

To the Sources of Own Culture: Profiles of Musical Historiography

Summary

This publication is a synthetic study of musicology and ethnomusicology historiography carried out by the author since 1990. Its purpose is to present a complementary overview of Lithuanian musical historiography, which would expand and enrich the understanding of consistent musical historiography without requiring the repetition of a large array of material already familiar to the scientific community. This work was driven by the aspiration to highlight lesser-known data, sources, and prominent personalities, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Oskar Kolberg, Christian Bartsch, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, and the creative profiles of Jadvyga Čiurlionytė, Algirdas Julius Greimas, and Marija Alseikatė-Gimbutienė (Marija Gimbutas), who encouraged, stimulated, or otherwise influenced the research of Lithuanian traditional culture and the development of ethnomusicology. The aim was to read and re-evaluate known and newly discovered primary sources from a musical perspective, to reveal the vibrant ideas, theoretical, and methodological attitudes of their authors, which had the greatest impact on encouraging, in the past and today, the research and development of Lithuanian musical culture. The material was collected and utilized for the Lithuanian Ethnomusicology Historiography course taught at the Department of Ethnomusicology at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, based on which reports were prepared and presented at scientific conferences in Lithuania, Poland, Germany, and Sweden. Several topics have been previously published in separate articles in less accessible sources; they are printed here in an expanded and supplemented format.

Historiographical data are not static; they are constantly being replenished and re-evaluated, so it was sought to assess them while considering the current scientific realities. The novelty manifests itself in the disclosure

and highlighting of historically relevant facts, ideas, and personalities, as well as the use of lesser-known historiographic (written and iconographic), literary, archaeological, and mythological materials, all synthesized into one comprehensive study. The selected creative profiles, being very contrasting, complement each other and allow for the expansion of known facts, covering the origins of Lithuanian musical culture and related Baltic tribes from a new perspective, highlighting specific forms and methods of musical expression, and discussing their development across various historical periods in different cultural contexts. They provide new data on the beginnings of Lithuanian musical folkloristics and the winding journey of songs into German literature, the influence of written culture on the musical stylistics of Prussian Lithuanian songs, the spread of Lithuanian folk songs in Poland and their significance on the development of ethnological science and the expression of Lithuanian consciousness during the early period of national revival, the impact of folk music on emergent Lithuanian professional music and ethnomusicology, the development of the popular music genre in Lithuanian and other national communities residing in the United States, and many others.

In addition to the specific topics of musical historiography, we will also address a few mythological and archaeological subjects that are somewhat distant from music, yet possess invisible internal links to it, as well as prominent personalities whose works and original research methodologies have greatly enriched the understanding of musical phenomena. Each branch of science has its own object and research methodology, but Lithuanian traditional culture is largely holistic, preserving considerable features of primitive syncretism. Within it, various expressions are inextricably linked; therefore, it is not surprising that to study and discuss musical phenomena as thoroughly as possible, data from related fields of science are also employed. Although the discussed phenomena and the creative profiles of personalities are very different, they all share a strong connection with traditional culture and traditional music, and this connection is mutual, enriching, and sometimes simply transformative of destinies. The attentive reader will soon be convinced of this.

Musical artifacts are an integral part of the cultural history of our ancestors. Their diversity and abundance reveal the importance of sound phenomena across various historical periods. However, they are significant not only in themselves but also because they indicate multiple social functions, connections with religion and mythology, warfare, work, and celebrations.

They serve as valuable tools for understanding history. Additionally, they highlight multiple social functions, ties to religion and mythology, warfare, work, and festivities. This makes them an important source for current musical cultural phenomena, instrumental in developmental and functional studies. In this synthetic work, we will attempt to examine the musical facts and phenomena preserved by historiography through the lens of today's current affairs and individual research problems. The publication consists of ten chapters, each addressing a separate topic.

