London and New York: Egypt Exploration Society, 1902-76.
Grimal, P., et al. *Hellenism and the Rise of Rome*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1969.
Grintz, J.M. “Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960): 32-47.
Gruen, Erich S *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. Vol. 1. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1984.
———. *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*. Vol. 7. *Cincinnati Classical Studies New Series*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1990.
———. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

———. "Roman Perspectives on the Jews in the Age of the Great Revolt." In *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, edited by Andrea M. Berlin and A. Overman, 27-42. London: Routledge, 2002.

Guha, Ranajit, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 1. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

———. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 2. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 3. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 4. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 5. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

———, ed. *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 6. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

———. *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

———. *History at the Limit of World-History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Guha, Ranajit and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Gundry, R.H. "the Language Milieu of First Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (1964): 404-08.

Gupta, Amita. *Early Childhood Education, Postcolonial Theory, and Teaching Practices in India: Balancing Vygotsky and the Veda*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Guz-Zilberstein, B. "The Typology of the Hellenistic Coarse Ware and Selected Loci of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods." In *Excavations at Dor, Final Report*. Vol.1B, *Areas A and C: The Finds*, edited by E. Stern, 289-433 Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1995.

Habicht, Christian. "Die Herrschende Gesellschaft in Den Hellenistischen Monarchien." *Vioerteljahrschrift fur soziologie und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 45 (1958): 1-16.

Hachlili, R. *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Hachlili, R. "The Goliath Family in Jericho: Funerary Inscriptions from a First Century A.D. Jewish Monumental Tomb." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 235 (1979): 31-65.

Hadas, Moses. *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Hadot, Ilsetraut. “Gymnasiums.” In *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopedia of Ancient World*. Vol. 5, edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 1050-59. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.

Halpern-Zylbersterin, Marie-Christine. “The Archeology of Hellenistic Palestine.” In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 5-13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Hammond, N.G.L. *Alexander the Great: King, Commander, and Statesman*. Park Ridge: Noyes Press, 1980.

———. *Sources for Alexander the Great*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

———. *The Genius of Alexander the Great*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Hanke, Lewis. *Aristotle and the American Indians*. London: Hollis and Carter, 1959.

Harrington, Daniel. “Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts Are Important.” In *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997): 245-54.

Harrington, Daniel J. *Invitation to the Apocrypha*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.

Harrington, Daniel J. *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of Biblical Revolution*. Old Testament Studies. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988.

Harris, H.A. *Greek Athletics and the Jews*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976.

Harris, William V. *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome*, *327-70 BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Harrison, R. “Hellenization in Syria-Palestine: The Case of Judea in the Third Century BCE.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 57 (1994): 98-108.

Hatch, D. Spencer “Extension Experience in India.” In *Farmers of the World*, edited by I.T. Sanders E. des Brunner, and D. Ensminger, 61-77. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Hayward, C. T. R. “The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 432-33.

Heaton, E.W. *The School Tradition of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Hegermann, Harald. “The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age.” In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 115-66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Hellerman, Joseph H. “Purity and Nationalism in the Second Temple Literature: 1-2 Maccabees and Jubilees.” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 401-21.

Helyer, Larry R. *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide to New Testament Studies*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002.

Hempel, Charlotte. “Qumran Community.” In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, 746-51. Oxford and New York: Oxford University press, 2000.

Hengel, Martin. “Proseuche und Synagogue: Judische Gemeinde, Gottenshaus und Gottesdienst in Der Diaspora und in Palastina.” In *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*. *Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn Zum 65 Geburtstag*, edited by H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann G. Jeremias, 157-84. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.
———. *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period*, translated by John Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980.
———. “Der Vorchristliche Paulus.” In *Paulus Und Das Antike Judentum*, edited by Martin Hengel and U. Heckel, 257-58. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991.
———. *The “Hellenization” of Judea in the First Century after Christ*. London: SCM Press, 1989.
———. “The Political and Social History of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III (333-187 BCE). In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 35-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
———. “The Interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism in the Pre-Maccabean Period.” In *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, edited by W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 167-228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
———. “The Scriptures and Their Interpretation in Second Temple Judaism.” In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, edited by David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, 158-75. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994.
———. *Jerusalem Als Judische und Hellenistische Stadt, Judaica, Hellenistica Et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1999.
———. “Qumran and Hellenism.” In *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, edited by John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, 46-56. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
———. *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic Press, 2000.
———. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003.
Henten, J. W. van. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997.
Herbert, Shron C. *Tel Anafa.* Vol. 1: i and ii, *Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series10. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1994.
Herman, G. “The ‘Friends’ of the Early Hellenistic Rulers: Servants of Officials?” *Talanta* 12-13 (1980/81): 103-49.
Herr, Moshe David. “Hellenism and Judaism in Eretz Israel.” *Eshkolot*. New Series 2-3 (1977-78): 20-27.

Hershkovitz, Malka. “The Pottery of the First and Second Centuries CE from Giv’at Ram.” *Eretz Israel* 19 (1987): 314-25.
Hezser, Catherine. *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*. TSAJ 66. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997.
———. *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 81. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2001.
Hickling, Anne Julie Hudson, Annette Woods. *Disrupting Preconceptions: Postcolonialism and Education*. Flaxton, Australia: Postpressed Academic, 2004.
Himmelfarb, Martha. *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
Hitti, Philip Khari. *History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.
Hjelm, Ingrid. *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
Hock, Ronald F. “Paul and Greco-Roman Education.” In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*, edited by J. Paul Sampley, 198-227. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003.
Hoglund, K and E. Meyers. “The Residential Quarter on the Western Summit.” In *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, edited by C. Meyers R. Nagy, E. Meyers, and Z. Weiss 39-43. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
Hölbl, Günther. *A History of Ptolemaic Empire*, translated by Tina Saavedra. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
Holladay, Carl R. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Vol. 1. Chico, CA: Scholars press, 1983.
———. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Vol. 2, *Poets*. Texts and Translations Pseudepigrapha Series. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
Holladay Jr., John “The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (ca. 1000-750 BCE).” In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, edited by Thomas E. Levy, 368-98. New York: Facts On File, 1995.
Horsley, G.H.R. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Vol. 5. Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre of Macquarie University, 1989.
Hutchins, F. *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
Hutton, J.H. *Caste in India, Its Nature, Function, and Origins*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1946.
Ilan, Tal. “The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans.” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 78, nos. 1-2 (1987): 1-20.
———. “Names of the Hasmoneans during the Second Temple Period.” *Eretz Israel* 19 (1987): 238-41.

