

with scribe B.¹⁶ The character of the additions and corrections by the hand of scribe B is disputed, and need not, in any case, be limited to one specific process of revision. Nevertheless, the uncertainty of scribe A with regard to the exact stipulations of the exclusion, as well as scribe B's revisions, may indicate that the wording of 1QS is an elaboration of a less specific wording, like that of the Damascus Document.

Conclusions

The possibility that 11Q29 lines 2-3 contain the text of 1QS VII 18-19 without the words *מיסוד היחד*, may be deemed plausible in view of a number of variants in 4QS^{b,d} which also lack explicit references to the Community. Yet the examination of the variants in the Penal Code sections of 4QS^e and 4QS^g provide more pertinent evidence. The phrasing of the Penal Code in the *Serekh ha-Yahad* was not completely fixed, and some of the variants in 4QS^e and 4QS^g may correspond to the text of the Penal Code of the Damascus Document. This also seems to be the case with regard to the absence of *מיסוד היחד* from 11Q29. The textual relation between the Penal Codes in the Damascus Document and the *Serekh ha-Yahad* is not clear, even though scholars tend to consider the Penal Code of the Damascus Document older than the Code of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*. However, even if the Damascus Document preserves in general an older version of the Penal Code, this need not pertain to every single variant.

The existence of a third Penal Code in 4Q265 (Miscellaneous Rules), related to but distinct from the Penal Codes of the Damascus Document and the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, shows that it is not impossible that 11Q29 belonged to yet another formulation of the Penal Code. This may also be indicated by the broken remains of 11Q29 line 1. The reading is difficult, but it is clear that the remains do not match with any of the words of the immediately preceding penal regulations in 1QS VII. For the reading of these remains 4QD^e 7 i 7-8 is of no help, since a complete penal regulation is missing in the gap. The only word from the Penal Code which seems to fit the remains is *תכונו* or *בתכונו*, but this word is only used in 1QS VII 21 at the end of precisely the regulation corresponding to 11Q29 lines 2-3.

Still another possibility is that 11Q29 originates in a composition that cited part of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, just like 5Q13 frg. 4 contains a citation of 1QS III 4-5. Though such a possibility cannot be ruled out, it would be strange for a composition to quote a single penal regulation. The most one can say on the basis of the limited evidence is that 11Q29 contained a penal regulation, more related to the *Serekh ha-Yahad* than to the Damascus Document, but with the remarkable absence of the words *מיסוד היחד*.

16. Metso, *Textual Development*, 96.

Biblical Creation Motifs in the Qumran Hodayot

Michael A. Daise

Since George Smith's publication of *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* biblical scholars have gained an ever-increasing awareness that Ancient Near Eastern conceptions of creation were dramatically different from modern ones.¹ Though the philosophical idea of an absolute beginning of material existence did eventually influence Jewish (and perhaps was already found in ancient Israelite) thought,² creation *myth* described not a movement from non-being to being, but a renewal from chaos to new order. As H.-J. Kraus has put it, ancient cosmogony was not a *creatio ex nihilo*, but a *creatio contra nihilum*, "if *nihil* includes the abyss of chaos, the primeval chaotic power."³

1. G. L. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., 1876).
2. In the realm of Jewish thought, the conclusion that a doctrine of creation out of nothing is expressed by the mother of the seven martyrs in 2 Macc 7:28 (e.g., L. R. Fisher, "From Chaos to Cosmos," *Encounter* [Winter 1965] 184) has been recently nuanced by P. Gibert (*Bible, mythes et récits de commencement* [Parole de Dieu; Paris: Seuil, 1986] 141-144; cf. also M. Kolarcik, "Creation and Salvation in the Book of Wisdom," [ed. R. J. Clifford and J. J. Collins; CBQMS 24; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1992] 98). Gibert argues that though the woman denies a material antecedent to God's creative activity, the notion of *creatio ex nihilo* would have been too abstract for her time and context. In a similar vein see D. A. Knight, "Cosmogony and Order in the Hebrew Tradition," *Cosmogony and Ethical Order: New Studies in Comparative Ethics* (ed. R. W. Lovin and F. E. Reynolds; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) 138-139, 153 n. 4. In the realm of Israelite thought, W. Eichrodt claims the idea is found in Genesis 1; cf. "In the Beginning: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the First Word of the Bible," *Creation in the Old Testament* (ed. B. W. Anderson; IRT 6; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984 [1962]) 65-73. A review of the broader discussion can be found in B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (SBT; Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960) 30-31, 31 n. 1.
3. *Theology of the Psalms* (trans. K. Crim; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986) 63. A full discussion of the differences between ancient and modern creation accounts can be found in R. J. Clifford, *Fair Spoken and Persuading: An Interpretation of Second Isaiah* (New York: Paulist Press,

Symbolizing a sense of renewed order, creation myths were employed in a variety of contexts besides that of describing the beginnings of things: the depiction of epochal events in a people's national history, the buttressing of political regimes, the establishment of moral order, and the mediation of ritual participation in worship.⁴

Mythic creation motifs continued to be an important medium of social, political, and religious expression after Israel's biblical period. Studies in the last two decades have developed H. Gunkel's observation that the combat myth flourished in apocalypticism,⁵ and L. G. Perdue has recently noted that not only the combat myth but the motifs of creation through word, artistry, and fertility gained a second life in Jewish wisdom traditions.⁶ Moreover, analyses of individual works have drawn attention to the important role cosmogonic ideas played in Daniel, Ben-Sira, 1 Enoch,

1984) 59-66; idem, "Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible," *Or* (1984) 88-98; idem, "The Hebrew Scriptures and the Theology of Creation," *TS* 46 (1985) 508-12; and idem, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* (CBQMS 26; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994) 7-10.