The **first chapter** summarizes the historical and archaeological data on Baltic tribes from 425 BC until the 16th century and allows us to state that the forms and methods of sound expression in the Baltic countries were quite abundant and varied. Although Wulfstan mentions Prussian burial customs in 890–893 AD, Henricus de Lettis writes about Cursian and Sembian mourning in 1225–1227, and traditional Prussian dances are first observed by Heinrich Beringer in 1428, we can infer that the mentioned musical expressions probably existed much earlier than they were noticed and recorded by the chroniclers. After a closer reading of the original texts, we find relatively frequently mentioned tools – sticks, clubs, shields, swords, armour, axes, hammers, chains, whips – usually have a practical purpose, but it is not uncommon for them to be used as real or potential sound tools. In archaeological monuments, we find many different sounding amulets, jewellery inventory, and bells. The juxtaposition of historical and archaeological data, with the help of later ethnographic data, is complementary and methodologically significant, as it provides new insights about the early musical expressions and musical mindset of Baltic tribes during the period. In the hagiographical texts of Ioannes Canaparius (998–999) and Bruno Querfurtensis (1004), a number of sound metaphors have survived. The functions of both idiophones and free aerophones are primarily military, work-related, or ritual, but sometimes communicative-signal or protective; lamenting also has a calming effect. Sound tools are existing or potential sound sources, and musical metaphors are direct conveyers of emotions. Musical expressions from the end of the 10th century to the 14th century are recorded in the context of military operations. In the hagiographical descriptions, we see a vivid antagonism between pagan and Christian cultures, and therefore different musical expressions. The extreme religious and cultural form of intolerance is found in the Semba Bishop M. Junge's Orders to the Prussians (1426). In these orders any specific expression is strictly forbidden: mourning the dead, building a cross in the cemetery, casting spells, singing, or even

wearing traditional clothes is not allowed. Large monetary fines and severe physical punishments were imposed on offenders. Various musical instruments were known and used at the court of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but until the 13th century, there is no data about them. From the 13th century, the data increases significantly. The musical interests of rulers were documented by J. Długosz and M. Strykowski, and this is also confirmed by musical instruments and various sound tools (bells, bugles, arrow whistles, sounding jewellery, iron weapons, tools, keys) found during excavations of the Vilnius Lower Castle, as well as images of lutes, fiddles, violas, basses, whistles, and scarves on ceramics. The abundance of various musical artifacts reveals not only the former intense musical life but also international contacts and the exchange of musicians and musical instruments. Some instruments and sound tools (drums, rattles, bells, clay whistles, sounding jewellery) are most likely of local origin, while quills, arrow whistles, lutes, fiddles, violas, and instruments (clavichord, portable organ) given to Grand Duke's Vytautas wife by the Master of the Teutonic Order, as mentioned in the chronicles, came from Western European countries and other neighbouring or more distant lands.

The **second chapter** is dedicated to the renowned German philosopher, theologian, poet, and literary critic Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), born in East Prussia, and his contributions to the publication of Lithuanian folk songs and the formation of folkloristics scholarship. In the 17th–18th centuries, there was a significant increase in ethnographic publications concerning the culture of the inhabitants of Prussian Lithuania, which was encouraged by the communication between Lutheran priests Jonas Bretkūnas, Matthäus Prätorius, Theodor Lepner, and others with the Lithuanian peasants of their parishes, along with the interest of linguists in the surviving Lithuanian language archetypes. While studying at the University of Königsberg and communicating with esteemed professors Immanuel Kant and Johann Georg Hamann, as well as living in Riga for five years, Herder became well acquainted with the life of the Baltic nations and appreciated the unique and artistic creations of their people. In 1778–1779, he published *Volkslieder* (Songs of the Nations), which featured Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian poetic text of folk songs, alongside esteemed works from great nations in a highly acclaimed two-volume collection of exemplary creativity, thus opening the door to German literature for them. Although Herder was not the first to highlight the artistic qualities of Lithuanian folk songs, his contributions in promoting the collection and research of Lithuanian folk art

are particularly significant. The collection of folk songs published by Herder became an example that inspired other researchers and ethnographers to collect and publish various folk songs from different nations and study them not only as material language or sources of cultural development but also as works of art. The *Volkslieder* published by Herder generated considerable interest and resonance not only in Germany but also in many European countries, encouraging the recording and publication of songs in Lithuania. His thoughts on the significance of folk songs from small European nations for science and art, as well as their collection and publication, became a guiding light for folklorists worldwide. Thanks to Herder, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), the folk art of the Baltic nations “partly contributed to the flourishing of German classicism and romanticism” (Šešplaukis-Tyruolis 1995: 4). Herder is especially important for Lithuania and the Baltic countries; by favourably evaluating the originality of each nation’s creations and considering them a part of Europe’s heritage, he encouraged and defended the existence and survival of these nations, stimulated cultural activities, and promoted their revival. In Lithuania, Liudvikas Rėza, Simonas Stanevičius, Simonas Daukantas, Antanas Juška, and many others followed his path. The lyrics of Lithuanian folk songs from Herder’s collection were translated and published in Polish by Kazimierz Brodziński, reprinted by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and translated into Czech by František Čelakovský, influencing the poet Adam Mickiewicz. By encouraging the collection and study of the creativity of European nations, and revealing the unique beauty and significance of Lithuanian song poetry, Herder can justly be considered a pioneer of Lithuanian folkloristics.

