

KAUNAS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

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**MANIFESTATIONS OF LITHUANIANNES IN MUSIC
PUBLICATIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
Humanities, History and Theory of Arts (H 003)

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INTRODUCTION

Manifestations of Lithuanianness in the 19th century music publications is a complex and controversial topic in analyzing not only music publications but also the entire historical and cultural self-expression of the nation. This is a very difficult period for Lithuania, covering a little over 100 years – from the division of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 until the restoration of statehood in 1918. The period includes historical events such as Napoleon’s Warsaw Congress, Uprisings of 1830–1831 and 1863–1864 with all their aftermath, the closure of Vilnius University, the banning of the Lithuanian press and the emergence of censorship institutions.

In the 19th century, Lithuania did not exist as a state. Until 1918, it was a part of Russia, Северозападный край (Russian: Northwestern region), where separate provinces of Vilnius, Kaunas and Suwalki were formed. In such a political situation, it is difficult to discuss the cultural self-expression of a nation. Even more questions arise when defining the analysis of the manifestations of Lithuanianness in music publications. However, it is the music publications that are a sufficiently vivid and objective indicator of how the self-consciousness of the Lithuanian nation has changed, transformed, and re-formed, how its spiritual and cultural life has manifested, what has been preserved, and what has been lost in the conditions of complete ignorance and conscious spiritual destruction.

The period of the 19th century is chosen for the dissertation research. The more precise boundaries are not drawn by the formal calculation of years over centuries, but by the historical and political events that have fundamentally determined and shaped the concept of the period in question. Therefore, the dissertation deals with the period from the destruction of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 until the proclamation of independence of Lithuania in 1918. Geographically, the dissertation is also not limited to the formal borders of present-day Lithuania. This is due to the fact that the chosen object of research (sheet music publications) is not related to the geographical borders of the state; Lithuanian publications were published wherever Lithuanians lived and worked and also wherever there was interest and research of the Lithuanian language, religion and the whole spiritual and domestic life of the Lithuanian nation (Russia, Poland, France, Germany, Finland, USA).

The aim of the dissertation is to reveal, investigate and evaluate the manifestations of Lithuanianness in the 19th century in music publications, to analyze the peculiarities of publications, perceiving them as a multifaceted complex product of musical-cultural expression which had a significant role in the formation and development of national music, contributed significantly to the formation of national identity and at the same time played an important role in intercultural communication.

The object of research is the 19th century music publications related to the cultural expression of the Lithuanian nation in various ways. The term musical publication here refers to all publications with notes and those publications that do not include notes, but are intended for musical performance: hymns books, songs books, music dictionaries. To achieve the aim of the dissertation, the following objectives are defined:

1. To discuss the concept of national identity and its change in the 19th century;
2. To describe the historical, economic, cultural, and political conditions that determined the general and national relations of the 19th century features of music publishing;
3. To examine the nineteenth century musical publications from a historical, musicological, book research and culturological point of view;
4. To perform a structural analysis of the repertoire of publications;
5. To summarize the 19th century image of publishing Lithuanian scores and revealing the nature of intercultural communication, its forms and intensity in separate publishing periods;
6. To include in the 19th century music publications in non-Lithuanian languages into the Lithuanian scientific circulation and to supplement the general Lithuanian bibliography with them.

Novelty of the study. Until now, the examinations of the musical expression of the Lithuanian nation in the 19th century discussed only publications in the Lithuanian language and Lithuanian folk songs. They seemed to show the life of the Lithuanian nation and drew a clear trajectory towards the restoration of the Lithuanian state in 1918. Such publications were scarce, and they only reflected farmers' lifestyle and way of thinking and did not include the city's musical tradition and professional musical expression, which in turn stretched the threads into a state that had existed for several hundred years. After being limited to written folk songs, the opinion in Lithuanian musicology eventually established that in the 19th century the Lithuanian nation manifested itself only through domestic music. By not including in the musicological circulation other phenomena that were not so obviously related to the Lithuanian nation and the former state (first – music publications), the concept of Lithuanianness and the Lithuanian musical bibliography of that time were greatly narrowed. Thus, the novelty of this dissertation is, first, the expanded concept of Lithuanianness and musical Lithuanianness. For the first time in Lithuanian musicology, the musical expression of the Lithuanian nation is examined not only through folk songs, but also through professional music creation. The authors of these works were mostly or still considered themselves as descendant of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Their musical expression still reminded of the former state and supported the life and national consciousness of the Lithuanian nation.

Another feature of the dissertation indicating its originality and novelty is that for the first-time musical publications in non-Lithuanian languages, which in one way or another are related to Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation, are examined here. Until now, some of these publications have not been included in the general Lithuanian bibliography at all and have not functioned in the musicological literature.

