NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS

Series Archaeologica 5b

Jean-Baptiste Humbert o.p. with Alain Chambon
and Jolanta Młynarczyk

Khirbet Qumran and Ain-Feshkha

**Roland de Vaux' excavations
(1951–1956)**

III A

in English translation

Translated by David Orton

The Archaeology of Qumran

Reassessment of the interpretation
Peripheral constructions of the site

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN

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and
Alain Chambon

Notice by Hervé Monchot, UMR 8167

Qumran Terracotta Oil Lamps

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École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem
and
General direction of the international cooperation
of the French Foreign and European Affairs Ministry

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Fr. Roland Guérin de Vaux o.p., Qumrân camp site, 1956
By courtesy © Sabine Weiss

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a)

b)

fig. 1. The Qumran site in its untouched environment, in 1951

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Dedicated to

Jean Prignaud o.p.

1928 - 2015

who introduced us to archaeology

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In Memory

of

Max and Helen Rosenbaum

by Glen Rosenbaum, a longtime supporter
of publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls

and

Weston Fields

with gratitude for his significant work,
fundraising and scholarship in support of
Dead Sea Scrolls research and its dissemination

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a) Qumran plateau attached to the cliff piedmont by a peduncle (to south-east)

b) The steep bank of the Wadi Qumran. On the left, in the background, the black mass of the *khirbeh*, and on the right, in the cut of the plateau, the promontories of the artificial caves.

fig. 2. The Qumran plateau

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Introduction

The misuse of books is the death of sound learning.
People think they know what they have read,
and take no pains to learn.
In fact with observations of all kinds
it is not a matter of reading but of seeing.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Émile ou de l'Éducation
1762

Nothing offers a better expression of where we stand in relation to the archaeology of Qumran than these words of Rousseau's: we are to see, and after we have seen it is a good thing to take another look. The mistake would be to believe that the archaeological interpretation of a site is a closed file. The subject of Qumran is undergoing profound change, and it is in that spirit that we shall view it. There is a need for patience and for due time, while reason demands that you do the right thing and wisdom requires you not to insist on set intuitions. Chinese wisdom says that truth is an onion that one peels layer by layer. Qumran is an onion that de Vaux has picked, peeled and then planted. We have harvested it, peeled it and are replanting it so that others can peel it in their turn. The truth is still to come.

Publication of the archaeology of the site has been delayed for various reasons which have to do on the one hand with external circumstances and on the other with the nature of the archaeological files in the condition in which we received them. Qumran, the excavations and the study of them took place against the background of professional and political tensions. This was a Franco-Jordanian project with strong English participation, thanks to Lankester Harding, who was director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. De Vaux led a fifth campaign in February and March of 1956, and in October the Suez Crisis erupted, in which Jordan and France were not on the same side; the French missions in Jordan found themselves in a difficult situation. In the 1960s, Jordan authorized interventions at the site over which de Vaux had no control; when Jerusalem was taken in 1967, progress was hampered by a diplomatic injunction calling for the project to be suspended pending settlement of the political status of Jerusalem. De Vaux's premature death in 1971, at the age of 67, was a serious setback. There was a risk that Israeli excavations in the first decade of the new millennium, which opened up sites de Vaux had not touched, might produce contradictory information; as it turned out, they did not bring changes to the original plan.

De Vaux did not submit the final report of the works he directed, nor tell us what he was really thinking; we do not have his last word and we do not know what he would have decided. The fertility of his intellect leaves us in his debt, and it was a privilege to continue his task. Qumran seemed so much his legacy that it was difficult to make modifications. There can be no doubt that he intended to publish archaeology whose scope and shape was largely his own. Between 1958 and his passing, thirteen years elapsed, which saw the

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a)

b)

fig. 3. Khirbet Qumran during the 1955 campaign

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publication of the early part of the study of the caves, in parallel with that of the manuscripts. The Schweich Lectures, published in 1961, summarized the annual excavation reports with a few adjustments, and their posthumous re-edition in 1973 took account of the main criticisms he had received. De Vaux was well aware that his interpretation had raised questions that preoccupied him. He knew that the dossier had filled out and that some perspectives had opened up. Was he right to wait? Being familiar with his great scholarly honesty, we know that he was always willing to make radical revisions when such were warranted. It remains the case that the English revision of the Schweich Lectures left its mark on Qumran studies with the skilful combination of his intuitions, the excavation findings and his mastery of the sources. The lectures form an impressive historico-archaeological synthesis, but one whose coherence, though persuasive, is only apparent. Nonetheless, partly thanks to the English language, they have become his authoritative legacy. Can the interpretation be amended? Yes, and it will be useful and necessary to examine the basis for it.