The **third chapter**, dedicated to the creative profile of the famous Polish ethnologist and musicologist Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890), aims to take a new look at the significance of this unique scientist for the development of musical ethnology, in order to appreciate his contributions to editing, publishing, and researching melodies of Lithuanian traditional songs. Kolberg’s activities in the Lithuanian musical folkloristics field are especially valued because they were carried out during the extremely oppressive period of political and cultural repression in tsarist Russia. Lithuanian traditional music interested Kolberg throughout his life. He collaborated with Lithuanian helpers (collectors, translators, language consultants) while preparing the first collection of 15 Lithuanian songs with piano accompaniment (1847), participated in an ethnographic expedition to Lithuania (1858), collected extensive Lithua-

nian ethnographic data and a bibliography printed in Polish, prepared and published a collection of Lithuanian folk songs titled *Pieśni ludu litewskiego* (1879), and completed a separate Lithuanian (last) volume from the series *Lud* (1966), editing A. Juška's *Lithuanian Traditional Melodies* [*Lietuvių liaudies melodijos*] collection (which was left unfinished due to his death). All of this served as a significant stimulus for the emergence of Lithuanian music ethnology during its early development. The most renowned collectors of Lithuanian musical folklore from the mid-19th century, Antanas Juška (1819–1880) and Christian Bartsch (1832?–1890), both maintained close ties with Kolberg, even though they did not know him personally. Bartsch republished Kolberg's Lithuanian collection in the comprehensive volume *Voices of Songs*, while Kolberg edited Juška's collection while preparing it for printing (published in Kraków in 1900). Even today, Kolberg's strategies for collecting and organizing songs and ethnographic material, as well as his comparisons of poetic motifs and song melodies, remain relevant.

The object of the **fourth chapter** is the largest two-volume, 19th-century collection of songs with melodies from Lithuania Minor, *Voices of Songs* [*Dainu Balsai*] (1886, 1889), published by Christian Bartsch in Heidelberg, and the stylistic changes in traditional music recorded within it. This publication is particularly interesting because of the theoretical problem concerning the relationship between the phenomenon of music and its fixed representation. During the preparation of the collection, Bartsch, a high school teacher of German origin, faced a dilemma: whether to present the recorded melodies in a way that would be acceptable and understandable to the German reader, or, in the words of the author, “the way they actually sounded.” The author chose the first path. Therefore, it remains to attempt to restore the former style by comparing Bartsch's published melodies with others recorded later, aided by recordings made in neighboring countries from the people still residing in those areas. The diverse modal characteristics and melodic structures of these melodies, along with their distinctive ways of expression and cadence divisions, differed significantly from common German melodies, leading educated German collectors to find them strange. When comparing the song melodies published in Lithuania and Lithuania Minor, the songs recorded in the latter territory are particularly striking due to an abundance of melodies with chromaticisms. If we assume that the fixators sought an adequate reflection of the melody tones, in Bartsch's collection we will find more than one melody that shows individual tones of the melody altered, which, judging by the spelling, allows us to discuss the phenomenon

of chromatic variability as a characteristic feature of the melodies from this region. However, such a provision was not unanimously accepted even then, and today it raises even more reasonable doubts. The modal and structural distinctiveness of Lithuanian melodies proved difficult to articulate due to contradictions between specific musical characteristics and the musical theories and notations formed on the basis of the major-minor system. These contradictions cannot be resolved without melody recordings and reliable transcriptions adapted to the aforementioned peculiarities for reflection. The situation is further complicated by the fact that due to the events of the last century – wars and unfavourable historical circumstances – the natives of Lithuania Minor were Germanized, murdered by Soviet troops, or forced to emigrate, causing their valuable cultural heritage to be irretrievably lost. However, several audio recordings of performers from this region have survived, and today's ethnomusicologists have used computer analysis of these recordings to reveal that the sounds of melodies and intervals vary within wider limits than usual in professional music, and this phenomenon occurs throughout the territory of Lithuania. In this way, it seems to provide stronger arguments that there is no reason to claim that the melodies of this region possess a special modal specificity compared to other Lithuanian regions, as this most likely arose due to writers who were predominantly raised in a different cultural environment, gentle intervention, and the impact of written tradition.

