

## SETTING THE HERITAGE OF OLD EUROPE IN PERSPECTIVE – CULTURAL STUDIES AND THEIR INTERDISCIPLINARY CONTEXTUALIZATION

*Harald Haarmann*<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

*The present article addresses the Old Europe concept by presenting it from an interdisciplinary perspective, focusing on its cultural heritage and meanings, but also on the cultural continuity in terms of art, spirit and aesthetics.*

**Keywords:** Old Europe civilization, cultural studies, performative art, heritage.

### INTRODUCTION: THE DYNAMIC INTERPLAY OF CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

The medium to find one's orientation in the world is culture, and the means of communication for organizing social relations within a given cultural framework and to create value systems is language. One can also say that language provides the instrument for the buildup of culture. The assertion has been made that the cognitive capabilities and the communicative skills in human beings are the result of a "co-evolution of language and the human brain"<sup>2</sup>.

Human beings have created culture to make sense of the world they live in.

"We live and keep our reason by virtue of the way that our minds select from the ceaseless flood of experiences that crowd around and flow past us from birth to death and arrange them into patterns for us. Those patterns and the responses that we make – fleetingly in speech and more permanently in the shape of institutions and monuments – are our culture"<sup>3</sup>.

Culture is comprehensive and it covers the whole kaleidoscope of human activities, including belief systems, values and ways of communication. The construction of culture through organizational skills enhances activities both

---

<sup>1</sup> PhD, Professor, Institute of Archaeomythology, European Branch, Luumäki, Finland; E-mail contact: harald.haarmann@pp.inet.fi

<sup>2</sup> Terrence Deacon, *The symbolic species. The co-evolution of language and the human brain*, London: The Penguin Press, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a civilization*, London & New York: Routledge, 1989, p. 1.

manual and intellectual<sup>4</sup>: (a) the creation and use of conventional symbols, (b) the creation and use of complex tools and other instrumental technologies, (c) the creation of and participation in complex social organizations and institutions. Culture is always an organic whole, and “a society’s intellectual developments cannot be divorced from its concrete historical and social contexts”<sup>5</sup>.

Culture is intrinsically associated with those who generate it and, following Haarmann<sup>6</sup>, the fabric of culture is understood, in its widest possible extent, as being comprised of

- its material basis; artifacts (*e.g.*, stone tools, architecture, technologies),
- its network of social relationships, symbolizing in-group solidarity among the members in the community (*e.g.* kinship relations, social groupings with professional specialization and/or social hierarchies, forms of administration),
- its collective technologies of communication (ranging from the symbolism of landscape to notational systems such as numerology and writing),
- its entire constructive potential originating amidst communal life (from handicraft to music, art and oral/written literature),
- its systems of shared values and beliefs (worldview, mythology, religious cults),
- its collective knowledge and stored memory; mentifacts (as virtual and practical knowledge and as instructions given from one generation to the next to safeguard cultural continuity).

Cultural studies is an overarching concept, and the study of culture is associated with various disciplines of the humanities: *i.e.*, sociology, gender studies, education and teaching, political science, ethnography, archaeology, historical science, religion, mythology, literacy and literature, philosophy, language skills, bilingualism, sociopolitical status of minority languages.

The significance of cultural studies for the investigation of language contact situations results from the symbiotic interplay between the basic concepts that are involved, language and culture. This relationship may be best characterized as a symbiotic interplay because the functioning of the one is intrinsically intertwined with the functioning of the other.

If the functional ranges of language and culture are symbiotically interrelated, it follows that every situation of language contact is, at the same time,

---

<sup>4</sup> After Michael Tomasello, “The human adaptation for culture.” in Wuketits M. Franz and Antweiler Christoph (eds.), *Handbook of evolution*, vol. 1: *The evolution of human societies and cultures*, Weinheim: Wiley-VCH Verlag, 2004, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Doyle E. McCarthy, *Knowledge as culture: The new sociology of knowledge*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Harald Haarmann, *Foundations of culture. Knowledge-construction, belief systems and worldview in their dynamic interplay*, Frankfurt, Berlin & New York: Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 39–41.

a situation when different cultures are in contact. In view of this specific interplay, cultural studies offer more than mere additional information for the investigation of language contacts. Rather, they hold the key for setting situations of language contact in perspective. In the survey of case studies presented in the following, criteria for the kind of symbiotic interplay – as advocated here – are specified.

## OLD EUROPE AND ITS CULTURAL HERITAGE IN FOCUS

In order to exemplify the working of interdisciplinary contextualization, historical situations of contacts of languages and cultures will be highlighted. The discussion will focus on Old Europe which has been identified as the earliest advanced civilization in Europe<sup>7</sup>. In modern contributions to this field of study, Old Europe is alternatively called “Danube civilization”.

\*\*\*

## THE FABRIC OF OLD EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

The first advanced civilization known to mankind grew out of all that proved itself useful and beneficial for a peaceful coexistence around 6000 BCE, in Old Europe; this became a hub for exchanges, of information, technology, creativity, world views, languages, and collaborations of all kinds.

“Old Europe” (“Danube civilization”, respectively) is a construct born of ancient history, linguistics and sociology, and designates the earliest Neolithic farming culture of prehistoric Europe. The region referred to as Old Europe encompasses all of modern-day Hungary, Croatia, Kosovo, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, and western Ukraine.

“Old Europe” is a blanket term covering several regional cultures in southeastern Europe: Vinča, Turdaş and Tărtăria, Karanovo, Cucuteni, Gumelnița, Trypillya. These cultural complexes shared similar traditions, egalitarian community life, a worldview focusing on the cult of a female divinity, similar use of signs and symbols.

---

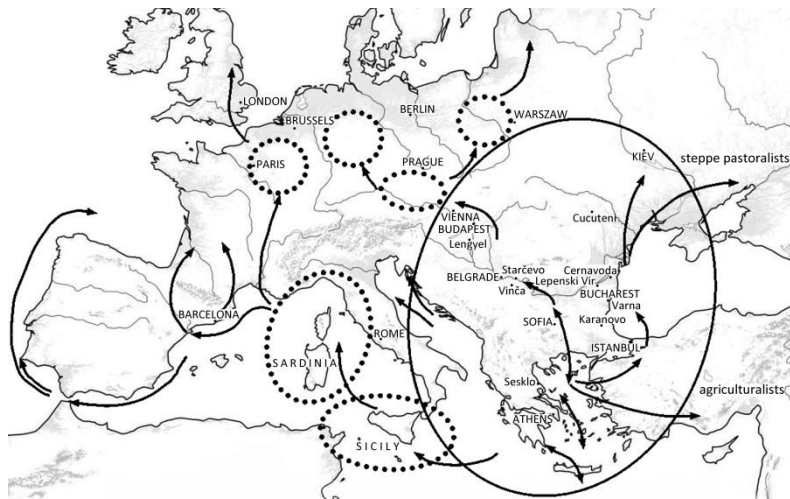
<sup>7</sup> See

1. Marija Gimbutas, *The civilization of the Goddess: The world of Old Europe*, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991, for an early documentation, and

2. Harald Haarmann, *Advancement in ancient civilizations. Life, culture, science and thought*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2020a, for a comparative analysis of Old Europe in the timeline of ancient civilizations.

In the horizon of technological advancement and cultural development, Old Europe presents a series of first-time achievements:

- The world's first wide trading network, stretching for thousands of kilometers and connecting hundreds of settlements (river trade, sea-borne trade);



Map 1. The network of local and interregional trade routes inside and outside the core area of Old Europe<sup>8</sup>.

Given the geographic extension of this network of trade routes one gets the impression that major regions in Europe were included in the economic activities of the ancient Europeans to exchange trade goods on a large scale. It does not seem far-fetched to address the Old European trading network as the antecedent of the modern economic zone within the borders of the European Union.

The river trade played an important role in Old European economy<sup>9</sup>, and water as the elixir of life formed an integral part of the religious symbolism<sup>10</sup>. Judging from the assemblage of human figures in boats in imagery, it may be conjectured that the Old Europeans knew communal festivities relating to the rivers and the sea (boat processions?)<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2020a, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> See Harald Haarmann, *Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation, Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas*, Munich: C.H. Beck (3rd ed. 2017), 2011, p. 81, for a documentation.

<sup>10</sup> Marija Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 246, p. 292, etc.

<sup>11</sup> See:

1. Harald Haarmann, *Roots of ancient Greek civilization. The influence of Old Europe*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2014, p. 113, and

2. Harald Haarmann, "Who taught the ancient Greeks the craft of shipbuilding? On the pre-Greek roots of maritime technological know-how.", in *Mankind Quarterly* 59 (2018), pp. 155–170, for ship-building and maritime trade.

- The invention of the two-storey furnace with an upper chamber for burning ceramic ware and a lower chamber for heating;
- The invention of the potter's wheel;
- The smelting of copper (beginnings around 5400 BCE in southern Serbia);
- The working of gold (the world's oldest artifacts made of gold from Varna in Bulgaria, dating to c. 4500 BCE);
- The world's first urban agglomerations (the cities of the Copper Age in Old Europe emerged hundreds of years earlier than the first Sumerian cities of Mesopotamia);
- The world's first two-storey buildings and condominiums;
- The world's first sign system for writing numbers;
- The world's first writing;
- The world's first egalitarian society under the auspices of a high culture.

People occupied this vast area for some 3000 years, without experiencing armed conflict and destruction; they were enormously creative and productive, exchanging goods, ideas and innovations with neighboring settlements. Trade routes took them as far as the Atlantic Ocean in the West, Southern England, the present Baltic States, the Steppes of Russia, Anatolia and Northern Africa, which in turn were incorporated into the network of contacts. A trading cycle, to which all contributed responsibly, and from which everyone benefitted.

\*\*\*

As a consequence of several consecutive out-migrations of Indo-European pastoralists (called Kurgan I, II and III migrations) from the Eurasian steppe into southeastern Europe the period of peaceful community life came to an end. The basic assumptions, made by Gimbutas, about the movements of steppe people into Southeastern, Central and Western Europe, from the fifth to the third millennium BCE, have been corroborated, in principle, by modern archaeological and genetic studies.

