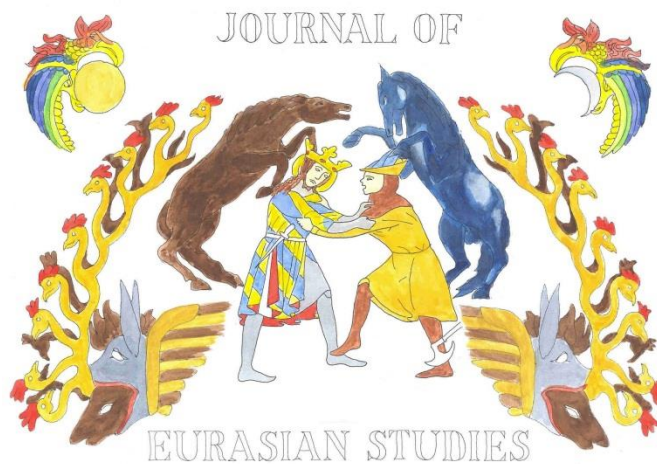


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1. An analytical article should have at least 5,000 words including notes,
2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
5. Wikipedia is not a scientifically authoritative source; referencing it must be avoided, unless Wikipedia or its usage/influence is the topic of the paper,
6. The article can be written in any language. In case it is written in a language other than English, an English summary of at least A4 length is required,
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DEAR READER,

THE SLAVIC LANGUAGE SPACE OF THE BALKANS

Languages always fascinated me, therefore my library contains numerous language books, dictionaries, and grammar books. These traditional learning tools are supported nowadays by a plethora of additional resources, e.g. audio material on CD, video material on DVD, online dictionaries and so on.

As I was building my own library of language resources for the larger Balkan area, I came across two massive language volumes, complemented by CDs and a DVD for the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages; Ronelle Alexander & Ellen Elias-Borsać: *BOSNIAN CROATIAN SERBIAN: A Textbook with Exercises and Basic Grammar*, and Ronelle Alexander: *BOSNIAN CROATIAN SERBIAN: A Grammar, with Sociolinguistic Commentary* (<http://www.bcsgrammarandtextbook.org/>).

As I started to peruse this massive language package I instantly realized that this material was far the best I have ever come across, for any language. The two authors of this package created something that is academic and practical, up-to-date, complete, and peppered with history, culture, and wit. It arms the keen learner with an extensive knowledge of the languages, their historical background, and interesting insights into the history and culture of the peoples who are using them.

In my view the method chosen by the authors is the only possible one when dealing with the complexities of this region, i.e. the territories of the current states of Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro. They masterly tackle the seemingly contradictory situation, i.e. Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian are on the one hand one language and on the other hand three different ones. This contradiction is resolved throughout the two books by constantly pointing out to the common base, which lies at the core of these three languages, and then presenting the differences. In fact we are learning three languages in parallel! If I were to use the language of advertisement: buy one and get two for free...

To me the highlight of the material is the sociolinguistic commentary. I wish it were even longer, I could read it for ever! It not only positioned the three aforementioned languages in a proper context, it explains also the larger Slavic language space of the Balkans. It shows through examples how this space, which extends from Bulgaria at the south-eastern corner to Slovenia at the north-western corner, can be seen from a linguistic perspective as a continuum. A fascinating reading!

This language package was published by the University of Wisconsin Press. Luckily they also published similar material for two other Slavic languages of the Balkans, namely Bulgarian and Macedonian.

Ronelle Alexander is also the author of the two-volume course titled *Intensive Bulgarian* (<http://intensivebulgarian.org/>). Complemented by excellent audio material, it contains all the goodies that its Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian exhibits. In a similar fashion the third language covered by the University of Wisconsin Press is Macedonian. The book *Macedonian - A Course for Beginning and Intermediate Students* (<http://sites.utoronto.ca/slavic/macedonian/index.html>) is authored by Christina E. Kramer and Liljana Mitkovska, accompanied by audio material on CD.

All in all, my sincere admiration towards the authors and the University of Wisconsin Press that made all this possible. One only needs to add a course material of the Slovene language and the whole Slavic language space of the Balkans is at our disposal, at both the highest academic level and at the same time at a practical level as well.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, July 4, 2015

PHILOSOPHY

MIRABILE, Paul

Friedrich Nietzsche and Georges Palante

A Failed Existential Identity?

Introduction

Georges Palante (1862-1925), French professor of philosophy at various lycées at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries, has never been a thinker on whom the French intelligentsia have exerted much of their intellectual energy. Michel Onfray's study *Physiologie de Georges Palante: Pour un nietzschéisme de gauche*¹ has rendered justice to Palante, a justice that he certainly deserves, especially apropos his political penchant in interpreting Nietzsche's philosophy. There is no doubt that Onfray's book has helped stimulate interest in Georges Palante, interest, too, in Palante's especial relationship to Friedrich Nietzsche.

In our essay, we would like to explore several of Palante's concepts² of morality within the framework, however wide or narrow, of the individual and his society. For these concepts were gleaned, interpreted and fashioned upon those of Nietzsche's with the firm intention of applying them to the French society in which Palante lived; concepts that would transform a society of obedient subordinates chained to a monolithic, mechanistic collective, into a society of a myriad individuals sharing their egotistical freedom that would shape their social destiny. Now the question to be asked is just how much, by commenting and applying borrowed philosophical figures for a precise social framework, must the thinker identify himself to these concepts or figures; that is, must he uproot them from their original soil and replant them in his own soil so that there they may blossom and flourish? Would these replanted figures grow as they did in their primary soil if the planter were to identify himself to these uprooted concepts? Was Georges Palante's concept of an individualistic society compatible with Nietzsche's philosophical figures? Or phrased differently, was Georges Palante's ontological make-up capable of experiencing Nietzsche's figures, then graft them into a French, bourgeois-orientated society to which he belonged? This we believe to be the tragedy of Palante's life: He was unable either to

¹ Editions Grasset, Paris 2002.

² We use the word **concept** in Palante's writings, whereas, if they were Nietzsche's we would employ the word **figure**. As is known, the conceptualisation of ideas in the quest for truth all but crushed imagination, which, however, must be exercised in the quest for meaning. In fact, we have oftentimes wondered whether Friedrich Nietzsche sought rather the **meaning** of life than the **truth** of life! Be that as it may, perhaps it was Palante's total absence of imagination, and Nietzsche's subtle and perspicacious use of it, that raised one of the major barriers between Palante's adopting Nietzsche's philosophy, and adapting it to his mode of thinking. Thinking philosophically or thinking as a daily activity cannot be separated from a *modus vivendi*!

experience ontologically or to apply existentially his intellectual relationship with Nietzsche's Figures, and yet, he obstinately endeavoured to mould them into the form of a social system. We hope to demonstrate that Georges Palante's sociological interrogations of Friedrich Nietzsche's reflections of the individual and his society, and his practical application of them to French society, resound more of a man projecting his own pessimistic subjectivity, his own private and public despondency into a philosopher with whom he had absolutely no ontological nor existential relationship, and, paradoxically, upon whom he set the highest hopes for a new, healthy society of individuals. Palante, unlike Nietzsche, lacked the aloofness necessary to place himself above the turmoil of life and there meditate upon it: Nietzsche's strength and combativeness in the face of incomprehension and indifference opposed Georges Palante's weakness and docility in the face of private and public acrimony and humiliation!

Georges Palante drew inspiration and affirmation of his own ideas from his reading of Nietzsche. But his phantasy of the hermit's life, the life of the 'loner', was not only in complete discord with the petty, bourgeois life that he really led, but more important still, with a philosopher from whose works he drew inspiration that carried and supported his unfolding ideas. It was as if Palante sought in Nietzsche³ affects that would stir and stimulate his phantasy, and at the same time, sought images and formulae that would guide him in the accomplishment of his social task. However, with the passing of time, this double identity, psychological and sociological, aroused in Palante the acute consciousness that his life as a 'loner' would remain a pure phantasy, and that his mission of a society of free individuals would never be achieved!

In sum, Palante sought a model in Nietzsche; a model, alas, quite unattainable! Palante had neither the discipline nor the will to achieve this epitome of social resistance by his own Self. And yet, he wanted to follow Nietzsche in his rough, individualistic tracks, and undoubtedly, carry on the German philosopher's inchoate quest of a society founded on individuals, by individuals and for individuals. There is no mimicry here...only a timid, frank following.

Contrary to what Michel Onfray has written, we do not believe Georges Palante to be a Nietzschean, much less a Leftist Nietzschean! Neither in his writings nor in his private life. Onfray writes: « Palante était nietzschéan comme Nietzsche aurait vraisemblablement aimé qu'on le fût : en insoumis »⁴ "Palante was a Nietzschean like Nietzsche probably would have liked to be: a rebel."⁵ Yet, the rebel Palante was far from possessing a rebellious spirit: Both in his private and public lives. Alcohol, gambling, whoring, duels, concubines, unbalanced marriages could never be guides that would lead the accomplisher of the Self along the long and rough road of Self-Accomplishment. Nietzsche armed himself with iron discipline: Hiking in the mountains, inhaling and exhaling mountain air; intense, critical reading and close relationships with friends that allowed him to maintain a steady, powerful pace between his chosen erratic solitary life and the society to which he belonged. Georges Palante worked as a State servant for the National School System of France. His position was secure until his age of retirement, and his income a source of financial and psychological security. Nietzsche after ten years

³ Georges Palante also evoked Schopenhauer, Stendhal, Gobineau and Stirner, etc. in his articles. These men were also 'loners' who kept aloof from the world in order to accomplish their works. The fascination that these men held for Palante mirrors his own exasperation to follow their stride.

⁴ Loc. cit. page 29.

⁵ All translations have been done by the author.

of professorship left the university and set out on his own in foreign countries like Switzerland, Italy and France.⁶

There is, however, one important existential, even ontological bond between our two thinkers: The philosophical inspiration they drew from their chronic illnesses. This is Onfray's major argument in collating both writers. And yet, if we look closely at this bond, at this collation, we discover more diverging points than converging ones. Georges Palante indeed suffered from terrible corporal deformities called acromegaly, an illness that bloats the extremities of the body, and which apparently began after he had had a bad case of measles at the age of fourteen. This hormonal dis-functioning literally transformed him into an ape-like, hunchbacked monster. When in class, conducting his courses, his disfigured appearance would provoke malicious teasing and sarcastic ragging from his pupils. When on promenade in the streets of the small towns in which he taught, it would rouse unembarrassed staring and muffled chuckles. It is this physiological deformity that drew Palante closer to Nietzsche, and spawned a complicity of malady. Michel Onfray says: « Pour Nietzsche et Palante, la maladie est la santé » (page 10) "For Nietzsche and Palante illness is health." Perhaps. But in Palante's case, not only did he aggravate his deformity by disproportioned individual and social behaviour, but it would appear even that he revelled in this rôle, the pathetic victim (*écorché*) of society, exposed to jeer and offense. It is certainly true that Nietzsche's assorted ailments did give rise to a physiological approach to the creating of his Figures; however, he never indulged in his maladies nor revelled in being a victim of society. Nonetheless, if there is indeed a 'faculty to suffer' in Nietzsche's philosophy, it consists of one's ability to overcome illness and suffering, and by whose joyous suffering, 'makes itself suffer out of joy in making itself suffer: *welche sich leiden macht, aus Lust am Leidenmachen,...*'.⁷

Joy in making one's Self suffer! But to suffer joyously does not mean a morbid or morose attitude towards Life; for illness is a sign of a full, rich and bountiful Life. Nietzsche read his illness (or illness in general) as 'overflowing health' 'überströmender Gesundheit'⁸, or as 'die grosse Gesundheit', for 'Lust its tifer noch als Herzeleid'⁹; a joy, alas, that never penetrated Palante's tortured heart, never uplifted his agonized spirit from the dregs of a social gregarity against which he battled all his life. We may even say, although with all due reserve, that Palante constructed a casuistical theory in order to absolve his own existential failures!

Before we analyse the reasons for this tragic cleft in Palante's existence, this failed existential rendez-vous (un rendez-vous raté), let us succinctly outline his life.

⁶ Nietzsche did have his university pension as a source of revenue.

⁷ *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, II:18. All quotations from Friedrich Nietzsche's writings have been taken from the Digital Kritische Gesamtausgabe (DKG), or the Digital Critical Edition of Nietzsche's Works and Letters, (ekGWB) by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montanari.

⁸ Also sprach Zarathustra, Das trunkne Lied.

⁹ Idem

Georges Palante

Georges Palante was born in 1862 and was brought up as an only child after the death of his brother in 1867, by a mother and a father who never stopped bickering and fighting until the day they died. As we said above, after a bout of measles, he began to suffer from acromegaly, illness which although had a terrible effect on his corporal state, never damaged his brain: Palante was a brilliant student. In 1877 he won first prize in Rhetorics, and proved to be an excellent Latinist. In 1880, he again won the prize for excellence in Philosophy. He was admitted to Louis le Grand Lycée in 1881, distinction reserved for very few students, and in 1883 he won high honours.

His professional career began as professor of philosophy in a lycée at Aurillac, and Palante, henceforth, would remain a professor of philosophy in the French Lycée system, working in Valenciennes, la Rochelle and finally at Saint-Brieuc. He enrolled at the Sorbonne in 1907, and wrote his State thesis on `Les Antinomies entre l'Individu et la Société` which was refused by the jury in 1911 for reasons we shall outline later. Notwithstanding, Palante contributed many articles from his refused thesis for philosophical and sociological revues such as `Revue Philosophique`, `Mercure de France`, `Revue des Idées`. Georges Palante never wrote a book, albeit many of his articles, including his thesis, were published in book form. He also translated from the German, Ziegler's `La Question sociale est une question morale` in 1903 for Alcan Publishers,¹⁰ and wrote an introduction to his translation.

Thus, Georges Palante was no stranger to the philosophical circles of his time, and was indeed appreciated for his erudite contributions; his were the first to position Friedrich Nietzsche in the Socialist camp of the turbulent and often violent French political landscape at the beginning of the XXth century. Why then, with all this abundant talent and support from colleagues, his premeditated suicide in 1925? It is Palante's inner state that should be briefly exposed in order to explain, partially, this voluntary death.

Besides his physical deformity, Palante's amiss assessment of human psychology, especially his own, led him to misinterpret people and events: His first marriage to Louis Gentry in 1890, a woman of bourgeois descent, rigid and demanding, ended in scandal and shame for him. Divorce was pronounced in 1897 after seven years of torment and self-torment. His relationship to his students was deplorable, disgraceful, even pathetic. One example will suffice. Palante writes in his unpublished journal:

« Que de fois au lycée j'ai trouvé inscrit sur le tableau noir de ma classe, par les soins d'élèves malicieux, le schéma de mes extrémités inférieures qui m'ont rendu plus célèbre à Saint Brieuc que tous mes ouvrages de philosophie sociale. »¹¹

`Many times at the lycée I found written on the blackboard of my class the outline of my inferior extremities by mischievous pupils, which made me more famous in Saint Brieuc than all my works in social philosophy.`

¹⁰ Theobald Ziegler (1846-1918) *Die soziale Frage eine sittliche Frage*, 1891, Strasbourg.

¹¹ Cited from Michel Onfray, loc. cit. page 191.

This acknowledgement suffices enough to imagine Palante's daily commerce amongst his rumbustious and sharp-witted students.

In 1907, Palante's thesis was refused by Professors Célestin Bouglé and Gabriel Séailles of the Sorbonne. The reason for their disapproval and decision lay in the imprecision of the candidate's demonstrations, the lack of development of his postulates, an erratic method, specious arguments. Their decision brooked no contestation. Palante was furious, and accused the professors of partiality and of partisan opinions. It is true that Bouglé and Séailles had no great love either for Socialists or for Socialism. They both taught Emile Durkheim's sociological methods, those that Palante refuted 'en bloc' in his thesis, and in no ceremonious language. In overtly parading his Socialist methods of analysis, and harshly criticizing Durkheim's, Palante subsequently ruffled the susceptibilities of his two directors! As could be expected, the candidate was not spared the humiliation and opprobrium of such a refusal.

Several writers did defend Palante, and in doing so, spread ugly rumours about Bouglé and Séailles, notably their Jewish origins. Palante did nothing to intervene against the calamity, and found himself enmeshed in an ugly ideological and racist imbroglio. And although Georges Palante was in no manner an anti-Semite, he let the scandal run its course as if it were merely another head-line event with which France had been plagued.

Palante, more and more isolated from the academic world, chose to live with Louise Pierre, a woman so inferior in intelligence (but not in ethics!) from him that one can only deduct that he purposely plunged into a world of sordidness and squalor. Dirty, drunkard, a gossip-monger, she shared absolutely nothing with Palante besides their drinking bouts and slovenly attire.¹²

The final blow to any self-esteem or dignity he might have had for himself was the aborted duel with his friend Jules de Gaultier who had taken over the editorial responsibilities of 'Mercure de France'. An abrasive critique of de Gaultier's philosophy published in the 'Mercure de France' by Palante in 1922 transformed into a violent polemic, and quickly degenerated into a volley of low abuses and base insults. Palante esteemed de Gaultier's philosophy 'scolarisable' 'academic' and 'une philosophie d'Etat' 'a philosophy of the State'¹³ The ironic tone of Palante's pen piquered de Gaultier's bellicose temperament, who responded that Palante had completely missed his point. Palante apologized, but de Gaultier regarded this apology as a act of cowardice and of incompetence, and abused Palante's person by accusing him of having 'une pauvre cervelle d'oiseau' 'a poor bird's brain', and of suffering from 'une débilité mentale' 'a mental deficiency'. Palante made the unfortunate gesture of alluding to de Gaultier's military prowess metaphorically, calling him « un duellist de pacotille" "a duellist of small value" (cheap, rubbish) which de Gaultier took quite literally, and which stung him to the quick. De Gaultier challenged the unsuspecting professor of philosophy to a duel which, fortunately ended in an non-lieu, albeit it heaped up yet another humiliation on Palante's shoulders and reputation, depriving him even of dying a hero's death!¹⁴

¹² On these points see M. Onfray, loc. cit.

¹³ Revue Mercure de France, 1922, in 'La Philosophie du bovarysme'.

¹⁴ De Gaultier would have surely killed Palante given his experience both with the sword and the pistol, not to mention the professor's physical handicaps.

Humiliated by de Gaultier, by his own second for the duel, by everyone in the town of Saint-Brieuc; pitied by his lycée director for the poor inspection report on his teaching, Georges Palante asked for an early retirement. It was granted in 1924. The following year he married Louise Pierre to assure her of his pension in case of death. In 1925 Palante shot himself in the mouth. One need not investigate deeply to understand the motives of this violent, and especially premeditated end. He wrote in his article 'Les Antinomies entre l'Individu et la Société':

*« Si l'on connaissait les mobiles secrets des suicides, on verrait sans doute que plus de suicides sont causés par un excès que par défaut d'intégration sociale. Par exemple, combien de suicides sont causées par la honte, par la crainte de l'opinion, par le respect des préjugés... »*¹⁵

'If we knew the secret motives of suicide, we would undoubtedly see that more suicides are caused by a surplus more than a lack of social integration. For example, how many suicides are caused by shame, by fear of opinion, out of respect of prejudice.'

Judging from such an analyse, Palante's suicide was certainly premeditated. It put an end to the shame, the fear of opinion and the respect of prejudices which outwardly one would think he had scoffed, yet inwardly, he had assimilated and harboured, never capable (or willing?) to overcome them, and this in spite of his early and intense reading of Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy of the Individual and the Society since 1895, and his firm support of the individual's combat in society. For indeed, as early as 1903, Georges Palante had written an article in which Nietzsche is called on to bear witness. It was a name up till then which had very little resonance in France, besides Marie Baumgarther's and Daniel Halévy's translations of Nietzsche's and Wagner's polemics in 1877,¹⁶ Henri Albert's translations of *Also sprach Zarathustra* in 1898 for 'Mercure de France' and Jules de Gaultier's *Frédéric Nietzsche*, published in the 'Revue Blanche' in 1898. However, Georges Palante was the first Frenchman to brandish the Nietzschean heraldry of Self-Accomplishment, of ontological and existential commitment or engagement to a mission which he deemed essential for the betterment of man in his society. Nietzsche's influence on Georges Palante was tremendous; an influence that slowly transformed into an affinity which tragically resulted in an estrangement.

It is this existential affinity and estrangement that we shall explore in the following rubrics. They follow the chronological order of Georges Palante's publications.

¹⁵ M. Onfray, loc. cit. page 224.

¹⁶ Translations that were hardly read.

On Bovaryism¹⁷: A Modern Philosophy of Illusion¹⁸

Georges Palante centres his article on the oppositional thinking between the real world and the world of illusion. He defines Bovaryism as «...le père de l'illusion sur soi qui précède et accompagne l'illusion sur autrui et sur le monde.» "...the father of the illusion of oneself which precedes and accompanies the illusion of others and of the world." Bovaryism then induces man into error, into the error of illusion which seeps into his soul. It could also seep into the souls of nations, creating an immense mirage of life. Man, thus, consciously deceives himself, and believes he is living a real reality, which in fact is pure illusion. In sum, Bovaryism is the creator of `simulacres` an `enactment` or a `mockery` of the world. But Palante is not convinced of this simple definition, nor of the concept that has been drawn from it. Where is the frontier between reality and illusion? And he posits that one must assimilate this universal illusion in order to possess knowledge of one's Self, in order to be conscious of one's own deception as an object of this illusion. This consciousness entails a `dédoublement`, a `clefing` or a `doubling` of one's Self: One is both subject and object of knowledge of the Self in the world.

This universal illusion, indispensable for the individual in his first step towards autonomy, is a moral illusion; that is, a bourgeois, herd conformity based on Christian resignation or Buddhist asceticism, which impedes an individual from attaining an aristocratic conception of his own destiny, and in the same token of the world's. The conscious individual who deceives himself only to overcome this universal illusion does so by his `volonté de pouvoir`, his `will to power`, which he embodies as that very individual striving to overcome moral illusion in his attainment of the aristocratic elite. Palante's use of the formula `volonté de pouvoir` not only adduces his keen understanding of Friedrich Nietzsche's Figure, but more importantly, purveys to us, if not a full, an inchoate identification to the German philosopher's existential path of the individual in society. He says: «Pour concevoir autre, il faut d'abord exister au sens fort et complet du mot. Il faut avoir une réalité foncière; un mode d'existence à soi.» "To conceive otherwise one must, first of all, exist in the fullest and strongest meaning of this word. One must have a fundamental reality, a mode of existence of the self." The `fundamental reality` `réalité foncière` for Palante is the natural personality of the individual, his true nature as Nietzsche might put it. A nature that knows not the frontier between reality and illusion, and in fact imposes the limits of that frontier. Palante reveals to us his knowledge of psychology; that the Ego is not a monolithic substance, and that a multitude of secondary subconscious states, `les sous-ego` `the under-egos` vie, converge and diverge in and round the Ego, each bearing its own social mask, comic or tragic rôle to play out in the world of reality. Palante shows us that the real and illusionist states, because they are nourished by these `sous-ego` are part and parcel of our natural personalities, our deepest instincts, and although not fully developed in our daily lives, at least give us the impression or the fantasy of a Self-

¹⁷ Coined by Jules de Gaultier in 1892. The literary use of the family name was drawn from Gustave Flaubert's depiction of Madame Bovary, whose attitude towards life represented a state of affective and social dissatisfaction, and by which someone suffering from this dilemma may identify him or herself to a personage, be it literary or invented.

¹⁸ Published in `Revue Philosophique`, 1903. All citations from Georges Palante's articles have been gleaned from: <http://www.georgespalange.net> by Stéphane Beau, and kropot.free.fr/Palante-individu.htm These two sites constitute the bulk of Palante's works, including letters and revue critiques.

Accomplishment. Palante evokes Nietzsche's formula of 'une colonie d'instinctes' 'a colony of instincts' which reflects his conception of 'sous-ego', indispensable to the individual as he expulses his latent instincts outwards into the world, where they may blossom into social realities, or simply offer the image of social accomplishment! These 'colony of instincts' are thus very real, for it is we who produce them!

Palante's thesis becomes thus clear: The frontier between reality and illusion is as illusionary as the realists who believe this illusionary world to be! They are not antithetical states. Dualism is an illusion, and this illusion has produced the two categories of man's thinking methods: Abstract reasoning and sensitivity.¹⁹ For Palante, this methodological dichotomy is as illusionary as it is indispensable to the individual in order to overcome it. Again, Palante evokes Nietzsche's 'logical fictions', by which the two opposing methods perpetually falsify the world in which we live, yet are required to interpret the phenomenal world. But in interpreting the world the individual must surpass this comfortable and convenient oppositional thinking, and here Palante returns to Nietzsche's will to power as the representation of the myriad 'under-egos', through whose sensitivity the individual will be socially orientated. The will chooses its own social rôle as an individual choice. The will chooses it freely, from within and not without. A choice from the multiform Self bursting outwards of its own subjective reality, and not the imposition of a duty or a commitment from an objective, monolithic collective.

Palante concludes his article by redefining Bovaryism as that psychological complex of 'under-egos' which when extracted and played out, provide the individual his social representation. This complex and its social manifestations follows its own Laws of Life, quite unknown to the Categorical Imperatives of Kant, or any Universal or Absolute being. Palante says: «Au fond, il n'y a pas d'en soi, d'être universel» "Deep down, there is no being in itself, no universal being." And he quotes Nietzsche: «une nouvelle fierté m'a appris à ne pas cacher ma tête dans le sable des choses célestes. «Ein neuen Stolz lehrte mich mein Ich, den lehre ich die menschen: nicht mehr den Kopf in den Sand der himmlischen Dinge zu stecken, sondern frei ihn zu tragen, einen Erden-Kopf, der Erde Sinn schafft!²⁰

Life is an extract of my Ego, my Self: The rest is illusion. Man's destiny is his will to power, neither predestined nor determined. Man's head is neither lost in celestial speculation nor, like an ostrich, interred under the layers of social conformity. The head, solid upon its shoulders, remains in the middle space where its destiny will be accomplished or played out. The so-called 'real world' (Wahre Welt) becomes a myth, for the real world can only be real when experienced by the will to power of the individual. It must be felt then reasoned. And Palante ends his article by quoting from Nietzsche's *Die Götzen-Dämmerung*:

«Le monde-vérité, nous l'avons aboli: quel monde nous est resté? Le monde des apparences peut-être?...mais non! avec le monde-vérité nous avons aussi aboli le monde des apparences.»

¹⁹ In French 'sensibilité'.

²⁰ Also *sprach Zarathustra*, Von den Hinterweltlern. One may notice the difference between Palante's 'quotation' and the original German!