ILO, IOM, OHCHR and UNHCR. *International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia: A Discussion Paper Prepared by International Labor Office, International Organization for Migration, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in Consultation with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*. Geneva: ILO, IOM, OHCHR, in consultation with UNHCR, 2001.

Jafee, Martin. "Die Weisheitstexte Aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung." In *Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and Its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient near East, the Hebrew Bible*, 3-30. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.

James, H.R. *Education and Statesmanship in India*. Bombay: Longmans, 1917.

Jones, A.H.M. *The Greek City: From Alexander to Justinian*. New York: Oxford University press, 1940.

———. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Jones, Siân and Sarah Pearce, eds. *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 31. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

Kachru, Braj B. *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-Native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamom Press Ltd., 1986.

Kah, Daniel and Peter Scholz. *Das Hellenistische Gymnasion*. Wissenskultur Und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel 8. Oldenbourg: Akademie Verlag, 2004.

Kaiser, Otto. "Die Rezeption Der Stoischen Providenz Bei Ben Sira." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 24 (1998): 41-54.

Jyotsna Kamat, "Education in Karnataka through Ages,"<http://www.kamat.com/database/books/kareducation/index.htm> (7 November 2006).

Kampen, John. *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

Kaplinsky, Raphael and Anne Posthuma. *Easternization.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Karastathi-Panagiotou, M. "Creativity, the Creative School, and the Greek Gymnasium: A Conceptual Model for a Creative Gymnasium." PhD diss., University of Lancaster, 1987.

Kasher, Aryeh. "Some Suggestions and Comments Concerning Alexander Macedon's Campaign in Palestine." *Beth Mikra* 20 (1975): 187-208.

———. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1985.

———. *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period*, *(332 BCE-70 CE)*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1990.

Kearns, Conleth. "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach." In *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, edited by R.C. Fuller et al., 541-62. London: Nelson, 1969.

Keay, F.E. *Ancient Indian Education: An Inquiry into Its Origin, Development, and Ideals*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1980.
Kelly, Gail P. and Philip G. Altbach. “The Four Faces of Colonialism.” In *Education and the Colonial Experience*, edited by Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach, 1-5. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1984.
Kemp, Barry J. “Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period C. 2686-1552 BC.” In *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, edited by Barry J. Kemp Bruce G. Trigger, David O’Connor, and Alan Lloyd, 71-174. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Kennell, Nigel M. *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
Kerkeslager, Allen. “Maintaining Jewish Identity in the Greek Gymnasium: A ‘Jewish Load’ in CPJ 3.519 (= P Schub 37 = P Berol 13406).” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 28 (Fall 1997): 12-33.
Kieweler, Hans Volker. *Ben Sira Zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus: Eine Auseinandersetzung Mit Th. Middendorp*. Frankfurt: Erscheinungsjahr, 1992.
Kim, Uriah Y. *Decolonizing Josiah: Toward a Postcolonial Reading of the Deuteronomistic History*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005.
Koester, Helmut. *Introduction to the New Testament*: *History, Cult, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*. Vol. 1. New York and Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1996.
Kraabel, A. Thomas. “The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33, no. 1 (1982): 445-64.
Kraable, Thomas. “Nickelsburg Applied: Response to ‘1 and 2 Maccabees-Same Story, Different Meaning.’” In *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, edited by Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, 675-80. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.
Kramer, Samuel Noah. *History Begins at Sumer*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959.
Krentz, Edgar. *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*. Harrisburg, London, and New York: Trinity International 2003.
Kugel, James, ed. *Shem in the Tents of Japhet: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
Kumar, Ashwin. “Theory of Uniqueness of Indian Caste System*.” International Journal of Human Sciences* 2, no. 2 (2005): 2-7.
Kumar, Krishna. *A Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonist and Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi: Sage, 1991.
———. “Two Worlds.” In *Learning from Conflicts 59-74*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1996.
Lal, Vinay. “The Subaltern School and the Ascendancy of India History.” In *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers, 237-70. Rochester, NY: The University of Rochester Press, 2002.

Landau, Y.H. "A Greek Inscription Found near Hefzibah." *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966): 54-70.

Lange, Armin. *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in Den Textfunden von Qumran*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 18. Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1995.

Laqueur, R. *Hellenismus*. Giessen: Akademische Rede zur Jahresfeier der Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität, 1925.

Law, N. *Promotion of Learning by Early European Settlers*. Bombay: Longmans, 1915.

Lee, Thomas R. *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.

Lendering, Jona. *Alexander De Grote: De Ondergang Van Het Perzische Rijk*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2004.

Lenski, Gerhard E. *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*. London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Leoussi, Athena S. and David Aberbach. *Hellenism and Jewish Nationalism: Ambivalence and Its Ancient Roots*. New York: Rutledge, 2002.

Levine, Lee I. *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998.

———, ed. *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. New York: Continuum, 1999.

———. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Licht, J. *The Scroll of Regulations from the Desert of Judah: The Manual of Discipline*. Jerusalem: Bialik, 1965.

Lieberman, S.J. "A Mesopotamian Background for the So-Called Aggadic 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 58 (1987): 157-225.

Liebermann, S. *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*. 2nd ed. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962.

Liesen, Jan. "Strategic Self-References in Ben Sira." In *Treasurers of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom*, edited by N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen, 63-74. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1999.

Lifshitz, B. "Greek and Hellenism among the Jews of Eretz Israel." *Eshkolot. New Series* 5 (1967): 20-28.

Lifshitz, Baruch. "Jerusalem Sous La Domination Romaine." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt* 2, no. 8 (1977): 459.

Lim, Timothy H. et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000.

London, Norrel A. "Ideology and Politics in English-Language Education in Trinidad and Tobago: The Colonial Experience and a Postcolonial Critique." *Comparative Education Review* 47, no. 3 (2003): 287-320.