The third aspect that describes the novelty of the dissertation is the interdisciplinary research method, which includes historical-cultural, book research and musicological methods of analysis. According to the research method, the publications of Lithuanian scores are currently in a paradoxical situation. Lithuanian book scientists usually discuss only hymns, which, by the way, were usually published without notes. Other music publications do not fall into the field of research of book researchers. Musicologists, on the other hand, do not analyze music publications either; they only examine the music itself and delve into the composers' biographies. Works that would analyze both aspects of the 19th century music publications – book science and musicology – do not yet exist in Lithuanian history and theory of art. Thus, the novelty of this dissertation also manifests itself through a complex research method. From the historical and chronological point of view, the general political, economic, and social situation of the Lithuanian nation in the 19th century is analyzed. This research and its presentation, as well as the concept of Lithuanianess and its development are based on the culturological method. From the point of view of book research, music publications are analyzed primarily as a result of the publishing process; the analysis includes conditions and reasons for publications, publishing and printing technologies, methods of distribution, natographic and polygraphic designs. From a musicological point of view, the structure of the repertoire of publications, genre diversity and stylistic structure are analyzed, the field of historical-cultural context, issues of intercultural communication and national identity are researched in greater detail.

Various literature published in Lithuania and abroad was used in the research. The abundant resources of Lithuanian, Polish, and French libraries and museum collections were also used. During the preparation of the dissertation, the latest literature and research, electronic databases were reviewed. In total, more than two hundred sources from archives, libraries, museums, and electronic resources were reviewed, studied and used in the preparation of the dissertation.

The **Relevance** of the research. Analyzing the musical expression of the Lithuanian nation in the 19th century and delving into the manifestations of Lithuanianess in music publications, the essential features of national identity, characteristic of today's social expression, are revealed. Through the analysis of these publications, it is possible to trace those features that constitute the most important elements of musical expression. Preserving and nurturing them is

important for the self-awareness and self-expression of modern society. Based on it, it is possible to predict and plan future guidelines for musical expression.

The structure of dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusions, bibliography, and appendices. The introduction formulates the main goal, object, tasks of the dissertation, defines the novelty and originality of the dissertation. The first chapter reviews previous research on Lithuanian sheet music publications and manifestations of Lithuanianness in the 19th century. The second chapter describes the general situation of Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation after the loss of statehood. The third chapter discusses different concepts of Lithuanianness that existed in the period under review or formed later, after the restoration of the Lithuanian state in 1918. The fourth chapter examines the change in the concept of Lithuanianness and its manifestations in sheet music publications. Publications in Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian are distinguished here. The circumstances of the publication, the structure of the publications, and the expression of the elements of the musical language are analyzed in detail. At the end of the work, the conclusions, bibliography, and appendices are presented. The appendices provide a chronological list of publications in Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian languages, as well as a genre typological compendium.

1. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH ON LITHUANIAN SHEET MUSIC PUBLICATIONS AND LITHUANIAN MANIFESTATIONS IN THEM

Lithuanian music publication is a significant and important part of Lithuanian cultural and musical life. It reveals the formation of Lithuanian national identity and statehood, as well as intercultural cooperation and communication with other European countries and their music centers. However, the Lithuanian music publication has not been systematically examined by musicologists so far. It is referred to as a related or secondary subtopic of other issues. An analogous approach is reflected in the recently encyclopedic manuals published in Lithuania, in which the publishing of Lithuanian scores is described here narrowly and episodically. Due to the lack of more in-depth research and unstructured sources, only individual parts of the multi-sheet publishing process are mentioned, without an attempt to cover the whole process. On the other hand, in individual works of musicologists there are especially valuable materials as well as a deep analysis of the publishing of individual periods or individual composers in articles and chapters of monographs by Bakutytė, Budzinauskienė, Kučinskas, Landsbergis, Trilupaitienė, and Petrauskaitė. But the perception of the whole and a consistent and systematic analysis of Lithuanian music publishing, its evaluation from the national and international points of view have not been performed so far.

The historiography of music publications of the 19th century is not abundant. This topic finds itself at the dividing line between book studies and musicological works about the 19th century composers, performers, concert, and pedagogical activities. Some of the noteworthy musicological research includes Budzinauskienė's, Kiauleikytė's, Bakutytė's, Šeduikytė-Korienė's, Petrauskaitė's, Bruveris' studies on the musical repertoire of the 19th century, musical life, musical activities of Lithuanian emigrants, music criticism, cases of musical Lituania, as well as Kšanienė's research on the musical life of Lithuania Minor, Trilupaitienė's detailed research on cultural context and biographies.

It is worth noting such group monographies as "Tautinio atgimimo metai 1833–1918" (2002) and "XVI–XIX a. Lietuvos muzikinio gyvenimo atodangos" (2014), in which Lithuanian musical life, cultural context, personalities and expression are analyzed in various aspects. Mention should be made of Landsbergis', Trilupaitienė's, Kšanienė's, Palionytė-Banevičienė's, Kalavinskaitė's, Budzinauskienė's, Šeduikytė-Korienė's, Vilimas', Petrauskaitė's, Landsbergytė's, and Narbutienė's research on Lithuanian religious music of the 19th–early 20th centuries, as well as the works of Čiurlionytė and Astrauskas, which reveal the situation, circumstances and biographical knowledge of song collection and publishing.

