Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period

Edited by
EHUD BEN ZVI
and CHRISTOPH LEVIN

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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108

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Preface

This volume emerged out of a workshop held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) in Munich from June 10 to 14, 2015. The workshop was convened by Professors Levin and Ben Zvi and was part of a long-term collaboration between LMU Munich and the University of Alberta on ancient Israel.

As usual in the workshops organized through this collaboration, each paper was energetically discussed by the group. We thank all the participants for these discussions. We also hope this volume will continue that conversation. We also thank colleagues who for reasons out of their control could not physically participate in the workshop, but still submitted their contributions and contributed much to our general endeavour.

We gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung that made the workshop possible. We also thank various granting agencies and institutions that facilitated the research of many of the participants.

We wish to extend our gratitude towards the editors of this series for accepting the volume for publication. We would like to thank Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Director, Theology and Jewish Studies at Mohr Siebeck. We want to express our sincere appreciation for the editorial staff at Mohr Siebeck for their help in preparing this volume, for their professionalism and for the support they have provided us. Finally, we wish to thank Ruben Burkhardt, Anna Cwikla, and most especially, Dr. Kathrin Liess for editing it.

August, 2016   Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ADAJ	*Annualof the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* Wiesbaden
ANE	AncientNear East
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache des Alten Testaments
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BaAr	BabylonischeArchive, Dresden
BaM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche*
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BM	British Museum Cuneiform Tablets
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BThSt	Biblisch-theologische Studien
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East;* New York
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CTA	Corpus des tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929–1939
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*

CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CUSAS	Cornell University studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*
DDD²	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, Leiden, 2nd ed. 1999
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui
EŞ	Istanbul Archaeological Museum
EstBib	*Estudios Bíblicos*
EThSt	Erfurter Theologische Studien
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAG	Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
GKC	Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
HAL	*Hebräisches undAramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*
HALOT	*Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik / Handbook of Oriental Studies, Leiden
HeBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series/Studies
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	ICC International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JANEH	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBTh	*Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Language*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit

JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period Supplements
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAANT	Kleine Arbeiten zum Alten und Neuen Testament
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
Klio	*Klio,* Leipzig
KTU	Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly*
NAB	New American Bible
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NBL	*Neues Bibel-Lexikon, Zurich*
NEB	Neue Echter-Bibel
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NJPSV	Tanakh: The New Jewish Publication Society Version, Philadelphia
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	*New Testament Studies, London*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLB	Orte und Landschaften der Bibel
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
Or.	*Orientalia,* Rome
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	Oudtestamentische studiën
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia
PNA	Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Helsinki
PSAT	Poetologische Studien zum Alten Testament
RA	*Revue d'Assyrologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RB	Revue biblique
REA	*Revues des Études Anciennes*
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
R&T	*Religion and Theology*
SAT	Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl
SBAB	Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series

SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SBOT	Sacred Books oft he Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SR	*Studies in Religion, Toronto*
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVSK.HF	Skrifter udgifna af Videnskabsselskabet I Kristiania Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse
TADAE	*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
ThSt	Theologische Studien
ThWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament,* Stuttgart
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TTZ	Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Gütersloh*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UCPSP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VAT	Vorderasiatische Tontafelsammlung des Berliner Museums
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Berlin
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YOS	Yale Oriental Series Babylonian Texts
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK.AT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare Altes Testament
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Introduction

Ehud Ben Zvi

Basic, heuristic frameworks encapsulated by the expression "centre and periphery" have been very influential in social, political, anthropological, cultural and economic studies since the last decades of the 20th century. This is not surprising given that "centre-periphery" (hereafter "C–P") paradigms relate to unequal systems. In fact, C–P models may work, at least, heuristically for the study of any system whose dynamics are strongly influenced by a substantially unequal distribution of some quality central to the relevant system. Needless to say, these systems are ubiquitous.

This being so, it is not surprising that C–P models have explicitly or implicitly provided an underlying methodological ground for works in fields such as sociology, social-anthropology, post-colonial as well as other approaches to literature, comparative and historical comparative literature, urban planning, human/social geography in general, archaeology, religious studies (including studies on "official" and "popular" religion), linguistics, ancient, medieval and contemporary history, and for cross- and trans-disciplinary approaches.

Moreover, the lay of the field has never been static. For instance, whereas earlier research has, at least in part, tended to place emphasis on clear categories, dichotomies (and often on the oppression of peripheries by the centre), more recent research has, at least in part, tended to emphasize the interrelatedness of centre and periphery, discussing the hazy lines separating them, their relative rather than essential character as demonstrated by the fact that a group may be "peripheral" to a certain "centre" and simultaneously a "centre" to another "peripheral" group, or even that at times one group may be construed as "central" to another from a particular perspective and as "peripheral" to the very same group from another perspective. Of course, all these considerations only underscore the potential close relation between conceptual approaches that focus on constructions of "centre-periphery" and those aimed at studying "hierarchical relations."

Approaches strongly informed by research frameworks at whose core stand concepts such as hybridity, in-between or third spaces have also contributed in recent years directly and indirectly to conceptualizations of "centre and periphery." Similarly, recent studies on Ancient Empires have underscored that empires were based on negotiation with local groups and particu-

larly their elites – which in turn have to negotiate with the local non-elite groups.

The "sea" of C–P approaches includes today multiple currents and under-currents, and it is teeming with ideas, conceptual re-examination of both "centre" and "periphery," and potential and actualized contributions in a wide range of fields, but what can it contribute, in its present stage and variety, to the study of the early Second Temple period? Christoph Levin and I decided to explore this question and convened for that purpose the workshop out of which this book emerged. As diverse as the participants of our workshop are in terms of methodology and areas of interest, our shared strength is on our ability to examine textual evidence and draw conclusions from it. From the outset, we were adamant that within this basic limitation, what is needed is a multi-pronged approach to this question. C–P models are construed and used in multiple areas and any appropriate exploration of their potential for early Second Temple studies has to take into account a significantly wide range of areas and be informed by a commensurate significantly wide range methodo-logical approaches. In other words, any attempt to limit the exploration of the potential use to C–P models to just a narrow number of issues or critical ap-proaches had to be rejected.

Of course, this decision meant that any volume that would emerge from such a conversation would by necessity be a "rainbow" volume. But Levin and I are convinced that precisely this is the kind of volume that is needed to explore the matter and to draw the attention of the readers to the wide range of ways in which the concepts of "centre and periphery" may serve as critical lenses that allow us to "see" either that was not "seen" before or to "see" in a somewhat different light that which we have "seen," as well as making as aware of what might become blurred or suddenly "unseen" when one wears these "lenses."

The following twenty-one essays deal each with a particular topic and range of approaches. The opening essay is my own contribution. It serves as a methodological introduction to the volume as a whole and to C–P in all its variety. Its main role is to provide readers with a shared basic background from which to approach the other contributions of the volume. It includes a "theory" section (section "A") and then moves to "practical examples" (sec-tions "B" and "C"). The latter is meant to clearly illustrate the existence, usefulness as well as limitations of C–P cross-cultural/cross-historical pat-terns and their generative "grammars." To be sure, these general cross-cultural tendencies necessarily lead to unique historical outcomes, because of matters of historical contingency. The examples brought up in section "B" mainly deal with: (a) self-constructions of groups that are peripheral in terms of political and economic capital as central in terms of cultural and symbolic capital, and (b) the construction of the "central" city of a group as "peripher-al." The latter case also exemplifies that social-anthropological models and

underlying, systemic generative grammars may work for "real" societies and social agents but also for societies and social agents that existed only in the shared memory and imagination of a group. Section "C" stresses via examples that C–P constructions are often neither linear nor unidirectional and that often the system works through a set of related "axes" rather than one "axis." To do so, it discusses a variety of significant and substantially different cases that substantiate, beyond doubt, that at times, seemingly expected differentiations of what is central and peripheral were negotiated along a multiplicity of axes.

The next contribution is by *Laurie E. Pearce* and is entitled "Looking for Judeans in Babylonia's Core and Periphery." What does the evidence of cuneiform administrative and legal texts referring to activities of Judeans in urban and rural Mesopotamia may say on the question of whether a C–P relationship may have existed between Judeans in urban and rural in Mesopotamia and their Babylonian and/or Achaemenid contemporaries? Pearce argues that "research on cuneiform archival texts of the long sixth century has paved the way for applying the C–P heuristic to the study of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods" (pp. 45–46). Sifting and analyzing this documentation, including significant material recently published by her and Cornelia Wunsch, leads her to conclude that:

"… As a population group in their home territory, they inhabited the periphery of the Babylonian empire; as deportees in Babylonia, they could have remained economically peripheral, that is, in a relationship defined by the core powers extracting labor and capital from them in exchange for benefits that the state could provide. To some degree, it could be said that occurred. But the textual evidence attests to Judean integration into the economy and core at levels commensurate with those of native, as well as other non-native, population groups. In light of that, the Judeans in Babylonia should be viewed as part of the core, although their precise level in that division remains to be fully defined" (p. 63).

Thus, their situation may be considered in light of comparative evidence of processes by which an entity shifts between being core and peripheral status, and in terms of the branching hierarchies discussed in the introduction. Pearce discusses also how Babylonians expressed their own notion of C–P and deals as well as the crucial issues of how peripherals can be identified in the corpus and what their economic activities entailed.

During Persian period, there were also Judeans in Egypt, and those in Elephantine left archives. The next essay addresses the testimony of a particular letter from one of these archives. *Bob Becking*'s essay deals with "Centre, Periphery, and Interference: Notes on the 'Passover/Mazzot'-Letter from Elephantine." He stresses that centre and periphery are both complex, mutually dependent systems and that any complex system may lose its stability under the influence of external interference. Becking asks us to read the letter as

part of a communication between "centre" and "periphery." Hananiah, the "author" of the letter, was "some sort of a civil servant for Yehudite affairs under the satrap Arsames" who have had "a double loyalty being a Yehudite in the Persian administration since he was both peripheral and central at the same time." As such he would have exemplified the bridging role of many original members of peripheral elites who were simultaneously central and peripheral and thus served as crucial systemic intermediators (e.g., Udja-horresnet). Most likely Hananiah included in the letter some portion of the section relevant for the Yehudites from a document issued by the centre, which is the real "author" of and "authority" behind the policy communicated in the letter. Becking's analysis leads him to the conclusion that the letter attests to a case in which the centre unintentionally triggered a process that led to the destabilization of the peripheral, complex, multi-ethnic community of Elephantine, with serious consequences for the Judeans there. Becking also discusses how the Persian centre expressed its own notion of C–P.