The subject of the **fifth chapter** is Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875–1911) and his aesthetic relationship with Lithuanian folk music, reflected in the artist's articles, correspondence, memoirs of contemporaries, and musical works. The creator particularly valued folk songs due to their closeness to nature, their ability to accumulate and convey the spirit and emotions of the nation, and he considered them the basis of future Lithuanian professional music. Čiurlionis was interested in various aspects of folk music: collection, research, and classification, but the scientific study of songs was not his most important goal, as he likely considered the creative possibilities of applying folk music. He constantly returned to the melodies of these songs, tried out new ways to interpret them, and tested his creative discoveries or the directions for finding a new musical language. In his work, he continually sought to integrate the musical intonations of Lithuanian traditional songs organically and was very saddened if he did not succeed or if this aspiration was misunderstood and limited. Čiurlionis's creative connection with folk music is more clearly revealed by his harmonization of folk

songs for choirs and his folk song compositions for piano. This relatively under-studied and under-evaluated part of the composer's work serves a didactic purpose and carries significant social content. Prompted by the social and cultural needs of the resurgent Lithuanian national movement, which intervened in the tradition of harmonizing folk songs that began in the second half of the 19th century, Čiurlionis created over 60 works for choirs of various compositions and about 40 for piano, in which he presented dozens of original methods for combining folk and professional music, surpassing his time. This chapter discusses the compositional features of folk music harmonization and the development of its conceptual ideas. The research revealed that, alongside the historical and didactic importance of Čiurlionis's compositions of Lithuanian folk songs, they represent a new expression not only in Lithuania but also, in individual cases, in Europe at the time – a phenomenon of organic unity between folk music and modern compositional tools without parallels in musical culture.

The **sixth chapter** discusses a field of musical historiography that began to be studied only about 20 years ago – the music of the player piano or pianola (automatic piano), which became especially popular from 1920 to 1930 within the Lithuanian national community in the United States. The chapter aims to reveal the repertoire of pianola music recorded on perforated paper rolls, identify (to the extent currently possible) the titles of works, sources of music, and authorship of arrangements, discuss the circumstances of its emergence, and evaluate the influence of player piano music on the development of popular music culture and the national self-consciousness of American Lithuanians. The chosen historical research method for musical sources is complemented by an ethnographic research method and elements of communication theory. This combination allowed for a comparison of the results of repertoire analysis with an overview of the social context, aiming to determine the meanings and how music could resonate with listeners. Different genres of pianola music responded to the varying needs of its users: patriotic lyrics awakened love for the homeland, nostalgic folk songs evoked memories of home, religious hymns reinforced spiritual feelings, revolutionary songs fostered workers' solidarity, and the music of dances and marches served an entertaining function. One can observe the influences and exchanges of music from various nations across all genre groups (perhaps with the exception of folk songs), especially within entertainment music. Clearly, the importance of entertainment music is evident in early 20th century America, where a large group of music creators, performers,

arrangers, and publishers also grew and became active participants in this industry. Lithuanian music, alongside that of other American ethnic communities, became part of the US popular music development process. The study confirmed the conclusion that player piano music is a valuable source of the musical life of the US Lithuanian community in the early 20th century, revealing the enriching collaboration between musicians of various nations in music creation, arrangement, performance, and publishing.

