

Looking back and thinking forward: an analysis of three ancient perspectives on time.

Author(s): Elijah M. Freeman.

Source: *Pacific Journal* 7 (2012): 90-114.

Publisher: Fresno Pacific University.

Stable URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11418/531>

FPUScholarWorks is an online repository for creative and scholarly works and other resources created by members of the Fresno Pacific University community. FPUScholarWorks makes these resources freely available on the Web and assures their preservation for the future.

Looking Back and Thinking Forward: An Analysis of Three Ancient Perspectives on Time

ELIJAH M. FREEMAN

Introduction

The reality of the question of time is that for all of us it is dependent on our experience, and it cannot be perceived in terms of theoretical formulae; therefore, its nature must be fully understood under the condition of human agency.¹ If we were to contemplate time much as the philosopher Plato, we would “beg[in] to think of making a moving image of eternity: at the same time as he [the Demiurge] brought order to the universe, he would make an eternal image, moving according to number, of eternity remaining in unity. This, of course, is what we [Greeks] call ‘time’.”²

It has been argued that definitions such as Plato’s are “unhelpfully circular” in answering the question of time, in that such a statement assumes a major proposition that contains explicit temporal expressions that seek to prove its premise.³ Modern day explanations of time such as the A- and B- theories, or so called “temporal becoming,”⁴ may offer philosophers and physicists better insight into the metaphysical paradox.⁵ However, these theories have often been criticized for containing overly complicated absurdities,⁶ and other than being perplexing esoterictisms they tend to provide nothing of fruit to the common person’s worldly understanding of time. Philosophical definitions, such as Plato’s,⁷ are generally suspect when being applied to physical theory and mathematical doctrine, simply because philosophical logic, by design, does not seem to be hardwired to imitate scientific inquiry.⁸ Philosophical biases are axiomatic in their presentation, and philosophic definitions of time must be understood in regards to the nature of the relation between one’s perception of time and the actual construct itself. Due to this phenomenon, knowledge gained through philosophical inquiry may be rendered invalid when employed by the scientific method.⁹ Often the application of this type of “mixed-logic” is

inadvisable and inevitably makes for a poor comparison that typically reduces the premise of an argument to apples and oranges. Nevertheless, philosophical definitions of “time”, such as Plato’s, do have great intellectual heft and may provide for a better understanding of the mind-set of the classical world that produced them. Furthermore, it is this very type of classical reasoning that may furnish the modern-day lived experience with a cognitive genealogy that can account for the perception and understanding of the real-life events of Western society.

If you would, take a moment to ponder how it is that you encounter time. Are the seconds, minutes and hours that compose your daily living experience perceived much as they would have been experienced 2500 years ago? Undoubtedly, a brief survey of classical history would reveal Western society’s intimate connection to its past. A closer look at the classical mind would expose the modern intellect’s construct of time to be dependent on a matrix composed of human biological conditions, principally the circadian rhythm,¹⁰ and the maelstrom of philosophical, religious and mathematical reason produced by classical Greek, Roman and ancient Near Eastern civilizations. The human penchant for the transmission of knowledge through ritual and habit has always been and may always be the driving force behind the human perception of time.¹¹

Time as a Cycle

“What, then, is time? If no one ask me, I know: if I wish to explain it to one who asks, I know not.”¹² As postulated by Augustine of Hippo, everyone born under the umbrella of humanity has a tacit knowledge of time; but in what way is the human mind most likely to encounter an explicit understanding of it? Historically, “time” has been dichotomized into having either a cyclic or linear nature.¹³ Most ancient cultures believed that “time was cyclic in character.”¹⁴ The linear concept of time was introduced in antiquity, but it was expanded and refined only in modern times; it has had tremendous influence on Western thought and “without it, it would be difficult to conceive of the idea of prog-

ress, or to speak of cosmic or biological evolution.”¹⁵ The most fundamental concepts involved in the understanding of time are typically expressed in the tenses past, present and future,¹⁶ and it is in this way that we as people are most likely to discuss the terms of our existence. These “tenses” have been historically described as a cycle composed of three concepts that are the same as the tenses: past, present and future or (A-concepts). Stephen Jay Gould has helpfully identified this concept as a dynamic time-cycle.¹⁷ For the purpose of our discussion, I have further categorized the abstract time-cycle into three classical-world vantage points: the Progressivist, Conservative, and Retrospective Progressive interpretations of time. These expressions will be terms that I shall refer to in an attempt to encapsulate three different classical understandings of the time-cycle. The classifications are by no means exclusive and will share some degree of crossover or overlap within viewpoints; however, for the most part the classifications will remain fundamentally stable.

Progressivist View of Time

The first logical advance in the understanding of time may have been pre-Socratic in origin.¹⁸ Around 585 BCE, in the small Greek poleis (city-states) of Ionia, on the coast of Asia Minor, the Hellenic world would experience a breakthrough in the way it understood the atmosphere that surrounded it. Philosophy was arguably conceived with the proclamation “all is water” by Thales of Miletus, and it was at that time that the more naive and extroverted Homeric view of the Archaic Greek world was to be forever augmented by logic and reason.¹⁹ Homer’s epic prose, idea of flux,²⁰ and mythical view of the world may have been the forerunner to Greek philosophical cosmogony,²¹ but it would soon be shoved aside by a new type of thinking that would tend to use reason to illustrate its ideas. Greek philosophy elaborated on many ideas, none as much as the idea of time or *chronos* (Χρόνος). *Chronos*, to a Greek in the pre-Socratic era, would have been the deified personification of time. In the classical age,²² however, *chronos* would have been widely accepted as a progressive stream of events, a smooth-flowing cycle that could be depicted by a series of three

tenses: the past, seen as fleeting and non-existent, the present, seen as primary and real, and the future, perceived to be mystic and unknown.²³