4. Consensus has not followed G. von Rad's argument ("The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," *Creation in the Old Testament*, 53-64 [originally published 1936]) that creation theology is always subordinate to soteriology in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Ph. B. Harner, "Creation Faith in Deutero-Isaiah," *VT* 17 [1967] 298-306; C. Westermann, "Das Reden von Schöpfer und Schöpfung im Alten Testament," *Das Ferne und Nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres am 30 November 1966 Gewidmet* [ed. F. Maass; Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1967] 241; Knight, "Cosmogony and Order in the Hebrew Tradition," 133-134. B. W. Anderson ("Mythopoeic and Theological Dimensions of Biblical Creation Faith," *Creation in the Old Testament*, 7, 22 n. 14) and K. Eberlein (*Gott der Schöpfer-Israel's Gott: Eine exegetisch-hermeneutische Studie zur theologischen Funktion alttestamentlicher Schöpfungsaussagen* [Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums 5; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986] 28-41) have shown that von Rad himself gave creation theology a more independent voice within Yahwism in his later works. Though most have not gone as far as H. H. Schmid, who argued that Israel's *Heilsgeschichte* was subordinate to creation theology ("Creation, Righteousness, and Salvation: 'Creation Theology' as the Broad Horizon of Biblical Theology," *Creation in the Old Testament* 102-103 [originally published 1973]), there is general agreement that cosmogonic imagery was used in a variety of ways alongside its service to soteriology. On the functions listed above, see Anderson, "Mythopoeic and Theological Dimensions of Biblical Creation Faith," 4-11; idem, *Creation Versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 15-22, 28-30, 82-83, 99-104; Knight, "Cosmogony and Order in the Hebrew Tradition," 139-152; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973) 123-144 (esp. 123 n. 37); S. Terrien, "Creation, Cultus, and Faith in the Psalter," *Theological Education* 2 (1966) 116-118, 122-24; and J. D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988) 53-127.
5. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895) 173-398; more recently, J. J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17 (1977) 137-38; Anderson, *Creation Versus Chaos*, 137-143; N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987) 124-211, 248-257; A. Y. Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976) 2-3, 57-234; B. F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1992) 174-178.
6. "Job's Assault on Creation," *HAR* 10 (1986) 299-303; idem, "Cosmology and the Social Order in the Wisdom Tradition," *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 463-467; idem, *Wisdom and Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994) 329-333. See also, Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation," 128-134.

4 Ezra, the writings of Philo, and the New Testament,⁷ particularly the gospels.⁸ That creation myth would also obtain in Qumran thought follows from the community's self-expressed *raison d'être*. To withdraw from mainstream Jewish society because that society was deemed incorrigibly corrupt and to establish a desert community devoted to preparing a new way for the Lord (1QS 8:12-14) implies that the Qumranites regarded themselves as the vanguard of a new order.⁹ J. D. M. Derrett has written, "Qumran surely saw the New Creation as beginning with their community,"¹⁰ and in fact even a cursory glance at the sectarian literature reveals that Qumran writers often expressed their most salient concepts through creation imagery. As P. von der Osten-Sacken and J. J. Collins have pointed out, overtones of the combat myth permeate the War Scroll.¹¹ Intriguing in this regard is 1QM 17:4, which describes the sons of Belial as having a longing for תהו ובהו,¹² a distinct allusion to Genesis 1:2.