«Die Wahre Welt haben wir abgeschafft: welche Welt blieb übrig? Die scheinbare vielleicht?...Aber nein? mit der Wahren Welt haben wir auch die scheinbare abgeschafft!»

In this first article, Palante engages Nietzsche as his mentor and road companion, whilst tentatively outlining the psychological concepts of the individual for his future triumph in a new society. From the complex of 'under-egos' to the social rôle as one of the representations of these 'under-egos', Georges Palante traces Nietzsche's will to power to its very psychological and social root: The individual's creation of reality as the source of his real Self, the affective, sensitive Self that creates Reality. Palante writes: « Il n'y a de vrai que ma sensibilité individuelle et l'état présent de cette sensibilité. L'univers n'est qu'un état de ma sensibilité. » "There is only truth in my individual sensitivity and the present state of this sensitivity. The universe is but a state of my sensitivity."

On Friendship and Sociality²¹

In this article, Palante evokes Nietzsche only once, but his position about friendship, and especially about the difference between friendship and sociability, are akin to Nietzsche's, perhaps even drawn from his readings of Friedrich Nietzsche.

For Palante, friendship is not an arbitrary encounter between people; it is based on mutual consent. On a spontaneous sentiment which must blossom over a long period of time. Spontaneous should be understood in its Latin meaning: *suoe sponte esse* 'to be one's own master' or 'of one's own accord'. Friendship is elective; it is not imposed, nor proposed as an 'esprit de corps' in associations, clubs, political circles or work groups, where comradeship, collegial sentiment and team spirit constitute a necessary gregarious coalition, diametrically opposed to the elective and aristocratic sentiment; to the 'sentiment de luxe'! George Palante despised the artificial bond that binds members of a group...of society. He despised the memorized code which must be respected in order to be socially admitted. Friendship entails no code: It is the sympathetic bond between two individuals of the same affective and intellectual affinities. Sociality or association, on the other hand, is anonymous, a coming together of groups of people quite exterior to the individual. And to prop his argument, Palante quotes from Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra*:

«Il faut honorer l'ennemi dans l'ami...Peux-tu t'approcher de ton ami sans passer à son bord? –En son ami, on doit voir son meilleur ennemi.- C'est quand tu luttas contre lui que tu dois être le plus près de son cœur.»

²¹ In 'Revue des Idées', 1905 'Amitié et Sociabilité'.

«Mann soll in seinem Freunde noch den Feind ehren. Kannst du an deinen Freund dicht herantreten, ohne zu ihm überzutreten?»

In seinem Freunde soll man seinen besten Feind haben. Du sollst ihm am nächsten mit dem Herzen sein, wenn du ihm widerstrebst.»²²

Friendship in Palante's and in Nietzsche's eyes is not founded on code but on confidence; not expounded in laws but bursting from the heart! For this reason Palante declares: «L'humanisme est le culte de l'homme en général.» "Humanism is the cult of man in general." Friendship is not 'brotherly or neighbourly love', a love by commandment or code, but by a shared sentiment of a deep, exclusive freedom, one that is in fact anti-social. As to Nietzsche, he exalted friendship. And his friends were many: Richard Wagner, (in spite of the later animosity), Franz Overbeck, Peter Gast, Paul Rée, Malvida von Meysonbug, Lou von Salomé, Jacob Burchardt, etc. These were true friends for Nietzsche, and many, such as Overbeck, Rhodes and Gast remained as such until Nietzsche's final hours. In *Morgenröte* we read: «Alle grossen Tüchtigkeiten der antiken Menschen hatten darin ihren Halt, dass Mann neben Mann stand ...»²³ Or in *Fröhliche Wissenschaft*: "Es gibt wohl hier und da auf Erden eine Art Fortsetzung der Liebe, bei der jenes habsüchtige Verlangen zweier Personen nach einander einer neuen Begierde und Habsucht, einem gemeinsamen höheren Durst nach einem über ihnen stehenden Ideale gewichen ist: aber wer kennt diese Liebe? Wer hat sie erlebt? Ihr rechter Name ist Freundschaft."²⁴ The 'höheren Durste nach einem über ihnen stehenden Ideale gewichen ist: evinces Palante's own aristocratic sentiment, the intimacy of two spirits who soar into the heights of their intimacy so as to explore the very nether regions of man's 'Begierde und Habsucht einem gemeinsamen'. But for what? To 'possess' that friend as the chosen one, with whom no secret can be withheld, no hidden emotion veiled...

"...few philosophers have written more eloquently in praise of friendship than Nietzsche..."²⁵

Paradoxically, Georges Palante hardly had any friends, and those who did speak to him were far from intimate. Two of his former students, Louis Guilloux²⁶ and Jean Grenier²⁷ did enjoy Palante's company

²² In Vom Freunde.

²³ 503: Freundschaft-.

²⁴ Idem, 14.

²⁵ Kaufmann, Walter: *Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*, Princeton 1974 page 36.

²⁶ Louis Guilloux's wonderful novel *Le Sang Noir* (1935) portrays Palante's deplorable life in romanesque fashion. Be that as it may, Louis Guilloux also wrote a book of memoirs about his teacher: *Souvenirs de Georges Palante*, 1926. *Le Sang Noir* is one of the finest novels we have ever read in the French language.

for a while because they were his students. But their discussions were by no means founded upon a 'sentiment de luxe', of which Palante spoke so boldly.

Palante's 'experience' of friendship appears to be rather a theoretical treatise to develop his sociological dichotomy of the individual (*amitié*), and the society (*sociabilité*), abandoning for the moment the individual's psychological complex in order to work on individuals' relationship to one another, not outside the society but exclusive of it, immured within their own select and superior 'sentiments de luxe'!

Friedrich Nietzsche's writings on friendship were truly shared, intimate experiences; Palante's, intimately desired...heartfully expected...But this expectation, this desire translates a sentiment of compassion, of mutual suffering: But for whom? For myself, for others? Nietzsche is quite clear on this point: «*Freunde- Mitfreude, nicht, Mitleiden, macht den Freund.*»²⁸

Friendship is founded upon joy not suffering, be it for one's Self or for others.

On Irony²⁹

For Palante, irony is «*une attitude essentiellement esthétique*» "an essentially aesthetic attitude", and therefore is a sentiment that only an individual can possess. It is a sentiment that gushes forth from the depths of the individual's personality, and for this very reason, it is not «*un sentiment proprement social?*» "it is not a social sentiment proper."

Crowds or assemblies cannot understand irony because in fact, according to Palante, it is an attitude with which the individual confronts his society. Society is false, deceitful; the individual is ironic about this falseness, deceitfulness. He is ironic concerning his tragi-comic rôle within the society, now happy, now sad, ensnared within the social constraints of antimonies, of the reality and illusion of «*contrariétés de notre nature humaine*» "the contrarities of our human nature" upon which he must constantly

²⁷ Jean Grenier also wrote a novel where Palante's rôle, albeit fictitious, is quite vivid edition: *Les Grèves*, 1957. There remains very little of Palante's correspondance with his two favourite students: A letter to Guilloux in which he complains that: «*Je ne vois personne. C'est dur parfois. Je songe avec mélancholie à nos causeries.*» 'I don't see anyone. It's hard sometimes, I think back with melancholy of our chats.' There are also some twenty letters to Camille Pitollot, written between 1910 and 1925. Many only contain one line, and the majority complain of his misadventures with society, and his firm determination, in spite of everything, to remain 'un isolé' 'a loner', and «*Ceux qui ont laissé une trace ont été des isolés : Schopenhauer, Nietzsche ; etc... Voilà mon idée quand je parle du crépuscule des philosophes dogmatiques*» (January, 1911) 'Those who have left a trace have been loners [...] That is my idea when I speak of the twilight of the dogmatic philosophers.' As to Nietzsche's epistolary correspondance, it suffices to peruse the hundreds of letters in *Die Dokumente ihrer Begengung herausgegeben von Ernest Pfeiffer mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen*, Insel Verlag, 1970. This being said, it is certainly possible that after Palante's suicide, his ignorant wife might have destroyed much of his correspondance, not to mention notes and drafts for future articles.

²⁸ *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, 499.

²⁹ *L'Ironie*, *Revue Philosophique*, 1906.

meditate in order for him to unite, as harmoniously as possible, the antitheses of his soul! Without this continued questioning the individual would cease to be an individual, absorbed into the mire of collective illusion. The ironist is one "who laughs at himself ensnared, at his own uncertainty and his own nothingness": « Il rit de lui-même, de sa propre incertitude et de son propre néant » If not, he would surely succumb to convictions that brook no contrary opinion.

Irony is anti-social, and the hearty laugh at oneself that accompanies it is directed at society's confidence in its rational, progressive and irreversible advancement ever onwards, without hesitation, without baulking, without error. The individual bursts its sides asunder when contingencies and accidents disrupt the machine, and the emergency wheel grinds the dull, tedious, mechanical rhythm to a writhing halt. Palante's irony is the individual's weapon to shield him from the dangers of docility and anthill efficiency: « L'ironiste s'est retiré de la scène du monde, qu'il contemple depuis les hauteurs » "the ironist has abandoned the world stage, and contemplates it from the heights." And: « il se place à un point de vue supérieur » "he positions himself at a superior point of view." Palante then engages Nietzsche directly: « Elle (irony) est le suprême désintéressement, le dépouillement absolu du moi, dans le sens d'un dilettantisme esthétique, d'un ironisme détaché de tous les devoirs, qui annonce l'immoralisme de Nietzsche. » "Irony is the supreme disinterest, the absolute deprivation of the ego, in the sense of an aesthetic amateurishness, of an irony detached from all duty, which announces Nietzsche's immorality."

Palante's ethical theory draws much of its inspiration from Nietzsche's battle "against borrowed or imposed values" « contre les valeurs empruntées ou imposées, ... »; against despotic convictions that can only harm the individual, and hinder him from Self-Accomplishment. Palante combats the herd-animal values that create gregarious adhesion by dipping into Nietzsche's philosophy and drawing on strong images such as the `exorcising` of moral values, "like a priest" « comme un prêtre », and he urges us to practice "infidelity with a light heart" « l'infidélité d'un cœur léger ». The ironist is that immoralist who glides high above the crowd. His vision is panoramic, uncongested by petty bourgeois interests, and especially those that promise social advantages and career opportunities. Palante insists that irony is a way or method of existence; having no end in itself, no objective besides itself, no truth-seeking goal or ambition. For irony is the antithesis of the rationalist's optimistic and progressive attitude for all and sundry. Thus irony is essentially aesthetic, aristocratic, and Palante here evokes Nietzsche in this respect, albeit without quotations: irony is « la pure immaculée connaissance » "the pure and immaculate knowledge."

However, Palante is careful to distinguish between the ironist and the cynic, and upholds his argument by summoning Nietzsche: The cynic is he who takes nothing seriously besides his egoism and his own reality, whereas the ironist is he who takes his Ego as seriously as everything else!³⁰ When decrying the vulgarity of the cynic's laughter Palante cites Nietzsche, albeit without quotation marks: « aucun geste animal n'égalé la vulgarité du rire humain » "no animal gesture equals the vulgarity of human laughter." And Palante to conclude: « Le rire est l'arme des lâches coalitions grégaires » "Laughter is the weapon of cowardly, gregarious coalitions." That laughter be a distinguishable trait between the

³⁰ Indeed, the cynic is he who knows so much of the world (or thinks he knows so much of it!) that this knowing so much is an impediment to his freedom to know the world.

ironist and the cynic may be true; however, Nietzsche's comments on laughter seem to be more nuanced than what Palante implies. We read this enlightening entry in *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, where Nietzsche repudiates Hobbes' remarks on laughter amongst philosophers: « Das Olympische Laster- [...] das Lachen ist ein arges Gebreche der Menschlichen Natur, welches jeder denkende Kopf zu überwinden bestrebt sein wird" (Hobbes)-, würde ich mir sogar eine Rangordnung der Philosophen erlauben, je nach dem Range ihres Lachens- bis hinauf zu denen, die des goldnen Gelächters fähig sind»³¹ Hobbes' 'arges Gebreche' when qualifying laughter, in Nietzsche's mouth transforms into a 'goldnen Gelächters'.

The philosopher who laughs at the world is he, too, who laughs at himself. This is the essence of irony; it is also the value of the noble (vornehm) man who in Nietzsche's eyes are individual men who create their happiness, will their ambitions and lives. Under certain circumstances these nobles may become the elite (Aristokratie), but not necessarily since it is their own will that has conditioned their individuality, and thus an eventual participation in society if these engendered values are maintained and respected. For Nietzsche, laughter is an essential attribute to the individual's Self-Accomplishment; a gesture that accompanies irony.

Now it may be asked whether or not Palante laughed at himself? It hardly seemed so. What is sure, however, is that he was laughed at by others! A multitude of others from whose circles Palante was unfortunately excluded. Again, Palante theorized on irony but rarely practiced it, even in his writings; they lack the *éclat* of irony, whether bitter or sweet! And this in itself may, alas, be the irony of Georges Palante's tragic existence! As to Nietzsche, his reflections on irony display existential *éclat*! In *Ecce Homo* he relates to us the ironic fact that his philosophy was first recognized and taught by a Dane, Georg Brandes in Denmark, rather than in Germany: « Dies schliesst aber nicht aus, dass ich die Ironie liebe, sogar die welthistorische Ironie.»³²

Nietzsche here clearly links his ontological 'love of irony' with that which has befallen him quite by accident, by the contingency of the incessant stream of events round him.

To conclude, if Georges Palante declares irony to be an individualist sentiment, and to a certain extent anti-social, Friedrich Nietzsche's irony lies in the strength to laugh at oneself. For after all, the ironist participates in the world whether he likes it or not. Palante's irony appears to exclude him from the scene of irony; an exclusion that can cause alienation and a sense of utter uselessness because he took his mission and himself, much too seriously. Nietzsche also took his mission seriously, but certainly not himself. And in this attitude towards the Self lies the vast difference, existentially, between Palante and Nietzsche, albeit both have strong analogical thoughts on the subject. This is no paradox: It is the essential distinction between existence and un-lived, professional philosophy! Friedrich Nietzsche might have been a lonely man, but his sense of irony reminded him of his 'use' in the world. Palante's lack of irony shut him more and more up into himself, out of the world, and finally out of both...

³¹ Section 294.

³² In the section, *Der Fall Wagner*, 4.

On Anarchism and Individualism³³

How does Georges Palante articulate anarchism and individualism: Are they synonymous, gradational, antithetical? It appears that Palante seeks to demarcate clearly the notions of anarchism and individualism: Anarchism is a social doctrine, a system; individualism is a state of the soul: «un état d'âme [...] une sensation de vie, une certaine attitude intellectuelle et sentimentale de l'individu devant la société.» "a state of the soul [...] a sensation of life, a certain intellectual and sentimental attitude before society." The twain shall thus never meet! Since the individualist, fundamentally anti-social, can never accept and integrate into a social doctrine or system of any kind. He believes neither in progress nor in Becoming. His will to power (*vouloir-vivre*) lies in the eternal present, an intemporal or anhistorique sentiment that makes him wary, suspicious of any hierarchy or assembly of men. Some men have been called 'individual anarchists'; for example, R.W. Emerson, Ibsen, Kirkegaard, Nietzsche, Stirner, etc., but Palante sees these men only as summits of geniuses, none adhere to any social doctrine or dogma. They are social rebels! On the contrary, political anarchists such as Kropotkin or Bakounin were bent on destroying the present political order only to rebuild another. As to the Marxists, they seek only to transform the Capitalist society into another type of society, be it Socialist or Communist, a mere remaking of the same society but of different distributive means. Palante does compromise, or so it seems. He readily acknowledges Nietzsche's social projection of, and we quote Palante: «une organisation hiérarchique et de sériation harmonieuse des valeurs.» "a hierarchic organisation and a serialisation of values." And yet, this ideally would serve only the reigning elite. In this sense, he says: «Nietzsche reste un idéaliste impénitent, impérieux, violent. Il idéalise l'humanité supérieure.» "Nietzsche remains un unrepentant idealist, imperious, violent. He idealises superior humanity." For Palante then, anarchists are not of a higher order. Their struggle against the present social order, if successful, only dissolves into another by which the means may indeed be different but the results would be the same: A new social order as corrupt as the former! Anarchists believe only in **revolution**, the individual is the eternal **rebel**! Palante does concede, however, that the anarchist spirit may be the very first step towards individualism, and that anarchism represents the 'first moment' of individualism: «le moment de la foi et de l'espérance, de l'action courageuse et confiante dans le succès.» "the moment of faith and of hope, of courageous action and confidence in success." But he concludes: «L'individualisme à son second moment se convertit, comme nous l'avons vu, en pessimisme social.» "Individualism afterwards transforms, as we have seen, into social pessimism." For the anarchist is an optimist who believes that social disharmony and the antinomies between the society and the individual are only transitory, accidental, due to the political regime in power. Once man has attained self-mastery, a new political regime would lead men to true freedom of action and of thought.

Georges Palante smiles condescendingly at these naïve sentiments of good will. There is neither now nor will be any ontological or existential relationship between anarchists and individualists. As to his account of an idealistic Nietzsche, here it seems that he has overlooked the German philosopher's doubts about any political State, be it Anarchist, Socialist or Democratic. We shall speak of Nietzsche's thoughts

³³In *Revue Philosophique*, 'Anarchisme et Individualisme' 1907.

on the State in another rubric. For now, let us take a glance at Friedrich Nietzsche's rather sarcastic and scathing remarks about anarchists. He is far from being an idealist...

In *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, Nietzsche compares anarchists to anti-Semites, and metaphorically place both as blossoming flowers that grow in secluded corners: «Den Psychologen voran in's Ohr gesagt, gesetzt dass sie Lust haben sollten, das Ressentiment selbst einmal aus der Nähe zu studieren: diese Pflanze blüht jetzt am schönsten unter Anarchisten und Antisemiten, übrigens so wie sie immer geblüht hat, im Verborgnen, dem Veilchen glich, wenn schon mit andrem Duft.»³⁴

'Ressentiment': the psychological trigger that motivates anarchists. The sentiment of frustration, abandonment...exclusion...pettiness. These sentiments are opposed to the individualists' joy, freedom and plenitude of life. The anti-social attitude of the anarchists for Nietzsche resides in their 'ressentiment' towards others, towards themselves. Nietzsche's 'ressentiment' is not Palante's 'pessimisme'. For Nietzsche it is negative. For Palante, positive. As far as we know, Palante makes no mention of Nietzsche's use of 'ressentiment'. Did he suffer from it himself?

In *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, Nietzsche equates anarchists with those who derive joy from destroying not only society but existence itself. Indeed, Nietzsche, unlike Palante, makes no compromises, offers no pale link to an individual:

«Das Verlangen nach Zerstörung, Wechsel, werden kann der Ausdruck der übervollen, zukunftschwangeren Kraft sein (mein terminus ist dafür wie man weiss, das Wort 'dionysisch'), aber es kann auch der Hass des Missrathenen, Entbehrenden, Schlechtweggekommenen sein, der zerstört, zerstören muss, weil ihn das Bestehende, ja alles Bestehen, alles Sein selbst empört und aufreizt – man sehe sich, um diesen Affekt zu verstehn, unsre Anarchisten aus der Nähe an.»³⁵

This desire for destruction, change and Becoming is not based on the love of life or the pleasure of existence, but on the sentiment of 'ressentiment': The jealous, the envious, the low and mean. In sum, these are not self-accomplished individuals who could pretend to constitute a new social order; they rather constitute the frustrated who seek to destroy because too cowardly to undertake the efforts entailed in Self-Accomplishment!

We see that Nietzsche is far from any idealism when speaking about anarchy. His keen insight offered no political scheme or project to his readers, only a hope for a brighter dawn to come, embodied in Zarathustra. And for this very reason, there can be neither a Leftist Nietzsche nor a Rightist Nietzsche, nor any Nietzscheanism for that matter. If Palante was a Leftist Nietzschean, as Onfray has proclaimed, it would seem that it was Palante (or Onfray?) who was (were) the idealist(s)! Nietzsche was much too 'practical, phenomlogic' for Romantic ideals. Perhaps Palante's projects for a Socialist society compensated for his own unchanging, mediocre existence...

³⁴ In Zweite Abhandlung, 11.

³⁵ In section 370.

On Individualist Sensitivity³⁶

Georges Palante defines the individualist on the grounds of his sensitivity, an attribute that demarcates the individual from the mechanistic collective. In this article he creates an anthropology of this new man; the individualist who bears the honour or burden of living a free life. He is what Nietzsche called the 'free spirit' 'Freigeist'. Who then is this overman? He is not a Christian who practices the love of all humanity. He is not a humanitarian who loves everyone as much as he loves himself. He is not a democrat who effaces the differences in the individual in order to attain the equality of the rights for everyone. And he is surely not a philanthropist who would like everyone to live in mediocre harmony like one big happy family! In fact, Palante's individualist practices isolation, and can even be called a misanthropist! He is not, however, a vulgar egoist. Palante's individualist wants and requires nothing but his need for independence, his sincerity towards himself and towards his friends, his need for discretion and delicacy, his enthusiasm for honour and heroism, his higher sentiments. This individual-overman loves Difference; a Difference that he cultivates, and that other individualists cultivate like him, yet differently: «La sensibilité individualiste plaira à cultiver l'exception, la 'différence' humaine.» "The sensitive individualist takes pleasure in cultivating the exception, the human 'difference'."

Sensitivity opposes reason, pragmatism. Sensitivity is the stamp of the individualist, his defensive shield against social band-waggoning, taxonomy, ant-hill effervescence. For the individualist is always on the defensive: 'reacting' against impinging gregariness. Here Palante seizes upon Nietzsche's sentiments apropos the individual who «est en partie réactive, au sens nietzschéen.» "is partly reactive, in its Nietzschean sense." Reactive because of his spirit of contradiction which situates him at antipodes with the society; he who loves sincerity and clarity because hostile or antipathetic towards hypocrisy and ambiguity.

At the end of his article Palante sketches the two types of individualists whose sensitivities are in fact Nietzsche's Figures: The Dionysian sensitivity: impulsive, passionate and unstable, and the Apollonian sensitivity: level-headed (pondéré), harmonious, thoughtful (réfléchi). Both sensitivities define the individualist because they constitute a psychological duality which, if distended in the collective, transform into a social dualism, and thus become antagonistic, vulnerable to the mechanism of social dichotomy which judges the attributes of both those individual figures as abnormal, simply because «ils ne sont pas comme nous!» "they are not like us!"

The individualist defined as such, his fate seems, thus, destined to eternal solitude, living an existence of haughty disdain, renounced scorn and willful isolation. We shall see in our next rubric that Palante's views were not as trenchant as they appear in this article. Be that as it may, when he writes: «la sensibilité individualiste se détermine en réaction contre une réalité sociale à laquelle elle ne peut ou ne veut point se plier» "the individualist's sensitivity is determined in reaction against a social reality to which it neither can nor wants to yield.", he is drawing deep from Nietzsche's well of thoughts: The

³⁶ In Revue Mercure de France, 'La Sensibilité individualiste', 1908. A new edition was printed in 2003 by Alive Publishers, and contains 'Amitié et Socialité', 'L'Ironie', 'Deux types d'immoralisme' and 'Anarchie et Individualisme'.

individualist is not a sacrificial animal to a society's glorious past, nor to its dazzling dreams of racing forwards towards greater progress. The individualist, on the contrary, embodies new forms of life, of values, and thus raises himself out of this manufactured historical process. Palante appropriated this truism when he distinguished the individualist living in the eternal present outside of the social body, unconcerned or indifferent towards an imposed past, and consequently a designed future. For this reason the Figures of Dionysus and Apollo, albeit they appear diametrically opposed, unite as a puissant duality in the Figure of the Individualist, be it Nietzsche's or Palante's...

The Antimonies between the Individual and the Society³⁷

In this long essay, Palante opposes the individual's **desire** and the society's **demands**. The opposition is indeed a brutal one, and shows Palante's fine and subtle notions of psychology, long before Freud's investigations on the subconscious. Palante's desire is the individual's will to conserve his autonomy in view of the slow by steady methods of gleaning social adhesion, belonging, conformism, gregariness which root out the Difference of the individual in order to replant it in the gardens of normalcy. « En politique ; surtout dans un régime démocratique, c'est la médiocrité qui l'emporte et qui gouverne. » "In politics, especially in a Democratic regime, it is mediocrity that wins out and that governs." Be it Democratic or Anarchist, the State makes the individual dependant on it, effacing the Self of man, levelling the innate Difference. Therefore, and we quote M. Onfray: « L'économie devient l'instrument de l'amélioration de conditions de vie de l'individu, sans que l'essence de ce dernier soit en danger. » "The economy becomes the instrument of the betterment of the conditions of life of the individual, without the essence of the individual put into danger."³⁸

These propositions for a new society, which one may call Socialist, may or may not have their inspiring roots in Palante's reading of Nietzsche. As is known, Nietzsche mistrusted the State. He posed the problem immediately in dialectic terms of Existence (*Existenz*) and State. *Existenz* is man's true nature, one that he must consciously, lucidly and experimentally cultivate throughout his life. This true nature is one's Self, and if not cultivated, either by laziness and indolence or apathy and ignorance, remains a latent larva, prey to the facilities of the State, its gilded promises and seductive charms. The State thus becomes a proprietor of the individual's Self, his true nature, who sells or rents it at a price, if price there be at all! The State, thus, enmeshes the individual by inveigling itself into the docility, ignorance and passivity of the individual. Indeed, social institutions separate the individual from himself and submit him to an exterior model to which he will eventually identify himself.

³⁷Alcan Editions, 1912 'Les Antinomies entre l'Individu et la Société'. This was Palante's complementary thesis. It is divided into XIII sections. A new edition was printed in 1999 at Folle Avoine Publishers.

³⁸ Loc. cit. page 115.

Nietzsche's and Palante's preoccupation was the question of the 'single-one', the individual 'die Frage an den Einzelnen', because if this 'uniqueness' were to die out, the State would transform itself into a new idol for the masses: «Staat nenne ich's, wo Alle Gifttrinker sind, Gute und Schlimme : Staat, wo Alle sich selber verlieren, Gute und Schlimme : Staat, wo der langsame Selbstmord Aller- 'das Leben' heisst.»³⁹ And in the same rubric: "Staat heisst das kälteste aller kalten Ungeheuer. [...] Aber der Staat lügt in allen Zungen des buten und Bösen; und was er auch redet, er lügt- und was er auch hat, gestohlen hat er's. Falsch ist alles an ihm, mit gestohlenen Zähnen beisst er, der Bissige. Falsch sind selbst seine Eingeweide."