The fruition of the “progressivist view” of time begins, perhaps, with the intuition expressed by “the weeping philosopher,” Heraclitus: “Everything flows and nothing abides; everything gives way and nothing stays fixed. You cannot step twice into the same river, for other waters and yet others, go flowing on.”²⁴ Time, as it is expressed by Heraclitus, was a creature that “devoured” current events and caused them to slip away into the non-existing past.²⁵ Less than a generation later, Parmenides, an Eleatic philosopher, struggled to fully accept Heraclitus’ earlier ideas of time flux. Although Parmenides did agree with the continual flow of time, he rejected Heraclitus’ nihilistic view of the past and future. Parmenides identified what he believed to be fixed markers in time, *semeía* (σημεία), which did not allow for the events experienced in the “present” to slip into the nothingness of the forgone; rather, Parmenides argued that “Permanence is basic. No things come to be or, slipping into the past, cease to be. Past, present, and future are distinctions not marked in the static. Time and becoming are at best secondary, at worst illusory, as our understanding of the world confirms.”²⁶ Later, philosophers of classical Athens would undertake a new discussion concerning the reality of time. The earlier Archaic culture (and to some extent pre-Socratic culture) that once focused so quantitatively on the consecutive idea of *chronos* would now undergo a large shift in paradigm, and the discussion concerning the qualitative aspects of time would become paramount.²⁷

To the Greeks, *kairos* (καιρός) was as an abstract supreme moment in time, it was the right opportunity to do something, or the right measure in doing something. It is an idea that has no equivalent in any Indo-European language and no doubt owes its origin to a Greek culture infatuated with oratory and rhetoric.²⁹ *Kairos* was a dominant issue explored in classical Greek literature and a strong case can be made that it was the focal point of all sophistic, Isocra-tean, Platonic and Aristotelean rhetoric.³⁰ A classical Greek school of philosophers, called the sophists, believed that *kairos*, much like *chronos*, was also a

concept or measure that was subservient to the abilities of men, inasmuch as an orator's place in the world was judged by his ability to adapt to the contingent circumstances of time (kairos).³¹ In the fifth century BCE, Antiphon the sophist addressed the issue of time in his chief rhetorical work, *On Truth*: "time is not a reality, but a concept or a measurement."³² This statement is in correct symmetry with the sophist rhetorical view of kairos.³³ Isocrates, a fifth century Attic orator (who was formally trained by the sophists Prodicus and Gorgias) was known for aligning himself against sophistic views. However, later in his career, it seems that he continued to agree (at least in part) with the sophists' view of kairos, as he also depicted man's intellectual capacity as being governed by his ability to control the opportunity of time.³⁴ Until recently, the most convincing case for the Greek use of kairos may have been long overlooked by academia. James Kinneavy has identified the concept of kairos as a major component of Aristotelean rhetoric, in spite of the relative absence of the term throughout his works. Kinneavy believes that he has diagnosed an indirect usage of the term kairos in Aristotle's definition of rhetoric itself. By use of a detailed philological analysis of Aristotelean passages, Kinneavy is able to put forth a convincing argument that kairos was operative in each of the three types of Greek rhetoric: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic.³⁵

In all cases, the concept of time was a fascinating and intriguing part of the Greeks' everyday lived experience, which ultimately helped to illuminate the world around them.³⁶ Kairos and chronos were in fact such a familiar part of Greek life that the concepts have been described as "different sides of the same coin [to a Greek]."³⁷ Much like chronos, the idea of kairos to the Greeks was subject to the "tenses" and was believed to only manifest the power of reality in the present, as the opportunities of the past no longer exist, and what may come of the future may not be realized until it occurs in the present. It may be that the clearest understanding of the Greek "progressivist view" of time was offered in 1984 by Robert Pirsig in an afterword to later editions of his now classic book *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. Pirsig elaborates:

They [the Greeks] saw the future as something that came upon them from behind their backs with the past receding away before their eyes. When you think about it, that's a more accurate metaphor than our present one. Who really can face the future? All you can do is project from the past, even when the past shows that such projections are often wrong. And who really can forget the past? What else is there to know?³⁸

Pirsig's take on the Greeks' view of time paints a vivid picture depicting their idea of *chronos* flowing much like Heraclitus' river, with the mystic waters lying behind the rower's back; he is only made aware of his path as he sees it receding away, his only control of the future is the opportune moment (*kairos*) in which the fleeting water contacts his oars, and his only hope for change is to project from the remnants of the past dwindling waters as they disappear from his view.

Conservative View of Time

After the conquest of Alexander the Great, the active diffusion of Greek culture and ingenuity occurred throughout the Levant and western Mediterranean.³⁹ During the Hellenistic Age (323-31 BCE) there were little more than small pockets of cultural resistance to the Greek way of life.⁴⁰ Political, philosophical and militaristic ideologies were adapted and expanded by many of the ancient cultures that became a part of the Hellenistic world, including those of Rome, Palestine and Egypt.⁴¹ Rome, a maturing superpower during the dawn of the Hellenistic Age, would soon begin to struggle over the acceptance or rejection of cultural Hellenism.⁴² Rome itself already felt tremendous Hellenistic pressure due to the conquests and expansion of the Republic during 264-133 BCE.⁴³ Historical evidence suggests that Greek innovations such as the polis, natural philosophy, literary genres, and rhetorical styles would survive with great energy in the Roman period (especially among the Roman elite)⁴⁴ and that, by the first century BCE, it would become apparent that the Hellenistic world's influence would have so great an effect on the Roman way of life that

the renowned Roman poet Horace would be compelled to write, “*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*” (captive Greece captured her rude conqueror).⁴⁵ All things considered, Greece did not succeed in a complete rout of Roman ideals and traditionalism. No Hellenistic concept would clash with Roman conservatism as strongly as the Greeks’ “progressive” understanding of time.

In antiquity, the Roman Republic’s concept of *mos maiorum* (Latin: lit. “custom of the ancestors”) could easily be considered the epitome of the “conservative” view of time. The idea of *mos maiorum* should be considered “the accepted custom and precedent of the elders.”⁴⁶ By the end of first century BCE, the Roman philosophical view of time in Latin literature would seem to have been completely founded on the concept of *mos maiorum* (at least as it was portrayed by Livy).⁴⁷ Livy explicitly reminds us of Rome’s conservative nature as he frequently evokes the name of the *conditores*⁴⁸ (founders) when defining the significance of Rome’s past and its relation to the present; in addition, Livy also makes several references to the *auctoritas maiorum*⁴⁹ (lit. “ancestral authority”) in an attempt to validate radical new social developments under Augustus Caesar during the down of the empire.⁵⁰ Even a century later, Roman biographer Suetonius would declare in his work, *De Claris Rhetoribus*, that “All new that is done contrary to the usage and the customs of our ancestors, seems not to be right.”⁵¹ By the time of Roman author Tacitus (56-117 CE), the idea of *mos maiorum* had been imbedded so deeply into Roman culture that Tacitus, much like Livy and Suetonius, would find it difficult to separate himself from the Roman construct of *maiores* when describing the nature and values of foreign cultures. In his masterpiece, *Agricola*, Tacitus imposes the Roman understanding of the “conservative nature of time” on Rome’s enemy during his description of the battle of Mons Graupius.⁵² Tacitus writes that the Celtic chieftain Calgacus roused his army by reminding his troops of their ancestral history, “*proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate*” (“from that point, about to go into battle, [Calgacus says] remember your ancestors and descendants”).⁵³ Tacitus’ use of the term *maiores* would have carried a specify emotional quality⁵⁴ with his Roman audience and its em-

phatic lead position in the rhetorical chiasmic structure⁵⁵ would have conveyed a certain precedence of the *maiores* (past generations) over the *posterios* (future generations).