The theme of the **seventh chapter** is the influence of certain romantic idioms traced in the works of Lithuanian composers, according to the different treatments of folklore material at the end of the 20th century. The aim of the chapter is to discuss the essence of the national music paradigm and its impact on the Lithuanian professional school of composition. This paradigm of national music, formed in the Romantic era and establishing the priority of national traditional music and other forms of national expression, had and continues to have a clearly felt effect on many Lithuanian composers. Recently, however, it has undergone significant transformations, as composers are not bound or limited to creating only national music but are free to choose the means they prefer or even entirely avoid thinking about it, hoping that national characteristics will manifest in their music naturally. After the restoration of independence in Lithuania and under the influence of postmodernist ideas, some Lithuanian composers began to use and borrow more freely from heterogeneous musical material sourced from various origins, thus highlighting clear structural similarities, enriching the soundscape of their work, creating specific loci, and imparting exotic, global, and paranational connotations. The national paradigm was gradually supplemented by an expanded national or so-called world music paradigm. Prevailing creative trends are highlighted, significant works and composers are mentioned, yet no attempts are made to analyze the implementation of these creative strategies.

The **eighth chapter** discusses the extremely important and significant scientific, pedagogical, critical, and publicist work of Jadvyga Čiurlionytė (1898–1992) in protecting Lithuania's national and cultural identity. Although traditional music in Lithuania has been studied for well over a hundred years, Čiurlionytė is recognized as the pioneer of Lithuanian ethnomusicology. All of Čiurlionytė's activities are united by a sign of originality and a sense of social importance. Just like Čiurlionis in his time, his youngest sister was not afraid to take the initiative and tread untrodden paths if she felt the necessity for this self-sacrificing work. After graduating from music

studies in Berlin and Leipzig, she was accepted into the folklore archive located in Kaunas and worked with such zeal and love that during less than a year, she prepared and published a valuable collection of 350 folk songs with tunes, in which she solved the problem of musical dialects. In 1966, she defended her thesis, in which she distinguished and discussed for the first time the genres of folk songs, the modality of melodies, rhythm, features of form, the relationship between music and poetry, and regional characteristics of Lithuanian traditional music. For this insightful and original work, the author earned the degree of Doctor of Sciences without defence and gained considerable authority in the community of ethnomusicologists, not only at that time in the Soviet Union but also beyond. Čiurlionytė's scholarly and pedagogical activities created the institutional foundations for folk music research in the Lithuanian Conservatory at that time. She trained a large group of folk music researchers, established the Folk Music Department, which eventually became a folk music research centre. The results of folk music studies strengthened national and cultural immunity during difficult trials because folk music was always sought for refreshment. In this way, Čiurlionytė made a significant contribution to the founding of the folklore movement and national revival. She saw her theoretical work become creative practice – composers studied folk music from her collections and applied it in their work, while the emerging folklore ensembles revived traditional melodies of various genres and regions, eventually expanding into a folk movement. This made Čiurlionytė extremely happy. She was sincerely pleased with the works of Julius Juzeliūnas, Eduardas Balsys, Vytautas Klova, Bronius Kutavičius, and the activities of the Povilas Mataitis Folklore Ensemble (later the Folklore Theatre), and, setting aside her work, she wrote happy, encouraging reviews, congratulating the authors. With a phenomenal memory, Čiurlionytė restored many of Čiurlionis's works, writing the alterations and dynamic signs for them. Her *Memories of M. K. Čiurlionis* [*Atsiminimai apie M. K. Čiurlionį*] is unique material for the study of Čiurlionis's work and personality.

The **ninth chapter** of this work is dedicated to the world-famous semiotician Algirdas Julius Greimas (1917–1992), whose birth centenary was celebrated by UNESCO in 2017 and who is one of the most insightful and sensitive researchers of Lithuanian mythology. Greimas's ideas about the importance of mythology in the study of ancient culture are especially valuable, as they help to reconstruct the ancient traditions of holidays, rites, meanings of symbols, music, and poetry. Greimas's childhood was spent in

