

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

Alma Ragauskaitė

**LIETUVOS ETNOKULTŪRINIS
REGIONAVIMAS**

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Disertacija rengta 2011–2015 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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ĮVADAS

Temos aktualumas ir problematika

Etnokultūrinio regionavimo metodinė analizė ir pagrindimas, bandymas išsiaiškinti Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų sandarą formuoja sudėtingą ir dar menkai ištirtą mokslinę problemą. Susidomėjimas Lietuvos etnokultūriniais regionais itin išaugo, kai 2001 m. pradėta svarstyti etnografinių regionų pagrindu paremtą Apskričių valdymo reformos koncepciją. Suvokta, kad reikalingas tarpdalykinis požiūris į Lietuvos regioninę sandarą, o etnografinis jos pagrindimas gali peržengti mokslinės, kultūrinės veiklos ribas ir tapti dabartinės administracinės struktūros pagrindu. Remiantis skirtingų etnografinių tyrimų duomenimis, buvo sudarytas Lietuvos etnografinių regionų žemėlapis (Pivoriūnas, Šaknys 2003). Kylantys ginčai ir diskusijos dėl regionų ribų rodo, kad iki šiol nėra bendros etnokultūrinių regionų skyrimo metodikos, nors tema labai aktuali ir susijusi su keletu svarbių problemų.

Pirmoji problema kyla dėl etnokultūrinio regionavimo istorinės aprėpties. Etnokultūrinis regionavimas paprastai siejamas su etnografinė lietuvių kultūra. Nors tai yra pats artimiausias etnokultūros istorijos sluoksniu, vis dėlto jis – tik nedidelė etnokultūros bruožų sistemos dalis. Archeologiniai, istoriniai tyrimai mums leidžia atskleisti ankstyvąją, pirminę, natūralią etnokultūrinę sandarą, be šių žinių sunkiai galimas ir dabartinės etnokultūrinių regionų sandaros ir ją keitusių kultūrinių procesų suvokimas.

Antroji problema kyla dėl etnokultūrinio regiono sampratos. Išskiriant regionus daugiausia dėmesio kreipiama į regionų ribas, tačiau kiekvienas regionas turi savo vidinę struktūrą ir sudedamąsias dalis. Be to, regionai gali būti jungiami į didesnės apimties, bet etnokultūrinį bendrumą turinčias etnokultūrinės sritis.

Trečioji problema yra metodologinė. Atlikti Lietuvos etnokultūrinį regionavimą metodologiniu požiūriu nėra lengva, nes etnokultūrinių bruožų paplitimas skirtingais laikotarpiais keičiasi, o regionų skyrimo kriterijus yra visas etnokultūrinių bruožų kompleksas. Etnokultūrinio regionavimo metodologiniai principai dar nėra aiškūs, todėl tenka remtis tarpdalykine regioninės geografijos, kultūros geografijos, politinės geografijos, kraštovaizdžio geografijos regionavimo metodologinių tyrimų patirtimi, etnologijos srityje sukauptais regionų tyrimais ir kultūros geografijoje taikomais kultūrinių regionų nagrinėjimo principais.

Lietuvos regioninės etnokultūros tyrimai yra svarbūs savo šalies istorijos ir kultūros pažinimui. Lietuvos etnokultūrinės sandaros supratimas suteikia galimybę puoselėti etnokultūrą kasdieniniame gyvenime, yra reikšmingas gyventojų savivertės kėlimui ir regioninės savimonės išsaugojimui. Istoriskai ir etnokultūriškai pagrįstas regionavimas yra vertingas formuojant šalies

administracinį tinklą, nes leidžia išsaugoti ir palaikyti etnokultūrinę sandarą, perduoti ją ateinančioms kartoms. Moksliniu požiūriu šiame darbe taikomi Lietuvos etnokultūrinio regionavimo metodiniai principai gali būti naudingi atliekant tolesnius etno- ar sociokultūrinių reiškinių regionavimo darbus arba juos plėtojant ateityje.

Tyrimo objektas

Šio tyrimo objektas plačiąja prasme yra Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinė sandara, siaurąja prasme tai – Lietuvos etnokultūriniai regionai. Būtent skirtingų tipų etnokultūrinių regionų ir etnokultūrinių bruožų paplitimo teritorinis palyginimas, taikant teorinius regionavimo principus, leidžia daryti platesnius apibendrinimus bei formuoti visos Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinės sandaros modelį.

Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai

Šiame darbe siekiama atlikti Lietuvos etnokultūrinį regionavimą. Tikslui pasiekti išskirti šeši uždaviniai:

1. Susisteminti etnokultūrinių regionų archeologinius, istorinius, dialektologijos, etnomuzikologijos, tradicinės kaimo architektūros tyrimų duomenis;
2. Nustatyti metodologinius etnokultūrinio regionavimo principus;
3. Atlikti funkcinių teritorinių vienetų raidos analizę;
4. Palyginti regioninių etnokultūrinių (dialekto, tradicinės kaimo architektūros, etnomuzikologijos) bruožų paplitimą su Lietuvos etnografinių regionų ribomis;
5. Nustatyti dabartinės etnokultūrinės savimonės regionus;
6. Išskirti etnokultūrinių regionų sandaros vertikalią ir horizontalią struktūras.

Darbo naujumas ir reikšmė

1. Darbe išsakyta kompleksinė etnokultūrinio regiono koncepcija leidžia atskleisti etnokultūrinių regionų formavimosi istorinį bei kultūrinį kontekstą.
2. Taikoma teritorinė lyginamoji analizė leido etnokultūriniams bruožams bei reiškiniams suteikti teritorinę išraišką, atskleisti etnokultūrinių bruožų paplitimą bei jo intensyvumą. Atliekant teritorinę etnokultūrinių bruožų sisteminę analizę, buvo išskirti ir aprašyti etnokultūriniai regionai ir nustatyta bendra Lietuvos etnokultūros teritorinė sandara.
3. Tiriant etnokultūrinės savimonės regionus pritaikytas Lietuvoje dar mažai naudojamas juridinių asmenų pavadinimų paplitimo tyrimo metodas, reikšmingas dėl duomenų tolygumo, didelio duomenų kiekio visos Lietuvos teritorijoje.
4. Išskirti etnokultūrinio regionavimo metodologiniai principai ir kriterijai, kurie gali būti taikomi skirtingų etnokultūrinių reiškinių regionavimui Lietuvoje bei kitose šalyse.

5. Darbe pritaikyta programinė įranga GIS leido sudaryti etnokultūrinių tyrimų duomenų bazę, kuri gali būti naudojama ir / arba pildoma tęsiant Lietuvos etnokultūrinės sandaros tyrimus ateityje.

Ginami teiginiai

1. Lietuvoje galima išskirti vakarinę ir rytinę etnokultūrinės sritis bei jas sudarančius regionus. Tai leidžia į Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų sandarą žiūrėti kaip į daugiapakopę etnokultūrinių darinių visumą, nustatyti šių regionų vidinę struktūrą.
2. Pagrindinis savarankiško etnokultūrinio regiono išskyrimo kriterijus yra etnokultūrinis branduolys, atskleidžiantis regiono savitumą, o jam artimų bruožų paplitimas teritorijoje – etnokultūrinio regiono ribas. Etnokultūrinis branduolys gali būti identifikuojamas per istorinius arba pastovius teritorinės organizacijos branduolius, skirtingais istoriniais laikotarpiais išryškėjančius jų gyventojų etnokultūriniu bendrumu ir intensyvia gyventojų regionine savimone.
3. Kiekvienas etnokultūrinis regionas turi istoriškai susiklosčiusią hierarchinę centrų sistemą, kurią sudaro funkciniai, istoriniai, kultūriniai ar kiti skirtingais laikotarpiais teritorinę organizaciją formavę centrai. Funkcinių centrų istorinis perimamumas pagrindžia regione susiformavusį, savita raida pasižymintį teritorinės organizacijos branduolį.
4. Etnokultūrinių regionų riba yra sąlyginė linija, atskirianti etnokultūros bruožų kompleksus. Etnokultūrinio regionavimo metu nustatytos etnokultūrinių regionų ribos nebūtinai turi sutapti su etnografinių regionų ribomis.
5. Etnokultūrinį regioną sudarantys mažesni subregioniniai ir arealiniai dariniai susiformuoja dėl skirtingais laikotarpiais pasireiškusios stiprios gretimų kultūrų įtakos arba vidinių regioninę etnokultūrą veikiančių reiškinių. Tokių mažesnių subregioninių ir arealinių darinių ribos išryškėja etnokultūrinių bruožų persidengimo ar silpnesnės nei branduolyje regioninės savimonės zonoje.
6. Lietuvos etnokultūriniai regionai yra ilgalaikės istorinės raidos rezultatas ir dabartinėje šalies teritorijoje sudaro savitą regioninės etnokultūros teritorinę sistemą. Lietuvos etnokultūrinis regionavimas leidžia atskleisti etnokultūrinės sandaros formavimosi aplinkybes, pažinti jos raidą ir savitumą, todėl gali būti taikomas Lietuvos teritoriniam planavimui.

Darbo aprobacija

Darbo tema paskelbti ir publikuoti 5 moksliniai straipsniai. Detalus su darbu susijusių publikacijų ir kitų darbų sąrašas pateikiamas disertacijos santraukos pabaigoje (p. 42).

Darbo apimtis ir struktūra

Darbą sudaro įvadas, tyrimų apžvalga, darbo metodologija, tyrimų rezultatų dalys, panaudotos literatūros ir šaltinių sąrašas, išvados bei priedai; taip pat įtrauktas 1 paveikslas, 37 kartoschemos ir 8 lentelės.

IŠVADOS

1. Nors regioninės etnokultūros tyrimų yra daug, labai skiriasi etnokultūrinių regionų tyrimo aspektai ir ištyrimo lygis. Netolygus tyrimų kiekis apsunkina regioninių bruožų palyginimą ir kartu patvirtina, kad kompleksinė etnokultūrinio regiono samprata dar nėra vyraujanti. Jos plėtojimui reikalingi tarpdalykiniai tyrimai ir kompleksinis etnokultūrinių regionų metodikos taikymas.
2. Lietuvos etnokultūrinis regionavimas remiasi istoriškumo, kompleksiško ir reprezentatyvumo principais bei segregacijos, persidengimo, istorinio suderinamumo, istorinės reikšmės, regiono funkcionavimo ir kompozicinio vientisumo kriterijais. Jų derinimas leidžia nustatyti šiuo metu egzistuojančią ir kartu istoriškai pagrįstą Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinę sandarą.
3. Keičiantis Lietuvos funkcinį (administracinių, religinių) vienetų tinklui, istoriniai teritorinės organizacijos regioniniai dariniai gali būti nustatomi remiantis subregiono lygmens funkcinį vienetų ribų perėmimu. Lietuvos teritorinės organizacijos struktūrą sudaro 5 teritorinės organizacijos regionai:
 - Klaipėdos krašto regionas su Klaipėdos ir Pagėgių subregionais;
 - Žemaičių regionas su Telšių, Raseinių ir Šiaulių subregionais bei lokaliais Mažeikių, Kretingos, Tauragės centrais;
 - Užnemunės regionas su Marijampolės, Šakių ir Lazdijų (Užnemunės dzūkų) subregionais;
 - Dzūkijos regionas su Alytaus ir Merkinės-Varėnos subregionais;
 - Aukštaitijos (valstybės branduolio) regionas su Vilniaus, Kauno, Kaišiadorių, Utenos, Panevėžio subregionais bei lokaliais Ukmergės, Zarasų, Rokiškio ir Biržų centrais.
4. Etnografinių regionų ribų palyginimas su dialektologinių, etnoarchitektūrinių ir etnomuzikinių bruožų paplitimu rodo, kad regionų etnokultūrinio savitumo raiška skirtingose dvasinės ir materialinės etnokultūros formose skiriasi, todėl etnokultūrinių regionų ribų vedimas priklauso nuo pasirinkto tyrimo aspekto. Lietuvos formaliųjų regionų struktūrą sudaro 6 branduoliai:
 - žemaičių etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis dialektologiniu, etnoarchitektūriniu ir etnomuzikiniu požiūriais;
 - aukštaičių etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis etnomuzikiniu, dialektologiniu požiūriais, etnoarchitektūriniu požiūriu artimas Vilnijos ir dzūkų branduoliams;