The first migration (Kurgan I) was not populous and genetic research has not yet succeeded in pinpointing the exact changes in local areas. On the other hand, archaeological findings and insights from historical linguistics have produced evidence for the takeover of Varna, a major trade center on the eastern fringe of Old Europe, by steppe pastoralists. The successive migrations (Kurgan II and Kurgan III) were more populous. Genetic data are now available to document the changes in the population structure, in particular the consequences of the third out-migration (Kurgan III) that can be identified by genetic data for the period around 2500 BCE. The magnitude of those changes that occurred is confirmed in the category of "massive migration" from the steppe by geneticists<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup> See:

What happened after the takeover of Indo-European people from the steppe has been addressed in a way saying that Old Europe “vanished”. This was the theme of a big exhibition in New York, in 2009, with the title “The lost world of Old Europe”<sup>13</sup>. Such descriptions, though, are misleading. The traditions of Old European coinage did not get lost. As part of the cultural heritage that made its way into subsequent generations, many traditions from the Old European era continued and experienced manifold transformations.

In their transformed profile they influenced subsequent cultures with their Indo-European fabric. Since about 3500 BCE, cultural exchange has left clear traces: “... an amalgamation of the Old European and Kurgan cultural systems is clearly evident”<sup>14</sup>.

The Greeks are not indigenous to the land that came to be called Hellas in antiquity. Their ancestors, Indo-European pastoralists, migrated to Greece from the northern Balkans, in the course of the third millennium BCE<sup>15</sup>.

In their Helladic homeland, the newcomers encountered the descendants of the ancient indigenous population (*i.e.* the Palaeo-Europeans) who, with respect to their culture and language, differed markedly from the immigrating Greeks. As to the language of the ancient Europeans it has been recently clarified that “pre-Greek is non-Indo-European”<sup>16</sup>. The Indo-European migrants merged with the local population. Many generations later, in a milieu of culture and language contacts, the tribal profile of the Greek ethnos consolidated that we know from antiquity<sup>17</sup>.

The newcomers, the Kurgan migrants from the steppe, absorbed much of the ancient knowledge of the pre-Indo-European population and the impact of the culture of the ancients on Greek civilization became manifested in the transfer of advanced technologies and of markers of high culture, for example, the know-how of wine cultivation, smelting techniques in metallurgy, architecture, ship-building, ancient rituals and cult practices (*e.g.*, the worship of the pre-Greek goddess Athena)<sup>18</sup>.

---

1. Wolfgang Haak *et al.*, “Massive migration from the steppe was a source for Indo-European languages in Europe.”, in *Nature* 522 (2015), pp. 207–211.

2. Iosif Lazaridis *et al.*, “Genetic origins of the Minoans and Mycenaeans.”, in *Nature* 548 (2017), pp. 214–218.

3. Iain Mathieson *et al.*, “The genomic history of southeastern Europe.” in *Nature* 555 (2018), pp: 197–203.

<sup>13</sup> David W. Anthony (ed.), *The lost world of Old Europe. The Danube valley, 5000 – 3500 BC*. Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Marija Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 371.

<sup>15</sup> David W. Anthony, *The horse, the wheel and language: How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian steppes shaped the modern world*, Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Beekes, *Etymological dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010, p. XIII.

<sup>17</sup> Harald Haarmann, “Language and ethnicity in antiquity.” in *McInerney*, 2013b, pp. 17–33.

<sup>18</sup> See:

1. Harald Haarmann, *Ancient knowledge, ancient know-how, ancient reasoning. Cultural memory in transition from prehistory to classical antiquity and beyond*, Amherst, New York: Cambria, 2013a.

The Greeks assimilated many expressions associated with the arts and crafts, in the process of their adoption. Those borrowed terms of pre-Greek origin were integrated in the lexical structures of ancient Greek and, in Greek transformation, they were transferred to the cultural vocabulary of our modern languages. Among those linguistic indicators of the pre-Greek substratum are well-known terms such as anchor, aroma, olive, ceramics, chemistry, chimney, metal, hymn, lyre, myth, psyche, wine and others.

What happened in southeastern Europe in the third and second millennia BCE may be compared to what happened thousands of years later in the same region. In the first century BCE, the Romans conquered Greece and the Balkanic region. But Greek culture of antiquity influenced Roman culture to a decisive degree. In other words: those who had been conquered by the force of arms conquered the conqueror by the impact of their culture.

There are many features in the national cultures of the Balkanic region and of Greece that find their origin in the heritage of Old Europe. A rich body of research on the impact of cultural memory among the peoples of southeastern Europe now reveals ever more contours of a multifaceted identity, with which the people of today live and which they pass on to subsequent generations:

- through their linguistic usage: with substrate elements of the Old European language<sup>19</sup>;
- through their orally transmitted stories and songs, with variants of the Great flood story and other prehistoric narrative motifs<sup>20</sup>;
- through their folklore, with the hora or kolo dance, the ring dance from the Neolithic period, or ritual dances on the occasion of religious festivals<sup>21</sup>;
- through their craftsmanship, with the ancient building tradition of the *plinthos* wall, wattle walls plastered with mud on a stone foundation; with the use of clay stamps to apply decoration and traditional cultural symbols<sup>22</sup>;

---

2. Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2014.

3. Harald Haarmann, *Plato's philosophy reaching beyond the limits of reason. Contours of a contextual theory of truth*, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> See:

1. Adrian Poruciuc, *Archaeolinguistica: Trei studii interdisciplinare, [Archaeolinguistics: Three interdisciplinary studies]*, Bucharest: Romanian Institute of Tracology, 1995, p. 35.

2. Harald Haarmann, *Geschichte der Sintflut. Auf den Spuren der frühen Zivilisationen*, Munich: C.H. Beck (2nd ed. 2005), 2003, p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Adrian Poruciuc, *Prehistoric roots of Romanian and Southeast European traditions*, Sebastopol, California: Institute of Archaeomythology, 2010, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Ilieva and Anna Shturbanova, "Zoomorphic images in Bulgarian women's ritual dances in the context of Old European symbolism.", in *Marler*, 1997, pp. 309–321.

<sup>22</sup> Goce Naumov, "Neolithic stamps from the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula." in Dragoş Gheorghiu and Robin Skeates (eds.), *Prehistoric stamps – Theory and experiments*, Bucharest: University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2008, p. 73.

- through their familiarity with old building and construction forms with the design of ovens or with utensils and vessels that have not changed their shape for millennia<sup>23</sup>;
- through the cut of folk costumes and their accessories as well as the accompanying hairstyles, with forms and motifs known from Old European decorated figurines<sup>24</sup>;
- through their cultural symbols: with logos of certain occupational groups alluding to the motifs of neolithic clay stamps and with traditional motifs woven into textiles<sup>25</sup>;
- through customs and ritual acts at folk festivals and religious festivities, with the ritual baking of bread and the decoration of symbolic loaves of bread as votive offerings<sup>26</sup>;
- through religion based on the virgin Mary, with its allusions to the cult of ancient goddesses, the daughters and granddaughters of the figure of the neolithic goddess<sup>27</sup>;
- through burial customs, with the two-stage practice of the Orthodox Christians of Greece, *i.e.* the primary burial of the corpse; the secondary burial of the bones of deceased persons after the decomposition process is complete<sup>28</sup>;
- through all kinds of ideas about the magical effect of things or symbols, with echoes of ancient numerology, belief in witches and spirits<sup>29</sup>.

Such features are being extensively studied<sup>30</sup>. Old European cultural heritage includes material elements (that which is visible in the culture) as well as symbolic

---

<sup>23</sup> See:

1. Corneliu Bucur, Cornelia Gangolea, Dan Munteanu, Irmgard Sedler (eds.), *Museum of folk technology guide book*, Sibiu: Direction of the Brukenthal Museum, 1986.

2. Margarita Vasileva (ed.), *Traditional Bulgarian calendar – Illustrated encyclopedia*, Plovdiv: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2003, p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> See:

1. Ioana Bădocan, “Gesturi sacre și profane la întemeierea familiei” [“Sacred and profane gestures at the foundation of the family”], in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 2007, pp. 299–305.

2. Anita Komitska, Veska Borissova, Nikolov Velislav, *Bulgarian folk costumes*, Sofia: Borina Pub House, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Diane Waller, *Textiles from the Balkans*, London: British Museum Press, 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Margarita Vasileva, *op.cit.*, p. 9, p. 14, p. 41, p. 86, p. 115, p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the centuries. Her place in the history of culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Loring M. Danforth, *The death rituals of rural Greece*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.

<sup>29</sup> Pamfil Bilțiu, “Substratul mitico-magic al portii și funcțiile ei în cultura populară maramureșeană și românească.” [“The mythical-magical substratum of the gate and its functions in the popular culture of Maramures and Romania”], in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 2007, pp. 243–259.

<sup>30</sup> See:



forms (the invisible elements in the culture, *i.e.*, the intellectual culture). The domain of intellectual culture is the very foundation of cultural memory, and detailed documentation has been compiled for this area in particular:

“The outlines of what was to become classical mythology can be perceived in prehistoric items unearthed by archaeologists, but such outlines also appear to be (paradoxically, from a chronological standpoint) ‘foretold’ in folk productions recorded only as late as modern times. And just as certain features of prehistoric shrines eventually evolved into basic parts of Christian churches (...), much of what we know as mythology derived, more or less directly, from the ritual-cultural life of prehistoric peasants”<sup>31</sup>.

In recent years, the search for traces has made a decisive contribution to building up new knowledge about the Old European cultural heritage. Special attention is paid to the roots of Greek civilization since documentation for that domain reaches back to the third and second millennia BCE. The cultures in the Balkanic region are much younger and early documentation is much scarcer than in the case of the Greek tradition.

The new findings are also instrumental to support the cultural self-awareness of the people who currently live in the lands where the Danube Civilization once flourished and who recognize that this Old European heritage is mirrored in their own history.

The organic whole of contact situations involving the culture and language of the people in Old Europe and the lifeways of people of Indo-European affiliation may be highly complex and may require the application of multiple interdisciplinary strategies of investigation. It is on this higher-order level that the benefits of interdisciplinary contextualization as methodology come to bear. Some case studies will be discussed in the following to highlight fundamental aspects of this approach.