7. Note the following (not an exhaustive list): J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM; Missoula, Mont., 1977) 95-104; M. Black, "The New Creation in 1 Enoch," *Creation, Christ and Culture: Studies in Honour of T. R. Torrance* (ed. R. W. A. McKinney; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, Ltd., 1976) 13-21; R. A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995) 101-164; J. E. Cook, "Creation in 4 Ezra: The Biblical Theme in Support of Theology," *Creation in the Biblical Traditions*, 129-139; T. H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983) 108-128; idem, "Interpretations of the Creation in the New Testament see Gibert, *Bible, mythes, and récits de commencement*, 239-268 and P. S. Minear, *Christians and the New Creation: Genesis Motifs in the New Testament* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox, 1994). For the combat myth in Paul, see Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 258-284.
8. On the Synoptics, see J. P. Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea: Meaning and Gospel Functions of Matt 14:23-33, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15b-21* (AnBib 87; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1981) 37-56; Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 285-297; B. Batto, "The Sleeping God: An Ancient Near Eastern Motif of Divine Sovereignty," *Bib* 68 (1987) 172-176; and idem, *Slaying the Dragon*, 178-184. Work on biblical creation motifs in the Fourth Gospel has been treated by M.-É. Boismard, *Le Prologue de Saint Jean* (LD 11; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1953) 136-138; M. Girard, "La structure heptapartite du quatrième évangile," *SR* 5 (1975/76) 350-351; M. Hengel, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," *"Gesetz" als Thema Biblischer Theologie* (Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie 4; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989) 283-286 building upon observations made by G. Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum Alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (2nd ed.; Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995 [1st ed. 1974]) 98-100; P. S. Minear, "The Promise of Life in the Gospel of John," *TToday* 49 (1993) 488, 492; idem, "Logos Affiliations in Johannine Thought," *Christology in Dialogue* (ed. R. F. Berkey and S. A. Edwards; Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 1993) 144, 147; idem, *Christians and the New Creation*, 82-83, 87-88, 92-93; and most recently, C. M. Carmichael, *The Story of Creation: Its Origin and Its Interpretation in Philo and the Fourth Gospel* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1996).
9. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) 68-70; J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1994) 104-105.
10. "New Creation: Qumran, Paul, the Church, and Jesus," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 599.
11. P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in der Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969) 28-115; J. J. Collins, "The Apocalyptic," *VT* 25 (1975) 596-612.
12. Treated by Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 93. For the text see J. Duhaime, "War Scroll," *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, v. 2; J. H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*; E. L. Sukenik, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955) pl. 32.

Similarly, the meditation on the origin and destiny of the "sons of humanity" in 1QS 3:13-4:26 is framed with pointed creation language,¹³ casting the ultimate fates of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness as a re-enactment (or culmination) of God's creative act of bringing light into darkness (Genesis 1:3).

Creation imagery appears with particular frequency in the corpus of Qumran hymns and prayers. References to angels witnessing God's separation of light from darkness (11Q5 26:11b-12; "Hymn to the Creator"), to God's breathing into Adam's nostrils at Eden (4Q504 8 4-6 [*recto*]), to the word of God's mouth bringing waters, luminaries, vegetation, and humanity into being (4Q381 2 3-11), and following E. Schuller's reconstruction, to divine combat with the sea (4Q381 15 4-5),¹⁴ all suggest that creation myth was an important medium for the Qumran community's personal and corporate reflection on faith. Added to these instances are the Hodayot, which besides attesting to two substantial creation hymns (1QH 9[Suk 1]:1-20 and 1QH 18[Suk 10]:1-12),¹⁵ regularly summon cosmogonic images such as the opening of springs (1QH 19[Suk 11]:31), rivers flowing in Eden (1QH 14[Suk 6]:16), light shining out of darkness (1QH 17[Suk 9]:26-27), the cosmic operations of the universe (1QH 20[Suk 12]:3-11), and humanity as a design of "clay" (יצר החמר), "flesh" (יצר בשר), or "dust" (עפר), a theme which permeates the collection (1QH 11[Suk 3]:23-24; 12[Suk 4]:29; 18[Suk 10]:23; 19[Suk 11]:3; cf. also 20[Suk 12]:24-36; 5[Suk 13]:15).

Locating explicit references to biblical creation texts is only part of the task of assessing creation motifs in Qumran literature. As M. Delcor has noted with respect to the Hodayot, many biblical allusions are quite subtle and consequently demand close exegetical attention if they are to be recognized.¹⁶ Moreover, more insight into Qumran theology and self-expression can be gained if one shows how the meaning carried by creation motifs has been integrated into the larger historical and literary contexts in which they are set. An adequate methodology for this task would involve not only (1) identifying language which alludes to biblical creation texts, but also (2) understanding those biblical texts in light of the Ancient Near Eastern mythic ideas they share, (3) demonstrating that the Qumranite writer plausibly intended his reference to carry the same cosmogonic connotations as the biblical references,

13. והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושך ועליהן יסר כול מעשה (1QS 3:17-18); ברא אנוש לממשלת תבל 3:25); for the text see Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1; M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951) 2.3. On the creation language in these texts, see W. Wegner, "Studies in Qumran Creation Terminology on the Basis of 1QS 3:13-18 and Parallel Texts" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974) 88-108.

14. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms From Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986) 94-96, 98-100.

15. The column numbers of the Hodayot are cited according to the order proposed by E. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) 41-43. For the sake of continuity with past discussion, first references will also include Sukenik's numbering (*The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*) in parentheses: (Suk #).

16. "La plupart de nos hymnes se révèlent donc à un examen attentif, comme un tissu de réminiscences, d'allusions quelquefois fugitives, voire de citations, d'expressions ou d'images des livres canoniques," *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962) 30.

and (4) discerning how the larger context of the Qumran text has been enriched by the presence of creation motifs.

To work through the entire body of Qumran hymns and prayers with this procedure would be a major research project. Here I offer a microcosm of what that project would entail and yield, focusing on the hymn beginning at 1QH 16(Suk 8):4.¹⁷ That this hymn has already received a great deal of attention can help determine the profit deriving from the approach proposed here by showing, on the one hand, how this methodology is indebted to the last fifty years of Qumran research and, on the other hand, how it can open a fruitful field of inquiry for coming decades of research. In the following I will (1) isolate a *locus* of biblical creation language in 1QH 16, (2) identify the particular type of creation motif it employs, (3) demonstrate that the hymnist plausibly intended this locus to carry the cosmogonic connotations of that motif, and (4) elucidate the implications this imagery has for the broader theology of the hymn.