Unlike that of classical Greece, Rome's construction of time cannot solely be interpreted on the basis of Greco-Roman philosophy. The danger in illuminating the Romans' concept of time exclusively on the premise of philosophical evidence is that the Latin literary tradition occurs much later in the historical record than the Greek tradition. What we understand about Rome's history is primarily constructed based on the accounts of authors who are composing their works in the first century BCE, and there is little doubt that these author's compositions are functioning in the Greco-Roman historiographic genre.⁵⁶

Rome's earliest literary accounts began with the retelling of earlier Greek works around 240 BCE.⁵⁷ The first known Roman-themed historical composition was composed nearly a half-century later, when Cn. Naevius gave his account of the First Punic War. Most extant Roman history comes to us in the textual tradition of the Roman historian Livy.⁵⁸ It has been effectively argued that Livy's historiographic and rhetorical agendas have influenced his portrayal of the *mos maiorum* construct, as well as his historical bent concerning the earlier Republic.⁵⁹ Although it is difficult to extricate a purely philosophical view of the Roman understanding of time from Livy's historiographical approach,⁶⁰ it may, perhaps, be more plausible to consider the effect of the literary genre itself on the Roman perception of time. An in-depth survey of Livy's *Histories* reveals an amalgamation of the more primitive Roman philosophical concept of *mos maiorum*, combined with the later development of Greco-Roman historiographic methods, such as the idea of "historical reoccurrence,"⁶¹ is central to the Roman understanding of the larger course and consequences of time.⁶²

The cyclical concept of Roman history in Livy's first pentad has been established to follow a general theme of foundation, rise, and decline.⁶³ Classicist Gary Miles believes that through the clever use of historical reoccurrence, Livy is able to preserve the "greatness of Rome" by relating the strength of its past to its present.⁶⁴ In addition, rhetorical-thematic analysis reveals that the implicit

cycle of foundation, rise and decline represented in Livy's first pentad, would have allowed his audience to contrast the values and success of early Rome to the disaster that was the late Republic, and across his narrative the presence of the Roman "conservative" view of time is always felt in the concept of *mos maiorum*. In Livy's case, contemplation of Rome's past through the *maiores* may have allowed for more than the escape from the present; his cathartic retelling of the cycle of foundation, rise and decline would have also allowed for the comparison of the present with the past, and ultimately may have been employed as explanatory reasoning to justify either the vitality or degenerate nature of the current events affecting Roman culture. In a sense, Livy's readers, then and now, could have achieved hope in the present and then aimed for a clearer destination in the future through the preservation of the past.

The Ancient Near-Eastern Perspective and Contribution

No conversation concerning the West's development and understanding of the construct of "time" would be complete without exploring the contribution of ancient Near Eastern perspectives. Similarities between the Near East and Greco-Roman cosmogony, mythology and natural philosophy have all been well established in the literature.⁶⁵ Walter Burkert noted in his 1998 popularizing work, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, that the Archaic Greek myths and poetry produced by Homer and Hesiod show several distinct linguistic corollaries with earlier Semitic literature. Burkert also detected thematic and literary parallels in the Greek epic cycle that are predated by those very same Semitic traditions.⁶⁷ Author Louis H. Feldman has even argued that "the impetus for the eight-century BCE Greek renaissance may have been [maritime commercial] contact with Near Eastern culture."⁶⁸ Many authors have written on the aforementioned concepts;⁶⁹ however, little scholarly investigation has examined, in particular, the effect of the ancient Hebrews' perception of "time" on the whole of Western civilization.

In the study of the Second Temple Period, the historical record is clear regarding three points. First, all religious Jews by the third century BCE accepted the Torah (Pentateuch) as authoritative and primary law.⁷⁰ Second, three of the four Jewish movements⁷¹ accepted the *Nevi'im* (prophets) as authoritative and secondarily lawful.⁷² Third, the two great modern traditions of early Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism emerged from a bedlam of late Second-Temple Judaisms, carrying with them a new amalgamation of old ideas borrowed from earlier Jewish traditions.⁷³

The early prose and literary traditions of the Jews functioned much like their western, Greco-Roman counterparts; and, as already speculated, several scholars have reported evidence that the Near Eastern models may have served as a rudimentary template for the earliest Greek literary compositions. The author(s) of the Pentateuch use many of the same literary and thematic patterns as later Greco-Roman historiographers.⁷⁴ The literary idea known as “historical reoccurrence”⁷⁵ becomes strikingly apparent with a juxtaposition of Livy’s cycles of Roman history (foundation, rise and decline) and those of the proposed Pentateuchal history (exile, judgement and transcendence).

The reoccurring cycle of Jewish history (exile, judgement, and transcendence) can be demonstrated in both the Torah and the *Nevi'im*.⁷⁶ The clearest vantage point of the cycle can be located in the Torah and may be observed best by isolation of one of the most pivotal events in Jewish history, the Egyptian bondage.⁷⁷ The four-hundred year Hebrew exile in the biblical account acts as the “initial separation” or first period in the cycle. It is followed by a second period of subsequent “judgement” and forty years wandering in the wilderness.⁷⁸ The cycle culminates in a “transcendence period,” a juncture when the Hebrews are allowed to cross over into the promised land of Canaan.⁷⁹

The cyclic theme of exile, judgment, and transcendence can also be observed throughout the *Nevi'im*. In the *Nevi'im*, the first classical prophet whose works appear in the Hebrew Bible, Amos (writing in the eighth century BCE, during the relative calm and success of Jeroboam II), through prophecy, im-