- dzūkų etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis etnomuzikiniu, dialektologiniu požiūriais;
 - Vilnijos etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis etnoarchitektūriniu, etnomuzikiniu požiūriais;
 - suvalkiečių etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis etnoarchitektūriniu, dialektologiniu požiūriais, etnomuzikiniu požiūriu artimas dzūkų etnografiniam branduoliui;
 - Mažosios Lietuvos etnografinis branduolys, išsiskiriantis etnoarchitektūriniu, etnomuzikiniu požiūriais, dialektologiniu požiūriu priklausantis žemaičių ir aukštaičių dialektams.
5. Regioninės savimonės buvimas atskleidžia etnokultūrinių regionų gyvybingumą, tačiau greta etnografinės savimonės, sietinos su etnografiniais regionais, silpniau ar stipriau reiškiasi etnokultūrinė savimonė, sietina su istoriniais etnokultūriniais dariniais: Aukštaičių regiono šiaurryčiuose – sėliška, beveik visoje Dzūkijoje – dainaviška, etnografinėje Suvalkijoje – sūduviška, o Žemaitijoje – kuršiška. Šiaurės vakarų Aukštaitijos dalyje gyventojai save sieja su istorinės Žiemgalos regionu. Dėl žiemgališkos savimonės etnografinės Aukštaitijos vakarinėje dalyje išsiskiria savarankiškas Žiemgalos savimonės regionas. Lietuvos savimonės regionų struktūrą sudaro Žemaitijos, Žiemgalos, Dzūkijos, Sūduvos, Aukštaitijos, Mažosios Lietuvos regioninės savimonės branduoliai.
6. Teritorinės organizacijos, etnografinių branduolių ir regioninės savimonės raiška leidžia suformuoti etnokultūrinių regionų horizontalią ir vertikalą struktūras. Lietuvos etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinę sandarą sudaro:
1. *Rytų etnokultūrinė sritis* su Aukštaitijos, Dzūkijos etnokultūriniais regionais:
 - 1.1. *Aukštaitijos etnokultūrinio regiono* pagrindą sudaro etnografinis Aukštaitijos regionas, kurio teritorinės organizacijos raida lėmė regiono nevienalytiškumą ir savimonės susiskaidymą (gyventojų tapatinimąsi su gyvenama vietoje, miestu ar Aukštaitijos regiono dalimi). Šiuo metu tai atsispindi Aukštaitijos etnokultūrinio branduolio dvidalėje struktūroje: Rytų Aukštaitija su centru Utenoje ir Vakarų Aukštaitija su Panevėžio centru. Dėl Vilniaus įtakos susiformavo atskiras Rytų Lietuvos (Vilnijos) subregioninis darinys. Svarbiausias regiono centras yra Utena, subregioninio lygmens centru laikytinas Panevėžys, lokaliniai centrai – Ukmergė, Biržai, Rokiškis, Kupiškis, Švenčionys, Zarasai. Subregioniniu centru reikėtų laikyti ir Vilnių, tačiau dėl miesto valstybinės reikšmės ir etnokultūrinio margumo Vilniaus miestas išskiriamas kaip tarpregioninis centras.
 - 1.2. *Dzūkijos etnokultūriniam regionui* didelę įtaką turėjo funkcinų vienetų ribų perimamumas, savitas tarminis kalbėjimas, davęs pavadinimą ir visam regionui. Funkcinio ir etnokultūrinio branduolio sutapimas šiuo

metu reiškiasi tvirta regionine savimone ir gana aiškiu etnografinės bei etnokultūrinės savimonės persidengimu. Svarbiausias regioninis centras yra Alytus, subregioniniai centrai – Merkinė, Varėna, Lazdijai, lokaliniai centrai – Druskininkai, Marcinkonys.

2. **Vakarų etnokultūrinė sritis** su Žemaitijos ir Mažosios Lietuvos etnokultūriniais regionais:
 - 2.1. *Žemaitijos etnokultūrinio regiono* savitumui didžiausią įtaką padarė ilgalaikė funkcinė administracinė autonomija ir regiono etnokultūrinis išskirtinumas, ir tai šiuo metu pasireiškia tvirta regionine savimone. Žemaičių branduolio vakarinėje dalyje išskirtina kuršiško subregiono branduolio dalis. Branduolio įtakos zonoje išskirtini Šiaulių, Raseinių, Paprūsės (Tauragės) subregioniniai dariniai. Svarbiausias regioninis centras yra Telšiai, subregioniniai centrai – Šiauliai, Raseiniai, Tauragė, lokaliniai centrai – Kretinga, Plungė, Mažeikiai.
 - 2.2. *Mažosios Lietuvos etnokultūrinis regionas* suformuotas ilgalaikės valstybinės sienos, o tai lėmė regiono funkcinių, kultūrinių ir tapatybės išskirtinumą. Dabartinei Lietuvos valstybei priklauso tik šiaurinis buvusios Mažosios Lietuvos regiono pakraštys, galbūt todėl šiuo metu jo etnokultūrinis tapatumas yra gerokai silpnesnis. Regione išskirtinas Klaipėdos-Šilutės branduolys. Svarbiausias centras yra Klaipėda, lokaliniai centrai – Šilutė ir Pagėgiai.
3. **Pereinamoji zona** su Žiemgalos ir Sūduvos regionais.
 - 3.1. *Sūduvos etnokultūriniam regionui* didelę įtaką turėjo teritorinės organizacijos raida. Regiono etnografinių ir teritorinės organizacijos pagrindu išryškėja regiono branduolys. Sūduvos regiono branduolyje yra zanavikiško subregiono branduolio dalis. Svarbiausias regioninis centras yra Marijampolė, subregioninis centras – Šakiai, lokaliniai centrai – Kazlų Rūda, Vilkaviškis.
 - 3.2. *Žiemgalos etnokultūriniam regionui* didžiausią įtaką turi regioninės tapatybės raiška. Palaikomi šiaurinių kaimynų Šiaurės Lietuvos gyventojai puoselėja žiemgališką tapatybę, regionas turi išskirtinių dialektologinių bei etnoarchitektūrinių bruožų. Svarbiausias regioninis centras yra Joniškis, subregioniniai centrai – Pakruojis, Žagarė, lokalinis centras – Linkuva.
7. Atliktas Lietuvos etnokultūrinis regionavimas rodo šiuo metu egzistuojančią etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinę sandarą, tačiau regionavimo metodikos pritaikymas galimas ir tolesniuose etnokultūrinio regionavimo tyrimo etapuose: pildant galimus regioninės etnokultūros tyrimo aspektus, atnaujinant etnokultūrinių tyrimų duomenis, detalizuojant regionų struktūrines dalis, taip pat išskirtą etnokultūrinių regionų teritorinę sandarą taikant šalies valdymo ir kraštotvarkos srityse.

LITHUANIAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC AND THEATRE
VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
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**ETHNOCULTURAL REGIONALIZATION
OF LITHUANIA**

Summary of the doctoral dissertation

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The dissertation was written in the period of 2011–2015 at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre.

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The dissertation is to be defended at an open meeting of the Board of Humanities (Ethnology, 07 H) of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, the Vilnius University, and the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore that will take place at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Juozas Karosas Hall, on June 10, 2016, at 1 p.m.

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INTRODUCTION

Relevance and the key issues associated with the topic of research

The methodological analysis of and the rationale for ethnocultural regionalization, the very effort to elucidate the organization of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions form a complex and largely underresearched field of study. There has been a significant increase of interest in Lithuania's ethnocultural regions since 2001, when the new concept of administrative reform, based on territorial division of Lithuania into ethnographic regions and concerning the County Governors' Administrations, was proposed and widely discussed. Soon these debates revealed the necessity of interdisciplinary approach to regional organization of Lithuania, while ethnographic motives in favour of such organization might spring from scholarly and cultural studies, which would become the basis for new administrative divisions. Drawing on diverse data obtained through ethnographic research, a map of Lithuania's ethnographic regions was created by Dainius Pivoriūnas and Žilvytis Šaknys (Pivoriūnas, Šaknys 2003). However, disputes arising from divergent opinions about the boundaries of different regions show that no unequivocal agreement has yet been reached about the methodology used in distinguishing those different regions. This also shows that the topic itself remains relevant and as such has several issues relevant in the given context.

The first issue arises because of the diachronic character of ethnocultural regionalization, which is normally seen as a result of ethnographic differences in Lithuanian traditional culture. In fact, these constitute the most recent layer in the development of a distinct ethnoculture and make only a small portion in the whole system of ethnocultural features. Only with an aid of archaeological, historical studies we are able to trace back to the original, primeval, natural organization of ethnocultural features that would facilitate the understanding of more recent processes involved in shaping and transforming the regional organization of Lithuanian ethnoculture.

The second issue is related to the concept of ethnocultural region as such. Aiming to delineate different regions, we mostly focus on drawing boundaries. But every region has also its internal structure and constituent parts. Some regions may be even joined together into larger ethnocultural units based on their ethnocultural affinity.

The third issue is methodology applied in ethnocultural regionalization of Lithuania. It is quite problematic because the dissemination of ethnocultural features has changed over time, while criteria for distinguishing different regions embrace the whole complex of ethnocultural features. Methodological principles of ethnocultural regionalization have not yet been settled and well-defined; thus they combine knowledge obtained through the studies in regional,

political and physical geography, basic principles of how culture regions are investigated in cultural geography and body of regional research accumulated in the field of ethnology.

An inquiry into regional ethnoculture of Lithuania is first of all important for augmenting knowledge about the country's history and culture. The understanding of how Lithuania is organized ethnoculturally may become a powerful instrument in boosting the nation's self-esteem and preserving regional self-perception, as well as a practical guide in building and reforming the country's administrative network. In terms of scholarly work, methodological principles of Lithuania's ethnocultural regionalization applied in this particular research might prove to be useful in further investigation of regional characteristics of ethno- and sociocultural phenomena, or as an intermediary step towards some future developments in this field.

Subject of research

In a broad sense, the subject of the present research is the territorial organization of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions. In a narrow sense, it focuses on Lithuania's ethnocultural regions.

Aim and objectives of research

This research aims to carry out ethnocultural regionalization of Lithuania. To achieve this aim the following objectives were to be fulfilled:

1. To systematize the findings of archaeological, historical, dialectological, ethnomusicological research and characteristics of traditional rural architecture;
2. To define the methodological principles for ethnocultural regionalization;
3. To analyze the development of functional territorial units;
4. To compare the dissemination of regional ethnocultural features (including dialects, traditional rural architecture and ethnic music) with the existing boundaries of Lithuania's ethnographic regions;
5. To identify the present regions of ethnocultural self-perception (vernacular regions);
6. To distinguish between the vertical and horizontal structures in the organization of ethnocultural regions.

Novelty and significance of research

1. The complexive concept of ethnocultural region, propounded in the present thesis, enables to view the development of ethnocultural regions in a broad historical and cultural context.

2. Comparative analysis applied in this research allowed to demonstrate the dissemination of ethnocultural features and varying degrees of their intensity.
3. A method of examining the distribution of juridical persons' names, which has been applied to the investigation of vernacular regions, proved to be pertinent because of the even distribution and large quantity of data in the entire territory of Lithuania.
4. Methodological principles and criteria for ethnocultural regionalization have been distinguished, which may be used to localize various ethnocultural phenomena in different regions of Lithuania.
5. Geographic Information System (GIS) software was used in the course of this research to create a database of ethnocultural studies that can be accessed and/or expanded through possible further exploration of Lithuania's ethnocultural organization.

