

LIETUVOS MUZIKOS IR TEATRO AKADEMIJA
VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS
LIETUVIŲ LITERATŪROS IR TAUTOSAKOS INSTITUTAS

Toma Grašytė

**TRADICINIS MUZIKANTAS
ŠIUOLAIKINĖJE LIETUVIŲ KULTŪROJE**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka
Humanitariniai mokslai, etnologija (07H)

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Disertacija rengta 2011–2016 m. Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje.

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Disertacija ginama Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos, Vilniaus universiteto ir Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto Etnologijos mokslo krypties taryboje.

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Disertacija bus ginama viešame Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos, Vilniaus universiteto ir Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto Etnologijos mokslo krypties tarybos posėdyje, kuris vyks 2017 m. vasario 24 d. 11 val. Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Juozo Karoso salėje.

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Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos, Vilniaus universiteto ir Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto bibliotekose.

ĮVADAS

Tyrimo objektas

Disertacijos tyrimų ašis – dabartinių laikų tradicinis muzikantas, jo individuali muzikinė patirtis ir muzikinis pasaulėvaizdis. Per jį atskleidžiama ir dabartinių laikų tradicinio muzikavimo samprata.

Disertacijoje *tradicinis muzikantas šiuolaikinėje kultūroje* visų pirma suvokiamas kaip iki šiol aktyviai muzikuojantis jaunesnės kartos (gimęs laikotarpiu nuo Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabaigos iki XX a. antrosios pusės) muzikantas, iš kartos į kartą perduodamas tradicinės instrumentinės ir vokalinės-instrumentinės muzikos atlikėjas ir kūrėjas, tęsiantis savo gyvenamosios vietos muzikinę tradiciją.

Disertacijoje atsiribojama nuo kitų muzikantų kategorijų – tik stilizuotą muziką atliekančių, netiesiogiai muzikavimo tradiciją perėmusių folkloro judėjimo muzikantų ar su tradicine muzika sąsajų neturinčių, autorinę populiariąją muziką atliekančių vestuvių muzikantų. Į tyrimų akiratį tik iš dalies patenka etnomuzikologės Aušros Žičkienės aptartas savaiminės lietuvių liaudies vokalinės muzikinės kūrybos reiškinys (Žičkienė 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014).

Disertacijoje nagrinėjami šie tradicinio muzikanto šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje lygmenys:

- 1) mokymosi groti ir muzikavimo tradicijos perėmimo būdai;
- 2) būdingi muzikos instrumentai;
- 3) muzikinės veiklos ir elgesio formos;
- 4) repertuaras;
- 5) tradicinė autorinė kūryba;
- 6) atlikimo stilius;
- 7) muzikanto ir bendruomenės santykis;
- 8) sąsajos su kitų kategorijų muzikantais ir stereotipiniais vestuvių muzikantais;
- 9) tradicinio muzikanto samprata.

Geografiniu požiūriu disertacijos tyrimai apima dabartinę Lietuvos Respublikos teritoriją ir etnines lietuvių žemes Lenkijoje (Seinų ir Punsco kraštą Suvalkų vaivadijoje). Urbanistiniu požiūriu susitelkiama į kaimų, miestelių, iš dalies ir nedidelių miestų tradicinę muzikos kultūrą.

Chronologiškai disertacijos tyrimai sutelkti į XX a. 10 dešimtmetį – XXI a. (tyrimai vykdyti iki 2016 m. rugsėjo mėn.). Šį laikotarpį sąlygiškai dar būtų galima skirstyti į postsovietinį (postsocialistinį) ir postindustrinį periodus (Vosyliūtė 2003: 41–49). Jų ribos nėra aiškios, tačiau nuo XXI a. pradžios įsivyrąja pastarasis. Taip pat pažymėtina, kad pagrindiniai disertacijos pateikėjai mokytis ar netgi viešai muzikuoti pradėjo ir ankstesniais laikotarpiais: sovietiniu, Atgimimo ir Lietuvos nepriklausomybės atkūrimo (vyriausias – nuo XX a. 6 dešimtmečio pabaigos).

Šiuolaikinės lietuvių kultūros sąvoka disertacijoje vartojama pakaitomis su sinonimiška *dabarties kultūros* sąvoka ir etnolingvistiniu požiūriu apima minėto laikotarpio *lietuvių tautos*, gyvenančios Lietuvos Respublikos teritorijoje (ar etninėse lietuvių žemėse), kalbančios lietuvių kalba, *kultūrą*. Ši kultūra susiformavo, viena vertus, veikiamą XX a. 5–10 dešimtmečiais vykdytos *industrializacijos* (suklestėjusios industrijos, kapitalizmo, mašininės technikos, urbanistikos) ir *sovietizacijos* (Lietuvos valstybės politinės-socialinės ir ūkinės sanklodos griovimo, kultūros ir tradicinių dvasinių vertybių naikinimo bei priverstinio komunistinės ideologijos diegimo visuomenėje), kita vertus – nuo XX a. pabaigos sustiprėjusios *globalios kultūros*, neatsiejamoms nuo šiuolaikinių technologijų, masinių medijų įvairovės su jai būdingais dinamiškumo ir fragmentiškumo bruožais.

Temos aktualumas ir problematika

Tradiciniam muzikavimui kintant ir daugėjant jį veikiančių veiksnių (masinės medijos priemonės, įvairūs muzikos stiliai, muzikinis švietimas, formalusis tradicinės muzikos saugojimas, propagavimas ir atlikimo reglamentavimas), būtina jį tirti naujai, peržvelgiant ir sugretinant mokslinius vertinimus ir muzikantų bei bendruomenės požiūrius.

Disertacijos tyrimų ištakos – senųjų, nuo XIX a. iki XX a. vidurio gimusių, muzikantų ir muzikantų giminių (dinastijų) muzikavimo tyrimai *lietuvių tradicinėje kultūroje* (Paliulis 1985; Apanavičius 1990; Baika 1994; Vyčinas 1998: 637–657; Kirdienė 2000; Tarnauskaitė-Palubinskienė 2007; Garsonas 2007). Jaunesnių kartų tradicinio muzikanto fenomenas, kaip ir muzikavimo tradicijos tęstinumas, ypač ar transformacijos *šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje*, nors ir nurodyta tokių tyrimų būtinybė (Kirdienė 2000: 22), iki šiol nuodugniai beveik nebuvo nagrinėti.

Disertacijoje nagrinėjama tradicinio muzikanto fenomeno tęstinumo ir kaitos procesų šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje **problema**.

Pirma, ši problematika buvo tiriama kitose Rytų ir Vakarų Europos šalyse, tačiau kiekvienoje šalyje tradicinio muzikavimo procesai, nors ir turi bendrumų, yra saviti, vykę skirtingais laikotarpiais ir skirtingomis istorinėmis, sociokultūrinėmis aplinkybėmis.

Antra, lietuvių mokslininkai iki šiol nevienodai interpretuoja ir aiškina *tradicijos* ir *jos kaitos* sąvokas. Autorė remiasi dinamiškos, gyvuojančios tol, kol yra kartojama ir kuriama (Jonutytė 2010), ir *takios*, t. y. nuolat kintančios, atsinaujinančios, tradicijos sampratomis (Šmitienė 2011: 42). *Tradicinį muzikantą* ir *muzikavimą* disertacijoje ji traktuoja ne kaip normatyvų, jau beveik išnykusį, bet priešingai, kaip dinaminį, t. y. nuolat kintantį, su gyvenamosios vietos kultūra susijusį ir ją atspindintį reiškinį.

Trečia, probleminis yra asmenybės ir bendruomenės vaidmenų, jų santykio ir sąveikos muzikavimo tradicijoje klausimas. Dar XX a. 9 dešimtmečio pradžioje slovakų etnomuzikologas Oskaras Elschekas polemizavo su gaju teiginiu, esą „pagrindinis liaudies muzikos formavimo vaidmuo priklauso kolektyvui“. Jis nurodė, kad „bent jau instrumentinėje liaudies muzikoje negalime nepastebėti aiškiai išreikšto individualumo, nors jį ir kontroliuoja laikmečio stilius, suvokimas, visa kultūrinė aplinka“ (Elschek 1981: 70). Taigi labai svarbu išnagrinėti muzikanto ir bendruomenės, t. y. individualaus ir kolektyvinio pradų, santykį ir jų įtaką dabartinių laikų lietuvių tradiciniam muzikavimui.

Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai

Šiame darbe, susitelkdama į individualaus muzikanto muzikinę patirtį kintančio muzikinio pasaulėvaizdžio kontekste, autorė siekia atskleisti tradicinio muzikanto, atlikėjo ir kūrėjo, fenomeno bruožus šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje: tradicijų ir inovacijų sąveiką bei santykį jo individualioje kūrybinėje raiškoje ir bendruomeninėje sampratoje. Disertacijoje keliami šie uždaviniai:

1. Palyginus tradicinių muzikantų mokymo(si) groti ir muzikavimo tradicijos perėmimo tradicinėje ir šiuolaikinėje kultūroje būdus ir modelius, išsiaiškinti pastoviuosius (tradicinius) ir inovacinius (šiuolaikinius) elementus bei jų santykį.