Kupiškis, immersed in the spiritual world of a vibrant traditional culture, leaving an indelible impression on him to last a lifetime. This authentic experience was of inestimable value to the future researcher. He later testified that “this direct experiencing of the mythical world in a completely different light allows us to read our folklore and ethnographic sources.” The most important books on Lithuanian mythology by Greimas (*Of Gods and Men* [*Apie dievus ir žmones*] and *In Search of the Nation’s Memory* [*Tautos atminties beiėškant*]) have been translated into English, French, Italian, and other languages, earning awards from the American Lithuanian Community Culture Council. In the book *Of Gods and Men*, Greimas discusses the relationship of mythology to ideology, philosophy, culture, ethnology, religion, history, and poetry. Juxtaposing oral narratives and symbolic texts, which consist of descriptions of works and holidays, customs, and religious practices, as well as of songs, dances, and games, he points out that it makes considerable sense to study mythical expression manifested through behaviors realized by gestures and body movements, which can be analyzed using the same methods as linguistic texts. The reconstruction of Lithuanian mythology was a very difficult task because the oldest historical sources he relied on (mainly from the 16th–17th centuries) were fragmentary, often erroneously recorded, mixed up, contradictory, and unreliable, while the ethnographic material from later times stored in Lithuanian archives was only partially available. He was aided by semiotic methodology, knowledge of languages, a deep understanding of Indo-European (especially Roman) mythology, and his ingenious intuition. Greimas managed to restore a variety of functions and sovereignty areas of mythical characters and to reconstruct the lost winter, spring, and autumn holidays and their rituals. He discussed individual deities in the context of Indo-European mythology and thus revealed the uniqueness of Lithuanian mythology. Greimas’s studies of Lithuanian mythology are still relevant today, stimulating further research and awaiting its due evaluation.

The last, **tenth chapter** is dedicated to one of the most prominent American archaeologists of Lithuanian origin, Marija Birutė Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė (1921–1994), the pioneer of archaeomythology, whose works broadened and deepened the horizons of traditional culture and music research. In commemoration of her centenary, UNESCO declared that year as the Year of Marija Gimbutienė (Marija Gimbutas). Such an honor is given only to distinguished personalities whose lives and works are recognized as particularly significant for contemporary civilization, enriching it and fos-

tering peace between nations. Her contemporaries equate her work with the most famous achievements of world archaeologists. Joseph Campbell compared her to Jean-François Champollion, who deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphs and revealed the treasures of Egyptian religion. Anne Baring and Jules Cashford summarized: “What Heinrich Schliemann did for Troy and Arthur Evans did for Crete, Marija Gimbutienė did for the Neolithic era, bringing to the surface an astonishingly abundant treasure and revealing the civilization she called Old Europe”. She was able to combine and harmonize the methods of the natural sciences and the humanities, which complemented each other and best corresponded to the dualistic nature of archaeology – excavated objects and artifacts, being material, belong to the field of natural science, but their interpretation remains the province of the humanities. Thus, the success of future work requires a universal researcher, equally adept at using approaches from both the natural sciences and the humanities. Her excellent knowledge of linguistics, ethnology, art studies, and unique language skills – in addition to her native Lithuanian, Gimbutienė spoke six languages fluently and read and utilized literature in twenty-five languages in her works – together with her scientific grounding in archaeological facts, allowed her to establish connections destined to open new horizons in archaeology. Having received funding support, Gimbutienė published the book *Prehistory of Eastern Europe* [*Rytų Europos priešistorė*] in 1956, followed by the study *Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art* [*Senovinė simbolika lietuvių liaudies mene*] in 1958. In 1956, she formulated and published the “kurgan hypothesis”, related to the still-existing theory of the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans, their development, and influence on the further evolution of European nations. The theory of kurgans summarizes East European prehistory studies, which are directly related to the ethnogenesis of the Balts, reaching back to the 4th millennium BC. She discovered Indo-European ancestry in the Dnieper-Volga region, north of the Black Sea. It is crucial to note that the Indo-European theory of kurgans has recently been confirmed by both archaeological and especially, genetic research data. *Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art* is another very significant study by the scientist, revealing the archaic mythological content of Lithuanian folk art. This book is useful for understanding the origins of folk art symbols and images, and their content. Symbols in Lithuanian folk art are compared to linguistic data, encoding the most important mythological structures of the world; ideas of fertility, rebirth, and other images help convey values and are equal in importance to language. From 1967 to 1980, she

led five archaeological expeditions to Late Stone and Bronze Age cemeteries in Bosnia, North and Greek Macedonia, Italy, and Greece, during which they discovered an untouched and unknown civilization represented by sanctuaries and magnificent ancient artifacts. Gimbutienė hypothesized that the Neolithic period in Europe flourished with a peaceful matrilineal agricultural civilization based on artistic creation and non-material values, where the sexes were equal and the Great Goddess was worshiped as the Goddess-Mother. This civilization was eventually conquered by warlike Indo-Europeans who revered weapons and horses, imposing their patriarchal military hierarchy and developmental perspective on humanity.