

Reviews:

Alexander Demandt, <i>Antike Staatsformen</i> (by Bruno W. W. Dombrowski) .	223
Bernd Wander, <i>Trennungsprozesse zwischen Frühem Christentum und Judentum im I. Jahrhundert n.Chr.</i> (by Jürgen Zangenberg)	224
Marek Stachowski, <i>Studien zum Wortschatz der jakutischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments</i> (by Marzanna Pomorska)	227
Talat Tekin, Mehmet Ölmez, <i>Türk Dilleri - Les Langues Turques</i> (by Marek Stachowski)	229
The Moscow Linguistic Journal, Vol. 1: 1995 (by Marek Stachowski) . . .	231
Gilbert Lazard, <i>Dictionnaire persan - français</i> (by Barbara Mękarska) . .	233
Władysław Dulęba, <i>The Cyrus Legend in the Šahname</i> (by Dorota Opel) .	234
James C. VanderKam, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Today</i> (by James F. McGrath) .	235
L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> , Lief. V (by Bruno W. W. Dombrowski)	237
Zsuzsa Kakuk, ed., <i>Mischärtatarische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis</i> (by Marzanna Pomorska)	240

Chronicle:

Magdalena RUTA, <i>Bericht über die krakauer Konferenz „Juden und Judentum in der modernen polnischen Forschung“</i>	241
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ZDZISŁAW J. KAPERA

JÓZEF TADEUSZ MILIK THE SCROLLERY'S FASTEST MAN WITH A FRAGMENT

Józef Tadeusz Milik was born in Seroczyn (near Sokołów Podlaski, Poland) on March 24, 1922. He was able to finish secondary school at the outbreak of the second world war the Gimnazjum im. B. Prusa, Siedlce¹. He entered the Roman Catholic seminary in Płock; however, unable to study there because the war started in September 1939, he was transferred to the Warsaw seminary in 1940. In 1944 he was admitted to the Catholic University in Lublin² and studied both the theology and Polish language. In 1946 he was ordained³ and received

¹ Cf. L. Stefaniak, *Les recherches polonaises sur les textes et la doctrine de Qumrân* [in:] *Les sciences bibliques en Pologne après la guerre (1945–1970)*, Varsovie 1974, Académie de Théologie Catholique, pp. 245–274, and especially & 3. La vie et l'activité scientifique de Józef Tadeusz Milik et la bibliographie de ses travaux, pp. 256–274.

² J. T. Milik applied for admission to the Catholic University in Lublin on Oct. 20, 1944. Only a few weeks later was he able to present a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Wacław Milik (his uncle) to the Rector of the University. A letter of the Rev. F. de Ville, Administrator of the Warsaw Archdiocese, to the Rectorate of the Catholic University in Lublin is dated Dec. 4, 1944. It confirms that J. T. Milik finished four years of study at the Warsaw Seminary in June 1944 and states that „According to information collected about him [i.e. J. T. Milik] he is an extremely talented student, especially in the field of philology”. The sender recommends J. T. Milik to the „special care” of the University authorities. A final, formal record of the results of J. T. Milik's studies at the seminary arrived as late as June 6, 1946. It is amazing to the same mark for each of the seventeen different theological and philological subjects „EMINENTER”! All four documents are preserved in the Archive of the Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski [quoted below AKUL].

³ According to L. Stefaniak (*op. cit.*, p. 257) the ordination took place in Warsaw on June 30, 1946.

his M. A. degree⁴ and a licentiate in theology⁵. His thesis, concerned „*Doxa Ten*” in the teachings of St. John Chrysostom. He started publishing scholarly articles in linguistics (in the area of Polish philology) already during his university studies⁶. As a promising young priest he was sent to Rome, to continue studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. His good knowledge of Latin, Greek, Syriac, Old Slavonic, Hebrew and Arabic predestined him to continue philological studies in Rome.

From October 1946 to 1950 J. T. Milik studied seven additional ancient languages at the Pontifical Biblical Institute (the famous Pontificio Istituto Biblico): Arabic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, Sumerian, Egyptian, Hittite and Georgian, not counting some modern European languages new to him. In the end he knew thirteen ancient and six modern languages. Nobody was surprised that his licentiate for Biblical research he obtained with *summa cum laude* quotation⁷.

From the beginning he was fascinated by the manuscripts discovered at the Dead Sea in the late 1940s. First publications concerning them appeared in the academic year 1949—1950⁸. Having a good linguistic background he plunged into the new area of research at once and with very promising results⁹. His Latin translation of the Community Rule (1QS) and original comments on the text¹⁰ attracted the attention of Father R. de Vaux of the French Biblical and Archaeological School in Jerusalem. He invited J. T. Milik to join Father J. D. Barthélemy in the publication of the manuscripts discovered during the excavation of Qumran Cave 1 in 1949¹¹.

⁴ Cf. „Dyplom Magistra Teologii” [Diploma of M. Th.] number 4 dated July 8, 1946 [AKUL].

⁵ Cf. „Diploma Licentiae” Nr 81 of Sept. 26, 1946 [AKUL].

⁶ L. Stefaniak, *op. cit.*, p. 261 (cf. items 1—7, 11—13) listed ten articles concerning Polish local, mostly new, dialectal expressions published by J. T. Milik in 1945—1948. The articles testify to the unusual linguistic abilities of the young student.

⁷ Cf. L. Stefaniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 257—258.

⁸ Cf. Chr. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, Berlin 1959, 2nd. ed., pp. 46—47 (items nos 733—734, 736—740).