PLICITLY addresses the Jewish perspective of “time” as a cycle.⁸⁰ To start, Amos’ divination is firmly rooted in the sacred traditions of Israel’s past.⁸¹ Throughout the work, he often reminds the Northern Kingdom of Israel’s history of divine reoccurrence; and his prophetic cycle always remains congruent with the Hebrews’ historic cycle of exile, judgement, and transcendence.⁸² Amos opens his narrative with the denunciation of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. What then follows is a grave prediction of an Assyrian exile that he refers to as “the Day of the Lord.”⁸³ The prophet makes explicit references to the grim threat of the common Assyrian practice of deportation (Amos 3.11, 6.7, 7.17). He then issues a prophetic foresight to the Northern Kingdom that involves the customary transitional phase of judgment after the separation of the Jews from their God, “They [Israel] shall wander from sea to sea, and from North to East; they shall run to and fro, seeking the word of the Lord, but they shall not find it” (Amos 8:12). Finally, in closing, Amos forecasts the reuniting of Israel with her Lord (transcendence): “I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel, and they shall rebuild the ruined cities and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and drink their wine, and they shall make gardens and eat their fruit”⁸⁴ (Amos 9:14).

It is apparent in both the Torah and Nevi’im that the phenomenon of “historical reoccurrence” is predicated on a sequential theme; this theme is constructed around the premise of three concepts. First, the Hebrews will experience a period at which an initial separation or an “exile” from their Lord must take place (usually due to moral transgressions). Second, an intermediate or “transitional” phase must be observed through a period of judgement, then enlightenment, which can only be issued by the Lord (typically, this period is portrayed in the Hebrew Scriptures as the “wilderness” or “desert” or “wandering in the desert”).⁸⁵ Lastly, a culminating or “transcendence” period is represented by a return to godliness; this period is first described in the Pentateuch as “crossing over” into the “promised land.”⁸⁶ It is important to consider that the thematic presentation of the Jewish concept of “historical reoccurrence” is

based on a divine interpretation of time,⁸⁷ and that the human dimensions of time, which exist only in days, weeks and years, are irrelevant to the overall progression of the cycle; rather, the concept of event-fulfillment is key to the fruition of the thematic nature of the cycle.

Retrospective-Progressive View of Time

Post-exilic Judaism showed few signs of uniformity and essentially displayed no indication of homogenizing in the late Hellenistic and Roman eras. Advancement of Jewish cultural identity in the third and second centuries BCE could be largely attributed to Hellenistic acculturative pressures.⁸⁸ Large-scale sociological and religiopolitical changes may have fragmented the existing Jewish culture and created an environment in which varying philosophies would arise in an attempt to remedy the present situation and address the future of Judaism. As we have discussed earlier, our sources for the early Second Temple Period are meager at best. However, scholars have been able to reconstruct the early period based on the accounts given by several sources in the late Second Temple Period.

The Damascus Document (CD)⁸⁹ is a document that was produced by the Essenes⁹⁰ sometime during the late second century BCE.⁹¹ In the document, the Essenes provide a rich historical narrative of events that has furnished scholars with a substantial amount of information regarding the development of their movement and overall state of Judaism at the time.⁹² It seems most likely that the group found its origins in and around the same time that the CD was produced and believed itself to be a prominent sect among Jewish culture until just prior to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.⁹³ A group called the Yahad seemed to have been a later development of the Essenes and eventually became one of two orders that had attached itself to the new covenant of the CD;⁹⁴ however, they produced a more liturgical, intensive document called the “Community Rule” (Serek ha-Yahad; 1QS). Scholars believe that the 1QS was not written specifically for the group at Qumran (Yahad), but would have

definitely applied to the group and among other communities throughout the land of Judea.⁹⁵

In regards to the Essenes' view of time, the interpretation of the CD and 1QS can be best understood if considered with another type of literature that was produced by the Essenes at Qumran, the Pesharim. The Pesharim can be described as biblical exegeses or scriptural commentaries named after the Hebrew term *peshet* (pl. *pesharim*).⁹⁶ The *pesharim* found at Qumran give valuable insight into the beliefs and practices of the Essene community that left them behind. The most noteworthy *pesharim* that will apply to the Essene's implicit understanding of "time" are the Habakkuk Peshet, the Nahum Peshet and the Peshet on The Psalms.

A synopsis of the narrative of the CD with the Pesharim uncovers a very different Jewish response (than that of the Sadducees and the Pharisees) to the encroachment of Hellenistic pressures and the turbulent political environment of the late Second Temple Period. In the Peshet Nahum (4Q169), when describing the three Jewish sects, the Essene group refers to itself as the true Israel; it then enumerates its opponents as the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim. They believed that they had established a "new covenant with God."⁹⁸ The CD places the group's historical narrative firmly in the enlightenment phase of the "judgment period" in the Pentateuchal cycle. The CD is explicit that the group has moved beyond the "exile" period of the cycle,

And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon [reference to a 390 year spiritual exile], He visited them.... and they perceived their iniquity [sins] and recognized [repented] that they were guilty men... and God observed their deeds, that they sought him with a whole heart, and He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide [enlighten] them in the way of His heart"(4Q268).

This passage may be seen as analogous to a portion of the Pentateuchal cycle, more specifically, “Egyptian exile” (period of separation from God), then a subsequent “wandering in wilderness” (judgment period), inevitably followed by the issuing of the Mosaic Covenant and Law concerning the forgiveness of sins (enlightenment phase of the judgement period). Another piece of evidence supporting the Essenes’ belief that they were living in the enlightenment phase of the “judgment period” was the sect’s insistence on making an oath to return to the Laws of Moses: “...they shall enroll him with the oath of the Covenant which Moses made with Israel, the Covenant to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart and soul.”⁹⁹ There has even been some scholarly investigation that suggests that the Essenes believed that the Covenant of Moses had been previously issued by God to the patriarchs, but was lost during the Egyptian exile.¹⁰⁰

The CD and the Pesharim tell that the Essenes had to confront both a struggle within the internal politics of Judaism as well as an external Roman occupation. This dynamic led the sect to develop a radically progressive solution to the environment in which they lived. At some point in the history of the movement, it underwent a separation from the Temple Cult in Jerusalem, and through clever exegesis they were able to effectively by-pass the animal sacrificial requirements demanded in the Pentateuch by substituting a highly innovative practice involving a ritualistic communal meal (CD, 1QS).¹⁰¹ Also, by adopting the terminology “edah” **עדה**; meaning: congregation) when describing their movement, the Essenes may have shrewdly drawn another association between the sect and the Pentateuchal cycle. The use of the term “edah” may have been an attempt to relate their movement to the earlier “edah” (congregation of Hebrews) that followed Moses in the wilderness during the enlightenment phase of “judgement period” in the Pentateuchal cycle.