Creation Language in 1QH 16: Waters in the Wilderness

The hymn beginning at 1QH 16:4 has been amply treated and does not need extensive review here.¹⁸ Central to our concern is 16:4-27a. A linguistic comparison suggests that the hymnist may have drawn upon a panoply of biblical texts for his imagery: cf. Genesis 2-3;¹⁹ Job 14; Psalm 1; 104; Isaiah 5; 11; 27; 28; 60; Jeremiah 17;

17. Commentators have perceived the end of the hymn either at the close of column 16 (P. Schulz, *Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit in Qumran* [Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1974] 27; cf. also A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH)* [Paris: Librairie D'Amérique et D'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1957] 62-69; idem, *Les Écrits Esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* [2nd. ed.; Paris: Payot, 1960] [see text]; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* [STD] 3; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1961] 38) or at column 17(Suk 9):36 (G. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajot* [Theologische Arbeiten 16; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960] 123-25; cf. also S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms From Qumran* [ATDn 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I infra).

18. The text used is Sukenik, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, pl. 42. A portion of 1QH 16:4-5 is also found in 4Q428 7 11-12 (Wacholder and Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition*, 2.264; see discussion of the fragment in E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993* [ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996] 95). Likewise, a portion of 1QH 16:12-13 is found in 1Q35 2 (DJD 1, 137, pl. xxxi). A new critical edition with English translation is forthcoming from D. Mendels and H. Lichtenberger in Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 5.

19. A. J. M. Wedderburn attributes many words and phrases of 1QH 16 to Genesis 2-3 which are also found in Ezekiel ("Genesis II-III in 1 QH VIII," *Studia Evangelica* [ed. E. A. Livingstone; vol. 4; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973] 610-613). It is true that both Ezekiel 31 (J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* [New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1969] 167; E. Haag, "Ez 31 und Die Alttestamentliche Paradiesvorstellung," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zu Psalmen und Propheten. Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* [ed. J. Schreiner; FB 2; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1972] 177), and Ezekiel 47 (W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2 [trans. J. D. Martin; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] 510) may be

Ezekiel 17; 19; 31; 34; 47; and Joel 2. The hymnist fashions a number of different images from these texts, each related to the central idea of "planting."²⁰ Difference of opinion exists concerning whether this imagery is to be taken as an allegory or not,²¹ and if so, what the historical referents to each image might be.²² For the purpose of this inquiry, however, it is enough to note that the fundamental message it conveys turns on the motif of the nourishment and growth and vegetation. In 16:4-22, "trees of life" (עצי חיים) send their "roots" (שורשיהם) to a stream to which their rivals, the "trees of water" (עצי מים) have no access (16:9-10). The trees of life are nourished and consequently sprout a "shoot" (נצר) for an "eternal planting" (למשעת עולם; 16:6), whereby they (or their shoot) ultimately triumph over the oppressive trees of water (16:9). In 16:22-27a the trees of life (now referred to in the singular as the "planting of trees," [משע עציהם]) fully depend upon the activity of their gardener (characterized in the first person, referring to the hymnist) for their sustenance and well-being. When the gardener lifts his hand to work their "roots" (שרשי) and "stem" (גזעם) find resource to sustain them even in times of heat (16:22-24); when he withdraws his hand their stem dries up and they become like weeds in barren ground (16:24-26). Whatever the precise referents of the planting imagery in 1QH 16:4-27a, the basic message it conveys centers on the motif of the nourishment and growth of vegetation.

The language of lines 4-5a,²³ however, appears to derive from a different set of matrices. Commentators have suggested a number of possibilities: Psalm 63:2; 78:16; Proverbs 5:15; Isaiah 35:7; 41:18; 44:3; 49:10; 53:2; Ezekiel 19:13.²⁴ Among these, sev-

dependent on Genesis 2-3, but to ascribe the greater part of this imagery only to Genesis 2-3 obscures the important role Ezekiel plays in the theology of the hymn.

20. A major shift occurs at 1QH 16:22, where the motif of the hymnist as "gardener" emerges (Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits Esséniens*, 240; G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* [SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963] 262). Various subdivisions have been proposed (16:4b-15, 16-27a [Morawe, *Aufbau und Abrenzung*, 125 nn. 92-93]; 16:5b-14b, 16-20, 21-27a [Schulz, *Autoritätanspruch*, 27]). Schulz, however, is correct in stating that the "Pflanzung" motif permeates this entire portion of the hymn (27).
21. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, 149) has dissented from a consensus which views this imagery as an allegory (e.g., Dupont-Sommer, *Le Livre des Hymnes*, 63 nn. 1 & 3; idem, *Les Écrits Esséniens*, 240; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 256; Schulz, *Autoritätanspruch*, 27). A full discussion can be found in J. H. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Haš-Šedeq (1QH 8:4-11)," *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov with W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1991) 299-300, 300 n. 28.
22. Jeremias, for instance, interprets the trees of water as orthodox Judaism, the trees of life as the Hasidic movement, and the sprout which shoots from the trees of life as the Essene community (*Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 257-261). Others have generally understood the trees of life as the Qumran community, the trees of water as outsiders to that community, and the spring of waters and gardener as the Righteous Teacher (see Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits Esséniens*, 240; Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, 38-39; Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Haš-Šedeq (1QH 8:4-11)," 296 n. 5; H. Ringren, "The Branch and the Plantation in the *Hodayot*," BR 6 [1961] 3-8).
23. From the opening of the hymn to the initial נ on line 5.
24. See J. Licht, *מוגילת הודויות* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957) 133; M. Wallenstein, *The Nezer and the Submission in Suffering Hymn From the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch

eral share other vocabulary with 1QH 16 (Psalm 78:15-17; Isaiah 35:1-10; 41:17-20; 44:3-4), providing a linguistic connection with the planting imagery of lines 4-27a and suggesting that these texts were primarily in the hymnist's mind (the numbers refer to line or verse):

	1QH 16	Ps 78	Isa 35	Isa 41	Isa 44
נזל	4	16			
יבשה	4				3-4
מבוע מים	4,16		7		3
(ארץ) ציה	4	17	1	18	
מ[שק]	4	15			
ברוש	5			19	
תדהר	5			19	
תאשור	5			19	
עץ	5,6,12,22,25			19	
מעין	6			19	
פרח	6,7,10		1-2	18	
פתח	7,21,26	23		18	
נהר	14				27
שטף	15,17	20			
נחל	17	20	6		
יבש (vb)	20				27
נכה צור	23	20			

Though these texts share some of the vocabulary of the planting imagery their central theme does not focus on the idea of vegetation being nourished and growing but on that of waters irrigating a dry land (in the following, language found in 1QH 16:4-5a is highlighted): "The parched ground shall turn into a pool and the thirsty ground will become springs of water (למבועי מים) (Isa 35:6-7); "I will open rivers (נהרות) on the bare heights and springs (מעיינות) in the midst of valleys, I will turn... the dry land (ארץ ציה) into springs of water" (Isa 41:18); I will cause water to flow on parched land and streams (נזלים) on the dry ground (יבשה) (Isa 44:3); "He broke

- Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1957) 17 nn. 3-5; Dupont-Sommer, *Le Livre des Hymnes*, 62 n. 4; idem, *Les Écrits Esséniens*, 240 n. 1; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 148 n. 2; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (vol. 2; München/Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1960) 97; Ringren, "The Branch and the Plantation in the *Hodayot*," 3; Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, 153 nn. 3-5; J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert, ed., *Les Textes de Qumran. Traduits et Annotés* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961) 236 n. 3; Delcor, *Les Hymnes des Qumran*, 199; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 249 nn. 3-5, 257.
25. Since משק can be read as the construct state of either a noun (Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 100.34, 20) or an H participle (Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Haš-Šedeq (1QH 8:4-11)," 297 n. 6), uses of the verb שקו are also included in this chart.

rocks open in the wilderness and gave them abundant drink as (from) the depths, he caused streams (נְוֹזִיִּים) to flow out from the crag and brought waters down like rivers (כְּנְהָרוֹת) (Ps 78:15-17).²⁶

The Chthonic Creation Motif and the Matrices of 1QH 16:4-5a

At least three of these major matrices behind 1QH 16:4-5a refer to the exodus tradition of provision in the wilderness. Psalm 78:15-17 obviously alludes to Moses striking the rock in the desert and is set within a larger passage recounting Yahweh's deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Ps 78:9-53). Two passages from Second Isaiah (41:17-20 and 44:3-4) have appropriated this same wilderness motif to depict Israel's anticipated return from Babylonian captivity.²⁷ What is easily overlooked, however, is that this exodus typology has been augmented with imagery from creation myth. The type of myth in view depicts the creative act as the irrigation of dry land, usually through waters breaking forth from subterranean springs. J. van Dijk labeled this kind of creation myth "chthonic." Contrary to cosmic myth (in which creation occurs as the product of a marital union between heaven and earth) or combat myth (in which creation comes as the result of a divine victory over chaos), creation in the chthonic tradition happens as the deity inundates the earth with water: "es ist das Quellwasser, das die Erde befruchtet."²⁸ Van Dijk found this type of myth associated with the Sumerian god Enki in the Eridu narrative tradition, and its vivid attestation in extant Sumerian myths has recently been given attention by R. J. Clifford.²⁹ The motif continued in Akkadian myth and emerges saliently in the *Enuma Elish*, the myth of *Anzu*, and *Atrahasis*,³⁰ works which profoundly influenced biblical writers.

26. Translations here and elsewhere are mine unless otherwise indicated.

27. On the use of exodus typology in Second Isaiah see B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962) 181, and C. Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib 43; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970) 70.

28. J. Van Dijk, "Sumerische Religion," *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (ed. J. P. Asmussen and J. Laessle; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 1.466; see also Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 15-16.

29. *Ibid.*, 32-49.