⁹ He commented on and/or translated among others on 1QIs^a, 1QIs^b, 1QH, 1QJub^a and 1QMyst.

¹⁰ *Manuale Disciplinae, textus integri versio*, „Verbum Domini” 29, 1951, pp. 129—158. The article was reprinted twice as a separate print!

¹¹ „À la suite de mon intérêt pour les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte — plusieurs articles dans *Biblica* et dans *Verbum Domini* de 1950—51 —, je fut invité à Jérusalem

At the end of 1951 J. T. Milik left Rome to travel to the Arab Jerusalem by way of Beirut and Damascus. In the Beirut Museum he studied the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions deciphering or interpreting some of them. On 5th January 1952 he was already in Jerusalem, beginning his study of fragments of the original scrolls of Cave 1 two days later¹². His duty was to publish non-Biblical texts from Cave 1 researched by Father de Vaux and G. L. Harding in February and March 1949. It is worth noting that in fact J. T. Milik received the more complicated part of the discovery: Father D. Barthélemy took the more easily read and interpreted fragments of Biblical texts and two columns of 1QSa¹³. And what is more striking J. T. Milik prepared twenty one plates of edited texts¹⁴ while his colleague did only nine. According to J. T. Milik's report¹⁵ and from the date of the introduction to the volume signed by G. L. Harding¹⁶ it is obvious that the work (despite the events described below) was already finished at the end of 1952, i.e. within one year! It took nearly three years for the Clarendon Press (Oxford University Press) to produce the first volume of the *DJD* series. Incidentally, we should note that it was J. T. Milik who invented the system of quoting the scrolls which is in common use to this day¹⁷.

Immediately after coming to Jerusalem J. T. Milik became involved in all the events connected with new discoveries. He missed only the excavations in Wadi Murabba'at which started on Jan. 21, 1952. However, also publication of the documents discovered during this expedition of R. de Vaux and G. L. Harding became his job immedia-

par le P. de Vaux vers la fin de 1951. Arrivé là-bas, le P. D. Barthélemy et moi-même, nous nous mîmes aussitôt au travail en vue de l'édition définitive des fragments qui furent trouvés en 1949 dans la première grotte ou achetés à un marchand d'antiquités de Bethléem”. Cf. J. T. Milik, *Trois ans de travail aux manuscrits du Désert de Juda (Jérusalem, de 1952 à 1954)*, „Antemurale” 1 (1954), p. 136.

¹² Cf. J. T. Milik, *Trois ans*, pp. 137—139 and *Moja praca w Jerozolimie* [My Work in Jerusalem], „Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą” 5 (1954), pp. 157—161.

¹³ Cf. J. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* [= Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I], Oxford 1956 [= 1955], Clarendon Press, pls. VIII—XIV, XXIII—XXIV.

¹⁴ As above, pls. XV—XXII, XXV—XXXVII.

¹⁵ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, p. 158.

¹⁶ Cf. his foreword to *DJD* I, p. [V].

¹⁷ Cf. Table des sigles in *DJD* I, pp. 46 f.

tely after the brilliant publication of the materials from Qumran Cave 1. J. T. Milik took part in the lot of research in 1952¹⁸. In March 1952, between 10th and 29th, he became one of the chiefs of the archaeological teams surveying the Qumran area between Hadjar el-Asba (in the north) and Ras Feskha (in the south) under the overall direction of Father R. de Vaux¹⁹. Together with a few Bedouins from the Taamire'h tribe he discovered one the very important caves, even if it only held pottery. He even identified this cave, south of Wadi Qumran and near Khirbet Qumran, too enthusiastically, as the Cave of Timotheus²⁰. As is well known from the letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Timotheus I, some 'books of the Old Testament and other books in Hebrew writing' were discovered in a cave near Jericho about the year 785 A.D.²¹ It is true that the shape of the cave was astonishingly close to the Mediaeval description of Timotheus' discovery and the sherds of pottery were astonishingly similar to the famous pots containing scrolls found in Cave 1. But the identification of the cave No. 29 proposed by J. T. Milik was not accepted in the end²².

During the survey J. T. Milik also visited Cave 2²³ and later received the treasure of his colleague Mr. J. Contenson (discoverer of Cave 3), the famous Copper Scroll for publication²⁴. Such were the

¹⁸ J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, pp. 158—160 and his *Trois ans*, pp. 134 f. In sum, the amount of time J. T. Milik spent at the Dead Sea was, in his own words, „nearly nine months, taking together into consideration all period of research. The longest stay took two months and a half". Cf. *Głos wołających na puszczy. Zwoje znad morza Martwego i pochodzenie chrześcijaństwa. Rozmowa z X. Józefem Milikiem* [A Voice of the Calling in the Desert. Manuscripts from the Dead Sea and the Origins of Christianity. An Interview with Father Joseph Milik], „Na Antenie (Wiadomości)" [Munich] No. 916 (Oct. 26, 1963), p. III.

¹⁹ Cf. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre* [= DJD III], Oxford 1962, Clarendon Press, p. 3f.

²⁰ J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, p. 159 and *Trois ans*, p. 137. Cf. R. de Vaux, *Exploration la région de Qumrân*, „Revue Biblique" 60 (1953), p. 560.

²¹ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London 1963 [= 1959], SCM Press Ltd, p. 19, note 2.

²² Cf. R. de Vaux, *DJD III*, p. 11 (cave no. 29).

²³ Cf. a photograph in *DJD III*, [Part 2] Planches, pl. III. 3.