2. Suskirstyti tiriamus šiuolaikinius lietuvių tradicinius muzikantus į grupes pagal jų muzikinės veiklos ir elgesio formas, vaidmenį bei sąsajas su muzikiniu instrumentarijumi įvairiuose kontekstuose.

3. Atsižvelgiant į pačių tradicinių muzikantų, atlikėjų ir kūrėjų, asmenines nuostatas bei vertinimus, nustatyti žanrines repertuaro grupes, aktualaus ir pasyvaus repertuaro santykį, apibūdinti muzikantų kūrybą ir atskleisti pokyčių tendencijas.

4. Remiantis muzikantų suvokimu, nustatyti ir apibūdinti svarbiausius muzikantų atliekamos lietuvių tradicinės muzikos struktūrinius ir prasminius atlikimo stiliaus elementus, jų stabilumą ir pokyčius bei naujas formas.

5. Palyginus muzikantų ir bendruomenės požiūrius bei atskleidus sąsajas ir skirtumus su kitomis muzikantų kategorijomis, apibūdinti muzikanto ir bendruomenės santykį išlaikant ir tęsiant muzikavimo tradicijas bei pateikti teorinę tradicinio muzikanto šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje sampratos apibrėžtį.

Ginamieji teiginiai

Remdamasi savo ir kitų etnomuzikologų atliktų lauko tyrimų, taip pat naujausių mokslinių tyrimų rezultatais, darbo autorė teigia, kad visi tirti tradicinio muzikanto fenomeno lygmenys perėmė ir išlaikė gana daug senajai (XIX a. pab. – XX a. pr. ir tarpukario) kultūrai būdingų bruožų. Kita vertus, prisitaikymas

prie šiuolaikinės kultūros sąlygų keitė tradicinio muzikanto fenomeną. Disertacijos ginamieji teiginiai:

1. Tradicinio muzikanto kategorija nuolat kintančios šiuolaikinės kultūros tėkmėje kai kuriais bruožais priartėja prie kitų kategorijų – folkloro ansamblio, stilizuotos kapelos ir vestuvių – muzikantų, o pagal išsilavinimą, meistriškumą ir muzikavimo patirtį – prie pusiau profesionalų ar profesionalų. Vis dėlto tam tikrais bruožais tradicinis muzikantas skiriasi nuo kitų ir išlieka kaip savarankiška kategorija.

2. Svarbiu šių dienų tradicinio muzikanto fenomeno bruožu galėtume laikyti lietuvių tradicinę muziką pagrįstą muzikantų tradicinę autorinę kūrybą. Tikėtina, ateityje, perėjusi bendruomenių vertinimų filtrą, ši kūryba gali įsitvirtinti ir būti vertinama kaip šio laikmečio tradicinė muzika.

3. Tradicinio muzikanto ir jo muzikavimo šiuolaikinėje kultūroje fenomenai gyvuoja muzikantui ir bendruomenei (individui ir kolektyvui) nuolat palaikant artimą ryšį žmogaus gyvenimo ciklo papročiuose ir bendruomenės šventėse, mėginant suderinti požiūrius į tam tikrus tradicinius muzikavimo aspektus. Todėl tradicinio muzikanto sampratą reikia aiškinti muzikanto ir bendruomenės vaidmenų santykiu išlaikant ir tęsiant muzikavimo tradicijas.

Tyrimo šaltiniai

Autorė susipažino su disertacijai aktualia medžiaga, sukaupia penkiuose Lietuvos folkloro archyvuose: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Mokslo centro Etnomuzikologijos skyriaus Muzikinio folkloro archyve (MFA: KF, Da, DV), Etnomuzikos instituto archyve (EIA), Lietuvos nacionalinio kultūros centro (buvusio Lietuvių liaudies kultūros centro) archyvo anketose, Garso ir Vaizdo įrašų fonduose (LKA: A, G, V), Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto Lietuvių tautosakos rankraštyno fonotekoje ir videotekoje (LTRF, LTRV) bei Utenos kraštotyros muziejaus archyve (UKM). Iš jos matyti, kad pastarųjų dešimtmečių ekspedicijose pateikėjais vis dažniau buvo po Antrojo pasaulinio karo gimę jaunesnės kartos muzikantai, paprastai grojantys akordeonu ar įvairių tipų armonikomis.

Svarbiais šaltiniais tapo medžiaga, 2005–2015 m. užrašyta pačios autorės su kitais etnomuzikologais daugiau kaip dvidešimtyje ekspedicijų Ignalinos, Kupiškio, Panevėžio, Širvintų, Ukmergės, Utenos, Telšių ir Varėnos rajonuose bei Punsko krašte (Lenkija). Svarbu paminėti, kad autorės surengtų ekspedicijų metu buvo stebimas ir filmuojamas tradicinis muzikavimas įvairiomis aplinkybėmis: namų aplinkoje ar kultūros centruose, bendruomenės šventėse, vestuvėse, pokyliuose ar koncertuose, konkursuose ir pan. Įrašyta 120 val. muzikos garso ir vaizdo įrašų bei sukaupia kitokios medžiagos: pokalbių įrašų, fotografijų. Ši ekspedicijų medžiaga yra laikoma trijuose archyvuose (MFA, EIA ir UKM).

Pagrindiniais pateikėjais disertacijoje buvo devyni skirtinguose Lietuvos regionuose gyvenantys jaunesnių kartų muzikantai, gimę 1948–1971 m. ir kilę iš Dzūkijos, Aukštaitijos ir Žemaitijos (šios tvarkos pagal regionus laikomasi ir disertacijos skyriuose):

1. Juozas Bancevičius, g. 1948 m. ir gyv. Valinčių k., Punsko apyl., Lenkijoje. Groja akordeonu.
2. Kęstutis Kaupinis, g. 1971 m. Jakubiškių k., Merkinės ap., Varėnos r., gyv. Merkinėje. Groja standartizuota rusiška armonika, smuiku, saksofonu, gitara ir sintetatoriumi.
3. Edvardas Ratautas, g. 1951 m. Ratautų k., Veprių vls., Ukmergės aps., gyv. Vepriuose. Groja akordeonu ir sintetatoriumi.
4. Jurgita Kardauskienė-Ratautaitė, g. 1971 m. Veprių k., Ukmergės r., gyv. Vepriuose. Griežia smuiku.
5. Alvydas Čepauskas, g. 1972 m. Mundeikių k., Radviliškio r. Nuo 2014 m. gyv. Panevėžyje. Groja standartizuota rusiška armonika, akordeonu ir sintetatoriumi.
6. Jonas Goštautas, g. 1952 m. Jauniūnų k., Kupiškio r., gyv. Šepetoje. Groja standartizuota rusiška armonika, saksofonu ir sintetatoriumi.
7. Regina Juodagalvienė-Butėnaitė, g. 1960 m. Kalpokų k., Biržų r. Nuo 2015 m. gyv. Panevėžyje. Groja standartizuota rusiška armonika, akordeonu ir elektriniais vargonėliais.
8. Jurgis Bomblauskas, g. 1957 m. Telšiuose, gyv. ten pat. Groja standartizuota rusiška armonika arba bandonija, būgnu ir mirlitonu (vienu metu).
9. Arvydas Bomblauskas, g. 1966 m. Telšiuose, gyv. ten pat. Groja akordeonu, gitara ir standartizuota rusiška armonika.

Disertacijos autorė tyrimui pasirinko dabartinių laikų lietuvių muzikinės tradicijos *etnoforus* (plg. Земцовский 1996: 17), šiuolaikinėje Vakarų Europos ir Amerikos mokslinėje literatūroje vadinamus *key figures*: brandžius, muzikinį intonacinį žodyną ir repertuarą sukaupusius, savo stilių atradusius ir suformavusius muzikantus, tikrus etniškumo perėmėjus, tipiškus savo krašto muzikos tradicijos atstovus, jos saugotojus.

Pagrindinių pateikėjų pasirinkimo kriterijai: 1) jų tęsiamos savo giminės ir krašto muzikavimo tradicijos; 2) vyraujantis muzikavimas iš klausos; 3) bent iš dalies išlaikytas tradicinis akustinis instrumentarijus, repertuaras ir stilius; 4) muzikantų universalumas, t. y. gebėjimas atlikti ne tik instrumentinę, bet ir vokalinę-instrumentinę muziką; 5) aktyvus ir intensyvus muzikavimas paskutiniaisiais dešimtmečiais, vadovavimas įvairiems ansambliams.

Siekdama išsiaiškinti bendruomenės požiūrį į pagrindinių tradicinių muzikantų raišką, 2015 m. disertacijos autorė pagal atskirą klausimyną apklausė ir trylika jų bendruomenės narių.

Darbo apimtis ir struktūra

Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, tyrimų apžvalga, tyrimo metodologija, keturios tyrimų rezultatus pristatančios dalys, literatūros ir šaltinių sąrašas, išvados bei priedai.

Disertacijoje ir jos prieduose pateikiama 10 lentelių, 5 schemos, 56 nuotraukos, 30 garso įrašų, 31 vaizdo įrašas, 9 transkripcijos.