Interestingly, in the War Scroll,¹⁰³ the Essenes were also able to address the final period of “transcendence” in the Pentateuchal cycle. The temporal viewpoint of the The War Scroll is effectively able to keep the Essenes’

eschatological agenda congruent with the “transcendence period” in the Pentateuchal cycle by updating the the Jewish interpretation of the time-cycle to address the new Hellenistic realities of the Late Second Temple Period.¹⁰⁴ In Essene eschatology, the “transcendence period” of the time-cycle is allowed to metamorphose into a greater metaphysical sphere by emphasizing a coming to godliness rather than the original Pentateuchal idea of the physical act of crossing over (transcending) into the promised land, yet, another progressive idea spawned by the Essenes that was firmly lodged in the past of Hebrews.

In a way, the Essenes were an oddity among oddities. In their literature, they portrayed themselves as the most strict and conservative group among all Jews, yet their inherent circumstantial separation from the Temple Cult produced a radically progressive culture that was responsible for the introduction of novel ideas such as celibacy and anti-slavery oaths to Second Temple Judaism.¹⁰⁵ The unique environment of the late Second Temple Period helped to create a culture of Jewish thought that employed a “retrospective progressive” method of explaining the present by projecting an interpreted meaning of the past onto the imminent future. Such a method was typically accomplished by plucking past events from a distant heritage (Torah and *Nevi'im*) and subsequently making sense of the “now,” in the context of the “then.”

Retrospective progressivism and Christianity

Several attempts have been made over the years to link the DSS and the Essene sect directly to the New Testament.¹⁰⁶ Most of these attempts have not withstood scholarly scrutiny and have lost credibility due to what DSS scholar Geza Vermes calls, “theories that are foisted onto the text, rather than theories that come from the text.”¹⁰⁷ In nearly every case, it is apparent that the potential links that were to be established are done through trifling details, or analysis of one small ritual or legal practice versus another.¹⁰⁸

In certain situations, undoubtedly, a telescope rather than a microscope may be desired to observe a particular phenomenon, as often it is the case that

by standing too close to a single tree, one may be left unaware of the forest. I would argue to any scholar seeking a connection between Essenism and Early Christianity that it is surely there, but to observe it, one must first begin by opening the aperture of possibilities.

From a certain view, the Gospel of Matthew and the CD start to look shockingly similar. The Exhortation of the CD tells us that the Essenes experienced an exile until they were visited by God.¹⁰⁹ Then the Essenes were made aware of their transgressions and spent twenty years wandering in the wilderness before they were relieved by a prophetic teacher (the Teacher of Righteousness), sent by God, to enlighten the way. The CD makes clear that he who heeds the voice of the Teacher and confesses before God shall receive His salvation and prevail over all of the sons of the Earth.¹¹⁰ A broad literary analysis of the CD reveals the typical Essene cycle of historical reoccurrence (the Essene cycle deviates from the Pentateuchal in that it involves a unique metaphysical and spiritual emphasis on the cyclic nature of the exile, wilderness and transcendence phenomena of time). A comparison of the CD to the Book of Matthew (chapters 3-5) will offer a very similar metaphysical alteration to the Pentateuchal perception of the passage of time. In chapter 3:5-7, Matthew implicitly reveals that the Jews are experiencing a spiritual exile and are coming down from Jerusalem and all of Judea, to cross the Jordan so that they may be enlightened. The Jews are made aware of their sins by a certain Teacher (John the Baptist) who came from out of the “wilderness.”¹¹¹ The Teacher demands the confession of sins before God so that they may receive salvation in accord with what is righteous.¹¹² They are told to rejoice for they shall inherit the earth.¹¹³ Again, a broad analysis of the events recorded in chapters 3-5 in the Book of Matthew shows unquestionable uniformity with the narrative of the CD. Both documents are written in compliance with the historical cycle of the Pentateuch and both documents have also progressed away from the strict physical and extroverted understanding of temporal events, towards a more introverted and metaphysical awareness of the cycle of time. However similar,

the conceptual notion of time is between the two documents, and further scholarly investigation is warranted before a causal connection may be confidently displayed.

As for Essenism itself, what can be made of its relevance and contribution to the here and now? Essenism is dead, argued Geza Vermes in his 2004 introduction to *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*. He is emphatic in his conclusion regarding the status of the sect.

The brittle structure of its [Essenes] stiff and exclusive brotherhood was unable to withstand the national catastrophe which struck Palestinian Judaism in 70 CE. Animated by the loftiest of ideals and devoted to the observance of perfect holiness, it yet lacked the pliant strength and the elasticity of thought and depth of spiritual vision which enabled rabbinic Judaism to survive and flourish. And although the Teacher of Righteousness clearly sensed the deeper obligations implicit in the Mosaic Law, he was without the genius of Jesus the Jew who succeeded in uncovering the essence of religion as an existential relationship between man and man and man and God.¹¹⁴

However, in light of a different vantage, and in the broader sense, I propose this question: Is Essenism dead, or was it simply absorbed in part by its successors? Much like that of the other late Second Temple Judaisms, it appears to be alive and well, its legacy preserved in part through the sacred history of modern Christian and Rabbinic Jewish traditions that are firmly rooted in, and continue to hold fast to, a much earlier tradition, that is, the highly innovative Essenic retrospective progressivist tradition of time.

Conclusion

All too often we humans make decisions without reflection, and our daily experience with time is likely to undergo the same fate. All unconscious deci-

sions are nonetheless internally produced, and the actions that are predicated on them are typically mundane, but they can also be innovative; generally speaking unconscious thought is responsible for a majority of one's activities throughout a lifetime. Psychologist Timothy D. Wilson says that we switch back and forth between conscious and unconscious modes of thinking based on the circumstances.¹¹⁵ The portion of the human intellect that is responsible for such leaps in reason is what psychologists such as Wilson refer to as the adaptive unconscious.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, the adaptive unconscious is what Canadian journalist and best selling author Malcolm Gladwell calls "a decision-making apparatus that is capable of making very quick judgements based on very little information."¹¹⁷ It is at this level of thinking (the level of the adaptive unconscious) that the human mind relies most on preset customs and cultural constructs to formulate an assessment for both the ordinary and spontaneous situations that arise in daily life.

