

similarity between its text and that of biblical manuscript Deuteronomy<sup>h</sup>, discussed above. A few textual features are shared exclusively by these two scrolls, suggesting that this quotation in Testimonia is dependent on a textual tradition like Deuteronomy<sup>h</sup> (see Duncan, "New Readings," 1995). The *Book of Deuteronomy* also is the primary influence in the poetic work of the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378–379). In the extensive but fragmentary Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 364–365, 366–367), a biblical paraphrase, *Deuteronomy* is covered through chapter 19.

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JULIE A. DUNCAN

**DE VAUX, ROLAND** (1903–1970), French archaeologist, was born in Paris on 17 December 1903. He was ordained a priest in 1929, and he entered the Dominican

order the same year. He left for Jerusalem in 1933 and, from 1934 until his death on 10 September 1970, he taught at the École Biblique. De Vaux was editor of the *Revue biblique* from 1938 to 1953. He was director of the École Biblique from 1945 to 1965. It was both as director of the École Biblique and as an archaeologist that he became closely involved in the finding of the manuscripts at Qumran and in the excavation of the site.

The archaeological activities of de Vaux were certainly very important: a Byzantine mosaic at Mâ'in starting in 1937; a caravansary at Qaryet el-'Enab/Abu Gôsh in 1944; and Tell el-Far'ah near Naplouse between 1946 and 1960 (nine campaigns). He began excavations at Khirbet Qumran and the surrounding area in 1949, and they lasted until 1958.

With the end of the Arab-Israeli War in 1948, it became possible to excavate the cave where the Dead Sea Scrolls, which Archbishop Athanasius Yeshua Samuel and Professor Eleazar L. Sukenik had bought, had been found. This cave (Qumran Cave 1) was reopened at the end of January 1949. G. Lankester Harding, director of the Antiquities Department of Jordan, asked de Vaux to carry out the excavation of this cave (15 February–15 March) with the assistance of the Antiquities Department and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. In addition to a large quantity of pottery (cf. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 1, 1955, pp. 8–17), many fragments of written documents were found during the excavation, and, in some cases, they allowed a link to be made to manuscripts held by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (see 1QIsaiah<sup>b</sup> [1Q833.35] and Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 1, 1955, pp. 66, 135–136).

After 1949, archaeological excavations continued first of all on the site of Khirbet Qumran, but also in other caves as they were gradually discovered. The first caves to be excavated were those of Murabba'at (21 January–3 March 1952), and the archaeological results were published in 1962 (cf. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 2, 1961, pp. 3–50). The importance of the texts from the period of the Roman occupation became clear, especially from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 CE), because the caves served as a hiding place for those who were fighting against the Romans. In 1952, Qumran Caves 2 and 3 were excavated (10 March–29 March). In September of the same year, Caves 4 through 6 were found in the marl plateau around Khirbet Qumran. In 1955 (7 February–15 March), Caves 7 through 10 were excavated and, in 1956, Cave 11 was excavated. The results of the excavation of these caves, except Qumran Cave 11, were published by de Vaux (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 3, 1962, pp. 3–36 and, in the case of Cave 4, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 6, 1977, pp. 3–22). [See Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.]

In 1951, the first campaign of excavations began on the site of Khirbet Qumran; although interrupted by the work in the caves, the excavations were resumed from 1953 to 1955. In 1958 (25 January–21 March), de Vaux directed excavations at 'Ein-Feshkha, a site 3 kilometers to the south of Qumran.

In 1961, de Vaux presented the main historical conclusions of the excavations carried out at Khirbet Qumran. Leaving aside the remains from Iron Age II, the occupation of the site divides into three periods: Period I (subdivided into Ia and Ib), which began shortly before John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) and extended to 31 BCE, when an earthquake shook the region; Period II, which extends from the reign of Herod Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE) until 68 CE, when the site was destroyed by the Roman army; and Period III, which is represented by a military post occupied by the Romans from 68 to 73 CE. Subsequently, the abandoned buildings were used as a shelter during the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 CE), but only briefly.

These results are open to discussion, but the absence of a final report means that we have to keep them in abeyance while we wait until such time as a much more detailed account of the excavations is published, an account that de Vaux was unable to produce himself. However, in 1994 this account began with a first volume edited by Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon (Humbert and Chambon, 1994) and presenting 538 photographs and a synthesis of the field notes of de Vaux. Four other volumes are expected.

Before 1947, de Vaux was also chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation), alternatively directed by the American, British, and French Schools of Archaeology at Jerusalem. [See Palestine Archaeological Museum.] For this reason he played an important part in the purchase of fragments owned by bedouin and in the search for funds for the publication.

De Vaux was not himself an epigraphist, but he published three fragments from Qumran Cave 1 (de Vaux, 1949). However, in 1954 he became editor in chief for the publication of manuscripts, and he retained this position until his death in 1970.