IŠVADOS

Disertacijos tyrimų rezultatai atskleidė, kad tradicinio muzikanto vaidmuo yra įvairialypis ir svarbus šiuolaikinėje (XX a. paskutiniųjų dešimtmečių – XXI a. pradžios) kaimų, miestelių ar nedidelių miestų lietuvių kultūroje. Visi tirti šiuolaikinio tradicinio muzikanto fenomeno lygmenys išlaikė gana daug XIX a. pabaigą – XX a. vidurį ar senesnius laikus menančio tradicinio muzikavimo bruožų. Vis dėlto nustatyta ir daug ryškių kaitos tendencijų:

1. Dauguma tirtų 1948–1972 m. gimusių lietuvių tradicinių muzikantų mokėsi pagal tradicinį ugdymosi modelį – jie empiriškai perėmė tradicijas grodami iš klausos drauge su kitais, paprastai vyresniais, muzikantais. Šiuolaikinėje kultūroje konstruojant muzikos instrumentus ir ieškant, kaip jais pagroti, į pirmą vietą iškyla ne gamtos pajauta, o gamtos mokslų ir technologijų žinios. Stiprėja institucinis ugdymas ir muzikos rašto pažinimas. Vis daugiau merginų ir moterų tampa tradicinėmis muzikantėmis.

2. Muzikinės veiklos ir elgesio formos geriausiai atskleidžia tradicinių muzikantų statusą ir vaidmenį jų krašto kultūroje. Tradiciniai muzikantai puikiai suvokia savo veiklos pobūdį ir specifiką, todėl instrumentus (kaip ir repertuarą) dažniausiai pasirenka atsižvelgdami į tam tikros erdvės ir muzikos žanrų ypatybes. Jų pasirinkimas ir nuostatos rodo, kad jie sąmoningai siekia išsaugoti humanistines nuostatas atitinkantį gyvą muzikavimą ir gyvai grojančio muzikanto įvaizdį, atsispirdami įsigalinčiam elektroniniam muzikavimui. Labiausiai bendruomenėje vertinami daugialypės bendruomeninės ir apeiginės veiklos muzikantai, intensyviai muzikuojantys žmogaus gyvenimo ciklo šventėse ir apeigose. Ir šiuo metu daugiausia koncertuojantys ir šokių vakarėliuose griežiantys muzikantai nėra pasyvūs muzikinės tradicijos saugotojai, jie – kūrėjai, formuojantys tradiciją.

3. Dauguma tirtų tradicinių muzikantų turi sukaupę labai platų kelių stilių repertuarą, kurį nuolat atnaujina. Jie aiškiai skiria tradicinius, populiariosios liaudies muzikos ir estradinius kūrinius. Pastarieji, reaguojant į bendruomenės poreikius, ypač didesniuose pokyliuose ir vestuvėse, muzikuojančiųjų repertuare tampa vis aktualesni. Stiprėja individualusis tradicinio muzikavimo pradai, savo kūrybą ir kūrybingumą muzikantai suvokia nebe kaip dievišką, gamtinę ar kultūrinę duotybę, o kaip asmeninį talentą ir gabumą.

4. Iki šiol gana gerai išlaikyti tradiciniai solinės ir ansamblinės instrumentinės muzikos skambesio įvaizdžiai, pasiskirstymas balsais, gausi ir įvairi melodikos puošyba, būdingi atskiriems Lietuvos kraštams ir regionams. Aki-vaizdžios tradicinės muzikos tempo, ritmikos ir formos inovacijos: sustiprėjo tendencija kūrinius atlikti itin greitu tempu ir sinkopuoti estradinei ir džiaz muzikai artimu ritmu, kuriam suteikiama muzikantui svarbi prasmė. Tradiciniai (kartais ir populiariosios muzikos) kūriniai jungiami į stambesnes formas: popuri, rečiau rondo. Ryškios tradicinės ir populiariosios muzikos repertuaro ir stilių panašėjimo bei polistilistikos tendencijos.

5. Stipri tradicinio ir folkloro ansamblio ar stilizuotos kapelos, net ir stereotipinių vestuvių muzikantų panašėjimo tendencija. Vis dėlto iš kitų kategorijų muzikantų šiuolaikinių lietuvių tradicinį muzikantą aiškiai leidžia išskirti iš kartos į kartą perduodamas tradicinis savo krašto muzikos repertuaras, atlikimo stiliaus pojūtis, tradicinių papročių ir apeigų išmanymas, branginimas ir sklaida.

6. Taigi tradicinis muzikantas šiuolaikinėje lietuvių kultūroje – tai dabartiniu laikmečiu gyvenantis, aktyviai muzikuojantis, prigimtiniais saitais su savo krašto ir šeimos, giminės muzikavimo tradicijomis susijęs, tačiau aiškiai išreiškiantis savo poreikį kurti, būti kultūros skleidėju muzikantas. Jo muzikinė veikla, elgesys, repertuaras, atlikimo būdai ir stilius priklauso nuo šeimos ir bendruomenės institucijų bei šiuolaikinių atlikimo kontekstų ir aplinkybių, tačiau muzikantas išreiškia nuolatinį poreikį peržengti išmokto elgesio ribas, taip sąmoningai praturtindamas tradiciją inovacijomis. Kitaip nei anksčiau, vietos bendruomenė vis labiau vertina tradicinio muzikanto universalumą ir komunikacinius, vadybinius gebėjimus, o tradicinis muzikantas šiuolaikinius bendruomenės poreikius sieja su tradicija, prie jos priartina. Pasikeitus muzikanto ir bendruomenės vaidmenų santykiui, tradicijos ir naujovių derinimas muzikanto pastangomis tampa svarbia gimtojo krašto muzikavimo tradicijų gyvybingumo palaikymo sąlyga.

Vertindami tradicinio muzikavimo išlikimo perspektyvas istoriniu, kultūrinu ir galbūt filosofiniu požiūriu, galime teigti, kad dauguma dabartinio laikmečio inovacijų yra ryškios, tačiau kol kas dar netapusios tradicinio muzikavimo savastimi. Galime tik spėlioti, ar joms pavyks tapti esminėmis, įsismelkti į individualaus muzikanto pasaulėjautą, savivoką, ir kiek tai užtruks.

LITHUANIAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC AND THEATRE
VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

Toma Grašytė

**TRADITIONAL MUSICIAN
IN CONTEMPORARY LITHUANIAN CULTURE**

Summary of the doctoral dissertation
Humanities, Ethnology (07H)

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A copy of the dissertation is available at the libraries of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, the Vilnius University, and the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

INTRODUCTION

Subject of the research

The research in this dissertation focuses on the phenomenon of traditional musician of the present day, his/her individual music experience and musical worldview. It also serves as means to disclose the concept of the present day traditional music making.

Within this dissertation, *traditional musician in contemporary culture* is primarily perceived as an actively performing musician of younger generation (born in period after the second world war and in the second half of the 20th century), a performer and creator of traditional instrumental and vocal-instrumental music transmitted from generation to generation, who maintains and continues the musical tradition of the native land.

The dissertation does not cover other categories of musicians, namely those who merely perform stylised folk music or who have indirectly taken over the performing tradition, folklore performers or wedding musicians, who bear no relation to the traditional music and perform authored popular music. The scope of the research only partially includes the phenomenon of self-contained Lithuanian folk vocal music creation addressed by the ethnomusicologist Aušra Žičkienė (Žičkienė 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014).

The dissertation investigates the following levels of the concept of traditional musician within contemporary Lithuanian culture:

- 1) methods of learning to play and ways of taking over the music performance tradition;
- 2) characteristic musical instruments;
- 3) forms of musical activities and behaviour;
- 4) repertoire;
- 5) traditional authored creation;
- 6) performance style;
- 7) relationship between musician and community;
- 8) associations with other categories of musicians and stereotypical wedding musicians;
- 9) concept of traditional musician.

From the geographical perspective, the research encompasses the present day territory of Lithuanian Republic as well as ethnic Lithuanian lands in Poland (Sejny and Punszk areas in Suwalki district). From urban point of view, the focus is placed on the traditional music culture of villages, towns and, to an extent, of small cities.

Chronological timeline of the research presented in the dissertation covers the period from the 1990s to the 21st century (the research was conducted until September 2016). Conditionally, this period could also be divided into

the post-Soviet (post-socialist) and post-industrial periods (Vosyliūtė 2003: 41–49). The limits of these periods are not clearly isolated, however, the latter comes to prevail at the beginning of the 21st century. It shall also be noted that the main informants of the dissertation started learning to play or to publicly perform in earlier periods, namely, during the period of Soviet occupation, the period of political revival and the re-established independence (the eldest musician has been active since the late 1950s).