There is no doubt that the modern mind's perception of time has been influenced by its ancestral past, and that the adaptive unconscious is just as powerful a decision making apparatus today as it was in the remote past. The abstract concepts that I have referred to as the Progressivist, Conservative, and Retrospective Progressive interpretations of time may all be considered cultural artifacts; gems that open a window to the mentality of their ancient user. It is my opinion that more important than demonstrating the reality of these concepts, is the ability to recognize them as operational precepts of human behavior that effect our current perception of time. Ideas that the classical mind produced, and to which the current mind is bound, may help illuminate valuable cultural beliefs and practices that give key insight into human behavior, and thus explain current biological and psychosocial phenomena.

NOTES

- ¹ Refer to Zeno's paradox; Zeno of Elea established a series of arguments against plurality and motion. Nicholas Bunnin and Jiyuan Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 741.

- ² This is a quote from Plato's *Timaeus*. *Timaeus* is a work that gives Plato's account of the creation of the world. Plato, *Timaeus* trans. D. Zeyl (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 2002), 24.
- ³ Robert Audi, ed., *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 803.
- ⁴ Paul Fitzgerald, "Four Kinds of Temporal Becoming," *Philosophical Topics* (University of Arkansas: Arkansas University Press, 1985): 145-177.
- ⁵ A-series tenses are depicted as real; B-series as unreal. Most Christian philosophers and natural philosophers in general have embodied this approach. Despite the paradoxical implications, the A- theory saw its greatest rise in popularity after the publication of the "tense logic" formulated by Arthur N. Prior (1914-1969).
- ⁶ Philosophical absurdity is defined as an undeniable contradiction or incoherence in a belief or proposition. Brunnin and Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, 6.
- ⁷ Refer to footnote #2. Plato, *Timaeus*, 24.
- ⁸ Several arguments against philosophical logic have been successfully documented. For an excellent review on types of philosophical arguments refer to Brunnin and Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, 519.
- ⁹ This is a type of *reductio ad absurdum* argument. "These types of contradictions can arise from using terms belonging to one category as though they belonged to another. Gilbert Ryle called such absurdities 'category mistakes'." Brunnin and Yu, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, 6.
- ¹⁰ An innate, daily fluctuation of physiologic and behavioral functions - e.g., sleep, waking patterns - generally tied to the 24-hour day-night cycle. Joseph C. Segen, *Concise Dictionary of Modern Medicine* (Middlesex, UK: Farlax Inc., 2011).
- ¹¹ For the analysis of the idea of how human ritual precedes belief see Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985).
- ¹² Augustine, *Confessions* 11, c. 14.
- ¹³ Stephen J. Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*. (Massachusetts: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1987), 10-11.
- ¹⁴ Ancient Greek and Hebrew cultures struggled to an inconsistency when describing dichotomy of time. Although both linear and cyclic concepts of time are addressed in the ancient world, scholars believe that the cyclic nature typically took precedent over the linear understanding of time. For more concerning this see Steven Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*. 12
- ¹⁵ Steven Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*, 12.
- ¹⁶ John E. McTaggart, "Unreality of Time," *Mind: A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy* 17, (1908): 456-473.
- ¹⁷ Steven Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*, 11.
- ¹⁸ G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, and M. Schofield., *The Presocratic Philosophers* (University of Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 7-74.
- ¹⁹ Kirk et al., *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 7.

- 20 Homer, who by saying 'Okeanos begetter of gods and mother, had Tethys declare all things to be offspring of flux and motion.' See chapter on "Flux" for a review of this idea. Kirk et al., *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 15.
- 21 Cosmogony is the study of how the universe came into being.
- 22 During the Classical age (5th century BCE), numerous cosmological theories and philosophical concepts concerning the nature of time were proposed; the philosophical understanding of time should not be confused with the later historiographic view that followed a cyclical reoccurring theme as mandated by the Greek historiographic genre. An important collection of essays concerning the idea of cyclical history can be reviewed in *History and the Concept of Time* (edited by George H. Nadel), *History and Theory* 6 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966).
- 23 Philip Wheelwright, *Heraclitus* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959).
- 24 Wheelwright, *Heraclitus*, 24.
- 25 Wheelwright, *Heraclitus*. 1959.
- 26 Being and Becoming in Modern Physics. First published Wed Jul 11, 2001; substantive revision Tue Sep 5, 2006. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/spacetime-become/notes.html#1>
- 27 Some pre-Socratic schools of thought such as Pythagoras were already showing great interest in the idea of kairos. Phillip Sipiora and James S. Bauman, eds., *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory and Praxis* (Albany, New York: State University of NY Press, 2002), 59. Although kairos does not occur in the Homeric cycle; it is used in a rough form in Hesiod (7th Century BCE), "observe due measure and proportion (kairos) is best in all things." H.G. Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *Greek English Lexicon* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2007), 859.
- 28 James Kinneavy and Catherine R. Eskin, "Kairos in Aristotle's Rhetoric," *Written Communication* 17, no. 3 (2002): 432-444.
- 29 James Kinneavy, Phillip Sipiora and James S. Bauman, *Kairos in Classical and Modern Rhetorical Theory* (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 2002), 58-75.
- 30 James Kinneavy, Phillip Sipiora and James S. Bauman, *Kairos in Classical and Modern Rhetorical Theory* (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 2002), 58-75. Kinneavy, Sipiora and Bauman, *Kairos in Classical and Modern Rhetorical Theory*, 58-75.
- 31 Mastery of rhetoric, and in a sense life, demanded mastery of kairos. Sipiora and Bauman, *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory and Praxis*, 59.
- 32 Francis M. Dunn, "Antiphon on Time (B9 D-K)," *The American Journal of Philology* (John Hopkins University Press, 1996): 65-69.
- 33 Patricia Matsen, Phillip Rollinson and Marion Sousa, *Readings from Classical Rhetoric* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990).
- 34 In *Panathenaicus*, Isocrates wrote that educated people are those "who manage well the circumstances which they encounter day by day, and who possess a judgment which is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action." Isocrates, *Loeb Classics. Isocrates II: On the Peace. Areopagiticus. Against the Sophists. Antidosis*. *Panathenaicus* trans. G. Nolin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929).
- 35 Kinneavy, Sipiora and Bauman, *Kairos in Classical and Modern Rhetorical Theory*, 66.