The general outline of the archaeological dossier was known, well enough for research not to be interrupted. Thanks to the summaries de Vaux had given as the years and the excavations passed, some felt they had enough material to construct hypotheses, and not enough was known about them for criticisms to be raised. This does not change the fact that de Vaux is still the indispensable basis for constructions. His account offered the advantage of clarity, but the debate that followed was contradictory. Some readers of the manuscripts assure us that de Vaux is sufficient, and that the Essene Qumran of his archaeology is an exception that should not be touched. However, scholarly rigour demands that we move on. Those viewing the remains see Qumran as one site among others on the banks of the Dead Sea. The cool-headed might want it to be both: a Jewish site, as exceptional as Masada or Garizim, while at the same time clearly being one human settlement among others in Judea at the turn of the millennium. We shall try to avoid favouring either one; both need to be examined separately with the methods on which they each depend.

The *École Biblique* decided to resume publication of the archaeology at the point where de Vaux had left it. Initially, our goal was to present the available documentation in the project de Vaux had conceived, so as to present his results just as we found them. The ordering of the archives and the objects detained us for several years. It became increasingly clear that the dossier as a whole had aged, not only in the form and manner of the documentation but also in the way it was approached. Had de Vaux let himself be swayed by the bias of biblical archaeology, in which the written document is master of all and archaeology illustrates the text? Yet the site has its own internal coherence, its own evolution and chronology. What would the interpretation of the excavations have been if the sources had been silent with regard to Essenism, and if the manuscripts had not been discovered? There can be no doubt that in the 1950s, as today, it would have been seen as a special Jewish site, because the unusual number of inscriptions or graffiti were indications of a high cultural standard.

Research on the manuscripts is growing in precision and scope, and research into the site is no different in this respect. The manuscripts raise questions to which archaeology might have answers, at least in relation to issues of history. The caves are inscribed in a landscape, and in their materiality the parchments are an object of archaeology. It is doubtful, however, whether the archaeology of the site can solve all the questions. Qumran is a place and, at a precise moment in time, the group that used it and the group that possessed the manuscripts, who are not the same, knew or met each other. They maintained links and we may believe, though not confirm, that they were Essenes; unless and until the contrary is demonstrated, this is still the most probable scenario. Logic, then, dictates that the two groups should be studied separately, in terms of their archaeology and their history, while expecting to be able to merge them together. By combining the results we hope to be able to take things forward.

De Vaux's interpretation was a proposal. His arguments have since been weakened, because at the turn of the millennium the archaeology of Palestine benefited from some extensive projects. John Strugnell had confessed: "We began Qumran with simple ideas." There were manuscripts and sources, the site was seen in a new light, and the links between all these terms created a tapestry of evidence unspoilt by contradictions that might have arisen. The Qumran settlement was conceived of, without too much hesitation, as a religious community grouped around an exceptional library, saved at some point from the Roman threat. To start with literary and historical concepts to explain an almost silent archaeology was a parlous undertaking.