The concept of *contemporary Lithuanian culture* in the dissertation is used interchangeably with a synonymous concept of the *present-day culture*, and ethno-linguistically it encompasses the *culture of Lithuanian nation* of the said period, dwelling within the territory of the Lithuanian Republic (or in ethnic Lithuanian lands) and speaking Lithuanian language. On the one hand, this culture has formed under the influence of *industrialisation* that took place in the 1940s–1990s (machinery, urbanisation) and *sovietisation* (destruction of political-social and economic standing of Lithuanian state, annihilation of culture and traditional spiritual values and forced implementation of communist ideology in the society). On the other hand, it was influenced by the *global culture* that came to prevail since the late 20th century, which is inseparable from modern technologies and variety of mass media with its characteristic dynamic and fragmentary qualities.

Topic relevance and research field

The traditional music performance has undergone diverse transformations and the number of factors affecting it has increased (including mass media, diverse music styles, music education, formal protection, promotion and regulation of traditional music), hence, new research thereof is required, along with review and comparison of academic assessments and attitudes of musicians and community.

The origins of the present research can be traced in the studies of music performances by elder musicians (born in the 19th century up to mid-20th century) and their families (dynasties) within *traditional Lithuanian culture* (Paliulis 1985; Apanavičius 1990; Baika 1994; Vyčinas 1998: 637–657; Kirdienė 2000; Tarnauskaitė-Palubinskienė 2007; Garsonas 2007). The phenomenon of traditional musicians of younger generations, as well as the continuity, changes or transformations of music making tradition in contemporary Lithuanian culture have not been yet thoroughly researched, even though the need for such studies had been identified (Kirdienė 2000: 22).

The dissertation investigates the **problem** of continuity and transformation processes of the phenomenon of traditional musician within contemporary Lithuanian culture.

Firstly, this research field has been investigated in other Eastern and Western European countries; however, even though they possess certain affinity, the music performing processes in each country are unique and have occurred at different times and under diverse historical and socio-cultural circumstances.

Secondly, the Lithuanian scholars still diversely interpret and explain the concepts of *tradition* and *its transformations*. The author of the research relies on the concepts that view the tradition either as a dynamic phenomenon that lives as long as it is repeated and created (Jonutytė 2010) or regard the tradition as being fluid, i.e. continually changing and renewing (Fluid Tradition, see Šmitienė 2011: 42). In her research, she sees the *traditional musician and music performance* as a dynamic, i.e. constantly changing phenomenon related to and reflecting on the culture of a living place, rather than considering it as something normative and nearly extinct.

The third issue is associated with the question related to the roles of the personality and community, their relation and interaction in the tradition of music performance. In the early 1980s Slovakian ethnomusicologist Oskar Elsček debated the prevalent proposition that “the key role in folk music formation was played by the collective”. He indicated that “at least in instrumental folk music we cannot overlook the clearly expressed individuality, despite the fact that it is controlled by the style and perception of the time and the entire cultural environment” (Elsček 1981: 70). Hence, it is very important to investigate the relation between the musician and community, i.e. between the individual and the collective, and the influence thereof upon traditional Lithuanian music making in the present day.

Objective and tasks of the research

In the present dissertation, the author concentrates upon the musical experience of an individual musician within the context of changing musical worldview seeking to disclose the characteristics of the phenomenon of a traditional musician, performer and creator in contemporary Lithuanian culture, the interaction of traditions and innovations and the relationship thereof in individual creative expression and communal perception. The dissertation raises the following tasks:

1. Through comparison of ways and methods of traditional musicians’ (self) education and the taking over of tradition in traditional and contemporary culture, to identify the permanent (traditional) and innovative (contemporary) elements and their relation.

2. To divide investigated contemporary Lithuanian traditional musicians into groups according to the forms of their musical activities and behaviour,

their roles and relations to their musical instrumentarium in diverse contexts and situations.

3. Taking into account personal attitudes and assessments of the traditional musicians, performers and creators, to identify the genre groups of the repertoire, the relation of actual and passive repertoire, also to define the musicians' creative output and disclose the tendencies of changes.

4. Based on musicians' perception, to identify and define main structural and notional elements of performing style of Lithuanian traditional music played by the musicians, along with their stability, transformations and new forms.

5. After comparing the attitudes of the musicians and the community and following the disclosure of relations to and difference from other categories of musicians, to define the relationship between a musician and community in maintaining and continuing the music making traditions and to present a theoretical explanation of a concept of traditional musician in contemporary Lithuanian culture.

Defended statements

Based on field studies performed by the author of the dissertation and other ethnomusicologists, as well as the results of the most recent scientific studies, the author claims that all researched levels of the traditional musician's phenomenon have taken over and maintained significant amount of features characteristic of the old culture (late 19th century – early 20th century and the interwar period). On the other hand, the traditional musician's phenomenon has undergone certain changes while adapting to the circumstances of contemporary culture. The defended statements of the dissertation are as follows:

1. Within the ever-changing flow of contemporary culture, certain characteristics of the category of traditional musician bring it closer to other categories – a folklore ensemble, stylised country-side band and stereotypical wedding musicians, while based on education, skill and music performing experience this category gets closer to semi-professional or professional musicians. However, there are certain characteristics that distinguish a traditional musician from others, and that is what makes it remain an independent category.

2. Musicians' traditional authored creative output closely related to traditional Lithuanian music might be considered an important characteristic of the phenomenon of traditional musician. It is likely that in the future, after passing the assessment filter of the communities, these creative endeavours might become established and be regarded as a traditional music of the period.

3. The phenomena of traditional musician and music making in contemporary culture exist as the musician and community (individual and collective) continually maintain close relation in customs related to human life cycle and communal customs and feasts, seeking to coordinate the attitudes towards

certain traditional aspects of music performance. Therefore, the concept of a traditional musician shall be explained from the perspective of relation between the roles of musician and community in maintaining and continuing the music making traditions.

Resources of the research

The author accessed materials relevant to the dissertation kept in five Lithuanian folklore archives: Archive of Musical Folklore of Ethnomusicology department of the Research Centre at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre (MFA), the archive of Ethnic Music Institute (EIA), the questionnaires and audiovisual collections of the archive of the Lithuanian National Culture Centre (LKA, former Lithuanian Folk Culture Centre), the audio and video record materials of the Lithuanian folklore manuscript archive of the Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Institute (LTFE, LTRV) and the archives of the Utena Local Lore Museum (UKM). These materials evidence that the recent field researches more and more often deal with musicians of younger generation (born after WWII), mostly playing piano accordion or diverse types of other (button) accordions or squeeze-boxes.

Of significance are the materials recorded by the author herself during the period of 2005–2015, when together with other ethnomusicologists she took part in more than 20 field researches in Ignalina, Kupiškis, Panevėžys, Širvintos, Ukmergė, Utena, Telšiai and Varėna regions and in Punsks district (Poland). It shall be noted that during the field researches organised by the author the traditional performances were observed and recorded in a variety of situations: at weddings, parties, community feasts or concerts, diverse competitions, etc. 120 hours of music recordings (audio and video) were made, along with collection of other materials, such as interviews or photographs. The materials of these field researches are kept in three archives (MFA, EIA ir UKM).

Nine musicians of younger generation living in different Lithuanian regions born in a period from 1948 to 1971 were **the principal informants of the dissertation**. They are natives of Dzūkija, Aukštaitija and Žemaitija regions (the same region-based ordering is maintained in the chapters of the dissertation):

1. Juozas Bancevičius, born in 1948, lives in Valinčiai village, Punsks district (Poland). Plays a piano accordion.
2. Kęstutis Kaupinis, born in 1971 in Jakubiškiai village, Merkinė district, Varėna region, lives in Merkinė. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box, piano accordion, violin, saxophone, guitar and synthesiser.
3. Edvardas Ratautas, born in 1951 in Ratautai village, Vepriai rural district, Ukmergė district, lives in Vepriai. Plays accordion and synthesiser.

4. Jurgita Karauskienė-Ratautaitė, born in 1971 in Vepriai village, Ukmergė district, lives in Vepriai. Plays violin.
5. Alvydas Čepauskas, born in 1972 Mundeikiai village, Radviliškis district. Since 2014 lives in Panevėžys. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box, piano accordion and synthesiser.
6. Jonas Goštautas, born in 1952 in Jauniūnai village, Kupiškis district, lives in Šepeta. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box, saxophone and synthesiser.
7. Regina Juodagalvienė-Butėnaitė, born in 1960 in Kalpokai village, Biržai district. Since 2015 lives in Panevėžys. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box, piano accordion and electric organ.
8. Jurgis Bomblauskas, born in 1957 in Telšiai and lives there. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box or bandoneon, drum and mirliton (simultaneously).
9. Arvydas Bomblauskas, born in 1966 in Telšiai and lives there. Plays Russian standardised squeeze-box, piano accordion and guitar.

For the purposes of the research, the author of the dissertation has selected the *ethnofores* (cf. Земцовский 1996: 17) of the present day Lithuanian musical tradition. In West European and American academic literature they are referred to as *key figures*: mature established musicians who have accumulated their melodic and intonation vocabulary and repertoire and have discovered their own style – true successors of ethnicity and typical representatives and keepers of the musical tradition of their land.

The main criteria used to select the informants for the dissertation were based on the following characteristics of the latter: 1) continuation of their family and region performing traditions; 2) prevalent playing by ear; 3) at least partially retained traditional acoustic instrumentarium, repertoire and style; 4) universality of musicians; 5) active and intense performing in recent decades, leading of various ensembles.

