

THE EARLIEST PREHISTORY OF INDO-EUROPEAN AND URALIC/FINNO-UGRIC SPEAKING PEOPLES IN MIKLÓS GÁBORI'S MODEL

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In the very early periods a long range of unknown archaeological questions add to the unsolved, and maybe unsolvable questions of historical linguistics. Part of these was surveyed in the past two decades in a book of fundamental importance and three studies by Miklós Gábori, the excellent scholar and my dear friend, who recently passed away. He did this *in the framework of a larger scale summation of ethnohistorical perspective, or at least of an attempt of such.*¹ One of his starting points was the same as mine later in my dissertation for the Doctor's degree of the Academy²: *it is not likely that the number of cultures or kinds of industries delineated so far would grow significantly in the next one or two decades, that is, that the structure of the period would alter fundamentally.*³

The area discussed by Gábori corresponds to the forest steppe of the Upper Pleistocene, that is, south of the ice cover and east of the Eastern Alps, including the northern belt of the Balkan and the whole of the Carpathian Basin, as well as Ukraine and the European, central and southern areas of Russia all the way to the Caspi Transgression extending almost to the Ural or the River Ural.

Mainly the western parts of this large area have rather rare Lower Palaeolithic

sites.⁴ The real population of the area occurred only under the favourable circumstances of the last, Riss-Würm interglacial, in the advanced period of the Middle Palaeolithic. At this time slowly but continuously moving hunter groups migrated partly from the west and partly from the east. The former came through Gibraltar, while the latter through the Derbent Gate at the east end of the Caucasus. The more ancient roots of both branches were even further away in North Africa, and somewhere in the Near East, and the developmental parallels between the two branches is usually attributed to a common (Levantine?, Asia Minor?, Near Eastern?) area of dispersal.

With their arrival between 45.000 and 35.000 suddenly a dynamic and abrupt development with large population growth and regular demographic wave started in the European areas, which were scarcely populated until then. As a result of this, several smaller groups formed, which again united in the Upper Palaeolithic in more unified and larger cultures.⁵

⁴ For the Acheuléan finds found in the area of Eastern Carpathians see recently GLADILIN - SITLIVY 1990.

⁵ GÁBORI 1977: 18, 27, as well as 1981: 101-102. - It is impossible not to notice here the characteristic case of the rhythmically occurring unifications and dissolutions of cultural areas. For the phenomena see MAKKAY 1991a: 16, 197, 201, 231, 239, 248, and further MAKKAY 1997a: 46 and note 201. The archaeological splitting into groups always occurs at the time of large technological changes, in the present case with the appearance of the blade in-

¹ GÁBORI 1977: 15.

² MAKKAY 1985, *passim*.

³ GÁBORI 1977: 15-16.

From my point of view the following are especially significant points in Miklós Gábori's model: the tundra region escorting the edge of the ice cover from the south was an independent ecumene [with probably independent population].

The western branch of the Middle Palaeolithic population reached the Carpathian Basin with a slow spread, up to the Drava-Sava region. A *neuralgic zone* formed here, which remained the periphery of the western world much later in the Upper Palaeolithic at the time of the Gravettian spreading from the east. Certain western groups got north of the Carpathians and along them as far as the Prut valley. Could this have been a rather early precursor of the eastward spread of the Central European Linear Pottery (the Notenkopf group)?!

In the area of the upper flow of the Dniester an *Eastern Levalloisien* type industry got established, which Gábori named Molodova-type.⁶ This differs both from the western and from the eastern branches, and thus it can be assumed that its spread led from the Near Eastern centre across the Balkan toward the north, especially since it dates further back than the Crimean finds.⁷

At this time an area at least 500 km wide and completely unpopulated formed between the Dniester, the sites in South Poland, the Desna in the north and the

dustries in the Upper Palaeolithic. The splitting into groups was a result of the local adaptations directly following the spread of innovations and getting acquainted with them, while a new integration followed the successful adaptations and the complete naturalization.

⁶ For the latest literature on the site after which it has been named see Molodova I. 1982! In connection with Mousterian in the Carpathian Basin see KULAKOVSKAIA 1989.

⁷ GÁBORI 1977: 38, 28, 2nd table.

Middle Dnieper further south. This *no-man's-land* separated the two (or three) migrating branches arriving from the east and the west, and further probably from the Balkan, but ultimately from the common (North African or Near Eastern) proto-area.⁸ From these the eastern branch - with a region in the Crimean and the Caucasus respectively - shows certain deviations, and was confined there by geographic borderline: at the Caspi Transgression reaching up to the South Ural and the Volga tableland. Thus, the Middle Asian origin⁹ of this eastern branch - and of any other South Russian Palaeolithic group - can be precluded. It is an essential claim of Gábori's theory that migrants of the eastern branch arriving through the Derbent Gate populated the steppe areas all the way to the Dnieper. This is when the *Dnieper border* was formed for the first time.¹⁰ The demographic explosion continued between 35.000 and 30.000 as well, that is, in the Würm period. This eastern branch was the techno-complex of the tool industry called *Micoquien*.

