SPIRALINEAR TIME: RELIGIOUS CALENDAR FORMATION, MOMENTUM,

AND CHANGE WITHIN A DYNAMIC TIME STRUCTURE

by

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(Under the Direction of Carolyn Jones Medine)

ABSTRACT

This work explores the reciprocal relationship between sacred time as manifest in religious calendars and their parent religious traditions. The primary purpose of the work is to introduce a new conceptual tool for diagramming and studying the functions and effects of recurring religious holidays and rituals. This conceptual tool is called "spiralinear time," and it combines several of the traditional dualities assigned to concepts of time such as linear versus cyclical. The spiralinear time concept is built upon observation of several calendar traditions of Western civilization as well as major theories of time in the study of religion. This thesis will also defend the idea of co-development and co-genesis between a given religion and its associated calendar, rather than viewing the calendar as a direct product of its religion. It will show that calendars are thus one of the most effective tools in the purpose-driven evolution of religion, as well as one of the most interesting products thereof.

INDEX WORDS: sacred time, religious calendar, liturgical year, Hebrew calendar, harvest festival, ritual time, seasonal festival, intercalation, Thanksgiving, Halloween, time line, lunisolar, cyclical time

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family. It is dedicated to my parents, who instilled in me a profound love of learning and discovery, as well as ethics, curiosity, and Judaism, among other things. It is dedicated to my sister, who is the best kind of sister one could ask for because she is my dear friend. It is dedicated to the memory of my grandfathers, and to my grandmothers, for their unwavering support of my education and development as a young woman. It is dedicated to my beloved spouse, without whose help I could not have achieved this milestone, and because she has deepened and expanded my religious exploration and my sense of compassion for others, especially animals. And finally, this thesis is dedicated to my daughter, whose presence in my life has given me the greatest joy a human being can know.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores several aspects of the reciprocal relationship between sacred time, as manifest in religious holidays and calendars, and religious tradition. Using evidence from annual holidays of the Jewish, Christian, American civil religious, and pagan calendar traditions of Western civilization, the thesis suggests a model of co-development and co-genesis between a given religion and its associated calendar, rather than viewing the calendar as a direct product of its religion. It will present the idea that by altering or generating a sacred time structure, one can effectively alter or generate religion. It will also provide examples of the ways in which this has occurred throughout history, both intentionally and accidentally. Religious leaders have used calendar modification as an aid in conversion and proselytization campaigns, sectarianism, cultic centralization, cultural and religious appropriation, and other religious movements and maneuvers. Calendars are therefore one of the most effective tools in the purpose-driven evolution of religion, as well as one of the most interesting products thereof.

By extrapolating from observations about religious calendars and their formation, this thesis will introduce a novel method of time reckoning that incorporates the cyclical and linear aspects of sacred time into a three-dimensional model. Called "spiralinear time," because its shape combines a spiral helix with multiple connecting straight lines, this model allows for significant connections between moments separated by considerable spans of time without necessitating a stagnant cycle or unidirectional line. It suggests that moments of sacred time are *time intersections* at which common

linear time and cyclical/sacred/eternal time connect. Each of these moments is part of a continuum of moments that are related more closely to each other than to the actual temporal moments that occur just before or after the event. In simpler terms, this year's Rosh Hashanah holiday is more related to previous Rosh Hashanah holidays than to the "profane" days occurring immediately before and after. Thus, each holiday is part of its own linear flow as well as part of the flow of time as a whole. By acknowledging and observing the unique character of festivals and observances that occur on a yearly basis, this thesis aims to show how religious holidays maintain a perceived structure of time in the lives of participants.

The spiralinear model of time becomes relevant for the study of religious calendar development because each religious holiday contains a powerful momentum of tradition. This power must be acknowledged and dealt with in order to successfully alter a calendar event. Conversely, once a successful change has occurred, it then carries forth this powerful momentum. Since time, as a series of moments, impacts how human beings experience the world, this helps to explain the tremendous impact of sacred time and calendars on religious formation and evolution.

This model has implications that extend far beyond abstract conceptualization. Used properly, the time spiral can become a tool for self-awareness, religious development, and human understanding. By creating a diagram of one's own time spiral, one can gain an understanding of the events that play a major role in one's life and how those events influence life as a whole. By comparing one's time spiral with someone else's, one can see similarities and differences in the ways that individuals of different backgrounds and religions see their time on the planet. Religious leaders can use a diagram of a religious time spiral to evaluate the significance of the holiday cycle

in members' lives, perhaps leading to a better understanding of how to get people more involved in certain aspects of religious life.

In this thesis I discuss a wide range of calendar traditions and religious festivals, holidays, and rituals that take place throughout the Western hemisphere and span a vast range of time periods. I do not claim to be an expert in all of these areas and I have relied heavily on the work of others. I will show how to move beyond the limitations of previous scholarship in order to combine careful observation of a wide range of calendar traditions, thereby arriving at the spiralinear time model described in this work. While this thesis at times delves into the intuitive, it will present a diverse body of evidence to support its claims. Similarly, although the nature of this work requires generalizations to be made from time to time, I strive to maintain the unique integrity of each tradition.

In Chapter Two I will explain a few of the basic concepts related to sacred time and religious theory that provide the foundation for understanding the rest of the thesis. I will also explore the work of a few previous scholars whose work tends to fall into a dualistic model. I will then call attention to the necessity of moving beyond dualistic thinking in religious time theory.

In Chapter Three I will explore two holiday traditions that shed light on the ways in which holidays change and adjust over time. One is the tradition of the autumn harvest festival as it appears in the American celebration of Thanksgiving and the Jewish celebration of Sukkot. The other is the American celebration of Halloween along with its complex relationship to the various Celtic observations of Samhain and the Catholic tradition of All Saints' and All Souls' Days. This exploration will show the tendency for cross-cultural borrowing of festivals to create a rich variety of rituals whose origins are impossible to entirely understand. It will also show how this historical

flexibility allows for tradition to be continually interpreted and reinterpreted, forging a tradition with both ancient and modern elements.

In Chapter Four I will compare several calendars from the Jewish apocalyptic period and contrast them with the calendars developed in Judaism both before and after that era. These Jewish apocalyptic calendars demonstrate what can happen when a society chooses to interpret calendars in an obsessively rigid fashion. By elevating calendar issues to a level of importance above society itself, these ancient Jews created separate religious sects, each with its own calendar. This type of calendar veneration emphasized the *form* of the calendar to the same level or above the *function* of the calendar.

In Chapter Five I will introduce the spiralinear time model and explain how it serves as a useful tool for studying the form and especially the function of religious calendars and holiday cycles. I will also show how the model is superior in its ability to be used to describe changes to holidays over time. Finally, in Chapter Six, I will draw upon all the evidence presented in the thesis to make a few conclusions, to demonstrate some possible uses of the spiralinear time model, and to point to some directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: SACRED TIME THEORY

Basic Concepts

Several terms and concepts used throughout this work may be unfamiliar to some readers. These include sacred time, solar equinox, solar calendar, lunar calendar, intercalation, civil religion, and apocalyptic religion and literature. The following brief explanations of these key ideas will help in understanding the thesis as a whole.

Sacred Time

Barbara Sproul, author of the article "Sacred Time" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade, begins with the following:

> Time is the context and content of reality, at once the eternal, unchanging environment of our being and its momentary, ever-changing mode of expression. Conceived absolutely, it is timeless; perceived relatively, it is timely. And it is the paradoxical relation of these two that is a significant focus of much of the world's religions. [1]

This intriguing passage at first seems to raise more questions than it answers. This is partially because sacred time is a somewhat intangible concept, and partially because religions view sacred time differently from one another. Read carefully, this passage appears to state that time is co-extant with ultimate reality, that it has paradoxical elements, and that religions concern themselves with this paradox in some way.

[1] Barbara Sproul, "Sacred Time," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade et al., vol. 12 (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 535.

Sproul's article goes on to illustrate several of the ways in which time has been conceived by various world religions. These approaches are widely divergent. Sproul does, however, state several generalizations about sacred time and all religions, for example:

> The aeon, century, year, month, week, day, hour, minute, instant, and their equivalents in other cultures all serve to mark specific periods of temporal time, and, in considering their relation to timelessness, religions proclaim them sacred and for that reason especially celebrate their beginnings and ends.[2]

Here we see that abstract temporal concepts are translated by religions into measurable phenomena in daily life, thereby rendering certain moments worthy of celebration within a religious context. In the simplest terms possible, sacred time refers to spans of time that are more special than everyday time, such as holidays or life cycle events.

This thesis is concerned with the practical applications of the concept of sacred time. Scholars of religion have studied these applications in depth. Giulia Piccaluga, who wrote the articles entitled "Calendars" and "Chronology" for the same encyclopedia, identifies a universal human need to create "packets" of time. By dividing time into observable units, time becomes less overwhelming. Setting aside units of sacred time can be a way of participating in natural cycles of periodicity, such as the month or year. Sacred time can also serve as a means to act out the time of origins in order to renew life on earth.

One type of sacred time common to many cultures and religious traditions is the special time of transition. Sometimes called a liminal phase or a border, transitional time is outside the normal order of things. It is a time of vacancy or chaos out of which order can be reborn. Sometimes the purpose of going through such a transition is to

[2] Ibid, 542.

restore and renew things as they were and always should be, such as in a creation drama. Other times it is to enter a more advanced stage in a progression, such as in a puberty ritual. When rituals and customs of transition are built into a calendar, they create a communal sacred time of renewal and rebirth. Some religious calendars associate this time with the New Year, but transitions need not occur only once per year. Many calendars of temperate climate agrarian societies, both ancient and modern, observe transition in both the spring and fall, as these are the times of major solar transition. Hence, the solar equinox is particularly important to this study.

Solar Equinox

A solar equinox is a date on which the sun sits above and below the horizon for roughly equal amounts of time. The solar equinox occurs twice a year, in the fall and spring. The autumnal equinox, occurring on or around September 23rd for the northern hemisphere, marks a time of transition from light to dark in temperate climates. In the months following, days become shorter and nights grow longer as the natural world leaves the time of harvest to enter a period of dormancy. Literally, it is a time of solar transition from light and warmth to darkness and cold. Autumn thus often takes on the figurative meaning of transition from life to death in the human and spiritual realms. The spring equinox, occurring near March 21st, connotes the opposite transition. Daylight increases in length until the height of summer. This is the time of year for planting and for celebrating the fertility of the plant and animal kingdoms. Many cultures, especially agrarian ones, have marked both the autumnal and spring equinoxes with rituals or celebrations related to the seasonal transitions that take place. These

celebrations are then placed in an annual cycle that is based on solar observation, lunar observation, or both.

Solar Calendar

A solar calendar uses the appearance and location of the sun as the foundation for measuring time. From an earthly point of view, it appears that the sun rises and sets depending on what time of year it is and where on earth the observer is standing. In reality, these changes are created by the orbit of the earth around the sun and the tilt of the earth's axis of rotation. Solar calendars are necessary for the successful growing of crops and are therefore a very popular method of measuring time. The earth's orbit around the sun is approximately 364 ¼ days long, so solar calendars are generally based on 360-365 days. Examples of solar calendars include the Christian calendar and the American civil calendar.

Lunar Calendar

A lunar calendar uses the phases of the moon as the basis for measuring time. On earth, the moon appears to grow from a crescent into a disc and then shrink back down to a crescent and disappear before starting all over again. This cycle is caused primarily by the orbit of the moon around the earth. Lunar cycles provide a readily observable period of time that is smaller and more manageable than the solar year. Lunar months last approximately 29 days and the changes to the moon's appearance are easily visible to the naked eye. Lunar reckoning is therefore somewhat easier than solar reckoning, which has no such readily visible marker of periodicity. Moreover, since lunar cycles are similar in length to the menstrual cycles of women, the moon is linked to the critical

concept of fertility much as the sun is linked to the critical concept of agriculture. A lunar year is an artificial construct created by grouping together several lunar months. This is usually accomplished by grouping twelve months together because this creates a unit of time similar to the length of a solar year. The most notable example of a lunar calendar today is the Islamic calendar.

Intercalation

Intercalation is any form of adjusting a calendar so that it fits with two or more types of natural or artificial cycles such as weeks, solar years, or lunar months. For example, intercalation can refer to the integration of lunar and solar cycles into a single calendar. Since a solar year is not evenly divisible by lunar months, one must choose one form of reckoning over the other or intercalate the two cycles. This is usually accomplished by adding an "extra" lunar month during some years in order to make up the difference in length between lunar and solar years. Adding a thirteenth month during some lunar years thus compensates for the discrepancy. A prominent example of a lunisolar calendar that is intercalated in this way is the present-day Jewish calendar. Other specific methods of intercalation will be explored in detail in Chapter Four.

Civil Religion

The past fifty years have seen the emergence of scholarship on American civil religion, however the concept goes back at least two centuries. Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau is credited with originally coining the phrase "civil religion." His influential work, *The Social Contract*, described the four basic dogma of civil religion in 1762. These were simply the belief in some form of theism, the existence

of an afterlife or eschatology, divine justice, and religious tolerance.[3] Robert Bellah, a sociologist of religion, made the use of the phrase popular in the United States during the 1960s. Bellah systematically applied the existing concept of civil religion to the "beliefs, symbols, and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in a collectivity,"[4] as he saw them in American culture.

Merging the concepts of civil religion and sacred time produces the civil religious calendar, a series of ritual events and holidays whereby individuals can express their national identity, moral ideals, basic human fears, and other common interests. Holidays that are not officially included in a religious calendar or holiday cycle are often imbued with this type of content. When this happens as part of an overall cultural or political system, as it does with secular holidays like Labor Day, Independence Day, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and others in American society, they are seen as part of a civil religious calendar. Halloween and Thanksgiving are treated as religious holidays in this thesis because they are part of this American civil religious calendar.

Apocalyptic Religion and Literature

The terms "apocalypse," "apocalyptic," and "apocalypticism" come from the Greek word *apokalypsis*, meaning "revelation." An apocalypse is a work of literature that is part of a specific genre, sometimes called revelatory literature. Apocalyptic literature is written in response to a historical or societal crisis. It often contains journeys to other worlds or realms, messages from angels or other divine intermediaries, and predictions about the outcome of history. These works are also often

[3] Robert Bellah, *The Robert Bellah Reader*, ed. Steven M. Tipton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 230.
[4] Ibid, 233.

written pseudonymously, meaning that the author attributes the work to a great figure from the past.[5]

Apocalypticism refers to a way of viewing the world that is dominated by the motifs found in apocalyptic literature, such as the belief in supernatural realms and beings, conflict between good and evil, and the expectation that the supernatural world will intervene in the course of history in order to bring about divine justice.[6] Chapter Four examines several works of apocalyptic literature that were produced by communities who could be described as having an apocalyptic worldview.

Sacred Time and Sacred Space

Sacred time and sacred space are ultimately two dimensions of the same thing. Sometimes they are inseparable, and sometimes they compete. At times when one becomes challenged, the other may step up to fill the role. Eliezer Schweid in *The Jewish Experience of Time* illustrates how this relationship between the two has played out in the history of Judaism:

> The destiny of the Jewish people is the destiny of a diaspora people, the majority of whose time was spent living outside its land; that is, for most of their history the Jewish people lacked the second principle that determines a people's consciousness of mutuality—the underpinning of living together in the same circumscribed locality. The importance of the first principle—existing together in the same time sequence—took on additional importance. By strictly maintaining the same order of time, Jews in communities that were dispersed throughout the world could live events in common, investing them with the same meanings by using the same symbols. As a result, the course of time broadened to fill, insofar as possible, the role of the missing spatial dimension. At this point, one can take issue with an opinion that is especially prevalent among spiritual leaders in the Diaspora. This view—originating in the profound thought of the great Jewish philosopher, Franz Rosenzweig—holds that the Jewish

[5] For complete treatment of this topic, see "Introduction" in Mitchell G. Reddish, ed., *Apocalyptic Literature: A Reader* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 19-38.
[6] Ibid.

> people relinquished the dimension of *place* retaining the dimension of time alone. Should one choose to interpret this maxim not as a flight of poetic expression whose purpose is to call attention to a certain truth by flowery overstatement, then it is absolutely meaningless because it is impossible to separate the notion of time from the notion of place.
>
> The natural unfolding of time cannot be cut off from the tangible impressions of a specific territorial environment because the timing of events is fixed by observing the rhythms of that environment. The observations are landmarks used to divide time and impose shape on its flow, and of course these events occur not only in time but also in space. Every calendar reflects a local landscape, and an examination of the Jewish calendar shows that its seasons are those of Eretz Israel, and the seasons of Eretz Israel also mark the historic events that determined the Jewish people's attitude to its land. Moreover, from a *halakhic* standpoint, the sole authority for sanctifying the year for Jews in the Diaspora resides in the Bet Din of Eretz Israel; Eretz Israel is therefore the organizing principle of their annual cycle. It was through a common annual cycle that the Jewish people drew the presence of its land into its diasporic existence (which is what was meant by the statement that the course of time broadened so as to fill the role of spatial dimension, too). One way or another, the dimension of time gains the upper hand over the dimension of space.[7]

This passage illustrates how the dimensions of time and space in ritual and ceremony are intricately tied up with each other yet can sometimes be seen as distinct or even competing elements.