### **SPECIAL BORROWED TERMINOLOGY IN THE DOMAIN OF FIGURINE PRODUCTION AS INDICATOR OF CULTURAL CONTINUITY**

In the European context, the making of small-scale sculptures (*i.e.*, figurines) has a long history, going back in time to the Palaeolithic Age. The oldest artifacts date to some 34,000 years BP (before present)<sup>32</sup>. The long-standing tradition of

---

1. Adrian Poruciuc, *op. cit.*, 2010.

2. Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2011.

3. Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2014.

4. Harald Haarmann, *Plato's Sophia. His philosophical endeavor in light of its spiritual currents and undercurrents*, Amherst, New York: Cambria, 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Adrian Poruciuc, *op. cit.*, 2010, p. xiv.

<sup>32</sup> Nicholas J. Conard, Harald Floss, Martina Barth, Jordi Serangeli (eds.), *Eiszeit – Kunst und Kultur*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2009, pp. 244–271.

figurine-making in southeastern Europe is well-documented and its persistence throughout the Neolithic and Copper Ages is phenomenal.

The cultural chronology at Karanovo in eastern Bulgaria illustrates the continuous significance of figurines in community life over some 3500 years, from the Early Neolithic (c. 6500 BCE) to the Early Bronze Age (c. 3000 BCE). This is an enormous span of experienced time. Figurines may have been persistently attractive because they appeal to all our human senses, ranging from their visible corporeality to the most sophisticated metaphorical meaning that might be evoked in the perceptive mind<sup>33</sup>.

As part of the cultural area of the Danube civilization (Old Europe) Greece also has a long history of figurine-making.

“Another mystery of the Greek Neolithic is the meaning of the immense variety of figurines in clay and stone that have tantalized, amazed, and puzzled a generation of archaeologists. ... White marble, plain clay, and clay painted with red or brown abstract designs are the principal media used in the manufacture of figurines. The pure abstraction of the crosslike or violin-shaped marble figures changes in time to the startling realism of heads with detailed and recognizable features, painted red ...”<sup>34</sup>.

When the Indo-European pastoralists began to move south, they set in motion sociopolitical changes among the indigenous pre-Indo-European population. Under the impression of a reshuffling of customs certain traditions declined in the northern area and shifted to the south. This was the case with figurine-making, which had been of constant significance for people of Old Europe during the Neolithic and Copper Ages. Around 3000 BCE, a disruption of this tradition can be observed in the archaeological record and, seemingly, no more figurines were produced in the northern region. Figurine-making was not interrupted in the south where figurines continued to be produced even on the mainland, for example at Lerna on the east coast of the Peloponnese, during the Helladic period (third millennium BCE). The crafting of figurines continued in the ancient Aegean cultures (*i.e.*, in the Cyclades and in Minoan Crete). The Greeks became familiar with figurine-making in Hellas and adopted key terms for the crafting of these artifacts from the substrate language.

“[Figurines] ... were regularly produced throughout the Bronze Age in the Aegean, continuing an extant tradition from the Neolithic period ... While Cycladic and Minoan products develop continuously, the mainland tradition of female figurines with exaggerated body features dies out in the Early Bronze Age ... The quantity of figurines present in the archaeological record is indicative of their use. Fewer than 2,000 EC [Early Cycladic] figurines are known, produced over some 600–700 years in the third millennium BC. In contrast, at least 4,500 have been uncovered at a single site, Mycenae, dating between 1400–1100 BC”<sup>35</sup>.

---

<sup>33</sup> Harald Haarmann, *Interacting with figurines: Seven dimensions in the study of imagery*, West Hartford, Vermont: Full Circle Press, 2009, pp. 85–132.

<sup>34</sup> Curtis Runnels and Priscilla M. Murray, *Greece before history: An archaeological companion and guide*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 58–59.

<sup>35</sup> Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, “Figurines.”, in *Cline*, 2010, p. 211.

Among the materials from which figurines were made, the following have to be mentioned: clay, stone (marble, sea pebble), bone, ivory, metal, faïence, shell. There seems to have been also traditions to craft figurines in materials that are less durable than ceramics or stone, and these traditions persisted in the mainland settlements. These perishable materials that are recorded in ancient Greek sources are wood and wax. The oldest statue (*xoanon*) of the goddess Athena that is mentioned in the sources is made of wood.

One finds references to the origins of wooden statues and that these were manufactured by the Pelasgians, the pre-Greek population in the region. In his account of southern Greece, Pausanias (second century CE) mentions Therai in the Peloponnese, the site of a sanctuary (*i.e.*, Eleusinium) dedicated to Demeter:

“Spartans say that here Heracles was hidden by Asclepius while being healed of the wounds. In this sanctuary there is also a wooden image of Orpheus, which is, they say, a piece of work of the Pelasgians”<sup>36</sup>.

There is another material for the use of which evidence can be “retrieved” only from linguistic interference of the pre-Greek (Pelasgian) substrate language in ancient Greek. Like wood, wax decays in the course of time, and there is no archaeological evidence of figurines crafted in this particular material from the Bronze Age. And yet, one finds traces of this tradition in the oldest layer of pre-Greek borrowings in the vocabulary of ancient Greek. Though only preserved in a fragmented form a terminology of specialized technical terms can be reconstructed from the ancient written sources that relate to the crafting of figurines with bee's wax (see the entries for the following terms in Beekes<sup>37</sup>:

- *dagys* “puppet (of wax)”
- *kanabos* / *kinnabos* “wooden framework around which artists molded wax or clay; block-figure”
- *keros* “wax”
- *plaggon* “wax figurine; doll”
- *koroplathos* “one who forms female figures; doll modeler”

The survival, in Greek antiquity, of a fragmented terminology of pre-Greek origin relating to the production of wax figurines clearly points to a long-standing tradition of figurine-making, dating from Old Europe and persisting through the Bronze Age and ancient Greece. The tradition continues throughout Greek antiquity, during times when other materials for figurine-crafting were re-introduced (*i.e.*, stone, terracotta, metal).

Longevity of figurines made of wax extends into the early Middle Ages. According to legend, St. Luke is credited with having created an image of the Virgin Mary with her child (Vreffokratousa) with wax, serving as an icon for the

<sup>36</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 3.20.6.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Beekes, *op. cit.*, 2010.

Christian community in Jerusalem. This image was brought to the island of Lesbos by the monk Agathona of Ephesus at the beginning of the ninth century CE.

### THE NEOLITHIC SPIRIT IN ART AND ITS TIMELESS AESTHETIC APPEAL TO HUMANITY IN GENERAL

The measure of an ancient civilization is not limited to technological domains but it also includes religious patterns, values of social conduct, worldview and, artistic trends and fashions. If one wants to specify what makes a flourishing civilization then the aesthetic appeal of art comes to mind. In a society with high-grade harmony and social cohesion, the innovative spirit of artistic creation comes to bear.

Figurative art in the Danube civilization offers a great diversity of forms, above all stylized small-scale sculptures, and all these forms are governed by the principle of a refined sense of abstractness (see below).



Figure 1. Sculptures from the regional Neolithic culture of Hamangia (Cernavodă, Romania; ca. 4800 BCE)<sup>38</sup>. Male figurine (“The Thinker”) on the left. Female figurine (“The Seated Woman”) on the right

The aesthetic appeal of the works produced by the Danubian artists differed significantly from the realism of later periods, from the doctrine of Greek art, as it was established by Polykleitos (fifth century BCE) in his book *Kanon* in which the artist determined the conventions of art styles, the “canon”, to be followed by many generations to come. This exclusive doctrine of western aesthetics remained valid beyond antiquity and well into the nineteenth century. These norms shaped “our own Greek training”<sup>39</sup> in art. Seemingly, the tradition of Neolithic art vanished into oblivion.

And yet, a sensational revival of the Neolithic spirit in art occurred. The abstract style of sculpture, so typical of Old European art, was renewed in a movement that made itself felt in the late nineteenth century. Strange as it may seem, art history has so far not succeeded in properly identifying the inspirational sources of many of the artists whose creations are subsumed under the blanket “modern art”<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Venceslas Kruta, *Die Anfänge Europas 6000–500 v.Chr.*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993, pp. 84–85.

<sup>39</sup> Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960, p. 123.

<sup>40</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 223.

The protagonist of this movement is Constantin Brâncuși (1876–1957). Brâncuși was not just any sculptor. He was a true pathfinder, one who crafted a new creative space, not only by breaking away from the established canon of Western art but also by setting standards for other sculptors:

“Brâncuși played a pivotal role in developing the shifting and expanded identities that sculpture assumed in the twentieth century by shaping a body of work so imaginative, so multifarious, and so deeply felt that it has consistently drawn a sizeable audience, particularly from those most critical and attentive of all viewers of sculpture: other sculptors”<sup>41</sup>.

It is clear from Brâncuși’s biography that the main source of inspiration, during his early years, came from the prehistoric imagery of his home country Romania, what was known of it at the beginning of the twentieth century, and from traditional pottery in Oltenia and Dobrogea which continue Neolithic forms. The form and style of Brâncuși’s work both find their source of inspiration in the repertoire of prehistoric figurines from southeastern Europe and the Aegean archipelago (the Cycladic Islands, in particular).

“The Thinker of Hamangia and his female counterpart and other recent excavations of the Neolithic Age in Romania offer us an unexpected providential confirmation of the high degree of authentic inspiration that led Brâncuși to carve Ancient Figure at the beginning of 1907 and Wisdom of the Earth in 1907. Timeless contemporaneity mysteriously links Brâncuși’s work to the same source of inspiration as that of the Rumanian Neolithic Age thousands of years ago”<sup>42</sup>.

The Neolithic spirit is unmistakably present in his sculpture “Wisdom of the Earth” (1907) which reflects a unique distillation of Brâncuși’s early experiences with ancient imagery in Romania and it is a manifestation of how he perceived prehistoric society, earth-bound and with matrilinear structures<sup>43</sup>.

Brâncuși’s emphasis on the Earth as the giver of life in the mindset of the early agrarian settlers in the region was conclusive and reasonably motivated. In as much as “The Thinker” could be categorized as one of the works of modern art, “Wisdom of the Earth” could range among the pieces of Neolithic art. In his own words, Brâncuși intended to create a female figure “beyond personality” a character imbued with the mystery of a prototype of cosmic dimensions. In this again, the modern artist intuitively sensed the spirit of Neolithic imagery whose many forms bear witness to Brâncuși’s timeless endeavor<sup>44</sup>.

