

## Józef Tadeusz Milik in the École Biblique (1952-1960)

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**SUMMARY:** J.T. Milik (1922-2006) was first of all a brilliant epigrapher and publisher of the Dead Sea Scrolls. His stay at the École Biblique marked a crucial period in his busy life. It was the golden decade in his scholarly output. He identified, deciphered and published most of the Dead Sea documents which appeared in print in the 1950s (suffice it to mention the manuscripts of 1Q and 5Q, the Copper Scroll from Cave 3, documents from Wadi Murabba'at and some scrolls of Cave 4). He wrote a synthesis in 1957 which remains one of the most cited books on the scrolls. Starting from March 1952 Milik took part in archaeological searches at Khirbet Qumran and in the Judaean Desert. He cooperated with Father Bellarmino Bagatti at Dominus Flevit in Jerusalem. Milik discovered several Second Temple tombs with numerous ossuaries close to Jerusalem. His two expeditions with Father Jean Starcky yielded hundreds of Nabataean inscriptions. He remains in the history of Biblical research as a co-founder of Qumranology and a Biblical archaeologist par excellence.

**KEYWORDS:** J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, Khirbet Qumran, Qumran caves, Scrollerly Team, Ossuaries, Nabataea

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, Chirbet Qumran, Zespół Zwojowni, ossuaria, Nabatea

J.T. Milik, a talented young Polish priest, educated at the Warsaw Archdiocesan Seminary and at the Catholic University of Lublin, appeared unexpectedly in Rome in October 1946, determined not to go back home. He had left Poland legally, sent by his university and with the permission of the communist administration, which temporarily eased its pressure on Poles after the June referendum. He left the country, aiming to obtain a Ph.D. degree 'in re Biblica' at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. There he pursued intensive courses in theology and the ancient and modern languages of the Middle East. He obtained his baccalaureate on July 3 1947 and his licentiate on June 18 1948. He was initially preparing to write a Ph.D. dissertation on ancient oriental languages and literatures, but soon developed an intense interest in the Hebrew scrolls, at that time still referred to as manuscripts, found in a cave at 'Ain Feshkha. He immediately published

some columns of the manuscripts on the basis of photographs published in the weeklies and scholarly journals. His articles in Latin, Italian and English published in 1950 and 1951, very numerous considering the young scholar he was, drew the attention of Father Roland de Vaux, O.P. De Vaux had already published a small fragment from Cave 1, but was looking for potential editors for the remaining manuscripts found by his expedition in Cave 1, as he himself was more interested in archaeological research. He chose Father Dominique Barthélemy of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem*, who specialized in Biblical text criticism, to be the editor of the biblical texts. Milik, who published an article on the *Jubilees* and another one on the *Hodayot* in 1950, must have looked to de Vaux as a promising editor of non-biblical texts. We cannot exclude the fact that de Vaux also got in touch with Rev. Professor Augustin Bea, the editor of "Biblica" and Milik's tutor, but he certainly must have been impressed by Milik's third article, concerning the dating of the jars from Cave 1, printed in the last 1950 issue of the quarterly. We do not know who addressed the official invitation to Milik. Formally it should have been Gerald Lankester Harding, Director of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, who explored Cave 1 in an expedition with the *École* in February-March 1949. It is striking that in a formal speech on the occasion of his decoration with a gold medal by the Complutense University many decades later, Milik named first Harding, and then de Vaux, as the ones who had invited him.<sup>1</sup>

We also do not know, either, when exactly the invitation to Jerusalem reached Milik. In Spring 1951 he was busy doing the Latin translation of and commentary on the just-published *Manual of Discipline*. Its plates and transcript of the Hebrew were published in March by Millar Burrows, John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee. By working day and night Milik managed to be the first to translate the text into Latin; he finished it by May 11 1951. In this way he forestalled such eminent internationally known scholars as André Dupont-Sommer, Karl Schubert, William H. Brownlee, M. Wallenstein, J.M. Bauchet, J.P.M. van der Ploeg and Henrie del Medico. H.H. Rowley of Manchester University immediately noticed the special value of Milik's contribution to the new field of research. He wrote as follows: "J.T. Milik [...] has published a Latin translation, preceded by a study of language and grammar of the text."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in the mere six pages of

1 Cf. "Józef Tadeusz Milik, 50 lat pracy naukowej (bibliografia)", *Acta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* (Paryż 1996) III, 237.