Social processes of cultural exchange, in multiple directions, and the associated issue of the education of at least local elites play important roles in all historical C–P systems. The essay by *Sylvie Honigman*, "Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East: The Respective Roles of Temples, Royal Offices, Courts, and Gymnasia," deals directly with these matters and asks the readers to reconceptualize the main models for education and the intercultural exchanges of ideas and texts in the Hellenistic East. Sylvie Honigman advances observations about the roles of temples, royal offices, courts and gymnasia, and on their basis endeavours to explain the social processes involved in Hellenistic education in the "periphery" and for the social and culturally crucial exchange of ideas and texts during the period and across boundaries. She makes the case that "the question of education and that of the circulation of texts and ideas are two distinct matters, and need to be treated separately." Her model for the question of education rests on the grounds that there "was no clear-cut separation between the temple personnel and the personnel of the royal administration in the various regions of the Hellenistic East, including Judea" and "[i]f temple and royal scribes were either the same persons, or belonged to the same social circles, this would greatly weaken the assumption that they were educated in separate institutions and taught different contents … whereas Greek literacy and the rest of primary education were acquired in the same institutional sites and not in separate ones, advanced intellectual education was acquired in the same way as all other professional skills: through apprenticeship in the workplace, as much in the temples as in the royal offices … both institutions were potentially centers of literary production, at least in terms of the literary genres aimed at scribes – in particular wisdom and instruction literature" (pp. 81–82). Honigman musters a wide range of comparative evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt to support this point. But what about her second issue, the social processes and institutions through

which texts and ideas crossed social and cultural boundaries? Her model for the circulation of literary texts within a society "is based on the notion of the network, with particular attention to the role played by administrative offices and private initiatives; this networking can be either decentralized or multi-centered, given that the social structures at play in it were primarily professional ties, and friendship and patronage relations" (p. 83). This said, she argues that this model, however, cannot explain the circulations of books and ideas *across* geographical boundaries. According to Honigman, the royal courts "operated both as institutional settings for intercultural encounters between priests and priestly texts from different regions, and also as knowledge hubs from which priestly texts and ideas were disseminated to circles outside the priesthoods, a phenomenon I will refer to as 'devolution' of priestly lore" (p. 83). She musters evidence from royal courts as "major centers in the centralization and cross-cultural circulation of priestly texts and lore, [that] relate to Egypt (Manetho, and Ḥor) and Mesopotamia (Berossus, and the Uruk Prophecy)" to argue the case. But what does all this say about Judea in the Hellenistic period? Honigman argues that the situation in Judea is comparable. She writes "the traditional models for foreign influence on Judean scribal lore [e.g., Hengel's] have … shortcomings … the assumed divide between the Jerusalem temple and the royal administration in Judea needs reconsideration … scribes, in Judea as elsewhere in the Hellenistic East, moved between the two – if only because they had the required skills to serve in both … instead of Hengel's gymnasion I propose the cultural and social circulation of people and material between temple and royal administrative offices as the primary channel of Greek influences" (pp. 106–107), and concerning Babylonian influences, she writes "the traditional model whereby Babylonian texts were brought along to Judea by immigrating Jews compels us to assume firstly that these immigrants included a fair proportion of scribes, and secondly that these had direct contacts with the Babylonian priesthoods … [w]hile these two assumptions are not entirely impossible, the hypothesis that the encounters between Judean (priestly) scribes and Babylonian priests occurred at the royal court adds two elements that the hypothesis of a direct contact lacks: the added prestige of texts that were first circulated in a competitive setting, and a guise of international style acquired by the said texts owing to the fact that they were first publicized at court." In addition, the influence of the Alexandrian scholarship in Qumran is consonant with a model of transmission in which "the royal courts were cultural centers through which knowledge was centralized, and redistributed" (p. 107).

Socially shared choices to use a "peripheral" language for particular purposes (e.g., speaking on certain social and cultural contexts, writing particular books) draw strong attention to the importance of the "linguistic" dimension of C–P systems. Cross-cultural studies into social selections of an inner-group language over that of the centre's have indicated, *inter alia*, that such

selections usually serve as expressions (and outcomes of processes of) identity construction, formation, affirmation, and the like. The next essay in the volume, *Diana Edelman*'s "Identities within a Central and Peripheral Perspective: The Use of Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible," directly addresses these issues. It opens with a substantial introduction that deals with methodological issues involving "Identity Strategies" from, mainly, socio-anthropological perspectives and which provides the readers with a sociolinguistic overview of "Code-Switching in Bilingual and Multi-Lingual Contexts" with helpful examples. Then, informed by these matters, Edelman turns her attention to "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in TANAK," paying special attention to Genesis 31:47; Jeremiah 10:11; Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:11–26; and Daniel 2:4–7:28. Among her conclusions she states, "[t]he relative absence of Aramaic from the majority of the books in the collection forming the Hebrew Bible could be attributed to gradations in the purity of written Hebrew … [i]n the three books that include a sentence or more of Aramaic, Hebrew is assumed to be the matrix language of communication to insiders, and in all three cases, Aramaic is situationally representing the voice and authority of the Neo-Babylonian or Persian imperial Other … [i]n Jeremiah, Aramaic carries overtones of power and authority as the "high" language of the Empire … [i]n Ezra, it does as well, but the story-line shows how the Other is turned against the insider community by the Samarians but in the end, comes to endorse and support the community, issuing favorable imperials edicts on its behalf … [i]n Daniel, by contrast, Hebrew seems to serve as the "high" language and Aramaic, the language of the Empire, as the "low" language … [s]uch a switch may well signal the emergence of the Hasmonean dynasty and a sense of new empowerment by using Hebrew to assert a national political identity" (p. 131).

The preceding chapter has shown how an approach strongly informed by linguistics may dovetail well with C–P frames. But can C–P frames be relevant for a literary approach that merges new historicist and psychoanalytic methodologies, one in which "the transactions between conscious and unconscious in the work of art" play a central role? Readers may find an answer in *Francis Landy*'s "Between Centre and Periphery: Space and Gender in the Book of Judges in the Early Second Temple Period." Landy discusses from the said perspective the book of Judges, its stories and characters and pays particular attention to the story which is often called the "Levite's Concubine." His analysis stands on itself, but also raises C–P observations that shed light on the book as a whole. For instance, he notices that "[i]f the centre of Israelite life, at least for Yehudite literati, was Jerusalem, that centre is not yet, or only ambiguously, Israelite [in the book of Judges] … [i]ts northern equivalent, Shechem, is Canaanized, through its worship of Baal-Berit and its claiming of Hamor as its ancestor" (p. 137). The absence (reinforced among the perspective of the literati in Yehud, the memory of the destruc-

tion/absence of Jerusalem in the not-so-far past) draws, by necessity, attention to the periphery and there most of the stories of the Judges take place. But, of course, "[t]he set of stories, dotted around the perimeter, draws attention to the absence of a centre" (p. 139). But "centres" and "peripheries" are not constructed as rigidly separate from one another. Landy underscores that "[i]f Jerusalem is the sacred and political centre, its foundations are haunted by the idealized Canaanite other … [t]he conquest, moreover, is incomplete; Jebusites and Israelites coexist (Josh 15:63; Judg 1:21) … [t]he capital of Judah is in Benjaminite territory" and so on (p. 157). But marginality in the book of Judges and elsewhere is present in multiple ways. Landy notes that the "marginality of space is matched by that of the judges themselves, all of whom are socially or physically anomalous" (p. 138), and of course, one may argue that which is "anomalous" carries here also a sense of centrality. Landy discusses how literary patterns in Judges (and elsewhere?) are meant to create "an impression of literary coherence which masks incoherence." His approach shows also that impressions of centrality and periphery, of that which is "normal" and "anomalous" may actually mask an underlying fuzziness or ambiguity about these categories and at times even a dread from that fuzziness, and Landy would argue that all these play important roles in shaping the motivations and impulses of the writers. Beyond his discussion on Judges, the essay by Landy raises awareness that some form of C–P frame is at work when scholars refer to the "anomalous," the "marginal" and so on. These very terms imply a conceptualization of a centre, of that which is putatively "normal" or of "normativity," and that which is not, and thus peripheral, marginal and so on. As Landy shows, the boundaries between the marginal, the anomalous and so on and their conceptual counterparts – without which they would be devoid of meaning – are often porous, not-rigidly conceptualized and at times open for exploration, whether conscious or unconscious.

Given that our shared strength is on our ability to examine textual evidence and given the central role of the textual repertoire of early Second Temple period, it should not surprise the readers that the majority of the essays deal with particular texts within that repertoire and explore ways in which C–P approaches may be heuristically helpful as well as what these texts may contribute to conceptualizations of C–P that are appropriate and relevant to the early Second Temple period. These chapters, and particularly because the diversity of methodological approaches in them, raise also general questions about C–P frames.

Hermann-Josef Stipp's "Jeremiah 24: Deportees, Remainees, Returnees, and the Diaspora," as per the title, focuses on a text that has often been considered as expressing a marginal viewpoint. As Stipp writes, "the chapter has for a long time been puzzling scholars, as it voices a view of certain aspects of Judean history that clashes sharply with what we read elsewhere in the book of Jeremiah, or in the remainder of the Hebrew Bible, for that matter"

(p. 163). Stipp advances a detailed study of the text, including an examination of existing positions concerning the origin and background of Jeremiah 24, and raises the need for a new explanation for this text. Among his conclusions, and particularly relevant to C–P matters, he argues: "Jer 24 documents that the center of Jewish life in Jerusalem during the late post-exilic age could adopt an outright hostile attitude towards the diaspora, at times to a degree that the Jews outside of Yehud and Babylonia were disowned as illegitimate … [i]n the view of this center, there ought to be no periphery (a category that in the world of the text apparently does not apply to the golah) … [u]nfortunately, the writer of Jer 24 felt so much in agreement about this stance with his target audience that he saw no reason to give any hint as to the motivation of his resentment against his brethren abroad" (p. 179).