²⁴ W. L. Reed, *The Qumran Caves Expedition of March 1952*, „Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research" No. 135 (October 1954), pp. 8—13.

first archaeological experiences of the young scholar, who very soon became the right hand of Father R. de Vaux concerning the scrolls. Very soon came additional discoveries. He observed the flood of documents from Khirbet Mird in July, the documents concerning the Second Revolt in August and the documents of Cave 4 in September²⁵. On September 22, 1952 he himself began the digging of Cave 4 together with Father R. de Vaux. When the archaeologists came to the cave the soil had been turned over by the Bedouins in large part. The latter had already recovered about 14.000 fragments of ancient manuscripts. However, about 1.000 additional pieces of several hundred manuscripts were unearthed in the untouched soil in one week²⁶. Many of them, if not all passed through the hands of J. T. Milik, who soon became one of the main publishers of the cave.

In the neighbourhood of Cave 4 the Cave 5 was discovered and Cave 6 localized. J. T. Milik took part in one of the most exciting discoveries at the Dead Sea. Cave 5 was the second cave containing ancient documents which was discovered by archaeologists. J. T. Milik not only observed the moment of discovery of precious texts, but immediately took special precautions to preserve them (the discovery took place on a very hot day and manuscripts from the cave were extremely fragile)²⁷. Later on, in 1958, he was able to undertake their final study and eventually published them in the *DJD III*²⁸.

The discovery of Cave 5 was not J. T. Milik's last experience in 1952. In August 1952 he took part in a brief reconnaissance of the Judaeen Desert with representatives of the ASOR in Jerusalem²⁹. In

²⁵ J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, pp. 159—160 and *Trois ans*, p. 135.

²⁶ R. de Vaux, J. T. Milik, *Qumrân Grotte 4. II. Archéologie. Tefillin, mezuzot et targums (4Q128—4Q157)*, Oxford 1977, Clarendon Press, p. 4, 8; J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, p. 160 and *Trois ans*, p. 135. It seems to me that the following quote of a part of an interview with J. T. Milik of 1963 concern the discovery in Cave 4: „If sometimes happened that I myself recovered manuscript fragments from the ground... For instance, 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 works 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" [*Głos wołających*, p. III].

²⁷ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Textes de la grotte 5Q* [in:] *DJD III*, p. 167.

²⁸ Cf. pp. 165—197.

²⁹ J. T. Milik, *Moja praca*, p. 169.

October be bought two interesting jars with inscriptions and five plates from the Qumran area. The objects were on sale at an antiquities dealer's near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. As it seems, they were found in or near Cave 6³⁰.

Father R. de Vaux formed a very high opinion of his new collaborator and J. T. Milik took part in the 2nd, 3rd and 5th seasons of excavations at Khirbet Qumran. He worked at the site with Father M. du Buit (responsible for drawings) and G. L. Harding (supervising the digs in his capacity as Director of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan), an experience which was accessible to very few. In the mid-1950s many press reports and books carried photographs of J. T. Milik with two great heroes of the Qumran field research, Father R. de Vaux and G. L. Harding³¹.

According to his own words, J. T. Milik was responsible for supervising some sectors of excavations, for the reconstruction of pots, sortings of sherds, entering of objects in the catalogue³². As is visible in photographs taken by J. M. Allegro, he also worked with his hands in moments of exciting discoveries, e.g. during the cleaning of the piles of dishes in loc. 89 (in the pantry room)³³.

J. T. Milik's prompt and brilliant preparation of the texts of Cave 1 moved Father R. de Vaux to offer him publication of the texts from Wadi Murabba'at in February 1953³⁴. When the international team was created for publication of the texts from Cave 4 it was J. T. Milik who received the main share, 70 plates, in July 1953³⁵. This was natural as it was J. T. Milik who had carried out the preliminary

³⁰ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Deux jarres inscrites provenant d'une grotte de Qumrân*, „Biblica” 40 (1959), pp. 985–991 and *DJD* III, pp. 37–41, pl. IX, figs. 1–4. As one of the jars bears the inscription „two seahs seven logs”, it was possible to establish that the equivalent of the seah in the New Testament times was 16.625 litres for dry measures.

³¹ Cf. for example J. N. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Harmondsworth 1956, Penguin Books, fig. 28.

³² Cf. J. T. Milik, *Trois ans*, p. 139.

³³ J. A. Allegro, *op. cit.*, fig. 37.

³⁴ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Textes hébreux et araméens* [in:] P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* [= *DJD* II], Oxford 1961, Clarendon Press, pp. 65–205, figs. 23–29 and pls. XIX–LXXIII.

³⁵ Cf. R. de Vaux in *DJD* VI, p. 6 and Z. J. Kapera, *The Unfortunate Story of the Qumran Cave Four*, „The Qumran Chronicle” 1, No. 2/3 (Dec 1990/April 1991), pp. 22–24.

identification and classification of the manuscripts from Cave 4³⁶ and who had dictated the deciphered words for the concordance files³⁷. His exceptional role during the nine years of deciphering of the scrolls was acknowledged even by his rivals³⁸. J. M. Allegro, who was the first member of the team to write a synthesis on the scrolls, tells an amusing story about J. T. Milik's ability to decipher even texts written in secret codes³⁹. It was not surprising that the „Time magazine labelled

³⁶ Cf. for example a story quoted by J. A. Fitzmyer in his book *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York/Mahwah 1992, Paulist Press, p. 10: „During the year that I worked in the scrollery [1957/58] we constantly heard rumors that fragments, supposedly from Cave 4, had been sold by antiquities dealers in East Jerusalem to tourists who were often anxious to acquire a fragment of the DSS. In fact, one such fragment had been bought by an American, who had enough sense to send it back to the [Palestine Archaeological] Museum. When the curator brought the fragment to the scrollery, J. T. Milik looked at it and recognized immediately that it belonged to one of his texts. He went to the plate where other fragments of the text were preserved, and it fitted in exactly, making a perfect join with about five or six other fragments”.