Perhaps the affinity of Brâncuși’s works with Neolithic imagery is not coincidental. Brâncuși grew up in Oltenia, a region that is known for its preservation of old traditions and folklore. It was in that region that the Old

---

<sup>41</sup> Anna C. Chave, *Constantin Brancusi. Shifting the bases of art*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Radu Varia, *Brancusi*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1986, p. 59.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>44</sup> Venceslas Kruta, *op. cit.*

European heritage was best preserved and continued into the Bronze Age and beyond. A distant reflection of that heritage was manifested in the traditional culture that continued into Brâncuși's days<sup>45</sup>.

The impression of Brâncuși's Neolithic inspirations reached further after 1904, once he had moved to France. The major museums for prehistoric art in Paris, the Musée du Louvre and the ethnographical collection of the Musée de l'Homme, offered insights into Neolithic imagery other than from Romania, Cycladic idols for one.

It is easy to recognize the Cycladic spirit flourishing in Brâncuși's art of his early years in France.

"Today, ... it is easy for us to observe that a work by Brâncuși resembles a Cycladic sculpture. But we may just as easily feel that a Cycladic work looks like a Brâncuși!"<sup>46</sup>.

The revitalization of the Old European aesthetic spirit in the works of Constantin Brâncuși is exceptional, and for various reasons. The revival is the achievement of one single individual, without the cooperative efforts of a group of activists. The movement of modern art became trend-setting once other sculptors felt inspired to follow the example of Brâncuși as forerunner. Another exceptional aspect is the manifestation of the cultural heritage of Old European coinage, in this case of art aesthetics, without any direct participation of language as the constructing vehicle of culture. So, this case differs from what has been said about the domain of figurine-making and its terminology (see above).

In 2019, the Romanian filmmaker Viorel Costea completed a documentary film about Brâncuși, highlighting the essence of the revival of the Old European spirit. Viorel Costea and his crew filmed at various locations in Romania (Hobita, Târgu Jiu, Craiova, Bucharest), in Paris (Brâncuși's workshop at the Centre Pompidou) and in New York (Museum of Modern Art).

## FOUNDATIONS OF WORLDVIEW AND THE FABRIC OF CULTURAL SELF-AWARENESS

A testimony for the intensive contacts in which the ancient Greeks engaged with their predecessors is borrowed terminology in the domains of religion, spirituality and mythology. There is a megasymbol of ancient worldview which came to infuse religious traditions, to shape spiritual conceptualizations, eventually to permeate philosophical discourse and to open new horizons for looking at life, and this is *psyche*.

It is noteworthy that, for the key term *psyche* ("psyche" = "life; vitality; soul") in ancient Greek, no cognate parallels can be found in other Indo-European languages. According to a recent assessment of the etymological history of the

<sup>45</sup> Sanda Miller, *Constantin Brâncuși*, London: Reaktion Books, 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Colin Renfrew, *The Cycladic spirit*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991, p. 174.

term, earlier suggestions for an Indo-European root are not convincing and have to be discarded<sup>47</sup>. The term is of pre-Greek origin and, therefore, forms part of the cultural and linguistic heritage of Old Europe.

Since the times when the expression *psyche* is first recorded in literary sources (*i.e.*, eighth century BCE, in Homer's *Iliad*) it is used with a great diversity of meanings. In a modern observer's view, soul relates to human beings. Contrasting with such a modern restrictive definition of the concept was the common belief of people in antiquity that a soul resides in everything living which includes animals and plants. Therefore, the following shades of meaning of the key term *psyche* have to be perceived in their unrestricted expanse<sup>48</sup>:

- “breath as the sign of life” (corresponding to Latin *anima*);
- “life, spirit, vitality”;
- “aspiration”;
- (metaphorically) of things “dear as life”;
- “the departed soul, spirit, ghost, shade” (seen as winged creature);
- “the soul or spirit (of a person)”;
- “the soul, heart”;
- “mind, understanding”;
- “appetite”;
- “butterfly”<sup>49</sup>;
- “cicada”.

“Beyond their basic biological characteristics, cicadas were associated with a number of broader concepts and myths. Their incessant sound was typically characterized as a musical ‘song’, and one that was ‘sweet’ or ‘shrill’. This gave the cicadas a connection to the Muses [as in Plato's *Phaedrus* 230c], poetry, and the rhetorical arts more generally. Other deities with whom the cicadas were associated include Athene, nymphs, and Pan, the last of these because noontime is the hour when he sleeps (and so is not to be disturbed by mortals). This connection between the cicada and divinity goes beyond just its song. The cicada itself was seen as godlike or divine, in virtue of the fact that it sheds its skin”<sup>50</sup>.

In the focal signifier *psyche* is encapsulated the code of the Old European concept of spirituality that has left its mark on the Greek mind<sup>51</sup>. A concept which is closely related to describe phases of presence (or absence) of the soul is *coma* (“state of motionlessness of the body; state of the absence of the soul”), this too of pre-Greek coinage<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Beekes, *op. cit.*, 2010, pp. 1671–1672.

<sup>48</sup> See Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon*, New York: Harper & Brothers; Oxford: Clarendon Press (ninth edition, revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones, 1940; with revised supplement, printed 1991), 1883, p. 2026.

<sup>49</sup> *e.g.*, in Aristotle's *History of animals* 551a14, Plutarch *Moralia* 2.3.2.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel S. Werner, *Myth and philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 137.

<sup>51</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2013a, pp. 164-167, pp. 258–261.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Beekes, *Etymological dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010, p. 814.

Conceptualizations of spirituality in the society of Old Europe, during the period of the Neolithic and Copper Ages (fifth to fourth millennia BCE), have been extensively studied by Marija Gimbutas<sup>53</sup> in her seminal works and in projects that were inspired by her<sup>54</sup>. In fact:

“the Old European sacred images and symbols were never totally uprooted; these most persistent features in human history were too deeply implanted in the psyche”<sup>55</sup>.

This statement is crucial since it points to the heart of the problem of cultural continuity across time.

The pre-Greek origin of the term suggests that the idea of psyche had been conceptualized by the pre-Greek population and that the Indo-European migrants to southeastern Europe showed themselves impressed by the mindset of the indigenous Europeans. Eventually, the ancestors of the Greeks adopted the idea, together with the word for it.

Plato is the first philosopher to systematically discuss aspects of the soul in several of his dialogues. Central topics in his discourse are the quality of the soul to be immortal, to be tripartite and to be self-moving. According to the chronological order of their completion, the dialogues in which matters of the soul are treated form the following sequence: *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*<sup>56</sup>. Plato also is the first to elaborate on the concept of the World Soul (in his dialogue *Timaeus*, 34b – 37c).

A goddess of pre-Greek origin (*i.e.*, Hecate) is personified as the source of the World Soul, its divine mother<sup>57</sup>. The association of Hecate with the World Soul is best known from the so-called Chaldean Oracles (fragmentary texts from the second century CE). The World Soul “springs from Hecate as ‘Source of Sources’ (*pege pegon, ...*)”<sup>58</sup>.

“The theory of a soul of the world (*psyche tou kosmou, anima mundi*) is almost as ancient as European philosophy itself”<sup>59</sup>.

---

<sup>53</sup> See:

1. Marija Gimbutas, *The language of the Goddess*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989.
2. Marija Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, 1991.

<sup>54</sup> See:

1. Harald Haarmann, *Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation*, Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas. Munich: C.H. Beck (3rd ed. 2017), 2011, pp. 159–176.

2. Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2013a, pp. 157–179.

<sup>55</sup> Marija Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 318.

<sup>56</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2017, pp. 127–146.

<sup>57</sup> Ruth Majercik, *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, translation and commentary*. Leiden, Copenhagen & Cologne: Brill, 1989, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> John D. Turner, “The Chaldean Oracles and the metaphysics of the Sethian Platonizing Treatises.” in John D. Turner and Kevin Corrigan (eds.), *Plato's Parmenides and its heritage*, vol. 1: *History and interpretation from the Old Academy to later Platonism and Gnosticism*, Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010, p. 221.

<sup>59</sup> Miklós Vassányi, *Anima mundi: The rise of the world soul theory in modern German philosophy*, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London & New York: Springer, 2011, p. 1.



Given the manifold shades of meaning expressed by the term *psyche* one may conclude that we deal with a key concept of ancient worldview that was chosen, as a topic, by some pre-Socratic philosophers<sup>60</sup>, later specified and rationalized by Plato and, through Plato's writings and later Platonism, found its way into the European philosophical tradition.

### **THE ORIGINS OF THEATER AS PERFORMATIVE ART – THE MERGING OF TWO CULTURAL STREAMS IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE**

The world of theater is familiar to all Europeans and, in our cultural vocabulary, we find borrowings from either Greek *theatron* or Latin *theatrum*. As part of the canon of our European education we learn that the ancient Greeks were the first to introduce the theater, including the associated terminology. This view, however, needs to be revised in light of new findings and insights in the study of pre-Greek cultures, of Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe.

Among the pre-Greek institutions that impressed the ancestors of the Greeks were rituals and festive processions. The general term for 'procession' in ancient Greek is *thiasos*, an expression of pre-Greek origin. In light of the intensive social interaction of indigenous Europeans and ancient Greeks, descendants of Kurgan immigrants to Hellas, it is not surprising that the pre-Greek ritual heritage, too, had an impact on the formative process of Greek civilization.

Rituals are at the very core of the functioning of culture. All cultures of the world, whether historical or recent, operate with a certain category of behavioral strategies that enhance in-group solidarity, maintain the rigidity of the knowledge obtained from previous generations, and reassure the sustainability of society.

“In general, a ritual is an act involving performative uses of language (for example, in blessing, praising, cursing, consecrating, purifying) (...) and a formal pattern of behaviour either closely or more loosely followed”<sup>61</sup>.

There is consensus among scholars that ritual preceded theater, that ritualistic performance provides the mind frame for the reworking of eternal human matters (*i.e.* love, hatred, liberty, power, death) projected into the fictional world of theater. If this is true, then it is reasonable to assert that theater is ritualistic healing and that the impression of a play goes far beyond entertainment, for example, with the experience of “drama as therapy”<sup>62</sup>.