In this eastern Micoquien, at the end of its development, tool types appeared which lead over to the Gravettian of the Upper Palaeolithic. This Gravettian, emerging here in the east, expanded toward the west around 20.000, to the area of the Carpathian Basin and the Central European forest steppe, to the loess-region, which had already appeared at the time.¹¹ Following the end of the ice age, this popula-

⁸ GÁBORI 1977: 38, 42.

⁹ So the fore-forefathers of the Uralic or Finno-Ugric ancestors could not have arrived from Middle Asia either, not even in these very early times. For this question in general see MAKKAY 1990: 72, and further MAKKAY 1997a, passim!

¹⁰ For the notion of the Dnieper border and its long history see MAKKAY 1991a: 166-170, 176-183, 191, 203, 240, 1992a: 213-216, 1997a: 71-76, with many new data.

¹¹ GÁBORI 1977: 45, 1981: 104.

tion in the whole area of the Gravettian moved north, to the areas gradually released from the ice.¹²

In friendly conversations at the end of the '80s Miklós Gábori summarized his last views on the Gravettian issue as follows:

Parallel with the ice cap retracting north in the whole long loess zone - that is, from the Rein to the Ural¹³ - the Gravettians specialized in reindeer hunting migrated gradually to the north. In the western areas the Hamburgien (and its related groups) was formed through mixing with the Magdalenian industries, which was also spreading upward to the northeast. These probably got as far as to the east along the sea-side [the so-called Magdalenian type elements in the stone industries found all the way to the Baltic can presumably be derived from these¹⁴]. In the area north of the Carpathians, the Swidry-group was formed also on the basis of the Gravettians moving northward.

The middle and northern zone of the European areas of the former Soviet Union were populated by similar processes on a Gravettian basis all the way up to the ice border and soon separating into several groups. Serious arguments can be brought up against the view that people dispersing from Siberia across the Ural advanced into this middle, partly even northern zone during the Upper Palaeolithic, [as it is sug-

¹² GÁBORI 1981: 106 - This doubtless fact gave Gábori the idea that the whole area of the Carpathian Basin became depopulated, desolate by the Mesolithic as a result of the northward migrations.

¹³ Exactly in the loess-area of the later Linear Pottery and the Pit-grave culture. For the correlations between Linear Pottery, the loess-zone and two Indo-European dialect group see MAKKAY 1985, 1987: 165-183, 1992a: 207-209!

¹⁴ For the question see MAKKAY 1997a!

gested by a new summary on the basis of a few inauthentic sites¹⁵].

West of the Carpathian Basin, as well as in the east in the *original* area where the Gravettian had spread, Gravettian populations survived everywhere after the northward migrations, and these populations may have served as a basis for numerous groups of the Lower Mesolithic. As opposed to this, an ethnic vacuum had formed in the Carpathian Basin after the migrations out of the area, the causes of which were also pointed out by Gábori. But the issue has been taken off the agenda since then because, as I have mentioned before, (early and late) Mesolithic sites have been found almost abundantly in the Jászság, in the areas where effective research has started.¹⁶ These sites show a complex cultural distribution, which is rather similar to the Middle and Late Neolithic division of the Carpathian Basin. "Although it would be a big mistake to transpose the natural conditions of the Pleistocene to those of the Holocene,"¹⁷ this still means that *the basin was divided into cultural zones at times horizontally and at times vertically*. This is

¹⁵ BORISKOVSII 1984: 171, Fig. 72, sites 33-38, which obviously belong to the Gravettian and not to the circle of some Siberian super-group. One is Sungir itself with the famous burial, for its sites see ZUBOV 1984! Site 35 is the Kapova-cave, the cave paintings of which, if they are authentic and their dating is correct, fit into the Franco-Cantabrian circle and not into some Siberian system. [Miklós Gábori saw these cave paintings and he was of the opinion that their age was not Palaeolithic, and the rest of the finds is unknown.] Finally, sites 36-38 are completely isolated, and their finds are practically also unknown. The settlement zone indicated in the map was covered with ice, and thus no Palaeolithic people of either Gravettian or Siberian origin could have lived there.

¹⁶ KERTÉSZ 1996 with further literature.