Defended propositions

1. Two ethnocultural realms – western and eastern – and a number of distinct ethnocultural regions within their boundaries may be distinguished in Lithuania. This proposition enables to view the country's ethnocultural organization as a multilevel structure made up of varisized ethnocultural units with identifiable internal structure of ethnocultural regions.
2. The main criterion for distinguishing a distinct ethnocultural region is the ethnocultural core that encapsulates the most specific traits of a given region, while the diffusion of kindred traits around the core marks out the region's boundaries.
3. Every ethnocultural region has a system of hierarchically related centres, which comprises functional, historical, cultural and other centres that had served as nodes of region's territorial structure at different times in history. Historical continuity of functional centres is what characterizes these nodes as locally specific core that has formed within the region.
4. The boundaries between distinct ethnocultural regions are arbitrary lines that separate complexes of ethnocultural features. The boundaries of ethnocultural regions, which have been delineated in the process of ethnocultural regionalization, may not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of ethnographic regions.
5. Smaller territorial units within the structure of ethnocultural regions – sub-regions and overlapping areas – usually emerge as a result of external influences from the dominant neighbouring cultures or internal processes and phenomena that influence the development of specific regional ethnoculture. The boundaries of such smaller territorial units become apparent

in the zones of overlapping ethnocultural features and weaker regional self-perception than in the region's core.

6. Lithuania's ethnocultural regions are the result of a long-term historical development that has determined a unique territorial distribution of ethnocultural features within the system of distinct regions that cover the present territory of Lithuania. Ethnocultural regionalization of Lithuania allows to trace conditions under which the country's ethnocultural organization evolved over time, to understand its development and distinctive features. For the aforementioned reasons it may be taken into account in considerations related to the territorial planning of Lithuania.

The scope and structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of the following chapters: introduction, literature review, research methodology, results and findings of research, bibliography and references, conclusions and appendices. Graphic material includes 1 illustration, 37 thematic maps, and 8 charts.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on cultural regionalization abroad

Even though methodological contributions to the topic of ethnocultural regionalization appear to be quite scarce, some theoretical premises for distinguishing culture regions may be found in the recent literature. Among the latter, a classic textbook on cultural geography written by Mona Domosh, Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree should be mentioned, in which the American scholars distinguish between the three types of 'culture regions' – functional, formal and vernacular or rather perceptual (Jordan, Domosh, Rowntree 1997). Especially valuable in the context of this research are the writings of Peter Haggett, David W. Harvey, Sallie A. Marston, John Paul Jones III and Keith Woodward, who analyzed the region's structural components (Adelman, Aron 2004; Conversi 1999), discussed what should be regionalized and at what spatial and social scale (Taylor 1981, 1982), considered the importance of scale for the relationship of territorial units that are being formed (Haggett 1965, 1995; Harvey 1969), and, more generally, social and cultural phenomena of human geography (Marston, Jones III, Woodward 2005). The principles of geographic modelling have been extensively discussed by Alan Geoffrey Wilson (1989). Various perspectives on the topic of research are presented in the studies demonstrating methods of morphological, phonetic, and historical analysis at work and highlighting similarities and differences thereof (Barrington 2002; Hirsch, O'Hanlon 1995; Johnston 2000a, 2000b). Since Russian school of geographic studies is distin-

guished for systematic approach, its primary focus is on the morphological structure, typology and classification of territorial units. For this reason, this tradition abounds in methodological sources, among which Boris B. Rodoman's theory of nodal areas and decaying zones in the polarized landscape (1999) and Alexander V. Sosnovsky's zones of urban influence (1988) were especially relevant in this research.

Studies of regional ethnoculture in Lithuania

Lithuanian literature on the regional ethnoculture may be classified, according to the subject of research, into methodological studies of functional, formal and vernacular regions.

Methodological studies dedicated to ethnocultural regionalization are yet in an inchoate stage in Lithuania, because the very concept of ethnocultural region has not yet gained currency in the local academic discourse. Nevertheless, in the past decades attempts were made to distinguish integrated ethnocultural regions (Daugirdas 2002; Petrulis 2003; Ragauskaitė 2009; Bartašius 2011) and examine the concept of ethnocultural region (Baubinas 2000; Tumėnas 2007, 2015; Ragauskaitė 2012). The writings discussing regionalization and various issues related to regional divisions deserve special mention (Kavaliauskas 1992, 2000, 2013; Bučas 2004). It is possible to start formulating the principles of Lithuania's cultural regionalization based on their methods and tools used in distinguishing cultural regions.

In contrast, studies concerned with the *development of functional regions* have yielded multiple publications. One of the first such publications, a collection of articles entitled *Lietuvių etnogenezė* [The Ethnogenesis of the Lithuanians] (1987), providing a much-needed interdisciplinary approach, examines how the lands of the Baltic tribes developed before the formation of a single state through the systematic integration of archaeological, linguistic, anthropological research and historical sources. Historians have also dedicated much attention to the studies of the Baltic lands (Gudavičius 1989, 2011; Baranauskas 2000). Functional organization of these territories has been extensively described in the writings of Vidmantas Daugirdas, which focused on the development of administrative divisions (Daugirdas 1997a) and formation of early territorial organization (Daugirdas 1994, 1996a, 1997c). Territorial organization of the Baltic lands has also been discussed in the publications by foreign scholars (e.g. Zająkowski 1925; Łowmiański 1932; Jakubowski 1907).

A number of publications focus on a particular region (Totoraitis 1938, *Žemaitijos istorija* [The History of Samogitia], 1997, *Aukštaičių tapatumo paieškos* [In Search for the Identity of the Aukštaičiai], 2006, *Joniškio kraštas...* [Joniškis Region...], 2011). Since 2003, publications dedicated to the analysis of Lithuania's regions have been prepared and issued by the Department of

Geography and Land Management (including Daugirdas 1997b, 1998b, 2002, 2006, 2012; Petrulis 2003, 2005; Ragauskaitė 2009, 2010–2011; Lašinskaitė 2010; Bartašius 2011, 2012; Jankauskaitė 2011; Vinciuonaitė 2011; Savenkovaitė 2012).

The context of *studies focusing on the formal properties of regions* has been mostly limited to the formal aspects relevant in this research – namely, ethnographic peculiarities, features of traditional rural architecture and dialects.

The concept of *modern ethnographic regions* is discussed in relation to a proposed agenda for Reform of county governors' administrations which has been mooted since 2001. Based on data of ethnographic research, an up-to-date map of Lithuania's ethnographic regions was created by Dainius Pivoriūnas and Žilvytis Šaknys (Pivoriūnas, Šaknys 2003). The boundaries between ethnographic regions drawn in this map are taken as the basis for the distinction of formal regions, while earlier contributions to mapping Lithuania's ethnographic regions (Tamošaitis 1939; Cimermanis, Morkūnas 1980; ИЭАП 1985, 1986; Kudirka 1986) are embraced as the historical context surrounding the concept of ethnographic regions.

Publications on *traditional rural architecture* are numerous and varied. First and foremost contribution to this topic is found in the book by Izidorius Butkevičius (Butkevičius 1971); of no less value are also publications on regionalization of architectural heritage by Marija Purvinienė and Martynas Purvinas (Purvinas, Purvinienė 1998) and ethnocultural regionalization of landscape by Purvinas and Paulius Kavaliauskas (Purvinas, Kavaliauskas 2014, 116). Another valuable source of information is the History of Lithuanian Architecture (LAI, 2014) prepared by a group of scholars and embracing diverse aspects of traditional rural architecture.

In the field of *ethnomusicological studies*, the first regional classification of Lithuanian folk melodies was undertaken by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė (Čiurlionytė 1955, 1969). Later on more specialized studies concerned with the classification of folk melodies in the regions of Dzūkija (Četkauskaitė 1981) and Aukštaitija (Burkšaitienė, Krištopaitė 1990) followed in tow. Apart from these, there are numerous publications dealing with the musical dialects of various regions – Žemaitija [Samogitia] (Mukaitė 2002; Sungailienė 2007, 2009; Žarskienė 2007a), Suvalkija [Sudovia] (Vakarinienė 1999, 2001, 2002), Dzūkija (Ambrazevičius, Leskauskaitė 2007), Lithuania Minor (Petrošienė 2007), and southwestern Lithuanian interdialect (Lukenskienė 2010). In addition, studies of musical performance traditions in different regions (Žarskienė 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2011, 2012) have been also taken into account.

In the field of *dialectological studies*, research on the origins and development of Lithuanian language conducted by Zigmąs Zinkevičius (Zinkevičius 1981, 1984, 2005, 2006) and that on the origins of the Samogitian dialect conducted by

Giedrius Subačius (Subačius 1988, 1993) deserve special mention. The primary source of information concerning the distribution of dialects in the territory of Lithuania is the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language (LKA 1977, 1982, 1991) and Anthology of Lithuanian Dialects (LKTCH 2004).

Studies of regional self-perception comprise both systematic research of regional self-perception in the entire territory of Lithuania (Kalnius 2002; Venskienė 2008; Šaknys 2011) and analysis of its individual regions (Savoniakaitė 2003; Petrulis 2005; Šaknys 2005). The field of ethnolinguistic studies, employing sociolinguistic methods of dialectology, offered a lot of relevant publications on regional self-perception (Aliūkaitė 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). Another important source was found in the collective monograph *Miestai ir kalbos* [Cities and Languages] (2013), a sociolinguistic research project on the use of dialects in Lithuania's largest cities and towns. The separate subgroup of publications provided a historical perspective on Lithuanian self-perception (Petreikis 2009; Kalnius 2012; Savukynas 2012).

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methods used in the course of research

The main portion of this research project is dedicated to the analysis of the three types of ethnocultural regions: Lithuania's functional regions and their historical development, structural features of the formal regions, and the intensity of regional self-perception. The results of this analysis formed the basis for creating generalized models or layers of the three types of regions – functional, formal and vernacular. By superimposing and overlapping the three layers the internal structure and boundaries of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions have been determined.

The concept of the region's spatial structure

Any attempt at cultural regionalization, according to William Norton, should involve two dimensions – spatial and cultural. Spatial dimension comprises various levels of regional structure in terms of scale and size, whereas cultural dimension is expressed through the application of diverse cultural criteria (Norton 2000). By choosing a single cultural criterion, a horizontal structure of the region may be distinguished, while a combination of all hierarchical layers produces a vertical structure of the region. The horizontal structure of ethnocultural region must include certain identifiable structural elements, such as core, periphery and boundaries.

Ethnocultural regionalization is conducted based on three types of culture regions recognized by cultural geographers: functional, formal and vernacular

(Jordan, Domosh, Rowntree 1997, 8). Functional region has clearly defined territorial borders and is organized around a focal point. It is made up of different places linked in a system of interactions that are organized to function politically, socially and/or economically. Functional region represents the nodal kind of territorial units, because it forms in the zones of influence exerted by the territorial nodes or centres (Jordan, Domosh, Rowntree 1997, 8). Formal regions reflect the territorial distribution of one (simple regions) or more (complex regions) measurable, shared traits that distinguish them from the surrounding area. Vernacular regions are defined by the cultural, ethnic, sub-ethnic and regional self-perception of people who inhabit the area, their self-identification, past and present, with the territory, certain region and its name (Daugirdas 2015). These regions are often equated with dialect or mental areas that have become ingrained in the regional self-perception of the region's inhabitants (Zelinsky 1980, 1–4).

Principles of ethnocultural regionalization

Ethnocultural regionalization might be framed by three guiding principles:

- *integration*, dictating that territorial organization of ethnocultural regions be analyzed at an interdisciplinary level by combining data obtained from various academic disciplines and determining structural components of a region on the basis of overlapping ethnocultural features.

- *historicity*, or historical validity of ethnocultural region, which requires the adjustment of data about regional ethnoculture that have been collected in different periods of time. In the pursuit of ethnocultural regionalization, one must analyze the formation of a territory in order to determine the causality of ethnocultural organization and verify the established boundaries of ethnocultural regions.