These comments speak for themselves. The images that they evoke strike the reader as ones that brook no compromise. A compromise that Palante does negotiate at the end of his study, and to which we shall shortly turn. As to Nietzsche, his adamant position does soften when he invokes the three 'true natures' that could rehabilitate society by sincerity, austerity and toils in the Art of Self-Accomplishment: The artist, the saint and the philosopher. For Nietzsche, the artist is he who has accomplished his true self, and thus represents the highest value of a culture. The artist takes pleasure in his passions, harnesses them to produce works of art; these are his spiritual pursuits, his creative life, his will to power. The will to power that creates one's own Self, be he the artist, the saint or the philosopher. The three roads may differ, but the means to wend them is identical: The will to power. The creation of one's true nature requires good health, requires that the artist overcome illness:

«-Die grosse Gesundheit.- ...einem künstler, einem Heiligen, einem Gesetzgeber, einem Weisen, einem Gelehrten, einem Frommen, einem Wahrsager, einem Göttlich- Abseitigen altens stils: der hat dazu zuallererst Eins nothing, die grosse Gesundheit-“⁴⁰

It is the artist's will to suffer for himself, to form his Self through ascetic hardship that will raise him above societal levelling and make way for the accomplishment of the higher men. He must be hard on his Self, yield to no concessions, succumb to no facile advantage; he labours joyously, toils pleasurably:

« Diese heimliche selbst- vergewaltigung, diese künstler- Grausamkeit, diese Lust, sich selbst als einem schweren widerstrebenden leidenden Stoffe eine Form zu geben, einen Willen, eine Kritik, einen Widerspruch, eine Verachtung, ein Nein einzubrennen, diese unheimliche und entsetzlich- lustvolle Arbeit einer mit sich selbst willig-zwiespältiger, Seele, welche sich leiden macht, aus Lust am Leidenmachen.“⁴¹

To overcome one's Self is that instinct for freedom: 'Instinkt der Freiheit', which Nietzsche calls the will to power. The true artist is he who fashions his own life in the image of Life itself: «...wir aber wollen

³⁹ In *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, Vom neuen Götzen.

⁴⁰ Fröhliche Wissenschaft, 382.

⁴¹ In *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, II, 18.

die Dichter unseres hebens sein, und im kleinsten und Alltüglichen zverst."⁴² And although Nietzsche admitted that the artist is ambiguous, who may wield dangerous concepts and falsehoods, he does so with a good conscious: « ...dem gefährlichen Begriff 'künstler'- 'Die Falscheit mit gutem Gewissen,..."⁴³

Could deceit, falsehood or the artist's manipulating enchantment (illusion) be the sole manner for him to belong to a society? To penetrate the collective but at the same time remain an individual? Palante, too, created his concept of the artist, forged from the individual's subjectivism; a pure monad, a solitary who practices « une forme raffinée de l'insociabilité intellectuelle; attitude du penseur qui s'est retiré de la vie sociale et qui ne regarde plus la société que comme un objet de curiosité intellectuelle et de contemplation esthétique.» (page 66) "The refined form of intellectual insociability; that attitude of a thinker who has withdrawn from social life and who looks at society only as an object of intellectual curiosity." Georges Palante's artist-Figure remains aloof of the crowd, turns down the shoals of honour, is neither ambiguous nor a deceiver or illusionist. His sensitivity protects him from mediocrity, his curiosity serves to maintain a distance necessary to create, and not to produce commodities, clichés...platitudes!

Save some artists and philosophers, it would seem that man is condemned to effacement within his society, to mediocrity; his desire snuffed out early through herd routine and institutional injunctions: working, sleeping, eating, producing. Is it this 'social reality' that pushed Palante to pepper his book with reconciliatory notes and concessionary tones? Indeed, we observe that the individual: « n'est pas une révolte absolue à l'égard de toute société [...] il s'attaque à la société actuelle au nom d'un idéal supérieur de sociabilité.» (page 102) "...is not an absolute rebel towards the whole society [...] he takes on the present day society in the name of a superior ideal of sociability." Compromise, hope or resignation? Palante even goes so far as to concede that this superior ideal, forged by the individual, abets him in comprehending: "la nécessité de se subordonner à l'oeuvre commune." (page 190) "the necessity to accept subordination for the common task." And even more striking is when he states that freedom is not isolation but « l'entraide, la collaboration de tous qui ne nie pas la société, mais désire l'amélioration et l'élever moralement." (page 252) "the mutual aid, collaboration of all who do not repudiate society, but wish to better it and elevate it morally." And Palante concludes bombastically that the individual is « compatible avec l'idée d'une culture humaine et d'un lien social." (page 286) "compatible with the idea of a human culture and a social link."

The difficulty and narrowness of marginal existence for the individual might have provoked in Palante recourse to a 'political compromise' whose form has been called 'nietzschéisme de gauche',⁴⁴ 'Left-wing Nietzscheanism'. If this were the case, and we are not pretending that it is, Palante could never have drawn such a 'political theory' from Nietzsche's philosophy, he who loathed the cunningness of the State that drains all energy from the individual in order to divert it into self-indulgence, frivolity, servility:

⁴² Fröhliche Wissenschaft, 299.

⁴³ Idem, 361.

⁴⁴ Michel Onfray.

«Der Staat, in den Händen dieser letzteren, macht wohl, ebenso wie der Egoismus der Erwerbenden, den Versuch, alles aus sich heraus neu zu organisieren und Band und Druck für alle jene feindseligen Kfäfte zu sein: das heist, er wünscht dass die Menschen mit ihm denselben Götzendienst treiben möchten, den sie mit der Kirche getrieben haben“⁴⁵

Can there be any concession on the part of the State towards the individual? Does there exist a notion as egotistical freedom within a collective mass? Should the individual compromise his painstaking gains for the sake of State security? Friedrich Nietzsche warns us of this unbalanced compromise and its pitfalls: One need only to peruse the section `Ein Blick auf den Staat` in *Menschliches Allzumenschliches*, 438 to 482 to seize the urgency of his meditated mistrust of Statehood. For example:

«Gerechtigkeit als Parteien-Lockruf. [...] Dagegen Gleichheit der Rechte fordern, wie es die Socialisten der unterworfenen Kaste thun, ist nimmermehr der Ausfluss der Gerechtigkeit, sondern der Begehrlichkeit.“⁴⁶

Nietzsche does believe that social justice is possible in a Socialist State, but only within the ruling oligarchy, because justice there means sacrifice and renouncement; that is, self-sacrifice and self-renouncement! The `outflow of justice` is not innocent: It is a stratagem devised by the covetous collective, the State depleting the individual's creative energy, his so called `egotistical freedom`, and distending it into a uniformed mass. In this sense, Nietzsche offers no compromise towards the idea of a Socialist State:

«Der Socialismus in Hinsicht auf seine Mittel.-Der Socialismus ist der Phantästische jüngere Bruder des fast abgelebten. Despottismus, den er beerben will; [...] Der Socialimus kann dazu dienen, die Gefahr aller Anhäufungen von Staatsgewalt recht brutal und eindringlich zu lehren und insofern vor dem Staate selbst Misstrauen ein zuflössen.“⁴⁷

For Nietzsche, the State, be it Socialist, Democratic, Anarchist or despotic share one common denominator: the absorption and the effacement of the individual. If there glimmers certain concessions in Palante's writings, especially the one that this rubric is concerned with, Nietzsche's tirades proffer no such concession. It is not a question of pessimism but of his acute perception of the apparent, phenomenal world; the world of `Realpolitik`! A world where there is no place for the sensitivity of individuals. Self-Accomplishment is achieved in solitary and remote places far from the great fair of

⁴⁵ *Unweitgemässe Betrachtungen*, (Schopenhauer als Erzieher, 4.)

⁴⁶ Section 451.

⁴⁷ Idem

human activity. Palante writes: « L'individualisme neitzschéen est profondément antisocial; il est une révolte contre toute société future ou possible »⁴⁸ "Nietzschean individualism is profoundly anti-social; it is a revolt against all society, future or possible."

This statement is both correct and incorrect. Nietzsche might have built his individuality upon the sentiment of anti-socialness, however, this is a transient phase in the social evolution of Mankind. For Nietzsche, man must overcome his `ressentiment`, and in doing so, may pass on to a better possible future, which is the more possible because the individual has divested himself of this arrogant and self-destructing sentiment. Palante continues to fail to comprehend Nietzsche's evolution of Being, and thus of thinking. For example, when speaking about man: «Cette antinomie est dans sa nature. Contre l'esprit grégaire, la sociabilité veule et lâche, fléau de l'époque moderne.» "This antinomy is in his nature. Against the spirit of gregariness, spineless and cowardly sociability, the malady of the modern epoch." And yet, Nietzsche overcame dualism, for it was not in his nature!⁴⁹ And although he did resent social cowards and pusillanimous clowns, this did not become an obsession with him. They were all stepping stones for him as he wended his way towards Self-Accomplishment, his Overman. As to Palante, as we said earlier, these were the very obstacles that obstructed his way...And curious enough, was it not Palante who wrote this perspicacious comment on Nietzsche, one that seems to contradict himself? : »Nietzsche admet que la décadence actuelle est une période de transition d'où sortira une société contenant encore des possibilités de noblesse et de beauté. Il ne nie la société actuelle pour appeler de ses vœux une société habitable encore pour les grands âmes [...] Nietzsche à ces heures-là n'est pas un pessimiste désespéré... »⁵⁰ "Nietzsche admits that today's decadence is a period of transition out of which will rise a society containing still the possibilities of nobleness and beauty. [...] Nietzsche at his best hours is not a hopeless pessimist."

Strange that Palante should display such acumen in understanding Nietzsche's position, whilst he himself still clung to the idea that Nietzsche's nature was fundamentally `oppositional`! Perhaps for Palante, there were two Nietzsches: « un créateur de valeurs, un fondateur de société ; un prophète, un prêtre. »⁵¹ "a creator of values, a founder of society; a prophet, a priest."

And Palante is certainly correct in assuming this. It is not that Nietzsche writes ambiguously; he thinks and writes ambivalently: A process of thinking that Palante glimpsed when reading and commenting on Friedrich Nietzsche, but unfortunately was never capable of emulating...

⁴⁸ In *Précis de Sociologie*, page 7.

⁴⁹ In other words, Nietzsche did not reduce natural dualities to artificial dualisms in order to accommodate methods of reasoning!

⁵⁰ In `Pessimisme et Individualité`.

⁵¹ *Idem*.

Historic Pessimism⁵²

The pessimism of Georges Palante was not a mere theoretical method of analysing the individual within his society, it lay deep within his ontic layers. A physiological pessimism whose corporal torments led him to regard the world through the prism of his own inability to cope with daily, irksome requirements of administration and a career-orientated existence, a poignant desire to assert self-expression because of a crushed personality.

Palante's deformity may provide certain answers to his unswerving pessimistic approach towards society. At the same time, however, he seems to attach the pessimism of an individual to his historical reality: «Le pessimisme de Nietzsche n'est pas sans présenter une parenté secrète avec le pessimisme romantique.» "Nietzsche's pessimism evinces a secret relation with the pessimism of Romanticism." But what is the 'secret relation'? Can an individual not escape his historical allotment? Is he, in spite of his individuality, a simple product of his society? Perhaps the 'secret relation' was Nietzsche's literary relationship to Schopenhauer, and his friendship with Wagner, which may have tainted his early writings with tinges of Romantic pessimism. Perhaps. The fact that Nietzsche severed his ties with Wagner and 'grew out of' Schopenhauer certainly taught him to overcome this sentiment, which, however, is not necessarily linked to a literary movement of a particular time period. This would be a rather shoddy interpretation of the Marxist theory of literature. Could Palante have projected his deformity into Nietzsche's own illnesses, and thus devise a physiological bond between him and the epoch in which he lived? If this were the case, Palante certainly misread Nietzsche, or read himself into him! Illness exists as it is: It makes us, we do not make it. Illness may even create us! And because illness is a part of life, it is an activity, an individual activity that, however, cannot be mastered or controlled. Illness controls us. It could drive us to manic depression, to pessimism...to suicide. Or it can liberate us from ourselves by creating an individual whose malady is inseparable from his life's work. Palante and Nietzsche share analogical proprieties of what illness or deformity or malady can drive a man to do; both wrote with bodies that suffered painfully. Nevertheless, Palante's suffering bestirred emotions that would plunge him deeper and deeper into pessimism; Nietzsche's sundry illnesses transported him beyond the pains and into an uncleaved thinking and existence where joy and pain merged into one tremendous energetic drive, one tremendous will to power. It suffices to read the tale of Zarathustra, he who is the happiest of individuals because he had overcome oppositional thinking, thus oppositional existence! Zarathustra is no pessimist; nor was Nietzsche!

But Palante insists on Nietzsche's social pessimism, which manifests itself in an acute form of an anti-social attitude. It is: « une antinomie naturelle, profonde, physiologique en quelque sort, entre l'individu et la société, l'individu étant pourvu d'instincts qui ne se plient pas à la vie sociale... » "a natural antinomy, deep, more or less physiological, between the individual and the society, the individual possessing instincts which do not succumb to society."

Here Palante equates Nietzsche's pessimism with an anti-social stance whose fusion creates the Individual: « L'individualisme de Nietzsche est très certainement un individualisme antisocial, mais cet

⁵² In 'Individualisme et Pessimisme', Alcan Editions 1914.

antisocialisme est-il absolu ou relatif, provisoire ou définitif ? » “Nietzsche’s individualism is very certainly an anti-social individualism; but is this anti-socialism absolute or relative, temporary or definitive?”

Palante’s question is important: It is one he probably never asked of himself! Whether Nietzsche’s so called pessimism be temporary or definitive, or whether it existed at all, did not engender Nietzsche’s individualism. It is founded on his refusal of the ‘present day’ values of his society, not on the society as a whole. In other words, in Humanity. Palante said it himself and conceded that Nietzsche believed in: « un idéal de grandeur humain encore possible et réalisable dans l’avenir » “an ideal of human greatness still possible and achievable in the future.” To this stage of thinking, to this stage of existence, Palante never really attained. His pessimism as a method of thinking, as a daily activity in the Act of Existence, remained imprisoned in antithetical categories: pessimism/optimism, pessimism/society, pessimism/intellectual. Binomial categories that Nietzsche had always despised and refuted. Friedrich Nietzsche would have surely found favour in statements such as: Le pessimisme c’est regarder les idées en face, jamais les subordonner à rien.»⁵³ “Pessimism is confronting ideas, never subordinating them to nothing.” Or «Le pessimisme est une sensation de vie vécue»⁵⁴ “Pessimism is the sensation of life lived.” Or «Le véritable pessimisme, comme le véritable individualisme, est un état de sensibilité plutôt qu’une théorie abstraite.»⁵⁵ “True pessimism, like true individualism, is a state of sensitivity rather than an abstract theory.” And finally: «Le pessimisme est donc une force.»⁵⁶ “Pessimism is thus a force.” Be that as it may, Nietzsche never adhered to pessimism as a conduct to rent his ire or build a system. What he did denounce in strong tones was optimism; that mawkish, nauseating sentimentality of the mediocre; that passivity of the resentful man:

«Denken wir uns eine heranwachsende Generation mit dieser Unerschrockenheit des Blicks, mit diesem heroischen Zug in’s Ungeheure, denken wir uns den Kühnen Schriff dieser Drachentödter, die stolze Verwegenheit, mit der sie allen den Schwächlichkeitsdoktrinen des Optimismus den Rücken Kehren, um in Ganzen und Vollen ’resolut zu leben’...»⁵⁷

It is not the pessimist who is a ‘dragon-slayer’, but he who overcomes all dichotomic thinking whilst wending the way towards Self-Accomplishment. This is the Overman: The hero of the future who lives life resolutely.

What Nietzsche did equate to optimism was democracy, rationality and utilitarianism, all of which in his mouth was thoroughly negative:

⁵³ In ‘Pessimisme et Individualisme’, section ‘Pessimisme expérimental’, page 165.

⁵⁴ Idem, page 6.

⁵⁵ Idem, page 118.

⁵⁶ Idem, page 173.

⁵⁷ In Die Geburt de Tragödie, 7.

«Könntet vielleicht, allen 'modern Ideen' und Vorurtheilen des demokratischen Geschmacks zum Trotz, der sieg des Optimismus, die vorherrschend gewordene Vernünftigkeit, des Praktischen und theoretischen Utilitarismus, gleich der Demokratie selbst, mit der er gleichzeitig ist, - ein Symptom der absinkenden Kraft, des nahenden Alters, der physiologischen Ermüdung sein?»⁵⁸

Optimism as a sign of weakness, a devider of strength. In other words, a depriver of reflection, constructive criticism, Self-Accomplishment. Palante would qualify the act of reflection, criticism and Self-Accomplishment as the results of pessimism! In *Pessimism and Individualism* he states: «Le pessimisme est signe de réalisme et de virilité, alors que l'optimisme peut être considéré comme une forme de timidité.»⁵⁹ "Pessimism is a sign of realism and virility, whereas optimism can be considered as a form of timidity." And: «L'optimisme est une philosophie de faibles, de tendres qui ont besoin de consolation.»⁶⁰ "Optimism is a philosophy for the weak, for the tender who need to be comforted."

It is true, elsewhere, that Nietzsche does pose the problem of oppositional thinking when he evokes pessimism:

«Ist Pessimismus nothwendig das Zeichen des Niedergangs, Verfalls, des Missrathenseins, der ermüdeten und geschwächten Instinkte ? [...] Gibt es einen Pessimismus der Stärke ? Eine intellektuelle Vorneigung für das Harte, Schaverliche, Böse, Problematische des Daseins aus Wohlsein, aus überströmender Gersundheit, aus Fülle des Daseins?»⁶¹

The theory that pessimism is strength is indeed collated to an ascetic existence which produces an existence of plenitude due to overflowing health. But this is a Friedrich Nietzsche writing in his early youth during his quest of meaning. Pessimism was undoubtedly an emotion which wells deep within him and which provided him with theoretical material, but **only because he harnessed and orientated it**, and in doing so, gradually tamed it until it melded in with the other creative emotions that composed the will to power, and its Figure, the Overman. Pessimism was a fleeting problem, or at most, a stepping stone for Nietzsche. For Georges Palante, it was an existential obsession which, when transformed theoretically, led to an impasse for him and for the society he projected for the future. For indeed, and perhaps quite to his unknowing, Palante had touched upon Nietzsche's most intimate hope for mankind when he stated: «l'idéal humain; ce n'est pas l'Hellénisme primitif dont nous sommes déchus; c'est le Surhomme de demain.» "Human ideal is not in the primitive Hellenism of which we are degenerates; it is in the Overman of tomorrow."

⁵⁸ Idem, (Versuch einer Selbstkritik, 4).

⁵⁹ Page 160

⁶⁰ Idem, page 162.

⁶¹ Die Geburt der Tragödie, I.

It is as if Palante had seized Nietzsche's thoughts in their diachronic density and speed, the collective tragedy of the Ancient Greeks serving as a legacy only to be overcome by the individual's will to power, the Overman. It is the triumph of the individual over historic determinism, over the ineluctable designs of manipulating political authority or the Church's appropriation of the will of God! Pessimism might have triggered a reflection upon social determinism, might have helped cast away docile obedience and complying conformity, but it did not engender the Overman, who is the Individual *par excellence*...

Palante was well aware of Nietzsche's complex evolution of the individual for and against his society, but felt quite legitimate in linking this complexity to the productive sensitivity of pessimism: «L'attitude de Nietzsche dans le problème des rapports de l'individu et de la société n'est donc pas nette.» Mais elle confirme, dans son indécision même, la loi psychologique que nous essayons d'établir: la corrélation entre le pessimisme et l'individualisme.» "Nietzsche's attitude in the problem of the relationship of the individual and the society is not clear. But it confirms, even in its indecision, the psychological law that we are attempting to establish: the correlation between pessimism and individualism."

Palante established this correlation because he saw himself as a 'victim' of society. Indeed, a personal emotion may be theorized for one's own self, for one's own defense confronted by a brutal and changing society, but it should not be extrapolated and engrossed to embrace philosophers, thinkers and writers whose existential means might have, and this goes without saying, touched upon these emotions, but as we said, had never transformed them into obsessional methodological tools. This personal emotion or projection reveals the lack of confidence of the crushed personality, reveals, too, a partial absence of any path to wend, because it heavily relies on the observations and images of others' writings as an ersatz to this absence. An absence which is neither intellectual nor sensitive, but simply one which conveys an immeasurable gap between Desire and Act, or perhaps better put, the irretrievable bond between them! Palante acted against his desire, existentially. Nietzsche acted according to his desire,⁶² existentially. Palante's acts led him to suicide, Nietzsche's to write this most wonderful hymn to life:

«An diesem vollkommenen Tage, wo Alles reift und nicht nur die Traube braun wird, fiel mir eben ein Sonnenblick auf mein Leben: ich sah rüchwärts, ich sah hinaus, ich sah nie so viel und so gute Dirge auf einmal. Nicht umsonst bergrub ich heute mein vierundvierzigstes Jahr, ich durfte es begraben,- was in ihm Leben war, ist gerettet, ist unsterblich. Die Umwerthung aller Werthe, die Dionysos-Dithyramben und, zur Erholung, die Götzen-Dämmerung- Alles Geschenke dieses Jahrs, sogar seines letzten Vierteljahrs ! Wie sollte ich nicht meinem ganzen Leben dankbar sien? Und so erzähle ich mir mein Leben.»⁶³

⁶² Desire as the sense of sensitivity or the will to power.

⁶³ In Ecce Homo.

Conclusion

Nietzsche`s Joy, Palante`s Pessimism

An individual plunged in pessimism does not write such glowing lyrics as read above: Nietzsche is one happy to live, happy to confront his Destiny...his *Amor Fati*. He is the who has lived heartily and hopes to continue to live as heartily. Not as some maudlin optimist, but as a philosopher who has been the artisan of his life, who has melded a dualistic mode of thought into one mighty monistic force, which is the will to power...the will to live life as it is. For, and here is the crux of our argument, the life that Nietzsche led evolved without respite in an incessant Becoming; whereas Palante`s life stagnated, wallowed in the mire of domestic sordidness, career trivialities and especially political aporia, due to an unproductive pessimism which he harboured and which became his alone. There can be no theory without practice, no matter how intellectually puissant. Palante`s private mishaps and public failures conspired to fashion a theoretical pessimism whose political outlet offered him no relief, nor escape from his psychological dilemma. A stagnant or permanent pessimism that remains barren, infecund, no matter how motivating it may philosophically appear on paper, inevitably casts an enveloping shadow on all aspects of life; the eternal pessimist is he who has no faith or confidence either in his society, or more important still, in his own Self. Friedrich Nietzsche might not have had a glowing enthusiasm or ardent faith in his XIXth century European society, but the enthusiasm and faith that matures and fulminates in his existence and philosophy were drawn now from a generous and magnanimous personality, now from the society (or societies) that he traversed. Nietzsche`s gift to all individuals is in the formula `Trunkne Lust`! It is a cry to live life as joyously and dangerously as possible. It is a cry of hope...

Palante`s case appears hopeless, perhaps because he never `outgrew` the philosophers he so passionately read and wrote of. He never lifted anchor and set sail on the high seas; instead he clung with precautionary prudence to *terra firma*, to the thoughts and ideals of philosophers and writers he knew well, but in whom he poured all this intellectual and affective energy, divesting him of independence and self-reliance. His quotations alone fill pages and pages of his articles, as if these voices spoke in his stead, suffused his personality devoid of Selfhood, steadied him on his route, buoyed him above water. They are far from dead voices, but his, because of their preponderant plethora, declines to a faint susurrus of timid reasoning and inchoate critiques.

It is true, none the less, that Georges Palante shared a passionate talent for fusing literature and philosophical debate as did Friedrich Nietzsche. Indeed, many of Palante`s arguments drew inspiration from literary references, especially Stendhal, a writer from whom Nietzsche, too, drew inspiration. Also, when we examine Palante`s words, we notice his propensity of capitalizing many common nouns which he deemed of great philosophical importance, albeit quite unconventional in the French language. This capitalization he purposely emulated from the German language which he knew well, and from, especially, Nietzsche`s particular wise of enlarging the semantic field of certain words by capitalizing them. But emulation results in false identity; a stationary one without the risk required for venturing

forth on one's own. Nietzsche said: « Verbrennen musst du dich wollen in deiner eignen Flamme : wie wolltest du neu werden, wenn du nicht erst Asche geworden bist! »⁶⁴

To die and be reborn again from one's ashes: This is the eternal recurrence of the joyous individual who relishes existence because existence is the means of Self-Accomplishment...again and again, accomplishing and accomplishing by Becoming. To commit suicide is the refusal of Becoming; a denial of one's Being, of one's Self as the very means of and to existence.

As we see it, to call Georges Palante a Nietzschean, as Michel Onfray does, would falsify Nietzsche's meditations on politics. That Palante be labelled a Leftist Nietzschean discredits Nietzsche's entire philosophy of Statehood and Authority, discredits, too, his philosophy of 'Freigeist' and *Amor Fati*. Stranger still, the formula 'Nietzsche socialiste' (page 94) seems to be accommodating Onfray's own political penchant: It is not because «Palante est l'un des premiers, en France, à associer Nietzsche et une pensée politique de gauche» (page 97) "Palante is one of the first in France to associate Nietzsche with the political thinking of the Left" that makes Nietzsche a Leftist, nor Palante a Nietzschean for that matter. The formula conveniently interweaves Onfray's main and subordinate theses in his book: The resurrection of Georges Palante and Onfray's appropriation of Nietzsche for his own political purposes.

What it further does is deepen the ignorance of the soft and tough Nietzscheans who attempt to categorize and thus petrify Nietzsche's philosophy into a handy politically labelled drawer or carton. The practice of political taxonomy has always been the shibboleth of the 'politically-minded' who ferret out formulae to be used as catch-phrases for their respective causes and cavils!

