

that one text from Qumran, the Messianic Apocalypse, may speak of bodily resurrection (4Q521 2.11.12: "For he shall heal the slain, and he shall cause the dead to live"), while another appears to describe a universal conflagration at the end of the world in terms similar to those of Hippolytus (1QH^a xi.29–36 [iii.3.29–36]). If these Qumran documents are of Essene origin, they would provide evidence, as Émile Puech has argued, that in these instances the account of Hippolytus more accurately reflects Essene thought.

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HODAYOT. Among the literary genres recognized in the Essene literature from the Qumran library, the genre of hymns holds an important place.

The Scrolls. Among the seven large scrolls discovered by the bedouin in the spring of 1947 in the first cave with manuscripts, one manuscript was identified that contained a collection of hymns (Hodayot^a [1QH^a] hereafter called 1QHodayot^a), which expressed the ideas and feelings of a member or members of the Qumran Community. These poetic compositions of variable length imitate the biblical Psalms in giving thanks to God the Creator and the one who exercises Divine Providence for his deeds of kindness toward their author(s). Since most of the hymns begin with the formula 'odekha 'adonay, "I give you thanks, Lord," and since no title has been preserved for the composition, the editor gave the manuscript the Hebrew title *hodayot*, rendered in English as *Thanksgiving Psalms/Hymns/Scroll*.

The *editio princeps* of the scroll, published in 1954–1955, presented 1QHodayot^a in eighteen columns and sixty-six fragments as belonging to several manuscripts. Eleazar Sukenik, the editor, judged that the fragments discovered by the archeologists during the excavation of the cave in 1949 belonged to one of them (1QHodayot^b [1Q35]). The editor of 1QHodayot^b concurred in this opinion (Milik, 1955). In 1958, Jean Carmignac proposed differentiating two scrolls in Cave 1: 1QHodayot^a and Hodayot^b. The first would include columns xiii to xvi of the edition plus fragments 15, 18, 22 and 1QHodayot^b, while the second would include all the rest (Carmignac, *Biblica* 1958, *Revue de Qumrân* 2 [1958] and 4 [1960]). However, a closer study led to the conclusion that two scrolls were divided as follows: 1QHodayot^a includes all the columns and all the fragments of the *editio princeps* plus some thirty other as yet untitled fragments; 1QHodayot^b constitutes a second scroll (1QH^b), which overlaps with 1QHodayot^a (column vii and viii of the *editio princeps*) (see Puech, 1987, 1988, and 1995). In an unpublished work/study, Stegemann arrived at a similar result, although he integrated somewhat fewer fragments (see Kuhn, 1964, 16f.).

The reconstruction of the scroll by positioning all of the columns and most of the preserved fragments (about one hundred in number) makes it possible to recover its original appearance. The scroll originally included at least seven leather sheets of four columns each, all of essentially equal size. The impeccable material crafting of the scroll, which to our knowledge is unique among the manuscripts that have been found, would in itself show the great esteem and importance the scribe-copyist accorded to this text, on a level with the great biblical manuscripts. There are forty-one lines for columns i and xviii, according to the new numbering, and forty-two lines starting from column xix (= xii of the edition), which is where there is a change in handwriting; the second copyist took over from that point to the end of the scroll. Reconstructing the scroll was greatly facilitated by the change in handwriting at column xix (= xii), by the direct joining points of numerous fragments and the sheets to be juxtaposed, and by the shapes of the breaks that were repeated at regular spaces in the rolled scroll, all proving that the fragments came from one and the same scroll. Thus column xviii of the edition should be considered an erroneous column, and its fragments—which certainly do not fit together—should be separated from it. The same holds true for "fragment 15" with its misleading points of juncture (Puech, *Revue de Qumrân* 13 [1988]). At the present state of research, some twenty small published fragments, as well as the unclassified manuscripts, still remain to be repositioned. As for 1QHodayot^b, it has a minimum of twenty-eight lines per column, but more

likely thirty-three or thirty-four, or even more, thus approaching the dimensions of 1QHodayot^a (Puech, 1995). Some fragments of other copies have been found in Cave 4, and these have been grouped into six different manuscripts, Hodayot^{a-f} (= 4Q427-432, hereafter 4QHodayot^{a-f}); five of them are on leather and one is on papyrus (Hodayot^f = 4Q432).