The authors who were born or worked in the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth territory are treated today very unequally by researchers from different countries. Differences in attitudes are particularly evident in the

commemoration of the anniversaries of such personalities or organizing international exhibitions or conferences for them. For example, while commemorating the birth anniversaries of Oginski (2015) or Moniuszko (2019), Lithuanian, Polish, and Belarusian researchers evaluated their work and activities very differently, emphasizing strictly the national characteristics specific to them and limiting the international significance of these personalities.

Some music-related publications are discussed in the works of book researchers. Data on the peculiarities, development and prohibition of book publishing are presented in the group monography "Lietuviškoji knyga: istorijos metmenys" (1995), the situation of book publishing from 1795 to 1864 is presented in detail by Navickienė (2010), publishing in the period of press ban is analyzed by Merkys (1994), and Lietuvninkaitė examines the development of books published exclusively in Kaunas from the second half of the 19th century to 1918.

2. THE SITUATION OF THE LITHUANIAN NATION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

2.1. Political, economic, social situation of the Lithuanian nation

Historians (Aleksandravičius, Kulakauskas, 1996) emphasize that the attitude about the most important goal of the Russian Empire to devalue Lithuanians as nation and Catholics, and to make them believe in the inseparability of Lithuania and Russia, is a vulgarized point of view and also does not correspond to historical reality. This attitude is not only found in popular literature, but also occurs in scientific literature. It must be borne in mind that the enlargement and strengthening of central government were a general trend in the 19th-century empires. With the partitions, the inhabitants of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth felt not only political but also social, economic, cultural and religious changes in life, the consequences of Germanization and Russification policy, which were directly related to the specific ruler's policy, not only in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also in other territories of the Russian empire. The economic situation of the empire deteriorated due to both the serfdom system and the failed technological innovations. The principles of Russification, which tried to exploit the cultural, peasant and other politicians, brought about the basic principle – to prohibit what cannot be controlled.

This direction of Russification was directly related to the post-revolutionary repression, confiscation of manors, increased taxes, recruitment, and deprivation of rights. After the suppression of the uprising of 1831–1832, the disobedience management plans of Polish and Lithuanian nobles, considering only Polish as nobles, were implemented. At the same time, in 1831, Russian was introduced as the official language of institutions, and since then only nobles from Russia could become servants of the provincial administration and even the post offices, treasury, and police. The educational situation had also changed; with the introduction of the Russian language as main, most secondary and monastic schools were closed. Russian teachers were sent to work in Lithuania, the curriculum was reduced – logic, political economy, morality and natural law, and natural sciences were removed. Instead of the history of Poland and Lithuania, the history of Russia was taught. In 1839, Polish language and literature were removed from the programs and teaching in the Polish language was prohibited. Cultural activities were also affected, and various bans on the Polish language in the press, cultural and public life were applied. Compared to the situation of the Polish language and culture, due to the status of the “village language”, the Lithuanian language was not considered dangerous, and language promoters were viewed quite neutrally.

After the uprising of 1863, even more stringent measures to suppress the population were introduced. In 1864, following the Russian concept of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the territory was declared Russian, announcing a program of

“restoration of Russian origins”, which decided to ban the Polish language in public, allowing it to be used only in church, not to allow Catholics (“Polish descent”) to work in the civil service and schools, to appoint Orthodox from the central provinces, to control Catholics, to expand Orthodox churches, to establish as many Russian schools as possible, to encourage Russians to move to the West. Under the plan of Orthodox domination, most of the property of the Catholic Church was confiscated, monasteries were closed, new activities were banned, and Catholic and Unitarian believers were persecuted. Following the provision to reduce the influence of the Catholic Church, churches were closed, construction of new churches, crosses and repairs were banned, bishop’s authority was restricted, services outside the church were banned, the Samogitian diocese center was moved to Kaunas, sermons were published from government-approved books considered an examination in Russian language and Russian history. Orthodox churches were built accordingly, and various state benefits were granted to those who converted to orthodoxy.

Most important ban was to change the Latin alphabet to Cyrillic, banning traditional Lithuanian press. Under this system, it was expected to change the self-awareness and mentality of the population rather quickly. The ban on printing in Latin characters affected both the printing and importation of publications, as well as prints in the Gothic font. Interestingly, this ban, confirmed only by the Tsar’s word, has been in force for almost 40 years. The policy changed only in response to the general crisis of the empire and the policy of “restoration of Russian origins” was abandoned in 1904–1906; in 1904, the ban on Latin printing was lifted, and in 1905 in the Lithuanian and Polish religion. However, the lifting of the bans only granted the rights of the national minority, while maintaining the principle of Russification.