There is no political Nietzsche: Be it soft or tough, Leftist or Rightist, Marxist or Nazi! Only the alert and lucid individual who shuns political tendencies and snubs political theorizing. Nietzsche was the free spirit, keeping aloof from the uncleanness of the political agora. For his agonistic tension resided in his Self, striving beyond dualism, hieing far and high into Self-Accomplishment. Yet, Nietzsche was neither unsocial nor anti-social: His Self-Accomplishment wended the ways of the world as well as those ways of a more inner, remote nature. This choice is not a political one: It is ontological. Be that as it may, those who have appropriated and exploited Nietzsche in order to position their political pawns are not to be criticised for misunderstanding him, nor misinterpreting him, but of depreciating his philosophy; narrowing it to advance their political aims. Michel Onfray's book, meritorious in resuscitating Georges Palante after years of oblivion, meritorious in affirming him as one of the first French philosophers to have appreciated Nietzsche, and to have situated him squarely in the French intellectual landscape of that time, however, swerves gradually into the swamp of modern French politics where, cold, murky and turbulent Friedrich Nietzsche has found his Self floundering. Odd really, this sweep into French politics; indeed Michel Onfray says himself: «Le Nietzscheïsme de Palante réside en priorité dans son individualisme.» (page 79) "Palante's Nietzscheanism lies principally in his individualism." But Palante's individualism (and perhaps Onfray's, too) was a far cry from Nietzsche's! Nietzsche would have never dreamed of being a candidate to a political office as Palante was at Saint-Brieuce.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ In *Also sprach Zarathustra*, (Weg des Schaffenden).

⁶⁵ Palante presented his candidature and ran in the election for the town council board of advisors in 1919. He obtained only 438 votes out of 2.927, the last on the electoral list. His lose was extremely humiliating to him. See M. Onfray, loc. cit. pages 129-131.

There are far more stimulating French interpretations and commentaries of Friedrich Nietzsche which go beyond the mediocrity and superficiality of politics. Georges Bataille,⁶⁶ Maurice Blanchot⁶⁷, Pierre Klossowski⁶⁸ and Gilles Deleuze⁶⁹, for example, whose scope of explorations range from the ontological to the existential, and whose ontic identification with Nietzsche situates these philosophers and writers, and consequently situates the readers, too, on the firm soil of Being and Existence!

Is then Georges Palante a portrait of a Nietzschean as M. Onfray claims? Hardly, save their relationship to their illnesses: «Nietzsche et Palante partent de leur souffrance, de leur corps, de leur expérience pour échaufauder une pensée qui les aide à vivre.» (page 10) “Nietzsche and Palante start from their suffering, their bodies, from their experience to construct a thinking process that helps them to live.” There is no doubt about this fact, except that the `results` of their construction are diametrically opposed. And if indeed: «Palante passe sa vie à transfigurer ses manques, ses impuissances et ses faiblesses en visions de monde à même d’adoucir sa peine:» (page 15) “Palante spends his life transfiguring his deficiencies, his impotencies and his weaknesses in visions of the world, in alleviating his trials.”, these visions of the world, whatever they be, held no place for him, nor for someone like him. His suicide not only confirmed his deficiencies, impotencies and weaknesses, but endorsed a failed existential identity with Friedrich Nietzsche that one could, indeed, depict as an anti-portrait of Nietzsche!

M. Onfray does, however, pose this crucial question: «Pourquoi si peu de Nietzscheisme dans la vie?»⁷⁰ “Why so little of Nietzscheanism in life?” This appears to be a rather naïve question after two hundred pages of development. Identification to a philosopher can only engender fruitful results if the identifier `breaks away` and sets out on his own. To remain a `Nietzschean` -if this notion exists at all!- implies to remain chained to a concept without substance, bound to a theory without practice. There can be no Act of Acknowledging the other, only sterile emulation. In this Act of Acknowledgment Palante failed, not because there was so `little Nietzscheanism in his life`, but because Nietzsche`s existence cannot be emulated. Nor can it act as a guide if the disciple does not follow the mentor`s ways of existence which for the majority are hardly tenable.

But perhaps Palante had absolutely no intention of walking in Nietzsche`s steps! Had read and integrated Nietzsche`s Figures in his writings not as existential models, but rather as simple arguments to construct his own! Perhaps he shrugged his shoulders to a Nietzschean `Weltanschauung`, to a Nietzschean `Dengesang`, or to a Nietzschean `Kunstwollen`. Perhaps Palante despised himself: The drinker, the gambler, the whore-seeker, the unwashed professor of philosophy,⁷¹ he who sought and

⁶⁶ *Nietzsche et les Fascistes*, in Acéphale, 1937 and *Sur Nietzsche*, Gallimard, 1945.

⁶⁷ *L’Entretien Infinie*, Gallimard, 1969.

⁶⁸ *Un Funeste Désire*, Gallimard, 1963 and *Nietzsche et le cercle vicieux*, Mercure de France, 1969.

⁶⁹ *Nietzsche et la Philosophie*, P.U.F, 1978.

⁷⁰ Loc. cit. page 201.

⁷¹ The reports by the Inspectors of Education on Palante are devastating. They draw a portrait of a professor with a: “physionomie triste, timide, tenu un peu négligée [...] Le cours lui-même est exact, sans originalité de pensée, ni d’expression, sans accent personnel. » “A sad, timid physiognomy, his dress somewhat neglected [...] The subject course itself is exact, without any original thought or expression, without any personal accent.” The inspector adds that Palante suffers from: «une santé fragile » and has « une certaine difficulté à exprimer ses idées.» “...fragile health” “a certain difficulty to express his ideas.” The

welcomed failure as a confirmation of the myth or cliché of the lonesome hero struggling for egotistical freedom amidst collective seduction and temptation; the dragon-slayer who waits for no one but himself to applaud his doughty deeds. Perhaps scandal is what he sought to break his ignominious isolation, for scandal thrusts the `loner` on to the stage where at least he can make a spectacle of himself, however grotesque. Or perhaps Georges Palante, rooted deeply in his native French soil, gravely shuffling to work every day with his gigantic shoes and weight, meditating on some weighty social problematic, never fully appreciated Nietzsche's frolicking Figures, who with light steps and hearts danced into the vaulted skies, upon the highest snow-capped summits. These images respond to Nietzsche's `Weltanschauung`, whilst Palante ponderously dragged his feet through the mire of discontent, never a laugh at tragedy, be it his or society's as a whole. His was the path of `Selbstverwüstung`, grinder of the general groove, a prisoner to his fey pessimism, and not `überwindungs-motiv`, that merging of strength and constraint, Instinct and Reason, and Sensitivity and Intelligence in the subliminal process of the Overman.

The following epitaph is written on Palante's tombstone at Hillion:

«L'individu reste la source vivante de l'énergie et la mesure de l'idéal»⁷²

"The individual remains the living source of energy and the measure of the ideal"

Friedrich Nietzsche would have surely acquiesced. And perhaps in this epitaph lies the tragedy of Georges Palante's life: In adapting to society the individual dies. Individuals survive only by non-adaptation, by a constant struggle not to adapt or be adapted! To live, the Individual must impose his Difference, if not he perishes...Not to perish requires the strength or energy or will to live recklessly...dangerously. Friedrich Nietzsche possessed this strength, energy and will. Georges Palante did not...

Dean of his Lycée writes that his professor is: «...jeune, rougeaud, l'air empêtré ... Il paraît avoir plus de verbiage que de méthode et parle beaucoup pour ne pas dire grand-chose. » "...young, red-faced with an air of confusion [...] He displays more verbiage than method and speaks a lot without saying much." (See M. Onfray, loc. cit. pp. 64-65.

⁷² See M. Onfray, loc. cit. page 197.

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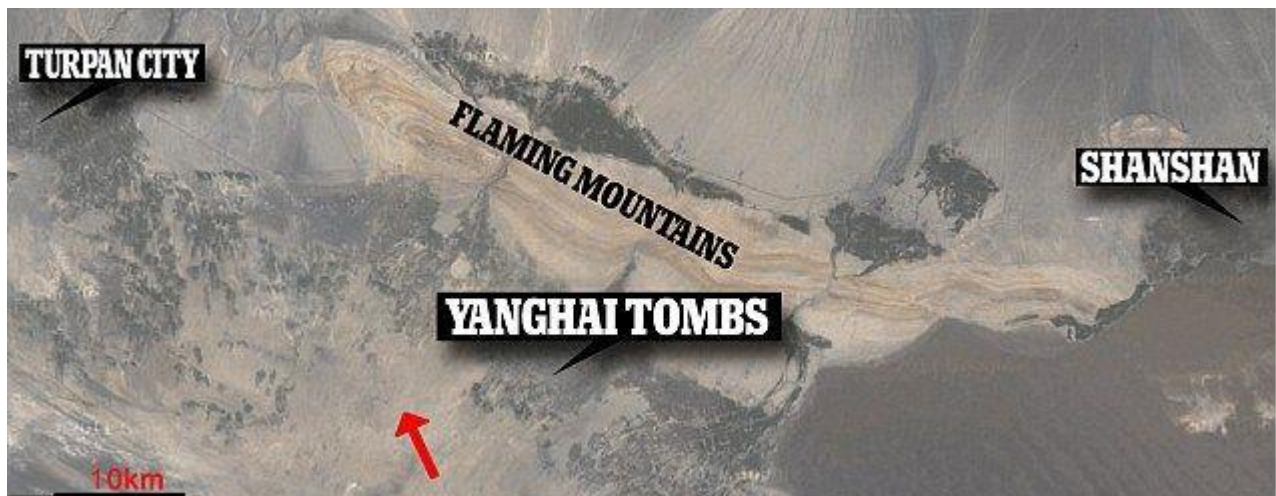


HISTORY

KISAMOV, Norm

Tarim Mummy in Socio-Ethnological Perspective

Early in 2014 came out a breaking news about old pants worn by a male mummy in the Tarim Basin.¹ It was reported that in the Tarim Basin in China, in the Yanghai graveyard, archaeologists have uncovered a Tarim mummy.



On closer inspection the substance of the news turned out to transcend far beyond the old pants, archeologists uncovered a material witness with traits that portray a whole epoch. It attests that people of the Zhou nomadic circle penetrated into Tarim Basin along with the future China. It attests that the Turkish-style riding pants are at least a millennium older than the Roman and Greek Empires, older than Etruscans in the Apennine Peninsula, and older than Chinese Empire. It attests that riding pants were worn three and a half millennia before our time. It alludes to the horse which the pants were riding on, and the whip that was to rush it. The find leads to the South Siberia, China, and Mesopotamia. It allows to date the uncovered artifacts as an undisturbed material complex, literally meet face-to-face with a descendent of the migratory waves, to see individual artifacts in their natural context. The pictures of the discovery flushed across news pages around the globe. Pants were reported as a centerfold of the news, but picture showed other unmentioned traits that also were as much the gems of the discovery.

¹ Sample links:

<https://www.sciencenews.org/article/first-pants-worn-horse-riders-3000-years-ago>

<http://ntrtv.ru/index.php?newsid=20964>

<http://news.mail.ru/society/18417984/>





The ancient man was completely dressed and wore a pair of riding *bot* boots, which are “extremely uncomfortable in walking”. Turkologists for ages asserted that the Türkic nomads brought boots footwear to the civilized and uncivilized sedentary world, only to be taken up with sneers and scorn. This uncouth old mummy puts to rest the sneers of prejudiced skeptic generations.

The mummy's *caftan* coat illustrates the accuracy of the Chinese annals, it is lapelled to the left, in contrast with the Chinese robes lapelled to the right. 12 centuries later, for the Chinese of the Han period, the lapel to the left was a sign of barbarism and a reason for permanent consternation. Great efforts of the much later Celestial empires were futilely spent on attempts to re-educate millions of barbarians to switch to the real civilized fashion of lapel to the right. In the end, some of those millions joined Chinese people and turned into bona fide Chinese in right lapelled robes. Some of those Chinese retained their old ethnic name Hu for the Central Asian nomads, like Hu Jintao 胡锦涛.

The deceased was buried with his travel necessities. He was given provisions for the road, in pots and vessels, and carried a flask. He carried a whip and an axe, to be prepared in case of any travel surprises. He was ready for shine or rain. His predecessors of the Neolithic Age were sent off for reincarnation with whetstone as major tool. The advanced Bronze Age traveler instead of whetstone carried a state-of-the-art cast bronze axe.

A *yip* whip was needed to accompany the deceased to the Tengri for reincarnation. In the year 1400 BC, the Buddhism had not been invented yet. It would take another 800 years to come up with the Buddhism and its reincarnation etiology. By that time, kurgans, Tengriism, and reincarnation would have existed for about 6 millennia. Probably not in the same form as they came down to us, but the kurgans and the usual inventory of the travel necessities attest to the intended travel and reincarnation. The horse or horses of the Zhou traveler must have been interred in the immediate proximity of the deceased, otherwise he would not have grabbed a horsewhip to go along. The horse remains and its DNA escaped attention of the reporters, a complete picture of his mount and details of its burial are sorely missing. Those details could have suggested burial traditions similar to the ones of the later times. Although the Kurgan burial traditions generally are very monotonous, small details are different among different populations, they afford some degree of kinship lineage tracing.

The DNA of the Tarim people is highly charged politically and therefore it is a guarded Chinese state secret, largely known from years of sensationalized and highly demagogued reports on Caucasoid “Indo-European” blonds speaking “Tokharian” language (i.e. Kuchean, aka *Kushana*, a version of Meroitic Hindi, an Indian lingua franca or trade language in Central Asia used by diverse peoples living in an intense bilingual environment)² on one side, and Chinese counter inculcation on the other side. The available genetic bits of information on the Tarim burials suggest Central Asian (read: Türkic) and Indian males and mostly local eastern ladies. A single pointed reference in the DNA studies was made to Uigurs, who used to control the Tarim Basin during historical times. A veil of confusion congenital to the population genetics blots the picture, leaving metallurgy to lead the field with precise, verifiable, and consistent data till the biological studies provide comparably sound results.

² Winters C., 2012, *Tocharian is the Cognate language to Meroitic*, Uthman dan Fodio Institute, Chicago, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/91594296/Tocharian-the-Cognate-Language-of-Meroitic>

The blondishness of the Tarim horse nomads comes from the Ugro-Fennic stock described in the metallurgical, anthropological, and genetic tracing. Ironically, although the Ugro-Fennic blondishness is a rare oddity in Europe and in the Indo-European stock, it has been sold as an innate trait of the Indo-Europeans, and was sold as such for many years, probably starting with the European philosophers of the 19th century. Until challenged by new discoveries, the blondishness is specifically of either Ugro-Fennic or Melanesian origin. The T. Chikisheva's fundamental work on physical anthropology explains the process of amalgamation of the horse nomads with the Ugro-Fennic hunters very clearly.³ So does the E. Chernykh's tracking of metallurgy.⁴ These were the processes that produced a blond mummy of the Tarim nomad. In their drives to the east and west, the nomads could not escape bringing their traits to Europe and Far East. Hence, the blond Europeans, endemic in the Ugro-Fennic ancestral territories of the Eastern Europe, the blond Far Easterners, and the blond South Asians. Hence, the endemic confusion of the Ural-Altaic, Altaic, Macro-Altaic, Micro-Altaic, etc. linguistic classifications. The light hair and eyes may be exclusively female inheritance, independent of Y-DNA, it can be a natural consequence of the brunettes' eternal weakness for the blonde beauties. The Indian DNA does not have a chance to start a line of blond offsprings, that honor falls on the DNA of the Türkic nomadic pastoralists from the South-Western Siberia. Chinese annals of the latter days specifically mention which Türkic tribes in their neighborhood had light hair and eyes. Among them were Tele tribes, Usuns (the modern Dulats of Kazakhstan) and Enisei Kirgizes, the modern Khakasses and Kirgizes.

The most striking artefact in the Tarim mummy's burial complex is the tubular socket ax, an implement so unique and diagnostic that it beats by far the 3,300-year aged model of the riding pants. The tubular socket ax is an oddity in the world of axes, it is known from the early period of the bronze casting, and only from the limited areas of the northern hills in the Mesopotamia, Altai and surrounding South Siberia, and the northern areas of what is China today. It is known from the tombstone sculptures routinely attributed to the Scythians (or Cimmerians), and dated accordingly to the post-9th cent. BC. That guesstimate dating surely needs verification by instrumented methods. The tubular socket axes belong to the Steppe Metallurgy named by E. Chernykh an East Asian Metallurgical Province.⁵ In the metallurgical periodization, they belong to the third stage of the East - West sprawl in the 3rd-2nd mill. BC. The Middle Bronze Age metallurgical period of 1900-1200 BC includes the lifetime of the constituent archeological cultures, 3,300 - 2,300 BC for Pit Grave Culture, 2,500 - 1,500 BC for Afanasiev Culture, 1,900 - 1,200 BC for Timber Grave Culture, 1,800 - 1,200 BC for Andronov Culture, and 1,400 - 700 BC for Karasuk Culture. The early phase of the Eurasian Metallurgical Province, dated 28-22 centuries BC, is remarkable for the start of two swift counter-propagating waves of the pastoral peoples' migration from the west to the east and from the east to the west that left their unique tubular socket traces to the west in Mesopotamia, in South Siberia, and to the east in what today is the northern China.

The tubular socket ax was but a single component of the "Scythian complex" that also included other peculiar metallurgical and non-metallurgical objects, not necessarily interred with the deceased as attire

³ Chikisheva T., 2010, Dynamics of anthropological differentiation in South-Western Siberian population in Neolithic - Early Iron Age, Professorial dissertation, Novosibirsk.

⁴ Chernykh E.N., 2008, *Eurasian "steppe belt": at the origins*//Nature No 3, pp. 34-43 (In Russian). The following synopsis on Eurasian metallurgy is based on E.N. Chernykh's work.

⁵ Chernykh E.N., 2008, *ibid.*

or travel utensils. These distinct objects included symbolic bronze knives that with time turned into round and square coins. The turtle shell notebooks are timed with the arrival of the Zhou people to the future China. The unique traceable model of the ax allows to connect the Gut (Kut, Qut) horse nomads (Guties) in the west with the Zhou horse nomads in the east, and speculate that Guties stand either for *Guzes*, a genetic Türkic for “tribe” or *Juzes* a genetic Türkic for “union, tribal confederation”, and the name *Zhous* also stands for *Juzes*. The *Juz* still means “union” in Kazakhstan, and it is *Üz* (Юз) in Slavic, which has a form *Soüz* (Союз), like in the name USSR (СССР) where the first Cyrillic C stands for *Souz* (Союз). The Turkic word that stood first in the title of the country had survived the Stalin's ethnic pogroms and deportations not because of the kindness of the ruling thugs, but because of their blatant ignorance and the absence of substitute synonyms in the Russian lexis.

In the context of the attribution, the name *Guties* does not literally or specifically mean the Gut or Guti tribe. In the nomadic world across Eurasia, no tribe or subdivision possessed suzerainty, out of necessity every tribe had to align with other tribes into a tribal union for its own survival. Historical records retain the name of the union (e.g. On Ok, a union of ten tribes, or Oguz, lit. “Tribal (Ok) Union (Üz)”), and chroniclers are rarely aware of all its members, at best they know of the largest, or closest, or somehow most salient of the neighbors' tribes. It is not known if the name *Guties* was a name of a union, a part of a union, or an individual tribe. Likelier than not, the name *Guties* was a generic name applied to the tribal confederation, like the names *Saka*, *Scythians*, *Alans*, *Tatars*, *Oguzes*, *Goths*, etc. Chroniclers almost always noted that besides a common name, the described tribe has many individual tribes with their own names. The name *Guties* came to the front because the Akkadian scribes called the nomadic rulers of the Akkad and Sumer *Guties* (*Gutium* with Semitic pl. ending); but the name of one Gutian ruler *Elulumeš* (*El* (land, country, tribe) + *Lulu* (tribal name) + *-meš* (attributive suffix)) points to his origin from the tribe *Lulu* (*Lulubu*), hence he was a *Gutian* and a *Lulubian* at the same time (Cf. *Chinese American* or *African-American*, etc.). In the context of the attribution, then, *Gutian* stands for all and every nomadic tribe of the Mesopotamia of that particular time. From the Akkadian records, they are known as Kassites, Lulu (*Lulubians*), Subars (*Subartu*), and Turuks.

The reference to *Zhous* also does not literally or specifically mean a tribe of Zhou. Rather, like the Chinese terms *Hu* and *Juns* (pinyin *Rong*), it was a generic term for nomadic intruders. It took Chinese more than another millennium to learn and cite the names of the individual nomadic tribes. This treatment was repeated everywhere, the ruling and neighboring nomads had generic appellations of *Saka* or *Scythians* and *Guties* in the Middle East, *Huns* in Europe, India, and China, *Tatars* or *Mongols* across Northern Eurasia, etc. None of those appellations reflected tribal composition of the nomadic rulers. The Zhou was a nomadic tribal conglomerate that happened to play a most decisive and long-lasting role in the emergence and consolidation of China, the Tarim mummy is spatially and temporally closest to the nomadic *Zhous*, and it is ethnologically linked with them by the common origin attested by the unique axe artifact.

The first signs of the Eurasian inception of the “steppe belt” appeared in the 5th mill. BC, at the very beginning of the Early Metal or the Copper Age. By the end of the 2nd mill. BC the “steppe belt” had established form that in main features endured for the next three millennia. The initial stages of the pastoral economy and emergence of metallurgy led to two global consequences, the spread of mobile pastoralism across Eurasia in one gigantic Steppe Belt extending for 8,000 km and notable for its uniform

distinct culture without explicit prototypes, and the spread of metallurgy along the Steppe Belt. That was the time of the beginning of the nomadic waves of Kurganians that largely wrote and defined Eurasia. The kernel of the nomadic movement were people who left behind monuments where archaeologists recognize the so-called Sintashta or Abashevo-Sintashta and Petrov cultures. Populations of the communities disdained agriculture, animal husbandry was central to their daily lives. The copper ore deposits east of the Urals and in Kazakhstan attest that metal mining industry was successfully developing there. In the development of metallurgy, theirs was a stage, the Eurasian Metallurgical Province, it bore the seeds for the East Asian Metallurgical Province.

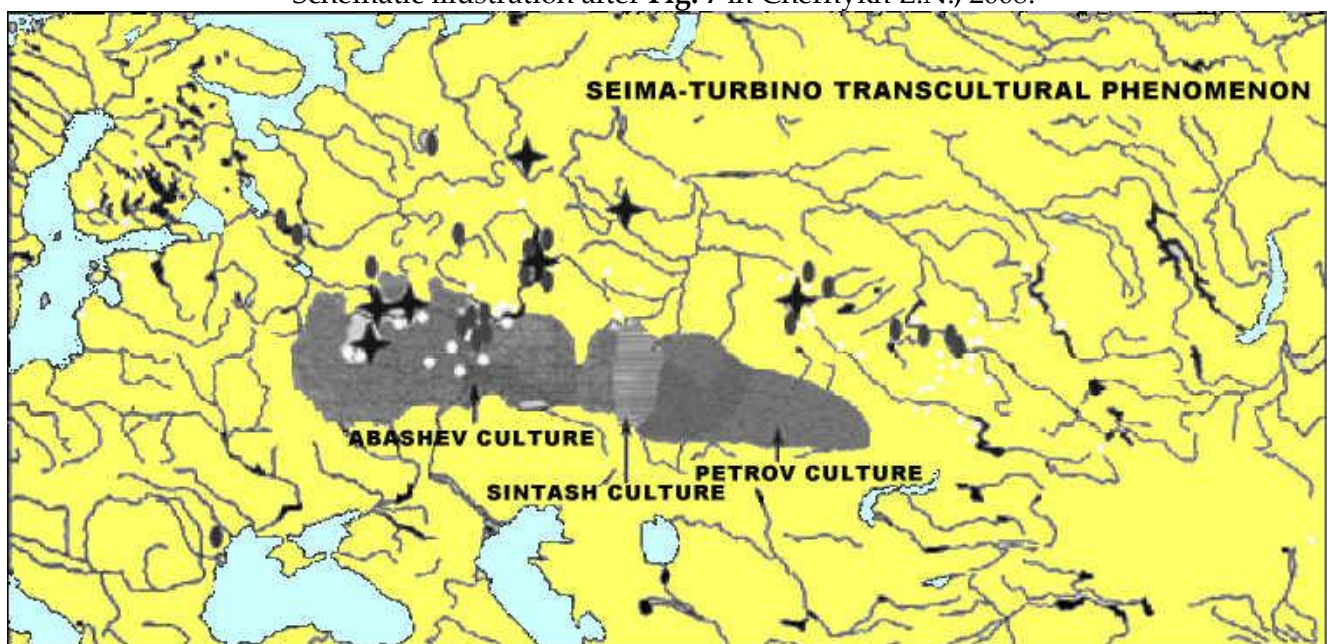
In the archeology, the eastern “wave” is known as the Seima-Turbino transcultural phenomenon (after two famous cemeteries: Seima and Turbino). The warlike nomadic populations rapidly moved westward in parallel, but to the north from the oncoming wave of the Abashevo-Sintashta tribes, primarily along the southern strip of the Eurasian forest zone. 35-40 centuries later by the same path heading eastward would as swiftly move small Cossack detachments, the restless and undisciplined mercenaries of the incipient Russian state. Cossacks were Türkic mercenaries of various tribal ethnicity, generally defined by their ancestral location: Yaik Cossacks, Don Cossacks, Terek Cossacks, etc. Cossacks were hired for a determined season, or a determined campaign or task.

Fig. 7 Phase in formation of the Eurasian Metallurgical Province. Two counter-propagating waves in the spread of the cultural formations.

Asterisks denote tombs and sanctuaries, points and oval shapes denote isolated finds of metal of the Seima-Turbino appearance.

Mesopotamia Taurus and Zagros mountains, at the end of the 3rd mill. BC occupied by Guties and their kindred tribes, lays outside of the study area.

Schematic illustration after Fig. 7 in Chernykh E.N., 2008.



Eastward from the Urals, kurgan cemeteries almost disappeared: the ancient ritual of constructing massive grave mounds was on the ebb, attesting to more egalitarian communities. Archaeologists discovered many villages of that community, but as a rule the settlements were tiny. The Sintashta/Abashevo/Petrov culture display typical traits of peaceful colonization and amalgamation. The fragmented aboriginal foot hunter population continued their traditional non-producing economy, with large tracts of forest needed for the sustenance of each family; that limited the size of the villages exploiting natural resources within their immediate vicinity. The newcomers brought along their producing animal husbandry economy that did not compete with the aboriginal economy. They engaged aborigines into metal production as suppliers of the ore and charcoal, and possibly of the ingots. On the social level, amalgamation went on as inter-ethnic marital unions. In the lingo of physical anthropology, the nomads of the western part of the steppe belt are termed Southern Eurasian Anthropological Formation; these are the people called Kurgans within the Indo-European linguistic *Urheimat* hypothesis. That hypothesis, developed before major advances in DNA sequencing and statistics, confused the westward migration of the Kurgan nomads (4th-3rd mill. BC) with the much later southeastern migration of the non-Kurgan European farmers, later known in the South-Central Asia as Indo-Aryans (2nd mill. BC).⁶ The northern foot hunters are termed Northern Eurasian Anthropological Formation, they occupied the northern belt of Eurasia from the White Sea to the Baraba steppes, and archeologically are termed Pit-Comb Ware Cultures.⁷ They are largely identified with the Fennic linguistic group. The initial stages of the pastoral economy and emergence of metallurgy led to two global consequences, the spread of mobile pastoralism across Eurasia in one gigantic Steppe Belt extending for 8,000 km and notable for its uniform distinct culture without explicit prototypes, and the spread of metallurgy along the Steppe Belt. The cattlemen warriors of the Steppe Belt in a tide and ebb fashion penetrated deep into the settled farming societies to the south, creating throughout its vast extent the regions with interspersed coexistence of contrasting types of cultures.