“Rituals are performative: they are acts done; and performances are ritualized: they are codified, repeatable actions. The functions of theatre identified by Aristotle and

---

<sup>60</sup> Malcom Schofield, “Heraclitus' theory of soul and its antecedents.” in *Everson*, 1991(1991), pp: 13–34.

<sup>61</sup> Ninian Smart, *Dimensions of the sacred. An anatomy of the world's beliefs*, London: Fontana Press, 1997, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> Phil Jones, *Drama as therapy. Theatre as living*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996.

Horace – entertainment, celebration, enhancement of social solidarity, education (including political education), and healing – are also functions of ritual. The difference lies in context and emphasis”<sup>63</sup>.

The linkage between ritual and theatrical performance in the Greek world has been investigated with some scrutiny<sup>64</sup>. However, the historical depth of this linkage has not yet been fully perceived by classical scholars. Some would look for the origins of theatrical performance but, following Vernant and Vidal-Naquet “it would be better to speak of antecedents”<sup>65</sup>.

The symbiotic interplay between drama and ritual can be reconstructed for a world where the early Greeks vividly interacted with the ancient Europeans. Processions in the archaic period were more comprehensive than in the classical era since they included theatrical performances in which both men and women participated. In ancient Athens, processions ended on the Agora which played an important role as a political meeting place and cult center. Theatrical performances, in the archaic period, marked the final phase of processions, and it is important to perceive

“the position of the «theatre» as end-point of a procession. The procession was the core of the rural Dionysia, and theatrical performances an addendum”<sup>66</sup>.

### Theater as performance

The sixth century BCE saw a breaking away from older ritual traditions and a remodeling of cultural life. The major occurrence was the separation of the theatrical performances from the organization of the processions that continued to be held. The consequences of the separation were of a formal rather than of a contextual nature. The performances remained ritualistic and religiously connotated. Inferring from observations in the study of oral literature in a traditional culture, one may conclude that the impact of the verbal strategies that came to bear in theatrical performances in archaic Greece were most probably characterized by similar functions and structures, both in the context of processions and in the newly devised space, the theater. This means that the texts were oriented at formulaic language use typical of rituals.

In the early stage of development of theatrical performance, independent of processions, the spoken texts and the scenical arrangements were much simpler

---

<sup>63</sup> Richard Schechner, “Ritual and performance.” in *Ingold*, 1994, p. 613.

<sup>64</sup> See:

1. Barbara Kowalzig, *Singing for the gods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

2. Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller (eds.), *The origins of theatre in ancient Greece and beyond*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

<sup>65</sup> Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece*, New York: Zone Books, 1990, p. 23.

<sup>66</sup> David Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens. Performance space and theatrical meaning*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 26.

than what the Greek theater produced in the classical period. Elaboration and sophistication of language use and narrative lay in the future, with great names such as Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Sophocles and Euripid<sup>67</sup>.

Even when theatrical performance had been separated from the performance of ritual processions it remained associated with the tradition of mythical narration. The ancient links with ritual processions can be readily identified in the genre of Greek tragedies. Aeschylus who is regarded by many to be the father of European drama carefully preserves the memory of the old roots of Greek theater, that is ritualistic performance of dance and song.

“Fifth-century Attic tragedy, like archaic epic poetry, took its subjects almost exclusively from myth. Tragedies on nonmythical themes were never more than experimental. ... Tragedy was also influenced by the treatment of myth in epic poetry. Even ancient authors called Homer the father of tragedy, and Aeschylus reportedly said that he worked with the crumbs from Homer's table (TrGF vol. 3, T 112a-b). The tragic poet deliberately situated himself in the epic tradition of mythical narration”<sup>68</sup>.

The theater as a space with specific functions of performance is a secondary innovation. This can be illustrated by the etymology of the Greek term *theatron*. The stem *thea* points at a word of the pre-Greek substratum, meaning “theatrical performance. The suffix *-tron* (denoting a means for achieving an effect – in this case devising a space for display) was added later, once the architectural form of theaters was introduced.

“As a literary genre with its own rules and characteristics tragedy introduces a new type of spectacle into the system of the city-state's public festivals”<sup>69</sup>.

For a modern student of ancient Greece, there is an obvious distinction between theater plays as literary works and the theatrical performance of their contents. The reality of cultural life in Athens since the fifth century BCE illustrates a different view. Priority lay with the theatrical performance and theater plays were written to be performed in the theaters that were constructed in Athens and other cities of Attica. One theater stands out because of its unrivaled attraction.

“Most, if not all, extant Greek tragedies were written for the Theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens”<sup>70</sup>.

The popularity of theater performances in the ancient Greek world and, in Athens in particular, can hardly be overemphasized.

“Socrates is reported to have frequently attended the theaters, especially when Euripides competed with new tragedies; when the poet was competing at the Rural

---

<sup>67</sup> Giuseppe Mastromarco and Totaro Piero, *Storia del teatro greco*, Milan: Mondadori (2nd ed.), 2012, p. 68, p. 94, p. 120, p. 92.

<sup>68</sup> Fritz Graf, *Greek mythology – An introduction*, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, p. 142.

<sup>69</sup> Jean-Pierre Vernant and Vidal-Naquet Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>70</sup> David Wiles, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 23.

Dionysia in the Piraeus, Socrates even went down there. ... Beginning in the later fifth century there is evidence for an increasing number of dramatic festivals and theaters across Attica”<sup>71</sup>.

### Theater as architectural form

The layer of pre-Greek terms in the lexical domain of house-construction is extensive. And yet, there are no known borrowings relating to the construction of theaters. This is not surprising since there were no theaters in Greece before the sixth century BCE, and there are no architectural remains of earlier periods that would resemble Greek theaters. According to the traditions of the pre-Greek era, there was no need for a separate architectural form since theatrical spectacles were performed along the routes of processions.

It is not clear whether the rectangular shape of theaters is older than the theater with a circular space for the audience. In any case, it has been emphasized that the round shape was the preferred model since the period when democracy was introduced (*i.e.*, since the fifth century BCE), and this form originated in Athens<sup>72</sup>.

The circular shape of the space for the audience offers a practical as well as a symbolic advantage over rectangular constructions.

“An inward-facing circle allows maximum eye-contact; each person knows that other people know because each person can visually verify that others are paying attention”<sup>73</sup>.

Each spectator has a chance, not only to follow how the plot unfolds but to also observe the reactions of other spectators to what happens on the stage. Intervisibility is given priority, not only in the construction of theaters, but also of other public buildings.

“There is a historical association between democracy in Athens and architecture promoting intervisibility. Like the Greek theater, the *ekklesiasterion* (theater-like public meeting place for gatherings of a city assembly; in Athens, the Pnyx), the *bouleuterion* (large-scale roofed public building for a large probouleutic council), and the *prutanikon* (public building intended for public gatherings of several dozen magistrates; in Athens, the Tholos) may be Athenian architectural innovations”<sup>74</sup>.

The most perfected form of the circular theater is the amphitheater. Most of the amphitheaters of antiquity were constructed by the Romans<sup>75</sup>. The best-

---

<sup>71</sup> David Kawalko Roselli, *Theater of the people. Spectators and society in ancient Athens*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011, p. 21.

<sup>72</sup> Josiah Ober, *Democracy and knowledge. Innovation and learning in classical Athens*, Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008. p. 200.

<sup>73</sup> Michael Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational ritual: culture, coordination, and common knowledge*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> Josiah Ober, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>75</sup> David Lee Bomgardner, *The story of the Roman amphitheatre*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000.

known amphitheater of the Roman world is perhaps the Colosseum in Rome. This monumental building, erected between 72 and 80 CE, ranges among the greatest works of Roman architecture. At the same time, it is the biggest building which Jewish people have ever constructed. Those who built the Colosseum were Jewish prisoners of war who had been brought to Italy by Vespasian after his victory over the Jewish army in Iudaea, ending the first Jewish-Roman war.

The popularity of the theater – as a place of social contact and an environment for a reaffirmation of Greek cultural traditions through artistic interaction – increased in the course of time, and this can be inferred from the growing capacities to accommodate spectators. The history of the Theater of Dionysus, located on the southern slope of the Acropolis in Athens, is quite informative in this regard. The original version of this particular theater, built in the classical period (fifth century BCE), had seats for some 4,000 spectators while the enlarged version of the Hellenistic era (fourth century BCE) offered space for a maximum of 17,000 spectators<sup>76</sup>.

#### **THE ORIGINS OF SHIP-BUILDING AND OF ITS TERMINOLOGY IN ANCIENT GREEK**

The ancestors of the ancient Greeks who entered southeastern Europe from the north had no knowledge of the ocean and they did not have any word for it. They adopted the term for sea from the natives who had lived in the coastal area of the Aegean Sea for generations and had experience in seafaring. To this day the word for sea in Greek is *thalassa* which stems from the pre-Greek substrate language. The sea was also personified by the Greeks and worshipped as Thalassa (goddess of the sea).

The first impulse to learn from the natives about marine life seems to have been the curiosity among the early Greeks to go out fishing to catch foodstuff. Catching fish from small boats stood at the very beginning of the Greeks's experience with the sea. In the ancient Greek vocabulary, a term from the substrate language has been preserved: *aspalieus / aspalous* "fisherman". In the specialized terminology of utensils needed for fishing one finds the following substrate terms: *gaggamon / gaggame* "small round net for catching oysters", *sagene* "large fishing net, trawl".

Learning the know-how of native fishermen and becoming fishermen is one thing, but setting out to sea as merchants for engaging in marine trade is quite another. The occupation of fishermen requires the knowledge to manage seaborne vessels. The native Europeans had ample experience with that. What is also required is the know-how of boat- and ship-building, and the native Europeans had much experience in this domain either.

---

<sup>76</sup> Savas Gogos, *Das Dionysostheater von Athen: Architektonische Gestalt und Funktion*, Vienna: Phoibos, 2008.

We do not know how the people of Old Europe, the ancient Danubians, constructed boats and seafaring ships but they must have developed technical skills that remained unrivalled among their contemporaries. Some pictures and clay miniature models of the fifth and fourth millennia BCE show details of vessels that were used<sup>77</sup>. In the fourth and third millennia BCE boat-types were developed on the Cycladic islands that were driven by up to 25 oarsmen. Images of such boats are found on Cycladic pottery and on the plates which are known as “frying-pans”.