2.2. Lithuanian cultural expression and national movement

When considering the formation of the nation, attention should be paid to the general tendency of the second half of the 18th century for the modern culture to emerge from the third – urban – class and to the coexistence of several parallel cultures, i.e., aristocrats and folk. French aristocratic culture prevailed among both German as well as Polish and Lithuanian nobility, along with a growing understanding of the value of the nation. The separation of nobility from others was demonstrated not only through language, but it was language that was regarded in historiography as a sign of lost nationalization. In the first half of 19th century, the consciousness of peasants had not yet formed, hence traditions and language remained without special efforts, which was recorded by the nobility interested in the creation of a nation. However, folk culture was not initially perceived as culture, but rather as a part of everyday life that had to be processed or at least the most appropriate texts for the period had to be selected before being shown.

It should be noted that Lithuanian national revival (education, publishing) initially took place in small groups, because, unlike the aristocrats, it did not have a suitable organizational platform. These groups differed in their ideas, concepts, goals, conservative Catholic and liberal trends, which were united by the desire to create literature in the Lithuanian language, to study and record folk art, to revive the nation's self-awareness. These hot spots, depending on the political circumstances, developed both in Lithuania and in the Prussian part, as well as in the centers of Russia.

Assessing the class structure of Lithuania, it is understood that at the beginning of the 19th century most publications in Lithuania were published in Polish, and after the uprising of 1830–1831, publishing was dominated by Russian. In the 19th century, most of the literature for peasants was published in Lithuanian, i.e. books of prayers, books for elementary school, calendars; however, historiography and poetry were also published, demonstrating that Lithuanian language is suitable as a language of science and literature.

Until 1861, there was a rapid growth of publications in the Lithuanian language. After 1863, with the ban on publications in Latin characters, the publications were printed in “graždanka” (Civil Script). However, only 66 prints were published, which were banned to read by the Catholic Church. Publications in Lithuanian were published in East Prussia, USA, even Russia, as scientific publications, the year of publication, publishing houses, and authors were counterfeited (counterfeit publications), indicating the date of publication before the ban in 1864. In the second half of the 19th century, the number of publications increased and the nature of them changed from secular to religious. At the end of the 19th century, Lithuanian fiction, language, and alphabet were formed, and original and translated works of literature were published. Prohibited literature was transported to Lithuania through booksellers' networks; the transportation of literature was persecuted, punished with both fines and deportation.

In 1883, the newspaper “Ausra” was published in Ragainė. “Ausra” promoted folklore, advocated for greater rights of the Lithuanian language, against russification and polonization, encouraged to be more conscious, take care of business and economy, romanticized Lithuanian origin, the time of dukes, paganism, proclaimed works of Lithuanian authors of the first half of the 19th century, presented fiction of other countries, wrote about the national revival of other nations. The ideas published in “Ausra” became the basis of the modern Lithuanian nation.

The ideas of “Ausra” were continued by “Varpas”. It presented bolder ideas of revival and liberation than “Ausra”, the principles of democracy, citizens' rights, developed national self-awareness, published articles on Lithuanian literature, language, folk art, economics, crafts, health, education, published original works by Lithuanian authors, translations, harmonized folk songs, including the original Kudirka's “Tautiška giesmė” (1898). “Varpas” wrote about the need for national

thinking, virtue, love of the Homeland, education in general and women's national education.

The divisions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth determined the foundation of national identity not in language or origin, but in loyalty to the values of the Republic and pride in the uniqueness of the political nation. Most of the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania naturally lived with multiple identities. Such a position was declared by the creators of poetry and prose Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Józef Ignacy Krasiński. Realizing the end of the political nation, it was resurrected through the herderian upliftment of the folk language and culture. The change in identity was also determined by the realization that civil dignity is not protected by the current ruler of the empire and the laws of the state, therefore it must be based on the spirit of the nation and its culture; along with the Kosciuszko uprising, peasants' self-perception changed from belonging to nobility to being a nation and these changes were recorded and envisioned by historians and writers Ksaveras Bogušas, Simonas Stanevičius, Dionizas Poška, and Simonas Daukantas highlighting the value of Lithuanian history and language. The idea of language as the main criterion of a nation, formed in the middle of the 19th century, expelled multilingual nobles from the central position. Such adherence to the concept of linguistic nationalism and the desire to include a person of multilingual culture into one culture hinders the perception of the 19th century Lithuanian history. It is important to emphasize that Lithuanians in exile created visions both in solidarity with Poles as well as in separate organizations, collected information about uprisings, Lithuanian and Gudian lands demonstrating not only the living tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also declaring a multicultural political rather than linguistic nation. Lithuanians in the United States were forced to quickly learn new forms of competition and survival, the Lithuanian community in the United States not only compensated, but also created new forms of national life, with some elements ahead of the Lithuanians of the Russian Empire; the returnees were no longer serfs but self-respecting citizens. In the USA, Lithuanians published newspapers, books in the Lithuanian language, and received newspapers prohibited in Lithuania. The national revival took place both in Lithuania and in Lithuanian communities in the United States. It should be noted that in the USA, the Lithuanian national revival began a decade earlier, was more intense, freer, and more productive.