- *representativity*, meaning that ethnocultural regionalization must reflect the current organization of regional ethnoculture and cannot, therefore, be dissociated from present-day manifestations of regional ethnoculture.

The above-mentioned guiding principles accordingly dictate the following criteria for defining ethnocultural regions:

- *segregation*: the main criterion for drawing boundaries is the concentration of objects (points, areas). Borders of the region's structural components (core, sub-region, region, periphery) are set according to the density of objects (quantitative approach) or intensity of region's ethnocultural manifestations (qualitative approach). Objects, which appear to be accidental, incoherent, relatively distant in space and possessing many attributes at once, are not to be included within the boundaries of a region.

- *overlapping*: the main criterion for drawing boundaries is overlapping of ethnocultural features. Ethnocultural regions have their core, where distinctive

traits are most concentrated, and margins or transition zones, where ethnocultural traits of several regions overlap. These peripheral areas indicate border zones between different regions.

- *historical compatibility*: when territorial units of different periods are being analyzed, they must be compatible in terms of scale and may be compared only on the same hierarchical level. Regional boundaries and structural components, including core, sub-regional formations and peripheries, are defined according to the zones of overlapping between different regions. The regional centres in ethnocultural organization may not necessarily coincide with the administrative centres in the state.

- *historical significance*: the long existing boundaries between administrative units or ethnocultural regions had strong and prolonged influence on the formation of territorial organization and self-perception of the region's inhabitants and thus may become a decisive criterion in differentiating ethnocultural regions.

- *functioning of a region*: this criterion is determined by the purpose and character of regionalization project (investigatory or applicable to practice). To reflect the established territorial organization of ethnocultural regions one needs to identify currently existing regions in Lithuania. In this respect, people's regional self-perception becomes one of the most important criteria for defining the limits of certain regions.

- *uniform composition*: the same principle of regionalization should be applied in the whole territory. Realms are divided into regions; regions are further subdivided into sub-regions.

3. RESULTS

Functional regions

The beginnings of Lithuania's territorial organization in the 9th–12th c. The earliest functional territorial units in the territory of Lithuania may be traced back to the territories of the Baltic tribes in the 9th to 12th centuries, which possessed traits of functional organization and were referred to as *terrae* (lands) (Batūra 1985, 344). As a matter of fact, regional peculiarities of this tribal territorial organization became apparent as early as in the 12th century. According to the territorial-administrative structure of those lands along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea in the 10th–12th centuries, Vladas Žulkus suggested their division into western and eastern provinces (Žulkus 1997, 21). The western province included tribal lands whose territorial organization had achieved the level of a confederation of territorial polities by the 12th century – Courland (Kuršas), Semigallia (Žiemgala) and Sudovia (Sūduva), as well as part

of Samogitia (Žemaitija). Other tribes that were involved in trade using inland waterways – Skalovians and Midland Lithuanians (Aukštaičiai) – gravitated more towards the western province than eastern, because their territorial organization, according to research conducted by Mindaugas Bertušius and Rolandas Tučas, was consolidated in small-sized, low-density territorial units resembling later volosts or minor lands (Bertušius 2002, 56–60, Tučas 2012, 150).

The Eastern province encompassed tribal lands associated with the East Lithuanian Barrow Culture. The level of material culture in this territory was significantly lower in the 9th–12th centuries. The more intense phase of its development began when major centres of trade emerged in the upper reaches of the Nemunas River (such as Navahrudak, Hrodna and Minsk) (Žulkus 1997, 24–25). Lithuanian tribes possessed well-developed military skills to organize small-scale raids into the neighbouring lands (Selonia and Dainava) that they eventually conquered and annexed to their lands. It was only at the turn of the 13th century that a kind of confederation of Lithuanian lands began to form (Gudavičius 1984, 12–13).

The early forms of standardized territorial organization in the period between the 13th c. and 1564. Early Lithuanian state formed in the first half of the 13th century, which led to the formation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From the 14th century onwards the binary division of the state became apparent between the eastern part, considered as an area of influence of the Lithuanian tribes, and the western part, considered a dominion of Samogitian people. This ethnic division was not only widely accepted but also used in the official communication. For instance, the Peace and Trade Treaty made on October 2nd, 1323, between the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas and Livonia specifies territories that constitute the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Aukštaitija, Samogitia and Rus' (Baranauskas 2006, 30). In the 14th century, the Grand Duchy was subdivided into the Duchy of Trakai and the Duchy of Vilnius. When Vytautas became the Grand Duke of Lithuania as an outcome of the Ostrów Agreement in 1392, both duchies were joined into the domain of the grand duke (Gudavičius 1988, 332). Vilnius and Trakai Voivodeships were created from the Grand Duchy in the aftermath of the Union of Horodło in 1413. In the 15th century Samogitia was an autonomous administrative unit, which had the status of an eldership. The diocese of Samogitia, founded in 1417, then covered the whole area of Samogitian political and cultural influence, which appears to be much larger than the historical lands inhabited by the Samogitian tribes. Unlike the mentioned tribal lands in Samogitia and Aukštaitija, the territory of Lithuania Minor was defined by the Treaty of Melno (1422) between the Teutonic Knights and an alliance of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Soon afterwards this Prussian-Lithuanian border was marked physically and remained unchanged for about 500 years (Ivinskis 1989, 433).