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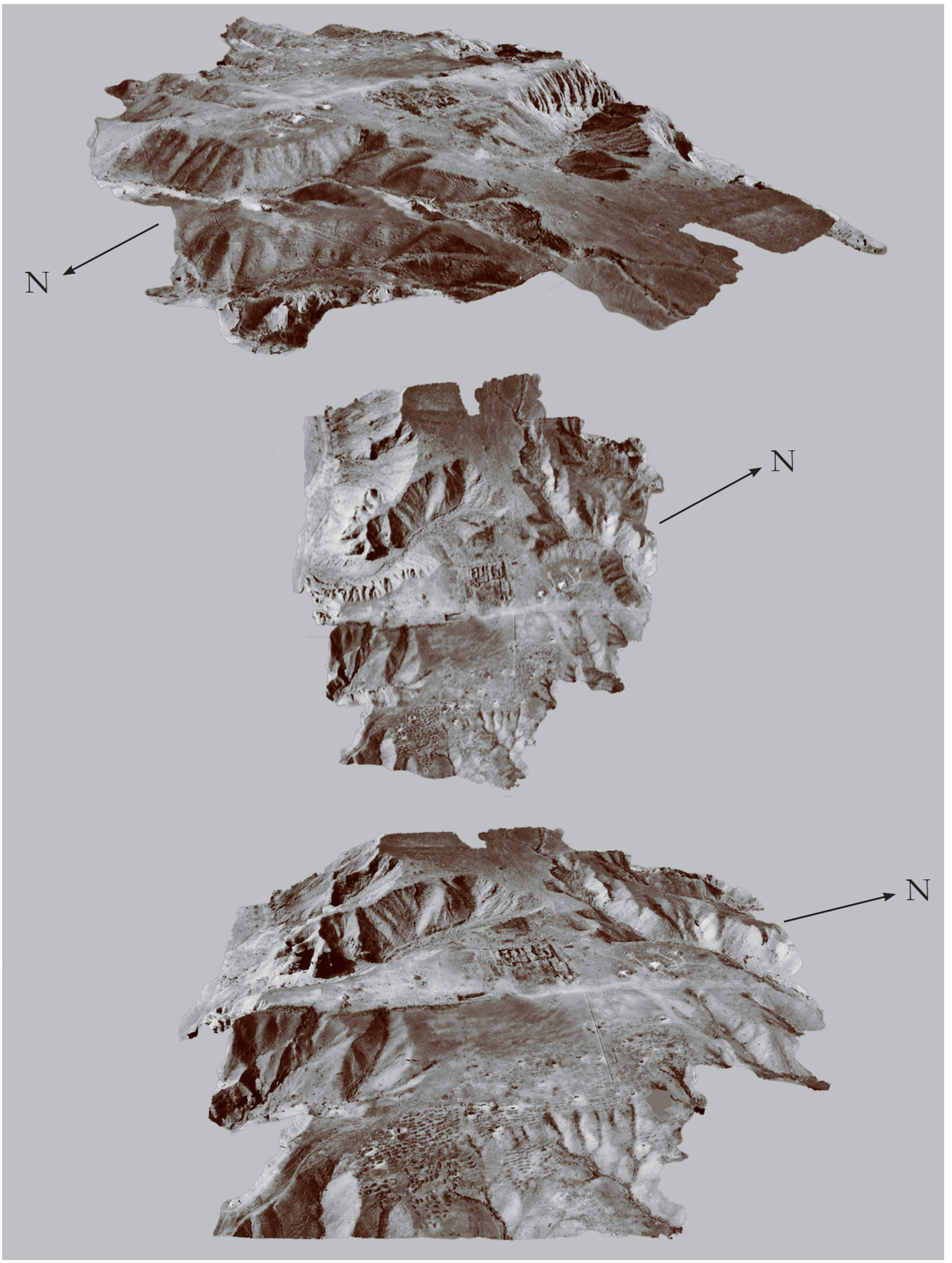

fig. 4. Photogrammetric reconstruction of the environment of the Qumran site, (Lionel Mochamps) From the Jordan Air Force aerial photographs, 1953

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However, on opening a file that was initially limpid but had become so complex, there were no great surprises. It is important to remember that de Vaux, the site archaeologist, was both the key figure in the collection of manuscripts and at the same time the director of their publication. He had a perfect grasp of their profound significance for scholarship. It was inevitable that he would have viewed the site as their envelope. The disproportion between the thousand manuscripts of a library which would have required a society with exceptional intellectual and religious dynamism – rare in Antiquity and especially in contemporary Judea – and the modesty of an archaeological site isolated in the steppe, should have alerted minds. Here was an irrational fact that was erased from view because of the special importance attached to the sources. The reading of the site by the pioneers of Qumran was then adopted without due critique and without taking account of the disproportionality. However, what the sources tell us of the way of life of religious societies, particularly in relation to customs and laws, was intended for the edification of the reader of the time; the ancient historian's record of it represents not a certified account of life in these societies but what people remembered of it or wanted to say about it. Reality should not be confused with reading. The theory of community life does not fit with the configuration of the remains and the "Essene community of Qumran", implicitly confused with community in the broader sense (yahad), has been overloaded with the leading role. The gap between the life of a group and the account of it that has come down to us is particularly sensitive in the case of Qumran. The account has conveyed the ideal life of a society, or evaluated it, at the moment when its history was close to completion. We cannot view Essenism, or potentially any other sect, as a static shot. The received account would be a frozen snapshot which does not take account of the unavoidable internal movement of a political and religious institution. It has to be accepted that in two centuries, this society, like all sects of this region and time, evolved in the context of a proliferating Hellenistic Judaism: the changing situation would have left traces which archaeology is able to perceive but which the account has not caught. What, ultimately, do we know of the lives led by those who frequented these places? Archaeology's priority is to present the shells of the triviality of the days in which intellectual and religious life slides along, leaving only a trace. The vision of Qumran as one village among others is possible, and some claim to have seen it. The number of craft facilities that invaded the settlement remains an enigma that needs solving. To investigate the priority of a religious structure here, as de Vaux did as a pioneer, followed by many, is a legitimate, arbitrary and certainly risky undertaking. The Essene scenario at Qumran is still no more than an educated guess. Nonetheless, Qumran remains a site where Jewish religious practices are in evidence. It is appropriate to venture beyond a strictly secular reading, and the archaeologist must bear in mind the ever-present background noise emitted by the manuscripts. It will be prudent to take the Judaic context as the most sensible key to the interpretation. We ourselves have tried to find this key. Our work is therefore presented in two parts. The first sets out the arguments that allow us to question de Vaux's interpretation. It is intended as a proposal. The second is a technical examination of the remains of the periphery of the site. In our view it was best to set them out separately and to advance with caution.