³⁷ Concerning the origins of the concordance, cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–154.

³⁸ N. A. Silberman quotes the following opinion about J. T. Milik from a Qumran scholar „most colleagues remember from these days” [i.e. the 1950s, Z.J.K.] Milik's „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” [*The Hidden Scrolls. Christianity, Judaism and the War for the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York 1994, G. B. Putnam's Sons, p. 88]. Also E. Wilson quotes the following opinion of J. M. Allegro: „J. T. Milik... is 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” [*The Dead Sea Scrolls 1947–1969*, Glasgow 1985 (= 1969), Collins, p. 168].

³⁹ „One day, when the three of us, who then constituted the team, were tired of cleaning the thousands of fragments in the boxes before us, we decided to enliven the proceedings by having a competition to see who could crack the code first. The main difficulty was that being very fragmentary there were very few complete words, so that determining the relative frequency of occurrence of letters, which would normally have given the answer in a very short time, would not work so easily in this instance. Some of the letters looked something like the proto-Hebraic writing, a derivation from the ancient Phoenician script, but they made no sense when given these equivalents. Whilst Cross and I were tearing our hair over it after lunch that day, Milik strolled in and informed us that he had done it, or at least got enough of the letters to make a full decipherment eventually possible. He had guessed the meaning of one of the few complete words...” and obtained „enough letters to break other smaller words, and thence to work through the whole fragment...” Cf. J. M. Allegro, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

[J. T. Milik] 'the Scrollery's fastest man with a fragment'"⁴⁰. One of to-days's leading scholars, George Brooke of Manchester University, wrote this in January 1996, evaluating the preparation of plates for publication in the 1950s: „The skill of the original team, especially Jozef Milik and Strugnell, in putting fragments together is truly amazing"; and later on he called their work „Herculean labours"⁴¹.

Already in 1954 J. T. Milik became the representative of the Scrollery Team and Father R. de Vaux himself. In 1954 he published, with Father J. Starcky, a preliminary report on the progress in publication of the Qumran manuscripts. The text was submitted to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris by Father Starcky, and both authors are called collaborators of the Academy⁴². A similar report appeared in 1956⁴³. Also in 1956 J. T. Milik took part in a congress on the Old Testament in Strasbourg. He delivered a long and very important paper on the progress of his own work in connection with Cave 4 and the caves of Wadi Murabba^aat. His paper was selected for publication in the Congress Volume, i.e. it was one of the most important of all⁴⁴. It is maybe worth stressing that Father R. de Vaux also participated in the congress⁴⁵, but it was J. T. Milik who presented the anxiously expected information on the scrolls. As we read the text now, it is surprising that J. T. Milik was so optimistic about prompt publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls⁴⁶.

The years 1955 & 1956 were crucial in the Qumran studies. They saw the publication of world-famous bestsellers, such as the books of

⁴⁰ J. A. Fitzmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁴¹ Cf. „Biblical Archaeology Review" 22, No. 1 (Jan./Febr. 1996), pp. 8, 9.

⁴² Cf. J. Starcky, J. T. Milik, *L'état actuel du déchiffrement des manuscrits du désert de Juda, et le plan de leur publication*, „Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes-Rendus des Seances" 1954, pp. 403—409.

⁴³ Cf. M. Baillet et al., *Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân*, „Revue Biblique" 63 (1956), pp. 39—67 and P. Benoit et al., *Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran*, „Biblical Archaeologist" 19 (1956), pp. 75—96.

⁴⁴ *Le travail d'édition des manuscrits du Désert de Juda* [in:] *Congress Volume. Strasbourg 1956*, Leiden 1957, E. J. Brill, pp. 17—26.

⁴⁵ Cf. the photograph preceding page 7.

⁴⁶ Cf. p. 26: „En tous cas, une fois le vol. II [of the *DJD* series, Z.J.K.] sorti, les autres suivront a la cadence d'un ou plusieurs par an".

E. Wilson, M. Burrows and J. M. Allegro⁴⁷, and the first volume of the famous *Discoveries in Judaean Desert* series⁴⁸; The year 1956 was also the year of a serious clash within the Scrollery team after J. M. Allegro's surprising BBC broadcast concerning a „well defined Essenic pattern into which Jesus of Nazareth fits". The correcting statement was signed by all remaining members of the team, and it is significant that the name of J. T. Milik appears in second place, just after that of Father R. de Vaux⁴⁹.

We do not know if J. T. Milik's scholarly, but readable, brief synthesis, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (Paris 1957, du Cerf) was a quick answer to J. M. Allegro popular presentation of the discoveries, but it is amazing to see that he was able to prepare the book in that same year, 1956⁵⁰. As Father R. de Vaux observes, J. T. Milik's book gives a masterly presentation of the state of the reserch on the scrolls, using not only his own materials but also those of his colleagues⁵¹. By his clever presentation and development of the Essene working hypothesis J. T. Milik also exerted lasting influence on most Qumran scholars⁵². It is not necessary to stress that he is convinced about its legitimacy to this day⁵³.

J. T. Milik's book was published simultaneously in Italian (1957)⁵⁴, soon translated into English (1959)⁵⁵, and later in Spanish (1962)⁵⁶

⁴⁷ E. Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, New York 1955, Oxford University Press; M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York 1955, Viking Press; J. M. Allegro, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ Cf. note 13.