“The images prevent us seeing if the hull was a tree dugout or a clinker (constructed from overlapping planks); the former is possible for the small shape, but might be difficult for the larger. A notable feature is a high stern sometimes decorated with a large fish”<sup>78</sup>.

The ship-building skills in the other ancient civilizations (*i.e.*, Egypt, Mesopotamia) developed much later. Some of the useful know-how of Old European ship-builders found its way – through manifold transformations – into Greek craftsmanship, and some technical terms survived in the specialized vocabulary of ancient Greek<sup>79</sup>:

- *agkyra* “anchor”;
- *aphlaston* “curved poop of a ship, with its ornaments” (*cf.* the decorated sterns of ancient Cycladic boats<sup>80</sup>);
- *boutani* “part of the ship to which the rudder is tied”;
- *eune* “anchor stones”;
- *kalon* “wood for building ships”;
- *kanthelia* “curved pieces of wood at the back of a ship”;
- *kindynos* “bench in the prow of a ship”;
- *korymbos* “uppermost point of a ship”;
- *kybernao* “to steer (a ship)”;
- *kydaros* “small ship”;
- *laipha / laiphe* “sail made of skin”;
- *lenos* “socket into which the mast fitted”;
- *malthe* “mix of wax and pitch, used to caulk ships”;
- *paron* “light ship”;
- *ptakana* “boat mat (used in boats called *kanna*)”;
- *selis* “crossbeam of a ship”;
- *sipharos* “topsail, topgallant sail”;
- *stamines* “vertical side-beams of a ship”;
- *traphex* “board of a ship”;
- *phalkes* “board, rib of a ship”;

---

<sup>77</sup> Ana Raduncheva, *Kasnoneolitnoto obshtestvo v balgarskite zemi*, Sofia: The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2003, p. 292.

<sup>78</sup> John Bintliff, *The complete archaeology of Greece: From hunter-gatherers to the 20<sup>th</sup> century A.D.* Malden, Massachusetts & Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, p. 105.

<sup>79</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 113–115.

<sup>80</sup> John Bintliff, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

The pictures and clay models of Old European ships do not reveal many details that would help understand the principles of how Neolithic vessels were constructed<sup>81</sup>. Since those crafts were made of organic material (*i.e.*, wood) and this decays in time there are no remains of very old ships. The oldest surviving evidence dates to the Mycenaean era, to a period when the Mycenaean trade network experienced its greatest expansion, reaching as far west as southern Italy and Sardinia<sup>82</sup>.

The oldest shipwreck so far discovered in the world is the so-called Uluburun ship which was named after the site where it was found, off the southern coast of Turkey. According to dendrochronological dating, this ship sank around 1320 BCE. Something that strikes the eye of an experienced underwater archaeologist is the special kind of construction, reflecting a long-standing tradition of ship-building.

“Initial indications suggest that the Uluburun Ship was a robust and ancient example of the shell-first mode of construction that was to dominate the construction of wooden ships in classical antiquity and to influence later ship construction in that region as well”<sup>83</sup>.

It is from the Mycenaean era that we find the earliest mention of the profession of “ship-builders” (*naudomoi*, written as na-u-do-mo in the Linear B texts, derived from *naus* “ship”). Other terms referring to seafaring are “rowers, oarsmen” (*eretai*, written as e-re-ta in Mycenaean texts) and “sailor, mariner” (*pontilos*, as po-ti-ro in Linear B). Also, various personal names, recorded in Mycenaean texts, are derived from the stem *naus*: *e.g.*, O-ti-na-wo (Ortinawos), Na-u-si-ke-re-we (Nausiklewes “One who is famous because of his ships”), Na-wi-ro (Nawilos “Sailor”), O-ku-na-wo (Okunawos “Someone possessing a fast ship”), E-u-o-mo (Euhormos “Someone possessing a good harbor”)<sup>84</sup>;

## LANGUAGE SHIFT UNDER THE PRESSURE OF A LANGUAGE OF A POLITICAL ÉLITE

During the Bronze Age (fourth – second millennia BCE), Indo-European languages spread throughout Europe. This process was only partly connected to the migration movements of Indo-European pastoralists from the Eurasian steppe zone

<sup>81</sup> Ana Raduncheva, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>82</sup> Massimo Cultraro, *I Micenei: Archeologia, storia, società dei Greci prima di Omero*, Rome: Carocci editore (5th ed.), 2011, pp. 224–227, pp. 228–231.

<sup>83</sup> Richard A. Gould, *Archaeology and the social history of ships*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press (2nd ed.), 2011, p. 130.

<sup>84</sup> Petar Chr. Ilievski, *Zhivotot na mikencite vo nivnite pismeni svedoshitva, so poseben osvrt kon onomastickite i prosopografski izvodi*, [The life of the Mycenaean from their own records, with special regard to the onomastic and prosopographic deductions], Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na Naukite i Umetnostite, 2000, p. 364, p. 369.

into southeastern and western Europe. Genetic analysis has produced insights that the majority of speakers of Indo-European languages in historical Europe share the gene pool of the prehistoric hunter-gatherers and indigenous agriculturalists, which differs from the genetic profile of the early steppe nomads, the original speakers of Proto-Indo-European<sup>85</sup>. How can this discrepancy be explained?

In the European context, the major drive for the spread of Indo-European languages was closely associated with processes of assimilation among hunter-gatherers and sedentary agriculturalists, eventually resulting in large-scale language shift. This language-shift was induced by newly established élite groups whose language became dominant because it was infused with a special kind of prestige, assumed by those in power. These élite groups who exercised political power over the ancient indigenous Europeans, the nomads from the steppe zone, were accustomed to social hierarchy and élite power. The first major takeover of a trade center in the region of the Danube civilization occurred at Varna (Bulgaria) on the western coast of the Black Sea, around 4500 BCE<sup>86</sup>.

The Indo-European migrants who moved into southeastern Europe came to dominate in the areas where they finally settled down. In view of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences between them and the ancient Europeans (of pre-Indo-European affiliation) the newcomers were in need to legitimize their status as a ruling élite. Many examples of the mythical legitimization of élite power are known from history.

The Norman conquest of England and the Frankish invasion of Gaul provide examples of immigrant groups exalting their own ethnicity after assuming power:

“... the idea that racial identity operates as a causal force in history commences with the old European myths of invasion and conquest, the Normans over the Saxons in England and the Germanic or Trojan Franks over the Gauls in France”<sup>87</sup>.

The Franks legitimized their conquest of northern Gaul as a privilege to which they were entitled by their noble descent. Similarly, the Normans believed there was a causal link between their conquest of England and their supposed noble status. In fact, there are much earlier examples of such arguments.

In the context of Indo-European culture, the earliest known example of the self-exaltation of an élite group are the Aryan pastoralists from Central Asia who invaded the Punjab in northern India around 1700 BCE. The invaders came from the area of the Sintashta culture (east of the Ural Mountains in Central Asia), which has been identified as the most likely location of the Aryan (*i.e.*, Indo-Iranian)

---

<sup>85</sup> Eppie R. Jones *et al.*, “Upper Palaeolithic genomes reveal deep roots of modern Eurasians”, in *Nature Communications*, 2015, DOI: 10.1038/ncomms9912, www.nature.com/nature communications, pp. 3–6.

<sup>86</sup> Harald Haarmann, *Indo-Europeanization – day one: Elite recruitment and the beginnings of language politics*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

<sup>87</sup> Susan Lape, *Race and citizen identity in the classical Athenian emocracy*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 143.



homeland. At first, Aryan warriors were called to India by local Dravidian rulers as allies in military conflicts. Soon, the Aryan warrior élites assumed control and claimed territory for themselves.

In this way, an élite of Aryan (Indo-European) origin came to exercise political power over a non-Aryan (Dravidian) majority. Aryan identity was fundamentally linked to ritual and language.

“If a person sacrificed to the right gods in the right way using the correct forms of the traditional hymns and poems, that person was an Aryan”<sup>88</sup>.

And yet, there was another aspect to being an Aryan that had to do with the expression of self-esteem. In the compilation of hymns and prayers that originated between 1500 and 1300 BCE called the *Rig Veda*, we find a formulaic ending of many hymns that refers to rituals and sacrifices, as well as to the public feasting that accompanied the funeral of an important person:

“Let us speak great words as men of power in the sacrificial gathering”<sup>89</sup>.

These figures of speech may be understood as a strategy to set Aryans apart from Dravidians and as an expression of group cohesion among those who were in power.

In the variety of meanings that are associated with the name “Aryans”, ethnic connotations of racial segregation are included. Old Indic *árya-* is someone who is faithful to the Vedic religion and practices a lifeway according to the social conventions that this religion stipulates. The idea of nobleness is contained in two related expressions; *i.e.*, *ári-* meaning “kinsman; a faithful devoted person; attached to, faithful” and *aryá-* meaning “kind, true, noble, devoted, favorable”<sup>90</sup>.

It can be assumed that the Aryan mindset had developed over a longer period of experienced time in a context of élite self-identification in the hierarchical clan system of steppe pastoralists and that the same mindset had already dominated the ideological framing of élite power at Varna and, later, the immigrants to Greece professed the same kind of attitude as to the anchoring of their dominant status in mythical legitimization. Far- distant repercussions of these early manifestations of legitimization may be discerned in the Greek myths of origin, of the Athenians and Spartans in particular<sup>91</sup>.

The encounter of the indigenous Europeans with the immigrants produced patterns of a complex social networking, resulting in extensive biculturalism and bilingualism. The ancient Europeans kept their mother tongue (*i.e.*, Pelasgian, the substrate language) as first language and adopted the Indo-European dialect transferred to Greece by the migrants as second language. Bilingualism must have

---

<sup>88</sup> David W. Anthony, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 408.

<sup>89</sup> *Rig Veda* 2.12, 2.23, 2.28.

<sup>90</sup> James Mallory and D.Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*, London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, p. 213.