The next essay is *Kåre Berge*'s "Are There Centres and Peripheries in Deuteronomy?" Berge begins by noting that the land has a spatial centre, namely "the place," המקום, which God chooses to let his name dwell there. He then raises the basic question of whether a book in which "travel to the centre with tithes and judicial questions, and for pilgrimage festivals, contribute much to the spatial production of internal coherence" avoids locating this place (p. 184). There is no name or location in Deuteronomy for "the place." To address this question, Berge builds on the approach advanced by Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities,* and particularly on the "idea that the physicality of space is only one dimension of landscape … [l]andscape is about the interaction of space, imagination, place, and memory; of values and beliefs that are bound to a landscape. Landscapes are multifaceted places, vested with cultural significance, social memory, and political consequence" (p. 183). In Deuteronomy, "landscape and place contribute to power and authority," but in D.'s landscape "the place" is not characterized by particular architectural structures. Everything that Alexei Lidov subsumes under the term "hierotopy" is missing, but at the same time, "it is filled with meaning, sense, and memory, but it is a thought form, a device of rhetoric; it is even … something of *mystique*, just because this place is not visualized … [i]n Deut 31, it is the Book of the Torah of Moses that visualizes this centre, but this book, again, is mystified as it is not there to the readers any more, it is lost but only represented in and accessible to the reader through the Book of Deuteronomy itself" (p. 188). Berge continues with considerations about the utopianism of Deuteronomy and argues that "the future of Deuteronomy is praxis more spatial than temporal; it is about living in the Land that extends from the Centre, the המקום; in fact, the place is this Torah, or more precisely, it is the teaching of the Torah by the Levitical priests (Deut 31:11–12)" (p. 192). In his conclusion, he states, "it is necessary to start from the fact that the ideology of Deuteronomy is about a religious community called Whole Israel, whose centre is not a place but a Book, the Book of the Torah of Moses … [t]his book is only

represented by or accessible through the present Book of Deuteronomy … the authors *mystify* their authority … scribes behind the present book are the only legitimate interpreters of the Moses Torah, that is, through the interpretation of the present book, and 'Israel' is the ideal community of Torah-readers and -interpreters … [t]hey have to locate the religious centre in space, but they do that only by referring to המקום, which somehow indicates that this is not the important thing … [t]he important thing is the Torah, its readings and inter-pretations for communal life" (p. 195).

The next contribution also relates to Deuteronomy. *Reinhard Müller,* "The Altar on Mount Gerizim (Deuteronomy 27:1–8): Center or Periphery?," again raises the question of the location of the place," המקום, and stresses the fact that the chosen place is not mentioned by name. He draws the attention, how-ever, to the fact that "Deuteronomy contains one passage that may be read as an implicit or indirect reference to the geographical location of the chosen place … [i]n Deut 27 Moses instructs the Israelites to build an altar and to start making offerings, after they will have crossed the Jordan … [a]ccording to this instruction, this altar will be the place of the first centralized cult in the land … in this case it is precisely stated where the altar shall be built" (p. 198). Following a discussion of the textual history of Deut 27:4 whose original text read "Gerizim" not "Ebal," Müller discusses the composition-al/redactional history of Deut 27:1–8 and the variety of associations with Gerizim within this history. He concludes that Gerizim "seems to have been introduced at first not for the altar, but for the Torah inscription (i.e., in vv. 4, 8) … [w]hen the instruction about the altar was inserted between vv. 4 and 8, the adverb שם, probably taken up from Deut 12:7, referred to Mt. Gerizim, because this place is mentioned in the preceding v. 4. … the idea of placing the Torah inscription on Mt. Gerizim seems to be deduced from the ritual of Deut 27:12–13 where six Israelite tribes are instructed to stand on Mt. Ger-izim 'to bless the people,' while the other six shall stand on Mt. Ebal 'for the curse' … the possibility that the author of vv. 11–13 did not yet know about the placement of the Torah inscription on Mt. Gerizim cannot be ruled out … [h]owever after the idea came up that Gerizim is the mountain of the blessing, it seemed reasonable that this inscription was placed there as well, since the inscription was set up to be read and to remind the Israelites of the Torah so that they abide with it and may be blessed … [t]he inscription on the Gerizim was then combined with the altar of unhewn stones, at the third level of the literary history of this text" (pp. 212–13). Müller turns then to the question of contested centres and peripheries through the prism of his observations of the text and its history. He concludes, inter alia, that "it seems that the scribes who composed Deut 27 cautiously inserted some short references to Mt. Ger-izim into the book that are on the one hand open to be understood as attesting the holiness of the place, but on the other do also suggest that the final place of the central cult may be found elsewhere, because Yhwh later chose a dif-

ferent מקום … against this background, it remains a remarkable phenomenon, however, that a deliberate change of the place name in Deut 27:4 became necessary at a certain moment … [t]his textual change indirectly indicates that readers of the Hellenistic age were in fact able to find in Deut 27 a *hieros logos* for the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim …[t]his etiological reading of Deut 27 was made impossible by the replacement of the name Gerizim with Ebal … Josh 8:30–35, which already presupposes this change, attests the same tendency … [t]hese scribal interventions mirror an exclusive Jerusalem-centered perspective, and they implicitly witness Jerusalem's claim to be the single chosen place of Yhwh (cf. esp. Ps 132), [i]t seems, however, that these interventions took place only at relatively late stages in the transmission of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua" (p. 214). As in the case of the previous contribution, consideration is given to utopian aspects of description, see "the Torah inscription is in all likelihood a kind of utopian idea that was never realized in this form" (p. 213). Readers will enjoy reading these two contributions alongside each other, noticing their methodological differences, but also elements of complementarity and above all, the underlying conversation that they reflect.

Erik Aurelius discusses in "Periphery as Provocation? 1 Kings 17 and 2 Kings 5," two related excellent examples of compositions from a (self-imagined) center that construe, portray and use a periphery and characters associated with this periphery to advance particular didactic purposes. Following a compositional analysis of the stories, he shows that in the stories of the nameless widow in Zarephath and the Aramean officer Naaman, the periphery and characters associated with the periphery are didactically used to provoke a reaction in the intended audience (i.e., in the "centre"). This advances the educational point of these two stories while at the same time shaping a sense of a complex construction of C–P boundaries, as author and audience associate what they consider to be prescriptive, most indicative attributes of the centre with a periphery and some of its characters, while at the same time constructing the centre as carrying attributes they would tend to relate with peripheral groups. Even if the periphery remains periphery, it may carry and exemplify attributes of the centre and vice versa. Further, Aurelius's essay raises interesting questions about constructions of both land and people as centre and periphery in the early Second Temple period. In addition, he offers intertextual considerations linking these two examples with Matt 8:10; 15:28 and Luke 4:24–27.

Magnar Kartveit in "The Temple of Jerusalem as the Centre of Affairs in the Book of Chronicles: Memories of the Past and Contemporary Social Setting" turns our attention to a different instance of C–P and to the heuristic potential of approaches informed by C–P frameworks. In the world portrayed by Chronicles, the temple stands at the centre of Jerusalem, Jerusalem at the centre of "the land," and "the land" at the centre of the world. But what does

this mean in terms of Samaria/Northern Israel within the world-view advanced by Chronicles? After an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of three main approaches in the field, Kartveit concludes that Chronicles' "model allows for the full existence of both Jerusalem and the North, and locates them inside a system: it is a form of centre and periphery … [t]he centre owes its power to some extent to the existence of the periphery, and the centre is understood as open to extension, and the periphery is eligible for in-corporation … [t]he power balance between them can be adjusted so that the periphery comes closer to the power in Jerusalem [t]his will strengthen the central power, without obliterating peripheral power … [t]here might be degrees of power, and a shift of emphasis … [s]uch an understanding can demonstrate how flexible the idea of centre and periphery might be, and that it may be malleable according to concrete cases" (p. 242).

Louis C. Jonker's "Being both on the Periphery and in the Centre. The Jerusalem Temple in Late Persian Period Yehud from Postcolonial Perspective," shows ways in which C–P frameworks interact, are informed by and inform Postcolonial perspectives. Jonker draws attention to how "the Chronicler … participated in discourses that engaged with different levels of socio-historical existence" (p. 265). To address these issues, Jonker deals with three case studies: (a) "the Jerusalem Temple and Persian Imperial Religion," (b) "The Jerusalem Temple and Other Sanctuaries," and (c) "Tribal [i.e., Judah and Benjamin] Rivalry Over a Central Sanctuary." In his discussion of the first of these, for instance, he argues that "on the one hand, the Second Temple in Jerusalem – when viewed from the imperial centre – was a sanctuary of a local people based in a province on the periphery of the empire. It is likely that the local officials who served in the Persian administration were expected to show allegiance to the Persian religious ideals (associated with Ahuramazda) … [b]ut on the other hand, the book of Chronicles represents a view from the periphery … the Chronicler's portrayal of the temple does not provide witness to an attitude of subjugation, but rather to a position of agency … concepts used in postcolonial criticism might be helpful to understand this seeming discrepancy" (p. 254). Among his overall conclusions, he states "that the Jerusalem temple functioned both as periphery and as centre simultaneously … [o]n the level of the empire, the temple was peripheral, but through mimicry could be used as a subtle polemic to undermine the imperial religious conventions … [o]n an inter-provincial level, the Chronicler made clear that the Second Temple still represents the cult of All-Israel, and that it therefore stands central in the cultic landscape … [o]n the inner-Yehudite level, the Chronicler also claimed centrality for the Jerusalem temple, without estranging the Benjaminites" (p. 267).