In order to find out the attitude of community towards the expression of key traditional musicians, in 2015 the author of the dissertation has presented a separate questionnaire, which was answered by thirteen members of their communities.

Scope and structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of an introduction, review of researches, presentation of research methodology, four chapters presenting the research results, list of literature and resources, conclusions and appendices.

The dissertation and its appendices include 10 tables, 5 schemes, 56 photographs, 30 audio recordings, 28 video recordings and 9 transcriptions.

1. REVIEW OF RESEARCHES

1.1. Research of the phenomenon of traditional musician abroad

Until the 1970s–1980s, a prevalent opinion in **American and European ethnomusicology** stated that “folk music is impersonal and voiceless, lacking distinct characteristics that are disclosed by creative individual personality” (Bohlman 1988: 69).

Personalities of musicians, music making tradition and creative activities, as well as the relation of the musician and community were investigated by Colin Quigley (Quigley 1995). An innovative research method (combining methods of interview and biographical description of musicians with his own experiences associated with learning to perform folk music and dances) was used by Timothy Rice in his analysis of the Bulgarian music performance tradition (Rice 1994, 1995, 1999, 2008, 2010). Personalities of Estonian fiddlers have been discussed by Krista Sildoja and Raivo Sildoja (Sildoja, Sildoja 1997, 1998). At the same time, more studies emerged based on biographical description method and concerned with traditional music making of various nations, including South African (Erlmann 1991), Chinese (Stock 1996 a, b), Sardinian (Lortat-Jacob 1995), Indians of the Amazon (Seeger 2004). Studies of musicians’ personalities have retained their relevance until the present day (Akesson 2015: 13–14; Beyer 2015: 16–17; Johnson 2015: 26–27; Lundberg: 2015: 32; Kvifte 2000; Ó Briain 2015: 40; Ó Meachair 2015: 40–41; Ternhag 2000; Thedens 2015: 48). For several decades, the studies have been expanded to include not only typical, but also extraordinary and highly creative musicians, as well as their relationship with the community (Stock 2001: 5–19). Also, increasingly more attention is paid to the commentaries and attitudes of the musicians themselves (Dahlig 1993: 196–239, cf. Ромодин 2009: 66).

European ethnomusicologists have fairly actively researched the diverse **new forms and expressive trends of traditional music making in contemporary culture**, as well as the folklore movement and the phenomenon of folklorism (Bauman 2001; Bithell and Hill 2014; Hansson 1998; Lundberg 1998; Muktupāvels 2000, 2009, 2011; Munro 1996; Rosenburg 1993, Kapper 2013), the performance of music (Sereno-Janž 2015; Small 1998; Wittzlehen 2010), traditional music and globalisation processes, culture policies and problems associated with identity formation (Czekanowska 2006; Bula 2000; Garner 2015; Goertzen 1997; Lundberg and Ronstrom 2003; Kubik 1991; Maccabee 2015; Mackinnon 1994; O’Brien Bernini 2015; Pettan 1999; Robertson 1991; Seeger 2004; White 2015). Traditional music of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and other countries, along with popular music development in Europe have been researched by Boriss Avramecs and Valdis Muktupāvels (Avramecs,

Muktupāvels 2000). Interactions of music performance and gender have also become a relevant research topic (Tari 1999; Wrazen 2010).

1.2. Research of the phenomenon of traditional musician in Lithuania

Data concerning individual Lithuanian folk musicians have been published **since the beginning of the 20th century**. Perhaps the first to present research data concerning the musicians of his region was the folklore collector and researcher Adolfas Sabaliauskas (Sabaliauskas 1916). In the 1930s, photographs and drawings of musicians were published by the local lore researcher Balys Buračas (Buračas 1936, 1936a, 1946b). Later, the musicians' personalities were studied by Stasys Paliulis (Paliulis 1959).

The research of individual traditional musicians of elder generation and changes in instrumental performance remain relevant in the present-day Lithuanian academic research. **Since the 1980s**, articles and academic studies by folklore collectors and researchers encompass fairly exhaustive **biographical data of folk musicians' personalities** (Apanavičius, Palubinskienė 1990; Olekienė 1988; Paliulis 1985, 1988, cf. 2002; Stravinskas, Striaukas 1988; Urbaitis 1989; Urbienė 1988; Žilinskaitė 1988). Lithuanian ethnomusicologists actively investigate the **personalities, repertoire and performing style of musicians** playing diverse instruments (Augėnaitė 1998; Auškalnis 1990, 1997; Baika 1984, 1989, 1994; Garsonas 2007; Karčemarskas 2006, 2007; Kirdienė 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016; Palubinskienė 1998, 2007, 2010; Vyčinas 1998; Žarskienė 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2015). The researches include not only typical, but also extraordinary and highly creative musicians, along with studies of their role in music performance tradition (Gedutytė-Lukenskienė 2006, 2015; Žičkienė 2015a). Also, the **image, role and place of a musician within the traditional Lithuanian culture** are addressed (Apanavičius 1991, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2008, 2009; Baika 1984, 1994; Kirdienė 2000; Motuzas 1992; Žarskienė 2005b).

Many musicologists and ethnologists have drawn attention to the **changes of instrumental performance traditions that occurred from the middle to the second half of the 20th century** (Augėnaitė 1998; Auškalnis 1990, 1997; Baika 1984; Kirdienė 2000, 2003; Vilyš 1996; Žarskienė 2007b, 2010; Žičkienė 2015). Changes of traditional instrumental performance that occurred **at the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century** have been addressed only fragmentary, indicating the continuance of processes that have commenced earlier (Kirdienė 2009). It was also noted that the folklore movement of the 1980s has revived the traditions of playing earlier types of music instruments (older types of squeeze-boxes and bandoneons, concertinas) (Augėnaitė 1998; Žarskienė 2007b).

2. METHODOLOGY USED IN THE DISSERTATION

2.1. Methods employed in the dissertation

The research is essentially synchronous, yet the present day phenomenon of Lithuanian traditional musician is disclosed by comparing it to the traditional performing of musicians of significantly older generations, namely those born at: 1) the end of 19th century; 2) beginning of the 20th century, and 3) during the interwar period.

The following **principal methods** are used in the dissertation: qualitative research (research “from inside”), documenting of musical activities, biographical, music analysis and typological comparison methods, as well as theories of phenomenology, performance and the musical behaviour ethnography.

During the field researches and in other circumstances the author employed the method of **in-depth and semi-structured multiple interviews** to question the folk musicians (born from 1948 to 1980), along with their listeners, members of the community. Based on the method of **musical activity documentation**, or visual ethnography – music performances in diverse contexts were filmed or recorded and photographed. Through the application of **biographical method**, musical biographies of key informants were investigated, along with their extensive and sequential narratives, referred to as hypertexts. The repertoire of the key informants and their performing style were analysed using **methods of musical analysis and typological comparison**. It is an innovation in Lithuanian ethnomusicology that the new genres of traditional music and performing styles are analysed based on musician's own perception and assessments.

Phenomenology and performance theories were used to analyse the personal experiences and creativity of musicians (Callahan, Stack 2007; Hughes-Freeland 2007; cf. Šmitienė 2009, 2010). Based on **theories of ethnography of musical behaviour** and by relating the attitudes of musicians and communities, the activities of traditional musicians were investigated, along with their social connections, images of social and cultural values, perception and role of musicians in contemporary Lithuanian culture. From methodological perspective, of significance to the present dissertation is an academic study by ethnomusicologist Aleksandr Romodin about the older generation folk musicians of Vitebsk region (North-eastern Belarus) titled *Creating Man: A Musician in Traditional Culture* (Ромодин 2009). The method of psychological reconstruction is of special importance to the dissertation; this method was applied by Romodin to disclose the psychological aspects of instrumental music and performance, while analysing the musicians' attitudes and perceptions (Ромодин 2009: 7).

2.2. Key concepts used in the dissertation

The dissertation uses concepts presently recognised by scholars and traditional musicians: *tradition, change of tradition and contemporary culture; traditional (folk, village) musician and music making, folklore musician and music making, contemporary Lithuanian traditional musician and musical behaviour, cf. traditional musician in contemporary culture; traditional (village) and ensemble folklore (or band), traditional Lithuanian instrumental music*. Some of these concepts were reviewed and reinterpreted.

The dissertation uses the key concepts synonymously – *traditional musician in contemporary Lithuanian culture or contemporary Lithuanian traditional musician*. These concepts are employed to describe the present-day traditional musician of younger generation, presently living and continuing his/her regional and family music making traditions, possessing sufficient traditional instrumentarium and instrumental or vocal-instrumental repertoire of dances, marches, songs and hymns. However, contrary to musicians born before the beginning of the 20th century, a contemporary musician often has primary or even higher musical education, can play from the score and write down the music he/she performs, hears or creates. He might live and perform music not only in village or town, but also in a larger city; he has matured in this environment affected by contemporary culture. Another characteristic trait of a contemporary traditional musician includes active music performances (often for money) at human life cycle, calendar and community feasts and traditions or other events, at least partially maintaining the traditions. He/she also often takes part in stage or education events.