<sup>91</sup> Harald Haarmann, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 133–137.

also been a major model of communication for the early Greeks, who would have picked up at least some of the language used by those with whom they lived as neighbors. Otherwise, the transfer of hundreds of borrowings from the substrate language into the Greek vocabulary would remain unexplained and lack motivation.

The process of shift, from the native Pelasgian language to Indo-European, unfolded in various phases:

Phase 1: The adoption of the language of the élite as second language

(The population which experiences the language shift constitutes a majority, as compared with the élite minority; the process of language shift occurs in the absence of any state authority; the adoption of the élite language occurs without regular teaching, that is, as uncontrolled language acquisition; the medium of shift is speech and literacy is not involved.)

Phase 2: Emergence of an extended speech community (among the indigenous population) with the new language as second language

(The élite language has a prestige which the ordinary language of the majority lacks).

Phase 3: Increasing significance of the demographic factor, with the emergence of specifically local patterns of shift resulting from increasing demographic pressure during the course of a further extension

(Language shift involves processes of linguistic fusion, during the course of which the vanishing language of the majority leaves traces in the structures of the élite-induced language that comes to dominate).

Phase 4: Acceptance of the élite language as first language and abandonment of the former local native language

(Language shift is supported by a shift in attitude, with the élite language assuming the role of an identity marker for the majority).

The completion of the process of language shift with phase 4 marks the wholeness of what may be termed élite recruitment of language. The process of Indo-Europeanization that had started at Varna continued to unfold as a consequence of the migration of Indo-European tribes to the south, and the establishment of new local élites followed a pattern that repeated itself over and over again wherever Indo-Europeans migrated.

There is some documentary evidence from ancient Crete about the relationship of early Greeks and native Minoans in the second millennium BCE. The coming of Mycenaean Greeks to Crete was facilitated by the disastrous eruption of the volcano on the island of Thera (modern Santorini) in the Cycladic archipelago around 1610 BCE which caused a tsunami that destroyed the Minoan fleet on the northern coast of Crete. After the backbone of the Minoan

thalassocracy, their fleet, had been annihilated the Mycenaeans succeeded in occupying the northern part of Crete where they established themselves as the ruling élite over the native islanders. In the Linear B texts from the archives in the palaces of Knossos and Chania one can observe a distinction of personal names in two groups. One is the group of the “collectors”, the other that of the “shepherds”.

“If we compare the names of the ‘collectors’, men belonging to the ruling class with the exception of a few ..., are easily recognizable as Greek, the situation with the names of the ‘shepherds’, people from the social class of middle rank, is the opposite. More than half of them (200, *i.e.*, 57%) are without identification. A large number of them are very likely of non-Greek origin, born of the inhabitants of the pre-Greek population which continued to dwell in Crete together with the conquerors, the Mycenaean Greeks ...”<sup>92</sup>.

An ethnographic comparison with another example of élite recruitment in the context of stateless society may serve to illustrate more details of a process which, in the case of Pelasgian-Greek contacts, is shrouded in prehistory without surviving documentary sources. The spread of Germanic languages among Celtic tribes in the southeast of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries CE provides a view on complex social interaction, with ethnic, cultural and linguistic features strongly overlapping.

When addressing the overlap of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic matrices in early medieval Britain one has to be aware of the problems posed by historical designations such as “Anglo-Saxon”. A closer inspection of the terminology in question suggests

“... that our modern usage of the term Anglo-Saxon is deeply flawed and ambiguous. The term Anglo-Saxon arose on the continent in the 8th century as a way of describing the Germanic inhabitants of Britain: The English Saxons as opposed to the Saxons still in Germany. In Britain itself, the terms Angli and Saxones were to some extent interchangeable, but were usually used to signify one or another subgroup by the Germanic inhabitants themselves, while the Britons and Irish regarded them all alike as Saxons (and still do). It was only in the 9th century that the compound term “Anglo-Saxon” was used within England, and this was soon replaced in the 10th century by the simple term English. Nevertheless, scholars today refer to the Anglo-Saxons in both a cultural and chronological sense to cover the Germanic inhabitants of Britain from the 5th century to the Norman conquest. This signifies a great deal more uniformity and ethnicity than actually existed at the time”<sup>93</sup>.

When talking about fusion processes in Britain we have to deal with various ethnic processes. The process of fusion within the network of intertribal contacts of the invading Germanic tribes resulted in those Germanic tribes assuming a new identity (*i.e.*, from Angles and Saxons to Anglo-Saxon). The other fusion process concerns the intermingling of local Insular Celtic populations with the Germanic immigrants.

---

<sup>92</sup> Petar Chr. Ilievski, *op.cit.*, p. 355.

<sup>93</sup> Donald Henson, *The origins of the Anglo-Saxons*, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk (England): Anglo-Saxon Books, 2006, p. 35.

Roman rule in Britain ended with the withdrawal of the Roman army in 410 CE. The Roman administration and military no longer had the resources to cope with the instability caused by continuous raiding by Germanic pirates in the coastal areas of southeastern Britain. After the Romans departed, the indigenous Celts and the Romanized offspring of interethnic marriages between natives and Roman settlers were left to their own devices. The raids turned into waves of invasions of Germanic tribes that landed on the shore and moved further inland. A vacuum of political power existed for a time, which was gradually filled by Germanic élite groups that established themselves in the newly conquered territory<sup>94</sup>.

During a prolonged process that lasted from the fifth to the seventh centuries CE, the British (Insular Celts) gradually experienced a shift to the language of the élite. Since no detailed documentary evidence of the shift has survived, the dynamics of the shift can only be deduced from its result: complete assimilation. In the case of the region of Kent in the extreme southeast of Britain, experts believe a three-generation model of replacement of British speech by Germanic dialects is most likely<sup>95</sup>. According to this model, the language shift was completed by the mid-sixth century CE. In regions further inland and further north (*i.e.*, Wessex, Bernicia, Elmet), it seems probable that a time-span greater than three generations would have been required for the language shift to occur. In the case of Wessex and Bernicia, it is believed that the shift from Celtic to Germanic was completed in the seventh century CE; and in the case of Elmet, in the first half of the eighth century CE.

In the regions where early contact between Celts and Germanic tribes occurred, the number of British names for places and rivers is greater than in the areas that were conquered later by the Anglo-Saxon kings. Administration would have been more firmly under the control of the Anglo-Saxons in the border regions of Anglo-Saxon rule than in the regions in the east, where élite power initially functioned without the institutions of state organization.

“British villages would find themselves in contact with English speaking clergy, most likely English speaking estate officials, English speaking merchants and by this period English speech in such towns as preserved urban functions. Their situation would thus be different to their cousins in the east of Britain, in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, whose speech might leave more of an impact on place-names”<sup>96</sup>.

## OUTLOOK

The kaleidoscope of sample settings surveyed in the foregoing most likely illustrates the significance of cultural studies and their explanatory potential for the investigation of contact situations. It is no exaggeration to state that cultural studies

---

<sup>94</sup> Peter Salway, *The Oxford illustrated history of Roman Britain*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 291–293.

<sup>95</sup> Donald Henson, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

are a *conditio sine qua non* for the scope of interdisciplinary contextualization. So far, there is no curriculum at any university in any country which would provide guidance for students how to apply findings from cultural studies for the benefit of cross-discipline investigation. It remains in the responsibility of individual scholars to develop interdisciplinary methodology further.

It is important to shed light on the distant past the awareness of which was not lost but remains encapsulated in our cultural memory. We have to unlock it for a better understanding of our own roots, anchoring in the heritage of Old Europe. The significance of an approach to reactivate elements of an awareness of life experience of the past (associated with Old Europe), dormant in the unconscious, was vital for a famous philosopher whose world of ideas comprised the organic whole of life. This philosopher was Plato who draws on the cultural memory of highly knowledgeable intellectual women, at the oracle at Delphi (personified by the Pythia) and in the mystery cult at Eleusis. Those women still possessed much knowledge of the Old European heritage which they transferred to Plato's world of ideas<sup>97</sup>.

The earliest advanced culture in human history, Old Europe, deserves to be placed center stage, in order for this knowledge to enter the canon of education, of curriculums and schoolbooks for every new generation. The look into the past by contrasting the civilization of Old Europe with Indo-European cultures may stimulate the discussion about our present and it may inspire visions for our future.

Many visions for our future are short-lived because they lack essential ingredients for a balanced community life. Only the observance of fundamental values for social relations can guarantee prospects that last. When searching for fundamental values we are advised to observe the teachings of Old Europe. Mobilizing our cooperative spirit of communal solidarity will provide us with the means for constructing our future togetherness. For this end we have to activate a way of thinking that is dormant in our cultural memory, as an imprint of the spirit of Old Europe. What we have to engage in is "Re-thinking togetherness"<sup>98</sup>.

## REFERENCES

- Anthony W. David, *The horse, the wheel and language: How Bronze-Age riders from the Eurasian steppes shaped the modern world*, Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Anthony W. David (ed.), *The lost world of Old Europe. The Danube valley, 5000 – 3500 BC*, Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Arena Renato, "The Greek colonization of the West: Dialects." in *Pugliese Carratelli*, 1996, pp. 189–200.
- Bădoacă Ioana, "Gesturi sacre și profane la întemeierea familiei" ["Sacred and profane gestures at the foundation of the family"], in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 2007, pp. 299–305.

---

<sup>97</sup> Harald Haarmann, *Platons Musen – Philosophie im Licht weiblicher Intellektualität*, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms, 2020b.

<sup>98</sup> LaBGC and Harald Haarmann, *Re-Thinking togetherness. Know. act. Now*, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2021.