❦

In our Volume I we decided to accompany the album of photographs of the site with a selection of the minutes of the excavation which de Vaux had been careful to edit himself when preparing the Schweich Lectures. We called this a Synthesis because it brings together what de Vaux himself deemed useful for his interpretation, and it shows the direction of his thinking. Our decision to match up the photographs taken on the fly with the description of the loci was tricky, given the baldness of the notes taken on site on a day-to-day basis. However, the Qumran excavations are now part of the history of Palestinian archaeology, and we are careful not to make judgments. The baldness of the notes reflects on the one had the excavation methods current at the time, and on the other the circumstances in which the works were conducted, under difficult economic conditions. At this point it should be remembered that de Vaux conducted excavations with a sense of urgency, to outwit looters. There was a lack of employed workers; for strategic reasons in the collection of manuscripts, at the time it seemed a good policy to hire the Taʿamres who bargained with them; the excavation method suffered as a result.

The excavation process would be different today, with increased resources and with logistics and technology that did not exist sixty years ago. We have no doubt that de Vaux's publication would have illustrated his clear and sober interpretation, presented without ado, in the image of his presentation of the caves and of Murabbaʿat in the DJD volumes. It would have been the one that we have decided not to make. First,

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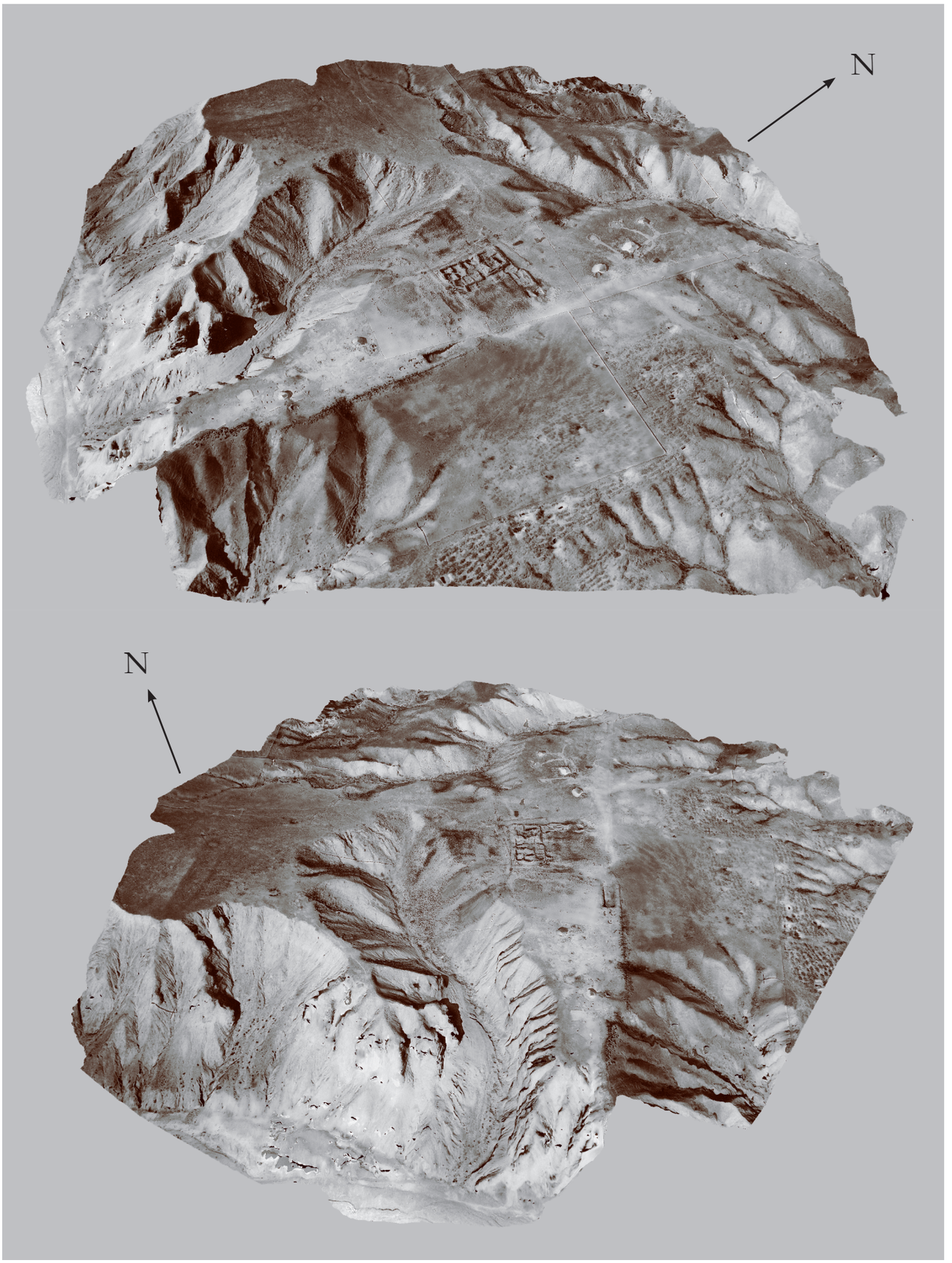