3. THE CONCEPT OF LITHUANIANNES AND ITS CHANGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

To analyze the change in the concept of Lithuanianness in the 19th century, several researchers were selected, who analyzed both the nation in the 19th century in general and the development of the Lithuanian nation.

Mykolas Römeris (2006) discusses the genesis of the Lithuanian national revival in detail, distinguishing the description of the territory, the cultural and ethnographic condition of the nation before the revival, Lithuanian writing in the 19th century and the first signs of national revival. He shows the contribution of nobility, the emergence of the Lithuanian origin in the development of the country, the significance of the intelligentsia, political conditions, and the ban on the press. When discussing the process of national revival, he distinguishes the first stage of national revival from “Ausra” in 1883, the second period in 1887–1895, and the third period after the crisis stopped “Ausra”; Römeris also presents the genesis of “Varpas” and “Apžvalga” and distinguishes the main features of folk revival. Römeris distinguishes the years of 1895–1904 as the period of differentiation of parties and political movements, introduces the main parties, and the abolition of the press ban. Römeris states that the Lithuanian nation did not yet exist, there were only its preconditions, and the nation needed to be reborn. The creative rise of the nation was influenced by the weakening of the class system and the abolition of serfdom. It emphasizes representatives of the intelligentsia, the activities of gymnasium and university graduates, who appeared at the end of the 19th century, present the circumstances of publishing and distribution of writing during the period of the press ban.

Miroslav Hroch (2012) identifies non-controlling ethnic groups as small nations whose language tradition is weak, slowed, or constrained, and the state language is in many cases foreign. The nineteenth century for these nations in most cases was spent under three ruling empires – Russia, the Habsburgs, and the Ottomans. Hroch examines the case of Lithuania in the context of the Russian Empire, together with the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians. The author emphasizes that any manifestation of language or social activity was perceived as an opposition to power, the identity of the state was associated with the Russian language and Orthodoxy, so the Orthodox were forbidden any other identity. He notes that despite this policy, their culture was tolerated in the Baltics, Finland and the Kingdom of Poland. Discussing the case of the Lithuanian nation, Hroch points out that the Lithuanian national movement relied on the tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its union with the Kingdom of Poland. He mentions that although the lands of the duchy were conquered by ethnic Lithuanians, they were not the majority in their state, and points out that the Lithuanian nobility had a dual identity – a citizen of the Commonwealth and a Lithuanian compatriot. According to Hroch, the idea of Poles and Lithuanians as separate nations began to take shape only at the end of 19th century. He singles out

the newspaper “Auszra” and the intellectuals who worked on it spreading the message that Lithuanians are a separate nation. He notes that, at that time, the cities of Lithuania were mostly populated by Poles, Jews and Belarusians, while the majority of Lithuanians lived in villages. Discussing the case of Poles, Hroch emphasizes that it does not correspond to the features of the formation of a small nation – Poland was a state, from which the ruling class of nobility originated, there was a deep tradition of a national language, so their case is closer to Italian or German national movements. Uprisings and resistance to oppression, on the other hand, are still seen as classic examples of a national movement.

Vytautas Kavolis presented his system of six cultural elements as a culturological tool for the study of fiction in the essay “Signatures of the Epochs” (1991). Six elements of the new culture are suitable for the study period and the chosen topic. The properties of these elements are also visible in Lithuanian music publications: secular awareness is evident in the collection and public presentation of Lithuanian folk song collections, historical nostalgia is seen in publications emphasizing the glorious past and worship of nature, the joy of innovation in original compositions, social criticism in diaspora publications, activation of the nation is noted in publications where the image of the modern Lithuanian nation is formed. He singles out several main elements: secular consciousness, historical nostalgia, the joy of innovation, social criticism, the mobile man, and the activation of the nation. Paulius Vaidotas Subačius (1999) describes a three-culture model designed to examine the topic of Lithuanianness in the 19th century literature. This method is also suitable for analyzing the change in the concept of Lithuanianness in the 19th century music publications. In the first, the culture of accumulation of nationality, historiography, folklore, song collections and studies are updated. In the second, the culture of national liberation, efforts are being made to integrate Lithuanian symbolism, a modern and, simultaneously, eclectic concept is being created – harmonized folk songs, plays based on folk songs, richly illustrated publications. In the third culture of politicization of the nation, symbols are differentiated and ideologized. Subačius emphasizes that these stages do not necessarily develop consistently over time, they can develop in parallel and overlap; this is relevant with regards to sheet music publications in various parts of Europe and the world. Polish musicologist Ryszard Daniel Golianek (2018) examines various manifestations of Polishness. It is worth noting that for the study of musical works Golianek recommends the concept of “long XIX century” of Hobsbawn, which begins with the French Revolution in 1789 and ends with the First World War in 1914. (Golianek, 2018, 10) Analyzing the 19th century, he focuses on the Polish nation and the Polish state, without distinguishing other nations of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, especially Lithuanians. The object of his research is music created by composers not related to Poland. According to Golianek, since all artistic as well as musical activities are conditioned by national, cultural, and social phenomena, it can be considered a source of information about

the current situation, especially if it is vocal works or works with a clear literary title. (Golianek, 2018, 20)