⁴⁹ Cf. J. Carmignac, *Christ and the Teacher of Righteousness. The Evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Baltimore—Dublin 1962, Helicon Press, p. 71.

⁵⁰ Nihil obstat of the book is dated Nov. 24, 1956.

⁵¹ Cf. introduction by R. de Vaux to Milik's book, *Dix ans*, p. 9: „Cet ouvrage a donc été écrit par un spécialiste qui connaît mieux que personne les lieux et les textes dont il parle"; „La libéralité des autres membres de notre équipe lui a permis un accès direct à tous les textes encore inédit..."

⁵² The name Milik is the second to quote (after Josephus Flavius!) in numerous contemporary handbooks on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Cf. for example index in A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, Gloucester, Mass. 1973, P. Smyth, p. 428.

⁵³ In an interview with him in 1989, when I reported some of my doubts, he did not agree even to discuss other proposals.

⁵⁴ *Dieci anni di scoperte nel Deserto di Giuda*, Torino-Roma 1957, Marietti.

⁵⁵ *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London 1959, SCM Press.

⁵⁶ *Diez años de descubrimientos en el desierto de Juda*, Madrid 1961, El Perpetuo Socorro.

and Polish (1968)⁵⁷. The synthetic part of the book on the history of the Essenes was reprinted also in German (1981)⁵⁸. It is notable that the English translation was prepared as a new, „considerably revised and expanded” edition in cooperation with John Strugnell. The latter not only offered to translate the book, but also discussed its contents with the author „beyond the normal responsibilities of a translator”, these discussions „often led to more extensive changes on the book”⁵⁹. J. T. Milik was furthermore able to use the proofs of another book by a colleague of his, F. Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*⁶⁰. And what is more, he was already able to use the preliminary results of excavations in Ain Feshkha. In fact he signed the book for publications in the course of excavations in Ain Feshkha, on February 8, 1958⁶¹.

J. T. Milik's synthesis of the preliminarily deciphered Dead Sea Scrolls was at once highly appreciated and it still remains one of the most often cited books. He gave a perfect reconstruction and evaluation of the history of the Essene movement. His book was called „the work of an authority of the highest rank”, the „most accurate, the most readable, and the most authoritative”, an „extremely welcome guide”, etc. It was recognized as containing „constructive elements which will stimulate further research”⁶². The latter opinion was confirmed by the turn of events in qumranology. Some present-day authors still charge J. T. Milik with saddling the discipline with the Essene solution⁶³.

⁵⁷ *Dziesięć lat odkryć na Pustyni Judzkiej*, Warszawa 1968, Instytut Wydawniczy PAX.

⁵⁸ J. T. Milik, *Die Geschichte der Essener* [in:] *Qumran*. Hrsgg. von K. E. Grozinger, et al., Darmstadt 1981, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pp. 58—120. It is a translation of pp. 44—98 of the English revised edition of 1959.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Preface* to the English edition, p. 7.

⁶⁰ *The Ancient Library of Qumran and the Modern Biblical Studies*, Garden City, N. Y. 1958, Doubleday.

⁶¹ Cf. note 59.

⁶² Cf. „New Testament Abstracts” 3 (1958—1959), pp. 101—102. Chr. Burchard noticed 53 reviews of J. T. Milik's synthesis [*Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer. II*, Berlin 1965, Verlag A. Töpelmann, pp. 141—142 (item 2916, 2916 a—c).

⁶³ What is more, M. Baigent, R. Leigh [*Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, London 1991, J. Cape, pp. 32—33] have even accused J. T. Milik of „orthodoxy of interpretation, which grew progressively more dogmatic over the years... By [1961]... anyone who presumed to challenge [the Essene consensus] did so at severe risk to his credibility”. It is acknowledged that J. T. Milik's synthesis *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London 1959, SCM Press Ltd, a revised and extended version

This in fact was not true. J. T. Milik always stressed that his Essene hypothesis was a working hypothesis only.

The next step in J. T. Milik's rise as a leading authority in the field was connected with the Copper Scroll. The first of the copper rolls from Cave 3 was sent to the laboratory of the College of Science and Technology at the Manchester University in July 1955. After its successful opening and cutting, without the engraved letters being touched, the second roll was sent to Manchester in January 1956. Even if the idea of opening the Copper Scroll was due to J. M. Allegro and despite Allegro's quick transliteration of the text⁶⁴, it was J. T. Milik who received the scroll for official publication on behalf of the École Biblique, ASOR and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. Between the moment of return of the second copper roll (in April) and June 1, 1956 J. T. Milik supplied a rapid preliminary translation, which was the basis of an official announcement of the contents of the Copper Scroll⁶⁵. He studied the scroll in May 1956 and again in February 1959 at the Amman Museum⁶⁶. The first translation into French and English appeared in 1959 and 1960⁶⁷. The official publication appeared in 1962⁶⁸. Discussion on the scroll is not

of *Dix and de découvertes dans le désert de Juda*, Paris 1957, Cerf, strongly influenced the Qumran scholars. But that was because the book was written „par un spécialiste qui connaît mieux que personne les lieux et les textes dont il parle. Lorsqu'il reprend des conclusions déjà émises, il les confirme par un jugement personnel; lorsqu'il propose des solutions nouvelles, il les fonde sur des textes qu'il utilise de première main. Certaines de ces solutions pourront être discutées, mais on devra peser soigneusement les arguments qui les appuient et qui tiennent compte de tous les éléments de problèmes très complexes”. This judgement of Father R. de Vaux [in *Preface* to Milik's book in French, pp. 9—10] remains still valid.