30. In the *Enuma Elish* Marduk creates the world by opening springs in the head of slain Tiamat (V 53-58; for the text, see B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of *Enuma Elish*," *JNES* 20 [1961] 161). In the Standard Babylonian version (SBV) of the myth of *Anzu* Ninurta is faced with a crisis of water (SBV I i 17-20), which he resolves by vanquishing *Anzu*, a feat which the myth conceives as being synonymous with "drenching" the mountains (SBV II 117, 140) and for which he is praised in its opening lines (SBV I i 6; for the text, see W. W. Hallo and W. L. Moran, "The First Tablet of the SB Recension of the *Anzu*-Myth," *JCS* 31 [1979] 71 and H. W. F. Saggs, "Additions to *Anzu*," *Archiv für Orientforschung* [ed. H. Hirsch; vol. 33; Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellschaft M. B. H., 1988] 1-29). [NB: Although Saggs' renderings of SBV II 6 and SBV III 17, 18b (respectively) as an exhortation to and description of Ninurta "drenching" the earth ("Additions to *Anzu*," 10, 22) have been disputed by W. L. Moran ("Notes on *Anzu*," *Archiv für Orientforschung* [ed. H. Hirsch; vol. 35; Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellschaft M. B. H., 1988] 24, 28), his rendering of SBV II 117, 140 (see above) has not been questioned.] Likewise, in *Atrahasis* (for the text, see W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, ed., *Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* [Oxford:

Both the Hebrew Psalter and Second Isaiah are known to have merged exodus typology with creation imagery and exegetical cues in Psalm 78, Isaiah 41, and Isaiah 44 suggest that in these texts the exodus tradition of wilderness provision has been synthesized with a chthonic creation motif.³¹ Kraus has noted that the use of תְּהוֹמוֹת in Psalm 78:15 connotes primeval subterranean waters (such as typically emerge onto the earth in chthonic creation myths).³² C. Stuhlmüller does not explicitly identify the waters in the wilderness imagery of Isaiah 41:18 as a chthonic motif *per se*, but implies as much when he observes that the creation language summarizing that imagery in 41:20 "makes 'creation' a compendium of the preceding, longer description of the exodus:"³³ "The hand of the Lord has done (עָשְׂתָה) this; the Holy One of Israel has created it (בְּרָאָה)" (Isa 41:20). With regard to Isaiah 44:3, Stuhlmüller further notes that Second Isaiah typically associates water with the act of creation (i.e., the language of בְּרָא and יָצַר in Isaiah 41:20; 43:19-21; and 45:8) and argues that on these grounds one must conclude that God's pouring forth of streams in the desert in Isaiah 44:3 likewise carries cosmogonic implications. These exegetical cues in Psalm 78, Isaiah 41, and Isaiah 44, the general convergence of exodus and creation motifs in the Psalter and Second Isaiah, and the prevalence of the chthonic motif in Ancient Near Eastern creation myths strongly suggest that the primary matrices of the language employed in 1QH 16:4-5a carried cosmogonic overtones.

Chthonic Language in the Hymn

The demonstration that 1QH 16:4-5a contains language drawn from biblical creation texts does not in itself prove that the creation connotations of those texts carried over into the hymn. Conceivably, the hymnist could have used the language of creation texts without having their cosmogonic implications in mind. With respect to 1QH 16 this factor has been raised in a pointed way by Hans Bardtke. Bardtke has argued that the hermeneutical impetus behind the hymnist's 'waters in the wilderness' imagery was not the original connotations of biblical texts (such as Psalm 78 or Second

Clarendon Press, 1969]), the Igigi gods are initially seen performing the work of irrigation in the precreation period (I i 3, 6; see R. A. Oden, "Divine Aspirations in *Atrahasis* and in Genesis 1-11," *ZAW* 93 [1981] 200-201), and Enlil's later rage over the din of humanity provokes him to cause two crises of water (II i 11-12, 14, 16; II iv 2; Assyrian rescension [S reverse] IV 44-45, 54-55; V 3-4), both of which are solved when humanity, on Enki's advice, appeals to the storm god Adad to send rain and mist upon the land (II ii 16-17, 19, 30-31; II vi 10-12).

31. On the Psalter see von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," 55; Clifford, "The Hebrew Scriptures and the Theology of Creation," 512-520; *idem*, *Creation Accounts*, 153; and Anderson, *Creation Versus Chaos*, 93-99. On Second Isaiah, see R. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuteroseja," *ZTK* 51 (1954) 9-13; C. Stuhlmüller, "The Theology of Creation in Second Isaiah," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 433-445; *idem*, *Creative Redemption*, 69f.; Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," 181-185; Fisher, "From Chaos to Cosmos," 191-195; Harner, "Creation Faith in Deutero-Isaiah," 298-306; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 136-137; E. Haag, "Gott als Schöpfer und Erlöser in der Prophetie des Deuteroseja," *TTZ* 85 (1976) 210-213; and Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 110-112.

32. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen* (BKAT 15/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag) 2.708.

33. Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption*, 73.