This thesis deals primarily with sacred time. However, it is important to remember that the dimension of space is never completely separate. It would require a much longer work to analyze the elements of sacred space in the holidays and traditions examined herein. This work is therefore limited to discussing in detail the aspects of sacred time. It will add much value to the work, however, if the reader keeps the notion of sacred space close at hand.

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[7] Eliezer Schweid, *The Jewish Experience of Time: Philosophical Dimensions of the Jewish Holy Days*, trans. Amnon Hadary (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson Inc., 2000), 2-3.

Escaping Dualities

The role of time, especially ritual time, is of foremost concern in the theory of religion and has been examined at length by major philosophers and historians of religion. Time and space, the two dimensions that make up human existence, are inherently involved in religious practice because they serve as the "containers" in which we live. But is time a container? Scholars such as Sacha Stern argue that for at least some places and periods of human history, time was seen only as a process. This sets up one of the inherent dualities implied by the question of time: is time a container or a process? Questions of time lend themselves to a number of such dualities. For example, Mircea Eliade posits that religious time is the opposite of historical time. This raises the question: Is time so malleable to human needs that it can sometimes flow historically and sometimes serve as a bridge to eternal "Great Time," as Eliade suggests? Or are all these adjectives we assign to time merely evidence of our own need to define and describe, without actually saying anything true about time itself?

Another common duality used in the description of time is the cyclical versus linear duality. Does time march constantly in one direction, or does it curve back around and repeat itself? A final duality that emerges from discussions of time is the religious distinction between sacred time and ordinary or "profane" time. These dualities are distinct, yet clearly related. Intimately tied to these questions are the concepts of chronology, liturgical calendars, and cosmology, to name a few. Also, in our technological world, questions of time must also address physics and astronomy, the scientific means by which we can determine what is "really" happening to time, at least as far as we can tell in this early stage of our understanding. These topics are too vast to be explored in detail here, so I will limit this discussion to the basic question of *how*

time seems to function in religious settings and practices, and what impact this has on the people who observe them.

Present and past scholarship has tended to focus on expressing certain dualities and trying to defend one view or the other as the correct interpretation.[8] One of the most influential works on time in the theory of religion is Mircea Eliade's *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Archetypes and Repetition*, alternately titled *Cosmos and History*, first published in 1949. In this work and in others, Eliade uses examples from world religious history and ethnography to illustrate the historical/eternal and sacred/profane dualities. As one of the early major works of one of the "founding fathers" of religious studies, *Cosmos and History* made an indelible impact on the way the role of time was viewed in the theory of religion.

Simplifying Eliade's Theory, one could say that sacred or religious time occurs outside the everyday historical flow. Sacred time takes place in the "Great Time" or "Eternal Time" that is beyond ordinary existence. Thus, Eliade equates sacred time with eternal time and profane time with historical time. However, he claims that this theory holds true only for people he calls "primitive" or even "savages." Eliade writes:

> Through the paradox of rite, every consecrated space coincides with the center of the world, just as the time of any ritual coincides with the mythical time of the "beginning." Through repetition of the cosmogonic act, concrete time, in which the construction takes place, is projected into mythical time, *in illo tempore* when the foundation of the world occurred. Thus the reality and the enduringness of a construction are assured not only by the transformation of profane space into a transcendent space (the center) but also by the transformation of concrete time into mythical time. Any ritual whatever . . . unfolds . . . in a "sacred time," . . . that is, when the ritual was performed for the first time by a god, an ancestor, or a hero.[9]

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[8] For a thorough treatment of this topic, see Bruce Chilton, *Redeeming Time: The Wisdom of Ancient Jewish and Christian Festal Calendars* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2002), 1-20.
[9] Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 20.

Eliade makes it clear that all rituals, without exception, take place in the same type of non-temporal time, outside of history and duration. Rituals for Eliade are basically a form of time machine that can catapult the participant into mythical time. More specifically, the mythical time is the "beginning," when the world was first created or order was first established over chaos.

Eliade made a watershed contribution with this work. He demonstrated that ritual time is qualitatively different from ordinary time, and he discussed many of the interesting ways this is played out in world religions. In his analysis, the participants become part of something larger than themselves, and they feel they have access to a type of time (and place) that is beyond the ordinary. However, it is also necessary to point out that Eliade's sweeping theory is so overgeneralized that it fails to recognize and account for differences among the peoples and religions he observes. He indicates that the various forms of religious rite in all parts of the world are merely multiple ways of achieving the exact same goal. All differences are no deeper than the surface level, no matter how divergent the actual ritual practices may be. Eliade's perspective is clear; however, he fails to show that all rituals in all times and places are simply recreations of the cosmogonic act, as he states. Although he has collected a vast body of evidence, the reader is expected to accept his comprehensive analysis, which he constructs from the point of view of an omnipotent observer. His theory must therefore be taken as a useful metaphorical tool rather than an authoritative guide.

Eliade does not stop at simply describing the way in which all religious rituals function to recreate the cosmogonic act of creation. He goes on to identify a singular motive behind all ritual, saying that their ultimate purpose is to abolish memory and time:

> What is of chief importance to us in these archaic systems is the abolition of concrete time, and hence their antihistorical intent. This refusal to preserve the memory of the past, even of the immediate past, seems to us to betoken . . . archaic man's refusal to accept himself as a historical being, his refusal to grant value to memory and hence to the unusual events (i.e., events without an archetypal model) that in fact constitute concrete duration. In the last analysis, what we discover in all these rites and all these attitudes is the will to devaluate time.[10]

Here and elsewhere, Eliade claims that "primitive" people are unable to comprehend historical development and that they, in fact, want everything to remain the same forever through archetypal repetition. Eliade's claim that the purpose of all ritual is to abolish history and, as it were, time itself, demonstrates his dualistic thinking at its zenith. One type of time (mythical/ritual/transcendent) is enacted in order to get rid of the other (historical/ordinary/profane). The two aspects are not merely alternatives; they are enemies. In this view, ritual is the tool by which archaic man secures his place in the preferred mode of time.

Eliade's terms mark out a system of dualities that are tangled up with each other's meanings. It is possible to categorize these dualities into two columns, as shown here:

Table 2.1: Eliade's Time Dualities

Ritual	Ordinary
Sacred	Profane
Mythical	Concrete
Eternal	Historical
Primitive/Archaic	Modern
Savage	Civilized
Cyclical	Linear
Paradoxical Instant	Duration

[10] Ibid, 85.

Eliade's work strives to show that ritual is concerned with recreating all the temporal elements found on the left half of the chart and thereby with destroying or keeping in check all elements on the right.

Another important duality in religious time theory is the distinction between process and abstraction (or container, as I referred to it above). Sacha Stern has written extensively on this topic in his work, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism*. In it, Stern argues that our modern conception of time as its own dimension is a "reified abstraction"[11] that is quite unlike most non-modern ways of conceiving time. He writes:

> Ethnographers have established that in many [non-modern] societies, the general concept of time is completely unknown. This does not mean that reality is misunderstood. As I shall argue . . . it is perfectly possible to describe reality, including past and future events, without reference to a general, abstract dimension of time: instead, reality can be described in terms of an infinity of concrete, individual processes. In these 'non-modern' societies, the key concept is thus not time but *process*. By 'process' I simply mean a structured or meaningful sequence of events.[12]

In this way of thinking, time is not its own dimension or entity that flows objectively. Time is instead the series of moments we experience during any process, such as reading, cooking, dancing, or praying. The same holds true for the objects that seem to regulate time; the *movement* of the sun, moon, and stars from our earthly point of view creates the impression of time moving forward. But in reality, time does not move; the objects do. All ancient and modern clocks must use a process to determine what time it is. They may work by measuring the flow of sand or the vibrations of a crystal, but they cannot measure pure time itself. Thus, Stern's process model is arguably similar to several of the findings of modern physics, such as relativity.

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[11] Sacha Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 18.
[12] Ibid, 2.

The process model comes into play in the formation of religious calendars in that the purpose of such calendars is to keep followers in sync with the processes of the physical world. Stern explains:

> The common denominator between [climatic] seasons and the units of week and year cannot be the abstract notion of 'time'. It is more appropriate, in fact, to suggest 'process' as the common denominator between them. As will become clearer . . . years, months, weeks, and days are not really units of pure time, but only calendrical categories that represent the duration or length of either astronomical and seasonal processes (years, months, days), or socially sanctioned cycles of human activity (weeks). Years, weeks, and the three [climatic] seasons all have in common that they are well-known, standard processes that are cyclically recurring . . . with reference to which human activities can be correlated, synchronized, or measured.[13]

Human calendars are thus engineered to coincide with the processes of nature so that we may properly align ourselves with the physical world and the other people within it.

Both Stern and Eliade show that, for religious humanity, time need not flow in an abstract or historical way. But how do their theories compare? One can take the brief list found in the introduction of Stern's work[14] along with a few comments made elsewhere and compile a chart similar to the one shown above for Eliade:

Table 2.2: Stern's Time Dualities

Process	Time
Concrete	Abstract
Change/Events	Flow
Many	One
Real	Reified
Observed	Measured/Calculated
Non-Modern	Modern

[13] Ibid, 36.
[14] Ibid, 3.

This chart contains elements that echo Eliade's dualities as well as elements that directly contradict them. For example, both put "archaic" or "non-modern" on the left with modern on the right. However, the word "concrete" occurs on the right side of Eliade's chart and the left side of Stern's. Also, Eliade sees the left "Ritual" column as working against historical change and events, while Stern sees the left "Process" column as indicating greater awareness and acceptance of events and change. Even though these charts are my own representation of the dualities present in the scholars' ideas, their presentation of these concepts in words is quite clear. So the concepts are overlapping, and yet they are distinct enough to show that all time theories are not equivalent. Comparison of time theories thus provides an interesting mix of agreement and disagreement, leading us to wonder where the truth lies, if there even is such a thing. Are the theories equally correct, describing different groups of people and their religious time conceptions? Or are they different attempts at describing a universal complexity that is difficult to grasp?

What these scholars and others have tried to do is to flex our minds beyond the familiar ways of viewing time in our modern, technological society. They help us to see that other societies have dealt with time differently and that the ways we describe time and participate in it inform our understanding of reality, and vise versa. In the process, however, scholars have failed to synthesize the two sides of these complex dualities. While they may be correct in arguing that a particular society views time in a certain way, they have not suggested a means to describe or diagram the dialectical impact of these dualities on each other. No matter how oriented toward mythical time people may be, they cannot ignore the fact that they age and that crops fare differently from year to

year, regardless of ritual. And no matter how process-oriented a people may be, they cannot ignore the fact that some processes seem to have more meaning than others.

Bringing history, mythology, process, and flow together is a necessity whose time has come. If these opposing dualities represent the thesis and antithesis of a dialectic that has shaped the human religious view of time, then what is required next is a form of synthesis. If we credit both modern and non-modern humanity with the ability to make empirical observations about astronomical bodies and changing seasons as well as the capacity for abstract and intuitive thought, we must create a model of religious time that is flexible and robust enough to include both the historical and the mythical, both the process and the flow. Such a model would illustrate the historical development of mythological rituals, whether or not the people believe such rituals always take place "at the beginning." Such a model would also be able to show the distinct evolution of individual processes while accounting for the fact that in everyday experience, humans move from one process to another in a causal flow.

Eliade and Stern would agree that religious time is time in which people can participate in whatever aspect of reality they most value. If they value a return to the mythical beginning, ritual facilitates that transition. If they value direct participation in the cycles of nature, ritual makes such participation possible. If they value such things as custom, tradition, ancestry, law, and revelation, ritual provides a means to connect with one's religious past and pass it on to one's children. Thus rituals serve as time intersections in which participants can *move between the dualities* rather than having to choose between them. If rite serves as the bridge between history and myth, between flow and change, and between concreteness and abstraction, then we need not venerate one type of time-reckoning over another.

Religious rituals are polyfunctional, not monofunctional, and they are as varied as the people and societies who design and participate in them. Because this is true, it is critically important not to define them from the outside. So in saying that ritual time bridges dualities, I am indicating only the type of possibility therein, rather than lumping all rituals into some sort of rigid “bridge” category. However, I do believe that seeing ritual time as a bridge between dualities of reality and consciousness is a more flexible and accurate description than many of those offered by previous scholarship. By allowing the various incarnations of religious time to speak for themselves, we can arrive at a deeper understanding of sacred time and ritual that is inclusive and descriptive rather than dualistic.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDIES IN HOLIDAY FLUIDITY

Jewish Sukkot and the American Thanksgiving Tradition

The Western tradition of the fall harvest celebration has a long and varied history. Two of its most notable incarnations are the Jewish festival of Sukkot and the American Thanksgiving holiday. These two festivals are not the same holiday, and yet they are deeply related through their customs, origins, and most of all their sense of ritual time. Both are family festivals, both are deeply connected to the cycle of nature in the autumn, and both are steeped with historical and mythical significance. They also share a relationship to text, although their respective texts are quite different. Perhaps the most striking *difference* between Sukkot and Thanksgiving is the discrepancy between their ages; Sukkot reaches back in time three thousand years or more, while Thanksgiving proper has only been around for a few centuries. Nevertheless, these two holidays orient participants in the sacred year in complex, specific, and similar ways.

Thanksgiving and Sukkot both celebrate autumn. This is more significant than saying they both take place in autumn, because both holidays focus on the attributes of the natural world and incorporate them materially into their forms of celebration and meaning. Autumn is a time of harvest and of seasonal transition from warmth and light to cold and darkness. This influences the mood of the participants and dictates the types of activities that are appropriate for the celebrations. One scholar described the autumnal mood of Sukkot as follows:

> Sukkos is the joyous festival that the Jews of old observed in . . . autumn, when they had finished the agricultural toil of the year.
>
> When we observe Sukkos we go back to ancient days, when the Jews were peasants in their own land. At the autumn season after they had finished gathering all their crops from the fields and orchards, especially the grapes from the vineyards, they observed a great festival and were joyous before God. They thanked Him and praised Him for the abundance stored in barn and bin and offered prayers to Him that He send new rains for the coming year.[15]

It is evident that the season informs the holiday and that the two are inextricably bound. This accounts for the imagery of barley sheaves and fruits and vegetables found in sukkah decoration. Most importantly, Jews are commanded to spend time in outdoor huts during this week-long festival so that they may feel closer to nature and experience the autumn season intimately. This agricultural aspect of Sukkot is probably the oldest purpose behind the holiday, with other meanings added over time.

Thanksgiving likewise makes use of autumn imagery at the festive table. Also, the important seasonal transition introduces the element of vulnerability found in the Thanksgiving myth. Moreover, as the name suggests, giving thanks for harvest abundance is primary. Both Richard Eslinger and Anne Blue Wills have noted the connection between Thanksgiving and its predecessor, Sukkot. Wills writes, "Pilgrim settlers thankful for the harvest 'connected the autumn thanksgiving . . . with the Old Testament Feast of Tabernacles' and other biblical references to the harvest."[16] This implies an awareness of the connection on the part of the original Pilgrim celebrants. Eslinger, in discussing Thanksgiving, points out "the church has need of a Christian type of the Succoth festival which can integrate an expression of thanksgiving for harvest with an occasion for the renewal of covenant." He then suggests, "the growing practice

[15] Hayyim Schauss, *The Jewish Festivals: A Guide to Their History and Observance*, trans. Samuel Jaffe (New York: Schocken Books, 1996), 170.

[16] Anne Blue Wills, "Pilgrims and Progress: How Magazines Made Thanksgiving," *Church History* 72 (2003): 145. Wills is quoting Charles Hambrick-Stowe.

in many churches of celebrating Thanksgiving within a eucharistic liturgical context holds great promise for an authentic appropriation of this holiday."[17] What we see is a tradition of using the concept of "autumn harvest festival," with all of its inherent meanings and orientations, in multiple settings of place and time. Yet the bridge created between the human and natural worlds during these festivals remains functionally the same.

Family is another point of focus for both Sukkot and Thanksgiving. Although the community as a whole is participating, most of the ritual takes place around a meal in smaller gatherings of extended family units. As part of this family theme, travel and sacrifice become apparent in both holidays. Schauss explains:

> In . . . part of the Bible we are told of pilgrims from the hills of Ephraim who came to the sanctuary at Shiloh with their wives and children to observe the festival. They would slaughter their sacrificial animals there, and, in families, would dine on the meat of the sacrifices, and drink and revel. Elkanah, the father of Samuel, is presented to us as such a pilgrim, who made the journey to Shiloh yearly with all his household.[18]

This portrayal of Sukkot is strikingly familiar to participants in the modern American Thanksgiving. Instead of traveling long distances to a temple, people often travel to their "ancestral homes" or any agreed-upon family gathering place. There, they participate in a sacrifice (generally a turkey instead of lamb or goat, and the focus has become the cooking rather than the killing of the animal) and eat a family meal based on the meat of that sacrifice. The tradition, while varying from family to family, is often rigidly observed from year to year within each family. So Thanksgiving and Sukkot provide a ritual time frame in which the family can gather and reinforce their connections and traditions.