Loreda, S. *La Ceramica Di Macheronte E Dell'herodion*. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 39. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1996.

Lucan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis, the Seminar of Jacques Lucan*. Book 11, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.

Ludwig, Emil. *The Mediterranean: Saga of the Sea*, translated by Barrows Mussey. London: Whittlesey House, 1942.

Macaulay, Thomas. "Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education." English Department, University of California at Berkeley, <http://www.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/rraley/research/english/macaulay.html> (16 November 2006).

———. "Speech in Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 10 July 1833." In *Macaulay, Prose, and Poetry*, edited by G.M. Young, 716-18. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Mack, Burton L. *Logos und Sophia: Untersuchungen Zur Weisheitstheologie Im Hellenistischen Judentum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973.

———. *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1985.

Macmillian, Margaret. "Anglo Indians and the Civilizing Mission, 1880-1914." In *Contribution to South Asian Studies*. Vol. 2, edited by Krishna Gopal, 73-109. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

MacMullen, R. "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire." *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982): 233-46.

Maehler, H. "Die Griechische Schule Im Ptolemaischen Agypten." In *Egypt and the Hellenistic World: Proceedings of International Colloquium*, *Leuven, 24-26 May 1982*, 191-203. Leuven: Peeters, 1983.

Magen, Yitzhak. "Jerusalem as a Center of the Stone Vessel Industry during the Second Temple Period." In *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, edited by H. Geva, 244-56. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.

———. "The Stone Vessel Industry During the Second Temple Period." In *Purity Broke out in Israel: Stone Vessels in the Late Second Temple Period*, 7-28. Haifa: University of Haifa, 1994.

———. *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002.

Magness, Jodi. *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology circa 200-800 CE*. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 9. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.

———. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Mahaffy, J.P. and J.G. Smyly, eds. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*. 3 vols. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1891-1905.

Mallon, E. "Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History." *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1491-515.

Mann, Michael. "'Torchbears upon the Path of Progress': Britain's Ideology of a Moral and Material Progress in India – an Introductory Essay." In *Colonialism*

as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India, edited by Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann, 1-26. London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004.

Marböck, Johann. *Weisheit Im Wandel: Untersuchungen Zur Weisheitstheologie Bei Ben Sira*. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1971.

Marger, M.N. *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives*. Belmont, Wordsworth, 1994.

Marks, John H. *Visions of One World: Legacy of Alexander*. Boston: Four Quarters Publishing Company, 1985.

Marrou, H. I. *A History of Education in Antiquity*, translated by George Lamb. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956.

Martone, Corrado. "Ben Sira Manuscripts from Qumran and Masada." In *Ben Sira and Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28-31 July 1996 Soesterberg*, edited by Pancratius C. Beentjes, 81-94. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997.

Mason, Steve N. *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees. A Composition-Critical Study*, Studia Post-Biblica 39 Leiden: Brill, 1991.

———. *Josephus and the New Testament*. 2nd ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003.

Masselos, Jim, ed. *Struggling and Ruling: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1985* Delhi: ASAA Publications, 1987.

Mathur, Vishwa Nath Sahai, ed. *Gandhiji as an Educationist: A Symposium*. Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co. Ltd., 1951.

Mattila, S. L. "Ben Sira and the Stoics: A Reexamination of the Evidence." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 473-501.

Mayhew, Arther Innes. *The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India, 1835-1920, and of Its Bearing on National Life and Problems in India to-Day*. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928.

Mazar, Benjamin. "The Tobiads." *Israel Exploration Journal* 7 (1957): 137-45.

———. *Beth She`Arim I: Report on the Excavations 1936-1940*. Jerusalem: Massada, 1973.

Mazar, B. and E. Eshel. "Who Built the First Wall of Jerusalem?" *Israel Exploration Journal* 48 (1998): 265-68.

Mazar, Eilat. *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1989.

McClintock, Anne. "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism'." *Social Text* 10, nos. 31-32 (Spring 1992): 84-98.

McCown, C. C. "Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Lamps." In *Tell En-Nasbeh*. Vol. 2, *The Pottery* 56-68. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947.

McCullough, William Stewart. *The History and Literature of the Palestinian Jews from Cyrus to Herod*, *550 BC to 4 BC*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

McGuire, John. *The Making of a Colonial Mind: A Quantitative Study of the Bhadralok in Calcutta, 1857-1885.* Canberra: Australian National University, 1983.
McLeod, John. *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.
———. *The History of India*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002.
Meadows, Andrew. "Money, Freedom, and Empire, in the Hellenistic World." In *Money and Its Uses in the Hellenistic World*, edited by Andrew Meadows and Kirsty Shipton, 54-64. Oxford: Oxford University press, 2001.
Meek, Theophile James. "Aaronites and Zadokites." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 45, no. 3 (April 1929): 149-66.
Meeks, Wayne A. "Judaism, Hellenism, and the Birth of Christianity. In *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen, 17-27. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.
Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.
Mendels, Doron. *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine*. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997.
Mendelsohn, Oliver and Marika Vicziany. *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty, and the State in Modern India*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
Mendelson, Alan. *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982.
Meshorer, Y. *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*. Tel Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967.
———. Y. *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. 2 vols. Dix Hills, NY: Amphora Books, 1982.
———. *The City Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1985.
Meyers, Eric M. "The Challenges of Hellenism for Early Judaism and Christianity." *Biblical Archaeologist* 55, no. 2 (June 1992): 84-91.
Meyers, Eric M, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Middendorp, Theophil. *Die Stellung Jesus Ben Siras Zwischen Judentum Und Hellenismus*. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
Mildenberg, L. "Yehud-Munzen." In *Palestina in Vorhellenistischer Zeit*, edited by H. Weippert, 721-28. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988.
Millard, Alan R. "The Practice of Writing in Ancient Israel." *Biblical Archaeologist* 35 (1972): 98-111.
———. "An Assessment of the Evidence for Writing in Ancient Israel." In *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceeding of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, edited by Janet Amitai, 301-12. Jerusalem: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1985.
———. "The Question of Israelite Literacy." *Bible Review* 3 (1987): 23-31.

———. “Were Words Separated in Ancient Hebrew Writing?” *Bible Review* 8 (1992): 44-47.