As claimed by Golianek, manifestations of Polishness are found in two types of works: vocal works, in which the Polish theme is conditioned by a poetic text, i.e. in songs, operas, oratorios, and programmatic instrumental works. He singles out six ways in which Polish themes are manifested in musical works. There is a musical vision of Poland, expressed in the rhythm of a dance, usually polonaise or mazurka; musical reconstruction of Polish history; distortion of history; Mickiewicz's poetry in musical works; images and customs of Polish life; exotic depiction of Poland. (Golianek, 2018, 22-27)

Golianek's methods of manifestations of Polishness in music can be applied to the study of manifestations of Lithuanianness. Although the 19th century in the history of music did not form dances or rhythms typical only to Lithuanian music, a number of works named after Lithuanians or having a symbolic Lithuanian name were created and published from 1830. They can be assigned to the first, the level of ideas. Reconstructions of Lithuanian and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth historical events and the embodiment of historical personalities are recorded in the operas of Polish, Belarusian, and Italian composers. The poetry of Mickiewicz, who was named by Golianek as the creator of the border, has clear Lithuanian elements; his works were used by various composers. On the other hand, there is the question as to whether this principle is suitable for the search for manifestations of Lithuanianness in the works of Poles, who were former citizens of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, because there are possible various interpretations and manipulations.

Staliūnas examines the idea of Lithuania in the newspaper "Auszra", beside Antony D. Smith's four elements of nationalism (Smith, 1991, 74) (nations with individuality, history and destiny; the nation as a source of political, social power and the highest goal of loyalty; the freedom and self-realization of the individual who identifies with the nation; the nation's freedom and security as the conditions of peace and justice in the world) proposes to add common faith in the common origin of the nation members as characteristic of the non-dominant nations of Central and Eastern Europe, which forms a specific form of nationalism – ethnonationalism (Staliūnas, 2013, 273).

Algis Kalėda, examining cultural identity, emphasizes that Lithuanian creators were united by the common Roman – universal and cosmopolitan culture prevailing throughout Europe, and local culture was treated as superficial decoration, not even questioning the nationality of creators. The ideological breakthrough took place at the end of the 18th century – beginning of the 19th century, spreading the ideas of Romanticism and elevating the culture and art of the nation. (Kalėda, 2002, 95)

4. THE MANIFESTATIONS OF LITHUANIANNES IN MUSIC PUBLICATIONS OF 19TH CENTURY

4.1. Music publication in Lithuanian

The period chosen in this study is the 19th century and the beginning of the twentieth century, before the proclamation of Independence in 1918. When studying sheet music publications in Lithuanian, the usual periodization in Lithuanian historiography and bibliography is used: 1795–1861, 1862–1904, and 1905–1917. It must be stated that after the third division of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 until the second half of the 19th century only one publication of sheet music was published in Lithuanian. After the first music publication in 1833 until the end of abolishing the press ban in 1904, the number of publications is extremely small: only 23 publications. In third period of 1905–1917 several times more publications were issued – 156. Obvious growth is observed in 1904–1906, 1907–1910, and 1917.

There is an obvious tendency that publishing sheet music in Lithuanian was not a mass phenomenon. The works in the Lithuanian language were created and published by several people, the works of others were isolated or even random. It is the work of active personalities that can explain the increase in the number of publications.

Often the titles of vocal music publications, especially songs for voice and piano, less often for choir, were printed in several languages, e.g. Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, French and there are examples of text translated in parallel. One of the most interesting cases is the publication of sheet music in Lithuanian and Esperanto.

During the research period, 36 authors are found, but five authors dominate – Kudirka (1858–1899), Sasnauskas (1867–1916), Naujalis (1869–1934), Petrauskas (1873–1937), and Šimkus (1887–1943). They all created in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century in different parts of Lithuania and the world. Almost all of them were active figures in the national revival, combining many activities in their lives.

In the second half of the 19th century, only one music publication in Lithuanian was published – a song collection by Stanevičius (1833). In the second period, 1863–1904 piano plays are dominant (Kudirka, Pranaitis), other publications were published less; there are scientific collections of songs, songbooks, religious publications, and songs for voice and piano. In 1905–1917, vocal music prevailed: songs for choir, songs for voice and piano, excerpts from stage works for voice and piano, as well as two collections of scientific collections of songs and several revolutionary publications. Religious music publications are dominated by hymns and their collections. The instrumental music genre is represented by only a few piano publications.