Gary N. Knoppers brings substantial cross-cultural considerations to bear when he raises the issue of "What is the Core and What is the Periphery in Ezra-Nehemiah?" As Knoppers states "[t]he answer would seem to be rela-

tively simple and straight-forward … [t]he core is Jerusalem and Yehud and the periphery is everywhere else" (p. 269). In fact, "[t]here seems little doubt that Ezra-Nehemiah promotes a pivotal status for Jerusalem in the context of an international age in which Judeans reside in various places both within the land and outside of it [and t]he support shown by Judeans in the Diaspora for the traditional centre is a recurring motif in the various stories in Ezra." This said, Knoppers writes "the matter of core and periphery in this book is a much more complex matter than the traditional Jerusalem-focused rubric allows." To explore this complexity, he draws "on the insights offered by analysis of ancient Greek settlements on the one hand, and Diaspora studies on the other hand" (p. 272) as well as our knowledge of the central roles of Susa and Babylon at the time. When viewed from such a cross-cultural per-spective, the situation portrayed in Ezra-Nehemiah seems anomalous. For instance, "the homeland community and not the diaspora community engages in cultural affiliation" (p. 286); "if a homeland community is traditionally understood as the originating centre and its related communities in the Dias-pora as dependents, then that relationship is reversed in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah … [t]he homeland has become dependent on its better resourced Diaspora" (p. 288). Knoppers continues his analysis with an exploration of how C–P frameworks strongly informed by diasporic studies and a C–P view from Susa and Babylon may shed light on these reversals. Among his conclu-sions, he states "the category of core-periphery may be too self-limiting to do justice to the complexities of how minority communities coped with life un-der imperial rule … [h]ow one defines the core and how one defines the pe-riphery very much depends on one's time, presuppositions, personal com-mitments, and specific geo-political context … [o]ne's core may be another's periphery and vice versa … [o]ver the decades, the expatriate Judean com-munities within the large urban settings of the East undoubtedly absorbed elements of the mental geography prevalent in the international cultures in which they found themselves and the formation of Ezra-Nehemiah may re-flect the influence of such a particular international orientation … [I]ndeed, one may ask whether the core in this particular book has shifted subtly toward the Judean communities of the east and the periphery has shifted to the land of Judah, which repeatedly receives interventions from members of the East-ern Diaspora that catalyze and refocus rebuilding efforts" (p. 294). His words, "[o]ne's core may be another's periphery and vice versa" resonate in and recall other contributions in this volume and are of particular methodological importance for discussions concerning C–P frameworks.

   Juha Pakkala discusses "Centers and Peripheries in the Ezra Story" from a different, though to a significant extent complementary perspective. He ex-amines multiple C–P axes (e.g., ideological, spatial, and political), discusses how the relevant C–P interactions may have been directly related to power and authority, explores how positions of centre and periphery may change

within the plot of the story and how diachronic studies may uncover instances in which additions shifted or created centres that were not existent in the early version. Thus, for example, Pakkala argues that "change is apparent in the case of some fundamental center-periphery relationships in Ezra-Nehemiah" (p. 296), often within the main original units of Ezra-Neh (Ezra 1–6*; Ezra 7–10*+Neh 8*; Neh 1–7*; and Neh 9–13*) and argues, e.g., "[t]he starting point in the Ezra story is that the people in Jerusalem and Ye-hud, unaware of the Law, live in a lawless state, in the periphery of the Law. The Law is in Babylon, and therefore someone from Babylon is needed to bring it back to Jerusalem so that it can be the center again … [t]he beginning of the story Babylonia is the implicit center in many respects and even in matters concerning the Law, but it has shifted to Jerusalem at the end of the story … [t]his also reveals that Jerusalem would not be regarded as the center just because it is Jerusalem, but because of other reasons, such as the Law being there … [i]n other words, Jerusalem without the Law (or the Temple or other central institutions) could also be regarded as a peripheral location in early Judaism" (p. 299). He points out, for example, that "the Ezra story makes Ezra a central figure, but on the basis of other contemporary Jewish literature he remains peripheral until the Common Era" (p. 301), and explores why this may be the case, and his diachronic analysis leads him to the conclusion "[i]t seems that prior to the addition of the rescript in Ezra 7, the authors of the Ezra story were not concerned about the political setting and the political center, or they were not relevant for the story to be mentioned … [t]he lack of any reference to political structures may have been one of the reasons why a later editor added the rescript and Ezra 8:36, thereby making Persia the clear political center" (p. 306). Pakkala argues that the "Ezra story contains various centers and peripheries that do not contradict each other … [r]ather, they form a complicated web of center-periphery relationships in which the story essentially unfolds" and "center-periphery axes disclose some of the central motifs of the authors" (pp. 313–14). He also relates these matters to what he sees as the historical circumstances in which these authors lived and their intentions.

What can be more central within the discourse of the literati of the early Second Temple than the throne of YHWH in Zion? *Friedhelm Hartenstein*, "The King on the Throne of God: The Concept of World Dominion in Chronicles and Psalm 2," deals with this throne, which symbolically serves not only as the centre of the Jerusalem temple, but also of the entire world. His essay deals also with Persepolis and Zion, and with constructions of kingship and domin-ion. Hartenstein draws particular attention to the close association of the Davidic king with not only YHWH, but also with YHWH's dwelling, i.e., Zion, and its implications for constructions of the concept of kingship. He shows the existence of similar ideological threads in the construction of king-ship in Ps 2 and Chronicles and argues that the "main features of the Achae-

menid concept of the world kingdom are comparable to the corresponding concept in Chronicles and Ps 2" (p. 321). His examination of these matters focuses on temporal constructions (i.e., the concept of *translatio imperii*) and spatial constructions (which include, of course, C–P conceptualizations). He argues, for instance, that "not only the king of Judah (Ps 2:7–9), but also the rulers of the earth (Ps 2:10–12) seem to be situated 'before' Zion, the centre of the earth … [t]he scenery evokes a kind of an universal audience before the king and his heav-enly counterpart/overlord (cf. … the Achaemenid throne pedestal)." Among Hartenstein's other conclusions, "Ps 2:10–12 (and in this light also Ps 2:1–6) seem to render the world as a temple/palace with cosmic dimensions (like in Ps 96; 104; 138 et al.), which is characteristic also of Chronicles … the relevant war reports in Chronicles [Hartenstein refers here to 2 Chr 13, 14 and 20] stress the static element in the scenery, as well … [v]erbs of 'standing' dominate … [t]he stage of the events shifts between temple and world – one remembers the prayers and the cultic worship on the field of battle with singers who intone psalms of thanks" (p. 328).

Beate Ego's "Jerusalem and the Nations: 'Center and Periphery' in the Zion Tradition," continues the conversation about Jerusalem as a multifaceted centre and its multiple peripheries, and in particular "the Nations," but from a different angle and on the basis of different textual corpora. She also continues the conversation about the Zion tradition. She follows the various ways in which the C–P relations were structured (and imagined) within this tradition over time. She focuses on select Psalms as case studies that demonstrate this historical development. She argues that within this tradition as it evolves in the neo-Assyrian era "center and periphery are related to each other in an antagonistic manner; however, the center can be described as being stronger than the power at the periphery" (p. 336). Her test cases for the period are Pss 46 and 48. Although this antagonistic construction does not disappear completely (see Ps 2), a wide range of texts from the exilic and Persian period portray the C–P relationship as "complementary and harmonious" (p. 337) (e.g., Ps 102:13–23). She then raises the issue of how (and why) "Israel painted the nations in such a positive light, given its experiences with foreign rulers in the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and in the exile" (p.339). She draws attention to the fact that in Achaemenid royal ideology, "the center of power and the periphery, the subjugated nations, exist in a harmonious and complementary relationship" (p. 340). Within this ideal ideological world, the various nations voluntarily pledge their allegiance to the Persian king. Ego argues that the image of the harmonious pilgrimage of the nations to "YHWH, the royal God enthroned on Zion," each bringing presents and exulting YHWH in the Persian period Zion tradition, is analogous to those present in Persian royal ideology and that "[i]f the Jerusalem conception of the cult draws on images from Persian royal ideology, then it naturally includes an utterly anti-imperial impetus. Instead of the Persian Emperor, the true ruler

of the world is the God of Israel" (pp. 342–43). Ego then discusses three different trajectories for constructions of the relationships between centre and periphery within the Zion tradition in the Hellenistic Period. In the first one of them, "the motif of the pilgrimage of the nations and the return to Zion is connected to the basic ideas of Deuteronomic-deuteronomistic theology with its emphasis on the *Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*, the act-consequence relationship" (p. 344) (e.g., Tobit 6: 13:5–6, 10–11). In the second one, "the Torah teacher has the function of building a bridge between center and periphery and of transporting the positive and life-giving powers of the center to the edges of the world" (p. 345); the flow of the nations towards Zion is thus associated with the flow of Torah from Zion to the nations (see Sir 24:23–29, 32–34; and earlier, still in the Persian times, Isa 2:2–4 and Mic 4:1–5). Finally, the third one continues the antagonistic imagery (see Zech 14). In her conclusion she states "[t]he tradition-historical development that we are able to grasp with regard to the relationship between center and periphery in the Zion tradition can be described very generally and somewhat strikingly as the movement from antagonism between center and periphery to their complementarity and harmony … [i]n any case, even in the older concept, the center as the symbol of God's presence and power, dominates the chaotic periphery; however, during the course of the development of the traditions – the positive powers of the center are getting stronger and – finally – are able to transform the chaotic edges of the world" (p. 346).

Kathrin Liess's "Centre and Periphery in Psalm 137" takes as its starting point the pre-exilic Zion tradition, along with its horizontal and vertical axes, its imagery and the concept of "the invulnerability and inviolability of the city of God [which is] taken for granted in the Zion psalms." It is against this background that Liess sets her analysis of the later Psalm 137. She advances first an English translation of the text and discusses its structure (three main sections: "A Retrospect to Life in the Periphery" [vv. 1–4], "Loyalty to the Centre" [vv. 5–6] and "Imprecations Against the Periphery" [vv. 7–9]. "Apart from the leitmotif 'remembrance' expressed by the key-term זכר (vv. 1, 6, 7), the central topic that ties together the three parts of the psalm is the opposition between Babylon and Jerusalem (Zion) … [t]he whole psalm is shaped around the contrast between these two locations … [t]he framing inclusion between the reference to Babylon at the beginning and at the end of the psalm (vv. 1, 8) envelopes Jerusalem in the middle section (vv. 5–6) … Babylon is, so to speak, located in the peripheral verses of the psalm; Jerusalem, however, is situated at the centre" (p. 352). She then develops a detailed discussion of the imagery used "to construe and portray centre and periphery" (p. 349) in this psalm. In the first section she shows, inter alia, how the image of the watered city, which had been associated with Zion in the Zion tradition, and the closely-related image of water, which normally evokes 'life' (and images of vegetation by the waters) are turned around so as

to paint a peripheral landscape that seems on the surface positive, but for the exiles is a place of suffering: "the streams of the city and its trees are a place of weeping, of tears and silence for the exiles in Babylon portrayed in Ps 137 … [t]he positive image of Babylon is thus associated solely with the *external circumstances of life* of that group and stands in opposition to its *inner situation*" (pp. 356–57). In the second section, she shows, inter alia, how "forgetting the centre in the periphery, even if the environment of periphery is pictured as a centre, brings the speaker of the psalm near death" (p.364) within the world of this text, and discusses, among others, the rhetorical power body-centred images and oath language/logic used to convey this meaning, the central role of remembrance. As she studies the imagery of the third section, she writes "with regard to the topic 'centre and periphery,' two aspects of these closing verses should be considered … [o]ne concerns the centre, namely the matter of its foundation and destruction (v. 7), and the other, the periphery, namely the destruction of two peripheral locations, Edom and Babylon" (p. 368). She stresses that "in contrast to the preceding Psalms of Ascents the speaker of Ps 137 does not express his wishes concerning the welfare of the centre … [h]e does not even request the rebuilding of the destroyed centre" (p. 371) and notices the influence of prophetic language rather than that present in the psalms of Zion. Following this discussion, Liess addresses the question of the historical setting of Ps 137. She stresses that "[e]ven though Ps 137 is likely a *post-exilic* composition, it contains a retrospect on the *exilic* situation" (p. 377) and explores how groups in peripheral or central spatial positions may have read the psalm against the background of their own geographical and historical conditions. The Psalms of Ascents were peripheral to the goal of this essay, but stand at the very core of the next one.