Miller, Fergus. “The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel’s ‘Judaism and Hellenism.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 1-21.

———. *The Roman near East 31 BC to AD 337*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

———. *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*. Vol. 2, *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Miller, Stephen G., ed. *Arete: Ancient Writers, Papyri, and Inscriptions on the History and Ideals of Greek Athletics and Games*. 3rd edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Mishra, R.C. and Aparna Vajpayee. “Sanskrit Schools in India.” Department of Psychology, Banaras Hindu University, <http://www.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/teachers/dasen/SanskritSchools.pdf> (15 September 2006).

Momigliano, Arnoldo. *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1977.

———. “Flavius Josephus and Alexander’s Visit to Jerusalem.” *Athenaeum* 75 (1979): 442-48.

———. *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Moore-Gilbert, Bart. *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*. London: Verso, 1997.

Mooren, Leon. *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prospography*. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975.

———. “The Nature of the Hellenistic Monarchy.” In *Egypt and the Hellenistic World: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven- 24-26 May 1982*, edited by E. Van `T Dack, P. Van Dessel and W. Van Gucht, 205-40. Louvanii: Orientaliste, 1983.

Morgan, Teresa. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Morkholm, Otto. *Antiochus IV of Syria*. Classica et Mediaevalia. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1966.

———. “The Ptolemaic Coinage in Phoenicia and the Fifth War with Syria.” In *Egypt and the Hellenistic World: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven- 24-26 May 1982*, edited by E. Van `T Dack, P. Van Dessel and W. Van Gucht, 241-51. Louvanii: Orientaliste, 1983.

Morris, Ian. “The Early Polis as City and State.” In *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 25-58. London: Routledge, 1991.

Morris, Nathan. *The Jewish School: An Introduction to the History of Jewish Education*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937.

Mukerji, S.N. *Higher Education and Rural India*. Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1956.

———. *History of Education in India: Modern Period*. Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1957.

———. "Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38." In *Elites in South Asia*, edited by E. Leach and S.N. Mukherjee, 33-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Murphy, Frederick J. "Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature." In *New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 7, 1-16. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996.

Mussies, G. "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora." In *The Jewish People in the First Century*, edited by Samuel Safrai and Menahem Stern, 1040-64. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.

Musti, Domenico. "Syria and the East." In *Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 7, Part I, *The Hellenistic World*, edited by F.W. Walbank et al., 175-219. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Narula, S. *Broken People: Caste Violence against India's* "*Untouchables*." London: Human Right Watch, 1999.

National Council of Education Research, and Training. "Chapter 11." In *Sixth All India Educational Survey: Main Report of the National Council of Education Research and Training*, 448-509. New Delhi: National Council of Education Research and Training, 1999.

Naveh, Joseph. "A Paleographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script." *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968): 68-74.

———. "A Medical Document or a Writing Exercise? The So-Called 4Q Therapeia." *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 52-55.

Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Discovery of India*. New York: The John Day Company, 1946.

Nelson, Milward D. *The Syriac Version of the Wisdom of Ben Sira Compared to the Greek and Hebrew Materials*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 107. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

Netzer, Ehud. *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2001.

Neusner, Jacob. "Was Rabbinic Judaism Really 'Ethnic'." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57 (1995): 281-305.

———.*The Talmud Babylonia: An Academic Commentary*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.

Newsome, James D. *Greeks, Romans, Jews: Currents of Culture and Belief in the New Testament World*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992.

Nickelsburg, George W E. "1 and 2 Maccabees-Same Story, Different Meaning." In *George W E Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, edited by Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, 659-74. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

———. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress press, 2005.

Niese, B. *Kritik Der Beiden Makkabaerbucher*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1900.

Nilsson, Martin P. *Die Hellenistiche Schule*. München: C. H. Beck, 1955.

Nitzan, Bilhah. "Education and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of Their Background in Antiquity." *The Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/10th/papers/nitzan.htm#> (17 October 2006).

Nkrumah, Kwame. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965.

Noy, David. "Writing in Tongues: The Use of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew in Jewish Inscriptions from Roman Italy." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48 (1997): 300-11.

Oates, J.F., A.E. Samuel, and C.B. Wells, ed. *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. New Haven and Toronto: Yale University Press, 1967.

Oegema, Gerbern S. *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. "Recovering the Subject: Subaltern Studies and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia." *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 1 (1988): 1989-224.

Olyan, Saul Mitchell. "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood." *Harvard Theological Review* 80 (1987): 261-86.

Oppenheim, A. Leo. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Osiek, Carolyn and David Balch. *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches*. Family, Religion, and Culture. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.

Ostenfeld, Erik Nis, ed. *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks: Studies in Cultural Interaction*. Aarhus: Aarhus University press, 2002.

Ostergard, U. "What Is Ethnic and National Identity?" In *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, edited by Peter Blide et al., 16-38. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992.

Ovadiah, Ruth and Asher Ovadiah. *Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*. Bibliotheca Archaeologica 6. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1987.

Oviedo, John Beverley and Jose. "Founding Statement: Latin American Subaltern Studies Group." *Boundary 2: An International Journal of Literature and Culture* 20, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 110-21.

Pack, Roger A. *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*. 2 ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965.

Pahl, R.E. and J.T. Winkler. "The Economic Elite: Theory and Practice." In *Elites and Power in British Society*, edited by P. Stanworth and A.Giddens, 102-22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Parkes, Fanny. *Wandering of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque: During Four-and-Twenty Years in the East, with Revelations of Life in the Zenana*. Reprint ed. New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2003.

Pautrel, Raymond. “Ben Sira et Le Stoïcisme.” *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 51 (1963): 535-49.

Pélékidis, Chrysis. *Histoire De L’éphebie Attique Dès Origines À 31 Avant Jésus Christ*. Paris: Boccard, 1962.

Perdue, Leo G. *Wisdom and Cult*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977.

———. *Wisdom and Creation*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994.

Perlman, Isadore, Jan Gunneweg, and Joseph Yellin. “Pseudo-Nabataean Ware and Pottery of Jerusalem.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 262 (May 1986): 77-82.