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[17] Richard L. Eslinger, "Civil Religion and the Year of Grace," *Worship* 58 (1984): 378.
[18] Schauss, 172.

In Eslinger's view, the two main functions of Thanksgiving are the celebration of harvest and the "integration of the family into the civil religion."[19] It seems to follow that one of Sukkot's main purposes is the integration of the family into the Jewish religion. So what does it mean to "integrate the family" into a religion? Just as there is a difference between a holiday that takes place during autumn and a holiday that celebrates autumn, there is likewise a difference between a holiday celebrated among family members and a holiday that celebrates family. The centrality of the sacrificial meal around a family table, and the fact that participants in both traditions go to great lengths to celebrate with family members, shows that family is indeed part of the subject matter of the holidays rather than just part of the circumstances. Otherwise, the ancient pilgrims and modern jet travelers alike would have celebrated with whoever happened to be nearby at the time. Therefore, as a form of sacred time, the festival elevates the everyday family to a position of heightened awareness, forging a connection between the banal experience of family life and the powerful and archetypal family structure in human society.

It is difficult to define clear outlines between the impacts of text and myth on Sukkot. With such an ancient celebration, they become inextricably entangled. The contributions of these concepts on Thanksgiving are slightly easier to perceive as distinct, yet still related. Beginning with text is a logical starting point because Sukkot is clearly defined in the Hebrew Bible. Sukkot is mandated in *Leviticus*:

> And YHWH spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to the children of Israel, saying: On the fifteenth day of this seventh month is the Festival of Booths, seven days, for YHWH. On the first day is a holy assembly. You shall not do any act of work. For seven days you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH. On the eighth day you shall have a holy

[19] Eslinger, 377.

> assembly, and you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH. It is a convocation. You shall not do any act of work.[20]

Deuteronomy repeats the prescription for Sukkot, adding several lines about the family nature of the festival and the joyous mood, saying, "And you shall rejoice on your festival—you and your son and your daughter and your servant and your maid and the Levite and the alien and the orphan and the widow who are within your gates . . . YHWH, your God, will bless you in all your produce and all your hands' work, and you shall just be happy."[21]

In a few short verses, the textual basis for Sukkot establishes several things. First are the exact dates of the festival according to the cycle of months and seasons, as well as the sacrificial rites, the cessation of work, the family focus, and the joyous mood. The text even hints at the direct relationship between the God-given success of the harvest and the level of happiness for the family. Later biblical texts, such as *Nehemiah*, attest to historical observance of the holiday and add more details, like the types of branches used to construct the sukkah.[22] What the texts do not specify are other details about the festival that have developed over time, such as the exact specifications of the booth dwellings, the ceremony of the *lulav* and the *etrog*,[23] and other now-familiar customs.

Thanksgiving "texts" are of a quite different nature, yet they also shed light on the development of the holiday. There are early descriptions of the first festival meals held by New World settlers. Later, there are local and eventually presidential proclamations. Anne Blue Wills explores one the most influential sources of Thanksgiving cultural

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[20] *Leviticus* 23:33-36. For biblical quotations, this thesis uses the translation by Richard Elliott Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed: A New View Into the Five Books of Moses* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003).
[21] *Deuteronomy* 16:14-15.
[22] *Nehemiah* 8:14-18
[23] The *lulav* and the *etrog* refer to four symbolic species of plants native to Israel—palm, willow, myrtle, and citron—that are used during the Sukkot ceremony.

propaganda in her article, "Pilgrims and Progress: How Magazines Made Thanksgiving." She explains that the editors of the most popular domestic magazines of the nineteenth century pushed for a universal interpretation of the holiday that was both Protestant and uniquely American. Through short stories, recipes, and other materials, the magazines:

> constructed Thanksgiving as a particularly American event that crystallized certain ideals of American virtue, an event that could also function in the memory both to restrain and comfort a modernizing nation. Hale and *Godey's* led the way in creating a standardized celebration, which in turn hoped to set the boundaries of a standardized celebrant, a standardized and true American.[24]

The writers and editors of magazines like these could accurately be called cultural engineers, for they used their considerable influence, through text, to convince Americans what Thanksgiving was supposed to be. They effectively connected readers with an idea of mythical time and persuaded them to reenact the family ritual on a seasonal basis. If Wills is correct about the degree of influence these cultural texts held over the people, then it is much to their credit that Abraham Lincoln made the first national Thanksgiving declaration in 1863,[25] which was 36 years into Sarah Hale's editorship. If the words in the Bible mandating Sukkot come from God through Moses, Thanksgiving did well to secure Abraham Lincoln as its official means of declaration. The texts thus lend credibility and authority to the traditions.

These texts, both biblical and cultural, tie directly into the aspects of myth found in the holidays. In the case of Thanksgiving, the sacrificial meal has attained mythic status as the symbol of cooperation and success in the New World. Children are taught that the first Thanksgiving occurred when European Pilgrims and American Indians sat

[24] Wills, 145. "Hale" is Sarah Hale, author and editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* from 1827-1877.
[25] Ibid, 144.

down together in a spirit of friendship. Through the generosity of the Indians, European settlers were able to endure harsh winters and thrive. Many children participate in Thanksgiving dramas with stereotyped period costumes. We know that, in reality, very few Native Americans survived European invasion long enough to enjoy the spirit of togetherness they supposedly helped to create. Those who did were not treated kindly on the whole. Nonetheless, the myth is tangible at every Thanksgiving table set on the fourth Thursday of November. This story has become a national creation myth, telling of the time when European identities were blended with something uniquely American to produce a great people.

While we can identify in the Thanksgiving myth the pieces that are based in fact and the pieces that are likely the result of imaginative storytelling, it is more difficult to achieve this same clarity with the ancient Sukkot. Schauss writes that part of the influence of the Babylonian exile on the development of Sukkot was that it became "bound up with the great events of ancient days, at the beginning of Jewish history, when the Jews were still wandering shepherds and dwelt in tents. It was declared, that for this reason Jews sit in booths during this festival."[26] This interpretation, which is strikingly similar to Eliade's classic description of all ritual, does show a tendency for the mythic aspect of a holiday to hearken back "to the beginning." Although this Sukkot myth is rather unspecific, it does, in the same way as the Thanksgiving myth, elevate the remembrance of the origins of peoplehood and nationality as one of the main purposes of the day. The children's Thanksgiving drama and the family building and dwelling in a sukkah are both forms of acting out the myth in order to experience the past as if one were there.

[26] Schauss, 174-75.

There is thus a close relationship between the specific historical event(s) a holiday purports to memorialize and its relevant myths. Indeed, the difference often lies in the amount of time that has elapsed since the event and whether it can be corroborated by evidence beyond the tradition itself. In terms of ritual, it rarely matters whether something can be proven. If a memorialized event really happened the way participants say it did, this does not reduce its mythical quality and importance. If it did not happen, however, the myth is no less critical to the story of the people as they are when they celebrate, and thus it becomes historically relevant. Moreover, history comes into play for the autumn festivals in another distinct way, which is the history of the holiday itself: how, when, where, why, and by whom it was celebrated and how this changed over time. This has been addressed briefly above, but it bears further scrutiny.

If one takes the rural agrarian beginnings of Sukkot and adds developments that occurred during specific historical periods, such as urbanization, the Temple period, exile, and finally rabbinic Judaism and centuries of Diaspora, it becomes possible to see major shifts in the meanings and goals attributed to the festival's observance.[27] To fill in the gaps, it would be ideal to have access to the types of subtle changes that would have occurred in Sukkot's observance from year to year and generation to generation aside from major historical shifts. Other than descriptions such as the one in Nehemiah, we do not have direct access to that kind of information. We do, however, have an excellent source of information that sheds light on that year-to-year developmental process.

As we have seen, Thanksgiving has been viewed as a New World interpretation of the ancient and biblical Sukkot festival. Most of Sukkot's major themes remain intact,

[27] For more on this, see chapters "Sukkos: Through the Ages" and "Sukkos: In Custom and Ceremony" in Schauss, 170-88 and 200-207.

and the mood of the family ceremony seems the same. If one takes knowledge, either from personal experience or scholarly pursuit, of the ways Thanksgiving changes in the homes of those who celebrate it, it seems to follow that one could create a fairly accurate picture of the types of changes that would have occurred in family Sukkot observance. In this way, the two holidays truly become part of a single vibrant tradition, each influencing the other. Sukkot came first in time and provided much of the groundwork and material for people striving to create unifying tradition in a new environment. And Thanksgiving, with its relatively transparent history, gives new life to our understanding of past traditions on a personal level that would otherwise be inaccessible. It is at this point that we can see the complex history of Sukkot as a flow in time, with each cyclical and process-related occurrence as one step in a greater path. Each time the holiday ritual takes place, its participants are simultaneously enjoying themselves in that moment and participating in history. Both sides of the duality are manifest.

This discussion demonstrates that participants use Western autumn harvest rituals to connect with what they feel is of ultimate importance: nature, family, and tradition. But the rituals also serve as connection points between different states of being and reality. One can be simultaneously in a modern-day synagogue and in the mythical time of the Jewish people. One can be seated around a twenty-first century Thanksgiving table and feel as though one were participating in the birth of a nation.

Examining the dualities present in these religious rituals, we can see that the Western autumn harvest festival tradition, as only one of thousands of extant traditions, provides evidence of the ability of ritual to serve as an intersection between opposing or alternate states. Eliade's concept of the abolition of historical time through ritual's restoration of the "beginning" does not happen, even though the rituals in question

began as ancient rather than historical and maintain that part of the tradition. Participants "remember" and "experience" these early times through dwelling in the sukkah, but this is helpful largely because it connects them with who they are as a people *in the present*. Similarly, Eliade's distinction between sacred and profane is also bridged by the holidays. The festivals themselves are clearly sacred occasions. Because part of their purpose is to strengthen family bonds and to teach history, they also help participants to be more successful in their daily lives. So the ritual is a both/and, not an either/or, experience.

Similarly, Stern's idea of process clearly comes into play. The rituals are seasonally based, occurring on specific days of the month and week according to astronomical phenomena. They involve processes such as travel, making sacrifice, cooking, and the steps of a ritual meal. But time as an abstract, reified entity is also evident. At this relatively late point in the development of these two holiday traditions, it is impossible to ignore the sense of an arc of time, leading today's Thanksgiving and Sukkot participants to understand some of the vastness of the tradition in which they find themselves. Modern-day observers are aware of the changing rhythm of life through yearly gatherings just as they are aware of the comforting reassurance of the enduring aspects of the holidays. Many years are one tradition, individual meals are part of a reified archetype, and concrete experiences create an abstract expectation that lives in the mind in remembrance of gatherings past and in anticipation of next year's feast.

American Halloween, Celtic Samhain, and Catholic All Saints/All Souls

For many American children, Halloween enjoys a level of popularity just below that of Christmas—perhaps on par with or even above Easter. Many are aware of its ties to pagan festivals such as Samhain or Christian ones such as All Souls. But American Halloween is not considered a part of any official liturgy or doctrine and is therefore often considered to be primarily secular. The main elements of the holiday are, of course, the costumes and candy associated with trick-or-treating. Following closely behind are decorations, parties, minor vandalism, pumpkin carving, haunted houses, bobbing for apples, bonfires, and the like. Certain themes are self-evident, with death the most obvious. Although it has become common for children to dress as fairy princesses, television characters, or any figure from history or pop culture, the classic Halloween costumes remain in the realm of the spooky. Witches, skeletons, ghosts, mummies, vampires, demons, devils, and monsters are always on the scene. Halloween animal imagery includes spiders, black cats, bats, and any creature possessed of dark or unnatural powers.

Also thrown into the mix are harvest themes. Scarecrows, pumpkins and gourds, hayrides, Indian corn, corn mazes, candy corn, and more are all common to October. Interestingly, the colors of Halloween are orange, the color of harvest vegetables, and black, the color of night and death. Why does Halloween lend itself to disguise and death while concurrently and counter-intuitively celebrating the bounty of the fall harvest? Like Sukkot and Thanksgiving, American Halloween is a holiday with a complex and sometimes opaque history. It is beyond the scope of this work to provide a full exploration of the links between Halloween customs and the other holidays that

occur during the same time of year. However it is necessary to look briefly at some of these connections.

The Catholic feasts of All Saints and All Souls, falling on the first two days of November respectively, are truly life and death holidays. All Saints commemorates canonized saints, angels, martyrs, and those faithful enough to be reborn in heaven. These saints and departed loved ones are seen as intermediaries who can intercede in the lives of those who pray to them. This day was observed in some communities beginning at least by the seventh century, although the calendar date varied among the Christian communities. The need for a consolidated holiday arose out of the huge number of saints' days that were being observed in communities throughout the Christian realm in honor of local and universal saints and martyrs . Pope Gregory VII decreed in the eleventh century that the feast would occur on the first of November.[28]

The following day, the feast of All Souls, commemorates the faithful departed who await their time in heaven while still in Purgatory. This practice of remembering all the faithful dead began in seventh century monastic communities and spread throughout France and Spain. The practice was made universal by Pope Benedict XV in 1915 during World War I.[29] Historians have speculated that the Catholic Church chose the beginning of November for these feasts of the dead as a way to blend with or appropriate extant pagan practices. This argument requires further scrutiny as there is no direct proof, even though some have stated it as fact.[30]

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[28] Joseph Tylenda, *Saints and Feasts of the Liturgical Year* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2003), 234-35.
[29] Ibid, 235.
[30] For example, see Leonard Norman Primiano, "Halloween," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade et al., vol. 6 (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 176-77.

Perhaps the most well known Celtic holiday, one that is often identified as the origin of Halloween and All Souls, is Samhain,[31] also known as Summer's End. Rituals for this holiday varied from place to place and time to time, but probably often included divination, communion with the spirit realm, and lighting bonfires. Also prevalent were feasts of varying kinds for varying reasons, often involving the slaughter and consumption of animals. Some claim that Samhain was the Celtic New Year and that its rituals were centered on death, mimicking the death of nature found at that time of year. Ronald Hutton and other recent scholars are challenging that view through careful historical analysis. In *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, Hutton writes that, "the night of 31 October to 1 November was an especially numinous and dangerous one, requiring protective measures."[32] He continues, "there seems to be no doubt that the opening of November was the time of a major pagan festival . . . There is no evidence that it was connected with the dead, and no proof that it opened the year, but it was certainly a time when supernatural forces were especially to be guarded against or propitiated; activities which took different forms in different regions."[33] The most consistent thing about pagan festivals was their inconsistency. Harvest time and the autumnal equinox were important, but the pagan world generally lacked the central authority necessary to produce unified liturgy.

Americans have as many varied and disparate ways of observing Halloween as Celtic pagans had of celebrating Samhain. Observing the myriad ways in which Americans participate in and/or respond to Halloween seems to show that some Americans are confused about Halloween. What is it? Where did it come from? What

[31] Pronounced "Sew-in" or "Sow-in."
[32] Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 369.
[33] Ibid, 369-370.

does it mean? Who is it for? How should we deal with it? The very existence of this problematic holiday causes nervous anticipation, even terror. Reactions and responses vary almost to the point of being absurd. They range from complete dismissal on one end, claiming that Halloween really does not exist, to absolute condemnation on the other end, claiming that the battle for our immortal souls must be fought and won on this evil day. Most Americans, religious leaders, and scholars fall somewhere between these two extremes, but controversy and variation are still rampant. Responses fall roughly into four categories: denial and reductionism, supportive affirmation, religious appropriation, and finally, moral indignation and fury.

The denial and reductionism category is illustrated with comments such as, "Halloween is the one special day on the calendar without any religious, national or moral meaning (the vestigial connections to All Saints' Eve having vanished long ago). The festival commemorates no event, cause or person, whether sacred or secular"[34] If this is true, it leads one to wonder what exactly makes it a "special day." Another commentator suggests, "Halloween . . . lingers on in English-speaking North America, increasingly detached from both its Celtic and its Christian roots . . . the trend in children's tales and costumes on October 31 has been toward 'cuteness' instead of 'terror.'"[35] The words "linger" and "detached" suggest that Halloween is something left over, with no real connection to our current time. These attitudes attempt to show that Halloween is neither dangerous nor important. It is simply a party day, devoid of religious significance, when people can don costumes and act silly.

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[34] "Festival Days," *Christian Century* 117.3 (2000): 1173.
[35] Tom Sinclair-Faulkner, "How the Pumpkin Lost Its Teeth: Christians Might Profitably Consider Reviving Some of the Ritual Practices of Their Celtic Forebears," *Christian Century* 97 (1980): 1034.

The second approach is to see Halloween as useful in its own right. As we have seen, the relationship of the modern American Halloween to holidays such as Samhain, All Saints' and All Souls' Days, and other European fall holidays is complex and generally misunderstood. Nevertheless, some see Halloween as an authentic festival, with both ancient and modern rituals that can help children and adults deal with the reality of death and other scary phenomena. These responses come from both religious and secular camps. In his introduction to the book *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life*, a collection of essays about American Halloween and related festivals, Jack Santino remarks, "the way people engage and actualize the customs and symbols of Halloween . . . can be used to establish identity, to incorporate one within a group, or to express rage."[36] This illustrates a secular way of looking at things, while a similarly supportive religious point of view is illustrated in Tom Sinclair-Faulkner's "How the Pumpkin Lost Its Teeth." He writes, "a good ritual . . . gives shape to that which distresses us, making it something we can confront openly. If the terror is there anyway, isn't it better to face it in the company of the faithful and with the support of forms that took centuries to develop?"[37] Sinclair-Faulkner stops short of saying that Christian themes should fully override Halloween's original spookiness, therefore indicating the holiday's own inherent worth.