- Bammesberger Alfred and Vennemann Theo (eds.), *Languages in prehistoric Europe*, Heidelberg: Winter (2nd ed.), 2004.
- Beekes Robert, "Indo-European or substrate? Phatne and keryx." in Bammesberger and Vennemann 2004, pp. 109–115.
- Beekes Robert, *Etymological dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Beekes Robert, *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: An Introduction*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins (2nd ed.), 2011.
- Bilțiu Pamfil, "Substratul mitico-magic al portii și funcțiile ei în cultura populara maramureșeană și românească." ["The mythical-magical substratum of the gate and its functions in the popular culture of Maramures and Romania"], in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 2007, pp. 243–259.
- Bintliff John, *The complete archaeology of Greece: From hunter-gatherers to the 20th century A.D.* Malden, Massachusetts & Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Bomgardner David Lee, *The story of the Roman amphitheatre*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Bucur Corneliu, Gangolea Cornelia, Munteanu Dan and Sedler Irmgard (eds.), *Museum of folk technology guide book*, Sibiu: Direction of the Brukenthal Museum, 1986.
- Chave C. Anna, *Constantin Brâncuși. Shifting the bases of art*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Chwe Michael Suk-Young, *Rational ritual: culture, coordination, and common knowledge*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Cline H. Eric (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Conard J. Nicholas, Floss Harald, Barth Martina and Serangeli Jordi (eds.), *Eiszeit – Kunst und Kultur*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2009.
- Csapo Eric and Miller C. Margaret (eds.), *The origins of theatre in ancient Greece and beyond*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Cultraro Massimo, *I Micenei: Archeologia, storia, società dei Greci prima di Omero*, Rome: Carocci editore (5<sup>th</sup> ed.), 2011.
- Danforth M. Loring, *The death rituals of rural Greece*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Deacon Terrence, *The symbolic species. The co-evolution of language and the human brain*, London: The Penguin Press, 1997.
- Everson Stephen (ed.), *Companions to ancient thought 2: Psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Gheorghiu Dragoș and Skeates Robin (eds.), *Prehistoric stamps – Theory and experiments*, Bucharest: University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2008.
- Gimbutas Marija, *The language of the Goddess*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989.
- Gimbutas Marija, *The civilization of the Goddess: The world of Old Europe*, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991.
- Gogos Savas, *Das Dionysostheater von Athen: Architektonische Gestalt und Funktion*, Vienna: Phoibos, 2008.
- Gombrich Ernst, *Art and Illusion: A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Gould A. Richard, *Archaeology and the social history of ships*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press (2nd ed.), 2011.
- Graf Fritz, *Greek mythology – An introduction*, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Haak Wolfgang *et al.*, "Massive migration from the steppe was a source for Indo-European languages in Europe.", in *Nature* 522 (2015), pp. 207–211.
- Haarmann Harald, *Geschichte der Sintflut. Auf den Spuren der frühen Zivilisationen*, Munich: C.H. Beck (2nd ed. 2005), 2003.
- Haarmann Harald, *Foundations of culture. Knowledge-construction, belief systems and worldview in their dynamic interplay*, Frankfurt, Berlin & New York: Peter Lang, 2007.

- Haarmann Harald, *Interacting with figurines: Seven dimensions in the study of imagery*, West Hartford, Vermont: Full Circle Press, 2009.
- Haarmann Harald, *Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation, Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas*. Munich: C.H. Beck (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2017), 2011.
- Haarmann Harald, *Indo-Europeanization – day one: Elite recruitment and the beginnings of language politics*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.
- Haarmann Harald, *Ancient knowledge, ancient know-how, ancient reasoning. Cultural memory in transition from prehistory to classical antiquity and beyond*, Amherst, New York: Cambria, 2013a.
- Haarmann Harald, “Language and ethnicity in antiquity.” in *McInerney*, 2013b, pp. 17–33.
- Haarmann Harald, *Roots of ancient Greek civilization. The influence of Old Europe*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2014.
- Haarmann Harald, *Plato’s philosophy reaching beyond the limits of reason. Contours of a contextual theory of truth*, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms, 2017.
- Haarmann Harald, “Who taught the ancient Greeks the craft of shipbuilding? On the pre-Greek roots of maritime technological know-how.”, in *Mankind Quarterly* 59 (2018), pp. 155–170.
- Haarmann Harald, *Plato’s sophia. His philosophical endeavor in light of its spiritual currents and undercurrents*, Amherst, New York: Cambria, 2019.
- Haarmann Harald, *Advancement in ancient civilizations. Life, culture, science and thought*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2020a.
- Haarmann Harald, *Platons Musen – Philosophie im Licht weiblicher Intellektualität*, Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms, 2020b.
- Henson Donald, *The origins of the Anglo-Saxons*, Hockwold–cum–Wilton, Norfolk (England): Anglo-Saxon Books, 2006.
- Ilieva Anna and Shurbanova Anna, “Zoomorphic images in Bulgarian women’s ritual dances in the context of Old European symbolism.”, in *Marler*, 1997, pp. 309–321.
- Ilievski Chr. Petar, *Zhivotot na mikencite vo nivnite pismeni svedoshtva, so poseben osvrt kon onomastickite i prosopografski izvodi, [The life of the Mycenaean from their own records, with special regard to the onomastic and prosopographic deductions]*. Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na Naukite i Umetnostite, 2000.
- Ingold Tim (ed.), *Companion encyclopedia of anthropology. Humanity, culture and social life*, London & New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Jones R. Eppie *et al.*, “Upper Palaeolithic genomes reveal deep roots of modern Eurasians”, in *Nature Communications*, 2015, DOI: 10.1038/ncomms9912, www.nature.com/nature communications.
- Jones Phil, *Drama as therapy. Theatre as living*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Kemp J. Barry, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a civilization*, London & New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Komitska Anita, Borissova Veska, Velislav Nikolov, *Bulgarian folk costumes*, Sofia: Borina Pub House, 2000.
- Kowalzig Barbara, *Singing for the gods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Kruta Venceslas, *Die Anfänge Europas 6000–500 v.Chr.*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993.
- LaBGC and Harald Haarmann, *Re-Thinking togetherness. Know. act. Now*, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2021.
- Lape Susan, *Race and citizen identity in the classical Athenian emocracy*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Lazaridis Iosif *et al.*, “Genetic origins of the Minoans and Mycenaean.”, in *Nature* 548 (2017), pp. 214–218.
- Liddell Henry George and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon*, New York: Harper & Brothers; Oxford: Clarendon Press (ninth edition, revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones, 1940; with revised supplement, printed 1991), 1883.
- Majercik Ruth, *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, translation and commentary*. Leiden, Copenhagen & Cologne: Brill, 1989.
- Mallory James and Adams D.Q. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*, London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997.

- Marler Joan (ed.), *From the realm of the ancestors: An anthology in honor of Marija Gimbutas*, Manchester, Connecticut: Knowledge, Ideas & Trends, 1997.
- Mastromarco Giuseppe and Piero Totaro, *Storia del teatro greco*, Milan: Mondadori (2nd ed.), 2012.
- Mathieson Iain et al., "The genomic history of southeastern Europe." in *Nature* 555 (2018), pp: 197–203.
- McCarthy E. Doyle, *Knowledge as culture: The new sociology of knowledge*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996.
- McInerney Jeremy (ed.), *A companion to ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- Miller Sanda, *Constantin Brâncuși*, London: Reaktion Books, 2010.
- Naumov Goce, "Neolithic stamps from the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula." in Gheorghiu Dragoș and Skeates Robin (eds.), *Prehistoric stamps – Theory and experiments*, Bucharest: University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2008, pp: 43–84.
- Ober Josiah, *Democracy and knowledge. Innovation and learning in classical Athens*, Princeton, New Jersey & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Pelikan Jaroslav, *Mary through the centuries. Her place in the history of culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Poruciu Adrian, *Archaeolinguistica: Trei studii interdisciplinare, [Archaeolinguistics: Three interdisciplinary studies]*, Bucharest: Romanian Institute of Tracology, 1995.
- Poruciu Adrian, *Prehistoric roots of Romanian and Southeast European traditions*, Sebastopol, California: Institute of Archaeomythology, 2010.
- Pugliese Carratelli Giovanni (ed.), *The western Greeks. Classical civilization in the western Mediterranean*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- Raduncheva Ana, *Kasnoneolitnoto obshtestvo v balgarskite zemi*, Sofia: The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2003.
- Renfrew Colin, *The Cycladic spirit*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991.
- Roselli David Kawalko, *Theater of the people. Spectators and society in ancient Athens*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Runnels Curtis and Murray M. Priscilla, *Greece before history: An archaeological companion and guide*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Salway Peter, *The Oxford illustrated history of Roman Britain*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Schechner Richard, "Ritual and performance." in *Ingold*, 1994, pp. 613–647.
- Schofield Malcom, "Heraclitus' theory of soul and its antecedents." in *Everson*, 1991(1991), pp: 13–34
- Smart Ninian, *Dimensions of the sacred. An anatomy of the world's beliefs*, London: Fontana Press, 1997.
- Tomasello Michael, "The human adaptation for culture." in Wuketits M. Franz and Antweiler Christoph (eds.), *Handbook of evolution*, vol. 1: *The evolution of human societies and cultures*, Weinheim: Wiley-VCH Verlag, 2004, pp. 1–23.
- Turner D. John, "The Chaldean Oracles and the metaphysics of the Sethian Platonizing Treatises." in Turner D. John, and Corrigan Kevin (eds.), *Plato's Parmenides and its heritage*, vol. 1: *History and interpretation from the Old Academy to later Platonism and Gnosticism*, Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010, pp. 213–232.
- Turner D. John, and Corrigan Kevin (eds.), *Plato's Parmenides and its heritage*, vol. 1: *History and interpretation from the Old Academy to later Platonism and Gnosticism*, Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010.
- Tzonou-Herbst Ioulia, "Figurines." in *Cline*, 2010, pp: 210–222.
- Varia Radu, *Brâncuși*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1986.
- Vasileva Margarita (ed.), *Traditional Bulgarian calendar – Illustrated encyclopedia*, Plovdiv: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2003.
- Vassányi Miklós, *Anima mundi: The rise of the world soul theory in modern German philosophy*, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London & New York: Springer, 2011.
- Vernant Jean-Pierre and Vidal-Naquet Pierre, *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece*, New York: Zone Books, 1990.



- Waller Diane, *Textiles from the Balkans*, London: British Museum Press, 2010.
- Werner S. Daniel, *Myth and philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Wiles David, *Tragedy in Athens. Performance space and theatrical meaning*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Wilson Stephen, *The means of naming: A social and cultural history of personal naming in western Europe*, London & Bristol: UCL Press, 1998.
- Wuketits M. Franz and Antweiler Christoph (eds.), *Handbook of evolution*, vol. 1: *The evolution of human societies and cultures*, Weinheim: Wiley-VCH Verlag, 2004.