

Russkii biograficheskii slovar', S. Peterburg: Izdanie Imperatorskogo Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1896—1918. Reprint: New York: Norman Ross, 1991. Vol. T. "Topchibashev, Mirza Dzhafar": p. 157—158.

Erroneously states that Topchibashev had translated all of Mickiewicz's Crimean sonnets into Persian.

Zajączkowski, Ananiasz, *Orient jako źródło inspiracji w literaturze romantycznej doby mickiewiczowskiej*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955. p. 19.

Also useful for Mickiewicz's Orientalism:

Lednicki, Waclaw. *Ex Oriente lux: Mickiewicz and Pushkin* [in:] *Semitic and Oriental studies: a volume presented to William Popper*: ed. by W.J. Fischel Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1951. p. 243—261.

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"BARTHOLOMAE'S LAW" IN TOCHARIAN?

To the memory of Jerzy Kuryłowicz
(1895—1978)

I. Worth mentioning among assimilation phenomena in Tocharian is the treatment of the cluster MEDIA ASPIRATA plus T, which — in my opinion — regularly yields the Tocharian group TENUIS plus ts (or simply ts). As a rule, this process operates on consonant clusters over a morphological boundary, e.g.

(1) Toch. A wärts, B wartse adj. 'broad' < PToch. *wärttsá < IE. *wr̥dh-tó- adj. 'great, broad' [Van Windekens 1976:562—563; Adams 1988:391, cf. Skt. vr̥ddhá- adj. 'great, old, augmented, multiplied', cf. Pokorny [1959:1167].

(2) Toch. B lañktse, lañtse, lañwtse adj. 'light (not heavy)' < PToch. *lānk(w)tsá < IE. *ə₁l̥ngh^w-tó- adj. 'id.'¹, cf. Goth. leihts, OIsl. lætrr, OHG. liht(i) adj. 'light' (< *ə₁l̥ngh^w-to-), Gk. ἐλαχὺς adj. 'small, short, mean, little' = Skt. raghú-, laghú- adj. 'light, slight, quick' (both from *ēl̥ngh^wús adj.).

The above-mentioned assimilation is not observed in the case of the original cluster TENUIS/MEDIA plus T, see e.g.

(3) Toch. A pänt, B pinkte 'fifth' < PToch. *pānkta < IE. *pénk^w-to- 'id.', cf. Gk. πέμπτος, Lith. peñktas, Lat. quīntus 'fifth' [Van Windekens 1976:360—361].

(4) Toch. B wästarye '+/— innards, liver' < IE. *ud-tri-yo- 'id.', cf. Gk. ὕστῆρα 'intestines', (Hesychius) ὕστρος . γαστήρ beside Skt. udāra- 'belly' [Van Windekens 1976:565; Adams 1988:39].

Thus the tendency for assimilation is on the side of a historical sequence *dh+t (or *gh+t), while its absence is notable in *k+t (or *d+t)². The same distribution is seen in the Indo-Iranian languages, especially Old Indic, cf. Skt. buddhá- 'known, understood, awakened, conscious, wise' (< *bhudh-tó-) versus vittá- 'seen' (< *wid-tó-), dagdhá- 'burnt' (< *dhegh^w-tó-) versus uktá- 'spoken' (< uk^w-tó-), etc.

The Indo-Iranian regularities were already shown and explained by Christian Bartholomae [1882; 1883; 1895] as an assimilation process, which is actually widely known as "Bartholomae's law" [Collinge 1985:7—11].

II. As far as I know, Bartholomae [1895:20] himself suggested a wider domain of his law. So does recently Oswald Szemerényi [1980:25], for which the limitation to Indo-Iranian is a secondary accident. Bennett [1966] is, however, sceptical about traces of this law in Germanic (against Kluge and Brugmann), though he cites, e.g. Goth. *huzd* 'treasure' (< **kudh-tó-m*, n. 'hidden', cf. Gk. *κεῦθω* 'hide') versus Goth. *viss* (< **wid-tó-*, cf. Gk. (f) *ιστός*, Skt. *vittáh*, Lat. *visus*). On the other side, Jaan Puhvel [1972:111—115] tries to prove the existence of "Bartholomae's law" in Hittite.

Also Jerzy Kuryłowicz [1964:13; 1968:239] has consistently maintained the law's Indo-European character on general phonological grounds. He points out that its action precedes the genesis of voiceless aspirates in Indo-Iranian. If so, then "Bartholomae's law" must be regarded as an Indo-European archaism rather than an innovation in Indo-Iranian. Therefore, its occurrence in Tocharian is not only possible, but also expected and acceptable.

III. What is more, a similar or even identical explanation can be postulated to explain the development of the Proto-Indo-European cluster LARYNGEAL plus T to Toch. (:)*ts*, e.g.

(5) Toch. A *kälywäts* 'ayant une renommée, réputation' [Van Windekens 1976:203] < PToch. **kl'äwatsa* < IE. **klewH₁-tó-* adj. 'renowned, famous', cf. Gk. *κλειτός* (< **κλεφετός*) 'celebrated, famous' [Pokorny 1959:606]. For semantical and etymological aspects, see Gk. *κλέος* (Doric *κλέφος*) n. 'rumour, (good) report, fame, glory' = Toch. A *klyu*, B *kälywe* 'Ruf' (both from IE. **kléwH₁os* n., es-stem).