- 36 Although the mechanical watch was not invented until the 14th century CE, archaeological finds such as the Antikythera mechanism (a 4th century BCE astrological clock used to calculate the position and phases of the moon, planets and sun), hemispherical sun dials (hour clocks) and hellenic calendars all suggest that the Classical Greek had more than just a philosophical interest in time. For a fascinating article on Greek time keeping devices such as the Antikythera mechanism refer to, A.D. Pinotsis, "The Antikythera Mechanism: Who was its creator and what was its use and purpose?" *Astronomical and Astrophysical Transactions* (London, UK: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007): 211-226.
- 37 Kinneavy and Eskin, "Kairos in Aristotle's Rhetoric," 433.
- 38 Robert M Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values* (New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1974), 413.
- 39 The Christian Bible makes many primary references to Judaism and Hellenism: "So the Greek way of life caught on very quickly, and the adoption of foreign customs increased because of Jason-" 2 Maccabees 4:13, "Greek-speaking disciples accused the Aramaic-speaking disciples..." Acts 6:1. New International Version. However, for a more comprehensive analysis of secondary sources concerning the diffusion of Greek culture in antiquity refer to, E.J. Bickerman's work "The Jews in a Greek age"; J.J. Collins and G.E. Sterling "Hellenism in the Land of Israel"; and for a brief but significant study of Judasim and Hellenism in Antiquity, see, Lee I. Levine "Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?." The First Book of the Maccabees, gives a detailed description of the Hasmonean Revolt between 175-135 BCE. The Maccabean account ascribes the revolt to Hellenistic cultural pressures and the religious persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanies IV. R.J. Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 432-433.
- 41 Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary: Third Edition, SV Hellenism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 677-679.
- 42 OCD3 SV Hellenism, Hellenisation, S.H., 677-78.
- 43 Roman victories against the Greek Achaean league at the Battle of Corinth (146 BCE), as well as their culminating victory over Carthage in the Third Punic War in 146 BCE, marked an important turning point in Roman expansionism; Rome could no longer pretend that its military conquests were in self-defense. For a brief survey of Roman expansionism during (264-146 BCE) see Paul Erdkamp and Dexter Hoyos, *A Companion to the Roman Army*; Chapter 4: The Age of Overseas Expansion (Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007).
- 44 OCD3 SV Hellenism, Hellenisation, S.H., 678.
- 45 Horace, *The Second Book of the Epistles*.
- 46 C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *De Grammaticis at Rhetoribus*, I.I , trans. Kaster (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- 47 The concept of *mos maiorum* may be originally tied to the Decemvirates composition of the Twelve Tables (Livy, AUC, book three). OCD3 SV Twelve Tablets, M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statues* (1996), no.40.
- 48 "Augustus, conditorem ac restitutorem" Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, trans. Aubrey De Sellincourt (London, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 2002), 4.20.7. "Restorer and founder," a rather clever contradictory in terms, yet effective rhetoric to set precedent for the acceptance of the radical changes endured by the late Republic.

- 49 "Libera ab auctoribus patriciis suffragia maiores vestri paravere." Livius, *The History of Rome*, 3.6.15. Some scholars have pointed to the tendency of democratic politicians (or the charismatic appeal of the agents employed by them) to find avenues to undermine the conservative nature of the *mos maiorum* in the better interest of their own political agendas. Gary B. Miles, *Livy: Reconstructing Early Rome* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 120.
- 50 E.J. Kenney and W.V. Clausen, *The Age of Augustus* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 42. Peter V. Jones and Keith C. Kidwell, *The World of Rome: An Introduction to Roman Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132. M.K. Thornton and R.L. Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management* (Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers Inc., 1989), 106.
- 51 Suetonius, *De Grammaticis at Rhetoribus*, I.I.
- 52 The battle of Mons Graupius was fought in northern Scotland in 83 CE between the Roman Empire and the Caledonian Confederacy.
- 53 Tacitus, *De Vita Agricolae*, eds. R.M. Ogilvie and Sir Ian Richmond (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1967), 113.
- 54 Much like the term "old glory" is not just another word for flag; rather, it may be used as an expression to identify with American patronage.
- 55 Chiasitic structures are two or more clauses that are inverted parallelism and are often used in classical Rhetoric to make a larger point.
- 56 Miles, *Livy*, 111-136.
- 57 Livius Andronicus translated the *Odusia*, which was a Latin translation of the *Odyssey*. Only 46 fragmented versus from seventeen of the twenty-four original Greek books are extant. Prior to the *Odusia*, it seems that Roman interest in literature was meager at best.
- 58 T.A. Dorey, "The Textual Tradition of Livy," *The Classical Quarterly; New Series* (Cambridge University Press, 1958):161-164.
- 59 Miles, *Livy*, 111-136.
- 60 Prior to the historiographical approach of Roman historians Sallust and Livy, history was recorded in the Annalistic tradition. Sallust, a predecessor of Livy and arguably first to adopt their common historiographical method, was most famous for his use of historiography as a vehicle to pass judgment on 1st century Roman politics for its slow decline in morals and drift away from the *mos maiorum* (refer to Sallust's works, "Jugurthine War" and "Catilinarian Conspiracy.") The Annalistic tradition was based on the *annales maximi*, documented by the pontifex maximus during the Roman republic. Generally, these documents served as little more than chronicles that recorded historical accounts in a chronological and linear fashion. *Annales maximi* for the most part were not concerned with thematic or cyclical interpretations of historical events. However, these documents would later serve as an important source for the earliest Roman historians. OCD3 SV *annales maximi*, T.J. Co., M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statues* (1996), no.40.
- 61 Historical reoccurrence is a historiographic phenomenon that occurs throughout ancient literature; it is best understood as a literary phenomenon that causes historical events or themes to be presented in a cyclic nature.
- 62 Miles, *Livy*, 72-109.
- 63 Miles, *Livy*, 111.
- 64 Miles, *Livy*, 111-136.