Isaiah), but the Qumran community's experience of being supplied with waters by the spring at Ein Feshka. The hymnist did employ biblical-like words and phrases, but these were merely formulas filled with a new meaning deriving not from the original biblical contexts of those words and phrases but from the contemporary provision of water Qumranites enjoyed from Ein Feshka in their wilderness experience.³⁴

In response, one must first note that Bardtke's criteria for determining whether or not the Qumran hymnist had certain biblical texts in mind is unrealistically stringent. He doubts that the hymnist could have been drawing from texts usually cited by commentators because no precise syntactical, grammatical, or lexical parallels can be found with these (or any other) biblical texts. The peculiar construction of *במקור* (pronominal accusative object with a preposition), for instance, is never found in the Bible; there is no biblical attestation of *נתן* and *מקור* occurring together with *נוזלים*; and *מבועי מים* in Isaiah 35:7 is not placed in connection with *יבשה* and *נוזלים* as it is in 1QH 16:4, but with *שרב* and *צמאון*.³⁵ To demand such precise correlation, however, ignores the allusive character of the Hodayot (pointed out by Delcor) and is tantamount to saying that if the hymnist did not cite a biblical text word for word he could not have intended to express its ideas.

Apart from this weakness in Bardtke's criteria there is positive evidence that 1QH 16:4-5a carries the creation ideas embodied in Psalm 78 and Second Isaiah. First, at least two of the primary biblical matrices which have informed the main body of 16:4-27a — Genesis 2-3 and Ezekiel 47 — have distinct connections with chthonic creation motifs. Genesis 2, of course, conceptualizes creation as a river flowing from Eden (2:10), and Ezekiel 47 opens with a vision of waters flowing from the temple (47:1).³⁶ The hymnist of 1QH 16 does not draw heavily upon the initial creative act contained in these chapters. If *מ[שקי]* of 1QH 16:4 is read as a participle of *שקה*,³⁷ its use with *גן* (16:5a) has possible affinities with the verbal constructs of *שקה* in Genesis 2:6 (*השקה*) and 2:10 (*להשקות*), but there is certainly no recognizable reference to the water flowing from the temple in Ezekiel 47:1. Nevertheless, that the

34. "Wüste und Oase in den Hodajoth von Qumran," *Gott und die Götter: Festgabe für Erich Fascher zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958) 45, 47, 49. Cf. also C. M. J. Gevaryahu, "The Parable of the Trees and the Keeper of the Garden in the Thanksgiving Scroll," *Immanuel* 2 (1973) 53.

35. Bardtke, "Wüste und Oase in den Hodajoth von Qumran," 48-49.

36. Likewise, Ezekiel 31 is fashioned on the ancient myth of the "cosmic tree" (*Weltbaum*), wherein the tree was nourished on subterranean waters similar to those which inundate the earth in chthonic creation myths (see M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* [trans. R. Sheed; New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958] 271-273). Wevers (*Ezekiel*, 167-168), Haag ("Ez 31 und die Alttestamentliche Paradiesvorstellung," 172-74), D. E. Gowan (*When Man Becomes God: Humanism and Hybris in the Old Testament* [Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pickwick Press, 1975] 102-106), Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 2, 146-149), and L. C. Allen (*Ezekiel 20-48* [WBC 29; Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1990] 125) have pointed out how Ezekiel's language of *תהום* (Ezek 31:4), *מים רבים* (Ezek 31:7), and *נהרתיה* (Ezek 31:4) follows the chthonic tenor of the myth.

37. Charlesworth, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh Has-Sedeq* (1QH 8:4-11)," 297 n. 6.

wider contexts of these matrices do contain such an idea makes it likely that the language of 1QH 16:4-5a was meant to at least allude to an initial act of chthonic creation. In fact, it is not implausible that the hymnist chose to replace the chthonic imagery in Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 47 with the same imagery expressed in the Psalter and Second Isaiah, perhaps to give the opening of his hymn the nuance of a new exodus.

Second, the claim that 1QH 16:4-5a sustains the creation connotations of Psalm 78 and Second Isaiah is also supported by Israelite-Jewish theological technique. Studies on the relationship of myth and history in Israelite religion have found that certain biblical writers chose to describe epochal events in their national history through creation imagery, especially when the tradition and the myth shared similar concepts. The Priestly Writer described the epochal significance of Israel's exodus from Egypt by embellishing the Reed Sea tradition (*ים סוף*) with the Canaanite myth of divine combat against Yamm.³⁸ As already mentioned, the author of Psalm 78 underscored the same epochal significance of that exodus by merging Israelite wilderness traditions with chthonic creation imagery, and Second Isaiah later employed that same synthesis to declare the new era about to dawn with Israel's return from captivity. When one considers that the hymnist of 1QH 16 was steeped in this literature and that he wrote on behalf of a community which had self-consciously embarked into the desert to inaugurate and await yet a new age in Israel's history (1QS 8:12-14), it is reasonable to conclude that he would have employed this same theological technique to characterize the Qumranites' plight, depicting the epochal significance of their new wilderness experience through chthonic creation imagery.