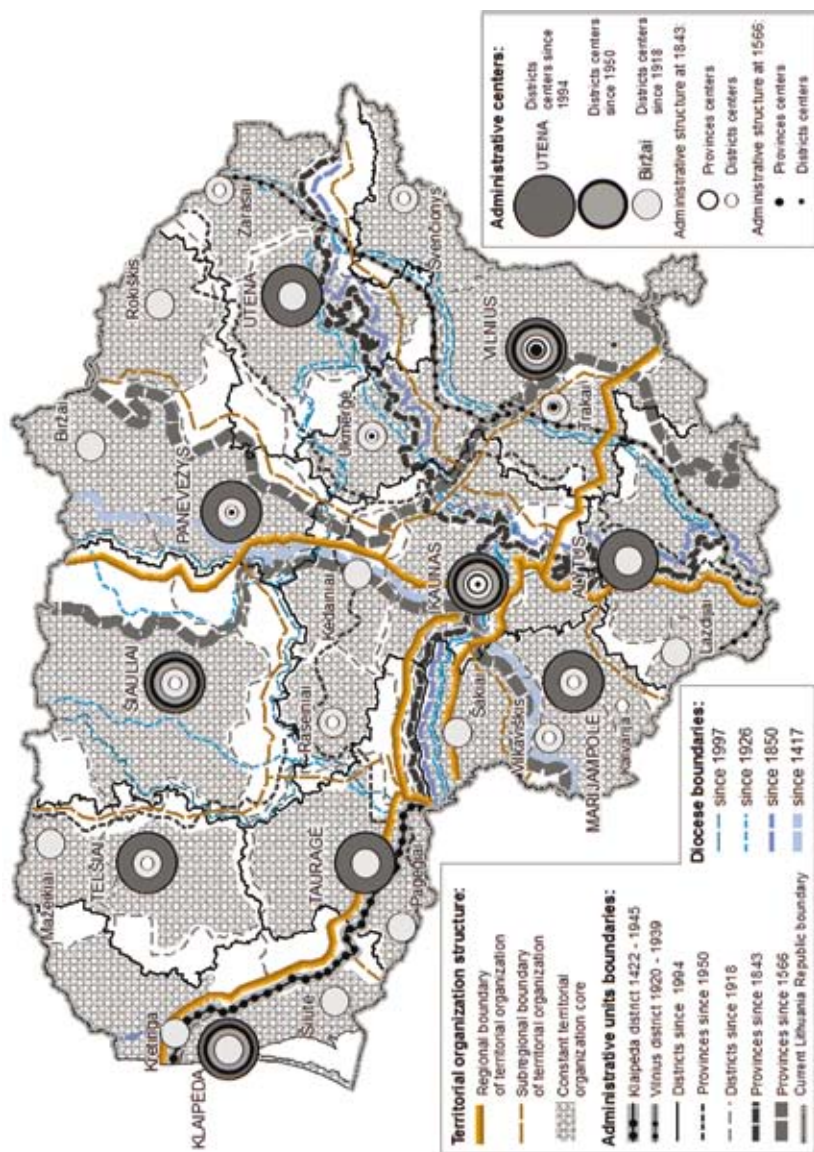


Fig. 3.4.1. Territorial structure of functional regions

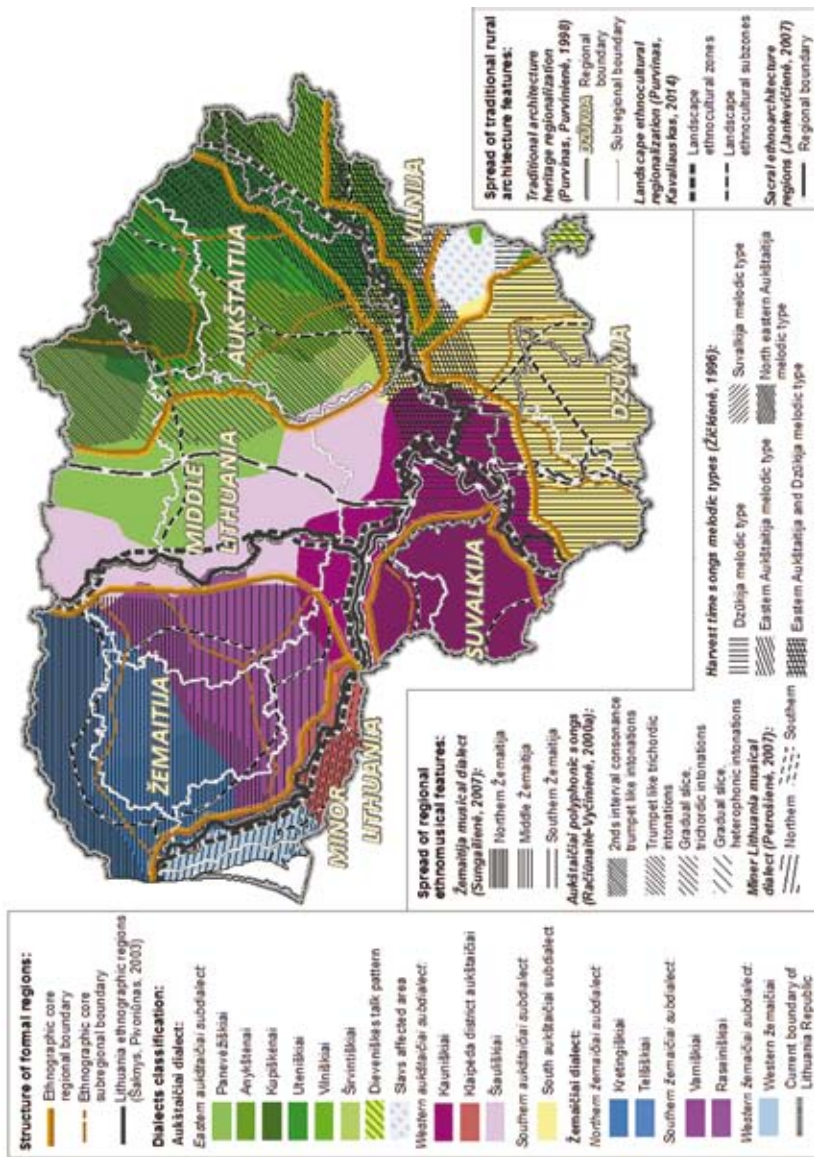


Fig. 3.4.2. Territorial structure of formal regions

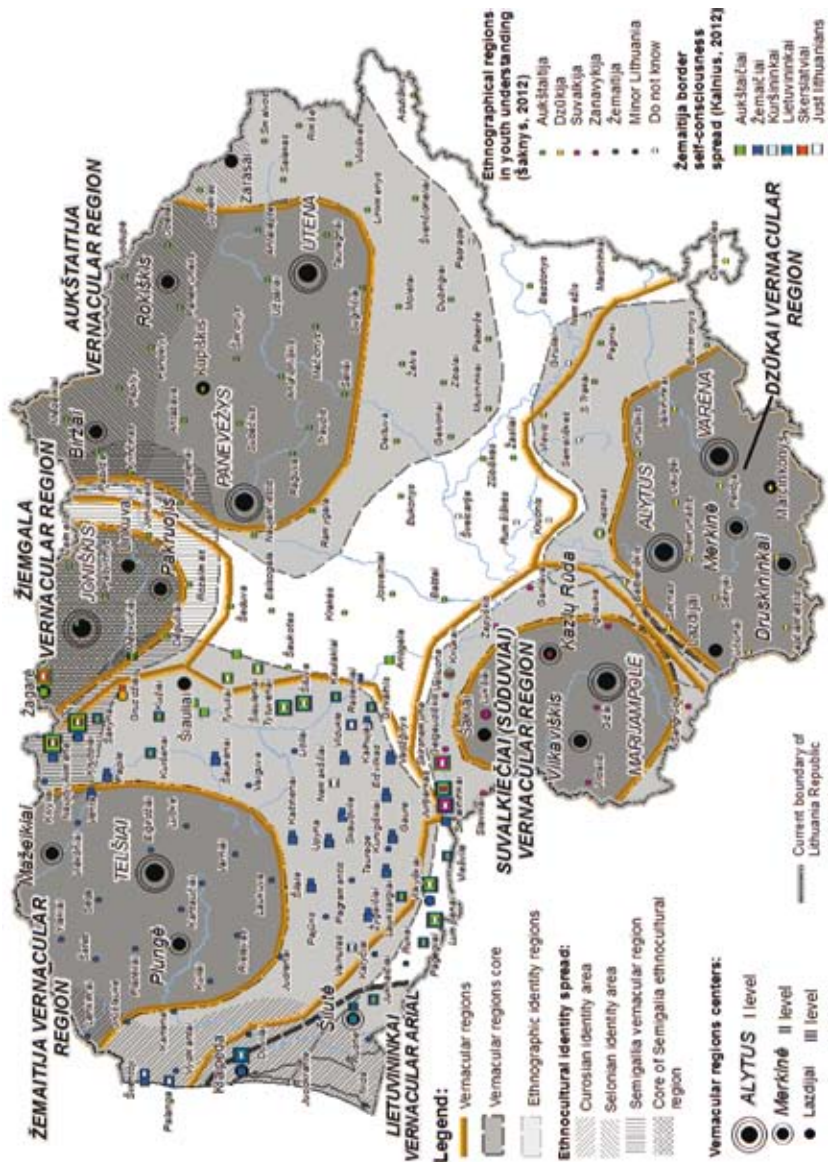


Fig. 3.4.3. Territorial structure of vernacular regions

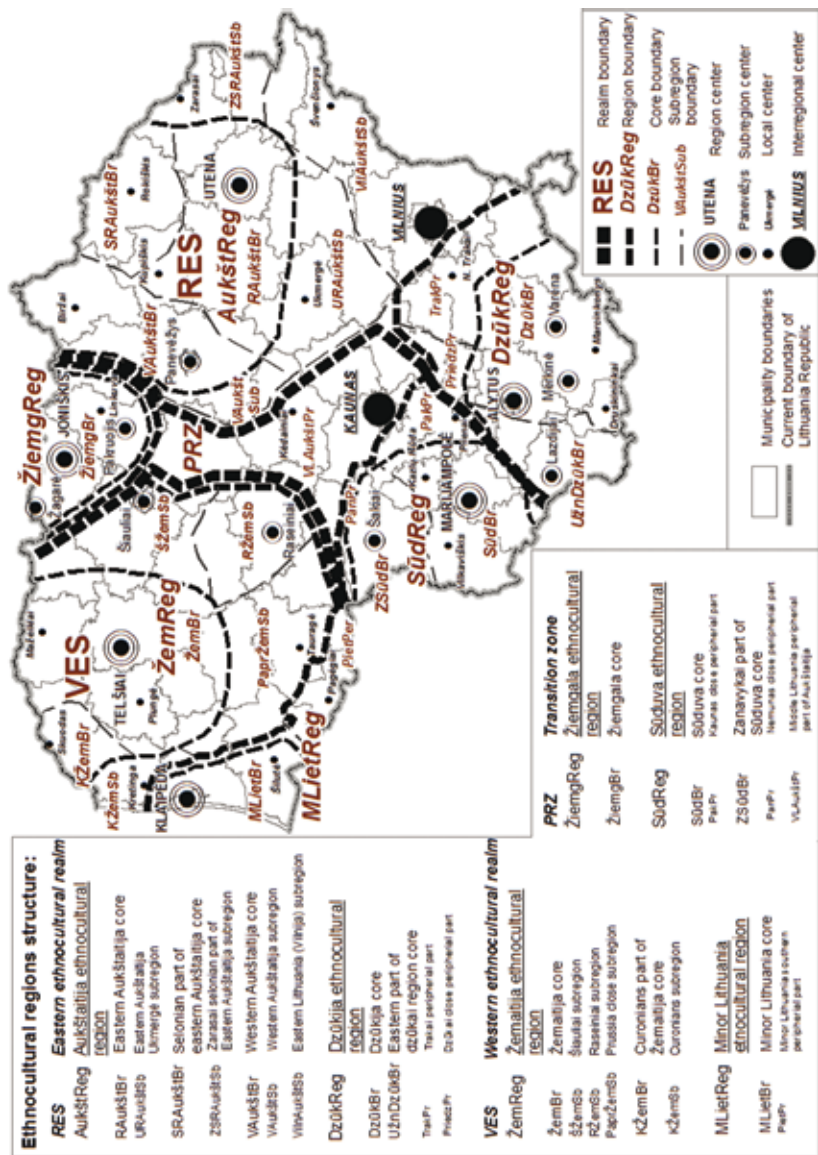


Fig. 3.4.5. Proposed conceptual model for territorial organization of ethnocultural regions

Polish territorial organization in the period between 1564 and 1795. After the Grand Duchy of Lithuania adopted Christianity and the wars with the Teutonic Knights were over, the country's economy and the system of governance, its economic power was reorganized from serving defence to trade. At the same time historical administrative divisions of Lithuania started to fade away (Gudavičius 1999, 390). During this period Vilnius Voivodeship was mostly composed of large estates owned by the dukes and landed nobility, which emerged as a result of persistent conflicts between nobility seeking political power (Pašuta 1971, 182–183). Trakai Voivodeship, divided into four powiats, was much more heterogeneous. Trakai powiat was defined by the influence of the monarch (Batūra 1970, 34). Between the 16th and 18th centuries a new territorial formation developed in Užnemunė region (south-western Lithuania), marked by intense economic and ethnocultural developments. Estates of mixed ownership were established in the lands owned by the governor of Užnemunė (Brukas, Naureckaitė 2014, 99), which were also inhabited by common people who migrated from Prussia. Even though the Eldership of Samogitia was not divided into powiats like in the rest of the country (Kiaupa 2012, 121–122), some smaller subdivisions emerged in its internal structure: the Samogitian core, described by Eugenijus Saviščevas as Samogitia Minor (Saviščevas 2010, 409), and possessions of the Grand Duke's domains in the border area of the eldership (Saviščevas 2010, 151, 152).

Russian territorial organization of Lithuania from 1795 to 1915. After The Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, Lithuania was ceded to the Russian Empire and new functional administrative divisions were introduced on its territory (Gumuliauskas 2010, 22). Curiously enough, when the new administrative division was introduced in 1840–1843, attempts were made to form Kovno (Kaunas) Governorate as a territorial unit with intrinsically Samogitian self-identity, which would diminish the influence of the neighbouring Vilnius, as a centre of Polish culture, on the rest of the country (Medišauskienė 2011, 49). In 1847, the act of Concordat between czar Nicholas I and the Holy See was signed, by which the new boundaries of Lithuanian dioceses were defined. The Samogitian Diocese, renamed as Telšiai (Samogitian) Diocese in 1840, has been significantly expanded to include the Kaunas Governorate and the Catholic districts of the Courland Governorate (Miknys 2010, 280).

Užnemunė region was annexed by the Kingdom of Prussia after the third partition and became part of the Duchy of Warsaw established by Napoleon I under the terms of the Treaties of Tilsit in 1807. After the Duchy was formally partitioned between Prussia and Russia at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Užnemunė was ceded to the Kingdom of Poland, an autonomous constitutional monarchy in personal union with the Russian Empire (Medišauskienė 2011, 35).

The Congress Kingdom was gradually integrated into Russia over the course of the 19th century and Užnemunė was divided into governorates analogous to the administrative divisions in the Russian Empire: Augustów Governorate was created in 1837 and later transformed into Suwałki Governorate, in 1867. On the other hand, such political instability had favourable effects on the cultural development of the region, including the early abolition of serfdom (in 1808–1809, as part of the Napoleonic code), conversion of communally owned land into individual peasant homesteads, greater access to education and the formation of the nationally conscious intellectual community.

At the frontier between the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian Empire the region of Lithuania Minor was yet another hotbed of nationalistic ideas and ethnic self-perception under conditions of the Lithuanian press ban and political oppression. The periphery of this region, along with Užnemunė and southern Samogitia, were the main epicentres of the national revival movement, from which it spread to the rest of Lithuania (The Atlas of Lithuanian History 2001, 32).

Change of territorial organization from 1915 onwards. During World War I the Lithuanian territory was occupied by Germany, which led to fundamental changes in its administrative division. From 1915 to the end of war in 1918 the present-day territory of Lithuania fell under supreme command of all German forces in the East, referred to as Ober Ost. When a sovereign Lithuanian state was re-established in the aftermath of war, in 1918, the country's administrative division was made of counties (*apskritis*) and townships (*valsčiai*). In 1950, the new system was introduced by the Soviet authorities, in which the territory was divided into four provinces (Lithuanian *sritis*; Russian *oblasts*), including Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda and Šiauliai, and further subdivided into 87 districts (Daugirdas 1997, 183). Provinces were abolished in 1953 and the number of districts was soon reduced several times. The interwar Polish occupation of the Vilnius region (1919–1939) had a far-reaching and mostly negative effect on the functional organization of Lithuania: not only the entire administrative division has been changed and new administrative (such as Kėdainiai county) and religious (such as Kėdainiai Diocese) units emerged, but also the cultural composition of the region's population underwent significant transformation (Gumuliauskas 2010, 228). After Lithuania regained independence, the new administrative system was adopted after long considerations, based on the Soviet model of 10 regions. Counties were re-introduced in 1995, subdivided further into municipalities and elderships (Mačiulytė, Daugirdas 2006).

Formal regions

Ethnographic map of Lithuania. Certain discrepancies between the boundaries of Lithuania's ethnographic regions drawn by various scholars (Cimermanis, Morkūnas 1980; Kudirka 1986) attest to the arbitrary character of these divisions. Therefore they should be revised by comparing the territorial distribution of different ethnocultural traits. The principal aspects of ethnocultural traits relevant in this research include dialects, features of traditional rural architecture, and ethnomusical characteristics.