⁶⁴ The full story of the operation in Manchester and decipherment may be read in J. M. Allegro, *Treasure of the Copper Scroll*, New York 1960, Doubleday. Cf. also H. W. Baker, *Notes on the Opening of the Copper Scrolls from Qumrân* [in:] *DJD III*, pp. 203—210.

⁶⁵ Cf. R. de Vaux, *Introduction* [in:] *DJD III*, pp. 201—202.

⁶⁶ Cf. *DJD III*, p. 211.

⁶⁷ *Le rouleau de cuivre de Qumrân (3Q15). Traduction and commentaire topographique*, „Revue Biblique” 66 (1959), pp. 321—357; *The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran. Translation and Commentary*, „Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan” 4—5 (1960), pp. 137—155.

⁶⁸ *Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)* [in:] *DJD III*, pp. XLVIII—LXXI.

finished, but everybody engaged in the dispute still appreciates J. T. Milik's readings⁶⁹.

Starting with 1961, it is easy to observe that even if official edition of the scrolls from the small caves and Cave 4 remains J. T. Milik's main interest, there is a rapid increase in the percentage of non-qumranic contributions in his bibliographical list⁷⁰. Sometimes, however, his departure from the mainstream Qumran interest could be excused. For example, he prepared an acclaimed contribution to the Nabatean minting in collaboration with H. Seyrig, an eminent French numismatist⁷¹. He „described the most important Nabataean find made to date, that of the Murabba'at hoard". His contribution „made it possible to determine the Nabataean chronology even more precisely than was done by [G.] Hill"⁷². Perhaps the shift was connected with the scattering of the Scroller Team when the J. Rockefeller funds ended in 1960⁷³; J. T. Milik remained in Jerusalem and Beirut alone. It is surprising that he supplied the next text, his first contribution concerning Cave 4, as late as January 1973 (after the death of Father R. de Vaux). However, it is even more surprising that the volume on tefillin, mezuzot and targums was prepared already in Autumn 1960⁷⁴!

J. T. Milik's stay in Jerusalem was financed by the French government as he was very soon appointed attaché to the CNRS. He remained faithfully attached to this prestigious French scholarly institution till his retirement at the mid 1980s⁷⁵. Even though he was

⁶⁹ Cf. for example P. Muchowski, *Zwój miedziany (3Q15). Implikacje spornych kwestii lingwistycznych* [Copper Scroll 3Q15. Implications of the Controversial Linguistic Problems], Poznań 1993, [International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies, Stęszew; Monograph Series 4], pp. 4—15.

⁷⁰ Cf. his annual bibliography in L. Stefaniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 462—465.

⁷¹ Cf. J. T. Milik, H. Seyrig, *Trésore monétaire de Murabba'at*, „Revue Numismatique” 1 (1958), pp. 11—26, pls. I—III. Incidentally, I myself witnessed J. T. Milik's interest in the problems of Nabataean coinage. When I visited him in 1990 I was with an epigraphist who knew him better and first of all informed him about an extraordinary recent find of a Nabataean coin in Switzerland. As a result, I had the pleasure of listening to a discussion of about half an hour before conversation turned to other topics.

⁷² Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins*, Jerusalem 1965 [= Qedem 3], p. 9.

⁷³ Cf. N. A. Silberman, *op. cit.*, pp. 100—101.

⁷⁴ J. T. Milik, *Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums* [in:] *DJD VI*, cf. prefaces on p. 33.

⁷⁵ Let us note that J. T. Milik has not travelled much since his return to Paris. In January 1966 he visited a scroll exhibition at the British Museum and gave a paper in

offered chairs in Biblical philology at several European and American universities, he remained the lone lion who at his own pace published more than 160 plates of ancient texts⁷⁶, not counting the publication of numerous Semitic inscriptions in Phoenician⁷⁷, Aramaic⁷⁸, Nabatean⁷⁹ and Palmyrene⁸⁰. His achievements were praised by such scholars as W. F. Albright, P. Kahle, Y. Yadin and many others. Even to-day, despite severe criticism for being not able to bring out all the manuscripts he received⁸¹, he remains the highly esteemed member of the original team of Father de Vaux. H. Shanks stopped attacking him, when he realized how much J. T. Milik had done in comparison with all the other members of the team, and how big the difference in both quality and quantity was between him and his colleagues⁸². By the recent publication of the Aramaic prototypes of the Book of Esther

the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum [cf. *Znaczenie odkryć w Qumran*, „Sodalis Marianus” Nr. 3—4 (222—223) (1967), pp. 25—28]. In December 1972 he was invited to Harvard with a series of lectures. Incidentally, it was there that he announced the existence of the famous text on the 'Son of God' and 'Son of the Most Highest' from Cave [cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament*, „New Testament Studies” 20 (1973/74), pp. 382—407]. In 1976 he accepted an offer from Father M. Delcor to give a paper on Henochic writings from Qumran at the Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense [cf. J. T. Milik, *Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amran* [in:] M. Delcor, et al., *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, Paris/Gembloux-Leuven 1978, Éditions Duculot — Leuven University Press, pp. 91—106].

⁷⁶ Cf. a brief review of J. T. Milik's official publications of the scrolls in Z. J. Kapera, *The Unfortunate Story*, p. 22—24.

⁷⁷ Cf. numerous articles listed by L. Stefaniak in & 4: La bibliographie des travaux de J. T. Milik 1945—1970 (*op. cit.*, pp. 260—274 passim).