This hypothesis is not mutually exclusive to Bardtke's observation about Ein Feshka. The waters in the wilderness imagery which Ein Feshka doubtless conjured up among the Qumranites can be regarded not as a rival to use of chthonic biblical imagery but as a catalyst to it. As significant wilderness experiences in Israel's past had once moved biblical writers to draw upon chthonic myth in order to declare new orders in their *Heilsgeschichte*, so the wilderness experience at Ein Feshka may have moved Qumranite writers to do the same with respect to the new order they both stood and hoped for. One might speculate that the hymnist regarded his community as having entered into a third phase of Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*: Yahweh, who had once caused a river to flow in Eden, brought water out of a rock in the wilder-

38. Fisher, "From Chaos to Cosmos," 187-191; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 112-144; Anderson, "Mythopoeic and Theological Dimensions of Biblical Creation Faith," 4-5; idem, *Creation Versus Chaos*, 35-42; Gibert, *Bible, mythes et récits de commencement*, 171-180; Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 104-127. Here I am assuming that the Baal myth was either a cosmogony in itself (as per L. R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament," *VT* 15 [1965] 316-324; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 43; idem, "The 'Olden Gods' and Ancient Near Eastern Creation Myths," *Magnum Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* [ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1975] 329) or was used as such in the Reed Sea narrative (Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 113, 218 n. 24; and Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 124, expressing here a more cautious view than in his previous "Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible" *Or* 53 [1984] 188-198).

ness and poured forth streams in the dry land of Babylonia, was now giving a מקור נזלים and מבווע מים for the Qumran community in the יבשה and ציה ארץ of the Judean desert.

In sum, the weakness of Bardtke's premises, the chthonic resonance permeating 1QH 16, and the likelihood that the hymnist would have employed creation imagery to characterize his community's sojourn in the desert make it likely that the language of 1QH 16:4-5a was intended to sustain the creation ideas of the texts it drew upon.

Literary and Historical Context: Integrating Creation Theology Into Qumran Theology

The significance of our observations for the hymn's theology has already been anticipated: 1QH 16:4-5a contains a latent claim that with the onset of the Qumran community a new creation had taken place. While the hymn's main theme is one of the nourishment and growth of vegetation, the chthonic nuance of 1QH 16:4-5a adds to that theme the idea that the waters providing that nourishment are the product of a new creative act of God. If one takes the ב of במקור in line 4 as an *essentiae* (as I am inclined to do),³⁹ it means that the hymnist is characterizing himself as the agent of that new creation. As J. H. Charlesworth has made clear, a ב *essentiae* brings "the quality, essence, or characteristic" of its object into relief and (in this case) sets that object (מקור) in apposition to the pronominal suffix of (partially restored) ג.רתני.⁴⁰ Such a reading would make the hymnist himself the spring placed in a dry land ("I thank you, Lord, that you have placed me as a spring in a barren land"), a lofty claim supporting the view that this hymnist is none other than the community's Righteous Teacher.⁴¹ But even if one takes the ב as a local preposition ("I thank you, Lord, that you have placed me at a spring in a barren land"),⁴² the overtones of chthonic creation in 1QH 16:4-5a remain strong and enhance the theological texture of the subsequent planting imagery. Whether the hymnist is the source of waters (ב *essentiae*) or one of the plants nourished at those waters (local ב), the מקור נזלים, מבווע מים, and ג.רתני which nourish the trees of life are the product of a new creative act of God.

39. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Livre des Hymnes*, 62 n. 3; idem, *Les Écrits Esséniens*, 240; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les Textes de Qumran*, 236 n. 2; J. H. Charlesworth, "The Beth *Essentiae* and the Permissive Meaning of the Hiphil (Aphel)," *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; New York: University Press of America, 1990) 73-75; idem, "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh Has-Sedeq* (1QH 8:4-11)," 296 n. 4.

40. Charlesworth, "The Beth *Essentiae* and the Permissive Meaning of the Hiphil (Aphel)," 69.

41. Argued forcefully by some since Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 174-177, 261-264; cf. Schulz *Autoritätsanspruch*, 1-5; and Charlesworth "An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh Has-Sedeq* (1QH 8:4-11)," 302-304. A survey of those who held this view before Jeremias can be found in Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, 45 n. 1.

42. H. Bardtke, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 36. Die Loblieder von Qumran III," *TLZ* 12 (1956) 715; Delcor, *Les Hymnes des Qumran*, 199; Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 249 n. 2.

The hymnist is claiming that the Qumran community was the beneficiary (if not the act) of a new creation.

This exercise has been a microcosmic exploration into the presence and significance of biblical creation motifs in Qumran hymnic literature. By employing tradition-historical, *religionsgeschichtliche*, historical, and exegetical-theological methodologies, I have sought to demonstrate (1) that the language of 1QH 16:4-5a draws upon biblical texts bearing a distinct Ancient Near Eastern/biblical creation motif, (2) that the dynamic of that motif was plausibly operative in the Qumran hymn itself, and (3) that the connotations of that motif nuance the hymn's theology with an implicit claim that a new creation has occurred with respect to the Qumran community. This study is indebted to the last fifty years of Qumran scholarship, yet (as I hope) proleptic of a fruitful field of inquiry in its coming decades. In light of the Qumran community's claim to be the vanguard of a new epoch in Israel's history, much can still be learned about Qumranite theology and self-perception by assessing the way they liturgically expressed convictions about their identity through biblical creation motifs.⁴³

43. I would like to thank my colleague Michael T. Davis for his helpful comments in the preparation of this article. Responsibility for its contents, of course, remains my own.