Like the Pilgrims vs. Amerindians, like the conquistadors vs. Mesoamericans, and like any other colonial expansion, the nomadic newcomers are relatively few, and barely visible archeologically; but their visibility may be relatively high if their archeological culture is very distinct, and if the visibility of the aboriginal archeological backdrop is even less prominent. Their offsprings soon become physically indistinguishable from the aboriginal population, except for their continued economic and social traditions, reflected in disappearing kurgan cemeteries. The economic and marital compacts may continue indefinitely, until a new upheaval changes the scenery.

The initial stages of the pastoral economy and emergence of metallurgy led to two global consequences, the spread of mobile pastoralism across Eurasia in one gigantic Steppe Belt extending for 8,000 km and notable for its uniform distinct culture without explicit prototypes, and the spread of metallurgy along the Steppe Belt. The cattlemen warriors of the Steppe Belt in a tide and ebb fashion penetrated deep into the settled farming societies to the south, creating throughout its vast extent

⁶ Klyosov A., 2010, The principal mystery in the relationship of Indo-European and Türkic linguistic families//Journal of Russian Academy of DNA Genealogy, Vol. 3, No 1, pp. 3 – 58; Klyosov A., Tomezzoli G.T., 2013, DNA Genealogy and Linguistics. Ancient Europe//Advances in Anthropology, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 101-111, Published Online.

⁷ Bunak V., 1956, *The human race and the ways of their education*//Soviet Ethnography, No 1, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, pp. 86-105; T.Chikisheva, 2010, *ibid.*

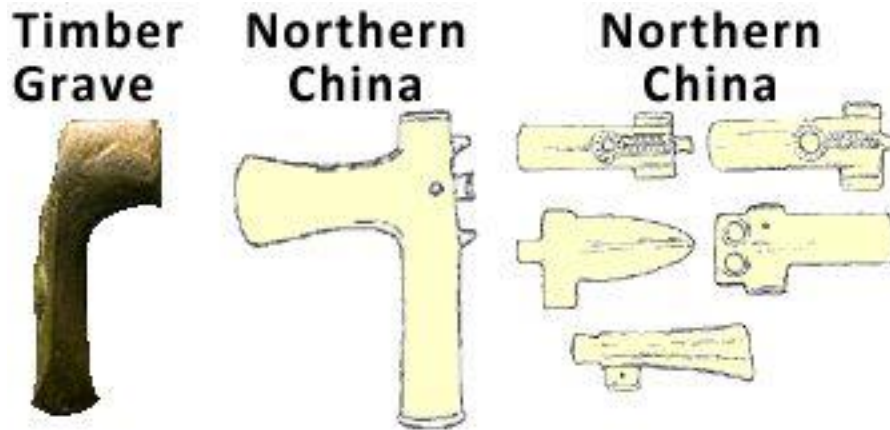
regions with interspersed coexistence of various types of cultures. The initial nomadic “wave” spread the technology of productive pastoralism across the Steppe Belt. The second nomadic “wave” (or the eastern impulse) very quickly came to a very developed type of metallurgy in the vast area of the Sayano-Altai mountain system. The relatively primitive metallurgical centers of the preceding period went through a sudden burst of high-tech production of thin-walled bronze castings of fine and at times unique forms of weapons. There were cast spearheads, kelt axes, curved knives with sculpted images of various animals and even humans (Fig. 8). The vast majority of these objects were found in cenotaph graves, where archaeologists have found no human remains. The width of the distribution area of these unusual antiquities is amazing: from the Western and even Central China, to the Eastern Baltic, i.e., more than 6,000 km. But in this enormous territory were found surprisingly small number of these metal objects, not more than six hundred.

Fig. 8. Some forms of the Seima-Turbino type metal products

Illustration after Fig. 8 in Chernykh E.N., 2008.



The provenance of the unique tubular socket axes, which followed the practice of tubular-socketed arrowheads and spear blades, sheds light on the origin of the East Asian Metallurgical Province. The tubular socket technique serves as a diagnostic tool for tracing origin of the populations. Such tubular socket axes were found in Mesopotamia, in the Altai, and in the Northern China. In the Mesopotamia, they are attributed to the nomadic horse cattlemen Guties (Guzes, maybe Juzes from Juz “union, tribal confederation”), and hence the nomadic tribes of Lulu, Kassites, Turuks (Türk), Subaru (Subars), Komans (Kumans), and Kangars; in China they are associated with the nomadic horse cattlemen Zhou (Jous, from Juz “union, tribal confederation”) and Juns (pinyin Rongs, probably standing for Huns); in the Altai they are associated with metal production of the East Asian Metallurgical Province.

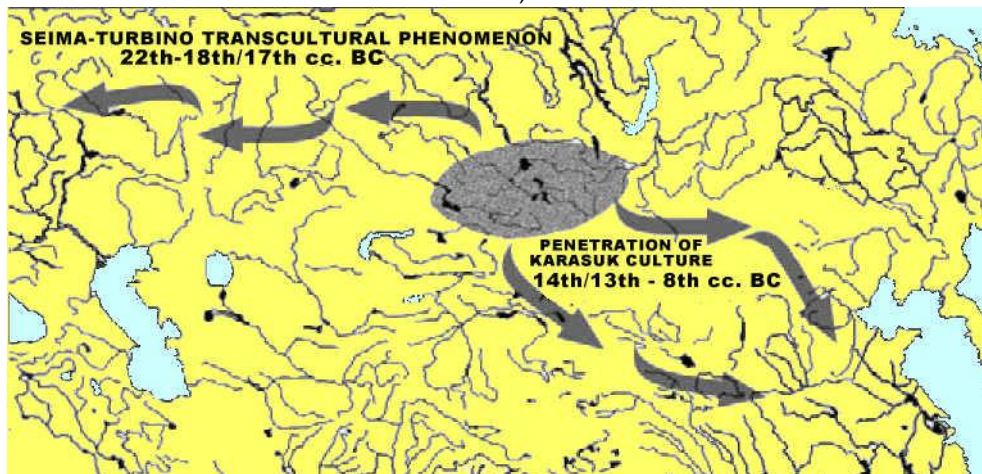


That was a birth of another great metallurgical province, which is called East Asian Metallurgical Province. Compared with the Eurasian Metallurgical Province it had a much more complex structure.

In the second half of the 2nd mill. BC the nomadic pastoralists of the East Asian Metallurgical Province dramatically changed orientation of their expansion. Their vector went mainly in the southeast direction (Fig. 9), toward the rich agricultural centers of the Shang (Yin) state in the south of the Huanhe (Yellow River) basin in China. The steppe extracts, whose culture archaeologists call Karasuk, inherited many weapons forms from the prior Seima-Turbino phenomenon, first of all casting the so-called single-edged curved knives with decorated handles (Fig. 8). These forms of weapons, or rather their imitations, spread throughout the territory of the Shang principality. Apparently, from that time originated the great confrontation between the steppe pastoral warriors and the ancient and medieval Chinese civilizations.

Figure 9. Major impact directions of the cultural unions belonging to the northwestern (Sayan - Altai) centers of the East Asian Metallurgical Province during the final development of the Eurasian "steppe belt"

The western leg of the eastward migration passes the Tarim Basin, carrying the left lapelled caftans, oldest riding pants, riding boots, tubular socket axes, horsewhips, ceramic flasks, kaury (cowrie, cowry) shell diadems, dress buttons, etc.

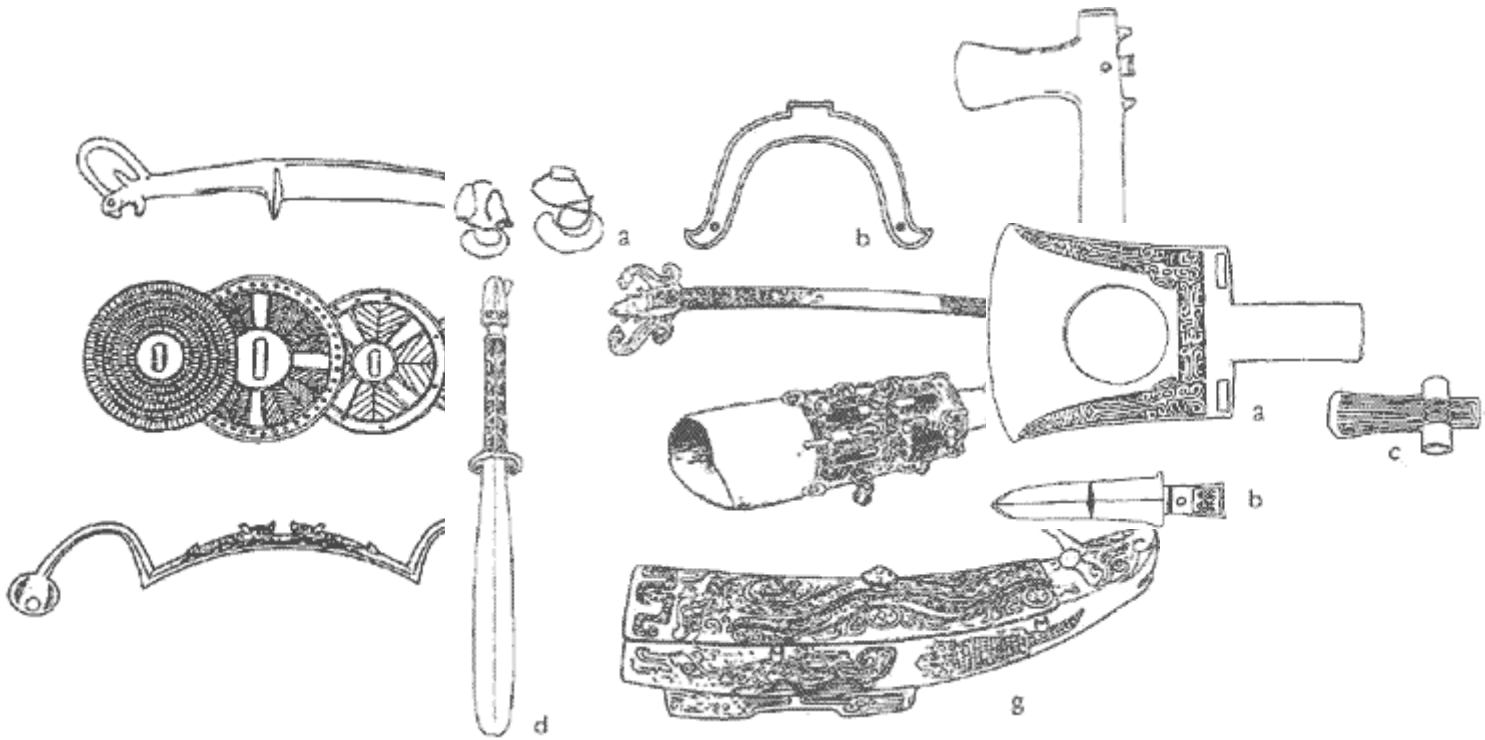


Metallurgical investigation of the Tarim mummy's axe would provide another trace to the origins of the Tarim ancient nomadic people. The trail may lead as far as the Altai or Sayan mountains, where ore and charcoal were available. The trail of the East Asian Metallurgical Province runs through the Tarim basin and ends in China (Fig. 3.25, 3.36, 3.39, illustrations after Loeuwe M., Shaughnessy E.L., eds., 1999)⁸.

Figure 3.25. Bronzes of northern style, from Fu Hao's tomb. (a) Knife. (b) Minors. (c) Bow-shaped object

Figure 3.39 Objects from various finds at Shilou, Shanxi. (a) Gold earrings with turquoise beads. (b) Bronze arc (head ornament?). (c) Battle axe with tubular shaft hole. (d) Wand or spatula. (g) Ladle. (f) Bell-shaped rattle. (g) Boat shaped vessel

Figure 3.36. Axes. Same scale, (a) Axe of the type yue. (b) Axe of the type ge. (c) Axe with tubular socket



Reports about discovery of the Tarim mummy revealed that archaeologists in China have uncovered in the Yanghai graveyard in the Tarim Basin the world's oldest pants, age ca. 3.3 thousand years. It is the most ancient pair of pants ever found on earth. Their tailoring involved no cutting: the pant sections were shaped on a loom in the final size. Trousers was sewn together from three pieces of brown-colored wool cloth, one piece for each leg and an insert for the crotch. Finished pants included side slits, strings for fastening at the waist and woven designs on the legs. They are decorated with embroidery. Experts believe that the pants belonged to one of the "Asian nomads". The find confirms that the "Asian nomads" sewed special clothing to ride on horseback.

⁸ M. Loeuwe, E.L. Shaughnessy, eds. 1999, *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221BC*, Cambridge University Press.

Ulrike Beck and Mayke Wagner of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin studied together with colleagues two pairs of woolen trousers from the burial in Eastern Turkistan. Radiocarbon analysis showed that they were about 3,300 - 3,000 years old.

For most of the ancient history people wore gowns, robes, tunics, togas or, as observed on the 5,300-year-old body of the Ötzi the Iceman, a three-piece combination of loincloth and individual leggings. Trousers is a relatively recent innovation. Until now, the oldest pants were considered to come from Nepal, their "age" is only 2,400 years. Earlier and till recently, the locals wore skirts and capes. But when riding appeared, it came with pants.

According to scientists, this confirms the long-held assumption that the appearance of the first pants was associated with the horse riding. The woolen trousers had a piece of fabric sewn in the crotch to protect this part of the human body, and to provide a closer grip of the inner thigh required at riding on a horseback.

The scientists were struck by another observation. Reconstruction showed that the wide crotch part of the ancient pants was hanging by folds, exactly in a fashion of the Türkic pants one still can see in Turkey. One of the Wagner colleagues tried the pants sewn after the pattern of the oldest pants, and concluded that they were "extremely uncomfortable when walking". M. Wagner commented: "While walking, the internal parts of the legs, the crotch and the lower abdomen are not subjected to a long period of friction. The problem of friction becomes acute only when riders have to spend a lot of time on horseback." The Turkish and Azeri men, however, apparently have no problems wearing the modern version of the similarly patterned riding trousers as a daily attire.

The discovery attests that the horse riding existed in the Tarim Basin three and a half thousand years ago. Over the ages, Central Asia passed through cyclical periods of aridification and humidification, driving out and attracting nomadic pastoralists. 3,500 years ago, during a humid period, the Tarim Basin must have offered attractive pastures to the nomadic ranchers.

No written sources exist for the pre-historical period of South Siberia and Northern China. Archeology and paleoanthropology shed uneven light on their societies and peoples; the name of the Zhou people appeared in the early Chinese records in connection with the Shang period of Yin state. In contrast, Mesopotamia was endowed with a pioneering writing system and extensive body of historical and mundane records preceding migration of the Indo-Arian farmers to the Iranian Plateau. The Gutian history is known in broad terms from the Mesopotamian records. Gutians belonged to a cluster of horse nomadic tribes occupying eastern Taurus and Zagros mountains from about 3000 BC under peculiar tribal names rendered as Turuks (Turukkos), Lulu (Lullubians), Kassites, and Subartu; the names that can be rendered Komans and Kangars also figure in the Mesopotamian cuneiform records. Dating of records and geography for the nomadic tribes is spotty. Gutians were a powerful tribe that took over the rule of Sumer and Akkad for about a century. For the agricultural population and cities, the Gutian period (ca. 2154 – 2112 BC in short chronology, 124 years on the outside) was a disaster, cities and irrigation were ruined, fields were used for pastures.

A most frequently used title of the Gutian rulers is read as *Yargan*, which in Türkic corresponds to the title “Judge”,⁹ a member of a “tribunal”, and may be translated as “Tribune” (spelled *yarğa:n* in Clauson EDT, 1971, p. 963).¹⁰ That position and title were perpetuated in the Bible's Book of Judges, in the Roman Republic, and in the legend of the Round Table of the King Arthur with its Earl tribunes. The republican system does not fit well into the paradigm of the kings and monarchies expounded by the 20th cent. scholars of the Middle East, the title raised substantial scientific puzzlement and stray guesses. The title *Yarğa:n* was already not new when it came to the attention of the Akkadian scribes, it lasted during the Gutian rule of the Akkkad and Sumer, and it outlived the Akkkadian Empire by more than 3000 years. G. Clauson cites the name-titles *Inançu Apa Yarğan Tarxan* (8th c. AD) and *Boyla Kutluğ Yarğan Suci* (9th c. AD) in Türkü and Uigur records,¹¹ and Greek records have a regent *Organa* for *Bu-Yurgan* (7th c. AD).¹² In these cases, the element *Yarğan* corresponds to the post of “judge, tribune” rather than “commander”, that is attested by the component *Yarğan Suci* meaning “Judge - Army Commander”, and the title *Earl* (a form of *Yarğan*) at the Round Table. The etymology of the position *Yarğan* ascends to the word *yarğu*: “splitter, tribunal, lawsuit, legal decision” denoting a legal tribunal at the head of the tribal administration, “i.e. an instrument for splitting facts and discovering the truth” from the verb *yar-* “to split, cleave”.¹³ Two more words relate to the post and add functional description: *yarlığ* is a “command (from superior to inferior), edict”, it has civil and military applications, and *yarğu:n* is a “destroyer, ruiner”, a derivative of the verb *yar-* with clear war-time application. These terms are consistent with the verbs cited by K. Balkan, *yarliqa-*, *yarliyg-* “to order, to command”.¹⁴ The phonetic and semantic consistency demonstrates a peculiar linguistic longevity across a period of four millennia, and the immense geographical spread from China to British Isles.

Since the term *judge* alludes to *justice*, the interpretation of the notion is an equivalent to the expression “XYZ the Just”. The title *Yarğan* is loaded, it describes the republican system of the Guties' tribal organization, their tribal Council, and the position of the presiding Judge at the council; it asserts that in the 3rd mill. BC, the Guties had the organization and military power to take over and rule the troubled Akkadian Empire. That is a model replicated in numerous cases, from the Türkic and Mongol empires to the Round Table of the King Arthur and the institution of the modern parliament. At least some words and concepts introduced by the ruling Guties had to be internalized (Cf. *Gutium*, the Semitic form) and eternized within the inheritor languages, including Babylonian and later Persian.

The body of Gutian-related records is not large, consisting of mostly onomasticon and morphological elements. None of the neighborhood contemporary languages of the 24th c. BC come linguistically close to the Gutian, so the parallels must be sought elsewhere. It is generally agreed that onomastics is irrelevant in ethnological attributions (Cf. not all Alexanders are Greek, not all Joshuas are Hebrew); that

⁹ Balkan, 2000, Relations between the Language of the Gutians and Old Turkish//Journal of Erdemir, c. VI.

¹⁰ Clauson G., 1972, (EDT), Etymological Dictionary of pre-13th c. Turkish, Oxford, p. 963.

¹¹ Clauson G., 1972, EDT, ibid, p. 963.

¹² Runciman S., 1930, *A history of the First Bulgarian Empire*, G. Bell & Sons Ltd., London, p. 14, citing Nicephorus and John of Nikiou.

¹³ Clauson G., 1972, EDT, ibid, p. 963.

¹⁴ Balkan, 2000, ibid.

is one of the main objections to the V. Abaev's Scytho-Iranian Theory (Cf. Dremin G. , 2006).¹⁵ The title-names do not fall into the category of the names because generally they are semantic designations peculiar to individual languages (Cf. title "King", "Judge" in the European languages: Pol. *krol*; Lat. *rex, regis*; Hu. *kiraly*; Gmn. *König*; etc. vs. *şedziavs*; *iudex*; *bíró*; *Richter*, etc. respectively). The ethnical examination of the Gutian names as personal names, on the model of the European names, would be credible only with a questionable assumption that in the majority they are not borrowings but specifically Gutian native names. In contrast, the ethnical examination of the Gutian names as titles (title-names) is credible, since the assumption is that in majority they are not borrowings but peculiar Gutian native titles, and can be empirically validated by systemic concordance with the titles and morphology of a candidate language.

The thesis that the Gutian language is related to the Türkic linguistic family was first proposed by B. Landsberger, a chair of Sumerology at the Ankara University, in 1937.¹⁶ B. Landsberger illustrated his thesis with specific examples of the Gutian lexicon and morphological elements. The Gutians came to the fore again in the late 20th century. P. Dolukhanov, 1994, with a reference to the Assyriologist I. M. Diakonoff, posited that Gutians were distant relatives of the today's Dagestanies, in today's lingo called Kumyks; J. Derakhshani, 1998, asserted that the Gutians were a Turanian tribe Tukri.¹⁷ The modern Kumyks are descendants from the agglomerate of the Türkic tribes of the Masguts (Alans), Kayis (Kaitags), Huns (aka Savirs/Suvars), Khazars (Barsils), and Oguzes. The B. Landsberger's thesis was analyzed by K. Balkan, 2000, with a detailed inventory and examination of the available Gutian material.¹⁸ K. Balkan turned to the Old Turkic to interpret Gutian titles and morphological elements, building on and adding more examples and morphological elements to the brief B. Landsberger's list (*El Ulumuş, Yarlagan, Tirigan, Şarlak*, etc.), and advancing B. Landsberger's resemblances to direct correspondences, like the name *Ia-ar-la-ga-an-de* of the founder of the Gutian dynasty with the ending *-de*, which turned to be the Old Turkic locative noun suffix *-dal-de (-dal-dä)*, "of judges", "of tribunal", and the like.¹⁹ The K. Balkan's work was seconded by E. Memiş, 2000.²⁰

The archaic Türkic origin of the nomadic Guties and their constituent nomadic tribes is consistent and corroborates archeological, ethnological, historical, biological, and ethnical details associated with the nomadic mummy from the Tarim Basin. The Tarim Basin mummy from the Yanghai graveyard opened another porthole to the events of the 2nd mill. BC that shaped histories of the Eurasian peoples from one end of the continent to another. It is unavoidable that the Yanghai discovery will generate a wealth of scientific material illuminating many aspects of the ancient life. In broad terms, the historical outline has

¹⁵ Dremin George, 2006, "Scythian-Sarmatian" vernaculars and "Scythian" dictionary of V.I. Abaev, online version.

¹⁶ Landsberger B., 1937, Basic questions of the early history of the Near East (Grundfragen der Frühgeschichte Vorderasiens), Türkischer Geschichtskongress, Devlet Basımevi, Istanbul.

¹⁷ Dolukhanov Pavel, 1994, Environment and Ethnicity in the Middle East, Aldershot, Avebury, cited in Suave Aydın, Trans. , 1998, Old Middle East, Environment and Ethnic Structure (Eski Ortadoğu'da Çevre ve Etnik Yapı), Ankara; Derakhshani Jahanshah, 1998; Aryans in Near Eastern sources of the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC (Arier in den nächstlichen Quellen des 3 und 2 Jahrtausend) Chr. Teheran, 1-4.

¹⁸ Balkan, 2000, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Nadelyaev V.M. at al, eds., 1969, *Old Turkic Dictionary*, p. 651 (In Russian).

²⁰ Memiş Ekrem, 2000; Turkish antiquity (Eskiçağ'da Türkler), Konya, p. 57f.

solidified, and it is likely that the new discovery will fall into the established scheme of things, adding, for example, another tested specimen to the database in excess of 120 thousand artifacts (as of 2008) in the study headed by E.N. Chernykh. Unlike the wool of the pants, which could come from the same breed of the sheep a continent apart, the chemical composition of the peculiar axe can pinpoint the exact source of the ore, tracing geography of its ultimate source to a specific point. A certain community of Neolithic migrants traversed Eurasia from Kazakhstan to the Eastern Europe, bringing with them a peculiar animal husbandry producing economy, a peculiar etiology attested by kurgan burials, and a peculiar egalitarian social system, learned of metallurgy in the Northern Balkans, and in reciprocal migrations spread that practice back to their homeland. Unlike the sedentary societies, the social system based on voluntary principle was the only viable social system in the mobile and fluid pastoral world. Along the way, the cattlemen learned to live symbiotically, for mutual benefit, with populations scattered along their spread. The seeds of metallurgy blossomed into new techniques and beneficial products, and again the reciprocal migrations of the mobile cattlemen spread it far and wide, seeding new amalgamated nations and new civilizations. A high mobility of the pastoralists gave them an upper hand in dealing with the sedentary foot hunter and agricultural societies, it kept enriching both the mobile and the sedentary peoples for the next 3 millennia, well into the Middle Ages. And now, in the 3rd millennium AD, the traces of the technological and social evolution spearheaded by the peculiar mobile pastoralists, are still pulsating in the spread of egalitarianism, parliamentarism, and technical innovations connected with use of metals in the modern world.



MUSICOLOGY

MÁTÉ, Zsuzsanna

On the Musical Impact of Madách's *The Tragedy of Man*

Imre Madách wrote his dramatic work, the *Tragedy of Man* from 7th February 1859 to 26th March 1860. In 2014, we celebrated the 150th anniversary of the death of Madách and the memory of Madách. The *Tragedy* is almost as old as its history of interpretation and impact. In the history of Hungarian literature this writing has the richest professional literature and history of impact which prevails in the different artistic branches.¹ This study gives a short review of the *Tragedy's* history of musical interpretation and impact on polite musical art.

132 years ago, on 21st September 1883, the first performance from the *Tragedy of Man* was carried out by Ede Paulay, who was the dramatic director of the National Theatre from 1878, and, from 1884 for 10 years until his death, he worked as executive director. We can attribute other plays' first presentations to him as well: Vörösmarty's *Csongor and Tünde* (1879), Goethe's *Faust* (1887), Byron's *Manfred* (1887) and Lessing's *Wise Nathan* (1888). Besides directing *The Tragedy of Man*, his activity had spread to almost everything; the original, handwritten director's copy proves this. He attributed great importance to the scenery and setting which had to be historically appropriate (he had designed and drew them as an indication). In the National Theatre he was the first to use electric illumination on the stage (for example moonlight, shade, darkening of the stage, bright morning, little light). For him, the composition of the scenes, the casting, the instructions, the setting and the designing of the 504 different costumes carried the same importance. Except for the costumes of Eve; there were 11 types of them. Mari Jászai, who played Eve, performed in her own costumes which she designed with the help of painters Ferenc Paczka and Árpád Feszty. With regard to the great success, it was played 13 more times in the same year and eleven years later, on 13th May 1894 the the hundredth performance in the National Theatre took place, still the Paulay's version was still on stage until 1905, the revival of Imre Tóth. And it was played not only in the capital. The premiere of the *Tragedy* was held in 1883, the director approach of Ede Paulay had lived on Hungarian stages for 22 years. Paulay's approach of direction has followed the contemporary meningenism, the pictorial history which was a kind of theatre loyal to its era. In the historical scenes Ede Paulay emphasized the realistic and historical loyalty and concentrated on the spectacular presentation rich in visual effects. Thus, he basically amplified the dramatic action of the scenes with pragmatism of human struggle and disillusionment and not the abstract thoughts. The mental unity and philosophy of the work was damaged, however, the *Tragedy* has gained on the other side, in popularity and the strengthening of the inclination to read.²

¹ MÁTÉ 2013, 242-254.