⁷⁸ Cf. for example: B. Bagatti, J. T. Milik, *Gli scavi del "Dominus Flevit" (Monte Oliveto, Gerusalemme)*, Part I. *La necropoli del periodo romano*, Jerusalem 1958 including J. T. Milik's contribution „Le iscrizioni degli ossuari”, pp. 70—109 and 186—187 (Indice epigrafico) plus figs. 18—24, photographs 76—117.

⁷⁹ J. T. Milik contributed a lot to the epigraphy and numismatics of the Nabateans. Cf. bibliography quoted in note 77.

⁸⁰ Cf. note 77.

⁸¹ Cf. articles published in „Biblical Archaeology Review” in 1989—1990 as well as in the London „Times” in mid-August 1989 and my defence of J. T. Milik in *The Present State of Qumranology* and in *On the Most Recent Developments in Qumranology*, „Folia Orientalia” 26, 1989, [published 1990], pp. 30—31, 35—36 and 57—58, respectively.

⁸² Cf. H. Shanks, *New Hope for the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, „Biblical Archaeology Review” 15, 6 (Nov./Dec. 1990), pp. 56 and 74.

Milik has proved once more that, old by age, tired by life, he still remains unrivalled⁸³.

J. T. Milik was ignored by the media till the mid of 1980s⁸⁴. When the „philological scandal of century” began to occupy the mass-media, he was attacked directly, and unjustly, instead of the Harvard people, Professors F. M. Cross and J. Strugnell, who had the resources and influence to get with publication. J. T. Milik never worked as a university professor, never had students, never accepted any administrative duty in connection with the scrolls. After his return from Jerusalem he became an „arm-chair scholar”. He is working slowly but dependably. We can only wonder about the real causes of the delay in publication of the documents he received in the 1950s⁸⁵. Certainly his state of health was one of them. But accusing him of being the shadowy figure behind the scandal was scandalous in itself. And he did not even try to keep the texts for himself when requested to transfer them to other people. Already in Spring 1990 he transferred his „lion’s share” to J. VanderKam, S. Talmon, J. Baumgartner and others⁸⁶. I myself

⁸³ Cf. J. T. Milik, *Les modèles araméens du livre d’Esther dans la Grotte 4 de Qumrân*, „Revue de Qumrân” 15, 3 [No. 59] (March 1992), pp. 321—399, pls. I—VII.

⁸⁴ This is worth stressing as in the 1950 and even in the 1960s he was writing for and gave interviews to numerous Western European newspapers and weeklies, such as „Ecclesia”, „Tempo”, „Zodage”, „Bunte Illustrierte”, „Plaisir de France”, „Bible et Terre Sainte”, „Theology Digest”, as well as Polish language media both in Poland and in Western Europe, like „Słowo Powszechne”, „Tygodnik Powszechny”, „Znak” and „Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą”. One of his most interesting interviews was printed in the weekly of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe on Oct. 20, 1963 (cf. above, note 18). Very few of these secondary materials are noticed in Chr. Burchard’s Qumran bibliography. Cf. instead, L. Stefaniak, *op. cit.*

⁸⁵ The not very high estimate of his work on the Enochic Aramaic fragments from Qumran may have been one of reasons that he lost his enthusiasm for the prompt publication of the Qumran documents. In any case one must admire the amount of work and expertise that went into writing of J. T. Milik’s enormous book devoted to a handful of Qumran texts [4Q201—4Q212]. As G. Vermes briefly put it, „J. T. Milik, appears to have been disenchanted by the very cool reception of his highly speculative thesis contained in his 1976 edition of *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*” [cf. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed., London 1995, Penguin Books, p. XIX].

⁸⁶ The circumstances of the return of Milik’s scrolls in 1990 to the hands of the Scrolls Oversight Committee and the new Scrolls Editor in Chief were described recently by Professor J. Strugnell in extracts of his memoirs recently published in the „Biblical Archaeology Review”. To the best of my knowledge, only the texts 4Q201—4Q212 were

testify that the editorial work on some manuscripts was at a very advanced stage then. This is even visible in Professor VanderKam’s recognition of J. T. Milik’s co-authorship of the Jubilees texts⁸⁷.

It needs to be stressed that two independent centers, the Complutense University and the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch, have appreciated his involvement in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Vice-Rector Professor Rafael Burgaleta Alvarez of Complutense offered him on behalf of his university, a special Honourary Medal. The ceremony took place in October 1991 „at the Spanish Embassy in Paris, in the presence of representatives of various French academic institutions and of a deputation from the Universidad Complutense”.

J. T. Milik’s achievements were described by a Spanish scholar, Professor Julio Treballe Barrera, in the following words: „The award to Professor Milik honours the genius of an epigrapher and paleographer gifted with immense erudition and a brilliant imagination which he brings to his interpretation of the non-biblical manuscripts of Qumran. Professor Milik is not only the scholar who has himself published the greatest quantity of manuscripts so far, but has shown himself a tenacious and indefatigable detective in his unequalled capacity, often working with the minutest remnants, to provide a significant historical, literary and religious context for a number of lost works, recovering them and restoring them to the general cultural heritage”⁸⁸.

left to J. T. Milik. These texts were listed under his name by E. Tov in *The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11*, „Journal of Jewish Studies” 43 (1992), pp. 111—112.