Dating. While 1QHodayot^{a-b}, with its beautiful calligraphy, largely dates from the beginning of our era or shortly before, the manuscripts from Cave 4 are certainly older: 4QHodayot^{d-f}, the most recent, would date from the third quarter of the first century BCE (early Herodian), 4QHodayot^a and 4QHodayot^c from the middle of the first century BCE (late Hasmonean-early Herodian), and 4QHodayot^b, the most ancient, from the first quarter of the first century BCE, shortly after 100 BCE (middle Hasmonean).

Although in Aramaic script, all these scrolls are in the Hebrew language, as is the case for the majority of the Essene writings. However, the copyists of Hodayot^a and Hodayot^b sometimes write the divine name *el* and *eli* in Hebrew script, incorrectly called "paleo-Hebrew," thus imitating a custom of copyists from the Herodian era, at least for the divine names. But the question as to the composition of the Hymns remains open. 1QHodayot^b follows the order of 1QHodayot^a, as does 4QHodayot^b with its seventy-five fragments (= Hodayot^a x.35-xxvi.42), 4QHodayot^f with its twenty-nine fragments (= Hodayot^a ix.15-xvi.10), and 4QHodayot^c with its ten fragments (= 1QHodayot^a xiii-xiv). In contrast, 4QHodayot^e with its sixteen fragments deviates from that order on at least one point. This manuscript corresponds to some Hymns at the end of 1QHodayot^a xix-xxvi+, but fragment 3.i-ii attests to a different sequence affecting at least three Hymns. (It must be acknowledged, and it is the only case, that the placement of fragment 10 of 1QHodayot^a in column vii is uncertain.) Must we then conclude from this that 4QHodayot^a did not contain the "Hymns of the Teacher," those attributed by scholars to the Teacher of Righteousness? The question will have to be studied more closely after the publication of these fragments. Manuscripts 4QHodayot^d and 4QHodayot^e, which are represented only by a single fragment containing a few lines, do not bring any information to bear on this question.

From these first indications, one important conclusion ought to be drawn. Indeed, the most ancient manuscript, 4QHodayot^b, the copy of which dates back to about the beginning of the first century BCE, may well attest to the same Hymns and in the same order as does 1QHodayot^a, and this on the basis of significant remainders of seventeen columns = 1QHodayot^a x.35-xxvi.42. A single manuscript, from the middle of the century, 4QHodayot^a, attests to a somewhat different sequence in a single passage on two columns (fragment 3.i-ii) and involving three

Hymns. But it is far from being proven that 4QHodayot^f contained only the "Hymns of the Teacher" on twelve line columns; the same also holds true for 4QHodayot^f. Since it is rather likely that 4QHodayot^b is merely a copy of a scroll of the Hymns, one must logically conclude that the sequence of the Hymns in 1QHodayot^a was known at least by about 100 BCE. The presence of this type of Hymn at the end of the Rule of the Community (1QS ix.26-xi.22), itself a nonautograph scroll and dated to about 100 BCE or the beginning of the first century BCE, confirms this conclusion and calls for dating the composition of this type of Hymn to the second half of the second century BCE. Thus, from a chronological standpoint, it appears plausible to attribute at least a part of the Hymns to the Teacher of Righteousness or to his disciples and contemporaries. This becomes even highly likely if not certain, if one wishes to account for the quality of inspiration and the exalted conceptions expressed by their author concerning the relationship of humans with their creator, features rarely encountered in other compositions.