Another common American Christian response is to try to appropriate or incorporate Halloween into an acceptable Christian form. These responses tend to play up the idea that All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day replaced the obsolete, pagan festival Samhain and therefore resolved the crisis. Children should be encouraged to participate

[36] Jack Santino, ed., *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), xxiv.
[37] Sinclair-Faulkner, 1034.

in structured, supervised activities that focus on the saints instead of ghosts and witches. In a 1982 article, Harold L. Myra, then president of *Christianity Today*, wrote:

> History would indicate there has been much value in the church's 'Christianizing' the calendar, introducing rich traditions of celebration and spiritual disciplines . . . [W]hen neighbors are fearfully sacrificing to a lord of death and dodging witches' tricks, it would seem an apt time to celebrate the Lord of Life and resurrection. The ancient Christians, after all, had thought out their strategy quite well: the idea behind All Saints' Day is the precise opposite of chains, moaning ghosts, and evil spirits.[38]

Myra clearly believes Christianity is a valid replacement for festivals that he sees as primitive rather than cathartic. Episcopal rector John W. Howe also suggested Christian replacement activities, saying, "I don't think you can simply take [Halloween] away from children without putting something in its place. How about an All Saints Party? . . . If there must be costumes for the party, how about trying to dress as we imagine the saints of old did . . . Or your favorite Bible characters."[39] This concept goes beyond the mere Christianizing of Halloween. Here, we see an attempt to scrub it free of anything spooky or deathly, thereby rendering the holiday harmless and solving the perceived crisis.

The most interesting and dramatic responses to Halloween are those that fall into the category of moral indignation and righteous fury. These reactions are commonly religious in origin. For example, the same Episcopal rector who suggested the saintly costumes goes on to say:

> Whatever we do, let's not have any ghosts, witches, or monsters. Let's leave that to the Prince of Darkness. We must focus on light. And personally I want nothing whatsoever to do with the whole business of trick-or-treat; I would love to see Christians refuse to participate in it altogether.[40]

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[38] Harold L. Myra, "Is Halloween a Witches' Brew? Or Have Christians Been Spooked Out of Celebrating a Part of Their Rich Tradition?" *Christianity Today* 26 (1982): 32.
[39] John W. Howe, "What is Happy About Halloween?" *Christianity Today* 22 (1977): 83.
[40] Ibid.

Some churches take this approach a step further. Instead of merely warning people against participation in Halloween activities, they take direct action. In 1990, an evangelist from Texas organized "an onslaught of 10,000 'prayer warriors' to counteract . . . the annual Halloween orgy in San Francisco."[41] The San Francisco-area pastor who helped arrange the event stated, "There's the Hooker's Ball and the Erotic Exotic, where the homosexuals dress up in Mardi Gras costumes. Basically, an orgy takes place in San Francisco on that night."[42] Interestingly, the organizers believed the excessive partying to be of satanic origin rather than stemming from the sins of the participants. In the words of the organizer from Texas, "we believe these people are bound by evil impulses and the territorial demon that prevails over San Francisco, and that's where the prayers are aimed."[43] These organizers, and presumably a good number of their 10,000 prayer warriors, seem to be collecting all evil in the world into a confused heap and laying it at the feet of a few excessive revelers. They singled out one city, San Francisco, on one day, Halloween, and threw in prostitutes, homosexuals, Mardi Gras, and demons. This approach is well outside the mainstream, but it does help demonstrate why Americans in general are so mystified and afraid.

While one church battled the forces of evil through prayer, others attempted to scare the devil out of people. Since the mid 1990's, pastor Keenan Roberts and the New Destiny Christian Center have been putting on a "Hell House" during the Halloween season as well as selling kits to other churches and groups nationally.[44] These theatrical events portray things like "gory depictions of an abortion, a homosexual dying of AIDS,

[41] "'Prayer Warriors' on Warpath," *Christian Century* 107 (1990): 826.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] "'Hell House' Kits Selling Nationally," *Christianity Today* 40 (1996): 87.

drunken driving, teen suicide, and hell."[45] The Hell House kit instruction manual includes advice such as, "Do your very best to buy or purchase a meat product that will resemble as much as possible pieces of a baby that are being placed in the glass bowl for all to see."[46] Despite these horrific tactics, the New Destiny Christian Center's web site shows a picture of a soaring eagle and boasts, "Soaring at a Godly Altitude." Just below are the famous words of their national advertising campaign, "Shake your city with the most 'in-your-face, high-flyin', no denyin', death-defyin', Satan-be-cryin', keep-ya-from-fryin', theatrical stylin', no holds barred, cutting-edge' evangelism tool of the new millennium!"[47] This combination of pop culture and religious extremism shows the paradox of Halloween. Organized religious communities that loudly claim Halloween is not a legitimate religious or spiritual phenomenon are nevertheless responding to it with highly dogmatic and thematic ritual drama. By taking the opportunity to deal with their own fear of death and evil in a theatrical representation of what they fear, they are participating in a very real way in Halloween. It has become just as necessary, or even more so, for these evangelists to ward off the forces of darkness on October 31st as it is for the ordinary trick-or-treater.

These varied responses, ranging from denial to fury, make sense considering that the whole point of Halloween is to be subversive. As Jack Santino points out, "[Halloween] is an unofficial celebration. No day off is given for Halloween, no federal decree is proclaimed establishing it as a national holiday. People simply do it."[48] But even though Halloween tends to evoke this subversive or folk quality, it still has much in

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] *The Hell House Outreach Kit*, New Destiny Christian Center, April 17, 2008 <http://www.godestiny.org/hell_house/HH_kit.cfm>.
[48] Santino, xxvii.

common with other holidays that struggle to maintain a balance between history and custom. With Halloween, as with Thanksgiving and Sukkot, there appears to be a blending of myth and history. Once again, the myth becomes historically important regardless of the degree of its historicity. Because Halloween is *perceived* as the continuation of a pagan holiday centered around death, its development as a holiday has been affected by those perceived themes and practices. Likewise, the association with pagan ritual colors the reaction of religious people to the observation of Halloween by others. The flow of custom among Halloween, ancient pagan practices, neo-pagan revivals, and Christian appropriations shows that holidays are fluid entities that are constantly changing. Action and reaction shape the festivals from year to year, paradoxically tying participants to the past while simultaneously creating the day anew.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY IN CALENDAR DISPUTE: JEWISH APOCALYPTIC SECTARIANISM

The Changing Emphasis on Time in Ancient Judaism

As with the other religious rituals discussed up to this point, Jewish rituals in ancient Israel had aspects of the five interrogatives *who, what, where, when,* and *how*. These five aspects are discussed frequently in the surviving literatures of the period, showing that they were serious concerns of the people who wrote these literatures. **Who:** Could a ritual be performed by a layperson, the king, or only by the priest? **What:** Should one sacrifice grain or an animal? **Where:** Can the ritual be performed at the Shiloh Temple, or will only the Jerusalem Temple do? **When:** Should the event be observed on the first full moon after the equinox, or on the equinox itself? **How:** Should the item be burnt in fire or cast into the sea? It is clear that a ritual, in order to be done correctly, had to be carried out by the right person at the right place and time in the right way.

Were these concerns always of equal value? The biblical, apocryphal, and rabbinic texts say no. The texts say that during some periods it was permissible for individuals to offer sacrifices at many local centers, while at other times it was only permissible to do so in Jerusalem. At some points, ancient Israelites were allowed to have a king; at other times they were not. At different points in history, major shifts took place in the *whos, whats, wheres, whens,* and *hows* of ancient Judaism. This chapter is concerned primarily with the changing importance of *when*, as it relates to ritual and

salvation, during the period in which much of the Jewish apocalyptic writing took place. In a time when Israelites were decreasingly in control of their land, *where* had to be forced into the background. Thus the concept of *when*, specifically through the perfection of the ritual calendar, became one of the most controversial and divisive issues. Since God was apparently not going to redeem the Israelites through politics, perhaps God was going to redeem them through *time*.

To illustrate the increasing importance of time and calendars during the apocalyptic period, this chapter will first outline some of the ritual and calendrical concerns of the Hebrew Bible. Much apocalyptic writing is commentary and interpretation of this material. Thus understanding biblical concepts of time and calendars is a critical step in understanding the arguments of the later apocalyptic texts. With this background in place, the chapter will move on to the analysis of texts considered apocryphal and apocalyptic as they relate to concerns of time. This will include analysis of *1 Enoch* in the "Apocalypse of Weeks" and the "Astronomical Book," *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll*, with several other texts being mentioned. These texts, and the previous scholarly analyses of these texts, will show that conceptions of time became one of the primary motivations for the creation of splinter movements and conflict among Jewish groups of the period.

After this apocalyptic period, things continued to change politically and Jews had to recreate their religion from the ground up. This resulted in a somewhat decreased emphasis on matters of time, thereby sandwiching the apocalyptic texts, with their emphasis on time, between two eras of less emphasis on time. This later period of Judaism will be discussed briefly in order to demonstrate the unique quality of the preceding apocalyptic period. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn about the special

nature of time in apocalyptic writing and how this relates to the theory of sacred time put forth in this thesis.

Biblical Calendars and Concepts of Time

Most of the books of the Hebrew Bible contain some references to calendars, dates, or festivals. Redacting this information into a single coherent calendar has proven difficult, and is probably not even possible, as there are several different calendrical schemes represented in the texts. Since the Hebrew Bible is both historical and theological in scope while also being political and literary, many factors influence how a certain event or calendar is recorded in the text. This chapter will not seek to analyze these myriad factors, but rather to examine some of the concepts of time, calendars, and cosmology as they are presented in the canonized text, how they relate to apocalyptic calendars, and how these ideas may have changed over time.

Some of the most important biblical texts concerning calendars are the seven-day creation story (*Genesis* 1-2:3); the flood story (*Genesis* 7-8); the instructions for Passover and unleavened bread (*Exodus* 12-13); *Exodus* 23:14-19 and *Deuteronomy* 16, each containing instruction on the three feasts of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot; and *Leviticus* 23 and *Numbers* 28-29, each containing a complete festival calendar with days of holy assembly, the day of atonement, Sabbaths, and the feasts. There are numerous other mentions of the feasts and of calendars, but these texts provide the backbone. A few will be explored in further detail here.

Time and Creation

The first hint of a calendar that occurs in the Hebrew Bible occurs in the beginning (pun intended). *Genesis* 1:1-2:3 provides the seven-day creation account. In fact, God must create the day before moving on to the other works, as the day is the framework in which the other creative acts take place. *Genesis* begins, "In the beginning of God's creating the skies and the earth . . . God said, 'Let there be light.' And there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good, and God separated between the light and the darkness. And God called the light 'day' and called the darkness 'night.' And there was evening, and there was morning: one day."[49] Here we see that the first thing God names is "day" and the second "night." It is not immediately clear whether God has created *time itself* through these actions. That is a question for theology and philosophy rather than textual analysis. But God has, at the very least, produced the first means of reckoning time by human standards. This day/night paradigm is the first clock, the first way of observing the passage of time in discreet increments.

This text is important because it describes something we take for granted. History and society are based on the assumption that time is measurable, and that it passes from one moment to the next. The creation narrative shows that these moments are different from each other qualitatively, and paying attention to them is critical as they are the framework in which reality exists. Another fundamental piece of information is that God creates the day and night (the first day) before creating the firmament (the second day). Sacred time had to exist before sacred space. However, it is not until the fourth day that God creates the lights of the sky as signs for the days and years. This issue will return at the forefront of apocalyptic writings.

[49] *Genesis* 1:1 and 1:3-5.

The Week and the Sabbath Day

As God continues through the rest of the seven-day creation cycle, the second element of calendrical importance emerges: the week. Although God does not explicitly name the week, as was done with the day and the night, God does bless the seventh day and make it holy.[50] Thus the concept of the week is implicit, rather than explicit. Why is the week based on the concept of holiness rather than something more tangible, like the setting and rising of the sun? When one considers all the basic units of time measured by human calendars other than the week—i.e. the day, the month, and the year—it becomes evident that these three units have a basis in astronomy. To the ancients, the day was based on the rising and setting of the sun, the month was based on the phases of the moon, and the year was based on the position of the sun and the changing solar seasons. But the week has no observable sign. The seventh day is special because God said so. Thus the week is the means by which we count in order to observe the holy day, which is qualitatively different from the other days but not observably different through the senses.

This distinction is critically important. God's preference for the seventh day seems to be the first occurrence of sacred time in the Hebrew Bible. The reason this is so important is that God will later command the Israelites to observe the Sabbath through the abstention of work.[51] God has provided physical signs marking the day, the month, and the year. But God asks humans to participate in the holiness of creation and the covenant of God through marking an earthly sign: the sign of no work. Since the days,

[50] *Genesis* 2:3.
[51] *Exodus* 20:8-11. Although the command to keep the Sabbath day also occurs in *Deuteronomy* 5, the *Exodus* version is more relevant here because it provides the paradigm of God's week of creation as the reason behind the Sabbath day. The *Deuteronomy* version refers to Israelite slavery in Egypt as the reason.

months, and years are astronomically established, they will continue to occur regardless of human activity. But if humans fail to observe the Sabbath as sacred time, it will fundamentally cease to exist.

It is also important to note that the concept of "weeks" will occur later in apocalyptic texts. These expanded "weeks" are not measures of seven days. They are not even measures of astronomically observable time. They are used rather like the concept of an *epoch*, but with specific theological content. It makes sense that later writers would utilize the term "week," which is based on an ephemeral qualitative difference, rather than another term based on observable astronomical phenomena. This work will treat this subject in more detail in the sections pertaining to these apocalyptic texts.

Exodus 12 and Passover

Passover is a festival with a multifaceted basis in the Hebrew Bible. Modern Passover is a combination of at least two early festivals: one associated with the agricultural cycle and one associated with the slaughtering of the paschal lamb.[52] The rites of both the paschal lamb offering and the feast of unleavened bread are tied together with the exodus from Egypt and associated with the first month of the year in *Exodus* 12:

> And YHWH said to Moses and to Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying, "**This month is the beginning of months for you. It is first of the months of the year for you**. Speak to all of the congregation of Israel, saying: **On the tenth of this month**, let them each take a lamb for the fathers' houses, a lamb per house. And if the household will be too few for a lamb, then he and his neighbor who is close to his house will take it according to the count of persons; you shall count each person according to what he eats for the lamb. You shall have an unblemished, male, year-old lamb; you shall take it from the sheep or from the goats. And it will be

[52] J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), 7.

for you to watch over **until the fourteenth day of this month**. And all the community of the congregation of Israel will slaughter it **'between the two evenings.'** And they will take some of the blood and place it on the two doorposts and on the lintel on the houses in which they will eat it. And they will eat the meat **in this night**; they will eat it fire-roasted and with unleavened bread on bitter herbs. Do not eat any of it raw or cooked in water, but fire-roasted: its head with its legs and with its innards. And do not leave any of it **until morning**; and you shall burn what is left of it **until morning** in fire. And you shall eat it like this: your hips clothed, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and **you shall eat it in haste**. It is YHWH's Passover.

"And I shall pass through the land of Egypt **in this night**, and I shall strike every firstborn in the land of Egypt, from human to animal, and I shall make judgments on all the gods of Egypt. I am YHWH. And **the blood will be as a sign for you** on the houses in which you are, and I shall see the blood, and I shall halt at you, and there won't be a plague among you as a destroyer **when** I strike in the land of Egypt.

"And **this day will become a commemoration for you, and you shall celebrate it, a festival to YHWH; you shall celebrate it through your generations, an eternal law: Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread. Indeed, on the first day you shall make leaven cease from your houses**. Because anyone who eats leavened bread: that person will be cut off from Israel—**from the first day to the seventh day. And you will have a holy assembly on the first day and a holy assembly on the seventh day. Not any work will be done on them.** Just what will be eaten by each person: that alone will be done for you. And you shall observe the unleavened bread, **because in this very day** I brought out your masses from the land of Egypt, and **you shall observe this day through your generations, an eternal law. In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, in the evening, you shall eat unleavened bread, until the twenty-first day of the month, in the evening. Seven days leaven shall not be found in your houses**, because anyone who eats something leavened: that person will be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether the alien or the citizen of the land. You shall not eat anything leavened; in all your homes you shall eat unleavened bread."[53]

The portions of the text emphasized in bold contain the direct instructions of YHWH to the people as far as the *whens* of the rituals and their preparation. These time-oriented instructions are mingled with instructions concerning the *whos, whats,* and *hows*. The number of different words pertaining to time in this text is impressive.

[53] *Exodus* 12:1-20. Emphases in bold mine.