fig. 5. Photogrammetric reconstruction, views towards the northwest and north, (Lionel Mochamps) From the Jordan Air Force aerial photographs, 1953

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excavations in the region relating to this very period have since developed considerably, and new documentation is available; criticisms of the archaeology of the site have become pressing and need to be taken into account. Further, publication methods have changed and much more is expected of an ancient excavation than it is able to give, with the precision and technical detail that are demanded today. Our assessment has been subject to numerous hesitations, and we are aware that it is sometimes in an awkward position, which is why we are publishing it as a site dossier.

We have deliberately opted to consider only the Qumran of Vaux, who was master of the work, to reopen the files the way one inspects the foundations when checking the safety of a building. We have not entered the debate on the archaeology of Qumran, which has since been amplified with some researchers – a healthy debate, but imaginative, involved and often contradictory. Aiming to confine ourselves to the origins, we needed to cover the whole of Qumran. The vestiges of the site have suffered the ill effects of erosion, successive restorations and cosmetic adjustments for the purposes of tourism, and the excavation is still there in its volume, its proportions and its environment. The portrait that the archaeologists drew of them is still there, too: an abundance of objects, classified and restored, catalogues which record and draw them; the archives are still there, a hand-written site log, edited on the spot, sometimes elliptical, too often patchy; a typed synthesis, a working sketch of the interpretation that was forming, preliminary reports which, in the course of the campaigns, fine-tune and correct, the Schweich Lectures which forged the Essene theory; simple line diagrams which imprinted the image of Qumran on memories; hundreds of photographs of the site, often mediocre, but taken on the fly by de Vaux, presenting the excavation in its freshness, and others taken by photographers for the Antiquities Service, which are professional but large in scale, capturing only general views.

The patiently assembled Qumran corpus deserved an autopsy. We checked through the available data to establish reference points and organize them. The written documents were compared, not simply to spot contradictions, hesitations and regrets, but to establish dependable archaeological facts. The plans, criticized for their combination of architectures, the few preparatory surveys and the rare sections or elevations provided elements of stratigraphy which, sadly, are isolated from each other and generally speaking impossible to link up. The reading of the Journal was the guide for recreating a sequence while following the scheme of works by careful examination of the photographs of the site. Recreated layers are the result of this and free-hand stratigraphic diagrams, never to scale, illustrate the attempts at them. The elevations recorded on the surveys, often unusable, indicate the tops of walls and rarely floors. The reestablished stratigraphy will remain artificial, and in the absence of a better alternative, it will be best to accept the approximations. Despite their imprecise location, the coins were helpful in correcting the chronology. De Vaux had granted them a key role, without due caution. Most of them give only an indication which is not particularly useful. Fortunately, some of them, duly stratified, set out the proposed chronology. We dismantled a mechanism, and we are obliged to rebuild it without any assurance that it works.

The work committed itself to presenting pottery whose abundance at Qumran is surprising, given the modesty of the site. Before getting to the heart of the matter, we thought the classification conceived by de Vaux would suffice. The task was more difficult than foreseen because of a methodological flaw: the norm when presenting items of pottery requires that they be classified in a sequence that follows the stratigraphy, leading on to the chronological table; but the relationship between stratigraphy and chronology is one of the major difficulties of the excavation conducted by de Vaux. The pottery was not ordered according to the succession of the layers in the levels. The typology of the pottery was fixed in accordance with a theoretical periodization. In general terms, de Vaux reversed the process by adopting periods of natural history which the reconsideration of archaeology now dictates should be abandoned. De Vaux constructed an artificial typology, continued by Paul Lapp, which was for a time authoritative.

We present the pottery by locus and in the framework of sequences that have been laboriously reconstructed. The lack of stratigraphic rigour during the excavation is reflected in the imprecision of the groupings that we propose. A selection has been made among some 4,000 sherds not retained by de Vaux but which he had kept after noting the locus and the date of the dig. Reference to the dates of the Journal made it possible to attribute them to one stratum or another. They then complete the typology of a particular deposit. Finally, the manner of description, succinct, is that adopted by de Vaux in his day. All the pottery has been redrawn in response to the publishing norms required nowadays.