Author. The authorial unity of the Hymns, at first held to be likely, is now questioned and the trend of current research is to distinguish two types of Hymns: the "Hymns of the Teacher," or Thanksgiving Hymns on occasion of a revelation or of a personal release, and the "Hymns of the Community," soteriological confession Hymns (*soteriologisches Bekenntnis*) by different authors where the "I" has no autobiographical coloring but refers to the members of the Community (Morawe, Jeremias, Kuhn, and so forth). However, a systematic attribution of authorship probably does not do justice to the reality, since the Teacher of Righteousness was no doubt capable of expressing himself according to various literary approaches and could vary his vocabulary wherever necessary. His strong personality was certainly not limited to a single type of hymn composition, and could vary between expressing himself in his own name and using his own spiritual experience as a pattern, or composing in a more impersonal manner for his group and for community praise of God. This would better explain an unmistakable unity of style and vocabulary that is rather striking in these Hymns, and better accounts for the repeated expressions such as *mizmor la-maskil* or *la-maskil hodot u-tefillah*, *la-maskil mizmor*, and *la-maskil mizmor*, showing that those hymns were intended for the prayer and meditation of the disciples and those committed to the Covenant. The presence of these expressions similar to "rubrics" found in columns v.12-15, vii.21, xx.7-14, and xxv.34 lead us to suppose there was another such expression at the beginning of the scroll (compare 1QRule of the Community ix.26 ff. to 1QHodayot^a v.12 ff. and xx.7 ff. in particular). These five "rubrics" suggest grouping the Hymns of 1QHodayot^a into five sets, which cannot

help but be reminiscent of the ordering of the scroll of the 150 biblical Psalms into five small books. It is thus possible, and even likely, that the Hodayot Scroll, or at least most of the Hymns, rather early on (about 100 BCE at the latest) had a liturgical purpose, just like the "hebdomadary" (i.e., seven fold structure) of the Words of the Luminaries^{a-c} (4Q504-4Q506) with a prayer for each day of the week or the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice with its thirteen compositions. The liturgical life of the Community, having been cut off from the Temple, must have become organized already in the second half of the second century BCE, at the time when the original core group grew very quickly, thanks to the arrival of newcomers (see the transition from stratum Ia to stratum Ib in the archaeological levels according to Roland de Vaux, based on his excavations). Thus nothing proves that totally independent sources, which would have been gathered and combined in different ways in manuscript families like 1QHodayot^a and 4QHodayot^a, are involved. Since the composition of these Hymns must have taken a certain amount of time, it would be normal for some groups or sections to be enriched or revised. Thus 4QHodayot^a, with a somewhat different arrangement, might be a copy of an older manuscript.

In the present state of the documentation, it can be reasonably surmised that the Hymns of 1QHodayot^a were composed during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. This is all that can be said for certain, until the publication of the manuscripts from Cave 4, which will give us a clearer picture, since the preliminary publications of passages from 4QHodayot are not without contradictions in the scholarly distinctions between "Hymns of the Teacher" and "Hymns of the Community." Whatever the case may be, whether they be compositions by the Teacher or compositions by his contemporary disciples, these Hymns certainly date back to the second half of the second century BCE. In this connection, we may recall the observations by Philo about the Therapeutae of Egypt, that they had preserved some hymns composed by the first leaders of their sect, which they sang in their cultic assemblies, with everyone joining in together on the refrains (*On the Contemplative Life* secs. 29, 80, 83-84).

Related Texts. According to the preliminary indications of the editors, these manuscripts should be seen in comparison to manuscripts like the Hodayot-like texts 4Q433 and 4Q440, although at present it appears there is no overlap. Other fragments that should also be included within this literary genre are the fragments of the hymnic compositions such as 1Q36-40, 3Q6, 6Q18, 8Q5, 11Q15-16, the end of 1QRule of the Community ix.26-xi, the Hymns that are scattered throughout the War Scroll (1QM xii-xix) and the parallels in War Scroll^b (4Q492), War Scroll^c (4Q495) and particularly War Scroll^a (4Q491

11), which attests to some overlaps with 4QHodayot^a, the Prayer of Michael, and 1QHodayot^a xxvi. More broadly, they ought to be related to the Songs of the Sage^{a-b} (4Q510-4Q511), the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^{a-h} (4Q400-407, as well as 11Q17), the Words of the Luminaries^{a-c} (4Q504-506), the Blessings (*Berakhot*), and the Noncanonical Psalms (4Q380-381, 11Q5^a, 4Q88^f, 4Q448, 4QPsAp^a among the most notable Qumran compositions), as well as to the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Psalms*, and Song of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the *Benedictus* and *Magnificat* (Lk. 1) or some passages from the *Gospel of John* (the Prologue of Jn. 1) in the New Testament.