In this short section alone, we encounter "month," "beginning," "year," "until," "day," "between," "evening," "night," "morning," "haste," "commemoration," "festival," "generations," and "eternal." There are also references to the seventh, tenth, fourteenth, and twenty-first days. And although the term "week" does not appear, the festival is described as lasting seven days, with both the first and the seventh days to be regarded as holy.

Another parallel with the concept of the week is that God has instituted physical signs with which the humans are to mark Passover. These include abstaining from work (as with the Sabbath), eating unleavened bread, and marking the "sign" of the blood on the doorposts. Unlike the Sabbath, Passover is also marked by astronomical signs. Since Passover is to begin on the fourteenth day of the first month, it will always occur on the evening of the first full moon and continue seven days through the waning period of the moon. Thus both God and humans collaboratively provide the signs of the sacred time of Passover.

Leviticus 23 and the Festival Calendar

The law code of *Leviticus* contains in its midst a catalog of the complete Jewish festival calendar as it existed for that author. It begins with a repetition of the Sabbath and Passover laws and then moves into the remainder of the calendar:

> When you will come to the land that I am giving to you and you reap its harvest, you shall bring the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest, and he shall elevate the sheaf in front of YHWH for acceptance for you. The priest shall elevate it **on the day after the Sabbath**. And on the day of your elevating the sheaf, you shall do an unblemished lamb in its first year as a burnt offering to YHWH, and its grain offering shall be **two-tenths of a measure of fine flour** mixed with oil, an offering by fire to YHWH, a pleasant smell, and its libation shall be wine, **a fourth of a hin**. And you shall not eat bread or parched or fresh grain until that very day, until you

have brought your God's offering. It is **an eternal law through your generations** in all your homes. And you shall count from the day after the Sabbath, from the day of your bringing the sheaf for an elevation offering, **seven Sabbaths**. They shall be complete. **You shall count until the day after the seventh Sabbath: fifty days**. And you shall bring forward a new grain offering to YHWH. From your homes you shall bring bread for an elevation offering: two of them. They shall be **two-tenths of a measure** of fine flour, baked with leaven, firstfruits to YHWH. And you shall bring forward with the bread **seven lambs**, unblemished one-year-olds, and one bull of the cattle and two rams. They shall be a burnt offering to YHWH, with their grain offering and their libations, an offering by fire, a pleasant smell to YHWH. And you shall do one goat as a sin offering and two one-year-old lambs as a peace-offering sacrifice. And the priest shall elevate them with the bread of firstfruits, an elevation offering in front of YHWH with the two sheep. They shall be a holy thing to YHWH: for the priest. And you shall proclaim on that very day: you shall have a holy assembly. You shall not do any act of work: **an eternal law in all your homes through your generations**...

And YHWH spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to the children of Israel, saying: **In the seventh month, on the first of the month** you shall have a ceasing, **a commemoration with horn-blasting, a holy assembly**. You shall not do any act of work. And you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH."

And YHWH spoke to Moses, saying, "Just: **On the tenth of this seventh month, it is the Day of Atonement**. You shall have a holy assembly, and you shall degrade yourselves. And you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH. And you shall not do any work on this very day, because it is a day of atonement, to atone for you in front of YHWH, your God. **Because any person who will not be degraded on this very day will be cut off from his people**..."

And YHWH spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to the children of Israel, saying: **On the fifteenth day of this seventh month is the Festival of Booths, seven days**, for YHWH. On the first day is a holy assembly. You shall not do any act of work. For **seven days** you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH. On the **eighth day** you shall have a holy assembly, and you shall bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH. It is a convocation. You shall not do any act of work.

"**These are YHWH's appointed times**, which you shall call holy assemblies, to bring forward an offering by fire to YHWH: burnt offering and grain offering, sacrifice and libations, **each day's thing on its day**..."[54]

This long excerpt is included here because it contains many fundamental pieces of information supporting the arguments put forth in this chapter. First, it is the initial

[54] *Leviticus* 23:10b-21, :23-29, and :33-39. Emphases in bold mine.

occurrence of a complete calendar in one place in the text. This means that the ideas of Sabbath, seasonal harvest festivals, and theological festivals were pulled together into a coherent system at least once during or before the biblical period. The resulting calendar is based on months and days, and does not mention the solar year or seasons *per se*. It refers only to solar phenomena in oblique terms such as "harvest" and "lamb in its first year."

Also significant are the precise fractional measurements used for the offerings *but not for the measurement of time*. The type of precision required for the *what* of the sacrifice will be replaced in later texts by the *when* of the sacrifice, as we shall see. For now it is just important to note that the idea of mathematical accuracy in ritual is present but not explicitly applied to the calendar.

Additionally, this Levitical text expresses the idea that ritual accuracy is necessary lest someone be "cut off from his people." In this instance the text *does* associate this terrible punishment with temporal accuracy. The ritual must occur "on this very day." During the apocalyptic era, when many Israelites experienced firsthand being cut off from their people, this concept would become elevated.

Finally, the regular occurrence of the number seven in this text ties it strongly to the later obsession with this number. Apocalyptic communities became fixated on certain mystical numbers, seven and its multiples being the most prominent among them. Also, this excerpt contains two instances in which a multiple of seven is "completed" with an extra day: the fiftieth day of the Feast of Weeks and the eighth day of the Feast of Booths. This type of extra "completion" day will become a critical tool in the formation of apocalyptic calendars. Thus in *Leviticus* we see the numerical,

theological, and idealistic origins of many of the later apocalyptic formulations of calendars and time.

Apocalyptic Calendars and Concepts of Time

Issues of chronology and the Sabbath and festival calendars appear in a number of apocalyptic writings, both from Qumran and others known before the Qumran discoveries. These include *Daniel* (which is both biblical and apocalyptic), *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, *Habakkuk*,[55] the Qumranic book of *Psalms*,[56] "Daily Prayers" from Qumran,[57] the *Damascus Document*, *1* and *2 Maccabees*,[58] and others. Any text of the period that mentions a date, a specific festival, or a type of calendar may be used to add evidence to the various debates about the cultic calendars in ancient Israel. Some texts also include information about the structure of the heavenly realm and the order of the astronomical bodies as evidence for or against particular ways of reckoning time. Most notable for this category is the Enochic "Astronomical Book," also called the "Book of the Luminaries."

Since there are so many apocalyptic texts associated with calendrical and chronological matters, this section will focus on a few that have calendars and time as their central focus or sections with that primary concern. These include the "Apocalypse of Weeks" and the "Astronomical Book" from *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll*. Others will also come into play during the discussion of these four texts.

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[55] See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549-63.
[56] See Michael Chyutin, "The Redaction of the Qumranic and the Traditional Book of Psalms as a Calendar," *Revue de Qumran* 16.3 (1994): 367-95.
[57] See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4 Q 503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar," *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1986): 399-407.
[58] See James C. VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6, 7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 12 (1981): 52-74.

The "Apocalypse of Weeks"

The "Apocalypse of Weeks" is a portion of the "Epistle of Enoch," one of the five major sections of *1 Enoch*.[59] The character of Enoch has been plucked by the apocalyptic authors from the fifth chapter of *Genesis*, thus placing Enoch in relatively close proximity, both textually and chronologically, with the concept of the "week" as it first appears in creation. This juxtaposition may be coincidental, but it is interesting. Another numerical point of interest linking Enoch to the "week" is that Enoch is the seventh generation descended from Adam. As a final point of intrigue, *Genesis* tells us that "all of Enoch's days were sixty-five years and three hundred years."[60] The fact that Enoch is associated with the number seven through his genealogy and the number 365 (the number of days in a correct solar calendar) through his lifespan make Enoch a perfect candidate to be the recipient of revelatory material having to do with epochs of time. The following portion of the "Apocalypse of Weeks" demonstrates consistent use of numerical description:

> And Enoch then began to speak from the books and said, I was born **the seventh in the first week**, while justice and righteousness still lasted. And after me **in the second week** great wickedness will arise, and deceit will have sprung up; and in it there will be **the first end**, and in it a man will be saved. And after it has ended, iniquity will grow, and he will make a law for the sinners. And after this **in the third week**, at its end, a man will be chosen as the plant of righteousness **for ever**. And after this **in the fourth week**, at its end, visions of the holy and righteous will be seen, and a law **for all generations** and an enclosure will be made for them. And after this **in the fifth week**, at its end, a house of glory and of sovereignty will be built **for ever**. And after this **in the sixth week** all those who live in it (will be) blinded, and the hearts of all, lacking wisdom, will sink into impiety. And in it a man will ascend; and at its end the house of sovereignty will be burnt with fire, and in it the whole race of the chosen root will be scattered. And after this **in the seventh week** an apostate generation will arise, and many (will be) its deeds, but all its deeds (will

[59] Reddish, 54.
[60] *Genesis* 5:23.

> be) apostasy. And at its end the chosen righteous from the **eternal** plant of righteousness will be chosen, to whom will be given **sevenfold** teaching concerning whole creation.
>
> And after this there will be **another week, the eighth**, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it that the righteous judgment may be executed on those who do wrong, and the sinners will be handed over into the hands of the righteous. And at its end they will acquire houses because of their righteousness, and a house will be built for the great king in glory for ever. And after this **in the ninth week** the righteous judgment will be revealed to the whole world, and all the deeds of the impious will vanish from the whole earth; and the world will be written down for destruction, and all men will look to the path of uprightness. And after this **in the tenth week, in the seventh part**, there will be the **eternal** judgment which will be executed on the Watchers, and the great **eternal** heaven which will spring from the midst of the angels. And the first heaven will vanish and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of heaven will shine **for ever** (with) **sevenfold** light. And after this there will be **many weeks without number for ever** in goodness and in righteousness, and from then on sin will **never again** be mentioned.[61]

This text is built upon several assumptions that can also be found in the biblical texts, such as the conviction that the structure of time is created by God and revealed through a prophet so mankind can follow its laws. Also evident is the concept of chosen individuals and chosen peoples who will have special relationships with God and special destinies. This text is different, however, in that it extrapolates these concepts into a schema for all of historical time. The first seven weeks are "predicted" through *ex eventu*[62] prophecy, and the last three are predicted based on the anxiously anticipated events of the time. Reddish writes, "The division of history into distinct periods supports the authors' attempt to bring hope and encouragement to the readers. The events of the world are not arbitrary or haphazard. Rather, world history is predetermined and is

[61] *1 Enoch* 93:3-10; 91:12-17, from Reddish, 56-57. Emphases in bold mine. Reddish notes on page 55, "The text of the 'Apocalypse of Weeks' given here is the translation by M. A. Knibb, contained in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Knibb's work is a translation of primarily one Ethiopic manuscript (Ryl. Eth. MS 23), corrected by other texts only in places where this manuscript does not appear to make sense."
[62] *Ex eventu* prophecy refers to literature that "predicts" an event that has already occurred in order to lend credibility to the prophetic document. See Reddish, 22.

under the control of God."[63] Here is where we find the concept of the "week," as created by God in *Genesis*, so useful. By using the word "week," the author is reminding the reader that God is in control of time even when we cannot see it. The day, the month, and the year are marked by regular signs, but the week is something that exists because God says so. Therefore, by calling these important historical epochs "weeks," we know we can trust God to carry them out even if we cannot see them coming for ourselves. Also, the term "week" automatically calls to mind God's seven-day creation, reminding readers that all aspects of time and creation have been under God's control since the beginning. It is impossible to know all the reasons why the author of the "Apocalypse of Weeks" used this terminology, but there seem to be several important elements in support of its usefulness.

All in all, the "Apocalypse of Weeks" shows that the apocalyptic community or communities who read the work and supported its authority felt that time was of a predestined nature, that the conflict of good and evil would be resolved within a finite time frame, and that history was moving directionally. This idea of directionality rather than cyclic or stagnant time is much more important here than it was in the Hebrew Bible. In the biblical writings, directionality was needed to establish a people and their covenant, but there was no idea of an ultimate directionality beyond that. This apocalyptic need for a historical "conclusion" continues in the texts that follow.

The "Astronomical Book"

The "Astronomical Book" consists of *1 Enoch* 72-82. It begins, "The book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries, all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction,

[63] Reddish, 55.

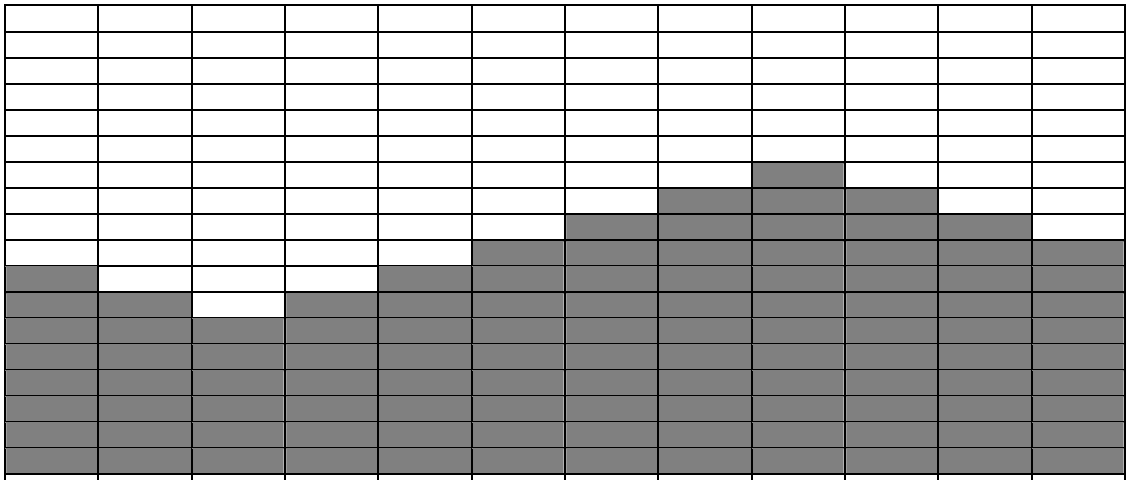
their time, their name, their origins, and their months . . . and how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is made."[64] This self-description is quite accurate. The book is concerned with all the heavenly lights and enumerates upon them using precise numbers and fractions with elaborate descriptions of the gates, windows, and structures of the realm of the luminaries. One puzzling fact is that the book offers two opposing types of "years," one solar and one lunar. Let us take each one in turn.

The first and bulkiest section of the book is the "Law of the Sun," or chapter 72. This chapter describes in great detail the path of the sun as it changes throughout the year. It tells of a cosmological framework of six gates on either side of the world, east and west. The sun enters the sky through each gate for one month (these are not true lunar months, but rather twelfths of the solar year of 30 or 31 days) before moving on to the next gate. Each gate is used for two "months" of the year, resulting in a complete solar year of 364 days. The "Astronomical Book" also details the percentage of daylight during the period of each gate's use. For example, 30 days after the year begins, when the sun is finished passing through the fourth gate and will move on to the fifth, "On that day the daytime is two units more than the night—one-ninth, with the daytime being exactly ten parts, and the night exactly eight parts."[65] Later on in the year, when the sun is passing through the first gate for the thirty-first time, "On that day the night is longer and is double the daytime; the night is twelve parts exactly and the daytime six parts."[66] The entire scheme of the year is described until all twelve solar months are completed: a complete year. The following table is a graphic representation of the solar

[64] *1 Enoch* 72:1. Translation by George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation: Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).
[65] *1 Enoch* 72:10.
[66] *1 Enoch* 72:26.

year according to the "Astronomical Book." It shows the assigned portions of daylight and darkness that occur during the year as the sun travels through the various gates:

Table 4.1: The "Astronomical Book" Solar Calendar with Daylight Fractions



4th gate	5th gate	6th gate	6th gate	5th gate	4th gate	3rd gate	2nd gate	1st gate	1st gate	2nd gate	3rd gate
30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31
TOTAL = 364 days											

Chapters 73 and 74 concern the "smaller luminary whose name is the moon."[67] Chapter 73 illustrates the phases of the moon using precise fractions. A portion of the text reads, "[The moon's] roundness is like the roundness of the sky, and the wind blows its chariot on which it rides, with the light being given to it in measure. Each month its emergence and setting change, and its days are like the days of the sun. When its light is evenly distributed (over its surface), it is one-seventh the light of the sun."[68] Here we see the mystical number seven once again, and it will recur often in the depictions of the moon's phases. The phases are described as changing in sevenths and fourteenths each day of the moon's cycle. These fractions are fairly accurate, given that fourteen days of

[67] *1 Enoch* 73:1b.
[68] *1 Enoch* 73:2-3.

waxing and fourteen days of waning plus one day of no lunar visibility yield a 29-day lunar month. Thus the moon provided one more piece of evidence for ancient observers that the luminaries moved and changed according to mystical numbers established by God.

Although the moon fit into an appropriate numerical design in some regards, in others it was problematic. The "Astronomical Book" is different from other texts in that it provides two calendar forms, one solar and one lunar. Chapter 74 presents, "The law of the Lunar Year,"[69] a 354-day cycle of lunar phases. The text catalogs the discrepancy between the 364-day solar year and the 354-day lunar year, but it is unclear whether it is attempting to reconcile the two through intercalation or other methods. It reads, "For in eight years eighty days are lacking; all the days that it lacks after eight years are eighty days. Then the year is **correctly completed in accord with their eternal positions and the positions of the sun**; they rise from the gate from which it rises and sets for thirty days."[70] There appears to be an implied natural intercalation that should take place after eight years. Other verses hint at the frustratingly wayward behavior of the moon, such as, "In certain months it changes (the places of) its settings, and in certain months it goes its own way,"[71] and, "During certain months the moon has 29 days and once 28."[72] Both the discrepancies and the regularities of the interaction of the solar and lunar calendars are further explained in chapters 78-79. However, this material hardly clears up the debate about whether the two plans do or do not match.