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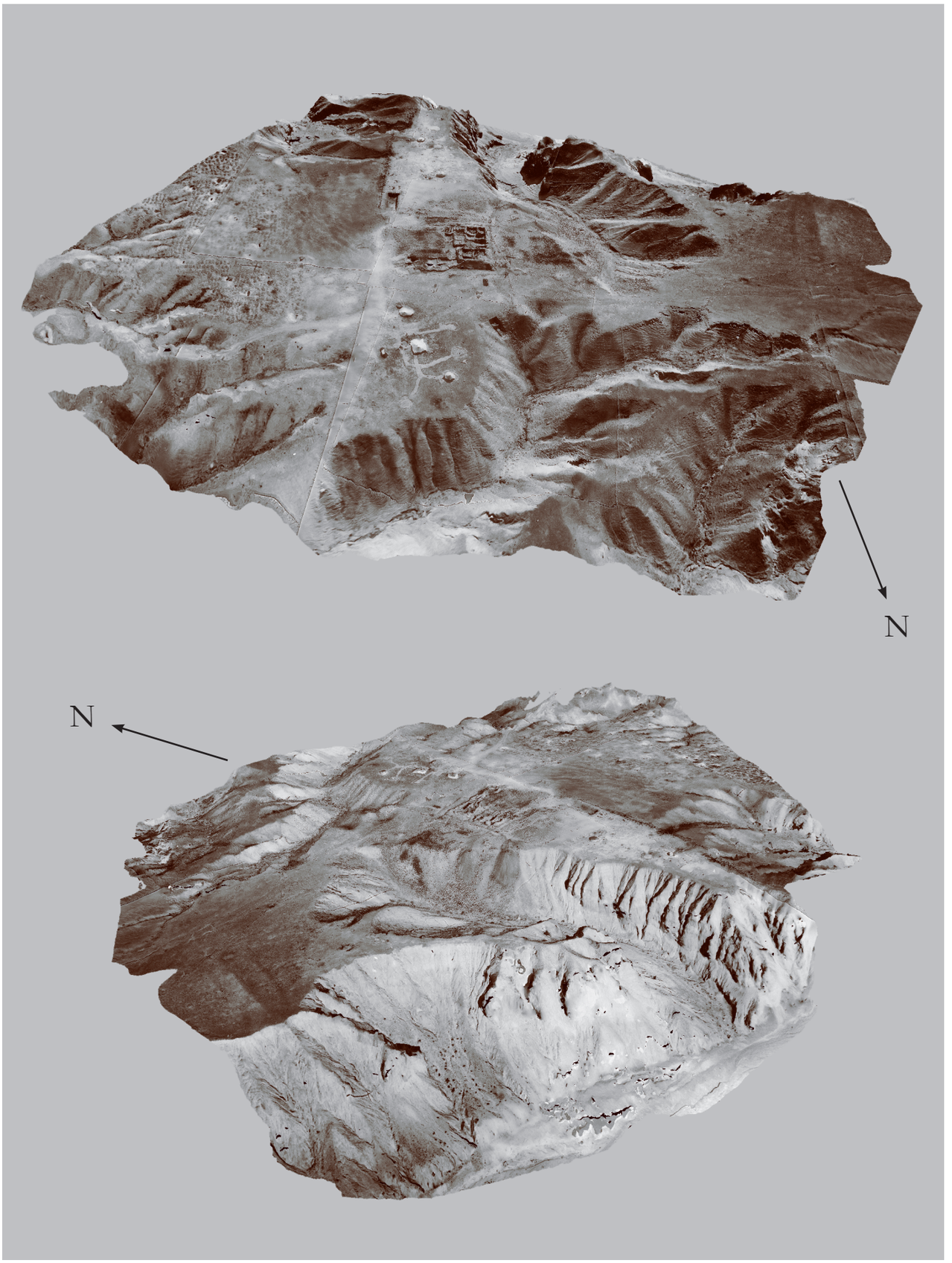

fig. 6. Photogrammetric reconstruction, views towards the south and east, (Lionel Mochamps)
From the Jordan Air Force aerial photographs, 1953

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Finally, the pottery corpus is not commented upon, for lack of time. We thought it more urgent to present it to the scholarly community who will continue the research. The reinterpretation of the site was a prerequisite for us.