¹⁷ GÁBORI 1977: 34.

exactly as the phenomenon can be observed with regard to the borderlines of the cultural groups of the Early, Middle and Late Neolithic. Moreover, the strange cultural distribution of the groups of the Early and Middle Neolithic, their non-geographically or only partly geographically determined borders, can only be understood on the basis of these earlier, Mesolithic borders.¹⁸

What Gábori finally held probable was that no significant population distinguishable from the Gravettian on the basis of their tool inventory lived in the tundra ecumene in the periglacial zone before the migration to the north. The groups [no matter how ancient their origin was, maybe even antedating the Micoquien] that had penetrated the north during the warm periods of the Würm interstadials were repeatedly pushed back to the south by the cold periods, and their finds up there were destroyed by the ice cover.¹⁹ Starting from the *independent tundra ecumene* assumed by Gábori during the demographic explosion, we can assume the existence of a similar tundra belt also during the Gravettian

¹⁸ I wrote about this phenomenon in detail in 1982 (MAKKAY 1982: 11-25). Then and at the present (MAKKAY 1996: 40-42) I am of the opinion that the spread of the Körös Culture further toward the north was not stopped by mysterious causes, but by geographical factors and by local and foreign ancient populations whose distribution was determined by these factors. This conception of mine was firmly verified by the research in the Jászág. Unfortunately, some errors found their way into the mentioned study during the otherwise very careful editing in Szolnok. E.g. on page 39: *Pleistocene alluvial fan*, which is correctly of course *Pleistocene deposition fan*, or *Pleistocene diluvial fan*.

¹⁹ The only exception is the Susi-cave in Finland, discovered recently. It dates into the Mousterian around 80,000 BC. The kind information of Chr. Carpelan, Helsinki.

period. This is justifiable by the fact that there has been human life in the tundra till this very day with Lapp, Eskimo, Chukchee, Yukagir and similar populations. Miklós Gábori's tundra ecumene equals the marginal zone of Núñez, which he considers the homeland of the peoples speaking the Uralic protolanguage. It equals even more the eastern half of K. Julku's periglacial zone (since a periglacial zone existed in the western part of the Gravettian and in Western Europe as well, but the western part can hardly be brought into connection with the homeland of the Finno-Ugric protolanguage).²⁰ This periglacial tundra ecumene always continuously followed the movements of the ice border. Its tool inventory did not necessarily differ from the Gravettian, since it was likewise specialized in the hunting of reindeer and mammoth, and also fresh water fishing of a similar kind, which in the winter was done under the ice, while on the sea shore it adjusted to sea fishing.

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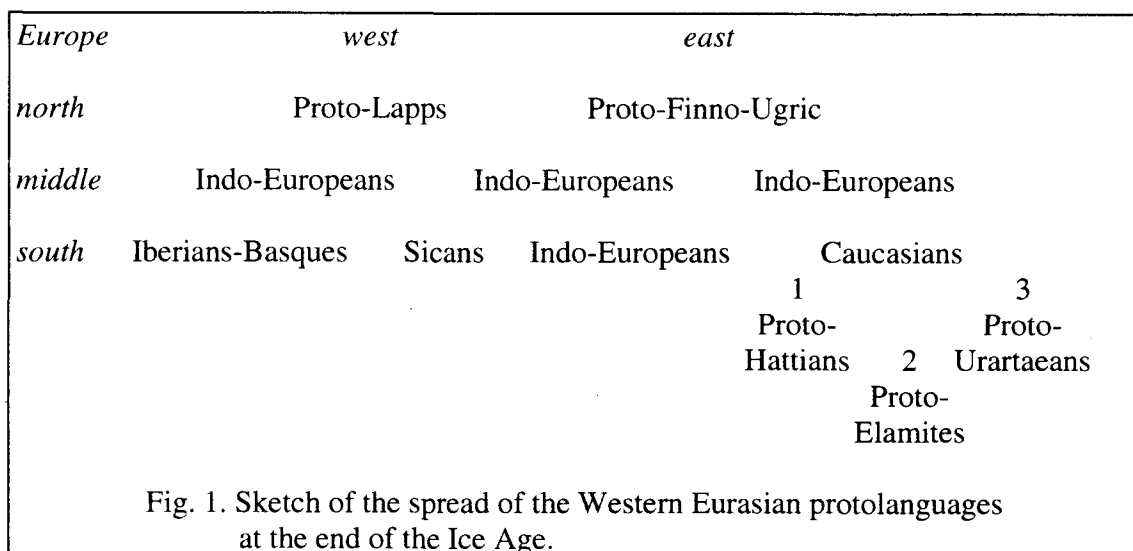
Informing the reader about Miklós Gábori's model was important not only because - according to our knowledge - it is the only comprehensive picture of the prehistory of the late Middle Palaeolithic of Europe,²¹ but also because in a lecture in Nice presenting a summary of his book he gave a sketch of the distribution of the Western Eurasian protolanguages at the end of the ice age,²² i.e., around 8-7000, in the following form: see Fig. 1.²³

²⁰ NÚÑEZ 1987: 12-13, map 1; JULKU 1996: 143.