Scholarly opinion on this topic varies. Baumgarten writes:

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[69] *1 Enoch* 74 title.
[70] *1 Enoch* 74:16-17a. Emphases in bold mine.
[71] *1 Enoch* 74:4.
[72] *1 Enoch* 78:9.

> The tolerance for the lunar calendar is, indeed, one of the remarkable aspects of the Book of the Luminaries . . . Here we find detailed calculations for the deficit of the lunar year *vis-à-vis* the solar year over an eight-year period (1 Enoch lxxiv 16). The only purpose of such calculations would have been to provide the basis for some system of luni-solar intercalation.[73]

Baumgarten feels that the calculations are present in order to *facilitate* intercalation, not that they *are* intercalation.

Nickelsburg and VanderKam put forth another perspective in the introduction to their translation. Their explanation takes into account the difficulties resulting from the varied and fragmentary nature of the surviving manuscripts:

> In its Aramaic form, the book seems to have begun, after an introduction setting the scene, with a long section in which the movements of the sun and moon were synchronized for a one-year period . . .
>
> . . . 74:10-17 compare a solar year of 364 days and a lunar one of 354 days . . .
>
> In these revelations to Enoch there are two revealed calendars: a solar year of 364 days and a lunar year of 354 days. This information also appears in calendrical texts from Qumran, but, unlike those texts, the Book of the Luminaries never mentions the Jewish festivals or that sabbath and thus does not date them according to either of these calendars.[74]

Thus, sometimes the two calendars are "synchronized," sometimes "compared," and sometimes "revealed" separately, even within the same short span of ten chapters. It seems reasonable to conclude that the conflicting and wavering nature of both the text itself and its interpretations represent a real struggle on the part of the author(s) of *1 Enoch* to reconcile the calendars in a meaningful or coherent way. What does seem clear is that the solar calendar takes precedence over the lunar calendar, which is constantly falling behind, and that the author does not, at least in the surviving manuscripts, specify the type of intercalation, if any, that is to take place. The preference for the solar

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[73] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *Vetus Testamentum* 37.1 (1987): 76.

[74] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 6-8.

means of reckoning time and the lack of obvious intercalation will be strengthened in both *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*. However, these texts, unlike *1 Enoch*, attempt to accurately place the biblical festivals and historical events into the "updated" and correct solar calendar.

Jubilees

Calendrical information in the book of *Jubilees* occurs as part of its narrative retelling of the biblical history, beginning with creation and ending with the covenant at Sinai. There is no explicit calendar provided in the text; rather, it must be gleaned through the reading by calculating dates and interpreting the author's chronological methodology. VanderKam explains the name of the book along with part of its significance for understanding calendars:

> The book has received its name *Jubilees* from the fact that the author dates the many events of early biblical history according to a chronological system whose major unit is a jubilee, that is, a 49-year period. It appears that as he read the biblical legislation about the jubilee (see Lev. 25), he understood a jubilee to be that period of 49 years which was marked off by the fiftieth year when special laws applied. He further subdivided these 49-year jubilees into seven units of seven years each—these he labeled *weeks*. On his view, a year consisted of exactly 364 days, a total defined by the course of the sun, not the moon (6.32-38). As we shall see...the writer used his chronological system not only to date events but also to make a larger theological claim about the providential course of Israel's history.[75]

This excellent introductory material by VanderKam defines the scope and purpose of time as a conceptual framework in *Jubilees* neatly. It is already possible to see that several of the concerns of the *Enoch* author(s) remain. One is the shared concern for the preeminence of the solar year over the lunar. Another is that the history

[75] James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 12-13.

of the Patriarchs/Israelites/Jews from the moment of creation through the time of the texts' origination has occurred according to a broad system of "weeks," which are schematized periods of years. The actual length of a "week" in *1 Enoch* and a "week" in *Jubilees* is different; however, the relevance of the concept is the same. Finally, by fitting past history into schematized periods through both creative textual interpretation and *ex eventu* prophecy, the authors show that history will continue to unfold in such an orderly manner. This is the perfect antidote to the prevailing political upheaval and distress of the second century BCE world.

Interestingly, the *Jubilees* author credits the character of Enoch with receiving and recording the initial revelation about the solar calendar.[76] This fact, among others, indicates the author's familiarity with the *Enoch* texts. However, there are also several key differences between *Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Most obvious, as mentioned above, is the fact that the *Jubilees* text inserts information about chronology and calendars into its narrative framework, whereas the "Apocalypse of Weeks" inserts historical information into its chronological framework. Also, there is nothing like the "Astronomical Book" in *Jubilees* to spell out the exact workings of the calendar. This means that the calendar of *Jubilees* must be carefully constructed by counting the days and years in all the possible interpretations of the text. This has led to disagreement among scholars ever since the first full text of the work was discovered in the mid-nineteenth century, as illustrated by the divergent opinions in the many articles written on the subject. Joseph Baumgarten's article, "Some Problems of the Jubilees Calendar in Current Research," summarizes a few of the main elements of the debate and shows how complex the dialogue among scholars of the *Jubilees* calendar has been:

[76] Ibid, 96.

> Despite the reservations that I have indicated about specific aspects of Jaubert's method, there can, in my opinion, no longer be any doubt about the accuracy of her description of the structure of the Jubilees calendar. The *4Qmišmarot* table [cycles of priestly Temple service], cited though regrettably not yet published by J. T. Milik, confirms the hypothesis advanced by Jaubert that the year in the Jubilees calendar began on Wednesday. The year had four trimesters, each with two months of 30 days and one of 31 days. The counting of the Omer commenced on Sunday I/26 culminating in the festival of Shabu'ot on Sunday III/15.
>
> In *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 83-7, J.T. Rook attempts to revive the theory about a Jubilees year consisting of 13 months of 28 days put forth at the end of the last century by A. Epstein. Epstein, however, was impelled to this composite theory, assuming the simultaneous use in Jubilees of a civil year of 12 months and a religious year of 13, by the thorny problem of reconciling the Jubilees date for Shabu'ot (III/15) with the 7-week counting of the Omer...This supposition, it turns out, is no longer valid. The table of *mišmarōt* sets the day of the Omer offering "on the first day of Yeda'yah" which corresponds to I/26. This is demonstrably based on a calendar in which the months have 30-31 days. Thus, there is no longer any need for the hypothesis of a religious calendar with 13 months of 28 days.[77]

We see here that scholars have spent much time counting the days and months of the events mentioned in *Jubilees* in order to construct a consistent calendar that would match up with the dates given while simultaneously agreeing with the biblical commands for when events should occur. They have also compared the calendars with other sources and between the various *Jubilees* manuscripts. This tedious process can, however, yield fruitful results.

To better demonstrate how the chronological material presented in *Jubilees* can be successfully and meaningfully interpreted, let us examine a portion of VanderKam's analysis of *Jubilees* 50:2-4:

> He [the *Jubilees* author] notes that there were 49 jubilees, one week and two years from the beginning until the present (= 2401 years + 7 years + 2 years = 2410 years). Moreover, there were still 40 years to come before

[77] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Some Problems of the Jubilees Calendar in Current Research," *Vetus Testamentum* 32.4 (1982): 487.

> Israel entered the land. In other words, the events of the exodus from Egypt and entry into Canaan take place in the fiftieth jubilee period . . .
>
> If one keeps in mind the biblical legislation for what was to transpire during the fiftieth or jubilee year, one sees that it is paralleled in the fiftieth jubilee period in *Jubilees*. In Leviticus 25 two events are to occur in the *year* of jubilee: the Israelite slave is to be freed, and alienated ancestral property is to be returned to its original Israelite owner. In *Jubilees* both of these events occur, but they happen in the fiftieth jubilee period and affect the entire nation, not individuals: the Israelite slaves are freed from their bondage in Egypt, and they enter their own land which had been taken from them by Canaan and his descendants.[78]

And also his treatment of *Jubilees* 6:17-38:

> The calendrical section [of *Jubilees* 6] opens with a treatment of the Festival of Weeks, the festival of the covenant (6.17-22). This is appropriate because the proper dating of the festival was a disputed point in ancient Judaism; moreover, a central role of the calendar was to permit the correct dating of festivals. The author does note the importance of celebrating the Festival of Weeks at the divinely ordained time each year (see 6.22). The next topic is a series of four 'memorial days and days of seasons. They are written down and ordained at the four divisions of the year as an eternal testimony' (6.23b). The dates for them are the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, (v. 23a), and each of them is a memorial of an event during the year of the flood: on 1/1 Noah was ordered to build the ark and in the next year the earth became dry on it; on 1/4 the abyss was closed to prevent the flood waters from draining; on 1/7 it was opened to allow the waters to go down; and on 1/10 the mountain tops became visible (vv. 25-27). These festivals are entered in the heavenly tablets and serve as markers for each quarter of the year.[79]

This analysis sheds light on the sophistication of *Jubilees*. The author managed to unite the biblical concept of the jubilee year with the idea of a predestined and schematized biblical history while simultaneously incorporating the lunar and agricultural festivals, covenant theology, and orderly eschatology. The elegance of his methodology cannot be overstated. The author and his community would not have worked so hard to unite these disparate strands if proper calendrical and historical time had not been seen as essential to the correct observance of the covenant.

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[78] VanderKam, 95-6.
[79] Ibid, 97.

The *Temple Scroll*

The *Temple Scroll* utilizes a calendar similar to the 364-day solar calendar of *Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Like these other works, the *Temple Scroll* is a reworking of biblical material into a new theological, chronological, and eschatological framework. Dwight Swanson explains, "The overall structure of the scroll encompasses Exodus 34 to Deuteronomy 23:1, but re-orders and ignores material according to the requirements of its own plan."[80]

Thus, the *Temple Scroll* is in some ways a complement to *Jubilees*, which covers the earlier portion of the Bible in a similar way. The *Temple Scroll* also presents its calendrical material in a manner much like *Jubilees*:

> Interrupting the Temple Law, and apparently inserted purposely following the commands regarding the altar, is a description of the cycle of feasts and their accompanying sacrifices (Cols 13-30). Daily offerings, Sabbath offerings, and the major feasts are prescribed following the order of Numbers 28-29. First-fruits festivals of New Wine and of New Oil, and a festival for the Wood Offering are added in Cols 19-24, in material wholly new to the Scroll. The section ends with a passage on the covenant with Jacob at Bethel and an enigmatic reference to the "day of blessing" on which Yahweh will "create my temple and establish it for myself for all times" (Col 29:9-10).[81]

In the *Temple Scroll* we can expect to see a concern for the correct placement of the biblical festivals according to a calendar of later origin, with a great deal of emphasis on counting and accuracy, and with the addition of new festivals to this counting scheme. We can also expect to see the implications of this calendar extrapolated into a scheme for all time.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the remaining manuscript found at Qumran, it is best to rely on the diligent work of previous scholars in piecing together

[80] Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 5.
[81] Ibid, 4.

and analyzing the *Temple Scroll* calendar. This work has been done, much like in *Jubilees*, through painstaking comparisons of different sections of the text that mention festivals and careful consideration of the section in the "Festival Law" (Cols 13-29)[82] that provides detailed calendrical information. Swanson describes both the traditional and unique elements of the *Temple Scroll* calendar:

> The Festival Law . . . , or calendar, is based on the laws concerning sacrifices for the festivals in Numbers 28-29. They are basically dealt with in this biblical order: Tamid, Sabbath offering, first of the month, first of the year, Passover, Unleavened Bread, the Omer, First-fruits, first of the seventh month, Day of Atonement, and feast of Booths. The consecration offering is inserted before Passover, from Exodus 29. In outline these all adhere closely to the biblical framework.
>
> However, the Feast of First-fruits is expanded extensively. The Waving of the Sheaf is made the First-fruits of Barley, and a feast of weeks. To this are added, at fifty-day intervals, a First-fruits Festival of Wheat, of New Wine, and of New Oil (as well as a Wood Offering). These are added at the point where Numbers 28 discusses First-fruits and Weeks (28:26-31), but are each based on Lev 23:10-22.
>
> This multiple use of the same biblical text to create three separate festivals is the most original work of the section . . . [83]

Once again we see the creative ability of the author to implement biblical festivals and ideas from multiple places in the text in a newly devised calendar. This author, like those before him, sees his calendar as the culmination of proper festival observance rather than a corruption of it.

Besides the inclusion of additional pentecontad festivals, the *Temple Scroll* calendar varies in that it focuses on the first day of the first and seventh months as dual "New Years" as opposed to emphasizing all four quarter-days. Beckwith explains:

> The first day of the seventh month is not only a new moon but also an annual festival, described as a "memorial" (*zikkaron*), when trumpets are to be blown (*Lev* 23,24; *Num* 29,1). The purpose of this activity, as it appears from *Num* 10,10 was that the people and their sacrifices might be

[82] Ibid, 17.
[83] Ibid, 17-18.

> remembered for good before the Lord, and the verse indicates that the same ceremony was observed on other holy days also. This may be one reason why, in *Jubilees* 6,23, the name "day of memorial" is extended to three other new moons, the new moons of the first month, the fourth month, and the tenth month, as well as the seventh month, i.e. to the new moons following the four quarter-days and beginning the four seasons. Interestingly enough, the *Temple Scroll* does not follow the example of *Jubilees*.
>
> One of these other new moons, however, is the first day of the first month, and the *Temple Scroll* does follow the example of a different passage of *Jubilees* (*Jub* 7,2-3) in attaching special importance to this one . . . the Essenes seem to have attached more importance to the spring new year that to the autumnal new year, so a festival to mark the spring new year must have seemed to them a very appropriate addition to the calendar, providing it with proper balance.[84]

This one point, where the *Temple Scroll* calendar "demotes" two of the special new moons after quarter-days to simple new moons, is the only apparent instance of subtraction from the other calendars. In all other instances the *Temple Scroll* either preserves or adds festivals.

It seems logical to conclude, as Beckwith has done, that, "The fact that the *Temple Scroll* takes for granted the fixed solar year of 364 days, instead of explaining and defending it in the way that is done in *Jubilees* and especially in *1 Enoch*, shows not only that the *Temple Scroll* is a further product of the same school of thought, but also that it is a later product of that same school, dependent upon the other two works."[85] This relationship does not, however, explain the full complexity of the origin of these calendars or detail who used which version when.

[84] Roger T. Beckwith, "The Temple Scroll and Its Calendar: Their Character and Purpose," *Revue de Qumran* 18.1 (1997): 13-14.
[85] Ibid, 18.

Comparison of Apocalyptic Calendars

Scholars have made many comparisons between and among the calendars discussed here as well as others. Beckwith sums up the situation, saying, "As regards the Qumran calendar, the *Temple Scroll* presents this in a fuller form than any other Qumran text, though it appears to be basically the same calendar as is explained and defended in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*."[86]

Baumgarten points out several of the important differences between the *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *Temple Scroll* calendars in his article, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," from which I borrow extensively here:

> [T]he author of Jubilees knew of the cycle of harvest festivals, but regarded them as peripheral to his major concerns, which were the promotion of the schematic solar calendar and the strict observance of the Sabbath . . .
>
> The Temple Scroll, by contrast, although presupposing, as we have indicated, the same calendar as Jubilees, does not appear to be obsessed with it to the same degree. It seems more concerned with embodying the sequence of harvest festivals in the cycle of the biblical calendar . . .
>
> There are, moreover, indications that at Qumran, unlike in Jubilees, adherence to the 364-day calendar was not contingent on the repudiation of the lunar one . . .
>
> The uncertainty with regard to the solar year, as well as the receptivity to the lunar calendar would seem to militate strongly against the hypothesis of Jaubert and others who assume the Jubilees calendar to be a continuation of an ancient sacerdotal calendar . . .
>
> It appears, as Beckwith has pointed out, that the 364-day schematic solar calendar early on became problematic for its proponents. In the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries its major function was most probably to serve as a basis for intercalation of the lunar calendar, though there is already an awareness of its divergence from the seasons. This was attributed to the sinfulness of mankind and the angels to whom the guidance of the heavenly bodies was committed (1 Enoch xviii 15, lxxx 7-8).
>
> For the author of Jubilees, on the other hand, the 364-day calendar was the one and only way of guaranteeing the absolute sanctity of the Sabbath. A lunar calendar, which allows the biblical festivals to coincide with Sabbaths, is necessarily subversive of this ideal...The dire result is that the heavenly bodies, themselves, have begun to deviate from their prescribed courses (vi 33). In his single-minded devotion to the schematic calendar,

[86] Ibid, 3.