The distribution of tasks between authors is normally set out at the beginning of the project. Alain Chambon took responsibility for the preparation of the technical files and their follow-up: direction of the workshop drawing the pottery and the non-ceramic objects, management of the index files, realization of the plates and catalogues, monitoring of the plans and surveys, numbering of all the constructed elements of the site, together with preparation of final copies of the diagrams which will aid all researchers citing and describing Qumran in the future. The present author took on the archaeological investigation and the resulting review of the stratigraphy and chronology. He is therefore solely responsible for the analysis and proposals contained in the present volume.

The entirety of the site was studied. The present volume IIIA presents only the ring of installations surrounding the central building. As this is complete, it makes sense not to delay publication. It presents the coherence brought to it by the new layout of the refoundation by a sectarian group – Essene, if that is preferred – around an older core. We saw the latter as a redeveloped Hasmonaean settlement, containing a more complex stratification than the surrounding ring, and meriting a separate study of its own, which will appear in volume IIIB. For a summary presentation of the Hasmonaean site, we refer the reader to our publication of the archaeology of Qumran, volume II.

Study of the lamps found on the Qumran estate, the *khirbeh*, the caves and Ain Feshkha, was a long and exacting task, as the documentation was scattered or in a precarious state. Certain lamps have disappeared, others are in a repository in a Belgian university, inaccessible to us, and some have been smashed and require restoration. Jolanta Młynarczyk, of the University of Warsaw, kindly took responsibility for these. The completed study of the lights is of such interest for observing regional exchange, defining the cultural field of the inhabitants of Qumran and establishing the chronology of the site that it would not have been sensible to put off the publication. That is why an attempted synthesis of the lamps forms our concluding chapter. It has a rightful place in a work presenting the essential features of the site's pottery.

Those who have contributed in one way or another to the project of publication are numerous, and it would be remiss of us not to acknowledge our indebtedness to them in this regard: Joséphine, Akram and Edward for drawing the pottery, and Hershel Shanks who contributed to the costs; Manon Saenko and Nathalie Hirshi for its restoration; Jean-Michel de Tarragon, Juhana Saukkonen for the photography and Bart Wagemakers for providing an unedited negative of locus 86; Mariusz Burdajewicz for the elegant representation of the lamps; Pierre-Marin Boucher for the preparation of files. The following have been valuable consultants: Bruno Callegher for issues of numismatics and Jonathan Adler for a better approach to religious and talmudic anthropology; Etienne Nodet, Mireille Bélis, Edith Parmentier and Rachel Bar-Nathan for their constructive criticisms. We are indebted to Marie-Helène Thuillier for repeated rereadings of the texts and her persistent care in spotting editorial obscurities; and to Jean-Michel de Tarragon again, for ensuring typographically clean proofs. The work has been typeset entirely at the *École Biblique* and we are grateful to those who have patiently brought the work to fruition: Jocelyn Dorvault, Louis de Lisle, Benoît Rivron, and especially Kiyoshi Inoué, who spent long years developing and experimenting with the computer system for handling the images; Lionel Mochamps gave the whole thing a final polish to ensure its typographic and iconographic quality. We must commend the cordiality and the unfailing concern to help of both Alegre Sawariego and Hava Katz, conservators of the Rockefeller Museum, where the Qumran documentation is held. We would underline the quality of the fraternal welcome by the Dominican members of the IDEO who provided us with the necessary calm, at their convent in Cairo, for mastering a long and exacting subject; we would like to thank them warmly. Our gratitude goes to Bertrand Viriot for an exceptional donation which made possible the completion of the typesetting of the work. Our appreciation also goes to the Association des anciens et amis de l'*École Biblique* (Paris), and to its secretary Alain Saglio, who generously and unstintingly completed the annual budget.

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Jean-Baptiste Humbert

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Roland de Vaux archaeologist

To construct it is sometimes necessary to deconstruct. Our critical reading of the Qumran of Père Roland de Vaux does not in any way cloud our respect for his work, undertaken with intelligence and talent. R. de Vaux, who arrives in Jerusalem in 1933 aged 30, is a man of the texts. Biblical archaeology was enjoying its highest reputation. A stone's throw from the *École Biblique*, W.F. Albright, hero of this method, reigned over the archaeology of the Palestine Mandate from 1922 to 1936 as Director of the American School of Jerusalem. The young de Vaux had respect for him and was friendly with him. He entered archaeology in the 1930s, when the aristocracy of British Mandate Palestinian archaeology had taken root and planted its ensigns on the major sites of the Bronze and Iron Ages. At that time, biblical history was the noble path for archaeologists. He was the contemporary of K. Kenyon who, in the late 1930s, made an inventory of Samaria; while de Vaux is at Tell el-Fâr'ah, Kenyon is excavating Jericho, and the links they maintain are constant. De Vaux did not begin his career on a biblical trajectory. In 1937, he cleared a mosaic at Mâ'in (Jordan) with R. Savignac, who, with M.G. Horsfield, had exhumed the Nabataean temple of er-Ramm. In 1944 he led a stratigraphic excavation on the medieval site of Abu Ghosh and in 1946 cleared the Byzantine site of 'Aïn Ma'amoudiyeh to the west of Hebron. Then, in 1946, de Vaux considers that the *École Biblique* is ready to take on a wide-ranging archaeological project, following the example of the great international institutions, and undertakes the excavations at Tell e-Fâr'ah, which he conducted between 1946 and 1960. He commenced the excavations at Qumran in 1951 and managed the *tour de force* of alternating campaigns between Fâr'ah and Qumran. Kenyon was interested in Jerusalem where, in 1961, she mounted a joint project with de Vaux, at the south of the esplanade of mosques, interrupted in 1963.