² MÁTÉ 2008. 57-67., MÁTÉ 2009. 3-16., MÁTÉ 2013, 263-271.

Cf.: PAULAY 1988, 206-232., PAULAY 1883.

Paulay attributed great importance to the nature of the musical background, exactly describing it (quiet, strong, song-like, sung, fanfare-style). The incidental music of the premiere was composed by Gyula Erkel.

As Ede Paulay put it in his article published in *Fővárosi Lapok* in September, 1883, attempting to prepare the public for the premiere: „Nowhere have I tried to distract attention from the poem by using external lighting, however I have attempted to achieve and create everything available to make it as clear and as easily understandable as possible. Moreover, I had to emphasize certain sections by using music, and I have found an eager and wholehearted partner in Mr. Gyula Erkel.”³ In those days, Gyula Erkel was number one conductor of the Hungarian National Theatre. His incidental music consisting of 33 closed parts is a precious piece of work.⁴ This notion is nicely verified by the fact that his incidental music was played for some half a century during theatrical performances of the *Tragedy*. Separating distinct musical groups, as a director, Paulay assigned dramaturgical, and predominantly highlighting functions to the incidental music. In addition, Erkel’s incidental music also excellently served as a director’s ambition to achieve perfect illusion, and the pictorial-historical performance theatre. Thus, adapting to the special genre characteristics of incidental music, he also followed and emphasized the emotional motions of the various colours and scenes, „on occasions acoustically well isolating them as determining tone-elements, or effects of creating and atmosphere”.⁵ Therefore, Gyula Erkel’s incidental music can rightly be considered as a great opening in the history of *The Tragedy of Man’s* musical settings.

Incidental musics of *The Tragedy of Man* are generally characterised by scarcity of information, lack of printed scores, just as in the case of Erkel’s incidental music, where only a few handwritten sheets and copies were left as a legacy for the ages. Henceforth, I am only going to mention only a few incidental music composers for this reason, based on the work of Miklós Gyórfy. Such are Viktor Langer (1842–1902), first director of the Szeged conservatoire, later a theatre chorus-master on Pécs (both in Hungary) – he completed his incidental music in 1885, for the first performance of the *Tragedy* in Pécs. Moreover, we can mention the incidental music of Ákos Buttkay (1871–1935), prepared in 1905, then in 1910 one was made by Rezső Mäder (1856–1940), chorus master of the Hungarian Opera House. The version written by Ferenc Farkas was first performed in 1937, and was later often presented on stage even after World War II. Looking back the past half a century, we can highlight Viktor Vaszy’s (1903–1979) incidental music written in 1965 for symphony orchestra, organ and mixed choir. The *Tragedy* was performed in Subotica (Szabadka) the same year, with the music composed by the then only 21-year-old composer Péter Eötvös, who aspired to create a modern approach. He had „borrowed” two songs of the

³ PAULAY 1988, 211.

⁴ In total, 34 songs are distinguished in Paulay’s cue sheet from the 1883 First Performance, including the overture. cf: PAULAY 1883.

⁵ KAIZINGER 1997. 42-45.

Rome Scene from Vaszy. Finally, a Kodály student, Gyula Dávid (1913-1977), formerly the chore master of the National Theatre, presented his incidental music of various euphony in 1970.⁶

The first composition was created after some two decades of tradition of the incidental music closest to the *Tragedy's* text, serving the impact of the theatrical play and emphasising the emotional and mood elements of the script. This composition written as a song to the *Tragedy's* text can however be considered as the first to be sovereign. Gábor Veress, teacher of the Nagyenyed Boarding School dedicated his composition titled '*Glory in the Heights*' 'reverently to 'Bartók György of Málnás, Lutheran Bishop in Transylvania' in 1905. This opera is a piece written to vocals, organ accompaniment (mezzo-soprano harmonium) and a band featuring a violin-cello duet.⁷ Then again, two decades had passed by until the next sovereign musical piece was authored, this time by Lajos Bárdos, in 1935, a 18-stave maestoso three-part canon titled „*Following Madách's words: Man, strive on!*”.⁸ Both compositions were written to be certain transformations inspired by specific text parts of the *Tragedy*.

Out of the sovereign compositions written inspired by the *Tragedy*, Ernő Dohnányi's *Cantus vitae* (*A Song of Life*) has proved to be the one outstanding by far. The premiere of the *Cantus vitae* took place on 28th April 1941 (and was repeated the next day) in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, featuring the Budapest Filmharmonic, conducted by Dohnányi himself. Ernő Dohnányi, despite his musical legacy having been ignored for half a century, proved to be one of the most highly regarded performers, pianists, conductors and an eminent pedagogue of the 20th century. A particularly inspired interpreter of the works of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms, he also performed compositions in all musical styles, including ones that of Bartók and Kodály. Dohnányi regarded himself as a composer in the first place, therefore dozens of piano pieces, operas, theatrical plays, orchestral works and concertos feature the greatness of his overall legacy.⁹ As he puts it in his autobiography titled '*Farewell and*

⁶ Composers of incidental music to *Tragedy* premieres abroad, based on Miklós Gyórfy's collection: Rudolf Walner (Münich), William Sichel (Hamburg, Vienna), Franz Salmhofer (Vienna), Peter Janssens (Vienna), Péter Vermesy (Cluj-Napoca), Tibor Oláh (Târgu Mureş), Peter Michale Hamel (Kassel). GYÓRFFY 1999, 133-136.

⁷ Gábor Veress, *Glory in the Heights (Dicsőség a magasban)*, 1905. (Notes engraved and printed in Pest. Bound in Cluj-Napoca.) Cf.: BARTHA 1965.

⁸ GYÓRFFY 1999, 127-128.

⁹ Ernő Dohnányi (Bratislava/Pozsony – 1877; New York - 1960.) first appeared in a public performance at age 9, in Bratislava, in 1886. He meets Béla Bartók, four years his junior, at the Bratislava Secondary School, later on they became good friends. From 1894 to 1896, he studied piano and composing at the Royal National Academy of Music, composing from István Thomán (former student of Liszt), piano lessons he took from from János Koessler (Brahms's friend, later teacher of Bartók and Kodály). In 1895, at age 18, he completes his Piano Quintet No. 1 in C minor, which Hans von Koessler (Koessler János) intervened to be presented and performed by Johannes Brahms in Vienna, in 1895. Brahms allegedly commented the composition as "I couldn't have composed it better myself". Between 1896 and 1899, his years at the Berlin Academy of Music are followed by tours all over Europe. From 1905 onwards he works as the piano teacher of the Königlische Musikhochschule in Berlin for ten years, the youngest professor there ever. From 1919 to 1944, he is the leading conductor of the Budapest Philharmonic. The Hungarian Opera House presented his Opera titled „*The Tower of the Voivod*” in 1922. From 1925 Dohnányi works as the leading conductor of the New York State Symphony Orchestra. He taught from 1916 at the Academy of Music, then became a professor there in 1928, being appointed its director in 1934. In 1930, he composes the „*Szeged Mass*” for the inauguration of the Votive Church of Szeged. In 1931, he becomes the music director of the Hungarian Radio, which position he holds for 10 years. On 9th November, 1936, Dohnányi conducted the Hungarian premiere of *Cantata Profana* (Bartók) featuring the Budapest Philharmonic. He largely contributed to the establishment of the world fame of the Budapest Philharmonic. Dohnányi immigrated to Austria in 1944, and lived in South America between 1946 and 1948. From 1949 to his death, he worked as a professor of piano and composing at the

Message, 'I mostly define myself as a composer, once I have acted in more roles. The reason is that it is only the composer that does creation. Then, what he has created will live on even after his death, making him immortal and carry on his name for posterity. Again, talking about my composition, I can only repeat myself and declare that I have not been particularly diligent at all, yet I have tried to be perspicacious and punctual in expressing myself.'¹⁰ He, as a composer, grew witnessing and adapting the musical style late romanticism at the turn of the century, then became a renowned master of post-romantic tradition and classicist endeavour. The regime change of Hungary put an end to his half-century ignorance and oblivion, so, in 1990, he was awarded a posthumous Kossuth Prize. His works have continuously been performed from 1995 onwards, pleasing performers and music-lovers alike.

Ernő Dohnányi's symphonic cantata *Cantus vitae* (A Song of Life) Op. 38 was considered by critics as his magnum opus already in 1941, its premiere year, as it provides a framework of his philosophy, expressing his life statement. Dohnányi first started working on the *Cantus vitae* during his successful debut tour of America in 1900. He had brought with him a copy of Imre Madách's Hungarian dramatic poem *The Tragedy of Man* (1862), which proved to provide the basis of a later libretto. It took him years to select and find the right grouping regarding the text of *The Tragedy of Man*. Dohnányi had decided not simply to create a condensed version of Madách's original text but instead to rearrange various excerpts from the poem to convey his own philosophy. He completed the libretto sometime prior to 1927, and completed the score of one of his major work on 23 March 1941.¹¹ This symphonic cantata is the most lengthy and voluminous piece of his legacy. On the one hand, it parades the largest apparatus ever used by a composer, being scored for four soloists, at times a four-part female and male choir (of a large choir), a children's choir, an entirely bass Chorus mysticus, and an immense orchestra. On the other hand, it is over ninety minutes in length, one of his longest pieces. The premiere of the symphonic cantata, repeated the very next day, featured the Budapest Philharmonic, conducted by Dohnányi himself, with the Budapest Municipal Choir and the choir from the Erzsébet School for Women. The four soloists were Magda Rigó, soprano; Mária P. Basilides, alto; Endre Rösler, tenor; and György Losonczy,

Florida State University in Tallahassee. He was charged with war crimes by a Hungarian Commission groundlessly in 1945. He was acquitted of charges, however, the suspicion remained, which cast a shadow over his career later on. Dohnányi had been given undue and unjust ignorance until the regime change in Hungary in 1989, what's more, his legacy became forgotten. Cf: VÁZSONYI 2002. DOHNÁNYI 2005.

¹⁰ KUSZ 2014, 85.

¹¹ During the time of his immigration in the US, when being asked by students about „his favourite composition”, he answered: „Well, my answer is that I have none, Undoubtedly the one I am most proud of is *Cantus vitae* [Op. 38], which I worked on for three years, yet I had been collecting and maturing my thoughts and ideas for it for long-long years. Another one is *Symphony No. 2*, which I had totally recomposed after 10 years of resting here in Florida, (...). I don't only stick to these works of mine so much for their being the most monumental ones, but these express my ideas and life philosophy the best.” Taken from Dohnányi's autobiography *Farewell and Message*. Translated and quoted: KUSZ 2014, 86-87.

„The Symphony was written – in its first version – about 12 years ago, after I had composed my 'Cantus vitae', a work for Soli, Chorus, and Orchestra based on words taken from Imre Madach's dramatic poem 'The Tragedy of Man'. [...] the Symphony [...] arose under the influence of the same ideas. The essence of these, – in my opinion, also Madach's work: 'The goal is the end of the glorious fight; the goal is death, *life is a strife*.'” Dohnányi's letter to Donald Ferguson, 17 February 1957. (FSU Dohnányi Collection). Quote: KUSZ 2014, 87.

bass.¹² Of the premiere of the *Cantus vitae*, Géza Falk wrote, „Hungarian music is attending a great baptism. A new and monumental creation has been born that is perhaps the favourite ‘musical’ child of a father and his large family: Dohnányi and the Hungarian nation. In the great noise of was the poet barely sang. Dohnányi broke this silence and surprised the public not with a pleasing little work but by instead presenting the musical world with the greatest and maybe the most important creation of his life”.¹³

On 2 February 2002, over fifty years of ignorance by the public, the Musical Faculty of the Florida State University performed his ill-fated piece for the first time since its premiere, in the course of the International Dohnányi Festival. In 2004, conducted by Kálmán Strausz, and with the contribution of the music bands and orchestras of the Hungarian Radio, the first recording on CD was performed.¹⁴ According to Tamás Pallós, music critic, „When listening to Dohnányi’s music, as a first reaction, one unconsciously seeks parallels of music here. Much as it seems an obvious and convenient solution, this piece of music with an immense orchestra involving a mixed and a children’s choir, four soloists just simply cannot be classified as an eclectic and post-romantic work. Certainly the impact of Wagner, Mahler, Richard Strauss, and, what’s more, Respighi is perceptible, however, without a doubt Dohnányi created something entirely unique and authentic. *Cantus vitae* includes all the musical aspirations of its age, while the nature and momentum of characterisation almost forecasts Shostakovich. The intensity and constant glow of the magnificent, varied and lavish instrumentation does not allow listeners to lose attention for even a moment. The soprano solo stands for the victory of art, resumption and faith. The amazing beauty of Dohnányi’s lyre manifests the most in such details. (Similar means were used by the composer during Iva’s farewell in his opera *The Tower of the Voivod - A vajda tornya*). The last two items praising God in the ending is in close relation with the final scene of Wagner’s *Parsifal*. Dohnányi’s symphonic cantata is undoubtedly a lofty, non-pretentious and high-class opus, enriching the list of significant works in Hungarian music history.”¹⁵

The lyrical symphonic cantata abounds complicated canons and fugues, while the counterpointing of post-romantic harmonies demonstrates Dohnányi’s virtuoso compositional style. Formally, his 21 movements constitute 5 larger parts, most movements follow each other without a break, and the final movement closes the whole with a prayer to God. All lines of the libretto are taken from Dohnányi’s favourite literary work, *The Tragedy of Man*. However, the *Cantus vitae* is not a setting to music of Madách’s *The Tragedy of Man*, but he used the *Tragedy* as a raw material, to rework and compile it into a new whole to create his own intellectual creed.¹⁶ This type of reshaping is a transformation and a reflexion in one, if we consider the relation with the original work. The phenomenon tend to be typical in our postmodern age, yet it proves to be unusual in the middle of the twentieth century. However, not every movement is dominated by the text, e.g. in the fifth, for example, the orchestra plays alone,

¹² GYÓRFFY 1999, 129. For the creation of *Cantus vitae* see James A. GRYMES: „*The creation, musical structure and premiere of the symphonic cantata Cantus vitae (op. 38)*” (transl. Mészáros Erzsébet) = DOHNÁNYI 2005, 3-20.

¹³ FALK 1941.

¹⁴ Dohnányi 2004.

¹⁵ PALLÓS 2004.

¹⁶ James A. GRYMES, 2005, 3-20.

representing the world and spirit of the French Revolution through the Marseillaise. The melody gradually becomes more and more distorted and diabolic, where at a point the brasses introduce the Internationale, so it sounds threatening (cacophony) and recalls the world of dictatorships. The bass soloist passes a sentence upon it, referring to how the three ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity had been distorted. However, there are no protagonists in the libretto, yet taking the original source of the *Tragedy* as a reference for comparison, then the bass soloist tends to remind us of Lucifer's words, the tenor soloist that of Adam, while the soprano refers to Eve, finally the alto echoes the people or some of the supporting characters. Generally speaking, soloist incline to sing recitatives and monologues. The Mixed Choir opens the symphonic cantata with the lines from the London scene of the *Tragedy*, therefore in the first movements the clash between mere matter and ideas can be heard. In the second movement the arguments of materialism are cited, here the bass gives voice partly to Lucifer, partly to the materialist views from the Scientist in the Phalanstery. Opposing this, the tenor is desperate to find an ideal and declares the importance of seeking them. This dispute rages through the first 8 movements, then is closed with the argument of „That all should have enough to live on; this. / This is the ideal that linketh us“. Bacchanalia, the second part of the cantata takes it as a basis, and recalls the age of the composer, that is the 20th century. Musically speaking, the harmonies and rhythms of the waltz and the foxtrot sets up the opening, which gradually transforms into the hedonic orgies and feasts the actualised, era-typical danse macabre after the Fall, intertwined with the soulless noises and squeaking of a factory in capitalism. The songs of Hippias and Clivia draw a parallel between the collapse and decline of the Roman Age, its relative set of values, and the crises of its own era, the twentieth century. The tenor speaks through the words of Adam in the London scene, while missing „unselfish elevation“ and „sacred poetry“. Then Dohnányi keeps employing the stance of the musician in the London scene to make the situation up-to-date. The part titled *Funeralia* (III.) is actually a funeral march, the chorus of gravediggers sings. The part envisions the danse macabre of the twentieth century, and at the end of it the bell starts to toll. Then from the abyss the violin soars up high, enhancing the light of Eve's words, endeavouring to reach the way that leads up to God. The tenor voice of the fourth part, in Adam's words, questions, seeks and longs for laws directing our world, and also knowledge and certainty. The mixed choir of Chorus Mysticus answers with a „life is strife“. This „philosophy of strife“ is enhanced by the composer with a divertissement of the orchestra. Following this, the lines depicting God's rearrangement of the world and the tasks and roles of the individual in the final scene of the *Tragedy* sung by the soprano emphasising man's spirit for strife are cited. The Children's Choir sings the Choir of Angels, and emphasises the free will and transcendent determination of man, as well as God's grace. In the end, this fourth part is finished with the law of Peter Apostle, with the law of love, meaning the chance for redemption at the same time. The praising of creation in the *Tragedy's* first scene is played in the last part of the symphonic cantata, which is the Final. As regards the composition, according to Tamás Pallós, the concordance of text and music are determined by creation-fall-redemption concerning the fate of mankind, and strife and the trio of awakening, strife and hope for eternal life regarding the individual.”¹⁷ Dohnányi's optimistic life philosophy – „We aim at doing good, yet it turns out to be bad;

¹⁷ PALLÓS 2004.

at the same time, strangely enough, evil can transform into good,"¹⁸ – echoes from the summary of the whole piece.

György Ránki (1907 – 1992), composer, had the premiere of his opera version of *The Tragedy of Man* on 4th December, 1970, which he considered his magnum opus. His own music style he characterised as neo-normal, thus picturing the harsh contrast existing between avantgarde trend and his own musical language in contemporary Hungarian music.¹⁹ Some ten years of preparation had passed before Ránki had started writing the opera, and adapting the text also took a year to complete. Extracting and editing of the text mostly effected historical-philosophical contemplations of Madách. Yet one significant element and an updating aspect making a difference emerged between the opera and Madách's work: the vision of nuclear disaster wedged in between space travel and the icy desert. Originally, Ránki had meant his composition to be an opera-trilogy, however later on he changed his plan and composed a two-act mystery-opera expressing universal artwork endeavours. He truly believed that music has to serve Madách's dramatic poem with the stage and visual-verbal effects jointly: „I had to build up a concept arranged relying on 'total work of art' (Gesamtkunstwerk-like composition), in which all stage elements to be seen and heard can serve the given main value in a unique synergy and shared rhythm: such are the thoughts and visions that of Madách (...) An opera-stage mystery play (...) came into existence, where oratory-like scenes of Madách and spectacular-stage-like and modern interacts, solos, choir, moving choir and an orchestra alternate and vary rhythmically, at an almost film-like pace, in an uninterruptible continuity. (...) The dreamlike nature of the play gives a good reason for this almost film-like speed.”²⁰ In order to make the stage act more and more vivid, interludes relying on moving choirs of pantomimic motion, that is a balett choir and a recitative Greek choir were inserted in between the 15 scenes to serve as a transition. The high number of supernumeraries in the play (angels, the people, heretics, friends etc.) and the Greek choir of similarly numerous members also significantly contributed to the musical illustration and narration of the plot. A convex slice of globe with a crater drawn on it was also a permanent item of the scene setting, as the actors and characters were moving on it, and images (connecting to respective scenes) were projected on a canvas placed backstage. For instance, the music dubbing the birth of the cosmos was coupled with an image suggesting cell division. Also, the cog wheels and rotating pulleys of the Phalanstery, the red and glowing sun-disk of the icy desert are good examples, yet even the ballet dance and choir interludes scenes were accompanied by projected images. The new light organ of the Opera House was amply applied here, too. In his author's instructions to the *Tragedy*, Madách often refers to various sounds and noises (branches shaken by a storm, the approval and laughter of the people, yammering, reverential hymns heard from the outside, buzz of the wild crowd, clattering masses, church music, bell tolling, ringing, sea roaring, sound of seals etc.). Ránki accomplishes these sounds by means of musical instruments, neglecting the use of electronic devices or recordings.²¹ Such Gesamtkunstwerk efforts strengthened the connection and communication between the ideas of the *Tragedy* and the listener, promoting the interpretation of notions in the dramatic

¹⁸ KUSZ 2014, 69.

¹⁹ PETHŐ 2002, 18.

²⁰ RÁNKI 1971, 3-4.

²¹ LOHR 1971, 22.

verse. The opera stage mystery play was directed by László Vámos. The play was conducted by Miklós Erdélyi, while Gáza Oberfrank and Amadé Németh also contributed in rehearsals.²²

The music of the opera composed to the grand orchestra was particularly varied, yet it managed to remain unified, primarily due to the ariosos carrying recitatives and lyricism, recurring themes, and identical melody schemes.²³ For example, the scornful reflections of Lucifer, or the love confessions of Adam, the threats imposed, fighting, war, vulnerability of people are all linked together by leitmotifs of music. Diversity of music derives from the style aspirations of the author familiar with film music, accomodating historical descriptions and scenes in the *Tragedy*, thus the Rome scene is dominated by *Andante erotico* (Tempo di Habanera), a style of Southern-like rhythms and melodies, Bacchanalia was governed by the *Allegro feroce* rhythm of asymmetric-beat, later made peculiar by the Hippias-song of asymmetric melodies. The witch Saturday in the Constantinople scene, the madrigal voice of the Prague scene, the revolutionary march of Paris, the jazzy atmosphere and the barrel-organ melody of the London Fair, the tarantella-like danse macabre, and, finally, the mechanic music of the Phalanstery are all characteristic and are typical features depicting the given age and their scenes.

György Ránki's mystery opera proved to be a magnificent adaptation and reshaping of the dramatic poem *The Tragedy of Man* to the medium of music. According to István Raics (writer, poet, pianist and music critic), Ránki's insisting on emphasising the name and intellectuality of Madách proved Ránki's modesty, as „he (Ránki) adhered to Madách only literally, but spiritually as well...”, thus the figures and characters, the situations, the movement all remained despite the oratorical style of the mystery-opera framework.²⁴ Further enlarging the Gesamtkunstwerk genre features of the opera, in accordance with it Ránki only carried out only minor transformation to Madách's main epos. The theater performance constituted a unity, including the equally-leveled dialogue of music, ideas and drama, view and motion, rhythm and the quoted text, the universal artwork unity of music-word-view. Hans Heintz Stuckenschmidt, a German music historian and critic, praised and acknowledged the opera, its direction and musical realisation alike, and rated the performance to be at a European quality level: „Ránki has his own personal message and his peculiar voice can always be found, even if it is made heard through the language of traditions in certain cases. I consider it as a closed, sovereign unit, which is irregular in its era.”²⁵ The opera was played on stage for one season.²⁶

²² FEUER 1971, 21.

²³ TILL 1973. 466-470.

²⁴ RAICS, KERTÉSZ 1971, 3-5.

²⁵ BOROS 1971, 1-2.

²⁶ Kossuth Radio broadcasted the play at 7 pm on 4 December, 1970. The recording was repeated several times in Bartók Radio in the 70s. Letar Hungaroton made an LP of it. The record contains the danse macabre, visions of the phalanstery, space travel, the nuclear disaster and the devastation of the Earth, images of awakening and reckoning. The LP features György Melis, Margit László, István Rozsos, József Gregor, Árpád Kishegyi, Albert Antalffy, Imre Turza, Kornélia Tóth, László Egri, Erzsébet Kovács, Mihály Illés, Béla Hami, Mária Jakobinyi, Miklós Mosolygó, a The Kodály Choir of Debreceni and the Orchestra of the Hungarian Opera House were conducted by János. The family recently handed over the composer legacy of György Ránki to Institute of Musicology, containing so far non-public and non-disclosed documents that are connected to the *Tragedy*. Among the documents are several sketches of the libretto and the complete sound recording of the opera featuring amateur singers, with Ránki's accompaniment.

When further examining the adaptation of *The Tragedy of Man* to music in the life of art, one must mention the opera²⁷ of world-famous Péter Eötvös, titled *Paradise reloaded* (Lilith), as the most distant reference to the text script. It was performed on stage at the Palace of Arts (Művészetek Palotája) in Budapest, on 23th January, 2014. It is related to the *Tragedy's* text in two ways, by means of the very basic idea of the opera and its structure. This way we can regard the relation to the original work as an inspiration. Madách's magnum opus is a source of inspiration and ideas, however, unlike Madách, the starting point for the story is not rooted in the Genesis story canonised in the Old Testament, but in Hebrew Biblical apocrypha sources. According to these, Adam's first wife was Lilith, who was expelled from Paradise for persuading God to tell her his sacred name. The opera is structured similarly to *The Tragedy of Man*, the couple expelled from Paradise wanders through the past, present and future, led by Lucifer, this latter being equal to God. The opera poses us with a question: what would have happened if our Bible-based culture considers Adam's first wife, Lilith as its ancestress instead of Eve? At the beginning of the opera Lilith is expelled from Paradise, and she is punished to live in the desert as a female demon. She returns to give life to a child, conceived by Adam, which child later frees her from her demonic existence. However, Adam's second wife, Eve hinders her in reaching her goal, and the conflict of the two women pervades the whole play. The reason is that God created Lilith in the same way as he did Adam, equal with him, an independent person, while Eve was created from Adam's rib, as an 'accessory' of his. Lilith represents free will, power, conspiracy and emancipation, while Eve stands for effeminacy, purity and cleanliness, sacrifice. Actions are being formed according to Lilith's will, this fiction of the future displays what it would have been like to have Lilith as our ancestress. The opera does not tell us about the emancipation of man and women, but instead it shows a fiction as to how social structures of the European civilisation would have been shaped, had Lilith been the one chosen to be the ancestress instead of Eve. In the end, Lilith reaches her aim, and gives birth to a child to Adam, still Adam does not choose Lilith to be his partner. Unlike in Madách's work, here Adam is not forced to take a stand between life and death, but the dilemma lays between two women with a totally different approach to life. His decision will determine the next generation. According to Péter Eötvös, the fundamental question of the opera still remains open: „if both women are pregnant, who is actually our ancestress? Are we the descendants of the demonic Lilith, or Eve, lacking independence and permanently seeking her partner?”²⁸

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²⁷ The latest opera authored by Péter Eötvös is based on the adaptation of the drama written by a young German writer, Albert Ostermaier. The main character in the original Ostermaier plot is Lucifer, which plot Eötvös used to write his *The Tragedy of Devil*, later put on stage as an opera in Munich in 2010, directed by Balázs Kovalik. Yet Eötvös was not fully satisfied with this play, therefore he designated Lilith, to himself the most intriguing character, to be the title person for his new opera.