2.3. Categories and stereotypes of traditional musicians

Ethnoinstrumentologists as well as the communities of Lithuanian villages have divided traditional musicians into **categories**. Interwar period studies by Lithuanian researchers already demonstrate a trend to divide the folk musicians into two, often opposing categories, namely into *ordinary* and *famous*, while by the end of the 20th century the musicians were categorised as *common* and *proficient* (Auškalnis 1990, 1997) or as *amateurs* and *professionals* (Žarskienė 2005a: 117, cf. 2009: 165). Ethnomusicologists have noticed that men were more likely to be regarded as “professional” musicians, even though some instruments, as, for example, *kanklės* (Baltic psaltery) were mostly played by women (Auškalnis 1990: 82; Vilys 1996: 36; Palubinskienė 1998: 35).

Stereotypical naming of musicians. Ethnoinstrumentologists have noticed that in studies by Lithuanian ethnologists conducted in the second half of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century, a stereotypical established concept of *wedding musicians* was used, without distinguishing the latter from traditional musicians who also used to play at weddings (Kirdienė 2000: 174).

According to the author of the dissertation, the stereotype of a wedding musician is deeply rooted in Lithuanian consciousness and affects the often negative attitude of contemporary society towards the present day traditional musician and his music performance. Therefore, it is important to reconceptualise the said categories.

3. (SELF) EDUCATION OF A TRADITIONAL LITHUANIAN MUSICIAN

3.1. The role of personal inner motivation and musical ideal

Lithuanian traditional musicians of elder and younger generations were nearly unanimous in distinguishing the key characteristics that a person willing to become a musician should possess: musical abilities, exceptional musical ear, desire to play music or inner motivation, continuous and consistent improvement of musical skills. It was noted that these attitudes retain their relevance today and the entire Lithuanian traditional music education for children relies on them. In traditional culture, the musical ideal for many beginners often was a family member playing at home, a relative or a musician living in a neighbourhood.

3.2. (Self) education models of musician in traditional Lithuanian culture

The beginning of instrumental performing was often related to **shepherding and making of musical instruments** (Bielinis 1978: 92; Buračas 1939: 136–137, 1993: 491, 497; Kirdienė 2000: 36, Šimonytė-Žarskienė 2003: 119; Vitkauskas 1940: 150; Vyčinas 2002: 289; Vyžintas 2003: 10–11 and others). The musicians having completed the “Shepherd’s school” learned to play on their own, replicating melodies of songs, hymns, dances or games that were always around. Such a way of learning allowed the children to develop a **close bond with nature they observed on a daily basis**.

Music making traditions have since long ago been transmitted and maintained within the circle of **family and relatives**. In traditional Lithuanian culture, first music teachers were usually **men**, not women – this task was often assumed by grandfather, father, elder brother or uncle (Karčemarskas 2007: 154; Kirdienė 2005b: 17; Paliulis 1985d: 109; Urbienė 1988: 456). The age of those entering the world of traditional music varied from three to twenty years. Children from families of musicians (or having close relatives involved with music) were the first to start learning. In traditional culture, **women** used to teach children music at the earliest stage of childhood, while later they would encourage and support the child’s learning to play. The majority of musicians were **men**. Number of women musicians increased in the middle and

second half of the 20th century (Auškalnis 1990: 82; Kirdienė 2005b: 20, 2013; Palubinskienė 1998: 35; Žarskienė 2007b: 180, a.o.).

Similar traditions existed in other European countries (Czekanowska 2006: 109; Gjertsen 1996: 33; Ромодин 2009: 44; Tari 1999: 127). Based on fiddle learning model of Southern Sweden presented by Magnus Gustafsson (Gustafsson 1996: 37–45), the author of the dissertation has identified the ten-stage **model** of the learning process of a traditional Lithuanian musician within the circle of his/her family and relatives: 1) father forbids the child to even touch the music instrument; 2) a child builds an instrument himself/herself (or a simple instrument is bought); 3) a child (especially – the youngest one) secretly learns to play father's music instrument; 4) the first performance includes a piece heard most often (song, hymn, play or dance); 5) melody of the piece is first sung (crooned) and then played; 6) father assesses the musical abilities of the child and buys a better instrument; 7) the first public appearance in a family ensemble together with father; 8) child performs solo or in a newly established village ensemble; 9) child teaches father new dance melodies that are popular in a village; 10) son and father separately give public performances in the village as equal musicians.

3.3. (Self) education of the traditional musician in contemporary culture

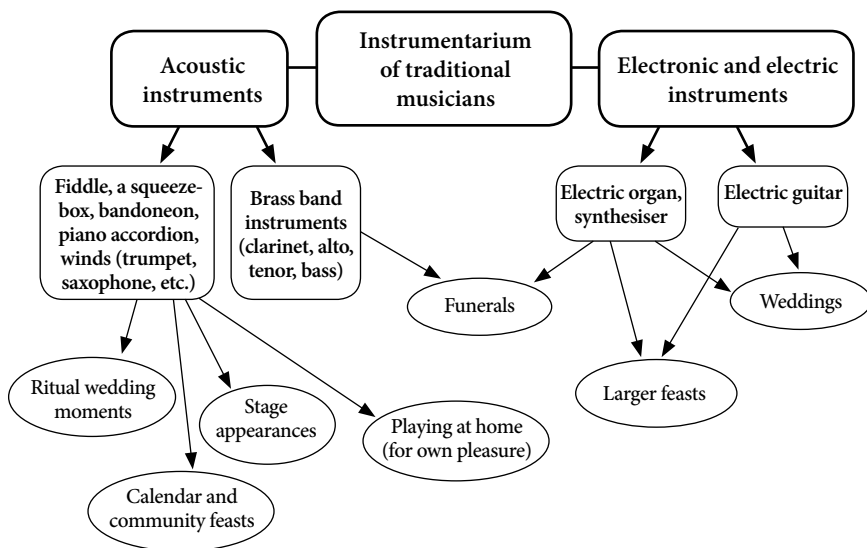
(Self) education of traditional musicians from the middle to the end of the 20th century demonstrates the influence of popular music culture, mass media and technologies, yet it also retains a number of connections to the old model of (self) taught traditional music making within family and circles of relatives. Majority of musicians subject to the present research started playing in early childhood, following the example of their closest family members or relatives. The model of learning while playing with musicians of elder generation, with whom the younger musicians maintained a close relationship, still exists today. This characteristic distinguishes the traditional musicians from musicians of other amateur categories that mostly rely on playing by ear. The process of learning not only assists in taking over the heard pieces or parts thereof, but also the manner of performance and even musical behaviour.

Certain new trends of changes in musical (self) education have been determined. In contemporary culture, there is an increasing number of actively playing girls coming from musical families or having music-related relatives. Modern learning process might be characterised by learning from the score and striving for professionalism (in a classical sense) – many of the researched musicians have studied at music schools or even have obtained a higher music education.

4. ACTIVITIES OF TRADITIONAL MUSICIANS IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

4.1. Relations of musical instrumentarium and performing activities

According to archive data and academic studies, in recent decades the traditional musicians in Lithuania mostly play bellows-driven and keyboard instruments (Žarskienė 2005a), while fiddle is less frequently used (Kirdienė 2009: 24–26). The musicians’ inclination towards novelties in their instrumentarium has already been noted in the biographical descriptions of musicians born in Aukštaitija region in the 19th century. The said descriptions revealed that within the traditional culture the communities preferred a musician capable of following the latest musical trends and able to learn playing a more modern instrument (Žarskienė 2011: 204; Žarskienė 2007b: 186–187). Ethnomusicologists have discovered that around the 1950s–1970s the traditional acoustic instruments commonly played at weddings in diverse Lithuanian regions were replaced by electronic synthesisers, along with repertoire shift towards popular songs or hits. The research revealed that in recent decades traditional musicians tended to choose their instruments based on their function and specifics in contemporary Lithuanian culture, which they were perfectly aware of, and also in accordance with the peculiarities of certain venue and musical genres (see Scheme 1):



Scheme 1. Relations of instrumentarium and diverse performing activities

The fact that contemporary culture still values live performances featuring acoustic instruments and/or ensemble music (even when proportions are a bit too massive, i.e. when there are many members in the country-side band) indicates the continuation of a tradition. At community gatherings, certain ritual moments at weddings or during stage appearances with folklore ensembles, bands or while playing at home for own pleasure the musicians prefer playing older acoustic instruments: fiddle, bandoneon or a squeeze-box. Newer acoustic instruments (piano accordion, guitar or saxophone) are chosen when performing in a stylised country-side band (similar to a typical one, which was formed in Lithuania in 1960). Among acoustic instruments, piano accordions are favoured due to their higher volume level and homophonic playing capabilities. Newer acoustic instruments are also common in popular music ensembles. Also, obvious relations between the instrumentarium and the repertoire were disclosed, drawing fairly distinct borders of the function of traditional and popular music in the wedding customs. Acoustic instruments (such as squeeze-box, piano accordion) are used by musicians to perform folk dances, marches and feasting songs at diverse wedding customs and rituals, while popular songs and hits are only performed with a synthesiser during dance events.