2 H.H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 9 n. 2. Cf. Z.J. Kapera, "New Data on J. T. Milik's Studies at the Biblicum", *QC* 20 (2012), 55-68, here pp. 62-63.

his introduction, Milik made about a hundred remarks on the punctuation, corrections, spelling, phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and style of the text. A truly amazing achievement for the young scholar that he was, with very recent licentiate degrees from Lublin and Rome. How much in demand Milik's translation was can be seen in the fact that the publishers, the Pontifical Biblical Institute, had to reprint the "Verbum Domini" offprint twice. Incidentally, by publishing his translation in Latin (which was obvious at that time, as Latin was very well known to Biblical scholars and clergy) Milik unintentionally committed it to oblivion. His work is now completely forgotten, and was not even indexed by Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer in his commonly used "Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls."<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1951 Milik presented an outline of his Ph.D. dissertation and received some comments from Rev. Professors Augustin Bea and Joseph Bonsirven, his potential reviewers. In the autumn he worked hard to prepare a large article on the state of research on the scrolls and sent it to the printers of the "Verbum Domini" on December 15, 1951. Both Bea and Father Peter Nober helped him obtain the most recent literature. We can say thus, Milik on leaving Rome, was very well prepared to deal with the job which was waiting for him in Jerusalem.

The year 1952 was full of scholarly events and was very productive for Milik. He received twenty-one plates of unknown, but certainly non-biblical, texts from Cave 1 for publication. He started work as soon as he arrived in the École Biblique of the Dominican Fathers (on January 5); "then began [according to his report] the laborious work of cleaning and sorting the fragments, looking for connections between them, photographing them on plates, editing notes and commentaries."<sup>4</sup> Milik wanted to document his participation in the work and after only three months of research, in March 1952, he sent to the "Revue Biblique" his first publication concerning the *Micah Peshet*. By the end of the year, fragments of the remaining texts were ready for publication in the first volume of the "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert": *Peshet on Psalms, Peshet on Zephaniah, the Jubilees Fragments, Book of Noah, Aramaic Levi, Sayings of Moses, the Enoch Book of Giants, Apocryphal Prophecy, Wisdom Apocryphon, Book of Mysteries, Collection of Blessings, Liturgical Texts, Liturgical Prayers*, a text related to the *Hodayot, Fragments of Hymns*,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. chapter: "Outlines of Some Qumran Texts (with Select Bibliography). Principal Studies and Translations of 1QS", in J.A. Fitzmyer, *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Revised and Expanded Edition* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2008), 185nn.

<sup>4</sup> J.T. Milik, "Moja praca w Jerozolimie [My Work in Jerusalem]", *Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą* 5/2 (1954), 157.

*Community Rule, War Scroll, New Jerusalem, Three Tongues of Fire*, and some unclassified material. It is clear from the list that, at the beginning of his decade in Jerusalem, Milik had acquainted himself with all the literary genres represented in the later so-called Qumran library: the peshers (commentaries to Biblical books), legal, liturgical, and known and unknown apocryphal texts. Additionally, he invented a system of classification (and abbreviations) of scrolls which turned out to be very helpful and is still used by scholars.

It is worth noting that, although Milik was only a guest in the *École*, he was engaged in the current discoveries, and 1952 was full of excavations. Milik missed only the clearing of the caves of Wadi Murabba'at, which started on January 21 and continued until March 3. However, on March 10 he was still busy, as the leader of a small team, exploring the caves of the Qumran cliff under the supervision of Father Roland de Vaux, Gerald Lankester Harding, Director of Jordan Antiquities, and W. L. Reed of the ASOR. The work lasted for three weeks. Working with one or two Arab boys he penetrated the area first to the north of Qumran and later on, at his own request, to the south of the ruins. Even if he did not discover a new cave with manuscripts, he found a cave rich in pottery, which he named the "Timothy Cave", but, even if the cave matched the description preserved in the letter of Timothy I, a Nestorian patriarch of the ninth century, the name was not accepted by Father de Vaux. It was Milik's privilege to visit Cave 2 and Cave 3, which he was requested to examine immediately after the discovery of two copper rolls by the French archaeologist Henri de Contenson. Milik's involvement in the March expedition to the cliffs was decisive in his appointment as the publisher of the famous Copper Scroll.