²¹ Since O. Menghin's large scale systematization: MENGHIN 1931.

²² GÁBORI 1976b: 196-197.

²³ GÁBORI 1976b: the fig.; HARMATTA 1985-1986, 247 - Here I am presenting the version of Harmatta's original figure, which appeared in Gábori with some errors, in a corrected form and with areal explanations. For the original version pre-



According to the explanations provided to his model,²⁴ Gábori's starting point for his assumptions was the *continuity* observable in the life of the European and Caucasian groups since the beginning of the Middle Palaeolithic. According to this, the origin of the protolanguages shown in the above figure can be traced back to the Upper Palaeolithic, or maybe even to earlier times, the end of the Middle Palaeolithic, that is, to the population explosion. The sketch coincides with the variety of those zone reconstructions in which the Uralic protopeoples lived north of the Indo-European predecessors populating the continental (middle) belt of Europe in three groups (that is, west of the Carpathian Basin, in the Basin itself, and east of it, including also the Balkan in the latter two). In the west of the northern belt there were the Proto-Lapps, and in the east the Proto-Finno-Ugric, while south of the continental belt the Basque-Caucasians in Iberia, and east of them in the southern area of the

pared by Harmatta, but published only after one and a half decades, see further down.

²⁴ GÁBORI 1976b did not mention that the model is Harmatta's discovery. According to page 196 of his article *Sur la carte linguistique de l'époque postglaciaire de l'Europe d'il y a 7 à 8.000 ans, nous trouvons le schème suivant.*

Alps and in the Appennin Peninsula the ancestors of the Sicans. From among these he bound the origin of the Iberian-Basque and the Sican groups to the western Middle Palaeolithic branch, which spread via Gibraltar first to Iberia, and from there in the south to the Appennin Peninsula. The route of the earliest migrating Proto-Indo-Europeans would have led from the Near East and Asia Minor through the Balkan with the branch which is only provisional because of the state of the Balkan research: with the already mentioned Molodova facies of the Dniester region. The groups entering at the eastern end of the Caucasus may have been relatives of the ancient ancestors of the Proto-Hattians, Proto-Urartaeans, and Proto-Elamite languages. Unfortunately, Gábori did not provide a model for the origin of the Uralians living on the northern peripheries.

The conception of the origin of the Indo-European branch suggested by Harmatta and Gábori and first published in the literature by Gábori had obviously preceded by almost a decade C. Renfrew's model of the Asia Minor origin that was considered a novelty at the time (although proposed by A.H. Sayce²⁵ as early as 1927).²⁶

²⁵ MALLORY 1989: 143. A few years after Sayce the excellent Sumerologist I.J.

However, the Harmatta-Gábori model assumes a time many millennia earlier in the dating of the Indo-European migration from Asia Minor, although in his 1987 book Renfrew also implied that the period of the emergence of the Indo-European language family may very well coincide with the appearance of *Homo sapiens sapiens* at about 40 thousand.²⁷ But we Hungarian researchers already consider it almost natural that the international research usually does not take notice of what we say. However, if Renfrew suggests something excitingly new, or Gimbutas comes up with a new hypothesis then those are immediately marketable. It is because of this that I thought of directing attention to Gábori's views since he preceded his world famous colleagues by more than a decade in this important question.

The Gábori-Harmatta hypothesis can be excellently applied to clarify several questions even if - putting aside the difficulties of bridging the huge time depth²⁸ -

Gelb also implied that the homeland of the Indo-European speaking peoples may have been in Asia Minor (GELB 1951-1952: 23-26). J. Makkay lists the papers published by Harmatta between 1966-1975 mainly in Hungarian concerning an assumed and very early Indo-European homeland in Asia Minor (MAKKAY 1991b: 438).

²⁶ This theory was published in several places and has been strongly criticised and rejected by historical linguists and is also confusing from an archeological point of view. For details see RENFREW 1987. And further RENFREW 1990: 10-15, 1992. Here I will only mention one of the many reviews and discussion papers in which the most authoritative researchers reject Renfrew's view: Models of Change 1989. For my own review on RENFREW 1987 see MAKKAY 1991b.

²⁷ RENFREW 1987: 286-287.

²⁸ I agree with Renfrew on the point that the chronology applied by historical linguists at present is not completely scienti-

objections and corrections can be made at some points. Primarily, such a point is for instance that it was already the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians in the state of separation who were living in the steppe at the given time. It is true that the model did not claim that the east Indo-European area was in the protolanguage state between 8 and 7 thousand, and neither that it had started to form dialects, but from the extraordinary early dating the latter logically follows. On the other hand, there is no trace of Proto-Urartean or Proto-Elamite languages in this area, but the speakers of the ancestors of the Proto-Caucasian languages may in fact also have lived in the steppe between the Dnieper and the Volga at one time.²⁹

According to this, we may look for the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians in the *original* local, *eastern* population of the Gravettian. The secondary, westward spreading Gravettian groups may have represented the ancestors of the dialects of the western

fic: "the underlying grounds for the linguistic chronology have never been made entirely clear, and would need to be set out more coherently before the objection [of linguists against argumentation of prehistorians] could be accepted as definitive." (RENFREW 1990: 7).