Contents. The style of the author (authors?) of these Hymns, which are steeped in the Bible, abounds with biblical formulas. According to the first decipherment, some 673 (Carmignac, 1960) or 679 (Holm-Nielsen, 1960) quotations or allusions, often mixed with anthological tirades and more personal theological considerations, have been located and identified. The underlying unity of the Hymns is that they are a kind of meditation in which the theological subject is generally dealt with according to three major areas of focus: God, the salvation of the just, and the final doom of the godless—beginning with their leader Belial—in an eschatological war. God's greatness and perfection is described, along with his justice and kindness, and his forgiveness. God's creation of the universe is contrasted with the wretchedness and smallness of a human being, a creature of clay who is dependent on divine help. The Hymns speak of the persecution and suffering to which the faithful person falls victim and of his hope for the victory of God the Father, and for the punishment of the wicked. The author and, in turn, the one who prays, express their feelings of adoration, praise, gratitude, trust, and faithfulness, while at the same time acknowledging their weakness, fear, guilt, repentance, and sometimes their desire for vengeance for the wickedness of their adversaries and the sinners. This meditation sometimes takes the form of thanksgiving, or praise, or lament, or supplication, but always in a composed spirit of devotion and prayer, both day and night. It also serves as a kind of instruction, since God has revealed the secrets of the mysteries and the understanding of his marvelous works to the Teacher of Righteousness, who is charged with conveying this knowledge and enlightenment. In the "Hymns of the Teacher," it is God himself who has placed in his mouth these Hymns of praise for the instruction of the lowly and the poor and who has placed him at the wellspring of a lush planted field or of a luxuriant and blossoming tree; in short, it is God who has established him as the Teacher of the Community. By his life and his teaching, he shows the way of the "healing" that is to come. Unquestionably he remains a sinner, but God has purified him of the great sin and will purify

him by his holy spirit, and will not allow him to be carried away. Together with his faithful ones, he is sheltered in a fortified city over which God keeps watch.

To enter the Community is to enter into God's Covenant with the resolve to fortify oneself and to persevere (compare the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document). Thus a member belongs to the group of the just or to the small remnant for whom God is already manifesting his power and mercy, while he will fully manifest his power and justice at the Visitation-Judgment, when all the wicked are destroyed, both Jews and pagans alike (compare the War Scroll). For the just, it will be a time of rejoicing, rewards, delights of Paradise, eternal glory, and peace in the world that has been renewed and purified in the universal conflagration, while Belial will be cast into the burning place of eternal Doom. The conception of eschatology is the same, whether it be in the "Hymns of the Teacher" or in the "Hymns of the Community." The allusions to the total eschatological war, the final and decisive judgment in the heights on earth and in the underworld Abyss, as well as reference to punishment in the infernal Sheol, and to reward with the sons of heaven are found in both categories. The elect knows what end awaits the wicked, those who refuse to observe the commandments of God and the instructions of the Teacher. For the just man, the return to dust is not the end; rather glorification is to follow because he will be restored to the glory of Adam with an abundance of days in a life of intimacy with God as a servant in the company of the angels. Indeed, although depicted in language full of imagery, the belief in the resurrection of the just is not totally absent from these texts (1QHodayot^a xiv, xiii, xix). In the present, a life of communion with the angels signifies for the Community a kind of return to the earlier purity of the people of God, a certain communing with the divine world while awaiting the complete restoration with God and freedom from sin at the end of days, a kind of return to the original paradise from which sin and death will have disappeared forever.

The same theological and anthropological conception underlies these Hymns as underlies the great Essene texts, such as the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll, in particular. In both places, there is a certain degree of dualism and determinism, without predestination however, since the faithful must respond actively by a life in conformity with the will of God. Angelology plays a similar role in these texts: Belial and his demons are the inspirers of evil and in the end they will be the victims of punishment. The angels, as servants of God, will take part in the eschatological war but, since they dwell before God, they are already watching over the faithful and preparing the successful outcome of the battle.