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LINGUISTICS

MARCANTONIO, Angela**The Linguistic Influence of Turkic on Hungarian**

Hungarian is usually classified as a pure Uralic language, with a great deal of Turkic borrowing. However, the historical sources from the 9th/10th century all agree that the Magyars were a nomadic people of the steppes, living within multi-lingual and multi-ethnic Turkic tribal confederations. This evidence is in contradiction with the Uralic linguistic model, and so, in conventional Hungarian historiography, the original sources have been re-interpreted to the point of misrepresentation.

1. Introduction*

It is a well known fact in linguistic studies that when two or more languages come into contact they typically either mutually influence each other, or at least one of the languages exercise influence on the other(s). This influence normally translates mainly into borrowing of words, as well as of grammatical and /or morpho-syntactic /structural elements, depending usually on the intensity and the length of the contacts. In turn, the potential mutual influence or, alternatively, the potential 'one way influence' (so to say) typically depend on several extra linguistic factors, the most relevant of which are: a) the status of the languages involved (is one of them a 'prestigious' language?); b) the sheer number of peoples speaking, supporting and maintaining them and /or the level of military, political power of the peoples in question, or the power and influence naturally arising from being in possess of a cutting-edge technological or economical advantage, etc. It is also well known that in a contact situation a 'minority language', that is a language spoken by a minority of peoples within a given linguistic area, and/or a language that, for whatever reason, is not gifted with any of the socio-economical advantages mentioned above, rather than borrowing intensively, tends to be assimilated by the surrounding (more numerous and / or powerful) population, and therefore, ultimately, to disappear – unless, of course, the speakers in question make a conscious, constant effort to preserve their language (and culture) through any available means¹ (see [1], [2] etc.).

The veracity of the above depicted scenario is supported by many recent and past instances of languages that either have heavily borrowed from other languages, at the point of strongly modifying their original nature and structure, and therefore becoming what can be called (through a loose,

* I wish to thank E. Ragagnin, J. Janhunen and L. Marác for their insightful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this article.

¹ This is for example the case of the little Albanian community that lives in 'Piana degli Albanesi', near Palermo (Sicily), since the time of the occupation of the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire.

comprehensive term) a 'mixed² language' (see [3], [4], [5]), or died altogether under the pressure of more powerful, expansive languages. For example, several, more or less different, neighbouring languages may 'converge', by sharing numerous similarities, variously picking up features from one another – the so-called 'linguistic area' (/ *Sprachbund*), such as the paradigmatic Balkanic area. In other circumstances, 'mixed' languages (in a stricter sense of the term) may form, such as Romani and Domari, descendent of Central (Old / Middle) Indo-Aryan languages [6]. Similarly, in the areas and during the period of colonial domination, the so-called (French or English based) 'pidgin / creole' languages came into being (see again [4]). At other times and contexts languages have in fact died out, often leaving behind some traces of themselves, such as some words, names, some structural elements, influences on pronunciation, etc. Among famous examples of extinct languages one could quote here the case of Etruscan, assimilated by the neighbouring, expanding Romans – although some bits of the language, particularly proper names and a few morphemes, survive in the numerous inscriptions in tombs and grave stones. Finally, one could mention the following two historical/linguistic, well known events, whereby the minority language of the peoples occupying a foreign territory did not manage to impose their own language, despite their position of power and prestige. First, the case of the Scandinavian peoples known as *Varangians / Rus'*, who imposed themselves as the rulers in the area of Novgorod first and then Kiev, and then expanded in the rest of Russia. They bequeathed the peoples they dominated with their name, without however causing them to switch their original language for that of the newcomers. Second, the case of the Norman French peoples, who invaded England and, whilst greatly influencing its language, did not succeed in spreading their 'Norman French' language to their subjects.

Turning now to a linguistic area in Europe that has been in the past the theatre of expansion of those peoples that could be called, globally, 'Eurasian steppe peoples', or 'Inner Asia' peoples, we observe several examples of 'extinct' languages. It is well known that the (European) Huns founded an empire in the Carpathian Basin, empire that crumbled, together with its languages, after the death of its chief, Attila, in 453 AD – after which the Huns disappeared from the scene of history. Similarly, the Avars lived in the Carpathian Basin until their empire was crashed at the hands of the Franks toward the end of 800s, and their peoples (and language) were assimilated (as well as converted to Christianity) by the expanding Slavic peoples. Indeed, the vast Hungarian lowland called '*Alföld*'³ in some Latin sources is

² According to some classifications, a 'mixed language' combines the grammatical elements of one language and the lexical items of another. More generally, it is a language "which does not descend from a single ancestor in the normal way, but which has instead been assembled by combining large chunks of material from two (or more) existing languages" ([3, 214]). Typically, there is bilingualism in one of the speech communities involved, though this is not a requirement. There are certainly ambiguities and problems of definition regarding the use of the term 'mixed', also because every language is mixed to a certain extent, and every linguistic element (lexical, grammatical etc.) can in principle be borrowed, given the right circumstances. Thus, it is rather an issue of 'degree' of mixture that is at stake. Whatever the case, this debate is not of relevance here, and by 'mixed' I loosely refer to a language that combines material from two (or more) existing languages.

³ Despite the fact that the Avars lived exactly in that stretch of land that is now the home land of the Hungarians, RT&B ([7, II:1164]) claim that: "No Avar-speaking group of major importance witnessed the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Slavicized Avars fully lost their ethnic identity. Even a few words may have been transmitted, but we can safely exclude an Avar impact on the Hungarian language". According to the authors, all historical data support this thesis (although they do not tell us what the data in question are). This claim can be maintained if one believes in the conventional date of the Hungarian home conquest, officially assumed to have taken place between 895 and 902 AD, thesis that, however, has been challenged by several scholar. For example, László ([11]), on the basis of archaeological findings,

named '*solitudo avarorum*'. There is a small corpus of Avar words (in Latin and Byzantine sources) that contain some names and titles also present in the Hungarian language, such as the title *tarkan*, that occurs frequently as a Hungarian geographical name in the form *Tarján ~ Tárkány*⁴. This term is also a (chief) clan name of one of the seven Hungarian tribes featuring in the text by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (see [7, II:1163-4]), [8, 406] and discussion below). However, the precise ethnic origin of the Avars⁵ is disputed: were they Turkic, or Mongolian, or migrated from other Inner-Asia areas? (see again [7] for the debate). Finally, there is the case of the so-called 'Danubian' Bulghar Turkic population, that is, that branch of the Bulghar Turkic peoples that left their dwelling place in the area of the Volga River (the so-called 'Volga Bulgars') to move westward and settle, again, in the area of the Carpathian Basin, in the lower Danube valley (the 'Danubian Bulgharia', or 'Danube Bulgharian Empire'), round about 679 AD. Here they founded their new home as well as their center of power; nevertheless they too, like the Avars, were subsequently assimilated by the expanding Slavic peoples and languages. The Bulghar language became extinct, but the name survived: *Bulgharian*, the noun that nowadays indicates the 'Slavic' language and peoples of Bulgharia. In addition to the name, also some scanty Bulgharian material survived: the *List of the Bulghar Princes* [9], whose original goes back to the 10th C.), and the *Danube Bulgharian Inscriptions* [10], written in Greek. Like in the case of the small corpus of Avar words, the Bulgharian Inscriptions contain titles, names, technical terms, etc., some of which are present in Hungarian, such as *bīlā*, "a late form of *boyla > buyla > büle > béla*", the latter being the name of the Hungarian king *Béla* (RT&B (II:1166; 1168-75)). It is worth recalling at this point that the Bulgharic languages (or rather, what remains of them) are unanimously classified as the 'Oguric' branch of Turkic: one dialect was spoken by the Danube Bulgars, the other by the Volga Bulgars⁶ (whose material is four hundred years younger than the Danube Bulghar records), and, of course, the third is represented by (Old) Chuvash⁷, the only surviving language (whose earliest written material goes back to the beginning of the 18th C.).

claims that those Magyars who entered the Carpathian Basin in the 900s were only the last wave of a series of two or more waves of migrations. Hence, the Magyars would have been dwelling there much earlier than the conventionally established date.

⁴ The plural of this term is *Tarkat*, therefore it is ultimately (probably) of Iranian origin.

⁵ The Avars, the Huns and the Bulgars were not the only Asiatic peoples that dwelt in the Carpathian Basin. Pecheneg groups moved there from the 11th C., and the Cumans moved into the area east of the Carpathian more or less at the same time, maintaining good political and trading relations with the Hungarians. Also (Indo-)European peoples lived in the area, such as the Gepidae and the Longobards. All this before the influx of the Slavs.

⁶ A large portion of the Volga Bulgars was absorbed by the Tatars and Bashkirs.

⁷ 'Bulghar-Turkic', 'Oguric' or also 'Chuvash-type Turkic', or 'r-Turkic' (because of the presence of r instead of z, occurring in Eastern Turkic; see below), all denote the same group of languages.

2. The position of Hungarian in the Eurasiatic steppe.

2.1. The testimony of the historical sources

Against this background stands as a sharp contrast the case of the migration of the Magyars from their original (assumed) Uralic homeland (located in a non-better specified area nearby the Ural Mountains, perhaps South Urals) to their present home land. In fact, according to the Uralic theory, the Magyars, whose language is classified as Uralic / Finno-Ugric, after separating from their Uralic proto-community, moved westward, through the area called *Magna Hungaria* (located east of the Volga River), to move then further westward, dwelling for quite a time in areas highly populated by steppe (particularly Turkic) peoples, such as the Khazars (see below), to finally 'occupy' and settle – they too! – in the Carpathian Basin, in the year 985 or 987 (the official date of the *honfoglalás*, literally 'home (land) occupation'; but see a different opinion in László ([11])). Thus, the Magyars would have migrated more or less in contemporary with the steppe / Inner Asia peoples mentioned above, into exactly the same territories, with similar modalities and similar conditions and in similar historical, socio-economic circumstances, but neither the peoples nor the language died out. In other words, there was no assimilation of these (supposed) Uralic peoples, speaking a Uralic language, at the hands of the surrounding, non-Uralic peoples with whom they constantly mingled – by also forming tribal confederations -- 'before' as well as 'after' they settled in their new home land. Within this scenario, the Hungarian migrations and home conquest appear to have been a “highly a-typical, one might almost say, unique” event (to use Dreisziger's [12] words).

More in details, the following major events would have taken place, as 'reconstructed' according to the conventional Hungarian historiography, in turn based on the conventional Uralic linguistic model. The Magyars, after leaving their Uralic homeland (event for which there is neither proof, nor a documented time, or motivation) would have lived in contact, actually, in 'symbiosis', with Turkic peoples for about three, perhaps four centuries. This symbiosis would have started from about the 5th C. of our era and would have taken place mainly in the territories dominated by the Turkic Khazars Empire. As RT&B [7, II:1175] put it: "Three languages were surely spoken in the Khazar Empire: Bulghar Turkic, Khazar and Hungarian" (although the classification of Khazar is disputed; see [13]). Apart from this assumed three centuries long symbiosis with Turkic (/Khazars) peoples, the Magyars are actually found to be living in an area that, once again, is populated by Inner Asia peoples, including Turkic peoples, the so-called *Magna Hungaria* (as mentioned), located in the land stretching from the Volga to the Kama River – basically, the land of the modern Bashkirs. This event, unlike the previous one, is not a historical reconstruction, but a documented fact (although scholars debate whether it took place 'before' the Magyars migrated into the land of the Turks first and the Carpathian Basin afterwards, or 'after' these migrations; see note (11) below). As a matter of fact, it is in this area that the Hungarian monk Julianus visited the Hungarians, the so-called 'Volga Hungarians', in the year 1235-6, and spoke to them in Hungarian. This testimony is in turn confirmed by the testimony of another traveller: in 1247-52 Plano Carpini, who visited the Mongols, wrote about the Volga territory in his book (written between 1247 and 1252) saying: "*Baschart id est hungariam magnam*". In addition to this, there is the coherent testimony of both linguistics and archaeology. First, the area in question preserves many toponyms / ethnonyms in the form *Muchar* (/mučar/), *Mozhar* (/možar/) and similar variants, variants that can all be traced back to a

form **maj̄ar*, that is: *magyar*. Second, recently the term *majar* has actually been found in an inscription on a tomb of 1311, near the Kama river, in the cemetery of Chistopol (a Volga Bulghar inscription featuring this name as a name of a man; Zimonyi [41, 49]). The change: **majar* > *možar* ~ *magyar* (/mãd'ãr/) is recognized to be a normal, regular sound change within Hungarian (also by RT&B [7, I: 29]). Similarly, the Bashkirian toponyms /ethnonyms *Mišer* ~ *Mišar* ~ *Mišär* ~ *Meščer* ~ *Mižer* ~ *Mižar* ~ *Mižär*, considered to be equivalent, to 'correspond' to the Hungarian toponym and ethnonym *megyer* (for which see discussion below) were attested in the Bashkir region in the 15th and 16th Cs (according to Russian sources; see also [14]), whilst *Mišer* still occurs nowadays as a family name in Hungary⁸. These data are well known within Uralic /Hungarian studies; actually, they are recognized to represent an item of evidence counter to the Uralic origin of Hungarian, at the point of having attracted a label in the specialist literature: the "Bashkiro-Hungarian complex", as well as an intense but seemingly unresolved debate⁹. In fact, it is difficult to justify how and why the Uralic Magyars would have used a Bashkir ethnonym for their self-denomination, as well as other Bashkir ethnonyms and toponyms. Not only, these 'Volga Magyars', as mentioned, were living *east* of the Volga (the beginning of the Inner-Asia region) whilst, according to the conventional model, they would have been in contact, in symbiosis, mainly with Turkic peoples living *west* of the Volga, the so-called 'West Old Turkic' peoples – from whom also the great majority of Turkic loan words would have derived (the aforementioned (Old) Chuvash, Khazar, and other Bulgharic languages). There are other sources, including Arabic sources, that clearly mention the presence of the Magyars east of the Volga, between the homeland of the Volga Bulgars and that of the Pechenegs, in the late 9th C. and during the 10th C. The fact that the Hungarian peoples (also) dwelt in the areas east of the Volga, until the 13th C., led some scholars to believe that this was, indeed, their original homeland¹⁰, instead of the conventional Uralic homeland. However, this thesis has been rejected by the supporters of the Uralic theory¹¹.

⁸ For example, in the 16th C. there was a *Miser* family (*s* = /š/) in Szeged (see [14]).

⁹ Ligeti [26, 375] states that the Magyar / Bashkir connection 'belongs to the open questions of Hungarian pre-history' ("a magyar őstörténet nyitott kérdései közé tartozik"). See also [41, 52 ff.]

¹⁰ For example, Róna-Tas ([23, 272]) states that: "When, in the 5th century A.D., the Turks appeared from the east, from the Kazakh steppe, the Hungarians lived in the southern part of the Urals and not what is to-day Bashkiria". However, as far as I know, there is no evidence that "the Hungarians lived in the southern part of the Urals"; this appears to be an assumption, derived in turn from the assumed existence of the Uralic proto-community (see also note (11) below).

¹¹ The steppe belt east of the Volga (up to Manchuria), is generally considered to be the beginning of the 'Inner-Asia' region, whilst the steppe region of Eastern Europe, west of the Volga, would not form part of the original Turkic world. The 'fact' that the Hungarians lived east of the Volga is not really in line with the Uralic theory, and several interpretations of the relevant sources have been put forward, that are consistent with it. For ex., Zimonyi ([19, 208-9]) observes that in the Muslim sources the Hungarians were listed among that group of peoples who formed tribal confederations under the rule of the Türk Khagans – living in the steppe zone of Inner-Asia, speaking similar Turkic languages and having the same nomadic life style. This account of the events, however, would be wrong according to the author, for the following reason (ibidem): "A minor group of Hungarians or Turkic Bashkirs who had been identified as Hungarians lived east of the Volga [...]. The Muslim authors identified these eastern Hungarians with the bulk of the Hungarians living north of the Black Sea and later in the Carpathian Basin. The western Hungarians were regarded as one of the Turkic peoples who had migrated there from Inner Asia similarly to the Pechenegs". Similarly, RT&B ([7, I:30]) 'assume' that the Uralic Magyars moved into the Inner-Asia region from Hungary, after the 'home conquest': "[...] the Volga Hungarians are not those who remained there, but they migrated there from the south and arrived in the territory of Bolshie Tigani in the 9th century [italics is added]".

2.2. The interpretation of the historical sources

Let us now come back to the issue of the three/four centuries long symbiosis between Hungarian and (mainly West Old) Turkic peoples, symbiosis that would have taken place within the Khazar empire, starting from about the 5th C. AD. This is a widely accepted thesis in Uralic and Hungarian (pre-)history studies, at the point that, as we have seen, RT&B [7, II:1175] can state: "three languages were *surely* spoken in the Khazar Empire: Bulghar Turkic, Khazar and Hungarian" [*italics is added*]. However, this statement is not based on a clear cut item of (historical and / or linguistic) information, but on an 'interpretation' of the relevant sources. In fact, as far as I know, there is no 'direct evidence' from the sources in question that Hungarian as an Uralic language (as is here understood by the authors) was actually spoken in the Khazar Empire, and that, therefore, the 'Uralic Hungarian' peoples 'as such' were living within the sphere of influence of the Turkic Khazars. The relevant source is the famous text *De Administrando Imperio*, written (in Greek) round about 950 AD, by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and is widely considered to be the most important, early source mentioning the (Uralic) Hungarians /Magyars. In reality, the text describes events that refer to what the Emperor unambiguously defines as the 'Nation of the Turks', and not the Hungarians – certainly *not* the Hungarian peoples and language as purported by the Uralic theory. Having said that, the text does make mention of several names, including the proper name of several 'Turkic' clans / clan chiefs, that also occur in Hungarian (as well as in Bashkir; see above), as ethnonyms, toponyms and ordinary words. In particular, in the list of 'Turkic clan' names it is mentioned the name *megyzer* (Μεγέρη in the Greek script, usually read as *Megyeri*), a name present in several Hungarian toponyms, such as *puszta-megyzer*, and widely considered to be a variant of the Hungarian self-denomination: *magyar*. Hence, presumably, the 'interpretation' on behalf of Hungarian historians and linguists that the emperor is describing *also* the events regarding those Magyars living in the territories dominated by the (West) Turkic peoples¹². This is certainly a plausible interpretation, in principle. However, one must not forget that: a) as mentioned, the emperor is referring to what he defines (rightly or wrongly) as 'Turkic clans'; b) nowhere the Hungarians, as understood nowadays, are mentioned in the text, neither is there any mention of 'Uralic nations' or 'Uralic languages' -- let alone any reference to the assumed Uralic origin of the *megyzer* (~ *magyar*) clan -- as is often, implicitly or explicitly, stated. The conventional interpretation in turn is in accordance with one of the tenets of the Uralic theory, as established about two hundred years ago, as the result of a long and intense academic debate, so-called 'Ugric-Turkic Battle'¹³ (see [15] and [16]): Hungarian is not a Turkic language, but a Uralic/Finno-Ugric one, although it has been heavily influenced by Turkic, through the 'borrowing' of many words, as an 'obvious result' of the long standing contacts. It goes without saying that, just because the *megyzer* (~ *magyar*) clan is referred to as 'Turkic' and is listed among other clan names of Turkic origin (see below), it does not necessarily mean that the clan itself was ethnically, and / or linguistically, Turkic, and this for two main reasons. First, in Byzantine historiography there was the habit of globally defining as 'Turkic' any no better identified or known peoples (of the tribal confederations), those kind of peoples that in Old Greek times would be dubbed

12 Just to put the record straight, it is worth mentioning here that the term *magyar* (or, better, Greek *magyarôî*) itself does not actually occur in the text, but only *megyzer*.

13 The debate revolved around the issue of whether, within the wide 'Altaic Family', Hungarian belonged to the Turkic branch or the 'Ugric' (today 'Finno-Ugric') branch.

with the global name '*barbarôî*', or those kind of peoples living along the border of, and constantly menacing China, dubbed by the Chinese Annals as *Hsiung-nu* (see [17]) – just to give an idea of the way accounting for these events typically took place in those times. Second, in view of the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic nature of the tribal confederations (see [18], [19], etc.), no safe, precise identification could have been made then, and can be made now.

That this is a faithful scenario can be easily verified by having a look first at the relevant, original passages of the text by Constantine (from the edition by Moravcsik & Jenkins ([20]) with English translation by Jenkins¹⁴), and then at the interpretations these passages have received.

The first, widely quoted relevant passage is from the famous Chapter 38, titled: 'Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended' (p. 171 ff.). Here the emperor states that:

The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia [...]. The Turks were seven clans [...]. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars¹⁵ [italics is added]

This simple, unambiguous passage is usually interpreted as follows:

'The [*Turkic*] *Magyars* [...] lived together with the Khazars for *three hundred years*'

The phrase: '[*Turkic*] *Magyars*', that is '[*Toûrkoî*] *magyarôî*' in Greek, is often reported within Hungarian and Uralic studies as occurring 'as such' in the text (see for example [7, I:27, 32]); however, as is clear, this is not true (see note (12)). Within the context of the conventional model, the given interpretation of this phrase is that the *Magyars* were not *Toûrkoî* themselves, but were *confused* with them, because the two populations lived indeed in symbiosis with one another, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to tell them apart. This interpretation is, of course, quite plausible, for the reasons just expounded above; however, even if it were so, this does not in itself support the thesis of the Uralic origin of the *Magyars*. As to the 'three' years, it is most often interpreted as 'three hundreds', presumably because three years of contact, however much intense, might not be a long enough time for a language to be so heavily influenced by another language, as is the case of the influence of *Turkic* on Hungarian (see [21, 47] for details on the issue of 'three' vs 'three hundreds'). This overall conventional interpretation is, once again, plausible in principle, but one must bear in mind that it remains an interpretation nevertheless, and not a proven beyond doubt fact, as is instead typically presented in Hungarian /Uralic

¹⁴ This edition reports the Greek text next to the English one, so that it is easy to verify the faithfulness of the translation.

¹⁵ The text then also mentions twice the Hungarian figure and name *Árpád*, who was chosen at some point as chief of the *Turks*. This figure is considered to be the head of the Hungarian confederation of the 9th C., that would have accomplished the Hungarian home conquest.

studies. In other words, neither the Turkic origin, nor the claimed Uralic origin of the magyar peoples and language can be safely stated on the basis of the passages reported above.

The second, relevant, famous passage is from chapter 39, titled: 'Of the nation of the Kabaroi', and reads as follows:

The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Chazars. Now it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government, and when a civil war broke out, their first government prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs, and they made friends with one another, and were called 'Kabaroi'. *And so to these Turks they taught also the tongue of the Chazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have also the other tongue of the Turks* [italics is added]

The passage of relevance here – the one marked in italics – is interpreted by Róna-Tas [22, 2:129-30] as follows (see also [23]):

Der schon zitierte Konstantin, [...] berichtet, daß die *Ungarn* die Sprache der Khasaren lernten, und "sie benutzen bis heute (d.i. bis 950) sowohl die Sprache der Khasaren, als auch ihre andere (*ungarische*) Sprache" [italics is added]

As one can see, Róna-Tas has 'interpolated' twice the term 'Ungarn' into the text, without warning the reader of this, although the second time he puts the term within round brackets, perhaps to hint at this fact. Even so, if the original text is not available, the reader certainly gets the impression that the text does mention indeed the Hungarians as we understand them nowadays, and that they were bilingual with their own (Uralic) Hungarian language and the language of the Khazars. However, as is clear, there is no evidence in this passage (as well as in the other quoted passages) that the Emperor is referring to the '(Uralic) Hungarians' – as is also confirmed by the subsequent chapter.

The third relevant passage is from chapter 40, titled: 'Of the clans of the Kabaroi and the Turks', and reads as follows:

The first is this aforesaid clan of the Kabaroi which split off from the Chazars; the second, of Nekis; the third, of *Megeris*, the fourth, of Kourtougermatos, the fifth, of Tarianos; the sixth, Genach, the seventh, Kari, the eighth, Kasi¹⁶. Having thus combined with one another, the Kabaroi dwelt with the Turks in the land of the Pechenegs [italics is added]

¹⁶ *Germatos* corresponds to Modern Hungarian (MH) *Gyarmat* and to the Bashkir clan name *Jurmatī* ~ *Yurmatī*; *Genach* corresponds to MH *Jenő* < Old H *Jeneγ*, in turn equivalent to the Bashkir clan name *Jenej* ~ *Yänäy* ~ *Yeney*; *Nekis* corresponds to MH *Nyék*, parallel to the Bashkir clan name *Neg-men* ~ *Näg-män*; *Kasi* corresponds to MH *Keszi* < Old H *Keszeγ* ~ *Kesző*, equivalent to the Bashkir clan name *Kese* < **Kesey* (recall that *sz* stands for /s/).

This is the famous passage where, supposedly, the emperor would refer to the *Toûrkoî Magyarôî*, wrongly identifying them with Turkic peoples, as mentioned. However, as one can see, the emperor is simply listing the clans, including the clan of *Μεγέρη* (*Megyeri* ~ *megyer*), that altogether form what he identifies as being the nation of the Turks, according to the knowledge, the modalities and the stylistic stereotypes of his time. Thus, it is quite possible that the emperor was mistaken, or just too vague in using such a definition (as widely claimed). However, once again, even if this were the case, it cannot be considered *ipso facto* as a proof that the *megyer* clan was of Uralic origin – also because, as we shall see below, the name *megyer* itself has been classified by several scholars as being of Turkic origin.