²⁹ Harmatta's figure (HARMATTA 1985-1986: 247) can be misinterpreted from this point of view because the reader can only think that one out of the *three* Caucasian languages, which got as far as the Dnieper, could have been Proto-Hattian, Proto-Urartean or Proto-Elamite. According to the referee's statement written to my dissertation for the title of the Doctor of the Academy, Harmatta's figure *showed that three language groups lived in the area of the Caucasus, whose relationship is for the time being uncertain, and their representatives in the 2nd millennium were the Proto-Hattians, Proto-Urartaeans and the Proto-Elamites in the vast area south of the Caucasus. Thus, we must not look for these languages north of the Caucasus.*

Indo-European (Linear Pottery) branch (the north western Indo-Europeans, that is, the distant ancestors of the dialect group called *le vocabulaire du nordouest* by A. Meillet), and in the Carpathian Basin the distant ancestors of those later dialects which moved to the Balkan from north toward the south (Proto-Greeks), and from there to Asia Minor (Proto-Anatolians). It may be worth mentioning that presently Renfrew is trying to equate the people of the large Nostratic macrofamily of languages with the Gravettian population of the Upper Palaeolithic. This is the so-called Gravettian Proposal.³⁰

The two-step spread of the Gravettian, which according to Gábori's last reconstruction originated genetically in the east, in the steppe, as well as in the Carpathian Basin and in the Central European loess zone would provide the prerequisite for the early separation of the steppe, i.e. Indo-Iranian, and the western, i.e. Old European branches of the IE. The biggest difficulty here is that presently the almost perfect topographic correspondence of the complete area of the spread of the Gravettian and the later Linear Pottery and Pit-grave zone cannot be coupled as a proof with directly deriving the Neolithic cultures of the two regions from the Gravettian populations, especially not in the case of the Central European Linear Pottery. The length of the intermediate period and its complex Mesolithic groupings do not provide for this, although the local continuity of the Gravettian groups after the ice age is a more than probable assumption. This implies that crucial differences in subsistence economy must have developed between the Gravettian groups remaining in their original areas and the ones moving-migrating north, which differences soon greatly affected the tool kits as well.

The complexity of the question is still shown by the engraved meander ornaments

found on the ivory objects of the Mezin-Predmost Gravettian types. Very similar pattern pairs of these show up as pottery decoration patterns several millennia later on the finds of the not even earliest periods of two Linear Pottery regions, the Tisza Culture and the late Neolithic painted ceramic of Tripolye-Cucuteni-Erőd type.

From Gábori's provisional model it can also be concluded that the area of the presently only assumed Balkan - Moldova - migration branch reaching the Dniester very well corresponds to the spread of the two large and related cultural groups of the early Neolithic: the Körös-Starčevo-Karainovo and the Bug-Dniester cultures. It also agrees with the fact that this Neolithic archaeological material originating from Asia Minor did not spread in the western part of the Balkan and along the Adriatic either. The cultural variegation of South East Europe (north eastern Balkan and the Carpathian Basin) - contrary to the homogeneity of the early Linear Pottery and Pit-grave region - in the times following the early Neolithic may be explained by the fact that the Gravettian originating from the eastern, Caucasian branch settled over and mingled with the descendants of the Southern Balkan (Moldova) branch when spreading toward the west.

It can be accepted without any serious objection that the origin of the island- and peninsula-languages of Western and South Western Europe (and here not only the *Sican* language is meant, but also *Pictish*, *Iberian*, *Lusitan*, and maybe *Pelasgian*, *Etruscan*, *Ligurian*, and *Picenus*) is ultimately to be looked for in the migrating branch of Gibraltar. The very late descendants of this Middle Palaeolithic group spreading from the west survived only in those parts of the South and West European zones as debris-languages (*Trümmersprachen*) which became the substrate languages of the dialects descending from the northwestern (Old European) and Balkan Indo-European branches only in the late

³⁰ RENFREW 1990: 7.

periods of the final Indo-Europeanization in the 2nd or even 1st millennium BC.