Christoph Levin's "The Edition of the Psalms of Ascents" looks at centres and peripheries in Psalms, though in a particular collection in Psalms, not a particular Psalm, and from a different methodological approach. Levin's "thesis is that this collection of psalms does not envisage a return to the Diaspora … these psalms are promoting the move from the Diaspora to the proximity of the Temple, because 'it is good and pleasant when brothers dwell in unity' (Ps 133:1) … [and] those who follow the appeal and depart from the places where they presently live do so 'from this time forth and for evermore' (Ps 121:8; 131:3)" (p. 382). Levin argues that "to deduce the intention behind this collection, we have to distinguish between the individual psalms as they were composed and transmitted, and the work of the editor who chose and arranged them under a particular aspect and, we must suppose, commented on them through literary additions" (p. 383). But "[t]he investigations that have been made up to now are … confined to the simple distinction between transmitted text and editorial additions … [which] is hardly sufficient, for it is only possible to form a reliable judgement about the

editing process of the Psalms of Ascents if we view the collection in the form it took when it was still outside the context in which we have it today … [and c]onsequently, the stratum of changes made while editing the collection itself must be distinguished from additions which served to incorporate the collection into the larger book of Psalms, or which were added when the collection had already become part of the Psalter, and which therefore are a part of the literary development of the book of Psalms as a whole" (pp. 383–84). Thus Levin addresses these matters, discussing, inter alia, the process by which the collection was incorporated in the Psalter, "the Israel Revision," "The Righteousness Revision," "The Edition of the Psalms of Ascents," "The Reworking of the Individual Psalms," and psalms within the collection "in which no definite traces of the editor can be discerned" (p. 398). This study leads to the conclusion that "[t]aken together, the thematic editing of the individual psalms and the selection and arrangement of the collection allow us to make out a clear editorial profile." He then focuses on and explores the implications of the dominance of two themes: (a) blessing and (b) the presence of God on Zion. Among his conclusions, he writes "prayers focus not on the complaint, but on the experience of help and the triumphant account of that help … [t]he first verse of the whole collection sounds this counterpoint: 'In my distress I cried to Yahweh, and he answered me' (120:1) … [j]ust as Mount Zion is never shaken, so Yahweh protects his people 'from this time forth and for evermore' (125:2) … [t]he lasting duration of the blessings, which is repeatedly stressed in these psalms, speaks emphatically against their being interpreted as songs for regular pilgrimages … [t]he author of these prayers does not intend to leave Zion ever again … [t]he Psalms of Ascents strive to convince the followers of Judaism, scattered as they are throughout the world, that the place to settle is in proximity to Zion" (pp. 399–400).

The next contribution in the volume is by *Ann-Cathrin Fiß*. Her essay, "As far as the east is from the west, so far does he remove our transgressions from us" (Psalm 103:12): Mercy as the Centre of Psalm 103," brings forwards another axis along which one may discern centre-periphery constructions and interactions. As per title, Fiß argues that YHWH's mercy is at the centre of the Psalm, which she dates to the Hellenistic period. As she advances the case she discusses, *inter alia*, "Mercy as the Foundation of Anthropology," "Mercy and Creation Theology," "Mercy and the Fulfilment of the Commandments," "Celestial Beings Obedience to the Commandments" and "To Whom Does Mercy Apply?." Psalm 103 communicates that YHWH's mercy is central because Israel, due to the human condition, cannot fully comply with the covenant and YHWH's regulations. The community imagined in the Psalm is (/made) self-aware of their condition, of the centrality of YHWH's mercy and they fear YHWH and confess to YHWH and are blessed in return. Moreover, they participate in the worship of the

heavenly beings, whose heavenly worship "ensures the stability of the kingdom of YHWH" and "maintain a continuous course of action in pleasing YHWH, and through their actions they contribute to the fact that YHWH may himself act in compassion and mercy" (p. 408). Blessing YHWH and participating in the worship involve a sense of reciprocal actions: "through this interchange YHWH becomes the centre of every praising soul and every praising soul gets in the centre of YHWH's kingship, before his heavenly throne" (pp. 408–409). The essay deals directly and indirectly with multiple, though conceptually interwoven, C–P axes and interactions, e.g., YHWH's mercy and divine commandments and regulations; YHWH and created creatures (including heavenly beings), the pious community and heavenly beings, Israel, "the confessional community" and "the nations" (see, e.g., "if YHWH-fearing arises from the experience of mercy and leads to blessing, the theological concept of Ps 103 will show an opening for the peripheries, the nations, too" [p. 410]).

Urmas Nõmmik, "Qinah Meter: From Genre Periphery to Theological Center – A Sketch," looks at C–P interactions and axes in the case of a literary genre. He turns our focus to the character and historical development of the genre of qinah. The trajectory he reconstructs, following an analysis that involves, inter alia, diachronic, textual, meter, colometric, plot, genre, ideological, historical and oral-written considerations and a significant number of test cases, shows "a development of genres with a very distinct function from the periphery to the theological center of the Hebrew Bible … [t]his observation has broader implications for our understanding of the developments in the Hebrew Bible … [y]ounger texts are making use of several kinds of styles and genres which once had a concrete *Sitz im Leben* … [t]hrough a process of synthesis of genres and gradual stepping back before the theological reflection, several stylistic features have been brought from their narrow peripheral function to the theological center … [p]aradoxically, this leads to the fading out of classical forms" (p. 436).

The last essay in this collection is by *Peter Juhás,* "'Center' and 'Periphery' in the Apocalyptic Imagination: The Vision of the *Ephah* (Zechariah 5:5–11) and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch as Case Study." It opens a connecting window with later periods and raises interesting comparative issues. Apocalyptic works from the Second Temple and Roman periods are different from contemporary so-called apocalyptic novels, but the question is whether the tendency in the latter to revert centre-periphery, by turning the former into the latter and vice versa may apply to their ancient 'cousins' and if so, what can be learned about centres and peripheries in this regard. Juhás's analysis of the vision of the *ephah* leads him, *inter alia*, to the conclusion that it transforms Babylonia into a "a place unsuitable for living" as "instead of the expected grain in the *ephah*, there is a personified 'wickedness' in it, and it is to be definitely deposited in Babylonia." He argues that "[t]he central

territory in the past is going to change to an outer rim of the 'new world,' of which the center is Jerusalem … [and c]onsequently, there is a motivation for those who remained in Babylon to return and so to follow a demand from הוֹי צִיּוֹן הִמָּלְטִי יוֹשֶׁבֶת בַּת־בָּבֶל …[t]he concepts of 'center' and 'periphery' have a role in the Book of Zechariah … [h]owever, in the Zecharian theological framework, their use in terms of historical reality is reversed" (p. 446). Of course, given its historical context, the relation between Jerusalem and Babylon is different in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch: "[n]ow, it is Jerusalem, which is reduced to the absolute periphery … [t]he most moving example, describing this reduction is the Baruch's Lament" (p. 447). Juhás stresses, however, that the horizontal axis becomes secondary to the vertical in 2 Baruch and although the trajectory of Jerusalem over time "could be expressed as follows: political center > absolute periphery > messianic center" and "[a]lthough the text of *2 Bar.* gives only scarce information on this, from such a universalistic perspective, or taking the second messianic phase into account, there seems to be not much left for the distinction between 'center' and 'periphery'," (pp. 450–51) when God renews his creation (*2 Bar.* 32:6).

As readers may have already noticed, there is no essay in this volume that addresses C–P from the perspective of the archaeological evidence in early Second Temple or the latter in a way informed by C–P frameworks. This is not an oversight; it is intentional. Levin and I are convinced that only an entire volume complementing and interacting with the present one would do justice to the topic. In fact, we hope that this volume would encourage archaeologists of the period to prepare such a second volume. We are sure most, and perhaps all, of our readers, look forward to reading such a volume.

Finally, we hope that the present volume would lead to a continuous conversation with other scholars of the period. All in all, this volume is an invitation to develop further studies and even a research agenda that takes C–P approaches, in all their complexity, as significant heuristic tools to enhance our knowledge of the period.

Introductory Centre/Core-Periphery Considerations and the Case of Interplaying of Rigid and Flexible Constructions of Centre and Periphery among the Literati of the Late Persian/ Early Hellenistic Period

Ehud Ben Zvi

As mentioned in the preface, this volume emerged out of a workshop. Since I was the opening speaker at that workshop, and the person who first suggested its theme, it was my responsibility to initiate a conversation about the general methodological issues involved in using this heuristic model, centre-periphery. This contribution reflects that role in the workshop and plays a similar role in the volume. After all, the model itself stands at the very "core" of both the workshop and the volume. My second goal, both in the original oral paper and in this contribution to the volume, is to advance some considerations about the "interplaying" mentioned in the title. In the following I endeavour to intertwine both goals.

A. Basic Considerations about the Model/s

For a long while, there seemed to be a kind of genre requirement in many studies using the "centre/core-periphery" (hereafter "C–P," for simplicity's sake) approach, namely to include a short discussion of the concept of C–P and its research implications/potential either in the form of an introduction section in a volume or a summary footnote in essays/articles.[1] This is, in itself, noteworthy, and so is the fact that the discussions were not always

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[1] See, e.g., Michael Rowlands, "Centre and Periphery: A Review of a Concept," in *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (ed. Michael Rowlands, Mogens Larsen and Kristian Kristiansen; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–11; Timothy C. Champion, "Introduction," in *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (ed. Timothy C. Champion; One World Archaeology 11; London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 1–20; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Center and Periphery," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995), esp. issue on *The Origins of the State in Italy*, *1300–1600*, 74–96 (n. 3, p. 75). Of course, it is impossible to fail to notice that the present contribution fulfills that role as well.

similar and that even the very concepts were understood in various ways.[2] In retrospect, this was only to be expected, since this model has been used in various disciplines and sub-disciplines. Against this background, it makes sense to begin our workshop with, at least, a few general methodological remarks.