A comparison between ethnographic regions in terms of characteristic traits of traditional rural architecture. In terms of ethnic architecture, two large ethnocultural areas, western and eastern, may be distinguished in Lithuania. In West Lithuania, like in the most part of the Baltic Sea region, a characteristic dwelling evolved from *numas* (house), a cottage with an open firepit or hearth, while *pirtis* (bathhouse) – a small log cabin with the stove made of stone – played a prominent role in the development of rural architecture in East Lithuania (Bertašiūtė 2014). The ancient *pirkia* (hut), like *pirtis*, had no chimney and represented a kind of a smoke cottage (Butkevičius 1971, 144). Buildings of similar function and names were widespread in the territories inhabited by eastern Slavic peoples, Livonians, Finns and Karelians (Bertašiūtė 2014, 115). The boundary between western and eastern ethnoarchitectural areas is quite indistinct. The main reason for that is the transitional formation in the eastern part of the western area, which might be called West Aukštaitija (Bertašiūtė 2008, 4). Unlike in Aukštaitija proper, the dwelling is called here *gryčia* or *trioba*. Although it is similar to the village housing of Aukštaitija in terms of overall architectural design, construction and decoration, it also has many elements characteristic of Žemaitija (Bertašiūtė 2008, 12). The remaining territory of Aukštaitija may be divided into the regions of East Aukštaitija and Dzūkija based on the distribution of characteristic features found in traditional rural architecture and cross-crafting, even though the line of separation is not very clearly defined. Marija and Martynas Purvinas, in their research on regionalization of the heritage of traditional rural ethnoarchitecture conducted in 1998, distinguished between the regions of Aukštaitija, Vilnija and Dzūkija (Purvinas, Purvinienė 1998). Lately there has been a tendency to join the sub-region of Vilnija to Dzūkija, thus ascribing the whole area from Lazdijai to Švenčionys to the same region. In the National Atlas of Lithuania, the map of ethnocultural regionalization made by Purvinas and Paulius Kavaliauskas shows the boundary and range of Dzūkija region extending far northward to Ignalina and Dūkštas (Purvinas, Kavaliauskas 2014, 116). According to Purvinas, the eastern part of Lithuania is exceptional in terms of ethnoarchitecture, because it was never subjected to wholesale agrarian reforms, which may account for the prolonged existence of archaic villages, ancient houses and homesteads (Purvinas 2013, 14).

Due to the great variety of surviving archaic forms of rural architecture, this territory has become one of the most sought-after territories since the mid-20th century among researchers and conservationists who often derived interest for their work from patriotic attitudes (Purvinas 2013, 14).

Sūduva (Suvalkija) is a very specific region, in which many processes in the historical development of rural architecture were somewhat belated and therefore quite dissimilar from other regions. The local dwelling called *stuba*, as a separate and new type of building, emerged as late in the first half of the 19th century, embracing the elements of the Samogitian *troba*, the Aukštaitian *pirkia* and the former *stuba* of East Prussian Lithuanians (Kačinskaitė 2008, 12). Such heterogeneity of architectural features may be explained by the fact that since the 15th century Užnemunė region has been settled by people from the neighbouring regions who brought in their own customs and traditions.

The ancient *stuba* of East Prussian Lithuanians (Lietuvininkai) was similar to the Samogitian *troba* in that they both had an entrance hall (*priemenė*) with a fireplace and another room, heated by a brick stove (Bertašiūtė 2014, 128). On the other hand, traditional rural architecture of Lithuania Minor, which was then part of Prussia, developed in its own specific way and was marked by rapid change. Beginning with the 18th century, the planning and structure of village homesteads was strictly regulated (Bertašiūtė 2014, 128). Clay architecture became popular in the 19th century, which gave its way to the construction of brick houses as a result of flourishing economy in late 19th-century Prussia (Purvinas 2008, 5). All these historical conditions determined the distinctive features of traditional rural architecture in Lithuania Minor.

A comparison between ethnographic regions in terms of the distribution of ethnomusical traits. Regional differences in Lithuanian folk music have been for the most part determined by ethnocultural influences coming from the neighbouring peoples. Musical traditions, like economic and cultural developments, changed at different times and rates in different regions of Lithuania. For instance, the most intense development of folk melodies in southern and north-eastern parts of Lithuania occurred between the 12th and 16th centuries, and this process continued at a declining rate until they did not seem to undergo any further change since about medieval times. Similar medieval folk music dialects could have also emerged in rapidly developing West Lithuania, but they continued to change significantly during the subsequent epochs. Thus distinctive ethnomusical features in the regions of Samogitia and Lithuania Minor, as we know them today, may be traced back to the 17th–18th centuries. Musical instruments of foreign origin were first introduced in the folk music of this region, along with the melodies of predominantly homophonic structure (Nakienė 2000, 136–138). The influence of West Lithuanian musical

tradition is also felt in Central Lithuania. For instance, traditional singing in the northern districts of Aukštaitija (including Pasvalys, Panevėžys, Radviliškis and Pakruojis) is distinguished for the manner of performance, which is akin to the Samogitian tradition (Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2007, 109).

The ethnomusical dialect of Lithuania Minor is characterized by stylistic diversity. The analysis of the region's folk melodies, carried out by Lina Petrošienė, revealed that the folk songs of East Prussian Lithuanians share most affinities with the songs of Sudovians and western Aukštaitians around Veliuona. Some similarities in terms of style and repertoire (genre composition) might be also found in the songs of Dzūkija, even though they feature some substantial differences (Petrošienė 2007, 195).

Speaking of the ethnomusical region of Dzūkija, Sudovia (Suvalkija) should be mentioned as its closest neighbour. Since Sudovian folk songs (from the Užnemunė region) are melodically related to the Dzūkian songs, Jadvyga Čiurlionytė did not consider them as constituting a separate musical dialect (Čiurlionytė 1969). Even though the archaic melodic features in the songs of both regions show no substantial differences (Nakienė 2001, 147), there are nonetheless quite a few dissimilar features in the more recent melodic layers. In her analysis of the melodic features found in Lithuanian harvest songs, Aušra Žičkienė has identified three melodic types of songs for the grain harvest – Sudovian, Dzūkian and eastern Aukštaitian – as well as their mixtures (Žičkienė 1996). Such distribution of melodic types within the mentioned regions might infer divisions between distinct ethnomusical regions.

A comparison between ethnographic regions in terms of dialectological traits. The view that the Lithuanian language has two main dialects – Žemaičių (Samogitian, Lowland Lithuanian) and Aukštaičių (Aukštaitian, Highland Lithuanian) – has become a convention since 1933, when Antanas Salys created the first dialectological map of Lithuania. When the first attempts to standardize written Lithuanian language were made in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, two versions of the officially used written language were introduced – Samogitian and Aukštaitian. The former was used in the correspondence and record-keeping of the Samogitian Diocese, although Zigmąs Zinkevičius has pointed to its origins in the Nevėžis flatlands (Zinkevičius 2006, 176). The dialect of this particular region has long served as a kind of spoken inter-dialect within the Duchy and Diocese of Samogitia (Zinkevičius 1977, 240). The modern understanding of the Samogitian dialect dates back to the 18th century, when the mixed dialect of former Curonian and Samogitian tribes in the north-western part of the Samogitian Eldership assumed the name of the proper Samogitian dialect. Whereas the dialect of Central Lithuania (from which the written 'Samogitian' language developed) has been ever since referred to as Aukštaitian (Zinkevičius 1981, 15–16).

Nowadays the main distinguishing feature between Samogitian and Aukštaitian dialects is the pronunciation of diphthongs *uo* and *ie*. In contrast to the Aukštaitian dialect, in which these diphthongs are stable, their pronunciation may vary in the Samogitian dialect. Due to this variation, the Samogitian dialect is subdivided into three sub-dialects: *dūnininkai*, *dounininkai* and *doinininkai* (derived from *duona* – bread) according to the classification of Kazimieras Jaunius and Salys (The Atlas of the Lithuanian Language 2004, map), or West, North and South Samogitian according to the classification of Aleksas Girdenis and Zinkevičius (Girdenis 1988).

The region of the Aukštaitian dialect encompasses the remaining territory of Lithuania, in which all users of the spoken dialect pronounce diphthongs *ie* and *uo* regularly as in standard Lithuanian. According to differences in the pronunciation of mixed diphthongs *an*, *am*, *em*, *en* and long vowels *ą* and *ę*, Aukštaitian dialect is divided into western, southern and eastern sub-dialects. The West Aukštaitian sub-dialect, most similar to standard Lithuanian, preserves both the diphthongs and the vowels (*The Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* 2004, 29).

Judging by various linguistic traits and their distribution, the territory of southern Aukštaitians, otherwise known as Dzūkians, presents a rather homogeneous region that might be identified with the historical land of Dainava. From the linguistic point of view, especially distinct is the western border of the region, defined by the convergence of the most characteristic phonetic, morphological and lexical features of the dialect.

The eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect is distinguished from the rest Aukštaitian sub-dialects by replacing the mixed diphthongs with various versions of *an*, *am*, *em*, *en* and long vowels *ą* and *ę* with *u*, *i* or *o*. In the discussion about the differentiation of eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialects, Zinkevičius related the development of eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialects with a number of intrinsic and extrinsic linguistic processes. In addition to the naturally emerging new linguistic features, eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialects have been exposed to the formative influences coming from the northern regions, such as shortening of unstressed endings, stress shifting and some other altered features caused by the contacts with the substrate of old Semigallian and Selonian languages (Zinkevičius 2006, 74).

Vernacular regions

In an attempt to define the territorial outlines of vernacular regions of Lithuania, a slightly modified method by American geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (1980) was applied. According to his method, Zelinsky divided the United States into what he called vernacular regions based on perceived unique cultural characteristics associated with particular areas and tested his results by using

titles of institutions assigned to certain territories and reflecting the ethnic self-perception. The analysis of ethnocultural self-perception and its territorial manifestations sought to evaluate the presence of words indicating the ethnographic self-perception (such as Žemaitija/Žemaitian, Suvalkija/Suvalkian, Dzūkija/Dzūkian, Aukštaitija/Aukštaitian, Lithuania Minor/East Prussian Lithuanian) and ethnocultural self-perception (Courland/Curonian, Semigallia/Semigallian, Selonia/Selonian, Dainava/Dainavian, Sudovia/Sudovian, Yotva/Yotvingian) in the titles of enterprises and institutions dedicated to protection and promotion of regional culture. The research largely drew on the data received from the Register of Legal Entities and additional data obtained using the Google search queries. The collected data have been examined on three levels: Level 1 referred to the use of words in question in the titles of business entities and juridical persons involved in the most diverse areas of activity; Level 2 referred to the titles of entities concerned with organizing various events and activities in the territories of their operation; Level 3 referred to the activities of collectives, entities of informal education and societies, organizations and institutions dedicated to fostering ethnoculture. After these data have been compared with the results of dialectological and sociolinguistic research, regions of ethnocultural self-perception of Lithuania have been delineated.

The analysis revealed that the vernacular region of Samogitia is distinguished for remarkable consolidation of its regional self-perception. The firmness of Samogitian identity is evidenced by a large quantity of organizations and cultural societies involved in the nurturing of regional self-perception, as well as by exceptionally active participation in organizing regional festivals and other cultural events. It should be also noted that such ethnocultural activities within the Samogitian community are not spontaneous but coordinated by dedicated institutions (such as Community Organization “Žemaičių akademija” [Samogitian Academy], Public Institution “Žemaitijos paveldas” [Heritage of Samogitia], etc.). Telšiai should be regarded as the most important centre of Samogitian vernacular region; then Mažeikiai and Plungė are of secondary importance, and even less significance is attached to the cities of Klaipėda and Šiauliai. Curonian self-perception is conspicuous in the cities near the Baltic Sea, including Klaipėda, Gargždai, Palanga and Neringa.

A multi-unit structure of vernacular region has been identified in Aukštaitija. Judging by the range of activities of the local press and television, East Aukštaitija encompasses the districts of Utena, Molėtai and Anykščiai, with the centre in Utena. This territory also shows more activism in the field of protection and promotion of the region's ethnocultural heritage. Although the remaining part of Aukštaitija has no specific title, Panevėžys seems to have its own zone of influence in terms of organizing various cultural activities, which more or less are localized in the territory of Panevėžys county. Another peculiar and

popular phenomenon is the establishment of regional communities in larger cities, with the majority of them being concentrated in Vilnius (for example, “Vilniaus anykštėnų sambūris” [The Alliance of Anykštėnai in Vilnius], Club of the Biržai community in Vilnius “Krivulė”, Club of the Panevėžys community in Vilnius “Nevėžis”, Club of the Rokiškis community in Vilnius “Pragiedruoliai”, Club of the Utena community in Vilnius “Indraja”, Community of Pasvalys in Vilnius, Club of the Kupiškis community in Vilnius, Community of Zarasai in Vilnius “Ežerėnai”, etc.). Even though all these organizations retain strong identification with their vernacular region, they are all defined as communities of larger towns in Aukštaitija, as if it were a certain uniform ethnocultural unit with clearly defined territory. The inhabitants of this vernacular region nevertheless identify themselves with particular localities within this unit. Such phenomenon is most likely a consequence of the region’s ethnocultural development.