According to the more or less reconstructable processes, first a spread of the cultures of the western areas toward the east occurred in Central Europe after the time of the Middle Palaeolithic immigration. Then from the Upper Palaeolithic onwards the direction of the processes reversed and the eastern populations spread at the expense of the western and central ones (Gravettian expansion). This conception of Gábori's model assumes that the ethnicity/language of the western branch of the Middle Palaeolithic demographic explosion was not Proto-Indo-European, and its separation from the eastern branch may have been determined by the fact that its *direct* origin was not somewhere in the Near East, but perhaps in the North African area. Its survival to the Epipalaeolithic, or even to the Mesolithic in the west and northwest (Hamburgian and its descendants), and its eastward spread further along the seaside might be associated with the Atlantic-Northern substrate of North African origin or connection, which J. Pokorný attempted to demonstrate.³¹

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It is doubtless that the defense of Miklós Gábori's dissertation for the Doctor's degree of the Academy was held only in 1972, while János Harmatta published his opinion on the earliest, Palaeolithic homeland of the Indo-European speaking peoples in a rudimentary form already in 1971. Here he already advanced the possibility that *it was perhaps the language of the Mousterian population that survived in the*

³¹ I cannot discuss these questions here. Readers who may be interested can find hints in the notes to MAKKAY 1985: 475-479, and further in somewhat more detail in MAKKAY 1991a: 310, *s.n.* under Pokorný.

*Indo-European protolanguage.*³² But at that time he dismissed this possibility because of certain phenomena of hydronymy and the connections of the Indo-European protolanguage with Proto-Semitic: *the population forming the Indo-European protolanguage had lived in the Near East earlier and got in contact with a very early form of the Semitic protolanguage.* And further: *the Indo-European tribes ... lived in the Near East in the Upper Palaeolithic in the vicinity of the Proto-Semitic tribes. ...one part of the Indo-European tribes migrates to Central Europe with the Aurignacian culture, and spreads from there to Western and Eastern Europe, and another part, the Proto-Hittite group remains in the Near East and the Balkan peninsula. Their migration to Europe means the appearance of Homo sapiens in this area.*³³ It clearly turns out from the two quotes and the short review below of Harmatta's discussion that Harmatta significantly altered his conception at the turn of 1971-1972. He did this obviously in view of Gábori's dissertation for the title of Doctor of the Academy.

For some reason I was not present at the academy defense session of Gábori's dissertation in 1972, and thus I did not know Harmatta's statement of referee which was read out there. In my own doctoral dissertation for the title of Doctor of the Academy I discussed the language model of Gábori's 1976b article as Gábori's discovery.³⁴ Then in the academy defense session of my dissertation (in December 1986) it took me by surprise when I read and heard the following in Harmatta's

³² HARMATTA 1971a: 322-323, 1971b: 214. From his text it is not obvious to what extent he used Gábori's dissertation, which was already in the defence process at that time and had already been sent to Harmatta as a referee.

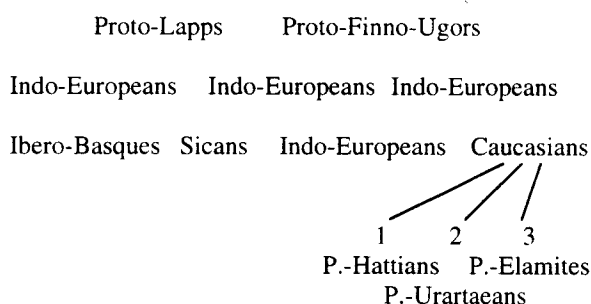
³³ The two quotations are from HARMATTA 1971a: 322, 1971b: 214.

³⁴ MAKKAY 1985: 357.

written³⁵ statement of referee read out there:

"In the question of the Palaeolithic location of the Indo-Europeans [Makkay's dissertation] attempts to bridge the discrepancy which in his opinion exists between Miklós Gábori's conception and mine. However, in reality *there is no such discrepancy* [emphasis, J.M.] because the view quoted from Gábori originates from my statement of referee. As apparently this does not clearly turn out from Gábori's text [as we have seen it does not turn out at all], I will quote the relevant part of my statement of referee I wrote on his doctoral dissertation (p. 12-13.):

'It would probably be too early to attempt a resolution of the ethnicity of the individual delineated Middle Palaeolithic cultures. What we can still do is that we compare the picture emerging from the results of the dissertation with the language map of post-glacial Europe of ca. 7-8000 years ago:



The following can be noted on the basis of this sketch: from the perspective of linguistics the populating of Europe can also be posited from the south. From North Africa peoples speaking Ibero-Basque-Sican migrated through the Iberian and Appennin peninsulas, the members of the three Caucasian language families through the Caucasus, ... and finally the Indo-Europeans through the Balkan peninsula, who then spread both toward the west and

³⁵ The uncorrected copy of the original version of the referee's statement is in my possession (HARMATTA 1986) and I am providing the quotations based on that: p. 6-7.