⁸⁷ Cf. J. C. VanderKam, J. T. Milik, *The First Jubilee Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication*, „Journal of Biblical Literature” 110 (1991), pp. 243—270; *A Preliminary Publication of a Jubilee Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: 4Q Jub^a (4Q219)*, „Biblica” 73 (1992), pp. 62—83, 1 plate; *4QJubilees^a (4Q222)* [in:] *New Qumran Texts and Studies. Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Intertestamental Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*. Ed. by G. J. Brooke, Leiden 1994, E. J. Brill, pp. 105—116 and the final publication in H. Attridge, T. Elgvin, J. Milik, S. Olyan, J. Strugnell, J. VanderKam, S. White, E. Tov, eds., *Qumran Cave 4: VIII Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, Oxford 1995, Oxford University Press [= DJD 13]. Concerning transferring of the 4QJubilees material by J. T. Milik, cf. J. C. VanderKam, *The Jubilee Fragments from Qumran Cave 4* [in:] J. Treballe Barrera, L. Vegas Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, Leiden — Madrid 1992, E. J. Brill — Editorial Complutense, vol. II, p. 639.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Introduction to The Madrid Congress*, vol. I, pp. XXIII—XXIV.

The Oriental Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch, in turn organized a special colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls in his honour in July 1991. Professor Milik was unable to come to Mogilany because of poor health, but can be proud of the many papers presented in his honour⁸⁹. They will appear in Spring 1997 as the second volume of his *Festschrift* (*Studies offered to Józef Tadeusz Milik to celebrate forty years of his scholarly work on texts from the Wilderness of Judaea*. Vol. 2. *Mogilany 1991*). Volume One, *The Intertestamental Essays*, has already appeared (in 1992) and at once became the most popular volume of the „Qumranica Mogilanensia” series.

One more volume in honour of J. T. Milik edited by E. Puech and F. Garcia Martinez appeared in December 1996. It is a special issue of the „Revue de Qumran” similar to those published previously in memory of two other Qumran scholars: Rev. J. Carmignac and Rev. J. Starcky. Many scholars, representatives of the old, but also of the young generation, and of course members of the new team of editors, contributed to this new Milik *Festschrift*⁹⁰.

Looking back on J. T. Milik's achievements in the field of qumranology we can without any hesitation name him as one of founders of the new discipline, co-creator of the still maintained Essene working hypothesis and a genius decipherer of the scrolls. The several volumes of the DJD series bearing his name will remain his everlasting monument.

⁸⁹ Cf. summaries of twenty-four papers in: „Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych. Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie, vol. XXXV, 1991 [published Kraków 1993], pp. 65—102 reprinted in „The Qumran Chronicle” 3, No. 1/3 (Dec. 1993), pp. 38—75, and Z. J. Kaper, *III Międzynarodowe Kolokwium Qumranologiczne (Kraków-Mogilany 1991)* [The Third International Qumranological Colloquium (Kraków-Mogilany 1991)], „Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny” 45, 1992, pp. 41—43 and his: *Drugie i Trzecie Międzynarodowe Kolokwium Qumranologiczne w Mogilanach koło Krakowa (1989, 1991)* [The Second and Third International Colloquia on the Dead Sea Scrolls at Mogilany near Cracow (1989, 1991)], „Filomata” No. 410, 1992, pp. 381—385.

⁹⁰ Cf. „Revue de Qumran” Vol. 17, nos. 65/68, (Paris) December 1996 with contributions by E. Puech, *Józef Tadeusz Milik*, pp. 5—10 and F. Garcia Martinez, *Bibliographie qumranienne de Józef Tadeusz Milik*, pp. 11—20.

PIERRE AUFFRET

SOUVIENS-TOI DE TON ASSEMBLÉE! ÉTUDE STRUCTURELLE DU PSAUME 74

Depuis notre étude de 1983 sur la structure littéraire du Ps 74¹ deux autres essais ont visé de manière approfondie le même sujet. L'un, de G.E. Sharrock, la même année², propose une lecture concentrique du psaume à partir des modes et temps des verbes, soit 1-3 et 18-23 à partir des impératifs, 4-9 et 12-17 à partir des parfaits, se correspondant autour de 10-11 au centre (avec des imparfaits). Le critère, valable quand il est conjugué à d'autres, reste cependant à lui seul insuffisant³. On notera cependant que cet auteur se trouve d'accord avec G.R. Castellino (1955), C. Westermann (1961), M. Weiss (1971), et J.P.M. van der Ploeg (1974), auteurs que nous citons dans notre précédente étude, pour considérer comme des ensembles 1-3, 12-17, et 18-23, séparant cependant 10-11 de 4-9, ce qu'eux ne font point. Pour notre part, nous distinguons - et distinguerons encore ci-dessous -, après une introduction en 1-2, les trois volets d'un triptyque en 3-11, 12-17 et 18-23. Mais dans son récent commentaire⁴ M. Girard intègre 1-3 à un premier volet, 1-9 selon lui, les deux autres comportant respectivement 10-17 et 18-23. Il croit découvrir une structuration interne à 1-9 (pp. 300-302), et conclut : „la cohérence interne des v. 1-9 [] ne laisse pas le moindre doute : voilà, au terme de notre recherche, un solide point d'appui”, d'où il résulterait que 10-11 ne s'y rattachent pas. Mais la vigueur de l'affirmation cache mal la faiblesse de l'argument. Ledit point d'appui n'est pas aussi solide que cet auteur le prétend. Pour faire pièce à cette proposition, il nous reste à montrer, plus clairement que nous ne l'avons fait dans notre étude de 1983, la structure interne de 1-2 et de 3-11 (1.), quitte à revenir pour quelques précisions supplémentaires sur celle de 12-17 et de 18-23 (2.). Nous serons alors à même de reconsidérer, de façon plus convaincante, la structure littéraire de l'ensemble de notre poème (3.).