On his return to the French School, Milik worked hard on the scrolls of Cave 1, but on September 22 he was once again on the Qumran plateau in connection with the identification of Cave 4, which was still being cleaned by the Taamire Bedouins. In one week Father de Vaux and Milik saved about one thousand scraps of manuscripts from the floor of the cave. Many of them, if not all, passed through Milik's hands. As he recollected decades later, "[i]t sometimes happened that I myself recovered manuscript fragments from the ground [...] I would take a lump of dried out mud in the cave, break it up with a pocket knife, and find a twisted, blackened manuscript fragment inside. I spread it out on my hand, read individual words and I would sometimes be able to decide there and then that it was for instance a fragment from the Rule of Discipline or from the apocryphal book of Enoch."<sup>5</sup> Milik quickly

<sup>5</sup> F. Mébarki, "Józef Tadeusz Milik: Memoirs of Fieldwork", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63/3 (2000), 131-135, here p. 132.

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learned the archaeological profession. We must not forget that he had received a good theoretical background at all stages of his scholarly studies in Poland and Rome. He was the one who noticed and excavated Cave 5, during which work he found a way of saving and completely preserving dry manuscripts. He also worked in Cave 6. After his return to Jerusalem, he set about hunting for ancient pottery which was taken from the manuscript caves by the Bedouins. His regular visits to antiquities shops enabled him to save for scholarship two interesting jars with inscriptions, and five plates from the Qumran area.

As we have noted, Milik missed the excavations in Wadi Murabba'at carried out between January 21 and March 3 1952. However, the publication of the documents discovered by de Vaux and Harding soon became his job, immediately after the brilliantly prepared publication of the materials from Cave 1. The letter of Bar Kokhba, a leader of the anti-Roman rebellion in the time of Emperor Hadrian, was sent by Milik to the printers of the "Revue Biblique" as early as December 1952. That means that he was already working on the new texts while still being engaged in finishing volume one of the DJD. The letter appeared in the same April 1953 issue as de Vaux's report on Murabba'at and the latter's publication of two biblical manuscripts, a fragment of Exodus and a phylactery. Both Milik's courage in publishing non-biblical texts, and his master's trust in the abilities of his pupil, should be noted. Milik's main job, the Murabba'at texts both Hebrew and Aramaic, kept him busy throughout 1953. Over the next four years he was able to return only sporadically to those difficult to publish texts. It was only at the end of 1957 that Father Pierre Benoit and Milik were able to prepare the final publication of the texts. In April 1958 Milik sent his texts to the Clarendon Press in Oxford, but already in the autumn of the same year he had to adjust two newly purchased texts of Mur 29 and Mur 30 (legal documents concerning selling ground). The importance of the eighty-eight documents cannot be overestimated. Milik properly evaluated those concerning the Bar Kokhba period in these words: "Though the discoveries in the Judaeen Desert do not help us to know more exactly the course of the principal events of the war, they do show us how the rebels organized the civil and military government of the country and what motives inspired them. The leader of the Revolt, Bar Kokhba, or rather, as the new texts call him, Ben Koseba, comes out of the legendary haze with which the Talmud surrounded him."<sup>6</sup> From the moment of publication of the DJD 2 in 1961 ancient historians noticed a great increase in the output of research on this period of history of ancient

<sup>6</sup> J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 136.

Palestine; what is more, Hanan Eshel's recent archaeological discoveries of rebel hideouts in the Judaean Desert illuminate the texts published by Milik.

Milik's interest in field archaeology was noticed by Father de Vaux, who in the next (second) expedition to Khirbet Qumran took Milik with him as his helper, and taught him elements of practical archaeology. Milik was a full member of the 2<sup>nd</sup> [9.2.-24.4.1953], 3<sup>rd</sup> [13.2.-14.4.1954], 4<sup>th</sup> [2.2.-6.4.1955] and 5<sup>th</sup> [18.2.-28.3.1956] expeditions, being responsible for supervising some sectors of the excavations, the reconstruction of pots, the sorting of shreds, the entering of objects in the catalogue. He also worked with his hands at moments of exciting discoveries, e.g. in the process of cleaning the piles of dishes in locus 89 in the pantry room. We owe the finding of some ostraca with inscriptions to his keen eyes. All in all, Milik spent nine months at Khirbet Qumran according to his own count. Unlike de Vaux, who never described the Qumran aqueduct, Milik (with John Marco Allegro) penetrated it to the last detail. Milik even noticed the closest parallel to the object at Hyrcania. The summary presentation of Khirbet Qumran offered by Milik in his book "Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea" remained for years the most useful and detailed description of the ruins. What is more, in that monograph he put forward several proposals of his own concerning the interpretation of the site, especially concerning the chronology of the Ib phase.