> the author paid but scant attention to other calendric elements, such as the pentecontad harvest sequence. The latter, however, became the focal point of interest for the sectarian writer whose schedule of festivals was included in the compilation now known as the Temple Scroll.
>
> The question of priority between the Temple Scroll and Jubilees is difficult to decide on the basis of the calendar alone. The 364-day calendar, one of the multiple elements of religious practice and exegesis which these works have in common, derives from the pseudoscientific lore of the book of Enoch. In Jubilees it found its most extreme advocacy as the bulwark of the Sabbath. The Temple Scroll likewise accepted it without, however, excluding the exposition of other ancient calendric schemes, such as the sequence of pentecontad festivals. In the Qumran library the entire spectrum of calendric traditions was represented and was apparently co-ordinated with the prevailing luni-solar calendar.[87]

Baumgarten, along with the other scholars quoted, is struggling to reconcile the various calendars with each other and to assign the proper times of origin and communities to each. This debate far exceeds the scope of this inquiry and serves only to demonstrate the complexity of the subject matter at hand. The most that can truly be said at this point is that the preeminence of calendrical and chronological material in *all* these texts shows that it was vastly more important than it appeared to be in most of the Hebrew bible texts. For a comparative graphic and mathematical representation of some of the possible calendars described herein, see Table 4.2.

[87] Baumgarten, 75-7.

Table 4.2: Comparative Table of Calendars

Pharisaic Luni-Solar						**Intercalation = Yes**								
30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar		= 354	
30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar		= 354	3-year avg. = 364
30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	29 lunar	30 lunar	= 384	
Sabbaths: Many festivals occur on the Sabbath														
Festivals: Occur according to the observation of the lunar cycles														
Notes: Intercalation actually occurred according to a more complex system than once every 3 years														
***Enoch* Solar**						**Intercalation = Unclear**								
30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31			
Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days					= 364
Sabbaths: Occur at the same time of the month each year														
Festivals: Must follow the solar scheme as opposed to the lunar one to remain in sync														
Notes: A possible naturally occurring intercalation is hinted at in 74:10, indicating that the shortness of the lunar year may be made up after an 80-year cycle														
Jubilees						**Intercalation = No**								
30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31			
Season of 13 weeks (91)			Season of 13 weeks (91)			Season of 13 weeks (91)			Season of 13 weeks (91)			= 52 weeks = 52 Sabbaths		= 364
Sabbaths: Occur at the same time of the month each year, do not coincide with festivals														
Festivals: Quarter-days on the 1st days of the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th months are added														
Notes: First day of the year is always Wednesday														
Temple Scroll						**Intercalation = Yes, with pentecontad sequence**								
30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31	30	30	31			
Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days			Quarter of 91 days					= 364
Sabbaths: Occur at the same time of the month each year, may coincide with festivals														
Festivals: Half-days on the 1st day of the 1st month and the 1st day of the 7th month, extra pentecontad festivals of first fruits														
Notes: It may be unclear how the semi-pentecontad nature of the calendar fits with the fully solar one.														
Pentecontad Scheme						**Intercalation = Yes, but not explored here**								
7x7 weeks +1 (50)			7x7 weeks +1 (50)			7x7 weeks +1 (50)			7x7 weeks +1 (50)			7x7 weeks +1 (50)		= 350
OR														
7x7 weeks (49)			7x7 weeks (49)			7x7 weeks (49)			7x7 weeks (49)			7x7 weeks (49)		= 343
Sabbaths: Coincide with first fruits festivals														
Festivals: First fruits every seventh week														
Notes: This calendar is not fully implemented in the texts explored herein; it is extrapolated from the *Temple Scroll* and is similar to the calendar of the Nestorians and others.[88]														

[88] Ibid, 72.

Several of the experts in apocalyptic calendars have emphasized the importance of calendrical accuracy with regard to the origins of sectarianism. These abundant views are expressed in quotations like, "As everybody knows, the *Book of Jubilees* inveighs against those, such as the Pharisees and their forerunners, who based their calendar on observation of the moon,"[89] and "It seems reasonable to conclude . . . that a dispute about calendars was one reason why the Qumran groups separated themselves from other Jews,"[90] and "I also share the belief that the ultimate origins of the Qumran community are closely bound up with this issue [of the calendar]."[91] It is now necessary to briefly look at the post-sectarian period to see whether the issue of the calendar would remain in such a prominent and controversial position.

Time in Rabbinic Judaism

It is well established that the destruction of the Temple and the final major expulsion of the Israelites from their own land by the Romans led to one of the greatest, if not the single greatest, turning point in the Jewish Religion.[92] For all intents and purposes, it was at this time that priestly Judaism ceased to exist and rabbinic Judaism began. During this era, there were dramatic changes in the practical aspects of Judaism. The element of time eventually fell back into nearly the same position it had prior to the apocalyptic period, with some important differences. This is not to say that elements of time became less important than the other elements, but rather that the sense of

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[89] Roger T. Beckwith, "The Essene Calendar and the Moon: A Reconsideration," *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991): 457.
[90] James C. VanderKam, "Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63.3 (2000): 167.
[91] Philip R. Davies, "Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 88.
[92] For full treatment of this topic, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House, 1991).

urgency and immediacy and the obsession with calendrical exactness ceased to be at the forefront of debate.

These changes can be illustrated quickly in terms of the fivefold paradigm: *who* changed from priests to rabbis; *what* changed from sacrifice to prayer; *where* changed from the Temple to local synagogues; and *how* became increasingly diversified as Jews migrated to distant parts of the world. There were also changes concerning *when*, of course. For example, the time of the expected messianic age became pushed into a distant and vague future rather than the imminent moment. Moreover, rabbinic Judaism's calendar had to respond to the dramatic changes in all the other elements in order to provide a unified schedule of prayer and ritual for Jews everywhere. This led, for example, to the practice of adding an extra day of holiday observance in the Diaspora in order to be sure that one celebrated holy days concurrently with Israel. As Schweid has pointed out, the loss of the Jews' homeland created the necessity for time to become a unifying factor among Jews worldwide, replacing the realm of sacred space in some sense. But it seems that during this era of drastic change, time changed alongside and in response to the other major elements, rather than being the ultimate causal factor.

Conclusions

For the writers of both the biblical and the apocalyptic texts, God had created an ordered cosmos that adhered to certain patterns. These patterns could be perceived through observation of the luminaries and seasons as well as through revealed knowledge. Although the later calendars and their respective textual counterparts rely on the foundation of the earlier biblical ones, there are substantive differences. The biblical texts contain no lengthy itemized accounts of fractions of light, gates of entry for

luminaries and their winds, or numerical calculations. When the date of a certain festival is expressed, it is given simply in terms of the day and the month. The seasons seem to occur naturally and are observable through the senses. The sun is of obvious importance to the daily life of the Israelites, but it is mostly taken for granted unless something unusual happens, such as the darkness of the ninth plague or when Joshua commands the sun to halt in its place. Interestingly, the moon was also explicitly affected in this case, while in the ninth plague, the darkness of the moon is implied as well. The moon plays a critical role in Israelite life through the festivals, but its deviance from the sun does not appear to be a source of significant distress.

Apocalyptic texts, on the other hand, display an obsession with the exact measurements of the workings of the luminaries. They express distress over the differences between various calendars, and even label some as profoundly evil. For these authors, correct calendrical insight is paramount for moral living through the festivals. Anything else is nothing short of an abomination of God's ordered creation and leads not only to the corruption of one's own being but also to the degradation of the universe itself.

In light of the historical context, these concerns make sense. Judaism was under the influence of multiple foreign pressures, which served only to exacerbate pre-existing tensions among clans and sects. The Temple was at first inaccessible to some, and subsequently it was destroyed outright. The people were repeatedly exiled by their own disagreements and by outside powers. Functioning within a construct of sacred space must have been nearly if not completely impossible during these times. Sacred time, as an extension of the sacred space paradigm, was the natural solution. If Jews could assemble at the proper moment of ritual, they had a hope of temporarily achieving the

sense of community that had been so devastated. Through time, these Jews could work toward the proper participation in God's covenant that had been denied to them in their own land. The correct implementation of the calendar was the final chance for "return." This idea found natural extension in the concept of temporal redemption, where history would play itself out naturally and morally in accord with God's ways.

As we have seen, scholars of biblical and early post-biblical calendars express a range of views as to the historical development of the lunar and solar calendars along with their various forms, intercalations, and conflicts. Arguments over which calendar originated where and when will surely continue for years to come as more Qumran manuscripts are published and study of existing texts advances. Yet if there is one thing on which all the scholars can agree, it is that the apocalyptic ideals depended on time in ways that previous theologies did not. Although many of these temporal concepts continue to be important in Western religions, they have rarely, if ever, received the emphasis placed on them during the apocalyptic period. The apocalyptic texts stand as a monument to the importance of temporality in human religion as expressed in its most fervent form.

This thesis will now turn to a method of looking at sacred time and calendars that stands opposed to the apocalyptic type of obsessively precise reckoning. Rather than using differences in calendrical observation to divide groups of people, it will seek to draw out the ultimate functional similarity of different calendar traditions.

CHAPTER 5: THE SPIRALINEAR MODEL

Why Not a Time Line?

Why is the spiralinear model better than other models? The most common modern way to represent time is with a straight line, a "time line." A basic time line can accurately show the sequential relationship of events in time, such as the number of years that elapsed between the onsets of World War I and World War II:

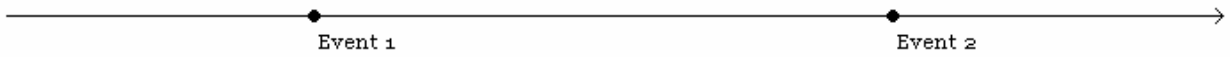

Figure 5.1: Time Line

A basic time line is useful for showing events that do not recur. A good time line can show how many events in human history have affected one another and led to subsequent events, and it can depict eras of time by showing major turning points as beginnings and endings. A time line is a very useful tool:

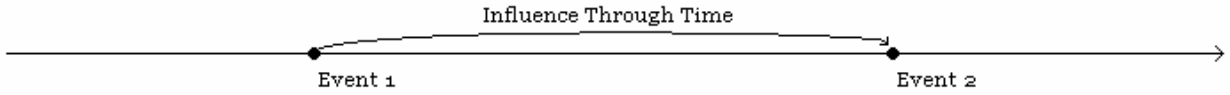

Figure 5.2: Time Line with Influence Vector

A time line is not a useful tool, however, for demonstrating how events that reoccur function in human culture and history. For example, if one were to put the same

Thanksgiving events from the above time spiral onto a time line, it would look something like this:

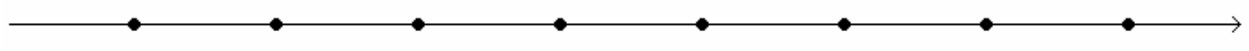

Figure 5.3: Time Line with Holiday Points

This type of diagram conveys nothing about how these events function and why they recur. They look like separate events that just happen to randomly reappear. There is no sense of the holiday as an intersection at which one can move freely from the common flow of time into being a participant in the history of Thanksgiving.

Suppose one wanted to show that Thanksgiving each year is a reenactment and remembrance of the first Thanksgiving with the Pilgrims and Native Americans, or that Christmas each year is a reenactment and remembrance of the birth of Jesus. If one attempted to show these important continuities and connections on a time line, the resulting diagram would look something like this:

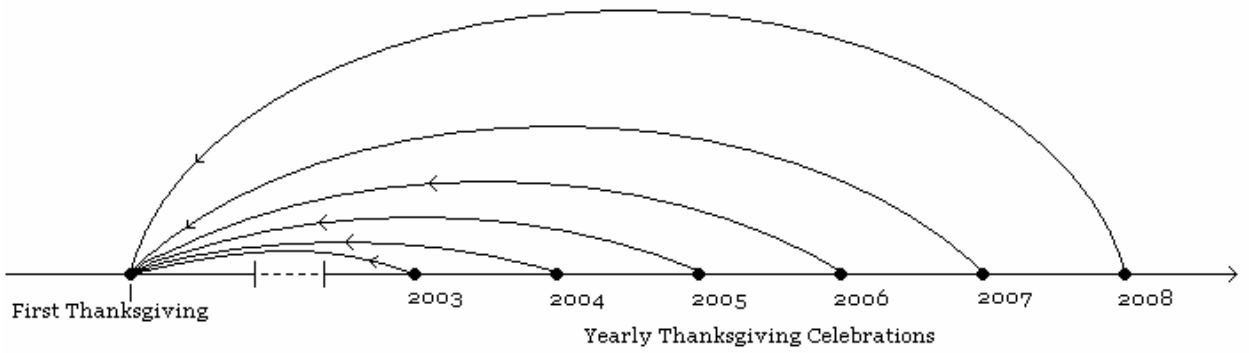

Figure 5.4: Time Line with Jump-back Vectors

This model has several shortcomings. First, it is difficult to understand. Time seems to be moving in one direction (forward, represented by left-to-right motion). Then, at each recurrence of the holiday, time suddenly jumps backward to the point of origin for the Thanksgiving or Christmas event. After this has occurred, how does one get back into the "normal" flow of everyday time? The model is constantly catapulting the ritual participants backward, leaving them no way of smoothly transitioning back into the time line where they left off.

A second flaw is that this model represents a recurring event as stagnant. The only thing that appears to affect the way Christmas is celebrated in, say, 2004 is the original event of the birth of Jesus. There is no way to take into account the two millennia of scripture, folklore, and tradition that have shaped modern Christmas celebrations.

A third problem associated with using a time line to show recurring events is that it can show only one or two events at a time. If one attempted to show all the recurrent holidays and events in a person's life on one time line while including the interconnectedness of the days as they occur each year, there would be so many "jumping back" arrows that the diagram would be unintelligible.

How to Build It

Spiralinear time is a three-dimensional model that seeks to clearly show the interconnectedness of moments of sacred time as they occur and recur on a yearly cycle. The "base" for the model is a spiral helix. It can be drawn on a two-dimensional surface like this:

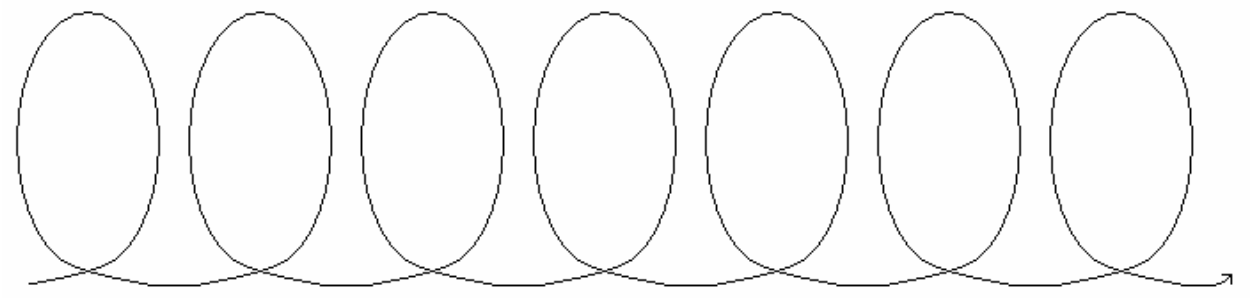

Figure 5.5: Plain Spiral

This spiral represents so-called “profane” or “ordinary” time. It can be seen as a blank slate or an empty continuum. It is the flow of ordinary moments one after another. After Tuesday, we expect Wednesday, and after dinner, we wash the dishes. The reason for the spiral shape rather than the conventional time “line” will become clear as the structure of the spiralinear time model is filled in. However, it is important to understand that one revolution around the imaginary cylinder will typically represent one solar year on earth. The solar year is the most common frame of reference for the recurrence of events such as birthdays, anniversaries, religious holidays, and folk and popular festivals and events:

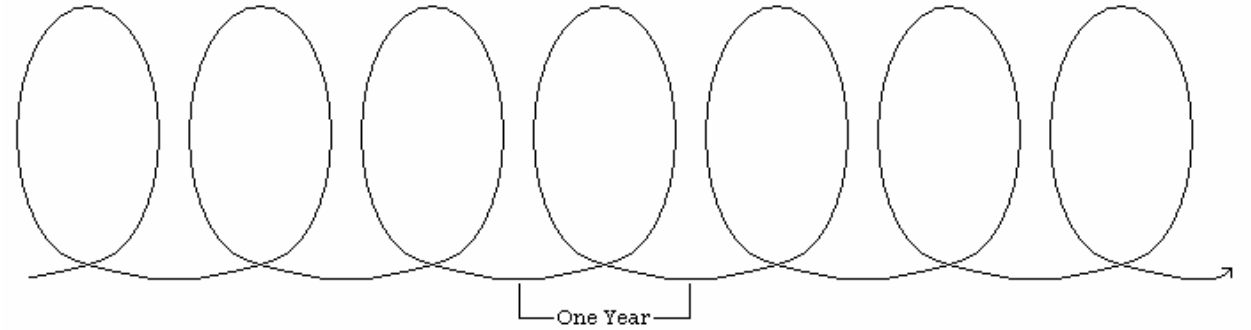

Figure 5.6: Spiral with One Year Marked

Serving as the crucial solder-points for this model are religious rites, festivals, and holidays. These holidays provide intersections during which participants can move between the linear and cyclical elements. They also hold the spiral structure in place, providing critical connections that prevent the spiral from unraveling. For example, these points can be used to represent the yearly occurrence of the American Thanksgiving ritual:

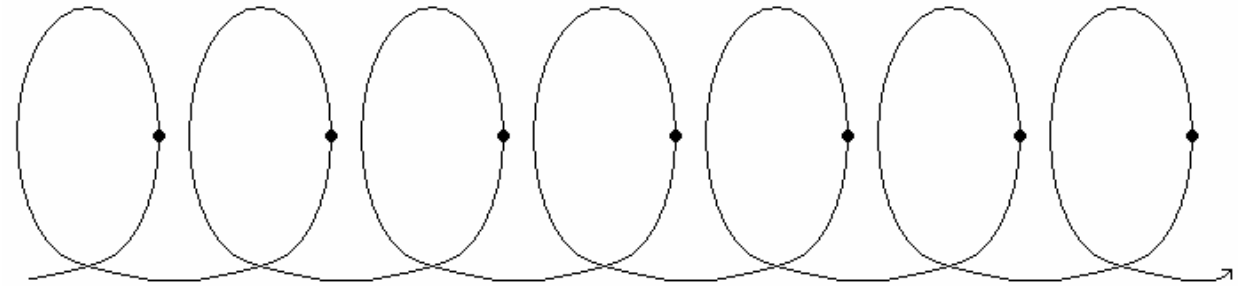

Figure 5.7: Spiral with Holiday Points

The final structural component of the spiralinear diagram is achieved by connecting these holiday dots into a line called a *holiday vector*.