Piccone, Paul. *The Gramscian Challenge: Coercion and Consent in Marxist Political Theory*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Plato. *Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus Epistles*, translated by R.G. Bury. Vol. 234, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

Plutarch. *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna Aut Virtute*, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Poirier, John. “Purity Beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (2003): 247-65.

Porter, Dennis “Orientalism and Its Problems.” In *The Politics of Theory: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1982*, edited by Peter Hulme Francis Barker, Margaret Iverson and Dianna Loxley, 179-93. Colchester: University of Essex, 1983.

Porton, Gary G. “Defining Midrash.” In *The Study of Ancient Judaism*. Vol. 1, edited by Jacob Neusner. New York: Ktav, 1981.

Posener, George. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1959.

Postgate, J. Nicholas. *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History*. London Routledge, 1994.

Prakash, Gyan. *Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India*. Cambridge South Asian Studies 44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

———. “Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism.” *American Historical Review* (December 1994): 1475-90.

———. *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Primiano, Leonard Norman. “Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife.” *Western Folklore* 54, no. 1 (January 1995): 37-56.

Puech, É. “The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumran and ‘Ain El-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 312 (1998): 21-36.

Rabin, C. "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century," in the Jewish People in the First Century." In *The Jewish People in the First Century*, edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern, 1007-039. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.

Rahmani, L.Y. "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs Part I." *Biblical Archeologist* 44, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 171-77.

———. "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs Part II." *Biblical Archaeologist* 44, no. 4 (1981): 229-35.

———. *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority and Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994.

———. "Ossuaries and Ossilegium (Bone-Gathering) in the Late Second Temple Period." In *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, edited by H. Geva, 191-205. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.

Rajak, Tessa. *Josephus, the Historian and His Society*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.

———. "The Location of Cultures in Second Temple Palestine: The Evidence of Josephus." In *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*. Vol. 4, *The Book of Acts in Its Palestine Setting*, edited by Richard Bauckham, 1-14. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.

———. *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*. Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Rappaport, Uriel. "The Material Culture of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Period." In *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, edited by Shemaryahu Talmon, 44-49. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.

———. "Hellenization of the Hasmoneans." In *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation, and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*, edited by Menachem Mor, 1-13. New York: Fordham University Press, 1992.

Reeg, G. Die *Antiken Synagogen in Israel*. Vol. 2, *Die Samaritanischen Synagogen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977.

Regev, E. "Non-Priestly Purity and Its Religious Aspects According to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings." In *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus*, edited by M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, 223-44. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Reiterer, Friedrich V. *Zählsynopse Zum Buch Ben Sira, Fontes Et Subsidia Ad Bibliam Pertinentes*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.

Rhoads, David. *Israel in Revolution, 6-74 CE*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.

Richardson, Peter. *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

———. *Building Jewish in the Roman East*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2004.

Robb, Peter. *A History of India*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Roberts, Gwyneth Tyson. "'Under the Hatches:' English Parliamentary Commissioners' View of the People and Language of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Wales." In *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity, and Cultural History*, edited by Bill Schwartz, 171-97. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Rochman, Bonnie. "Mass Grave May Date to Jewish Revolt: Josephus Gets a Boost." *Biblical Archaeological Review* 23 (1997): 26.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Harare: ZPH, 1981.

Rosen, H.B. *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures: From Outgoing Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.

Rosenthal, R. and R. Sivan. *Ancient Lamps in the Schloessinger Collection*. Qedem 8. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1978.

Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Renate. "Hellenistic and Early Roman Fine Ware and Lamps from Area A." In *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*. Vol. 2, *The Finds from Areas a, W, and X-2*. Final Report 192-223. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003.

———. "Fine Ware and Lamps from Area A." In *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*. Vol. 2, *The Finds from Areas A, W, and X-2. Final Report*. 215-17. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003.

Roth, Wolfgang. "On the Gnomic-Discursive Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach." *Semeia* 17 (1980): 59-79.

Rowley, H.H. "Zadok and Nehushtan." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58, no. 2 (1939): 113-41.

Roy, Modhumita. "The Englishing of India: Class Formation and Social Privilege." *Social Scientist* 21, nos. 5-6 (May-June 1993): 36-62.

Rozenberg, S. "The Wall Paintings of the Herodian Palace at Jericho." In *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence*, edited by K. Fittschen and G. Foerster, 121-38. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996.

Rüger, Hans Peter. *Text und Textform im Hebräischen Sirach*. BZAW. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970.

Rutgers, L.V. *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora*. Religions in the Greco-Roman World 126. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Sacchi, Paolo. *The History of the Second Temple Period*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 285. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Sadler Jr., Rodney Steven. *Can A Cushite Change His Skin? An Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible*. New York and London: T & T Clark, 2005.

Safrai, Shmuel. “Elementary Education, Its Religious and Social Significance in the Talmudic Period.” *Cahiers D’Historie Mondiale* 11 (1968): 148-69.
Safrai, S. “Religion in Everyday Life.” In *The Jewish People in the First Century*, edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern, 793-833. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.
Safrai, Shemuel. “The Synagogue.” In *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life, and Institutions*, edited by Shmuel Safrai and Menahem Stern, 908-44. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1988.
Saggs, H.W.F. *Civilization before Greece and Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
Sagiv, N., B. Zissu, and G. Avni. “Tombs of the Second Temple Period at Tel Goded, Judean Foothills.” *‘Atiqot* 35 (1998): 159-61.
Said, Edward W. “Orientalism Reconsidered.” *Race and Class* 27, no. 2 (1985): 1-15.
Said, Edward W. “Decolonizing the Mind.” In *Peace and Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process*, 92-99. London: Vintage, 1996.
———. *Orientalism*, 25th Anniversary Edition. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
Sainath, P. *Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India’s Poorest Districts*. New Delhi: Penguin, 1996.
Saini, Asha. “Literacy and Empowerment: An Indian Scenario.” *Childhood Education* 76, no. 6 (2000): 381-84.
Samuel, Alan Edouard. *From Athens to Alexandria: Hellenism and Social Goals in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1983.
Samuel, Alan E. *The Shifting Sands of History: Interpretations of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians 2. Lanham, NY and London: University of Toronto, 1989
———. “The Ptolemies and Ideology of Kingship.” In *Hellenistic History and Culture*, edited by Peter Green, 168-91. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993.
Sanders, Jack T. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. Vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
———. *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.
Sandmel, Samuel. “Parallelomania.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 1-13.
———. “Hellenism and Judaism.” In *Great Confrontations in Jewish History*, edited by S.M. Wagner and A.D. Breck, 21-38. Denver: University of Denver Press, 1977.
———. *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
Sangwan, Satpal. “Science Education in Colonial Constraints, 1792-1857.” *Oxford Review of Education* 16, no. 1 (1990): 81-95.
Schäfer, Peter. *Judeophobia: Attitude toward the Jews in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997.