The Semigallian regional identity appears to be astonishingly tenacious and actively promoted, especially in the towns of Joniškis and Pakruojis. The Joniškis-based association “Žiemų pradas Simkalà” deserves special mention. In collaboration with the Joniškis Museum of History and Culture, these enthusiasts of the Semigallian past and reconstructive history organize the annual Living History Days in Joniškis.

The Selonian ethnocultural identity is significantly less actively manifested in comparison with the Semigallian. There are a few centres scattered wide apart and a few closely situated centres at the north-eastern border of Aukštaitija. For this reason no separate sub-region was delineated. For the time being, the Selonian ethnic culture is most actively nurtured by the Rokiškis Culture Centre.

Sudovia/Suvalkija is an exceptional region with dual identity, in which the manifestations of ethnographic (Suvalkian) and ethnocultural (Sudovian) self-perception differ significantly. In fact, the ethnocultural identity is much more active. According to Žilvytis Šaknys, who surveyed the ethnographic identity among young inhabitants of the region, Suvalkian identity is not very popular nowadays, perhaps due to some negative connotations, while the inhabitants of Šakiai region may be even offended by being called Suvalkians because they perceive themselves as Zanavykai (Šaknys 2012, 136). Based on the distribution of legal entities’ titles reflective of the ethnographic (Suvalkija/Suvalkian and various derivatives) or ethnocultural (Sudovia/Sudovian and various derivatives) identity, one may infer that the Suvalkian identity is being actively replaced by the Sudovian identity. The enthusiasts of the Zanavykai identity are mostly based in Šakiai, where they become affiliated as members of the Association “Zanavykų sąšauka” [Gathering of Zanavykai] and the Zanavykai Seimelis [Regional Assembly] that unites all Zanavykai of Lithuania.

The Register of Legal Entities provides only three titles related to the manifestation of the Lietuvininkai (East Prussian Lithuanian) identity (along with various derivatives), all of them registered in Šilalė and Klaipėda.

The vernacular region of Dzūkija has a very clearly defined western border, both linguistically and perceptually. Based on this research, the strongest centre of the regional identity is localized in Merkinė; other important centres include towns of Alytus, Druskininkai, Varėna and Lazdijai. Since most of the region's ethnocultural events are organized in Merkinė, this town may be defined as the symbolical centre of both vernacular and ethnocultural region.

Territorial organization of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions

In the course of this research, the structure of ethnocultural regions has been analysed in terms of functional, formal and perceptual patterns. Functional regions have been distinguished by comparing them to the boundaries of the functional units. Boundaries of the regional and sub-regional administrative units have been delineated in the thematic map (see Fig. 3.4.1), taking into account the historical period and time frame of their existence. This map also shows functional cores and functional centres of these units, which have been defined according to the overlapping territories between these functional units.

The development of functional territorial organization at the regional level was rather uneven in different parts of Lithuania. The earliest territorial organization developed in Klaipėda region due to the long-established border of the Lithuanian state. Two core areas of functional organization may be identified within this region, pertaining to the influence of the cities of Klaipėda and Tilžė (Tilsit). The city of Klaipėda was the most influential centre in the western core of territorial organization. In the southern part of this functional region similar influence may be ascribed to the urban core of Pagėgiai.

The median line of the Samogitian functional regions should be identified with the eastern boundary of the former Eldership of Samogitia, which became a sort of an 'established' eastern boundary in later administrative (boundaries of Šiauliai county in 1918 and 1995) and religious (Samogitian Diocese in 1417; Šiauliai Diocese in 1926 and 1997) functional units. The southern median of Samogitia extends to the Nemunas, which served as a natural demarcation line of administrative and religious functional units even after the third partition in 1795. The internal structure of the functional territorial organization of Samogitia is rather heterogeneous. The analysis of hierarchical relationships between the region's functional centres has revealed that the territorial organization of the Žemaitija region has been divided into three parts related to the most important regional centres including Telšiai, Šiauliai and historical functional centre in Raseiniai. Having analyzed the overlapping territories between

functional territorial units, smaller cores of stable territorial organization have been distinguished around Kretinga, Mažeikiai and Tauragė.

A rather distinctive region of territorial organization has formed in Užnemunė, where the Nemunas served as a natural divide between administrative and religious functional units that remained essentially unchanged from 1795 to 1918. The region's internal structure may be divided into functional cores of Marijampolė–Vilkaviškis, Alytus and southern edge of the Samogitian Eldership (with the centre in Šakiai). Due to unequal importance of functional centres, the core of territorial organization around Šakiai may be subsumed under the core of territorial organization around Marijampolė–Vilkaviškis. Another historically, functionally and administratively important centre is the city of Alytus, around which a separate region of territorial organization has formed whose boundaries may be identified with those of the present Alytus County. A city divided in two by the river Nemunas may be also seen as a centre, unifying western and eastern parts of the region, each of them having their own locally important centres with different function in the region's history – Lazdijai in the west and Merkinė in the east.

An attempt to distinguish the boundaries of territorial organization in the region of Aukštaitija is aggravated by the special status of territorial organization attributed to Lithuania's largest cities – Vilnius and Kaunas. Historically, both cities were included in the same region of territorial organization, which encompassed the functional cores of Vilnius, Utena, Ukmergė, Kaunas and Trakai, and around which the Lithuanian state had been created. On the other hand, along with the expansion of these cities separate territorial units have been formed: duchies (14th c.), voivodeships (15th c.), governorates (since 1843) of Vilnius and Trakai. Following the Polish occupation of the Vilnius region in 1920, the broken bicentric structure of the functional core at the very heart of the Lithuanian state was soon remedied by establishing a locally significant functional core around the town of Kaišiadorys (the Diocese of Kaišiadorys was founded in 1926). Lithuania's largest cities Vilnius and Kaunas have gradually formed their respective regions of territorial organization, while the remaining part of the original core of the state gave way to the territorial organization of the region of Aukštaitija. The median of its territorial organization may be identified with the eastern boundary of the Samogitian Diocese (founded in 1417). However, it should be noted that this territory also included the land of Upytė, whose functional significance was never associated with the original core of the state because historically it was the zone of transition between the region of Samogitian territorial organization and the core of the state, or the latter's line of defence. When analyzing the territorial boundaries of functional units, it is interesting to discover that the land of and later powiat of Upytė (in the 15th c.) was situated within the approximate borders of the present-day

Panevėžys county (1918 and 1990), whereas the city of Panevėžys, which is considered a capital city of Aukštaitija, is found in the periphery of Aukštaitija when viewed historically. To complicate matters even more, the internal structure of Aukštaitija region has two distinct units of territorial organization with the centres in Panevėžys and Utena. Smaller functional cores of local importance may be further distinguished within the boundaries of larger units: Biržai in the periphery of Panevėžys, Ukmergė in the periphery of Vilnius, as well as those of Rokiškis and Zarasai.

In the analysis of the territorial structure of formal regions, the method of comparison between dialectological, ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical features within the same region has been applied. Ethnographic core areas have been distinguished based on the territories of their overlap (see Fig. 3.4.2).

Six ethnographic core areas have been delineated in the thematic map: Žemaitija, Sūduva (Suvalkija), Dzūkija, Aukštaitija, Vilnija and Lithuania Minor. The ethnographic core area of Žemaitija is characterized by remarkable consistency of dialectological, ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical traits whose territorial distribution within the region is almost coalescent. The Samogitian core area has quite a distinctive tripartite structure. The northern edge of the ethnographic core of Žemaitija, extending from Kretinga to Akmenė, stands out for its ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical features. Although this territory falls between two different speeches of the northern Samogitian sub-dialect – the Kretingiškiei and the Telšiškiei, it has some common phonetic characteristics, such as diphthongs *ou* and *ei* pronounced instead of accentuated ogonek vowels *ą* and *ę*. The other part of the ethnographic core area, encompassing the environs of Telšiai, Plungė and Rietavas, shows coalescent ethnomusical and linguistic features, but includes only a fraction of the core territory distinguished through ethnoarchitectural regionalization. The remaining part of the Žemaitija region may be divided into southern, the so-called Paprūsė (at the Prussian frontier), and eastern parts.

Sūduva, more widely known by its ethnographic name Suvalkija, also has a strong ethnographic core area, in which the boundaries of ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical regions mostly coincide. The area of the Kauniškiai speech, as a variety of the western Aukštaitian sub-dialect specified by dialectologists, is considerably larger than the ethnographic core area. The territory that stretches beyond that core area may be conceived as the transition zone between the regions of Sūduva and Aukštaitija or Dzūkija. Sudovian ethnographic core area may be divided into sub-regions of Šakiai in the north and Marijampolė in the south.

Dzūkian ethnographic core area has been defined by the territory of overlap between ethnoarchitectural, ethnomusical and linguistic regions. Even though the boundaries of all three regions essentially converge, it is diverging bounda-

ries, one might say, that frame the internal structure of Dzūkija ethnographic region: Dzūkian sub-region in Užnemunė or western Dzūkija; central Dzūkija covered by woodlands; northern sub-region occupied by agrarian Dzūkiams with specific ethnoarchitectural features; and eastern Dzūkija, localized in the strip between Trakai and Eišiškės.

East Lithuania (Vilnija) may be considered as a transitional region between Dzūkija and Aukštaitija, which displays some distinctive ethnomusical (such as specific melodic type of harvest songs originating from East Lithuania) and dialectological (the Vilniškiai speech of eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect) features. This territory is also defined as a separate ethnoarchitectural region of Vilnija or Vilnija part of the Dzūkian ethnoarchitectural region.

Aukštaitija has a multi-unit ethnographic core structure. Although the boundaries of ethnomusical, ethnoarchitectural and dialectological features within this core area do not converge, the constituent units are rather distinct. Among these are sub-regional units of Biržai (characterized by the multipart singing tradition and the unique genre of polyphonic *sutartinės* with secundal dissonances; Panevėžiškiai speech of the eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect; masonry previously used in the construction of houses), Rokiškis (ethnomusically akin to Biržai area; dialectologically encompassing the Kupiškėnai, Anykštėnai and partly Uteniškiai speeches of the eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect; in terms of ethnoarchitectural traits, distinguished for unique cross-crafting traditions and thus identifiable as a separate part of north-eastern Aukštaitian sub-region), Zarasai (akin to Rokiškis area, as is shown by the prevalence of stepwise trichordal melodies of the *sutartinės* and distinctive melodic type of eastern Aukštaitian harvest songs, similar cross-crafting traditions and the Uteniškiai speech of the eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect), Utena (characterized by the Anykštėnai and Uteniškiai speeches of the eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect, stepwise trichordal melodies of the *sutartinės*; based on distinctive features of the local cross-crafting and ethnoarchitecture, it may be distinguished as a separate sub-region of hilly Aukštaitija) and Ukmergė (encompassing the area of prevalent trumpet-like intonations in trichordal *sutartinės* and the Panevėžiškiai and Širvintiškiai speeches of the eastern Aukštaitian sub-dialect, this sub-regional unit is part of the so-called region of Western Aukštaitija or Central Lithuania).