the east and gradually pushed back the ethnicities which arrived from the southwest and the southeast. Earlier it seemed that this state of affairs may be projected back to the Upper Palaeolithic with certain shifts, but now Miklós Gábori's dissertation has convincingly proven that the Middle Palaeolithic cultures develop in many places into the Upper Palaeolithic industries without discontinuity, that Neanderthal man sapientized in several areas, and that in this way we can assume at least a partial ethnic continuity between the cultures of the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. Well, the picture sketched by Gábori certainly does not contradict the linguistic reconstruction, which may mean that the linguistic and ethnic conditions of post-glacial Europe are in essence rooted in the Middle Palaeolithic."³⁶

Except for half a sentence the quotation is the same as Harmatta's statement of referee from 1972, which was also published later.³⁷ Because of this I will not quote his lines concerning this issue. It can be seen, however, that there *is in fact a significant difference* between Harmatta's 1971 opinion, which he even expressed twice, and his view sketched with the knowledge of Miklós Gábori's dissertation (in contradiction to Harmatta's claim). As a matter of fact, he consequently took the following position from 1966 onward: "If we examine the historical picture of the Palaeolithic in Hungary and in Europe, it seems to be *doubtless* (emphasis, J.M.) that the migration of the Indo-European tribes can only be connected to the appearance of the Aurignacian culture, to its mixing with the local Mousterian, to the emergence of the mixed cultures, and then to the emergence of the various forms of the Aurignacian, and in the east to the appearance of the Gravettian culture. The complicated phenomena and the various components that

³⁶ Word by word quotation from Harmatta's 1986 statement of referee.

³⁷ HARMATTA 1985-1986, 247-248.

are observable in these cultures can be well explained by the fact that the migrating Indo-European tribes got into different relationships with the individual Mousterian groups and mixed with them in various ways.³⁸ This really is a *significant difference*, but upto 1986 Harmatta never published, in fact he has not put in writing till this day, why the change in his opinion happened. Because if it happened under the influence of Gábori's dissertation, then the situation is a little bit different from what he wrote about when he published a part of his 1972 statement of referee in a certified form in 1986: *as in the meantime certain parts of the statement of referee have been used in the literature in a not quite correct manner, it seems to be necessary to make the certified text public.*³⁹ On my part I think that in 1985 (since I was not present at the 1972 defense), at the time of writing my dissertation, I could not have known Harmatta's conception hiding in an unpublished statement of referee, but featuring in two read out statements. I wrote it in a fair manner and precisely according to the facts published in print that the conception of 1966 and then that of 1971 differ significantly from what was published in Gábori's 1976b article, but what was expressed by Harmatta in the Gábori-defense (as we know it today *after* 1986!). But it is futile to further analyse this part of the question. Though it can still be added that the reason why part of Harmatta's works are not known either in the Hungarian or the foreign professional circles because he publishes them occasionally, especially in

a world language, only with considerable delay.⁴⁰

It is another issue that it is not very wise to write about the linguistic states of Palaeolithic periods that something is *doubtless*.

* * *

The most important things for us can be summarized in two factors. One is the probability that at the time of the largest spread of the Gravettian another population lived north of its whole territory or of one of its eastern parts in the periglacial zone, a population which was in some way independent of the Gravettian, and which then was first to move further north to the territories gradually released from the ice following the retreat of the ice cap. The existence of such a Palaeolithic periglacial population and its (at present still completely unknown and hypothetical) difference from and independence of the Gravettian populations may provide the possibility for deriving the Uralic language family or at least the ancient ancestors of the Finno-Ugric family from it.

The other assumption may be that during the northward migrations following the retreat of the ice cap a part of the Gravettian population remained in its place in the east in the steppe and provided the basis for the emergence of the Indo-Iranian dialect group. According to this assumption the separation of the ancestors of the Indo-Iranian dialect group, that is, of the Proto-Indo-Iranian language, from other Indo-European dialect groups, and mainly from the northwestern (Old European) one, had already started in the first half of the Mesolithic, and the line of separation was the Dnieper valley in a broader sense.

³⁸ HARMATTA 1966: 248.

³⁹ HARMATTA 1985-1986: 244, *note. The title of Miklós Gábori's dissertation is *A neandervölgyi ember anyagi kultúrája az Alpok és az Ural között* [The material Culture of Neanderthal man between the Alps and the Ural]. Apart from a little difference it is the same as GÁBORI 1976a.

⁴⁰ HARMATTA 1975 is a good example for this, which is the text of his lecture given 10 years earlier in Athens.

However, these two assumptions only make sense if it were possible to show such a significant difference between the Gravettian populations and the population of the periglacial zone in the age of the Gravettian that would make it possible even without the application of the Indo-Uralic hypothesis to derive the two completely different language families: Indo-European and Uralic/Finno-Ugric from these two basic populations living close to each other and leading the same way of life. Now I will briefly describe a possibility, which has not occurred up to now, for this yet unsolved and seemingly unsolvable question.