———. *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*. Revised ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
Schalit, Abraham. *The Hellenistic Age: Political History of Jewish Palestine from 332 BCE to 67 BCE*. Tel-Aviv and New Brunswick: Jewish History Publications Ltd. and University Press, 1972.
Schiffmann, Lawrence H. *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Study of the Rule of the Congregation*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 38. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
———. *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1991.
———. "Rule of the Congregation." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, 797-99. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Schiman, L. "Was There a Galilean Halakhah?" In *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, edited by Lee I. Levine, 143-56. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
Schmitt, H.H. *Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte Antiochos' Des Grossen Und Seiner Zeit, Historia Enizelschr*. Stuttgart: Wiesbaden, 1964.
Schultheiss, Dirk et al. "Uncircumcision: A Historical Review of Preputial Restoration." *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery* 101, no. 7 (June 1998): 1990-1998, <http://www.cirp.org/library/restoration/schultheiss> (24 October 2006).
Schürer, Emil. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135)*, translated by T. A. Burkill et al. edited by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar. Vol. 1-3. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-87.
Schwabe, M. and B. Lifshitz. Beth *She`Arim II: The Greek Inscriptions*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974.
Schwarts, Henry and Sangeeta Ray, eds. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
Schwarts, Seth. *Josephus and Judaean Politics*. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1990.
———. "Language, Power, and Identity in Ancient Palestine." *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 3-37.
———. *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE*. Princeton and New York: Princeton University Press, 2001.
———. "Hebrew and Imperialism in Jewish Palestine." In *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*, edited by Carol Bakhos, 53-84. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
Schwartz, Daniel R. "Philo's Priestly Descent." In *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, edited by E. Hilgert and B. L. Mack F.G.Greenspahn, 155-71. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984.
Schwartz, J. "Note Sur La Famille De Philon D'alexandrie." *Annuaire de L'Institut de Philogie et d'Historie Orientales et Slaves* 13 (1953): 591-602.
Schwarz, Henry et al. "Subaltern Studies - a Bibliography." <http://www.lib.virginia.edu/area-studies/SouthAsia/Ideas/subalternBib.html> (7 February 2007).

Scurlock, JoAnn. "One Hundred Sixty-Seven BCE: Hellenism or Reform?" *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 31, no. 2 (2000): 125-61.

Seal, Anil. *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Segovia, Fernando F. "Biblical Criticism and Postcolonial Studies: Toward a Postcolonial Optic." In *The Postcolonial Bible*, edited by Sugirtharaja R.S., 49-65. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

Sevenster, N. *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* Leiden: Brill, 1968.

Sharp, H., ed. *Selections from Educational Records*. Part I. Calcutta: Government Printing, 1920.

Sherwin-White, Susan. "Babylonian Chronicle Fragments as a Source for Seleucid History." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1983): 265-70.

Sherwin-White, Susan and Amélie Kuhrt, ed. *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

———. *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Shipley, Shipley. *The Greek World after Alexander*, *(323-30 BC)*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Shupak, Nili. "Learning Methods in Ancient Israel." *Vetus Testamentum* 53, no. 3 (2003): 416-26.

Shutt, James H. "Letter of Aristeas." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 1, edited by David Noel Freedman, 380-82. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Sievers, Joseph. *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters from Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*. Studies in the History of Judaism. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.

———. "Josephus, First Maccabees, Sparta, the Three Haireseis-and Cicero." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 32, no. 3 (2001): 241-51.

Sinha, Surendra Prasad. *English in India*. Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1978.

Siqueria, T.N. *The Education in India*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Skehan, Patrick W, and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. The Anchor Bible. Vol. 39. New York: Doubleday, 1987.

Smend, Rudolf. *Die Weisheit Des Jesus Sirachs Erklärt*. Berlin: Reimer, 1906.

Smith, Morton. "Goodenough's 'Jewish Symbols' in Retrospect." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967): 53-68.

———. "Rome and the Maccabean Conversions - Notes on 1 Macc 8." In *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, edited by Ernst Bammel et al., 1-7. Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1978.

Sneed, Mark R., ed. *Concepts of Class in Ancient Israel*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.

Snell, Daniel. *Life in the Ancient near East 3100-332 BCE*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Snowden Jr., Frank M. *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives." *History and Theory* 24 (1985): 247-72.

———. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography." In *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Vol. 4, edited by Ranajit Guha. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985.

———. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Cultur*e, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

———. "Feminism in Decolonization." *Differences* 3, no. 3 (1991): 139-70.

———. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Spring, Joel. *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., 1998.

Srivastava, R.N. and V.P. Sharma. "Indian English Today." In *English in India: Issues and Problems*, edited by R.S. Gupta and Kapil Kapoor, 189-206. New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 1991.

Stadelmann, Helge. *Ben Sira Als Schriftgelehrter: Eine Untersuchung Zum Berufsbild Des Vor- Makkabäischen Sofer Unter Berücksichtigung Seines Verhältnisses Zu Priester-, Propheten- Und Weisheitslehrertum*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1980.

Sterling, Gregory E. *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos*, *Luke-Acts*, *and Apologetic Historiography*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 64. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Stern, Ephraim. *Material Culture in the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period*. Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1982.

———. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem and New York: Israel Exploration Society & Carta and Simon & Schuster, 1993.

Stern, Menahem. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. 1. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 1974.

———. "Judaism and Hellenism in Eretz-Israel in the Third and Second Century B.C.E." In *Acculturation and Assimilation: Continuity and Change in the Cultures of Israel and the Nations*, edited by Yosef Kaplan and Menachem Stern, 41-60. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1989.