Contemporary studies using C–P paradigms and the wide use of the key terms themselves in today's academic discourses began at earnest in the late 60s, surged in the 70s and with some ups and downs continue to be widely used and influential, even if they are now less popular in research than fifteen years ago (i.e., around 2000; see figure 1).
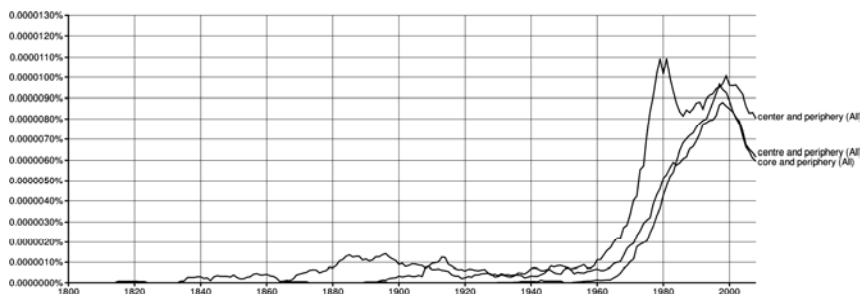

Fig. 1: The ngram distribution in English books for "Center and Periphery," "Centre and Periphery" and "Core and Periphery" (all case insensitive); from: https://books.google.com/ngrams/.

Is this a case of paradigm slowly becoming less and less helpful heuristically or of one in which, with some rethinking, may still serve well to further sophisticated historical analyses of ancient Israel,[3] as suggested in what follows?

A good entry point for a debate on these issues is to notice that the terms themselves are not new and that their main contribution is basically to reflect and shape a spatial metaphor that, in turn, may be used to explore, both creatively and critically, any number of systems characterized by the systemic presence, and the roles, of *substantially unequal* participants or agents.

To be sure, some of its surge in popularity in the 60s and 70s was due to Wallerstein's work on system theory,[4] which was then widely used and de-

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[2] I would leave to the readers to decide if this is the case in this volume as well.

[3] And other areas within a variety of fields in the humanities and social sciences, to be sure. Given my own area of research, the focus here is on its potential for studies in ancient Israelite history and particularly, Persian Yehud.

[4] See, e.g., Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); which was followed by idem, *The Modern World System II: Mer-*

bated in political theory in general, including particularly but not exclusively, studies of empires and "imperialism," of "global South and global North" and in related aspects and studies of contemporary economic history.[5] From a different perspective, but at more or less the same time, Rokkan applied a C–P approach to other issues of social and political theory (e.g., tensions between centralizing, "nation-building" elites and alliances of peripheries including both regional and socio-cultural peripheries in Western European states).[6] His work contributed much to the aforementioned surge as well to the continuous use of this model. Post-colonial studies also engaged in various ways with centres and peripheries, even have, at times, problematized these concepts.

C–P models, however, are not restricted to these areas. They can work, at least, heuristically for the study of *any* system whose dynamics are strongly influenced by a substantially unequal distribution of some quality central to the relevant system, be it economic capital, political power, cultural capital, social capital, prestige, (claimed to be) exclusive connection to an "ultimate" agent, and the like.

For this reason, this model has been used, debated, and has explicitly or implicitly provided an underlying methodological ground for works in fields such as sociology,[7] social-anthropology,[8] post-colonial[9] and not necessarily

cantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750 (New York: Academic Press, 1980). Both volumes have been republished several times.

[5] The World-System approach has been used, of course, also for studies of the ancient Near East and its surroundings. See, e.g., Guillermo Algaze, *The Uruk World System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Jon L. Berquist, "The Shifting Frontier: The Achaemenid Empire's Treatment of Western Colonies," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 1/1 (1995), available, open access, at http://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/ index.php/jwsr/article/view/48/60; Ian Morris, "Negotiated Peripherality in Iron Age Greece: Accepting and Resisting the East," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 2/1 (1996), available, open access, at http://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/in dex.php/jwsr/article/view/92/104; Ann E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E.* (Atlanta; Ga.: SBL, 2005), 23–24 and passim.

[6] See, e.g., Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Processes of Development* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970). Also republished in various editions.

[7] E.g., and particularly in relation to Bourdieu's approach, Helmut K. Anheier, Jurgen Gerhards, and Frank P. Romo, "Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography," *American Journal of Sociology* 100/4 (1995): 859–90; Tomasz Warczok and Tomasz Zarycki, "Bourdieu Recontextualized: Redefinitions of Western Critical Thought in the Periphery," *Current Sociology* 62/3 (2014): 334–51. Sociological approaches informed by Bourdieu's work have been important in particular strands of studies using C–P models. See, e.g., Tomasz Zarycki, "An Interdisciplinary Model of Centre-Periphery Relations: A Theoretical Proposition," *Regional and Local Studies* (2007, Special Issue): 110–30.

post-colonial approaches to comparative literature,[10] urban planning,[11] human/social geography in general,[12] archaeology,[13] religious studies[14] (including studies on "official" and "popular" religion[15]), linguistics,[16] ancient, medieval and contemporary history,[17] and for cross- and trans-disciplinary approaches.[18]

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[8] Note that C–P studies involve addressing matters of "othering" at multiple levels.

[9] The tension between "centre" and "periphery" tends to play a core (or even foundational) role in post-colonial discourses.

[10] E.g., Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, *Comparative Literature: Theory, Method, Application* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1998) and esp. ch. four, "Cultures, Peripheralities and Comparative Literature."

[11] E.g., J. Brian McLoughlin, "Centre or periphery? Town planning and spatial political economy," *Environment and Planning A* 26/7 (1994): 1111–22 and from a different perspective, Oren Yiftachel, "Planning and Social Control: Exploring the 'Dark Side'," *Journal of Planning Literature* 12/2 (1998): 395–406.

[12] E.g., and from multiple perspectives, Maurice Yeates, "The Core/Periphery Model and Urban Development in Central Canada," *Urban Geography* 6/2 (1985): 101–21; Peter E. Murphy and Betty Andressen, "Tourism Development on Vancouver Island: An Assessment of the Core-Periphery Model," *The Professional Geographer* 40/1 (1988): 32–42; and Christoph Stadel, "Core Areas and Peripheral Regions of Canada: Landscapes of Contrast and Challenges," in *Estudio de casos sobre planificación regional* (ed. José Luis Luzón and Márcia Cardim; Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2009), 13–30.

[13] E.g., Champion (ed.), *Centre and Periphery.*

[14] E.g., Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), and see the earlier and much debated, idem, "Centre and periphery," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on his Seventieth Birthday, 11th March 1961* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1961), 117–30.

[15] E.g., in P. Staples, "Official and Popular Religion in an Ecumenical Perspective," in *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (ed. Pieter Hendrik Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg; RelSoc 19; The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 244–93.

[16] E.g., Sari Pietikainen and Helen Kelly-Holmes (eds.), *Multilingualism and the Periphery* (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). The study of, inter alia, linguistic code-switching has been approached within the core/centre-periphery paradigm.

[17] For ancient history, see, e.g., Michael Rowlands, Mogens Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); see also Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt (eds.), *Centre and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Achaemenid History IV; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten [NINO], 1990); Benjamin Forster, "Centre et périphérie: une perspective mésopotamienne," in *Devins et lettrés dans l'orbite de Babylone: Travaux réalisés dans le cadre de l'ANR Mespériph 2007–2011* (ed. Carole Roche and Robert Hawley; Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2015), 15–22. For medieval history, see, e.g., Katherine L. Jansen, G. Geltner, and Anne E. Lester (eds.), *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan* (Later Medieval Europe 11; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013). Contemporary history examples are a legion.

[18] See, e.g., Zarycki, "An Interdisciplinary Model of Centre-Periphery Relations."

The wide-ranging use of the model mentioned above implies, by necessity, the existence of not one, but multiple and diverse "C–P" approaches, depending on the discourse of the relevant research community, whether within a particular disciplinary, sub-disciplinary or inter/cross disciplinary field. Moreover, within each of these approaches, the very crucial terms would end up pointing at, and shaping central attributes of a gamut of different things. At the same time, the very use of this model across disciplinary boundaries and a wide range of different "things" strongly suggests that there is indeed something pragmatically useful about thinking in terms of a C–P model, when constructing and structuring a system characterized by a substantially unequal distribution of some quality considered to be central within that system.

To be sure, these substantially unequal systems are abundant. It is precisely this fact that explains, at least in part, the widespread use of the paradigm in so many different fields and sub-fields. But at the same time, the abundance of such systems per se does not explain why C–P models may be heuristically helpful.

A good starting point to address this matter is to draw attention to a basic attribute of C–P systems, namely that they are by definition relational systems. Utilizing C–P models means that the (voluntary or involuntary) "partners" (be they associated in the main with the centre/core or the periphery) are not to be construed as separate entities, but as participants in a system that as such constitutes/construes, at least in part, them themselves. Moreover, these paradigms require the presence of some attribute distributed substantially unequally among two partners, which thus shapes by necessity an axis along which the mentioned unequal attribute is distributed. However and most importantly, they do not require at all that the mentioned "partners" be connected only through that single axis or that they must be connected only to each other. Moreover, since the system is grounded on a differential position, not only does it imply that "separate poles" cannot exist, but also that the two partners do not have to represent "absolute," "homogeneous," or for that matter, "static" poles.[19]

Furthermore, the unequally distributed attribute serves actually as a representation of, or stand in for, the average outcome of interactions between the two systemic "partners" and as such, any position in the axis is far more like-

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[19] As it will become clear in this essay, not only do I think that C–P approaches do not have to be grounded on a static, essentialist and essentializing "oppositional binary" or on unidirectional models of (asymmetrical) interactions, but in fact that they are most helpful heuristically when they are not.

ly to reflect asymmetrical two-way interactions than just unidirectional inter-actions.[20]

Of course, to think in terms of a system is also to think, implicitly or ex-plicitly, about some rules or sets of rules in the form of a "grammar" of pref-erences and dis-preferences governing, in numerous ways, interactions among the various "partners"/"participants" and thus creating tendencies favouring (and dis-favouring) the chances of particular outcomes.