(6) Toch. A *āknats*, B *aknātsa* adj. 'foolish, ignorant' < IE. **h₂-gnoH₃-to-*, cf. Gk. *ἄγνωτος* adj. 'unknown, unfamiliar, ignorant', Lat. *ignōtus* 'unknown, unfamiliar, unnoticed, vulgar, ignorant', Skt. *ājñāta-* 'id.', etc. (Similarly Van Windekens 1976:159; Adams 1988:20).

(7) Toch. B *akwatse* adj. 'aigu, sévère, violent' [Van Windekens 1976:142] < IE. **H₂akuH₂-to-* adj. 'sharp, pointed', cf. Lat. *acūtus* adj. 'id.'.

Treatment of *H+t*, where *H* stands for every laryngeal (*H₁*, *H₂*, *H₃*), is quite analogical to that of *dh+t* or *gh+t* and therefore it must be regarded as a 'laryngeal' variant of "Bartholomae's law", typical only of Tocharian.

IV. As regards details of the assimilation process, yet a common element is usually provided by the presumption of an interim presibilantizing of the second (dental) of contiguous plosives. Thus **dh+t* > *d^zdh* and undoubtedly **gh+t* > *g^zdh*, after which Old Indic and Old Persian lose the spirant and Avestan loses the prior stop

[Collinge 1985:7]. By analogy, the Tocharian development may be reconstructed as follows (cf. also Adams 1988:39):

PIE.		PT.	Tocharian
* <i>dh+t</i> >	<i>d^zdh</i> >	* <i>tt^s</i> >	(<i>t</i>) <i>ts</i> (see No. 1)
* <i>gh+t</i> >	<i>g^zdh</i> >	* <i>kt^s</i> >	(<i>k</i>) <i>ts</i> (see No. 2)
* <i>H+t</i> >	<i>H^zdh</i> >	*(<i>H</i>) <i>t^s</i> >	(:) <i>ts</i> (Nos. 5, 6, 7)

On the basis of the above, I am inclined to suggest that the Tocharian variant of "Bartholomae's Law" operates to a broader extent than in other Indo-European languages. This is why Toch. -*ts(e)* became a very productive suffix that has — at least in its possessive function — replaced Tocharian -*t(e)*³. Of course, -*ts(e)* can be sometimes derived from *-*tyo-* (e.g. Toch. B *wrattsai* 'against', see fn. 2) or other sources⁴. As a consequence of the ambiguity of deriving Toch. *ts*, I am well aware that I cannot expect general agreement on every detail.

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¹ Differently Van Windekens [1976:255—256] and Adams [1988:37], who posit the unparalleled protoform **lgh**-tyo-.

² It is usually suggested that the cluster DENTAL plus T gives PT. **tsts* [Van Windekens 1976: 105], but there is no positive evidence for such a treatment. As far as I know, there is only one example which contradicts the development proposed here, namely Adams [1988: 39], following Van Windekens, compares Toch. A *warttsai* 'against' with Lat. *versus* or *vorsus* adv. '(in) towards, into, in the direction of' and consequently he derives both these items from **wrt**to-. The proposed connection, though formally satisfying, is not wholly certain, especially as Toch. A *warttsai* is not attested in any published texts. Conversely there is Toch. B *wratstai* 'against' (J.G. Hilmarsson in his letter of 29th March 1992). In any case, the protoform **wrt**tyo- is possible, but hardly acceptable.

³ Both go back to IE. *-to-. It is obvious that Tocharian suffix -ts(e) was primarily nothing other than a positional variant of -t(e), which developed regularly by its assimilation with preceding sounds (i.e. spirants and laryngeals).

⁴ Toch. ts can be derived from: (1) *dh and *gh in position before front vowels; (2) *dhy or *ty; (3) *st by metathesis; (4) *t by Bartholomae's effect.

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QUMRANOLOGICA I

Provoked by several sensationalist articles and books of latter years, a number of scholars have endeavoured to inform a wider public about fact and fiction regarding the nature and historical position(s) of the Dead Sea Scrolls [= DSS] or Qumran Texts [= QT]

Four of such good-will apologetic studies as issued by Austrian and German publishers primarily for the information of German speaking readers I have chosen for review because they are of significance regarding the standards of "Qumranology" at this time. They are: Johannes B. Bauer, Josef Fink, and Hannes D. Galter (eds.), *Qumran ein Symposium* [= *Grazer Theologische Studien* vol. 15], Institut für Ökumenische Theologie und Patrologie an der Universität Graz, Graz 1993, ISBN 3-900797-15-3, 216 pp. [henceforth: *QSympos*]. Otto Betz/Rainer Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan: Klarstellungen*, Brunnen Verlag Giessen/Basle and Herder Freiburg-Basle-Vienna, 2nd rev. ed. 1993, ISBN 3-7655-5750-1 and ISBN 3-451-23058-5, 227 pp., 12 photographs [henceforth: *Betz-Riesner JQV*]. Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* [= *Herder/Spektrum* vol. 4249], Herder Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1993, ISBN 3-451-04128-6, 381 pp. [henceforth: *Stegemann Sachb.*].