The continuity between the eastern populations of the Mousterian demographic explosion and the Gravettian has already been mentioned above. Further a mixing has also been mentioned between *Homo sapiens fossilis* newly arriving with the Aurignacian culture from the Near East-Asia Minor and the Mousterian groups found here (which according to Gábori as well are of Near Eastern origin). These two processes - i.e. continuity and mixing - make sense in two cases only:

- if we accept that the Neanderthal peoples or groups of the Mousterian periods got sapientized through the mixing,
- or if we assume that all three branches of the Mousterian immigrations already brought into Europe people of the *Homo sapiens presapiens* type which had emerged very early, already around 100 thousand.

This is how the first demographic explosion should have occurred. These should have been the aborigines who mixed with the arriving Aurignacians, and whose groups survived in Gravettian times. The Proto-Uralic groups of the periglacial zone should have emerged from their already sapientized groups at the time of the Upper Palaeolithic. Thus, the very early ancestors of the western dialect of the Uralic protolanguage might have been the descendants

of ultimately sapientized *Homo sapiens presapiens* of the Mousterian Age. The distant ancestors of the groups speaking the Indo-European protolanguage were the *Homo sapiens fossilis* populations arriving with the Aurignacian but mixing with the eastern groups of the Mousterian demographic explosion and becoming Gravettian. Such an interpretation would also provide the possibility for the very distant and vague features of relationship between the two language families. There are indications that such an assumption can fit into the series of the anthropogenetic interpretations of the latest years.

Marcel Otte writes in a brief but interesting study that "les données archéologiques montrent une continuité régulière depuis les peuples chasseurs paléolithiques jusqu'aux peuples indo-européens attestés par les textes. Cette continuité s'oppose aux théories classiques (Gimbutas) ou plus récentes (Renfrew) sur une origine extérieure de ces populations et de leur culture."⁴¹ According to Otte several changes may be seen between 100.000 and 50.000 in the European Mousterien continuing local traditions, the number of sites multiplies (see Gábori's demographic explosion!), and the number of technological innovations is a multiple of the former. "Cette phase est cruciale en Europe, car elle précède directement l'apparition de l'Homme anatomiquement moderne et le mode de vie dit du Paléolithique Supérieure... En d'autres termes, l'évolution s'est produit lentement à l'extérieur, probablement dans les steppes eurasiatiques où le milieu est favorable (contrairement à la curieuse théorie de l'Eve africaine). ... La seule vraie cassure apparente en matière d'archéologie et de paléontologie humaine (donc d'ethnie) correspond au passage au Paléolithique moyen (homme de Neanderthal) au Paléolithique supérieur (Homme

⁴¹ OTTE 1995: 1219. This is the original French text of his lecture held in English in New Delhi in 1994.

moderne ou de Crô-Magnon). C'est à partir de ce moment qu'une histoire des cultures se développe sur ce continent d'une manière autonome. C'est aussi à partir de ce moment que la continuité s'amorce jusqu'à la protohistoire. C'est aussi à partir de ce moment que les peuples non indo-européens apparaissent en contraste sur ce fond commun: finno-ougriens ou turco-mongols."

According to Otte the break, and at the same time transformation, between the Mousterian and the Upper Palaeolithic happened in the area between the Black Sea and the Kazakh steppe as a cultural change but also creating as a change Modern Man between 40 and 35,000. The new people and the new technologies would spread from this area toward the east, toward the south to the Levant and toward the west as well.⁴² His view concerning the area of the emergence of *Homo sapiens fossilis* stands in sharp contrast to the view generally accepted today according to which anatomically modern man existed 100,000 years ago in the Near East and lived side by side with archaic *Homo sapiens*, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* for at least 50,000 years.⁴³ As regards the emergence of the Gravettian of the steppe at the time of the transition between the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, his theorem coincides essentially with Gábori's thesis. It is an important condition, that he dates the emergence of the Uralic/Finno-Ugric protolanguage beside that of Proto-Indo-European for the same rather early period.

At this moment nothing more can be said about this question in a responsible manner. The views briefly described here agree that the time depth of the Indo-European as well as Uralic protolanguage groups can be pushed back at least to the beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic, but

probably to even earlier times, to the Middle Palaeolithic times of *Homo sapiens presapiens* (archaic *Homo sapiens*, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*). The area of emergence of these cultures and peoples is a question to be decided: did both come to Europe from the Near East, or were partly the European local rudiments their ancestors? It is doubtless that Gábori's argumentation supplemented with Harmatta's language model was a rather significant scientific result a quarter of a century ago, and has remained one, even if it is at present not more than a thoroughly contemplated hypothesis. It is a pity that neither Gábori nor Harmatta worked it out in more detail.

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⁴² OTTE 1995: 1222-1225, fig. 3.

⁴³ E.g. MELLARS 1996

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