- 65 In the work, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, and M. Schofield provide several arguments supporting the Near Eastern origin for many of the Greek concepts developed in the pre-Socratic age, 74-92.
- 66 By making use of archaeological, textual and historical evidence, Burkert was able to detect the influence of the Ancient Near East on Archaic Greek thought and literature. Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (Harvard University Press, 1992).
- 67 Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*.
- 68 Louis H. Feldman, "Homer and the Near East: The Rise of the Greek Genius," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 59, no. 1 (1996): 13-21.
- 69 See authors: Walter Burkert, G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven, M. Schofield and Louis H. Feldman.
- 70 By the second century BCE the five books of the Torah were already being composed together on the same scroll (suggesting not only their authority put the importance of the sequence). VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 96, 104.
- 71 The Sadducees were the exception as they only accepted the Torah as authoritative. The early Jerusalem church (Kingdom of God Movement) is often added to Josephus' original three Jewish sects when describing the state of Judaism in late Second Temple Period. John D. Crossan, *The Birth of Christianity: Discovering What Happened in the Years Immediately After the Execution of Jesus* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998).
- 72 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*; Books XVIII-XIX, trans. Louis H. Feldman (Great Britain: St. Edmundsbury Press Ltd., 1965), 1-4.
- 73 Crossan, *The Birth of Christianity*, 18.
- 74 Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*.
- 75 See footnote #59 for background on "historical reoccurrence."
- 76 Refer to the chart, *Cycle of Historical Reoccurrence in Biblical History*, in the appendix of this essay for juxtaposition of the Torah and Nevi'im cycles.
- 77 "And he said unto Abram, know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years." Genesis 15:13
"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." Exodus 20:40, NIV.
- 78 Then the LORD said, "I will forgive as you requested. But as I live and as the LORD's glory fills the entire earth, none of the men who saw my glory and the signs I did in Egypt and in the desert, but tested me these ten times and haven't listened to my voice, will see the land I promised to their ancestors. All who disrespected me won't see it. Number 14:20-23, NIV.
- 79 References to the Hebrews' entry into the promise-land can be found in Numbers 14:24, 32:13, Lev 25:1-9. The historical cycle can be opaquely observed throughout the entirety of the Tanakh. Beginning as early as Adam and Eve's expulsion from the garden, to Hezekiah uniting of the northern kingdom after the Assyrian exile, then finally concluded with the restoration of the Covenant under Josiah.
- 80 The theme can be observed throughout the Nevi'im, more notably in the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk. However, the book of Amos is discussed here because of its lucid obedience to the theme of exile, judgement and transcendence.
- 81 Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 241.

- ⁸² Amos 2:9-10, 3:1 demonstrates the historical exile period; Amos 5:25 refers to God's judgment of Israel in wilderness; and Amos 9:7-10, refers to Amos' unusually negative perspective of the transcendence phase, NIV.
- ⁸³ "Day of the Lord", Amos 5:18-20. This is an expression that is used in the Hebrew scriptures that typically represents a time in the future when the Lord will dramatically intervene in human affairs to establish his will. NRSV 1302.
- ⁸⁴ Scholars believe the eschatological portion of Amos was a post-exilic redaction; it may have been added so that the book would conclude with a positive note of the promise land tradition (transcendence). Eliade, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. II, 242.
- ⁸⁵ For an outstanding review of the usage of the word "wilderness" or "desert", see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04749a.htm>
- ⁸⁶ The divine promise of land is first made to Abraham in Genesis 15:18-21. The promise was later confirmed to Jacob in Genesis 28:13, NIV.
- ⁸⁷ God's construct of time occurs in a dimension other than that of the human dimension of time. Wentzel Van Huyssteen, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Science and Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 2003), 896.
- ⁸⁸ See the Book of I Maccabees for a description of the Jewish climate in Palestine under the persecution of Seleucid Empire.
- ⁸⁹ The Damascus Document abbreviated as the CD (the Cairo Damascus document) or Damascus Rule was originally found in Cairo and was the only sectarian work known prior to the DSS discovery.
- ⁹⁰ The Essenes were one of the three Jewish sects mentioned by Jewish historian Josephus in the first century CE. The other two sects are those of the Sadducees and Pharisees. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 8:15
- ⁹¹ Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 52-53
- ⁹² Audi, *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*.
- ⁹³ Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Text: Companion to the Qumran Scrolls* (England: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 2000), 45-55.
- ⁹⁴ Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 51.
- ⁹⁵ Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 54.
- ⁹⁶ Timothy Lim, *The Pesharim: Composition to the Qumran Scrolls* (London: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 2002), 13.
- ⁹⁷ The Yahad's enumeration of its opponents as the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim may have been used as an uncomplimentary comparison to the house of Joseph, and also known at that time as refugees from the fallen northern kingdom.
- ⁹⁸ The new covenant is referred to in CD. The statue required to enter the covenant required a "return to the Law of Moses" 138.
- ⁹⁹ Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 38.
- ¹⁰⁰ See evidence on Essene authorship of Jubilees. J. C. Vanderkam and J. T. Milik "The First Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Gave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, no. 2 (Summer, 1991):243-270.
- ¹⁰¹ How to deal with the loss of the Temple Cult may have already been an idea that had developed and introduced into Judaism during the three year band of the temple practices by the Seleucids.

- ¹⁰² In the book of Numbers, the term “edah” (congregation) was used to describe the Hebrews in the wilderness just before crossing over into the promised land. The CD and pesher Psalms continuously refer to the Qumran community as the “edah.” (cite)
- ¹⁰³ The War Scroll is a document that was found in the DSS cache and is made up of various scrolls and fragments including 1QM, and 4Q491-497.
- ¹⁰⁴ For a detailed and novel analysis regarding subject the War Scroll and the eschatological views of Qumran, See *Conquering the World* by Brain Schultz.
- ¹⁰⁵ For more on this subject see the chapter on “The Qumran Essenes”, Vanderkam, *The DSS Today*. second ed, 2010.
- ¹⁰⁶ For an outstanding review see Vanderkam, “Part Four: The Scrolls and the new Testament” in *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*.
- ¹⁰⁷ Vermes, *The Complete DSS*, 21.
- ¹⁰⁸ For more on this see *Qumran and the New Testament*; Vermes, *The Complete DSS*, 21-23.
- ¹⁰⁹ Vermes, *The Complete DSS*, 129.
- ¹¹⁰ Vermes, *The Complete DSS*, 137-38.
- ¹¹¹ Matthew 3:3, NRSV
- ¹¹² Matthew 3:6, 3:15 NRSV
- ¹¹³ Matthew 5:5 NRSV
- ¹¹⁴ Vermes, *The Complete DSS*, 25.
- ¹¹⁵ Timothy D. Wilson. *Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive*. (Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).
- ¹¹⁶ Wilson, *Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive*.
- ¹¹⁷ Malcolm Gladwell. *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking* (New York: Back Bay Books/Little, Brown and Company, 2005) 12.