In the case of the types of systems discussed here, since all of them are shaped by a substantial unequal distribution of some core quality, cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary patterns may emerge, because the relevant, underlying grammars may, at times, share important traits. Although these grammars are not necessarily or narrowly anchored in historically contingent circumstances, they do contribute much to very contingent outcomes, such as the shaping of the participants' character and their eventual (and contingent) attributes in human societies.

Examples of the latter will follow in the next pages, but first let me men-tion that by drawing attention to the mentioned axis, the mentioned paradigm is particularly helpful for study of a few trans-cultural processes.

1. Processes of Relative Hierarchical Branching

Since centre/core and periphery represent hierarchically organized relational concepts and since centres and peripheries mutually constitute each other, the same entity may be or may fulfil the role of a peripheral entity in relation to one entity and be or fulfill the role of a core-entity for another entity, and so on,[21] resulting eventually in a complex hierarchical network and a dynamic construction of roles, which in turn, eventually contributes to the shaping of "identities" in particular ways.

For instance, and particularly relevant in a workshop organized by LMU and UAlberta, Munich was peripheral to Berlin during the Wilhelmine period, but central to Bavaria; Central Canada was a peripheral territory to Great Britain in the late 19th century and at the same time played the role of core/centre to its Western territories (including the later, Alberta), and the elites of the territories and later provinces fulfilled central/colonial roles inso-

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[20] Even the most asymmetric cases do not involve the absolute disappearance of any shred of agency for the subjugated "partner" nor any shred of potential impact of the latter on the subjugating "partner," even if for a variety of reasons and purposes, these cases may be construed just as such by the participants themselves or by any group in which a social memory of these cases plays an important mnemonic, social and, needless to say, ideologi-cal role.

[21] In fact, in the case of ancient socio-political structures of powers, the process can continue up to the level of single families and even subfamily units, e.g., the house of the mother, of the group of children/sons of a particular individual.

far as it relates to the First Nations in their territories.[22] Moving millennia back, Lab'ayu, king of Shechem in the LBA, was peripheral to the Egyptian centre, but very much at the centre of a substantial polity in Canaan and Shechem which was central not only to villages around it, but also served as the core of an important alliance of cities.[23] Closer to our own period of research, local elites in monarchic Jerusalem during the Assyrian period were peripheral to the core of the empire, but served as the centre for their regional entity; Jerusalem was both peripheral and central, and so on.

2. *The Study of Inner Core or Peripheral Complexity and its Own Processes*

A number of peripheral entities are, most often, part and parcel of the "core/centre." Moreover, a very wide spectrum of peripherality tends to exist in these cases. For example, one may notice the existence of the poor and marginal in the core-countries of our present world-system, or – and again and purposefully across millennia – that of forced-labour and exiled groups in ancient Mesopotamia. As pertinent to this discussion, non-Persians were in the court and army of the Great King,[24] and Arameans were part and parcel of the Assyrian centre at all levels, including high administrative positions in administration and the army and, obviously, at the core of the court in the case of Naqia/Zakutu.[25] Nabonaid was both a king *and* a peripheral figure in Babylon, at least for some of the Babylonian elite.[26] At the same time, there is plenty of evidence that some "Assyrians" lived in the "peripheries." Further, the entire process of cross-deportation brought not only "internationalization" but turned original local central groups that were peripheral to the empire into peripheral groups in other regions and from the perspective of the locals, at least for a while, an embodiment of the power of the imperial centre. Moreo-

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[22] Readers are kindly reminded that the workshop was the result of an ongoing collaboration between the University of Munich (LMU) and the University of Alberta.

[23] E.g., Israel Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (ANEM 5; Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2013), 13–22, available, open access, at https: //www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/pubs/9781589839106_OA.pdf.

[24] See, e.g., Maria Brosius, "Greeks at the Persian Court," in *Ktesias' Welt = Ctesias' World* (ed. Josef Wiesehöfer, Robert Rollinger, and Giovanni B. Lanfranchi; Classica et orientalia 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 69–80.

[25] On Arameans in Assyria, see Martti Nissinen, "Outlook: Arameans Outside Syria. 1. Assyria," in *The Arameans in Ancient Syria* (ed. Herbert Niehr; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 273–96.

[26] It is worth noting that Nabonaid repeated absences from the Akitu festival constituted also shift away from the absolute centrality of the performance of the cult in Babylon, as understood within the traditional ideology of its priests. Cf. Caroline Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Kingship in the Persian Period: Performance and Reception," in *Exile and Return: The Babylonian* Context (ed. Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers; BZAW 478; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 181–222.

ver, rarely, but there were even occasions (e.g., during the reign of Sargon) in which Assyrians were deported.[27] In sum, neither centres nor peripheries are uniform or static. Their composition is complex and changes over time.

3. Centering and Peripheralizing Tendencies and Processes

Given that centre-periphery relationships are not static, but tend to be re-negotiated in an ongoing basis, it may better to focus on the ways in which a C–P axis draws attention to tendencies bringing some matters or institutions to the centre or to the periphery of the system. Moreover, given that centre and periphery may be construed in multiple ways according to the unequally distributed value around which the "system" is construed, then we may notice, at times, multi-directional tendencies. For instance, was Hebrew becoming more "central" or more "peripheral" in Persian Yehud? Both were probably true, depending on the "system" being discussed. If the substantially unequal attribute constituting the system is the symbolic value of the language, one will have a certain response. If the substantial unequal attribute is the ability of a local elite to interact with imperial centres, then the answer would be different. In other words, what constitutes "centre/core" and "periphery" depends often, though not always, on the perspective, social mindscape and discourse of the "observer."[28]

4. Multiple and Complementary Systems of Centre and Periphery involving the Same Partners

Directly related to the issues mentioned above, it is easy to imagine the existence of a C–P system working along the axis of economic or political capital in one way, but working (or construed to be working) exactly in the opposite direction, along the axis of cultural or symbolic capital. For example, Babylon was a powerful centre of cultural capital for the entire ancient Near East during the LBA, but certainly not a dominant political or economic centre. Moreover, all across history, there have been multiple cases of political peripheries that at least imagined themselves as cultural centres. For instance, one may mention Greek thinkers in the Augustan era (see, for instance, the case of Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Directly related to our main area of

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[27] Cf. Angelika Berlejung, "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianization, Colonialism, Indifference, Or Development Policy?," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. Martti Nissinen; SVT 149; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 21–59.

[28] To be sure, some practitioners of C–P approaches, and particularly among those involved in studies of colonial, dependence and imperial relations from Marxist or Marxian perspectives would likely strongly disagree. From their perspective, "subjective" constructions of colonial/dependent groups as "centre" would be just excellent examples of *merely* a "false consciousness" meant to mask their subjugated status and which is part and parcel of an imperial ideology of domination.

research, there is no doubt that while the literati in Yehud can be construed as a small peripheral group in a marginal, poor area (and were understood as such by, for instance, the Persian centre), it is also undoubtedly true that the Yehudites (or at least, their literati) imagined and construed themselves as the central group in YHWH's world, that is, the only "real" world, from their perspective.

5. Matters of Othering (Including Gendering)

Since the mentioned axis is based on hierarchical constructions, C–P models are often very helpful to study constructions of "self," Other/s, and related gender constructions, i.e., women as the "Other." Of course, when the model is approached from this perspective, matters of porousness and "in-between" areas emerge and these are significant to reconstruct both C–P systems in the "historical worlds we as historians reconstruct" and even more so, "the worlds construed by the ancient participants" in accordance with their own social mindscape, general discursive tendencies and the like.[29]

B. From Theory to Practical Examples

The heuristic value of general models is grounded in their ability to help us to notice patterns; in this case, both cross-cultural and cross- and interdisciplinary. In other words, they are like lenses that help us to see or see better certain things (i.e., patterns).[30] But, of course, for this to hold true, there must be some helpful, discernible general, even if by necessity partial, patterns to begin with.

Let me illustrate with just two examples the existence, usefulness as well as limitations, of these heuristic patterns, which even if partial by necessity given the role of historically contingent contexts, by their very existence make the use of general cross-cultural/cross-historical model/s such a C–P so much worthwhile.

The first example involves a cross-disciplinary approach to the basic C–P model, but whose sights are not at all in the world of ancient Israel but in a society far remote from ancient Israel, namely contemporary Poland (and to a less extent and less relevant to our case, Russia) and which is informed by

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[29] Cf. the essays in Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman (eds.), *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period* (LHBOTS 456; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014).

[30] At the cost, as usual, of making other things (i.e., patterns) less visible.

some present-day political/ideological discourses.[31] Zarycki, the author of the essay, writes:

Poland seems to be a country which attaches a relatively great deal of importance to cultural capital as a factor compensating for the weakness of the state and the society. The intelligentsia, defined first of all in terms of cultural capital, continues to play a significant role as the key fraction of the social elites and an important representative of the country in the external world. Culturally defined pictures of Poland are also considered to be an important asset of the country in its international politics (among others, the weight attributed to democratic achievements and the power of the First Republic of Poland, the suffering of Poland and the Poles in the period of partitions, in World War II, and in the communist period, the achievements of Polish artists, intellectuals and scientists as well as social and political activists and priests under the leadership of John Paul II). Thus, one may propose the thesis that in case of Poland cultural capital constitutes its key resource supposed to compensate for the peripheral status of the country and its deficit of economic capital in relation to the centre …

… In the case of a strategy based on the compensatory use of cultural capital, an equivalent statement might read: *We are not as wealthy and modern as countries of the West (centre), but our noble history, education and achievements in the field of culture and science ensure universal respect for us and the right to belong to the communities of the West (core).*[32]

Zarycki is dealing here with a very common set of patterns that tends to appear in peripheral groups and particularly their elites, namely compensation for peripheral status. In the sections cited above, and using an approach informed by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, he notes that a sense of deficit communicated by peripherality, that is the relative lack of a crucial resource, in this case, "economic capital" is compensated by construing a balancing surplus in another form of capital. In the case of Poland, it is cultural and symbolic. In the same essay, he contrasts the case of Poland with that of Russia (as he sees it) in which the main balancing capital is political.