On the other hand, certain mixing of relations of the instrumentarium and the venues was also noted. Traditional musicians seek to satisfy the present day sound, volume, build-up and other musical needs and expectations of the listeners and to manage the often fairly large and diverse audience. Most significant transformations occurred in music performed at weddings and larger feasts, where neither fiddle, squeeze-box or piano accordion, nor more modern instruments, such as electric guitar, is being played. Increasingly, a synthesiser becomes the principal instrument. Nevertheless, the traditional musicians prefer live performances without the use of phonograms, thus maintaining the primordial function of a musician.

4.2. Division of musicians based on forms of musical activities and behaviour

Following an analysis of musical activity forms preferred by researched traditional musicians of younger generation and regarding intensity and diversity of their activities, as well as their musical behaviour and personal attitudes, they were divided into two groups: 1) musicians conducting many diverse activities, taking part in human life cycle and community feasts and rituals, and 2) musicians performing at dance evenings and involved in concert activities.

Performances at human life cycle customs and rituals as well as community calendar feasts account for an important part in the activities of traditional contemporary Lithuanian musicians. Although the intensity and diversity of activities of the musicians of this group varies, they all perform at weddings and, occasionally, at christening ceremonies. Some musicians continue performing

(playing or singing) at funeral services. They are experts of the customs and rituals associated with human life cycles of their regions and put great effort to maintain them. It was identified that one of the determining factors of important transformations was related to the change of the feast venue. After the weddings and other feasts have moved from home or village community environment to rented premises in towns or cities, the duration of feast and music performance was reduced and the dissociation from local music making customs has increased, along with traditional musicians' competition with stereotypical wedding musicians or other hired city performers.

Today, the traditional musicians either solo or within diverse ensembles and bands more and more often perform merely at **dance evenings and diverse concert stage events** in their region, as well as diverse national and international events. Similarly to the first group, the musicians of this, smaller, group might also be regarded active keepers of the tradition. They are very important in maintaining the balance of tradition and innovations accepted by the community.

5. REPERTOIRE AND PERFORMANCE STYLE

5.1. Repertoire characteristics

While analysing and dividing the instrumental and vocal-instrumental repertoire of principal informants the author took into account the origin, authorship, music style, manner of performance and regional spread of the musical pieces and other circumstances, as well as the assessments presented by musicians and their community. Based on genres, the analysed repertoire was divided into five main groups (dances: various traditional dances, counter-dances or quadrilles, polkas, waltzes, foxtrots, tangos; games, roundels; marches and songs, hymns). The songs were divided into the following groups: wedding, feasting or drinking, popular folk songs from stylised country-side bands' repertoire, authored patriotic songs, popular authored songs, literary war-historic songs, romances and hits. Musicians themselves have clearly distinguished popular folk music (e.g. *drinking songs*), traditional songs (*folklore classics*) and hits (*popular present day music*). They have also specified new composite forms – potpourri and rondo.

The author has formulated and used in this chapter the concepts of actual and passive repertoire. *Actual repertoire* is the repertoire of utmost significance to the musician during the recording, which is most often performed and consciously chosen by the musician. *Passive repertoire* includes works that the musician learned in his/her childhood years, which are rarely performed now (cf. Quigley).

We might claim that the repertoire of the researched contemporary traditional Lithuanian musicians is significantly wider and more diverse than the repertoire of the best traditional musicians of elder generation (the present day repertoire often exceeds one hundred pieces). Many still know traditional pieces of diverse genres (polkas, waltzes, foxtrots, tangos and other traditional dances, marches, songs and hymns), characteristic to the regions they live in, which they have learned from their family, relatives and other elder musicians. On the other hand, they are continually renewing their repertoire.

The old traditional part of the instrumental repertoire the musicians used to play in their childhood or teenage years often loses its relevance today. Responding to realities of the present day, the musicians perform romances, popular feasting songs, popular pieces of stylised country-side bands, various hits and light classical (salon) music pieces. On the other hand, nowadays elder generation of the researched musicians still like performing traditional pieces of varied genres characteristic of their native region: waltzes, polkas and, to the extent – foxtrots and marches, are still often performed at weddings and their rituals.

5.2. Authored works by traditional musicians and individual creativity

Traditional musician of the present day is a creative personality in continuous quest, frequently presenting improvisations and original interpretations of well-known pieces, creating individual parts for such pieces or even new individual compositions. The creativity leaning towards tradition makes the present day traditional musicians similar to their predecessors. On the other hand, their perception of own creativity is different from the predecessors. Earlier traditional musicians did not appropriate the works they performed, whereas the musicians of today are very conscious about their creation and creativity, noting their need to express their individuality and authorship.

The research has disclosed a living, individual trend of musicians' creative activities closely related to or directly continuing and developing traditional principles and musical motifs, intonations, which were named in this dissertation the *traditional authored creation*. We could not attribute the pieces created by traditional musician solely to the phenomenon of self-contained creation, to popular or even global culture. Close relations with the local or regional music making manifest continuity of the traditions, though the formation of the contemporary traditional music occurs in interaction with popular, stylised music, folklore and other performing styles, where the traditional music to an extent takes over the characteristics and forms of said styles.

5.3. Individual performance style

Using the typological comparison method and taking into account the perception and assessments of musicians themselves, we have disclosed key charac-

teristics of their performance style. It turned out that the musicians are fully conscious about and can describe the characteristics of either their own style or the style of other musicians and have an original terminology to define it.

Certain stylistic characteristics could be associated with personal qualities of musicians, while other are mostly related to old local or regional traditions or innovation trends. Comparison of music performances of different generations revealed that all musicians have retained the sound images of solo and ensemble music typical to their native land, along with the dividing into the parts. This is especially evident among elderly musicians, who have maintained the tempos and rhythm of traditional dances and energetic articulation. They, just like some younger musicians, have also maintained the abundance and variety of melodic embellishments.

Nevertheless, the research has also disclosed a number of innovations. It revealed that researched musicians seek for creative impulses not only in the old traditional music, but also quite often revert to the stylised or popular music and hits. There is a strong prevalent trend to combine the traditional pieces and hits into larger forms (potpourri or rondo) or sets that might last around an hour. Such long-lasting forms assist the musicians in encouraging the listeners to dance. Musicians of younger generation from all researched regions perform traditional dance music in much faster tempo than their predecessors.

The research also identified quite a few rhythmic innovations. In recent decades fairly new syncopation came to prevail, resembling foxtrots on the one hand and popular music or jazz music on the other hand. The syncopated *žirgeliai* (*steeds'* rhythm created by J. Bancevičius has revealed how the traditional musicians take over the new musical elements, adapting them to their own needs and adding new meanings. Also, the tendency to fill in the longer sung pitches with shorter rhythmical values in the played accompaniment is more pronounced as compared to the first half of the 20th century. Changes were revealed in the melodic-intonation structure of traditional music: melodies and intonations learned from elder generation musicians are often replaced by the taken over from stylised country-side bands ones.

Changes in articulation were also noted. Some squeeze-box and piano accordion players from Dzūkija and Aukštaitija regions have started using the dynamic means, taken from academic performance.

The musicians' performance style often displays strong influence of folklore playing, along with stylised country-side bands music, combined with innovative stage playing with increasing use of show elements determined by mass culture. A trend of polystylism was noted as well, some musicians (for example, K. Kaupinis) are able to play in several different styles, which is associated with the use of diverse music instruments (fiddle, piano accordion or synthesiser).

6. PERCEPTION OF TRADITIONAL MUSICIAN IN CONTEMPORARY LITHUANIAN CULTURE

6.1. Characteristics of contemporary traditional musicians

The musicians and community distinguish similar characteristics of a professional (or best, key) contemporary traditional musician, yet their priorities often do not coincide. It shall also be noted that the majority of characteristics are the same or very similar to the ones that were of significance to traditional culture until the middle of the 20th century. Maintaining of certain constant elements demonstrates the transmitting and continuation of traditional music making. On the other hand, the research disclosed a number of new characteristics of traditional musician that have gained significance in contemporary Lithuanian culture.

Traditional musicians of the present day (as well as those of the preceding period up to the middle of the 20th century) consider the musical abilities and playing skills to be of utmost significance. These include: 1) ability to play by ear, 2) quick musical orientation, 3) performance skills and even virtuosity, 4) ability to play acoustic instruments, live performance, 5) possession of own playing style, 6) ability to properly play dance music, and 7) ability to properly lead or accompany in an ensemble.

According to the members of the community, a good contemporary traditional musician has to be **universal**, which poses a significant challenge to the performer. Only a musician of extraordinary abilities, familiar with traditional and contemporary (most often – popular music) repertoire, able to write music, possessing a good voice, able to sing and take the lead is recognised and valued by the community and might even be recommended to other regions. The following characteristics are regarded as indicators of universality: 1) knowledge and performance of repertoire of one's native and other regions, 2) wide repertoire of musical pieces of diverse styles, 3) ability to create and perform own pieces, and 4) good ability not only to play, but also to sing and to lead songs of diverse genres.