3. *The influence of Turkic on Hungarian*

3.1. A riddle solved?

Let us now assume, in line with the conventional linguistic classification, that the Magyars were a Uralic population, speaking a Uralic language (or even any other type of language). It is difficult to figure out how the language would have managed to survive, rather than being assimilated, in the absence of those factors that could have allowed it to survive. As a matter of fact, there does not appear to be any evidence, or any hint that these Magyars (whoever they might have been in origin) had any military superiority, or any cutting edge (technological) innovation, or, better, a strong willingness to preserve their language, identity and original way of life. Furthermore, recent genetic studies have confirmed what was already known from other areas of study, that is: the size of certainly the Magyars that arrived at the Carpathian Basin¹⁷ toward the end of the 9th C. was pretty small [24]. Not only, the fact that the language did survive raises another, fundamental question, question that, however, in my opinion, does not appear to have received enough attention within Hungarian or Uralic studies: how is it possible that the assumed Uralic (or other) nature of the magyar language has been preserved basically intact – apart from the expected influx of (mainly) Turkic loanwords – as firmly claimed by Uralists? In other words, why is Hungarian still classified purely and simply as a Uralic / Finno-Ugric language, rather than as a sort of 'mixed' language¹⁸? The traditional classification is, in fact, also in principle difficult to maintain, given the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic nature of the tribal confederations (as discussed).

¹⁷ Here it could be correctly objected that it was probably the very multi-lingualism of the tribal confederations that could have helped the magyar language to survive, since the various languages of a confederation were all used and maintained at the same time. However, even if this were the case, their overall life style and, as a consequence, linguistic situation must have changed when the Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin – indeed, the language(s) of the other Asiatic steppe confederations already settled there became extinct, as discussed.

¹⁸ Precisely, the magyar language would be mixed with Inner-Asia languages first and, also, with (Indo-)European languages after their home conquest.

There are studies that have addressed the issue of the 'survival' of Hungarian, the most important of which can be considered that of Róna-Tas, already quoted. The author [22,129] poses himself the question of whether:

Waren die Ungarn Türken oder Finno-Ugrier? Waren sie türkisierte Finno-Ugrier oder finno-ugrisierte Türken?

The author (*ibidem*) frames his answer as follows:

Die *finnish-ugrisch* *sprechenden Ungarn* schlossen sich an einen türkischen Stammesverband an. [...] sie während einer längeren Zeit *zweisprachig* geworden sind [italics is added].

Róna-Tas then continues by saying that this bilingualism of the Hungarians is not just an assumption, but is actually an event reported by the sources, with this referring to the passage by Constantine quoted above, in paragraph (2.2.). Thus, the 'facts' that the Hungarians were living within Turkic tribal confederations, and were, as expected (at least) bilingual, would be precisely the reason why the historical sources consistently, but wrongly, referred to them as 'Turks' (as already discussed). Róna-Tas further claims that the thesis of the Uralic origin of the Magyars is also supported by the results of linguistic investigation: historical linguistics is a 'scientific' discipline, and, as such, it can and has to 'trump' the results of other disciplines, if they are in contradiction with its results, as is indeed the case here. In other words, historical linguistics has established that Hungarian belongs to the Uralic / Finno-Ugric language family, and so it must be, despite any odds. Compare the following quotes ([22,130]):

Die Sprache selbst war finnisch-ugrischen Ursprungs, aber *das Ethnos* war ein *türkisiertes finno-ugrisches* (italics is added)

Die Ungarn haben sich der politischen und ökonomischen Umwelt der Türken angeglichen, aber ethnisch wurden sie *nicht assimiliert*, sondern *blieben Finno-Ugrier*. [...] Die zwei Komponenten [das "Türkische" und das "Finno-Ugrische"] lebten zusammen [italics is added]

Having stated that, Róna-Tas ([22,130-1]) affirms that, within linguistics, the strongest proof of the Uralic / Finno-Ugric origin of Hungarian is provided by the etymology of *magyar*, which is – significantly – of Uralic origin, whilst the other clan names reported by Constantine are of Turkic origin (see par. (2.2.)). Indeed, *magyar*, according to the etymological dictionaries (see [25, 866]), would be 'cognate', that is, genetically related with the term *Mańsí*, the self-denomination of the Voguls, and the term *Moś*, the self-denomination of the largest part of the Ostyaks, the Voguls and Ostyaks being in turn other

languages and peoples¹⁹ classified as belonging to the Uralic family (see note (20) for the details of this etymology²⁰). Róna-Tas has recently re-affirmed the soundness of the etymology ([7, I: 30-1]), and, therefore, the Uralic origin of the terms in question, despite the testimony of those toponyms and ethnonyms occurring in the Volga-Kama area, that are clearly connected to *magyar* – as pointed out by the author himself²¹ (see par. (2.1.) above; see also Ligeti [26, 400], who proposes a Turkic origin for this name).

This overall interpretation of the historical sources, and the related 'reconstruction' of pre-historical and historical events, as proposed by Róna-Tas, represent now the 'official' version of the origin of the Hungarian language and peoples. However, this interpretation can be called into question, on several accounts. First, the issue of the bilingualism of the Hungarians is not really a 'fact' reported by the historical sources, as claimed by Róna-Tas, but an 'interpolation' on his behalf. Second, etymologies, like any other linguistic reconstructions, if not supported by (a plenitude of) actual linguistic data, can easily be *ad-hoc*, that is, an 'artefact' of the method of analysis or (as is at times called within linguistics), an 'etymology build up in a laboratory', having no connection whatsoever with the extra-linguistic reality it is purported to reflect. More in general, it can be dangerous to 'infer', to 'reconstruct' pre-history on the basis of linguistic analysis, linguistic classifications only, mainly because, assessing similarities and differences among languages – on which the establishment of language families is based – is in itself a difficult, often slippery task²² (see [27]). We have seen an example of this with the etymology of *magyar*,

¹⁹ These languages are spoken on the eastern side of the Ural Mountains (in the same way as the Samoyedic peoples), along the River Ob, and are claimed to be the closest relatives of the Magyars within the family, also because of the etymological connection of their ethnonyms.

²⁰ The standard Uralic etymology is as follows ([25, 866]): *magy-ar* consists of two elements. The first, *magy-* would derive from Ugric **mańć* 'man, human being', from which also the self-denominations of the Voguls (/Mansi) and the self-denomination of one the Ostyak (/Hanty) clans, *mańt' ~ mońt' ~ maś*, is derived. The second element *-ar* (~ *-ér*, *-ër*) 'man', is claimed to be the same component found for example in Hungarian *emb-ër* 'man'. This element in turn would be connected with Finnish *yr-kä* 'bachelor', *yr-kö* 'man' < Finno-Ugric **irkä* (~ **ürkä*) (according to UEW 84). However, this analysis is fraught with problems. The segmentation *magy-ar* does not have any independent linguistic justification, because neither of the two components (*magy-* and *-ar*) are ever found as stand-alone elements; the same holds true for (*emb-ër*). This is therefore an *ad-hoc* segmentation. Even UEW ([25, 84, 866]) has to recognize that the compound nature of the etymology is no longer retrievable: the compound would have now become 'opaque, obscure' -- of course, there is no way to verify this. Linguists usually point out that the Hungarian sound *-gy-* (/d'/) of *magyar* (in internal position) is a 'regular' development from a proto-Uralic sequence of sounds **-ńć-*. This in turn would be a factor in support of the soundness of the etymology, according to the requirements of the comparative method (although *-gy-* may be the reflex also of other assumed Uralic proto-sounds). It could be also observed that Hungarian and Vogul share several features absent in all other Uralic languages, such as the term for '3' and '8', a few case endings, etc., factors that, again, could support the Uralic connection. On the other hand, there is a word *är* present in Turkic (and Indo-Iranian), meaning 'man'. There is also a Bulghar Turkic plural ending *-ar* (ultimately < **-s*), common in tribal names and present in, for instance, *Bulgh-ar* – this component being probably a better candidate for the etymology, if the segmentation *magy-ar* is maintained (J. Janhunen, personal communication, 2014).

²¹ Róna-Tas acknowledges this, but affirms that the Uralic etymology of *magyar* is the correct one.

²² As is well known among linguists, the assessment of the similarities and differences among two or more languages, in order to try to find out their possible origin and establish language families, is carried out through the comparative method, supposedly a 'scientific' method of analysis. The Uralic/ Finno-Ugric theory too and related language family, supposedly, has been established through the adoption of this method. This, in turn, would play in favour of the validity, and, according to some interpretations, the actual pre-historical existence of this family. However, the situation is not so clear cut, also because the comparative method itself is of difficult application in the total absence of (old) records, as is indeed the case for the Uralic

whereby, in the absence of old documents, it is difficult to establish which of the proposed, alternative analyses is the correct one. Third, and most importantly, it has recently been argued (again) within Hungarian studies that also the ethnonym *magyar* is of Turkic origin. According to Berta ([28,175]) *magyar*:

admit of the same analysis as the names of the other Hungarian tribes, which, ultimately, can be traced back to Turkic military terminology

Specifically, *magyar* is traced back to a Turkic compound noun: *Ban ĵer*, meaning 'chief, central place', whereby *Ban ĵer* (> *Men ĵer*) would regularly change in "Ancient Hungarian" into *Medĵer*. Thus, as a tribal name, this must be considered among the most archaic, Turkic stratum names, in the same way as *Nyék*, *Kürt* and *Gyarmat* (see [28, 182-184]). Interestingly enough, in the Róna-Tas & Berta dictionary, the author of the section dealing with "The names of the Hungarians" ([7, I: 27-31]), that is Róna-Tas, does not mention the Turkic etymology proposed by Berta, his co-author for the compilation of the dictionary (even if the 1998 edition²³ of Berta's article is quoted in 'Bibliography'). Róna-Tas therefore re-proposes the Uralic etymology, although he admits that it is a little problematic.

3.2. Hungarian as a 'mixed' language?

Having attempted to present the linguistic and historical facts reported by the relevant records, as well as, separately, their conventional interpretations, as faithfully and objectively as possible, I leave it to the reader to make up his/her mind regarding the issue of the origin of the Hungarian peoples. However, as a linguist, I believe I can argue that the Hungarian language, if it had been in origin a Uralic language, it has certainly become what could be defined as an 'aberrant' Uralic language²⁴, for the reasons exposed below.

The great majority of the Hungarian basic lexicon, including kinship and body part terms (such as 'ankle', 'mucus', 'arm', 'sperm', 'navel', 'twin', 'uncle / nephew', 'younger brother' etc.), adjectives expressing basic adjectival concepts (such as 'small', 'blue', 'sad', etc.) and verbs expressing basic actions (such as 'to rejoice', 'to have sexual intercourse', 'to hate', 'to feed/nourish', etc.), are of undisputed Turkic origin – not to count the pervasive presence of words of Turkic origin in any other semantic domain²⁵ (as

languages. As a matter of fact, the issue of the strengths and weaknesses of the comparative method has attracted a lot of attention and debate within linguistics. The reader may want to consult Marcantonio ([21]) with regard to the way in which the comparative method has been applied to the Uralic languages, and the related issue of the validity, or otherwise, of the standard Uralic theory. One may also consult Clackson ([27, 9 ff.) for a balanced assessment of the *pro-s et contra-s* of the comparative method in general and as applied to Indo-European.

²³ This article by Berta has first been published in 1998, in *Turkic Languages* 2: 32-48; then it has been published again in 2010, in *Studies in Turkic Etymology* [28], a collection of articles by Berta brought together in a volume of which Róna-Tas is co-editor.

²⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Juha Janhunen for having suggested me this definition (personal communication, 2012).

²⁵ Usually, textbooks, when reporting the existence of the Turkic loan-words present in Hungarian, report the so-called 'cultural' loans only, and omit to mention that also the domain of basic lexicon is pervaded by Turkic loan words. This is presumably

is clearly shown by the comprehensive list of words assembled in the two volumes of RT&B [7]). Similarly, the great majority of the so-called 'derivational' morphology, that is, the set of those morphological elements (in this case suffixes), through which speakers may 'derive' adjectives and verbs from nouns, nouns from verbs and adjectives, verbs from nouns, etc., is of undisputed Turkic origin (as is clearly shown, once again, by the long list of Hungarian suffixes of Turkic origin accurately reported in RT&B ([7, II:1125-36])). Compare, for example, the Hungarian verb *őrül* 'to become mad', from West Old Turkic (reconstructed) **evril-*, or East Old Turkic *ävri-* 'to revolve', in turn deriving from *ävri-* 'to turn' + suffix *-(X)l-* (RT&B (II: 679-81); see also below). In addition, as is well known, Hungarian and Turkic share a great deal of what is defined as 'typological / structural' similarities, that is, the way words, phrases, sentences are build, structured and combined together (this being particularly evident, for example, if one compares the structure of the Hungarian stem with that of Finnish²⁶; see [29], [30] and [31]). In parallel, and, I would add, consistently, there is plenty of studies ([32], [33], [21], [34]; see also Lehtisalo²⁷ ([35])), that point out the paucity of the 'Uralic component' present in Hungarian, both at the level of lexicon / phonology and at the level of morphology (derivational, functional and grammatical morphology) – not to count the uncertain, at times even 'artificial' nature of many of the proposed etymologies (see the case of *magyar*). The supporters of the Uralic theory interpret the issue of the poor quality and quantity of the correlations among the Uralic languages as a sign of the 'great antiquity' of the language family, antiquity that would have erased most of the originally occurring correlations. This is, of course, quite a plausible interpretation, however much difficult to verify.

Whatever the case, I personally believe that the classification of Hungarian as 'a type of mixed' language – Uralic and (mainly) Turkic – would certainly be more appropriate and more adherent to the linguistic data than its classification as purely and simply a Uralic language. Notice at this point that Hungarian and Turkic *do not* share either functional morphology (case suffixes such as genitive, dative, ablative, locative, etc.), or grammatical morphology²⁸ (such as the suffixes for plurality, tense, mood; see [36]).

because basic lexicon is typically quite resistant to borrowing; it would therefore be difficult to justify its rich presence if the thesis of the rather 'pure' Uralic nature of Hungarian is maintained.

²⁶ Synchronically, the (mono-morphemic) stem of Hungarian words (particularly verbs) is typically mono-syllable, with a basic (C)VC(C) structure, and it is 'invariant', just like the Turkic stem. In contrast, the (mono-morphemic) stem of Finnish is typically bi-syllable, with a basic structure CVCV, and it is 'variable', undergoing morpho-phonological alternations ('consonant gradation'), as the word is inflected (see for details [29] and [30, 35 ff.]).

²⁷ Lehtisalo reports a comprehensive list of what he calls the 'primary derivative' suffixes of Uralic, among which those present also in Hungarian are a very small number. This is the case despite the following facts. First, at times the criteria for assessing the identified similarities among suffixes are rather loose. Second, and most relevant, often the suffixes in question are too short, consisting of one or maximum two basic, unmarked sounds, such as a basic, neutral consonant and /or vowel (C(V)), sounds that we would find, for this very reason, occurring in the suffixes / morphemes of many, different languages. Thus, it is difficult to carry out a proper comparative analysis on these simple morphemes (see [21, 200 ff.] and [36]).

²⁸ Much attention is drawn to this fact by scholars who deny a possible genetic connection between Turkic and Hungarian, claiming that sharing these morphological features is vital for establishing this type of connection. This is fine. However, these scholars omit to acknowledge the relevant fact that Hungarian does not share functional and grammatical (complex) morphemes with Finnish or the other Uralic languages either (see [21, 204 ff.]), so that this argument does not prove anything either way. Actually, in my opinion, the role of both functional and derivational morphology for the purpose of assessing

3.3. Contact vs inheritance

Having remarked that Hungarian could be more appropriately classified as a type of mixed language, attention should be drawn now to the fact that this classification, in turn, presupposes that basically all the elements of Turkic origin present in Hungarian have actually been 'borrowed' – as indeed firmly claimed within the conventional model. In particular²⁹, according to RT&B [7], these Hungarian words and suffixes of Turkic origin are borrowed from the West Old Turkic languages (as listed in par. (1) and (2.1)). This is certainly a plausible interpretation both of the historical sources and the linguistic data, but it remains an interpretation nevertheless, and alternative interpretations cannot be excluded *a priori*. For example, as is clear from the relevant testimony of the Byzantine source, nowhere it is actually reported, precisely, the information that 'the Uralic Mayars *came into contact* with Turkic peoples' – neither could this have been documented (be it false or true), because of the rather vague, confused way in which the variegated world of the steppe peoples is referred to in this historiography – as already pointed out. This being the case, the interpretation that these Magyars might have actually been themselves 'a type' of 'steppe peoples' can also be reasonably put forward. This interpretation, in turn, appears to be supported at least by the two following factors – in addition to the 'Turkic flavour', so to say, of the Hungarian language. First, the fact that the language was not assimilated, this being a possible outcome for an 'Inner-Asia' language (and /or peoples) mingling up with other, more or less similar Inner-Asia languages, both in the Eurasiatic steppe and in the Carpathian Basin (see note (30) for details³⁰). Second, the thesis that the assumed 'borrowing' took place (almost) exclusively from West Old Turkic, so much important for the conventional model and so much emphasized also in RT&B³¹, is contradicted by the very data the authors accurately report. In fact, for each single Hungarian word as well as derivational suffix of Turkic origin listed in their dictionary, RT&B [7] provide a West Old Turkic 'reconstruction'³², a West Old Turkic etymology, claiming that this reconstruction is at the origin of the Hungarian word (see for example the suffix *-(X)l* in the Hungarian verb *őrül*, in the previous paragraph, and note (33)). In

genetic (or other type of) correlations within Eurasia needs revisiting – in particular abandoning the strait-jacket of the Indo-European morphological model.

²⁹ The strong influence of Turkic on Hungarian has long been known to the Hungarian 'Orientalists', such as the quoted Ligeti. This state of the art has recently been re-affirmed and re-enforced by the results of the detailed, comprehensive study cited here many times by now: the two volumes of Róna-Tas & Berta's dictionary, that list *all* the Hungarian words and derivational suffixes long known and /or recently assessed as being of Turkic origin.

³⁰ In other words, it is possible, in principle, that Hungarian survived because, as an originally steppe peoples language, it was sustained and reinvigorated by mixing with other steppe speech communities. It could even be reasonably assumed that those Asiatic-steppe languages once present in the Carpathian Basin and now extinct, did not really die out completely (through assimilation), but actually flowed into Hungarian, contributing in the forming and maintaining of the language. Thus, when the (small group of) Magyars, whoever they might have been ethnically, arrived at the Carpathian Basin (in one or more waves of migration), and occupied exactly those same territories already inhabited by other steppe peoples, their language was replenished, fact that prevented its assimilation. That this is a plausible scenario appears to be confirmed by the fact that Hungarian contains many basic lexicon words classified as of 'unknown' origin (that is, neither Turkic nor Uralic), such as the term for 'belly', 'younger sister', 'family', etc.

³¹ This is, presumably, because the thesis of Hungarian borrowing from West Turkic languages, whilst migrating indeed westward, is compatible with the thesis of its Uralic origin, whilst the thesis of borrowing from East Turkic languages is more problematic.

³² Recall that RT&B ([7]) provide a reconstruction also because the West Old Turkic / Oguric languages are scarcely attested, apart from Chuvash.

addition, given that the authors of the dictionary, scrupulously, also and always report the corresponding East Old Turkic parallel(s) if available – real words and suffixes in this case, and not reconstructions – it becomes self evident that, in the great majority of cases, there is hardly any difference between the 'reconstructed' West Turkic word or suffix, and the 'attested' East Turkic word(s) / suffix(es)³³. How can it then be argued that West Turkic was basically the 'only source' of the Hungarian linguistic elements of Turkic origin? It is certainly true that several of them do indeed present phonological features that are characteristic of the West Turkic, Bulgharic languages, the so-called 'rhotacism' and 'lambdacism' isogloss, that is, the occurrence in Hungarian and (essentially) Chuvash (as well as, at times, Mongolian) of *r* and *l* as against the occurrence of *z* and *š* in all the other Turkic ('Common Turkic') languages, respectively (see [37] and [38]). However, there are plenty of relevant words or suffixes that, obviously, do not contain these sounds, or any other 'Chuvash criteria', so to say, and therefore it is not always possible to apply them for assessing the presumed Bulgharic nature of the loan word in question. This is also at times recognized in the specialistic literature; see for example Zimonyi ([41,84 ff.]) and Ligeti ([26, 36-48]). Even RT&B – who, as we have seen, *always* reconstruct a West Old Turkic /Bulgharic form for the listed Turkic loan words of their dictionary – report 268 loan words that display no relevant criteria as against 199 loan words that display Chuvash criteria. Not to count that the rhotacism and lambdacism isogloss, like any other phonetic / phonological (or any other type of) process in languages, are not always implemented regularly (see some examples of 'irregularity' in note (33) and (34)³⁴). Last, but certainly not least, one must not forget that telling apart borrowed from inherited elements is a very hard task in general, as is well known within linguistics, because borrowed elements tend to adapt, sooner or later, to the sound structure, as well as the overall structure of the receiving language, at the point of becoming indistinguishable from inherited elements³⁵ (unless there are relevant records that could prove otherwise; see [39]). Of course, the older the borrowing, the more integrated it tends to be, particularly if the donor and the receiving languages are very similar to one another phonetically/ phonologically and structurally / typologically, as is indeed the case for Hungarian and Turkic. Whatever the case, Róna-Tas & Berta model – whereby (almost) each single loan word is borrowed 'systematically' from West Turkic – is not plausible on theoretical grounds either: it is too rigid and unrealistic. Languages do not diffuse, develop, change or mix with other languages in such an orderly, mechanical, basically regular way, as purported by the authors. This applies equally well to both the development and changes taking place during the process of genetic transmission (from parents to child), and those taking place during the process of borrowing from, or converging with, other

³³ Here is couple of examples. Hungarian *köldök* 'navel, *umbilicus*', Old Hungarian *kedek*; according to RT&B ([7, I:584-86]) it derives from West Old Turkic reconstructed **kindik*, but compare also East Old Turkic *kindik* 'navel', Chu. *kěntěk*. Hungarian *gyomor* (/d'omor/) 'stomach, bowels'; according to RT&B ([7,I: 398-9]) it derives from West Old Turkic reconstructed **jumur*, but compare East Old Turkic *yumur*. Notice here the occurrence of *r* in both West and East Turkic: the rhotacism isogloss has not materialized; see also note (34).

³⁴ The rhotacism isogloss, for example, means that to /z/ in Common Turkic corresponds /r/ in Chuvash and /or/ Mongolian and Hungarian (see [37,104-5], [38, 71-2], [7, II: 1107-1110], [8, 408]). Rhotacism and lambdacism, however, do not always materialize (as one would expect). For example, Chuvash *r* may also correspond to Common Turkic *r*, as in *yur* vs *qār* 'snow' respectively; Chuvash *l* may also correspond to Common Turkic *l*, as in *śul* vs *yōl* 'way' respectively.

³⁵ The task of telling apart borrowed from inherited elements is certainly difficult in this case because it appears that the borrowed Turkic elements are fully integrated into the sound structure of Hungarian, as is clear from the numerous sound (and other) correspondences occurring between Hungarian and Turkic, as accurately pointed out in the dictionary.

languages. Thus, in view of what remarked thus far, and given the multi-ethnic / multi-lingual nature of the tribal confederations, it is in principle highly unlikely that the Magyars borrowed 'only', as well as 'regularly and systematically' from West Old Turkic languages, or, more precisely, from their reconstructed forms – assuming, for the sake of the argument, that we are dealing merely with the process of borrowing.

4. Summary and conclusion

All the available historical sources consistently refer to the Magyars as 'Turks'³⁶ (see also [40] and 41). It appears that they fully shared the (semi-)nomadic life style of the Turkic tribal confederations within which they were living, as is proven by the almost exclusively Turkic origin of Hungarian words referring to environment, every-day life, instruments, military and social organization, belief, religion, clothing, etc.

In contrast, according to the Uralic theory and Hungarian historiography, the historical sources would be all consistently wrong in calling the Magyars 'Turkic' (for the reasons amply discussed above), whilst it is the conventional linguistic classification that is correct. In other words, even if there is no (extra-) linguistic evidence, either in archaeology, palaeo-anthropology, or in the mentioned sources, in support of the existence of a (proto-)Uralic / Finno-Ugric speech community, this must nevertheless be 'assumed'. The known linguistic labels 'Uralic', 'Finno-Ugric', 'Ugric', etc., even if not borne out by (pre-)historical data or facts, must nevertheless refer to 'real', pre-historical ethnies and languages. Thus, The issue of the origin of the Hungarian peoples is not so clear-cut and settled after all, contrary to what is usually reported in textbooks and specialistic literature.

With regard to the classification of Hungarian as a language, however, the following can reasonably be stated: a) if its classification as an Uralic language is maintained, it would be more appropriate to use the definition: 'aberrant' Uralic language; b) independently of whether the pervasive Turkic component present in Hungarian has been borrowed or inherited (or, most likely, a combination of the two, as is typically the case in languages), it certainly bears a clear and alive testimony of the (past) expansion of the steppe peoples and languages, including Old Turkic³⁷ (Janhunen [42]), in Eastern Europe, in particular in the area of the Carpathian Basin.

³⁶ There are many other sources that mention the Hungarians, referring to them as Inner-Asia peoples. We cannot deal with them all for lack of space, but see [22], [40] and [41].

³⁷ The author provides an outline of the expansion of the Turkic languages from their home land.

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Born and educated in Moldova, Mr. Kisamov spent a 40-year carrier as an industrial automation engineer. He emigrated from Russia to the USA in 1978, when the USA patronized immigration of educated people from Russia. For the last 15 years, he was the webmaster of the site <http://turkicworld.org>, which serves as a non-commercial, educational publishing outlet for the Turkologists who could not propagate their studies in Russia and whose works were unknown to the Western world. He has translated a number of Turkological books to English, most of them were posted at that site, a few were published in Russia, in post-Soviet countries, and one was supposed to be published in Germany. Mr. Kisamov was assisting the writers as a volunteer. In his 15 years of working with various aspects of Turkology, he has amassed a significant collection of Turkisms cited by various authors, who were pointing out Turkisms in English and/or Germanic languages. Tracing and verifying etymologies of the cited lexemes, he encountered numerous other cognates, which led him to assemble a draft of the article that is published abridged in this issue, and unabridged as Supplement. By that time, the volume of the lexicon far exceeded accepted criteria formulated to discern random borrowings from genetic kinship. Mr. Kisamov is not a linguist, nor does he pretend to be a scholar. However, with some kind help from the sites contributors, he was able to systemize and organize his collection, and prepare etymological comments. His interest in Turkic history arose quite accidentally, but it quickly riveted him, he was growing into it for the last 25 years, and still, after a quarter century of reading and translating, he has only scratched the surface. Previously, he has authored a couple of articles on Turkological subjects related to the Scythian history.

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