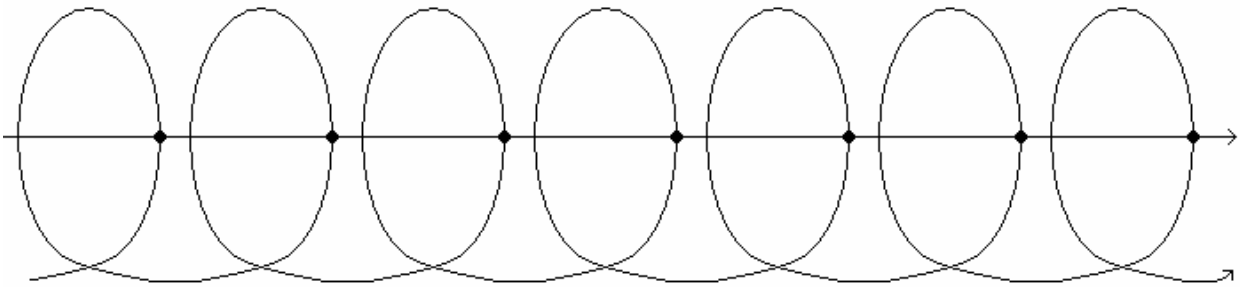

Figure 5.8: Spiral with Holiday Vector

These lines can also be called *holiday lines* or *sacred time lines*. However, the term *vector* more accurately captures the momentum of a ritual tradition. Let me explain briefly what it means to say a holiday tradition has momentum and occurs on a vector. At a typical Thanksgiving gathering of family and friends, there is a broader American tradition that includes such things as eating turkey, telling the story of the first Thanksgiving, and going around the table saying what you are thankful for. In addition, there are likely to be specific traditions within each family or group. For example, Aunt Linda might always bring green bean casserole in the orange casserole dish with white flowers that she inherited from Grandma Betty, who used to bring the casserole in it when she was alive. The tradition may even be one that intentionally incorporates change. For example, the family might rotate the celebration each year among the homes of the four adult children who live in different cities. Whatever the tradition is, we all know what happens when something is forced to change. What happens when Uncle Robert's whole family suddenly become vegetarians? The rest of the family may be thrown into crisis because the Thanksgiving meal must now be altered. Or what happens if Aunt Linda's orange casserole dish with the white flowers is broken? In some families, chaos may ensue.

It is easy to recognize the resistance to change inherent in many traditions. However, it is also necessary to acknowledge that traditions do change slowly over time. The spiralinear model shows that each holiday has a history formed through the opposing forces of resistance to change and the inevitability of development over time. The tradition is not stagnant, but has momentum. The other feature of the holiday vector is that it predicts where a tradition is likely to go. Most people who are asked what they will be doing on April 27th, 2014 will not have a very specific prediction. But

many people who are asked what they will be doing on Thanksgiving Day, 2014 will be able to give a reasonably accurate response. So the vector provides structure, stability, and history for each holiday or ritual tradition.

Because each spiralinear diagram includes only the holiday vectors that are relevant to each religious tradition or person, the specific model produced in each case will look different. For example, my personal spiral would include the Jewish holidays, the American civil-religious holidays, my birthday and wedding anniversary, and the birthdays and wedding anniversaries, and perhaps even the death anniversaries, of my loved ones. Each individual has a spiral diagram of similar complexity that is unique to his or her own life, traditions, and practices.

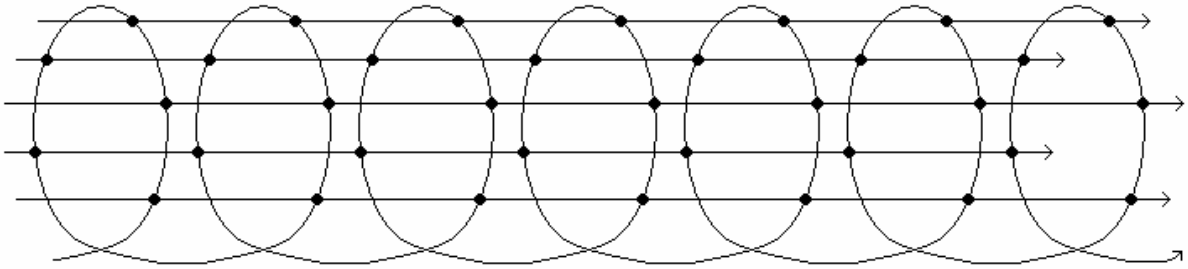

Figure 5.9: Spiral with Multiple Holiday Vectors

This is where the spiralinear time model becomes so useful. A spiralinear diagram is able to encompass all the events described above in one elegant concept that can be adapted to most people's lives. It can be used at an institutional level—for example, showing the official calendar of the Roman Catholic Church—and on a personal level, showing the individual holidays and events that play a part in an individual's existence.

How to Use It

One of the strengths of the spiralinear model is that it demonstrates the necessary and integral role of recurrent religious events in shaping the human sense of the passage and flow of time. Without the structural elements of the holiday points and vectors, a time cycle simply disintegrates. A coil by itself is flexible, but not strong. It is easy to imagine the idea of cyclical time through history unraveling without the structure provided by the holiday vectors:

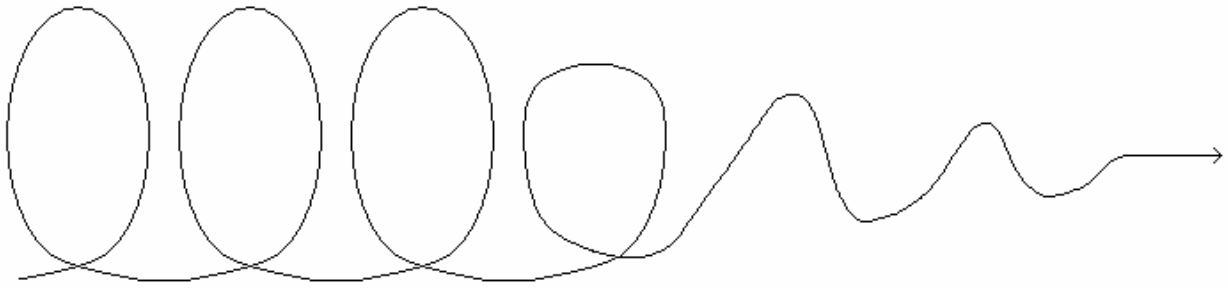

Figure 5.10: Unraveling Spiral

Here we see that a coil by itself is really nothing more than a line wrapped around an imaginary cylinder. But once the function of the recurrent religious events is described and diagrammed, the model will remain intact.

On an institutional level, the spiralinear model becomes relevant for the study of religious calendar development over time. The powerful momentum of a religious holiday tradition must be acknowledged and dealt with in order to alter a calendar event successfully. Conversely, once a successful change has occurred, whether by religious edict or grassroots evolution, it then carries forth this powerful momentum.

On a more personal level, sacred time rituals serve as connection points between different states of being and reality. One can simultaneously be in a modern-day synagogue and in the mythical time of the Jewish people. One can be seated around a twenty-first century Thanksgiving table and feel as though one were participating in the birth of a nation. Although some scholars, especially Eliade, see sacred time occurring outside history, the spiralinear model shows how engagement in religious holidays or other recurrent ceremonies is a means to *participate* in history, not to abolish it. So the ritual is seen in its true light as a both/and, rather than an either/or, experience.

Scholars will be more successful in understanding the function of sacred time if they recognize that modern-day observers are simultaneously aware of the changing rhythm of life through yearly gatherings and comforted by the enduring aspects of the holidays. By asking two questions about a religious holiday—What is its place in the cycle? and What is its place in history?—we can arrive at a deeper understanding than if we ask either question alone. The spiralinear model is a tool that helps to achieve this goal.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Religiogenesis

As we have seen, calendar formation takes place both purposefully and through a natural sort of evolutionary process. When a calendar change is implemented by high-ranking religious officials or sectarian leaders, the change may take place suddenly and it may be considered official or binding by followers. When calendar change takes place at the hands of a writer or a community leader, or in response to cultural input, or at some other grassroots level, the change may be more subtle and gradual. However, even traditions that begin as folk traditions often find eventual recognition and acceptance by religious leaders.

These issues play a role in what I refer to as "religiogenesis," whereby a person or group intentionally creates or changes a religion to fit their own needs. Sometimes, religious leaders and laypersons engage in asking and answering questions such as: What needs do we have that can be met by a religious calendar or event? What would a religion that met these needs look like? What models of religious calendars, ancient or contemporary, can provide the tools, rituals, experiences, and symbols to further these religious goals? When these questions are answered, calendar change is often part of the result. This is why I have suggested the idea of co-development and co-genesis between a given religion and its associated calendar, rather than viewing the calendar as a direct product of its religion.

The grassroots approach to religiogenesis through calendar modification, among other methods, flies in the face of several millennia of mainstream Western religious thought. Generally, the ability to change doctrine or canonize scripture resided in the hands of the powerful few. But this thesis has demonstrated that calendar formation occurs in a variety of ways ranging from official to subversive. Recognizing this phenomenon is necessary to fully understanding religious history. I believe intentional religiogenesis is an idea with strong appeal that will continue to influence the way religion develops. This is especially true in the United States and other places where people have access to multiple ways of viewing the physical world, the ultimate reality toward which religion points,[93] and humanity's place within these realms.

On Living with Our Neighbors

One of the implications of today's global community is that we often share space with people who may participate in radically different time spirals. This concern relates to Schweid's quotation about the issue of sacred time in Judaism,[94] but in a way that reverses the issue. The old problem was how to maintain a diasporic community through calendar unity, a challenge that seems to have met with success. We now have many religions in the world with populations spread over large areas that follow unified or similar religious calendars. But an interactive global community presents a new challenge. The question is no longer simply how to maintain community with others far from one's homeland. The more pressing question today is how to create and maintain a sustainable community with those living nearby. If individuals are forced to share space

[93] See the definition of religion and its explanation provided by William A. Young, *The World's Religions: Worldviews and Contemporary Issues*, second ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 4-6.
[94] Refer to block quotation by Schweid in Chapter Two of this thesis, page 11.

with people who follow an utterly different time sequence, those people may appear foreign, alien, or even non-human.

The concept of civil religion comes into play here because the United States is comprised of people from diverse backgrounds. Anyone who lives in the United States is initiated into the American civil religion with its founding fathers, scriptures (Declaration of Independence, Constitution, etc.), national holidays, and worship centers (Liberty Bell, battlefields, Smithsonian, national monuments, etc.) regardless of their ethnic or religious background. The rhetoric of American civil religion is that of overthrowing the oppressors and forming a society of cooperation and tolerance in the New World, a narrative that can fit with almost any religious, ethnic, or national background. So one can be Christian, Muslim, Jew, or Hindu and choose to participate in a time sequence with one's American neighbors. This provides common ground, a basis for understanding.

Civil religion, however, cannot be the only answer because it is only a temporary and partial solution. First, not all who come to America will accept the civil religion. Some will recognize it for what it is (religion) and are uncomfortable adding a foreign practice to their own. They may also have enough of a local religious or cultural community to sustain another time sequence, thereby giving the appearance of being "foreigners" in "our land." Additionally, even as many Americans participate in partially overlapping time sequences, i.e., Christians and Jews who both celebrate Thanksgiving, they may be alienating others. For example, it is unlikely that all Native Americans and African Americans will be comfortable participating in a Thanksgiving narrative that celebrates only the arrival of white settlers.

This raises the question of how spiralinear time can be used to create community within diversity. One simple answer is to consciously choose to spend time together outside (or inside) the reified sacred time events. If you are a Muslim, and I don't understand you because you don't come to my church, and you insist on calling your church a Mosque, and you wear "funny" clothes and speak a "funny" language in addition to English, then you will seem alien. But if your child and my child are on the same soccer team and they become friends, and then I visit your home and we have coffee while they play together, then you may become human to me, and your time spiral may become intelligible to me as just another time spiral that functions similarly to my own. When you go to the Mosque I have a frame of reference for what you are doing, and when you wear a head covering, I understand that it is much like my golden cross on a chain.

There are many "ifs" along the way and many pitfalls and problems to be explored. Most of all, for this type of mutual understanding to develop, people must have at least a somewhat open mind to begin with. When this is the case, spiralinear time interacts with the concepts of hospitality, conviviality, and memory to create a place for dialogue.

Conclusions

This thesis has demonstrated the tendency of previous scholarship to approach the study of sacred time using rigid categories. While this thesis is by no means against categorization in general, it has shown ways in which rigid categorization can lead to oversimplification. Moving beyond dualistic categories, while still maintaining a rigorous method of comparison, is clearly the next step.

This thesis has also demonstrated the tendency for religious holidays and calendars to develop in a fluid manner. This process involves cross-cultural influence, decree by religious authority figures, and incorporation of elements from the natural world, among other things. Each ritual or celebration has been shaped by innumerable events in history and occurs within an ever-changing context of the present. Given the endless variety of calendars and holidays extant among all the earth's people, it is critical at this point in scholarship to have a descriptive tool that can be used to diagram and compare religious calendars.

This thesis has outlined some of the social consequences inherent in using calendrical observation, or lack thereof, as a means of judging others. These include the more extreme condemnations of Halloween and the apocalyptic obsession with stringent calendar reform that led to sectarian division. These attempts to proclaim one type of calendar superior to all others are contrary to the work of understanding the role of sacred time in human life. They nevertheless provide fascinating examples of one of the ways sacred time can be experienced by devout individuals.

Finally, this thesis has shown that the exploration and study of religious holiday cycles and calendars is more successful when it integrates the cyclical and linear aspects of time, the seasonal and historical ways of being. There are many ways of accomplishing this, and I do not presume to say that spiralinear time is the best or only way of analyzing the myriad incarnations of such a complex phenomenon. However, the spiralinear time model offers a degree of flexibility, structural coherence, and intelligibility that has not been available before now. It allows for a tremendous amount of information to be recorded in one contiguous form, and it allows for a metaphorical shift from duality to inclusiveness.

It is my hope that scholars of religion and history will find this model useful as a descriptive and analytical tool. Spiralinear time, along with the concept of religiogenesis, has the potential to revolutionize how we think about religious holidays. Whether the subject is approached from a historical or a theoretical perspective, sacred time and its manifestations are the windows through which we can see humanity's attempts to participate in ultimate reality through time. Side-by-side analysis of time spirals thereby generates an understanding of precisely how this is accomplished.

The spiralinear time model has a great deal of potential for use in teaching. Spiralinear time can show students some of the functional similarities among rituals that are widely disparate in form. It is also helpful as a tool that encourages students to move beyond thinking in a dualistic manner. Its use deftly avoids the common categorization of people into those who are "primitive" and think of time as a cycle and those who are "civilized" and think of time as a line. Moreover, assignments that require students to create a time spiral diagram for a religion that they are studying would give them a way of integrating multiple sources of knowledge into a single project. Students should be able to draw accurate conclusions from a well-constructed time spiral, such as: Which aspects of religious life a does a certain calendar emphasizes? and Which elements of community life find strongest expression in the holiday cycle?

Perhaps there is use for the spiralinear model in ethnographic research. I am not a trained ethnographer, however I can see the possibility of using this novel method of placing holidays within both a historical and cyclical context as bringing a new level of understanding to rituals and celebrations in all parts of the world. Since the spiralinear model allows each tradition to speak for itself, it is likely appropriate for many, if not all, ethnographic contexts.

The realm of interfaith dialogue may also find spiralinear time helpful. The model allows for the possibility of holidays to appear to be similar without requiring their participants to account for all the diverse reasons this may be so. Spiralinear time encourages individuals to embrace the multiplicity of influences that shape their traditions, showing that different holiday cycles are equally valid, and that individuals can craft a personal spiral that includes all of the moments which hold particular significance for their lives.

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