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**DIDACHE**, or "Church order," is a collection of ethical instructions and guidelines for rituals and organization of an early Christian community. The Greek text survives in one eleventh-century manuscript, complete but for the final lines, which was discovered by Theophilus Bryennios in 1873 in Constantinople and first published in 1883. A fragmentary Greek papyrus of the late fourth century (P.Oxy. 1782) contains a portion of the text. There exist also a Coptic fragment (*Br. Mus. Or. 9271 [Copt.]*) and evidence of Ethiopic and Georgian translations. The fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* paraphrased the whole *Didache* (*Ap. Const.* 7.1.2-32.4). Other ecclesiastical sources through the Middle Ages indicate knowledge of the text or of its sources.

The collection begins with ethical instruction, apparently to be used in baptismal catechesis (1.1-6.3). Ritual instructions follow, treating baptism (7.1-4), fasting and prayer (8.1-3), and the Eucharist (9.1-110.7). A section on ecclesiastical discipline deals with itinerant prophets and apostles (11.1-12), other obligations of hospitality (12.1-5), prophets and teachers who wish to remain in a community (13.1-7), confession and reconciliation (12.1-3), and the election of bishops and deacons (15.1-4). The incomplete concluding chapter offers parenesis in the context of an eschatological scenario (16.1-8). The text was probably composed in the late first or early second century CE in a Jewish-Christian environment in Syria or Palestine.

There is a broad generic similarity between the Rule of the Community (1QS) and the *Didache*, since both have homiletic elements and are concerned with questions of community order. Of particular interest is the initial section of the *Didache*, the "Two Ways" Tractate, which parallels the Rule of the Community (1QS iii.18-iv.26).

The *Didache* has probably used a source document, likely to be of Jewish origin, to which the author, or perhaps a subsequent redactor, added a series of specifically Christian precepts (1.3b-2.1). Some (e.g., 1.4: "turn the other cheek") are reminiscent of the Sermon on the Mount; others (e.g., 1.6: "let your alms sweat in your hands until you know to whom you are giving it") are

later developments. Whether this section was developed directly from the Synoptic Gospels or from parallel early Christian oral tradition remains debated.

The rest of the Way of Life (1.1-3a, 2.2-4.14) contains admonitions based on the Ten Commandments (2.2-3), expanded to condemn such evils as magic and abortion; proverbial directives to the "child" to avoid the sources of evil acts (3.1-6); encouragement to meekness and humility (3.7-10); rules for social behavior (4.1-10); and a concluding exhortation to pursue this Way of Life (4.11-14). The Way of Death (5.1-2) consists of a brief list of vices to be avoided, followed by a general conclusion (6.1-2).

Material similar to the "Two Ways" tradition used by the *Didache* enjoyed considerable popularity in early Christian circles. A close parallel, without the New Testament material of *Didache* 1.3b-2.1, appears in the second-century *Epistle of Barnabas* (18.1-20.2). Later patristic works also transmit modified forms of the "Two Ways" teaching. These include the Latin *Doctrina apostolorum*, probably composed in antiquity but preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript, and the fourth-century Greek *Apostolic Church Order* or *Canons of the Holy Apostles* and its *Epitome*. Other works, such as Ps.-Athanasius *Synagoga doctrinae*, *Fides CCCXVIII patrum*, the Arabic *Life of Shenoute*, and the *Rule of Benedict*, show traces of the "Two Ways" schema.

The *Didache* and Rule of the Community represent different versions of the venerable motif. Biblical and post-biblical Jewish literature frequently used the contrast of two ways, often combining them with value-laden dichotomies, for example, Psalm 1.1-6; *Proverbs* 4.18-19 ("light" and "darkness"); 12.28 ("life" and "death"); *Jeremiah* 21.8 ("life" and "death"); 1 *Enoch* 94.1-5; 2 *Enoch* 30.15 [long recension] ("light" and "darkness"); *T. Ash.* 3.1-5 ("two spirits"); *Sibylline Oracles* 8.399-401 ("two spirits"); cf. *M. Avot* 2.9. The version of the treatment in the Rule of the Community (1QS iii.18-iv.26), unlike the *Didache*, uses the notion of two cosmic spirits to frame balanced lists of virtues ("meekness, patience, compassion, etc.," 1QS iv.3) and vices ("greed . . . irreverence, deceit, pride, etc.," 1QS iv.9); each set is followed by a discussion of the appropriate reward or punishment. The *Didache*, using the contrast of life and death, absent from Rule of the Community, displays more formal diversity in the material in the Way of Life, which receives greater emphasis than its negative counterpart. Both texts share a concern with virtues of the "meek" (1QS iv.3; *Did.* 3.7-10).

Other parallels are few. In comparison with the scrolls' fragmentary Baptismal Liturgy (4Q414), the *Didache's* instructions for baptism offer no responsory prayer. They focus on the action of the officiant, the type of water to be used, and the requirement to fast. A trinitarian formula indicates the ritual's Christian character in the *Didache*.