Ancient Yehud was, of course, very different from contemporary Poland (or Russia), but the literati who certainly noticed that Yehud was a very peripheral place in terms of political and economic capital, clearly emphasized, time and again, their cultural and symbolic capital in their literature. In fact, through acts of reading (and writing) they construed themselves as the only group on earth who has access to the divine teaching of the real King of Kings and knowledge about the true character of the world and its future. In fact, within their world, all the nations will one day flow to Jerusalem, the true city at the centre of the world, to learn תורה from them. They also construed Israel as having an abundance of social capital, given that their Israel was uniquely related the true source of power, YHWH, a deity who may

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[31] Zarycki, "An Interdisciplinary Model of Centre-Periphery Relations."

[32] Zarycki, "An Interdisciplinary Model of Centre-Periphery Relations," 115–16. Italics in the original.

shake the earth and raise hegemonic kings for the sake of Jacob (e.g., Isa 43:14; 45:4).[33] In both cases, they construed a world in which the non-Israelites, including the Persians, are dependent on the real centre, i.e., Yehud, and in which the latter controls the flow of this social and cultural capital and thus, reverting the typical image of empire-colony.

It goes without saying that within peripheral groups that compensate by stressing the importance of cultural capital, social resources will be allocated to produce a group possessing the necessary competencies to produce and reproduce this capital. This holds true for Poland and for ancient Yehud.[34]

This example can be further elaborated, but it already suffices to make a point, a model of core/centre periphery in which multiple axes, each shaped according to a particular type of unequally shared resource/capital and running in opposite directions complementing each other is heuristically helpful for studies of contemporary Poland and Persian Yehud.

Moreover, a particular pattern, or to be more precise, a generative grammar of preferences and dispreferences is at work in both cases, because such a grammar is associated with the systemic aspect of C–P situations, rather than the singular historical circumstances of each case. To be sure, a grammar may produce myriads of "sentences." The texts and memories that provided the intellectual Polish elite with cultural capital are absolutely different from those that produced a similar outcome among the Yehudite literati. Sentences are very much historically contingent, as they have to reflect the social mindscape and ideological discourses of the relevant group, but the grammars are far less so, because they depend (mainly, though not only) on the system itself. If similar systems are at work, somewhat similar basic grammars may emerge.

Grammars, of course, are not simple systems and even similar basic grammars may lead to different outcomes. The very same example mentioned above raises the issue of how the group may construe the outcome shaped by its abundance of cultural (and social) capital. Although there is no infinite number of practical possibilities, the latter include more than one possible option. In this case, the way exemplified by the case of Poland, as construed

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[33] Moreover, this very lack may even explain, in part, why much of the effort was devoted to writing and reading texts rather than to building buildings to project cultural power. First, building buildings is not something at which they may excel more than the other socio-ethno-cultural groups; and second, as a politically and militarily very peripheral group with no power to control their local situation, they are well aware that buildings carrying much cultural and symbolic capital can be easily compromised or plainly destroyed. Cultural products such as texts and social memories can be far more impressive and durable.

[34] Conversely, in groups that compensate by focussing on political or military capital, social resources will be allocated to maintain and further develop the competencies of those producing and reproducing this capital.

by Zarycki, construed the goal in terms of inclusion in the existing core as an important and respected partner. One may argue that Josephus or Philo, for that matter, had a similar goal in mind. In Yehud, among its literati, however, the main goal was not to be included in some existing "core," but to replace it and turn the previous core into a periphery.[35]

In addition, peripheral elites tend to be multi-lingual. They interact and "translate" the "core" and thus know well its language, but they often have their own language. Further, they serve as "core" in relation to the local "peripheries" and often this hierarchization tends to go hand and hand with some linguistic difference. Thus, linguistic differences are associated in these cases with C–P axes and the existence of multiple linguistic "languages" (be them "proper" languages or "sociolects") cannot but bring about matters of code-switching. When to use which "language"? Zarycki, in the mentioned essay, discusses some of these issues against the background of contemporary Poland.

These issues, however, are as relevant in Yehud. The literati used Aramaic to deal with "core" and to address the administrative needs of the regional "core," but when constructing their cultural capital, they switched to "biblical" Hebrew, and especially to SBH. This language carried the symbolic value required to enhance the cultural capital of Israel, and of the literati themselves, who are now also "separated from the rest" by their shared ability to switch to that language.[36]

In addition to the literati's code-switching, one may raise the issue of linguistic choices and shifts among the population in general. Aramaic becomes widespread, but also pockets of Hebrew and instances of code-switching are likely, and in any event the situation may be fluid within the Persian period.[37] Again, far more can be elaborated, but the point is clear, C–P systems tend to engender multiple linguistic axes.

The preceding example has clearly demonstrated that the heuristic potential of general cross-cultural/cross-historical model/s such as C–P is so much

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[35] I expanded on this issue in Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Yehudite Collection of Prophetic Books and Imperial Contexts: Some Observations," in *Divination, Politics and Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stökl; ANEM 7; Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2014), 145–69, available, open access, at http://www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/pubs/978158 9839984_OA.pdf and see cited bibliography.

[36] I discussed some of these issues in Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Communicative Message of Some Linguistic Choices," in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Diana V. Edelman, and Frank Polak; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2009), 269–90.

[37] See, e.g., Ingo Kottsieper, "'And They Did not Care Speak Yehudit.' About the Linguistic Change in Judah during the Late Persian Era," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 95–124.

worthwhile. But, to dwell on only one, even if significant, example is not proper procedure. Thus, in what follows I will discuss a second example. Let me begin my exploration with a relatively marginal note in a study about Lotman:

St. Petersburg offers a fitting site for studying eccentric social practices, since the Russian imperial capital was unexpectedly constructed at the margins of an empire that was in itself often described as a cultural oddity. As Lotman notes, "The eccentric city is situated "at the edge" of the cultural space: on the seashore, at the mouth of a river"… Eccentric structures tend toward "openness and contacts with other cultures" as opposed to "concentric" structures, given to "enclosure" and "separation" … Peter the Great's "transfer of the politico-administrative centre to the geographical frontier was at the same time the transfer of the frontier to the ideological and political centre of the state"… In this sense the founding of St. Petersburg represents a shifting of the eccentric to a position of cultural legitimacy." (p. 319)[38]

The reference to the founding of St. Petersburg in a peripheral area and the transformation of that area from peripheral to core raises interesting issues concerning models of "centre/core and periphery" and their dynamic aspects. What happens when centre and periphery shift places, or when eventually a bi-polar centre structure emerges (e.g., in this case, Moscow and St. Petersburg; or for that matter, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem; or Berlin and Munich, Toronto and Montreal, and in my own region of the world, Edmonton and Calgary)?

Even more interesting for our present purposes is the act of founding a (successful) capital in an "eccentric" place, in the periphery. I brought here a reference to Peter's and St. Petersburg's case, but this is just one of many examples, across time and geography, that could have been brought up.[39]

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[38] Citation from Julie A. Buckler, "Eccentricity and Cultural Semiotics in Imperial Russia," in *Lotman and Cultural Studies: Encounters and Extensions* (ed. Andreas Schönle; Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 299–319.

[39] Ottawa, at the border between Quebec and Ontario is eccentric to both and because of that, it could be "central" to first the Province of Canada and then Canada. For ANE instances, see the case of El Amarna, and from a different perspective, see Ömür Harmanşa, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013), esp. pp. 72–101, whose discussion is devoted to "The Land of Aššur." It is worth stressing that there are also instances of only partially successful cases of moving the capital to an "eccentric" place. A good study case for the latter is the building of Brasilia by Juscelino Kubitschek – "the father of modern Brazil," according to some at least). The city was founded in 1960 and the aspect of opening to the world was evident in the choice of modernist architecture (see the strong footprint of Oscar Niemeyer) and so is the role of bringing peripheral areas more to the centre/core of Brazil, amply demonstrated by the selection of the place and in the in general approach of Kubitschek. The extent to which his program has been successful is open for debate, but such a debate cannot be carried out here, for obvious reasons.

An important mnemonic narrative among the Yehudite literati concerned David who moved his capital from Hebron, at the centre of Judah, to a seemingly eccentric town, Jerusalem (see, e.g., 2 Sam 5:1–9; 1 Chr 11:1–9). The latter was associated with both Judah and Benjamin (see Josh 15:8, 63; 18:16) and thus stood in a kind of "in-between" land, projected a sense of replacing a Judah-centered world with an openness towards a world that includes Benjamin and northern Israel.[40] By being eccentric to Judah, Jerusalem shapes "Israel" as David's kingdom and becomes its centre. In addition, the Jerusalem of the time, and of earlier times – see Melchizedek; Gen 14:18–20; cf. Ps 110:4 – evoked memories of pious non-Israelites and openness to their incorporation and the incorporation of their property into "Israel," as demonstrated by the case of the threshing floor of Araunah/Ornan (2 Sam 24:18–25; 1 Chr 21:18–22:1), which not-incidentally represents another case of "eccentric" place becoming the new "centre," within a general story about the making of Jerusalem, YHWH's and Israel's capital.[41]

The historical actions of Peter the Great, as understood today, and those of David in the post-monarchic main mnemonic narrative about Jerusalem and its Temple as eccentric to Judah itself and thus central to "Israel" and to Yehud's claims to be Israel (and to some extent to memories and claims towards openness) that existed among the literati in Yehud are both illuminated by studying them from a cross-cultural centre/core – periphery approach. Significantly, the model is relevant not only for the study of both historical events and societies, but also for the study of social memories held in particular remembering communities. As I discussed elsewhere, social-anthropological models and underlying, systemic generative grammars may work for "real" societies and social agents but also for societies and social agents that existed only in the shared memory and imagination of a group.[42]

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[40] Significantly, in the world portrayed and evoked by Chronicles, both monarchic and post monarchic Jerusalem are inhabited by pious Israelites, including those from the North (cf. 1 Chr 9:3; 2 Chr 11:13–16). To be sure, by doing so, it creates a Yehud that stands for and even *is* Israel while it reinforces a Jerusalem-centered understanding of what Israel (not only Yehud) is and should be. The geographically "eccentric" site of Jerusalem facilitates this discourse here too.

[41] Note that the references to Hiram in the context of establishing Jerusalem/the Temple. The latter are open to Hiram, in ways that Hebron never was.

[42] The story of the shared "national" memory of "Israel" embodied and communicated by the Pentateuch, being the most obvious example. Here the mnemonic narrative shapes an understanding of the formation of a shared foundational memory of two groups, according the usual model of an original unity and then a split. See my, "The Pentateuch as/and Social Memory of 'Israel' in the Late Persian Period," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Pentateuch* (ed. Joel Baden and Christophe Nihan; Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, forthcoming).