———. *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991.

Stronk, Jan P. "Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2005.07.35." 2005.

Strugnell, John. "Notes and Queries on 'the Ben Sira Scroll from Masada." *Israel Exploration Journa*l 9 (1969): 109-19.

Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin. *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2; 4Q Instruction (Musar Le Mevin): 4Q415ff. With a Re-Edition of 1Q26*. Discoveries from the Judaean Desert. Vol. 34. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Sugirtharaja, R.S., ed. *The Postcolonial Bible, The Bible and Postcolonialism*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

———. *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Tanzer, Sarah. "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot." PHD diss. Harvard University, 1987.

Tarn, W.W. "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 19 (1993): 123-66.

Tcherikover, Victor. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999.

Tcherikover, V. Avigdor A. Funks and M. Stern, ed. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957-64.

Tcherikover, Avigdor. "Was Jerusalem a Polis?" *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964): 61-78.

Thackeray, Henry St. John. *Josephus: The Man and the Historian*. New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1929.

Thinong'o, Ngugi Wa. *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Port Smith, NH: Heinemann, 1981.

———. *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms*. London: James Curry, 1993.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Colonialism's Cultures. Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.

Thomason, Edward. *The Other Side of the Medal*. London Hogarth Press, 1925.

Thompson, E.P. "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" *Social History* 3, no. 2 (May 1978): 133-65.

Tiebout, Bruce. *English Education and Origin of Indian Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

Tiffin, Helen. "Post-Colonialism, Post-Modernism and the Rehabilitation of Post-Colonial History." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 23, no. 1 (1988): 169-81.

———. "Post-Colonism, Postmodernism and the Rehabilitation of Postcolonial History." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 30, no. 2 (1993).

Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. "The Addressees of 4Q Instruction." In *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998*, *Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, edited by Florentino García Martínez Daniel K. Falk, and Eileen M. Schuller, 65-69. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

———. *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4Q Instruction*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah STDJ 44. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
Tobin, Thomas H. *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation.* The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 14. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983.
Tomasino, Anthony J. *Judaism before Jesus: The Ideas and Events That Shaped the New Testament World*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003.
Tov, Emmanuel. "Scribal Practices." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, 827-31. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
———. "The Scribes of the Texts Found in the Judean Desert." In *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, edited by C. A Evans and S. Talmon, 131-52. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
Towner, W. Sibley. "The Book of Ecclesiastes: Introduction, Commentary and Reflections." In *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 5, 265-360. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997.
Trautmann, Thomas R. *Aryans and British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Treu, K. "Die Bedeutung Des Griechischen Fur Die Juden Im Romischen Reich." *Kairos* 15 (1973): 123-44.
Trevelyan, C.E. *On the Education of the People of India*. London: Longmans, 1838.
Trever, John C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account*, rev. ed. Upland, CA: Upland Commercial Printers, 1988.
Tripolitis, Antonia. *Religions of the Hellenistic-Roman Age*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.
Turner, Erick G. "Ptolemaic Egypt." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 7, Part I, *The Hellenistic World*, edited by F.W. Walbank et al., 139-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
Vaish, Viniti. "A Peripherist View of English as a Language of Decolonization in Post-Colonial India." *Language and Policy* 4, no. 2 (2005): 187-206.
van der Horst, Pieter W. *Nieuwe Testament En De Joodse Grafinscripties Uit De Hellenistische-Romeinse Tijd*. Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1991.
———. "Jewish Poetical Tomb Inscriptions." In *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, edited by Jan Willem van Henten and Pieter van der Horst, 129-41. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
———. "Samaritans and Hellenism." In *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity: Essays on Their Interaction*, 49-58. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.
VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994.
———. *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004.

Vanstiphout, Herman. “Memory and Literay in Ancient Western Asia.” In *Civilizations of Ancient near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, 2181-96. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995.

Varneda, Pere Villalba I. *The Historical Method of Flavius Josephus*. Leiden: Brill, 1986.

Veith, Gene Edward. *Postmodern Times: A Christian Guide to Contemporary Thought and Culture*. Turning Point Christian Worldview Series. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994.

Viruru, Radhika. *Early Childhood Education: Postcolonial Perspectives from India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001.

Viswanathan, Gauri. “Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India 1813-1854.” *Social Text* 19-20 (Autumn 1988): 85-104.

———. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

Vitto, F. “Potters and Pottery Manufacture in Roman Palestine.” *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin* 23 (1987): 47-64.

———. “Burial Caves from the Second Temple Period in Jerusalem (Mount Scopus, Giv’at Hamivtar, Neveh Ya’aqov).” `*Atiqot* 40 (2000): 65-122.

Vorster, J.M. “Racism, xenophobia and human rights,” *The Ecumenical Review* (July 2002): 1-17.

Wacholder, B.Z. *Eupolemus: A Study of Judeo-Greek Literature*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974.

Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

———. *The Hellenistic World*, rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Waldman, N.M. *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1989.

Walker, C.B.F. *Reading the Past: Cuneiform*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Wallace, Jennifer. “Deconstructing Gayatri.” *Times Higher Education Supplement* (30 July 1999): 20-22.

Waywell, Geoffrey B. and Andrea Berlin, “Monumental Tombs: From Maussolos to the Maccabees,” *Biblical Archaeological Review* 33, 3 (May/June 2007): 54-65.

Webber, Max. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich. New York: Bedminster, 1968.

Weksler-Bdolah, S. “Burial Caves and Installations of the Second Temple Period at the Har Hazom Observatory (Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem).” `*Atiqot* 35 (1998): 161-63.

Welles, C. Bradford. *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Age: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.

———. “The Role of Egyptians under the First Ptolemies.” In *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Papyrology*, 505-10. Toronto: A. M. Hakkert 1970.

West, Cornel. *Prophetic Fragments*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988.

West, Martin L. *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Westerman, William Linn and Elizabeth Sayre Hasenoehrl, eds. *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century BC Dealing with Palestine and Egypt*. Colombia Papyri 3, Greek Series 3 and 4. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

Wicke-Reuter, Ursel. “Ben Sira und Die Frühe Stoa. Zum Zusammenhang von Ethik und Dem Glauben an Eine Göttliche Providenz.” In *Ben Sira’s God. Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference Durham-Upshaw College 2001*, edited by Renate Egger-Wenzel, 268-81. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002.