In his research, de Vaux prioritized the Old Testament and we can believe that his interest, rooted in this field, did not take him spontaneously to archaeology of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. His choice had been Tirça, the ancient capital of Samaria and on the contrary, Qumran for him was a parallel track, initially a life-saver, in which we have no doubt that he excelled. We would suggest that at Tell el-Fâ'rah he had made the motives of biblical archaeology that were in fashion at the time his own, and his choices in his interpretation would seem to confirm this. Would he have been torn between the two disciplines, biblical and intertestamental? In short, would he have prioritized the Text at Qumran, in the same way that he placed the biblical Tirça at the source of his interpretation of Iron-Age Fâr'ah?

De Vaux liked to present himself as an archaeologist, an Old Testament exegete and a historian, and he mastered all three disciplines. However, man of texts that he was, the Dead Sea manuscripts and the historians of Antiquity would have held his interest more than the archaeology of the site. At Qumran, de Vaux showed himself as a historian first.

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Part One

Review of the interpretation of the archaeology of Qumran

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fig. 7. Pool 48–49, broken by fault 2a of the earthquake

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First chapter

Earthquake, fire and exile

The Land of Damascus

Qumran was hit by an earthquake. After some initial hesitation, de Vaux thought it right to date it to 31 BC and drew what he felt were the appropriate conclusions. This was not the best chronological option. Recent excavations have brought new data to light that tend not to support this choice. A careful reassessment of the remains themselves, followed by a careful rereading of the excavation reports and logs, have convinced us that the earthquake did not hit Qumran before its abandonment. A severe earthquake certainly caused damage at Qumran, but this was a deserted Qumran, and the damage, worse in some places than others, remains visible, never having been repaired. De Vaux pushed the earthquake back by a century, consequently assembling the components of the timeline in the wrong chronological order. An event that marked the end was placed at the beginning. Although de Vaux's account is consistent, it is negated by the archaeology.

Qumran bears the marks of obvious fractures, cracks and collapses. It is reasonable to see these as the effects of an earth tremor. The marks were attributed to the earthquake of 31 BC, famous from Josephus's record of it in *Bell.* I, 370 and *Ant.* XV, 121-122; but the arguments for this were not reexamined. The earthquake derives its importance entirely from the publicity given to it by Josephus, despite the fact that it was not equal in severity to the seismic jolts of the Byzantine era. De Vaux associated the fall of the roof of locus 86 with the earthquake, and as the objects inside it were sealed by a burnt roof he concluded that the earthquake had triggered the fire. It was just one step further to surmise that the fire pushed the community into exile. This set up the chronological scheme: foundation in the 2nd century (Period Ia), development, earthquake-fire, 31 BC (Period Ib), exile, return-restoration, destruction in AD 68 (Period II), reinstallation post-68, abandonment (Period III). The year 31 BC, between the foundation and the destruction, was the axis around which a chronology revolved. Two "biases", therefore, weaken the proposed partitioning of time.

The first bias was to subject archaeological fact to the yoke of history. The dubious practice of prioritizing history over archaeology is an old debate. History cannot correct the weaknesses of archaeology, and vice versa, because the two things are not inherently the same and it is dangerous to apply the methods of one to the methods of the other. It is significant that de Vaux slid from archaeology to history by resorting, in the excavation reports, to *Periods*. A period is defined as a specific length of time. But at Qumran, the concept of period has trumped the working out of a stratigraphy on which to base the chronology; de Vaux' notion of period, which in this case goes beyond the idea of duration, recalls history in the form of a series of events to which a precedence is attributed. The historian takes precedence over the archaeologist. Knowledge of the sources is a guide which, precious though it is, constrains and inhibits as it illuminates. De Vaux appreciated the weight of history; he accepted its yoke. This was his right, but it was a choice. It would have been better not to set aside the constraints of archaeology before assuming

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