During the 3<sup>rd</sup> expedition to Khirbet Qumran Milik became interested in the earliest period of the settlement, i.e. the Iron Age (8-7 centuries B.C.) His research, conducted with Frank Moore Cross of ASOR, made it possible to establish the presence of three small settlements from the monarchic period in the valley of Buqei'a on the Judean plateau west of Qumran. Thanks to Cross and Milik's research and analysis of Biblical texts, the settlement at Khirbet Qumran was identified with Ir ham-Melah (the City of Salt), and placed in the system of desert forts in the province of Judaea created not later than the times of Uzziah.

But Milik's main occupation in those years was, of course, the manuscripts of Cave 4. As he was a member of the September 1952 expedition to the cave, it was obvious that he became the first appointed member of the special newly created "Scrollery Team". In his recollections of the year 1953, Frank Moore Cross keeps repeating that he was the first one working in the special room of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, but, in fact, earlier work had been done on the manuscripts from Cave 4 by Milik and Father Maurice Baillet, who sorted and cleaned them in the autumn of 1952. Late in Spring 1953, some time after the 2<sup>nd</sup> expedition to Khirbet Qumran, Milik left for Europe for several months, simply to get some rest after a year and a half of exhausting work in Jerusalem but also to collect the materials necessary



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for the publication of his Murabba'at texts. He returned in the early autumn, followed by his partners John Marco Allegro in mid October, John Strugnell at the beginning of 1954, then Father John Starcky and, in June, Father Patrick W. Skehan. The last one to arrive, in October, was Claus-Hunno Hunzinger. As Milik specialized in the non-Biblical texts, was the closest helper of Father de Vaux, and had the most experience of work on the new manuscripts, he received the lion's share of them for publication: apocryphal works including Tobit, pseudepigrapha like the Jubilees, the Book of Enoch and Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document, some cryptic and calendric documents, one hundred and fifty plates in all, of the seven hundred planned to be published from the whole cave. He accepted this enormous task on his shoulders and we should remember that in addition he was still responsible for the seventeen manuscripts from Cave 5, and, in 1956, he was also given the Copper Scroll. On June 1, 1956 he supplied a rapid preliminary translation of the latter, which was the basis of an official announcement of its contents. The official French and English translation of the Copper Scroll was printed in 1959 and the text officially appeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of the DJD in 1962.

During the years 1952-1960 Milik was certainly the most active member of the Scrollery Team. He identified, deciphered and published most of the documents which appeared in print in the 1950s. He wrote for the "Revue Biblique" and "Biblica" but, surprisingly, not for the "Revue de Qumran", despite the fact that Father Jean Carmignac, the creator and editor of the journal, consulted him in connection with his work on the War Scroll and thanked him for his "kindness and scholarly advice". During that period Milik collaborated very willingly with the press, gave interviews and wrote a lot of popular articles for the "Bible et Terre Sainte", "Plaisir de France", "Tempo", "Bunte Illustrierte" and "Zondage Vriend", and also for the Polish émigré journals such as the "Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą" [The Polish Priest Abroad] and "Życie" [Life].

Milik certainly was the most brilliant member of the team. Neil A. Silberman quotes the following opinion expressed by one of Milik's colleagues: "From the beginning [of the publication project], Joseph Milik seems to have been the leading spirit. [...] [T]he quality that most colleagues remember from those days was his uncanny talent for reading even the most cramped or seemingly illegible handwriting and his instinctive knack for identifying the sense of previously unknown words in Hebrew and Aramaic."<sup>7</sup> Also

<sup>7</sup> N.A. Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls. Christianity, Judaism, & the War for the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Putnam, 1994), 88.