The ethnographic core of Lithuania Minor raises many questions. First of all, its dialectological attribution to two different dialects – the western part of Lithuania Minor to the western Samogitian sub-dialect of the Samogitian dialect and the eastern part to the Kauniškiai speech of the western Aukštaitian sub-dialect – seems questionable. The same bipartite division is reflected in the dissemination of ethnomusical features, but, unlike in dialectological divisions, ethnomusically Lithuania Minor is subdivided into northern and

southern parts, with a broad transition zone between the two. This points to the existence of a consistent, albeit bipartite, ethnomusical dialect. In terms of ethnoarchitecture, a separate region of Lithuania Minor, encompassing the entire Klaipėda region, may be distinguished.

In an attempt to regionalize manifestations of regional self-perception, the data obtained through research of regional self-perception conducted by the author of this dissertation have been compared with the findings of Žilvytis Šaknys, who surveyed the understanding of ethnographic regions among young respondents (Šaknys 2012), and Petras Kalnius, who investigated the identity of inhabitants of the Samogitian border area (Kalnius 2012). Comparison helped distinguish six vernacular regions: Žemaitija, Žiemgala, Dzūkija, Sūduva, Aukštaitija and Lithuania Minor (see Fig. 3.4.3).

Lithuania's most distinctive vernacular region appeared to be the Samogitian region of ethnographic self-perception, whose boundaries were adjusted according to the results of the investigation conducted by Kalnius. Taking into account the findings of the survey conducted by Šaknys, the eastern border of the Dzūkija vernacular region was adjusted and moved westwards from the settlement of Giruliai and Nevėžis. Further adjustments were made to the boundaries of the vernacular region of Lithuania Minor. There were also minor changes made to the boundaries designated by the author in her own research, but overall all these investigations yielded very congruent results and at the same time substantiated the existence and boundaries of vernacular regions.

Finally, all three types of regions – functional, formal and vernacular – were superimposed and their boundaries compared. Thus the boundaries of ethnocultural regions have been delineated according to the overlap of the median of territorial organization, ethnographic core and active vernacular regions. Following this method, the regions of Žemaitija, Dzūkija and Sūduva have been distinguished. The ethnocultural region of Žiemgala, whose ethnographic distinctiveness has rarely been accentuated and territorial organization rather loose, was defined based on the characteristics of the vernacular region. The boundaries of ethnocultural region of Lithuania Minor, whose ethnographic traits are rather prominent and territorial organization strong but the regional self-perception rather weak, were defined based on the designated borders of the functional unit of Klaipėda region. The region of Aukštaitija, encompassing a large transitional territory in Central Lithuania, adjoins other regions and thus was delineated after all other regions had been distinguished.

Cores of ethnocultural regions have been determined by the territory of vernacular cores, while the rest part of the region has been termed the zone of core influence. Sub-regional units have been distinguished based on territorial organization and distribution of ethnographic traits. Cores of almost every ethnocultural region are not homogeneous because specific conditions

within their internal structure have determined the formation of distinctive sub-regional parts. Thus the sub-regional part of Curonian influence may be detected in Žemaitija, that of Užnemunė Dzūkai in Dzūkija, Znavykai in Suvalkija, western Aukštaitian, Selonian and Vilnija in Aukštaitija. The majority of them have their own zone of influence and constitute a distinctive part in the ethnocultural core, except the sub-regional unit of Vilnija that has its own core and zone of influence. In this particular case, cores of ethnocultural regions have been delineated based on the core of vernacular region.

Having compared the development of ethnocultural regions and distinctive ethnocultural features, the affinities and differences between ethnocultural regions became evident. This led to the distinction of western and eastern ethnocultural realms. Even though the boundaries of ethnocultural realms have not been subjected to analysis within the scope of this research, they have been drawn according to the boundaries of ethnocultural regions, based on systematic integration of all obtained data. Thus Žemaitija and Lithuania Minor have been ascribed to the western ethnocultural realm, while Aukštaitija and Dzūkija to the eastern. The regions of Suvalkija and Central Lithuania, displaying the features of both ethnocultural provinces, have been merged into one transitional zone. These boundaries for the most part coincide with the ones distinguished by Vidmantas Daugirdas (2002) and Simona Vinciūnaitė (2012).

The territorial structure of ethnocultural regions, which has been identified in the course of this research, is presented in Fig. 3.4.5.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Even though there is a large number of studies dedicated to regional ethnosculture, the aspects and scope of research vary significantly. Consequently, the inconsistency of findings in diverse fields of research aggravates the comparison of various regional features and thereby bears testimony to the fact that the complexive concept of ethnocultural region is not yet prevalent. To develop such concept in research of ethnocultural regions, it is necessary to apply interdisciplinary approaches and integrated methodology.
2. The ethnocultural regionalization of Lithuania is based on the guiding principles of historicity, integration and representativity, which dictate the following criteria for defining ethnocultural regions: segregation, overlapping, historical compatibility, historical significance, functioning and uniform composition of a region. A combination of these principles and criteria enables to define the existing and historically grounded territorial structure of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions.

3. In the process of change within the network of Lithuania's functional (administrative, religious) units, historical regional formations of territorial organization might be traced through adoption of the boundaries of functional units at sub-regional level. The structure of Lithuania's territorial organization comprises 5 regions of territorial organization:
 - Klaipėda region, with the sub-regions around Klaipėda and Pagėgiai;
 - Žemaitija, with the sub-regions around Telšiai, Raseiniai and Šiauliai and the local centres of Mažeikiai, Kretinga and Tauragė;
 - Užnemunė, with the sub-regions around Marijampolė, Šakiai and Lazdijai (Dzūkai of Užnemunė);
 - Dzūkija, with the sub-regions around Alytus and Merkinė-Varėna;
 - Aukštaitija (core of the state), with the sub-regions around Vilnius, Kaunas, Kaišiadorys, Utena and Panevėžys and local centres in Ukmergė, Zarasai, Rokiškis and Biržai;
4. A comparison between ethnographic regions and distribution of dialectological, ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical traits revealed that the manifestations of distinctive traits unique to a particular ethnocultural region differ according to the form of material and nonmaterial ethnoculture. Therefore the delineation of the boundaries between distinct ethnocultural regions depends on the chosen aspect of research. The structure of Lithuania's formal regions comprises 6 core areas:
 - Samogitian ethnographic core area, defined by distinctive dialectological, ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical traits;
 - Aukštaitian ethnographic core area, defined by distinctive ethnomusical and dialectological traits, but showing ethnoarchitectural affinity to the core areas of Vilnija and Dzūkija;
 - Dzūkian ethnographic core area, defined by distinctive ethnomusical and dialectological traits;
 - Vilnija ethnographic core area, defined by distinctive ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical traits;
 - Suvalkian ethnographic core area, defined by distinctive ethnoarchitectural and dialectological traits, but showing ethnomusical affinity with the Dzūkian core area;
 - ethnographic core area of Lithuania Minor, defined by distinctive ethnoarchitectural and ethnomusical traits, but dialectologically related to the Samogitian and Aukštaitian dialects.
5. The existence of regional self-perception reflects the vitality of ethnocultural regions. However, besides the ethnographic self-perception, related to distinct ethnographic regions, there is also more or less pronounced ethnocultural self-perception, which may be ascribed to the following historical ethnocultural formations: Selonian in the north-eastern part of

Aukštaitija region; Dainavian, which basically covers the entire region of Dzūkija; Sudovian in the ethnographic region of Suvalkija; and Curonian in Žemaitija. The inhabitants of the north-western part of Aukštaitija relate themselves to the historical region of Semigallia (Žiemgala). Because of the Semigallian self-perception, a separate vernacular region of Žiemgala is distinguished in the western part of Aukštaitija ethnographic region. The structure of Lithuania's vernacular regions comprises the following core areas of regional self-perception: Žemaitija, Žiemgala, Dzūkija, Sūduva, Aukštaitija and Lithuania Minor.

6. The horizontal and vertical structure of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions might be laid out based on configurations of territorial organization, ethnographic core areas and regional self-perception. The territorial structure of Lithuania's ethnocultural regions is divided into:
 1. ***Eastern ethnocultural realm***, encompassing the ethnocultural regions of Aukštaitija and Dzūkija:
 - 1.1. *The ethnocultural region of Aukštaitija* approximately fits within the boundaries of the ethnographic region of Aukštaitija, whose heterogeneous structure and fragmentation of regional self-perception (the identification of its inhabitants with the particular locality, town of residence, or the entire region) has been determined historically. This is currently reflected in the bipartite structure of the Aukštaitian ethnocultural core: East Aukštaitija with the centre in Utena and West Aukštaitija with the centre in Panevėžys. Under the urban influence of Vilnius, a separate sub-regional unit of East Lithuania (Vilnija) has formed. Utena is the region's most important centre and Panevėžys is the centre at sub-regional level; other local centres include Ukmergė, Biržai, Rokiškis, Kupiškis, Švenčionys and Zarasai. Vilnius should be also considered a sub-regional centre, but is instead defined as inter-regional centre due to the capital status and ethnocultural heterogeneity of the city.
 - 1.2. In the formation of *the ethnocultural region of Dzūkija* two factors were of decisive influence: the long-established boundaries of the functional units and a distinctive dialect that lent its name to the whole region. The concurrence of functional and ethnocultural core is now manifested in strong regional self-perception and rather conspicuous overlap of ethnographic and ethnocultural self-perception. Alytus is the region's most important centre, with sub-regional centres in Merkinė, Varėna and Lazdijai, and local centres in Druskininkai and Marcinkonys.
 2. ***Western ethnocultural realm***, encompassing the ethnocultural regions of Žemaitija and Lithuania Minor:

- 2.1. A distinctive character of *the ethnocultural region of Žemaitija* is largely determined by the centuries-long history of functional and administrative autonomy and distinct ethnocultural identity that has been currently evidenced by the presence of strong regional self-perception. Core of the Curonian sub-region may be distinguished in the western part of the Samogitian core area. The zone of core influence may be divided in to sub-regional formations of Šiauliai, Raseiniai and Paprūsė (Tauragė). Telšiai is the region's most important centre, sub-regional centres in Šiauliai, Raseiniai and Tauragė, and local centres in Kretinga, Plungė and Mažeikiai.
- 2.2. *The ethnocultural region of Lithuania Minor* was shaped by the long-established border of the state, which determined the functional, cultural and vernacular distinctiveness of the region. The present territory of Lithuania includes the northern edge of the former territory of Lithuania Minor. Perhaps for this reason the ethnocultural identity and self-perception of the region's inhabitants is rather inconspicuous. The Klaipėda-Šilutė core area may be distinguished within the region. Klaipėda is the region's most important centre, local centres in Šilutė and Pagėgiai.
3. *Transition zone*, encompassing the regions of Žiemgala and Sūduva:
 - 3.1. The formation of *the ethnocultural region of Sūduva* was strongly influenced by the development of territorial organization. Its core area is distinguished on the basis of the region's ethnographic and territorial organization. The region's core includes the Zanavykian sub-regional core. Marijampolė is the region's most important centre; sub-regional centre in Šakiai; local centres in Kazlų Rūda and Vilkaviškis.
 - 3.2. *The ethnocultural region of Žiemgala* is defined by the manifestations of regional identity. Supported by their northern neighbours in Latvia, the inhabitants of northern Lithuania foster their Semigallian identity. The region is also characterized by distinctive dialectological and ethnoarchitectural features. The regional centre is in Joniškis; sub-regional centres in Pakruojis and Žagarė; local centre in Linkuva.
7. The conducted ethnocultural regionalization of Lithuania reflects the currently existing territorial structure of ethnocultural regions. The methodology applied in the present research might be useful for further research in ethnocultural regionalization: for example, by adding possible new aspects of research; by updating the previously collected data obtained through ethnocultural research; by going into more detail about the structural components of the regions; and by applying the delineated territorial structure of ethnocultural regions in the fields of state governance and land management.

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**LIETUVOS ETNOKULTŪRINIS REGIONAVIMAS
ETHNOCULTURAL REGIONALIZATION OF LITHUANIA**

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