The theology of these texts takes no account of the ora-

cles of the biblical prophets that foretell the conversion of the pagans. Rather, they remain centered on the community that is closed in upon itself, thus lacking any universalism. In contrast, the liturgical worship at the Temple, which is very much present in the Hebrew Scriptures, has no place in this literature. This fact shows to what extent the Community had broken away from the Temple, which had been defiled by wicked hands. All collective prayer in these Hymns is outside the Temple and without reference to it.

The points that these Hymns have in common with the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll in particular, and perhaps also the Damascus Document, argue for their having been composed in the same community at about the same time, that is the second half of the second century BCE, the generation of the Teacher of Righteousness. It is not surprising that these foundation documents of the life of the community were carefully copied onto large-format scrolls, just as normative texts such as the Torah, the Prophets, and so forth were. The Scroll of Hymns must have had "authoritative" value for the followers of the Community before they had time to go through a long series of editions. At the present state of research there are hardly any variants except those owing to copying errors, for the most part. The Hymns most certainly occupied a primary place among the Essene compositions by the first generation of the founding of the Community.

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Translated from French by Robert E. Shillenn

of the second century CE. J.T., *Ma'aser Sheni* 2.10, 53d links the group with Yose ben [ha-]Meshullam and Simeon ben Menasyah (c.180 CE). *Qoheleth Rabba* 9.9 explains its name by their practice of dividing the day into three parts, devoting a third to study of the Torah, a third to prayer, and a third to work. Other authorities suggested that they pursued agricultural work in the summer but study in the winter. The collective daily division of time, which restricts work to less than laborers' typical hours, and the description 'edah, suggest a closely integrated social group with a substantially independent economy, geared to the maintenance of study. The adjective *qedoshah* refers principally to abstinence and ritual purity. The group's interpretation of a principal scriptural injunction regarding marriage suggests a membership of males who were unmarried or had separated themselves from family life for the purpose of study. Some nineteenth-century scholars saw the group as a survival of the Essene sect. The Rule of the Community from Qumran has since indicated a community structure that is to some extent analogous. In particular, 1QRule of the Community (1QS) vi.6–7 attests a similar, but not identical, division of time. Wherever an Essene community numbered at least ten celibate males, a rota ensured that at least one member was studying day and night; the community kept watch for a third of each night of the year, possibly according to a sequential rota. While 1QRule of the Community suggests full sharing of property, however, the practice of the Holy Congregation implies that members held their own land. The extreme sanctity of Jerusalem probably accounts for the group's rigorous purity, as mentioned in four texts of the Babylonian Talmud whereby bedding of forbidden mixed composition is prohibited even if ten coverlets are interposed. In B.T., *Betsah* 14b and *Yoma* 69a, the Holy Congregation is located prior to Rabbi Yehudah the Prince (died 217 CE) in chains of tradition; *Tamid* 27b omits his name. *Betsah* 27a has Simeon ben Menasyah attribute the *halakhah* to Rabbi Meir, but records the slightly opaque objection that "these [the Holy Congregation] are much older than he [apparently Rabbi Meir, but conceivably Simeon himself]." This may imply that the group began with disciples of Rabbi Meir (mid-second century CE), in the Yavneh period, or even earlier. The Holy Congregation itself suggests, along with other evidence, that the prohibition of Jews entering Jerusalem following the Bar Kokhba Revolt was relaxed under the Severan emperors. That a scholarly community observing rigorous standards of purity later clung tenaciously to the holy city suggests that it must have had precursors in an earlier time, including the probable opportunistic removal of the Qumran community to Jerusalem during its absence from the Dead Sea site in the reign of the Essene-friendly Herod the Great,

HOLY CONGREGATION OF JERUSALEM. The *qahala qaddisha* or 'edah *qedoshah* in Jerusalem of Talmudic and later sources was an ascetic conventicle that cannot be confidently dated earlier than the second half