Edmund Wilson, the outstanding American man of letters, quotes a similar opinion from John M. Allegro: Milik was “perhaps the most brilliant of our little team of scroll editors. [...] He developed an extraordinary facility for reading Semitic scripts of a cursive character never before seen, and for recognizing the work of individual scribes from the tiniest fragments, which is the basis of our work of piecing together the torn scrolls into their original documents,”<sup>8</sup> When, in the 1990s, a new group of scholars was assembled to finish the publication of the scrolls, John Strugnell, then Professor at Harvard University, said sneeringly, “none of these youngsters have even as much know-how, knowledge as Milik had in one finger.” Frank Moore Cross is convinced that “the brightest scholar that has worked in the field – the first field: fragments, identification – was Milik. He did most of these unknown documents. It was uncanny how he could figure out what went where in what column. He was very good.”<sup>9</sup> No wonder that, as early as 1954, Milik became a representative of the Scrollery Team. In 1954 he reported, still with Father Jean Starcky, on the progress of work on the Qumran documents to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Literatures. He himself prepared, and delivered at the end of August 1956, a very important long paper on the results of the research in Jerusalem. The participants of the Old Testament congress in Strasbourg were very pleased to hear the eagerly expected news of the scrolls, but they never received what Milik promised them at the very end: the publication of one or two volumes of the DJD series per year. First, he was too optimistic. Second, the political conditions in the Middle East worsened. Even before the Suez crisis, Harding was expelled from his post by the Jordanians, and the scrolls were packed and sent to a bank vault in Amman on the eve of the Sinai war. All but one member of the team were in Europe. As a result of the war in the Middle East, the work on the scrolls was interrupted for many months. The manuscripts came back to the Palestine Archaeological Museum on March 4 1957, but, before that, Father de Vaux resigned as President of the Trustees of the Museum. During this crucial period, Milik was working in Paris on the *Mishmarot* (a kind of calendar), waiting for the situation to clear. Probably in answer to a request from Giovanni Rinaldi, an Italian biblical scholar, Milik wrote a synthetic monograph on the scrolls entitled “Dieci anni di scoperte nel Deserto di Giuda” for the Marietti publishers of Torino, published in 1957. A French version was probably written simultaneously, as it soon appeared at the end of March 1957. It had the same title, here “Dix ans des découvertes

<sup>8</sup> E. Wilson, *The Dead Sea Scrolls 1947-1969* (Glasgow: Collins, 1985), 168.

<sup>9</sup> “An Interview [by Benjamin H. Kleine] with Frank Moore Cross, May 6, 1996 – Cambridge, MA” available in the internet: [www.brown.edu/Research/Web\\_Assist/Ben/cross.html](http://www.brown.edu/Research/Web_Assist/Ben/cross.html).



dans le désert du Juda”, and was published by the du Cerf [Dominican] Publishers in Paris. Corrado Martone is probably right<sup>10</sup> in reminding us of that invitation from Professor Rinaldi, but it does not exclude the fact that Milik wrote his book in response to Allegro’s monograph on the scrolls. Allegro’s book, bearing the title “The Dead Sea Scrolls”, appeared at the end of August 1956; its famous Penguin edition continues to be reprinted to this day. Milik’s monograph soon became the “most authoritative” handbook on the scrolls; it was translated into English, Spanish, German (partly) and Polish. The English version was prepared as a new, “considerably revised and expanded” edition in cooperation with John Strugnell, the translator. Both discussions with Strugnell, and access to the proofs of Cross’s synthesis, “The Ancient Library of Qumran”<sup>11</sup>, improved the English version of Milik’s monograph considerably. He updated it, including his own most recent search in the Judaean Desert, and even the last minute results of excavations at ‘Ain Feshkha. Milik’s English book went to the publishers early in 1958. As Father de Vaux observed in the foreword to Milik’s book, “Dix ans des découvertes” gave a masterly presentation of the state of research on the scrolls, using not only the author’s own materials, but also those of his colleagues. By his clever presentation and development of the Essene working hypothesis, Milik also exerted lasting influence on most Qumran scholars. His synthesis remains one of the most frequently cited books on the scrolls, for it really was (according to one reviewer) “the most accurate, the most readable, and the most authoritative.”<sup>12</sup>

In April 1957, almost immediately after the release of the Milik’s “Dix ans” by the du Cerf publishers, Milik returned to Jerusalem. He continued research on his texts, but ceased to publish selected manuscripts from Cave 4, heeding the formal request of Father de Vaux not to preempt the definitive publication. Through 1957 he was busy discussing the translation of his book with Strugnell and improving the English version. It was at that time that the first bad news reached the team, namely that the Rockefeller Foundation would not renew their grant unless the first volume of Cave 4 was published. The grant expired by 1960. At that time, the team was already so short of money that Allegro was refused funds to go to Jerusalem, and had to look for private donors. In the winter of 1958 (January 25-March 21)

<sup>10</sup> C. Martone, “Qumran Research in Italy”, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* (ed. D. Dimant) (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 601.