The musicians and members of their communities have agreed that a good contemporary traditional musician has to possess certain **communication and managerial skills**, which include the following: 1) knowledge of local customs, managerial and organisational skills, 2) respect and adherence to the listeners' aesthetic, cultural and musical needs, 3) devotion to intensive music making, musical activity, and 4) the will to resist habits harmful to one's health.

Having analysed the assessments of both sides, we might draw a conclusion that the musical abilities and skills are of lesser significance to the community than to the musicians themselves. The community mostly values the universality of traditional musician, along with his/her communication and managerial skills. The research also revealed that the roles of the traditional musician and

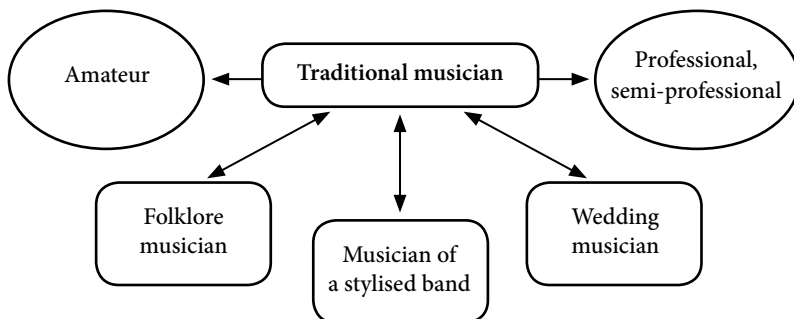
the community, as well as their relationship in music making process have significantly shifted in contemporary culture. While in the old traditional culture a musician was one of the main promoters of innovations that were further regulated by the community, in contemporary culture it is the local community (as well as society at large) that pays most attention to innovations, whereas the traditional musician seeks to combine the modern needs of the community with the tradition, bringing the two closer together.

On the other hand, both the musicians and the community still find the musician's relation to local traditions to be of significance, including the in-born (indigenous) sense of the native region's music and appreciation thereof (from the choice of instruments, live performing approach and knowledge of the traditional repertoire of one's native region to the excellent knowledge of customs and rituals, which is of special significance when leading diverse events, weddings, etc.).

The research revealed that traditional musicians have a natural bond to their living environment and its customs, yet at the same time they express their need to create, promote culture and adapt to changing situations as manifestations of contemporary culture, bringing them closer to the tradition. Such adaptability of musicians might also be assessed from the perspective of *music culture ecology*, which is explained by the musicologist Leonidas Melnikas as a strive immanently required by all of us in order to perfect our relation to the environment and to maintain the balance of diverse elements within it (Melnikas 2000: 10).

6.2. Connections of traditional musician with musicians of other categories

This sub-chapter defines and highlights the connections of contemporary traditional musician with the musicians of other categories (see Scheme 2):



Scheme 2. Connections of traditional musicians with musicians of other categories

A number of features (skilful performance, possession of own style, wide repertoire, significant performing experience, multi-instrumentalism, devotion to listeners and fulfilment of their musical expectations, understanding of creative process and inclination to create, diligent preparation to participate in diverse customs and rituals, preparation of music instrument, repertoire and event scenario) indicate that the contemporary Lithuanian traditional musicians might be regarded as real *professionals* (cf. Salmen 1983: 81; Kirdienė 2000: 99; Мациевский 2007: 96). Music education background and ability to play light classical (salon) music brings the traditional musicians closer to professionals in an academic sense. The present day traditional musician of young generation definitely cannot be referred to as an *amateur* (who, in the usual understanding, plays for his/her own pleasure at home environment, rarely appearing in public).

Such musician also differs from the stereotypical *wedding musician*, who does not know the local wedding customs and repertoire, does not respect the customs and musical needs of the participants of the wedding and rather than playing live, often performs phonogram-based programme, mostly consisting of popular music. The contemporary traditional musician also differs from a *stylised country-side band musician*, who performs folk music arranged by professional composers or authored compositions based on folk music. Another factor making the traditional musician of younger generation different from the latter musicians' categories is the local repertoire transmitted through generations and the sense of traditional performing style. The traditional musician of the present day also differs from the folklore musician, whose musical behaviour, instrumental choice, repertoire and performance style are regulated and formed by culture institutions and stereotypes established in the folklore movement. As we can see, the natural characteristics of the traditional musician and his/her performance, i.e. the traditional repertoire of one's native region and sense of performance style transmitted through generations, along with knowledge, appreciation and promotion of traditional customs and rituals, provide for clear distinction of contemporary traditional musician from all other discussed categories of musicians. These features associate the traditional musicians and their music performance with the characteristics of indigenous culture, as defined by Daiva Vaitkevičienė (Vaitkevičienė 2012: 1–6).

CONCLUSIONS

The research results have revealed that the multifaceted role of traditional musician is relevant and of significance to the contemporary (last decades of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century) Lithuanian culture of villages, towns or small cities. All examined levels of the phenomenon of contemporary traditional musician have retained quite a number of features characteristic of traditional music making dating back to end of the 19th century – middle of the 20th century or even earlier times. However, a number of obvious change trends have been identified as well:

1. Majority of researched contemporary traditional Lithuanian musicians (born from 1948 to 1972) have learned to play based on the traditional education model – they have empirically taken over the music making tradition, playing by ear along other, usually elder musicians. Nowadays, the construction of musical instruments and learning to play them mostly relies on the knowledge of natural sciences and technologies, rather than the sense of surrounding nature. Their institutional education and knowledge of musical notation system has intensified. Increasing number of girls and women become traditional musicians.

2. Forms of musical activity and behaviour best disclose the status of traditional musicians and their role in the culture of native region. Traditional musicians fully comprehend the character and peculiarities of their activity, therefore they often choose the musical instruments (and the repertoire) based on the special character of certain environment and musical genres. Their choices and approaches demonstrate that they consciously seek to maintain the live music performance and an image of live-playing musician constituting the humanist approach, thus withstanding the electronic performing that is coming to prevalence. The community clearly prefers and values the musicians of multifaceted communal and ritual activities, those who actively perform at feasts and rituals related to human life cycle. Also, the musicians who prefer giving concerts and appearing at dance evenings should not be seen as merely passive keepers of musical tradition, but also as their creators.

3. The major part of researched traditional musicians has accumulated a wide repertoire of many styles and genres, which they continually update. They make clear distinction between the traditional, popular folk pieces and hits. The latter, in reaction to the needs of the community, are becoming increasingly relevant in the repertoires of musicians performing at larger feasts and weddings. The individual character in traditional music making is strengthened; the musicians no longer perceive their music and creativity as something given by God, nature or culture, but rather see it as personal talent and abilities.

4. Traditional images of solo and ensemble instrumental music sounding, dividing into the voices, abundant and diverse melodic embellishments characteristic of different Lithuanian regions have been retained until the present day. Important innovations were revealed in the areas of traditional music tempo, rhythm and form: there is a strong tendency to perform the pieces in fast tempo with syncopated rhythms, resembling popular and jazz music and granting the music the meaning that is of significance to the musician. Traditional (and sometimes popular music) pieces are merged into large scale forms, such as potpourri or, less frequently, rondo. Other prevalent trends include the semblance of traditional and popular music repertoire and styles and polystylism.

5. There is a strong tendency of convergence between traditional and folklore ensemble or stylised country-side band musicians, or even stereotypical wedding musicians. However, the key factors making a contemporary traditional Lithuanian musician different from other categories of musicians lie in his/her indigenous traditional repertoire transmitted through generations, the sense of performing style, knowledge, appreciation and promotion of traditional customs and rituals.

6. In summary – traditional musician in contemporary Lithuanian culture might be described as a musician living in the present times, an active performer, bearing inborn bonds with the musical traditions of native land, family or relatives, however expressing a clear desire to create and promote culture. His/her musical activities, behaviour, repertoire, ways and style of music performance depend on family and community institutions and contemporary performing contexts and situations. However, such musician expresses constant need to step beyond the borders of learned behaviour, thus consciously contributing innovations to the tradition. In contrast to earlier times, local community increasingly values the traditional musician's universality and his/her communication and managerial skills, while the traditional musician associates the modern needs of society with the tradition, bringing the two closer together. As the relation of the roles of musician and community has changed, the musician's efforts to combine tradition and innovations become an important condition of maintaining the music making traditions of one's native land alive.

When assessing the survival prospects of traditional music making from historical, cultural and even philosophical perspective, one might state that the majority of innovations occurring today are significant, but have not yet become the substance of traditional music making. One may only guess whether they will become essential, penetrating the worldview and self-consciousness of an individual musician and how long it will take.

**MOKSLINĖS PUBLIKACIJOS DISERTACIJOS TEMA /
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OF THE DISSERTATION**

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TRADICINIS MUZIKANTAS ŠIUOLAIKINĖJE LIETUVIŲ KULTŪROJE
TRADITIONAL MUSICIAN IN CONTEMPORARY LITHUANIAN CULTURE

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