———. *Göttliche Providenz Und Menschliche Verantwortung Bei Ben Sira Und in Der Frühen Stoa*. BZAW 298. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000.

Wieder, Naphtali. *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism*. London: East and West Library, 1962.

Wieseltier, Leon. “Review of Edward W. Said.” *Orientalism New Republic* (7 April 1979): 27-33.

Williams, David S. “The Date of Ecclesiasticus.” *Vetus Testamentum* 44 (October 1994): 563-56.

———. *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 31. Washington DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1999.

———. “Recent Research in 1 Maccabees.” *Currents in Biblical Research* 9 (2001): 169-84.

———. “Recent Research in 2 Maccabees.” *Currents in Biblical Research* 2, no. 1 (2003): 69-83.

Williams, Raymond. “Hegemony and the Selective Tradition.” In *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook*, edited by Allan Luke Suzanne de Castell, and Carmen Luke, 52-72. London: Falmer, 1989.

———. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Winston, David. “Theodicy in Ben Sira and Stoic Philosophy.” In *Of Scholars, Savants, and Their Texts*, edited by Ruth Link-Salinger, 239-49. New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

Wischmeyer, Oda. *Die Kultur Des Buches Jesus Sirachs*. Das Bildungszentrum Niederrhein Wesel für Gesundheits- und Sozialberufe 77. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1995.

Wise, Michael O. *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language, and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

Wolf, Eric R. *Europe and the People without History*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

Wolfe, Patrick. "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism." *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 388-420.

Wolski, J. "The Decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of the Parthian Beginnings." *Berytus* 12 (1956-8): 35-52.

Wright III, Benjamin G. *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 26. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.

Wright III, Benjamin G. and Claudia V. Camp. "Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect? Ben Sira's Discourse of Riches and Poverty." *Henoch* 23 (2001): 153-74.

Yadin, Yigael. *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965.

———, ed. *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City*, *1968-1974*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1975.

Yamauchi, Edwin M. "Historic Homer: Did It Happen?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 33, no. 2 (2007): 28-37, and 76.

Yellin, J. "Origin of the Lamps from Masada." In *Masada IV: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965: Final Reports 107-24*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.

Young, Robert. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

———. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Zastoupil, Lynn and Martin Moir, eds. *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999.

Zissu, Boaz and Haim Moyal. "Jerusalem, Beit Safafa (West)." *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 18 (1998): 94-95.

Zissu, R. Abu Raya and B. "Burial Caves from the Second Temple Period on Mount Scopus." `*Atiqot* 40 (2000): 1-12.

VITA

Royce Manojkumar Victor was born on March 26, 1965, in Palakkad, Kerala, India. He is the son of Lilly and T.S. Victor. He received a Bachelor of Science degree with a major in Physics from the Calicut University, Kerala, India, in 1988.

After receiving his Bachelor of Divinity degree from the United Theological College, Bangalore, India, in 1994, he was ordained to the ministry in the Church and served as a pastor in the North Kerala Diocese of the Church of South India.

In 1999, he received his Masters of Theology degree with a specialization in the Old Testament from the Senate of Serampore College, India. During 1999-2002, he continued his pastoral ministry in his diocese. In August, 2002, he enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the Brite Divinity School, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A. and was awarded the degree in May, 2007.

Since June, 2007, he has been teaching at the Kerala United Theological Seminary, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India. He is a member of the Society of Biblical Literature.

He is married to Bindu Royce. They have one son, Joel.

ABSTRACT

COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CLASS FORMATION IN EARLY JUDAISM:
A POSTCOLONIAL READING

by Royce Manojkumar Victor, Ph.D., 2007
Brite Divinity School

Dissertation Advisor: Leo G. Perdue, Professor of Hebrew Bible

Readers: David L Balch, Professor of New Testament

Carolyn Osiek, Charles Fischer Catholic Professor of New Testament

The colonizers invaded the peoples and nations not only politically and economically but also culturally and emotionally. The tools of this invasion and the continuing domination over the colonized were not only militaristic and economic; they also included the developing of a stratified class structure, in which the colonized were judged in terms of their degrees of usefulness to the empire. Throughout the history of colonization, colonizers used education as one of the major devices to propagate their cultural values, ethos, and lifestyle among the colonized. The primary aim of the colonial education program was to create a separate class of people who were not only meek and suppliant in its attitude towards the colonizers, but also felt a degree of loathing for its fellow citizens. This class was formed mainly to establish an effective imperial administration and channel of communication

between the colonizers and the millions those whom they governed. Taking the colonial education system as one of the major analytical categories, this dissertation makes an inquiry into how colonialism functioned and continues to function in both the ancient and the modern world.

By analyzing the role of the Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, as mentioned in the books of Maccabees, from a postcolonial perspective, this study establishes a constitutive relationship between the colonial education and the formation of a hierarchical class structure among the colonized. More concretely, this study attends to the transition from the traditional Jewish educational system to the establishment of Greek gymnasium. On the basis of the study of several texts—Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, Josephus, and early rabbinic literature—the investigation seeks to determine how the institution of the gymnasium was used to educate the elites and enable Greek citizens, Hellenes, and Hellenistic Jews to function politically, ethnically, and economically within the larger Greek empire and particularly in Judea, by creating a separate class of the "Hellenized Jews" among the Jewish population. The dissertation reveals the continuity of the role of the colonial education system in the formation of a class structure among the colonized by exploring a similar historical incident from the modern period, the British colonial era in India and demonstrates how the British education introduced into colonial India in the early nineteenth century played a similar role in creating a distinct class of the "Brown Englishmen" among the Indians.

The present study not only examines similarities and differences between the Hellenistic education program in Israel and the British colonial education system in India, but it also demonstrates how postcolonial historiography provides insight into the policies of cultural infusion adopted by Hellenistic empires. In particular, the study of the expansion of Greek education in Hellenistic empires offers valuable insight into the cultural and political role of colonial education in modern forms of colonialism.