<sup>11</sup> F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday), 1958.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Burke s rev. J.T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris 1957), *Blackfriars* 39 (1958), 456.

Milik participated in the sixth season of excavations in the Qumran area; this time digging was done at 'Ain Feshkha. In the middle of this season he signed the foreword to the "Ten Years" and sent the translation to the SCM printers in London. The volume appeared in 1959 and was reprinted in 1963. In April 1958 Milik sent his texts from Murabba'at to Oxford. It was his second volume in the DJD series. In June 1958 Milik, as well as his colleagues Starcky and Strugnell, shared some of their texts with Father Maurice Baillet, a new member of the Jerusalem team. All of them certainly acted under pressure of the Rockefeller Foundation's threat. To be able to concentrate on the scrolls of Cave 4, Milik worked with great energy to dispose of the texts from the "small caves". In December 1958 he was ready with Cave 5 (seventeen documents). In February 1959 he again examined the original of the Copper Scroll (3Q15) and, together with Father Starcky, prepared a new set of its photographs. As the last contributions to the third volume of the DJD series, Milik prepared the publication of two inscribed jars from Khirbet Qumran. All his contributions must have been ready before August 1959, as this is the date of the introduction to the volume, which appeared in 1962. Father de Vaux was planning to send the first volume concerning Cave 4 to the publishers at the end of 1960. Because the volume was to contain only the biblical texts, it was obvious that Milik was requested for a contribution by publishing his phylacteries, mezuzot and targums. The remaining two contributors were Cross and Skehan. Going to Oxford at the end of September 1960 Milik, was convinced that the volume would soon appear, especially as the Rockefeller grant had expired earlier that year. He was ready with scrolls 4Q128 to 4Q157, but his colleagues failed him completely. Cross's biblical texts were to only appear after half a century, and Skehan never finished his manuscript. Cross could be excused in some way. He lost all his notes concerning Cave 4 in a fire in 1959. Father Skehan simply did not supply his texts. The OUP, Milik and de Vaux must have been very unhappy. All chance of obtaining an additional subsidy from the Rockefeller Foundation was lost. Very fortunately, even without the Rockefeller money Milik was able to maintain himself because he had become an "allocataire" and the next "stagiaire" of the CNRS (from October 1954), this enabling him to remain in Jerusalem for another year. But from October 1961 he was formally transferred by his authorities to the French Archaeological Institute in Beirut. He was not obliged to stay there permanently, so he was very often in Rome, pursuing his research connected with ancient Syria and Nabataea, a subject assigned to him in his new position. But, the accusations in the later 1960s, and the 1970s that he deserted the field of Qumran research are unfounded. He slowly, but methodically, continued work on his texts of Cave 4 and

published, as a separate volume, the set of fragments of the *Book of Enoch* (1976) and went on preparing the remaining apocrypha, such as the *Testament of Levi* (in the 1980s), and the Book of Tobit, on which he collected an enormous file. It is true he never finished his work on the Qumran scrolls, or his Nabataean task<sup>13</sup>, but for many reasons, one of which was the state of his heart. But it is quite certain that till the end of his days he was intensively interested in the scrolls, pursuing his research, and keeping track of publications. It is remarkable that he himself took the dramatic step of sharing out two-thirds of his remaining documents, before the last part was taken away from him due to a unilateral decision. It is highly regrettable that many scholars who later used his plates, and so had the manuscripts ready for study and publication in the DJD, did not even mention his contribution. Milik deserved better than that. His contribution to the study of scrolls remains grossly underestimated. But whoever chooses to evaluate the 1950s in Milik's life must agree that he was one of the pillars of scroll studies, and must acknowledge his gigantic contribution to the field. He paved the way for the great success of Prof. Emanuel Tov and the members of his team, i.e. the final publication of the "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert." To avoid any misunderstanding, this is not my own view, but the opinion of Professor Tov himself; to quote him exactly: "J.T. Milik's identifications, studies, and above all, editions continue to have a major impact on Qumran scholarship. More than anyone else, Milik has mastered almost all areas of the corpus of literature and documentary texts found in the Judaean Desert, and he has been one of the pillars of the DJD publication."<sup>14</sup> For Milik himself, the years spent in Jerusalem, including the nine months in the heart of the Judaean Desert, were the happiest period of his life. We must add that it was the golden decade of his scholarly output. He contributed much, much more than any of his colleagues in the Scrollery Team.<sup>15</sup>

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