After reviewing and analyzing the publications in Lithuanian with the main features, it can be concluded that their publication in the Russian Empire is directly related to the political events that took place. Meanwhile, the amount of music publications in Lithuanian published in other countries depended on the size of the Lithuanian communities formed in them (mostly in the USA).

According to the genres of music, the publications can be associated with the national revival. Until the 19th century more instrumental works were published in the middle of the 19th century, and with the beginning of the national revival, songs for the choir (as a reflection of mass and unity) became dominant. It should be noted that revolutionary songs were not characteristic of music publications in Lithuanian, they occupied a marginal place in the context of all publications.

4.2. Music publication in non-Lithuanian languages

The publications of the scores which are related to Lithuanianness in various respects can be treated as musical Lithuanika. This term was first used by the bibliographer Jurevičius in the Lithuanian magazine "Apšvieta" in the USA in 1892. Currently, the Lithuanian term of Universal Lithuanian Encyclopedia is interpreted in terms of a publication published outside Lithuania, emphasizing the connection between the topic (about Lithuania or Lithuanians), the author (Lithuanian or other authors) or the language. At present, according to this description, Lithuanian musicology considers as musical Lithuanika musical examples with texts about Lithuania's past, or inspired by Lithuanian nature. The description "Lithuanian" – "litewski/litewskie" is also found in the publications of several composers. There are „Pioska litewska“, „Bory litewskie“, „Rapsodja litewska“, „Litwinka“ „Mazur litewski“, „Dumka litewska“, „Kruk. Piosna litewska“, and „Litwin“.

Excluding publications published by Lithuanian authors in foreign languages, sheet music publications in other languages can be divided thematically into several parts: politicized romanticization of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, lost statehood, rebels and history; neutral romanticization of the Lithuanian landscape; the use of unique, even exotic Lithuanian history and folklore.

The romanticization of history was expressed by giving the names of kings and historical figures to musical plays. The most common form of such plays is polonaise, mazurka, and krakowiak. No less important are Lithuanian-themed operas. These works undoubtedly expand the fields of Lithuanian music, but the same cannot be said of opera music publications. During the analyzed period, patriotic themes are more prominent in chamber music publications that can be performed at home, among family and friends.

In general, it can be said that music publications in the 19th century, related to Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation in various ways but published in a language other than Lithuanian or by non-Lithuanian authors, constantly supported the

Lithuanian element in the public consciousness. These music publications connected and maintained the connection of the Lithuanian nation with the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth as if they were an invisible thread and indirectly connected the Lithuanian cultural consciousness with the period of national revival, creating a more favorable social context. The printing of Lithuanian music publications, which started at the end of the 19th century, took over the role of fostering Lithuanianness, pushing publications in the non-Lithuanian language to the background. However, even to this day, these “non-Lithuanian” music publications are the subject of much debate among musicologists in different countries about their incompletely defined national characteristics, nature, historical narrative, and ultimately the role they play in shaping the national consciousness and statehood of different nations.

4.3. Period of confusion (1795–1861)

With the loss of statehood and in the state of uncertain prospects for the restoration of the state, national inferiority and confusion were felt. At the same time, however, a transformation of national identity and national consciousness from the citizens of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to the formation of a yet unknown entity is observed. The publishing of Lithuanian music during that period is associated with the beginning of the collection and publication of Lithuanian folklore. Folklore with examples of notes was relatively small, but they were valuable in the development of Lithuanian music history. Folklore research was mostly published not by musicians, but by linguists, who studied and published songs as part of folklore.

Patriotic interest in their land, the desire to capture a seemingly endangered heritage encouraged writing and understandably, even translated, to publish folklore. This was not typical only in the case of Lithuanians – Greater and Minor Lithuania – many national nations of Europe collected their national heritage (Ramoškaitė, 2014; Hroch, 2012). It also has to do with Johann Gottfried Herder’s call to take an interest in his roots, a folk poetry that was simple and sincere, to be renewed through it. According to Ramoškaitė, herderian idealization of the past was another motive of interest in folklore, not based on philology or history.

The first collections of folklore with melodies were published in Lithuania Minor and Greater Lithuania several years apart: in 1825 by Rėza, in 1829 and 1833 by Stanevičius. Although Rėza’s publication is earlier, Stanevičius’ “Pažimes” is the only publication of music only in Lithuanian in the first half of the 19th century. Throughout the rich list of Stanevičius’ works, this publication of scores is special for both Lithuanian studies and musicology.

Publications of this period in non-Lithuanian language emphasize the honorable history and historical personalities. Publications from the fourth decade of the 19th century emphasizes the emigration of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth nations, the struggle for freedom. The topic of Lithuania is found in music

publications of Elsner, Kurpinski, Niemcewicz, Sowinski, Szymanowska. Attention should be paid to the influence of Mickiewicz's poetry and musical works created based on his poems.

The historical motifs which show the topic of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as Lithuanian history, are especially evident in the works of Polish composers Kurpinski and Elsner. Mention should be made of excerpts from Kurpinski's opera "Jadwiga", Elsner's opera "Jagiełło w Tenczynie", lyrical scene "Powstanie narodu", and other works.

Due to its content, popularity and influence, Niemcewicz's song collection "Śpiewy historyczne" is outstanding. It is an exclusive and popular publication with lyrics and songs about kings, soldiers, exceptional personalities and events of the Poles and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The music for the songs was created by professional and amateur composers. The publication has been published several times in Warsaw, Paris, St. Petersburg. The songs mention Lithuanians, Lithuania, Vilnius, dukes Gediminas and Vytautas.

An exceptional personality from the period in question is Sowiński, a Polish pianist, composer and music publicist who spent most of his life in France. It is important to emphasize that there is a clear Lithuanian theme in Sowiński's work. Sowiński composed operas, oratorios, masses, symphonies, concerts for piano, songs, pieces for piano. In the music publications of Sowiński published during 1830 Uprising and later, an obvious presentation of the common history of the peoples of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is seen only in the background of Polish culture.

One of the more original and significant publications is two Sowiński's songbooks "Chants Polonais: Nationaux & populaires" (1830). The second book contains three Lithuanian songs: "Piosenka Weselna litewska", named (Chanson de noce) which begins with the words "Pukszcutie lakszcutie kur tu", song "Sidir widir" (Chansonnette lithuanienne), which begins with the words "Sidir widir žalinielis woduy darża auga", and the third song is entitled "Podroz na zaręczyny" (Le voyage du fiancé), which begins with the words "Kayp tey szula wasariu ezieray". All three songs were published in French and Lithuanian.

Another collection of Sowiński's songs for voice and piano in French and Polish which highlights the participation of Lithuanians in the uprising is called "Album lyrique" (1833). The publication contains several songs for poems of Adam Mickiewicz, including "Death of a Colonel", presenting the death of a participant in the 1830 uprising, a Lithuanian, Polish, Belarusian national hero, Emilija Pliaterytė, who in the lyrics of the song is Lithuanian. Also, important songs for poems of Mickiewicz in this publication are "Faithful Authority", "Choir of Angels", "Song of Conrad" and "Do Konika kiejtutowego". The collection of Sowiński's piano pieces "Polonaise Kosciuszko" (1850) is another composition with a Lithuanian theme, including a piece called "Daina lithuanienne: iszeit pareik".

Musical publications of nobles Radvila and Oginski should be noted. Radvila became famous as the author of the music for Goethe's drama "Faust", while Oginski is best known as the author of the polonaise "Les adieux à la patrie". Radvila composed music based on poems written in German, French and Italian, so although the publications of his scores expand the historiography of Lithuanian music, they are not more closely related to Lithuania or Lithuanian cultural expression. Most of Oginski's published works consist of chamber music: romances in French and Italian and polonaise. The lyrics of vocal music are sentimental, without any patriotic implications, so the only manifestation of nationality is the genre of polonaise, both instrumental and vocal.

4.4. Period of Press Prohibition (1863–1904)

During the period of press prohibition, 23 sheet music publications were published in Lithuanian. They are dominated by dr. Vincas Kudirka's publications and include two sets of songs and six compositions for piano, two of which have been published for the second time and one for the third time. Also, during this period other authors published four collections of songs (Kolberg 1879, Bartsch 1886-1889, Juška 1900, Becenberger 1901), four song books (Kudirka 1895, 1899, Ereminas 1902, Vydūnas 1904), four publications of religious music (two Catholic Masses: Kalvaitis 1886, Burba 1887, two Protestant song books: Hofheinc 1894, Niemann 1902). In addition to Kudirka's piano pieces, two works by Pranaitis for piano with two or four hands were published (1893, 1894) as well as a song of Sorbian composer Korla Awgust Kocor (1822) „Gals yr 'tylējims" translated into Lithuanian by Georgas Zauerveinas (1894).

Collections "Kanklės" prepared by Vincas Kudirka were published in 1895 and 1899 in Tilsit. The first part of "Kanklės" contains 18 songs; they were harmonized by Rzepko, Poliński, and Niedzielski, but there is no authorship of the remaining ten songs. In the second part of "Kanklės" 24 songs were published, one of the songs is for voice with piano. Kudirka again collaborated with Polish musicians Rzepko and Poliński as well as Maszyński and Biernacki. Even though Lithuanian songs have been harmonized for Polish music, it is a very important publication, in which as many as 42 songs have been published, almost all but a few are authentic and archaic.

Six plays by Vincas Kudirka were released for piano: "Varpelis" (1893, 1905, Tilsit), "Dėdienė" (1894, Tilsit, 1905, Leipzig), "Sudiev mazurka" (1894, Tilsit and 1905), "Lepūnėlė" (1898, Tilsit), "Nemuno vilnys" (Leipzig, 1898 and 1900, Tilsit, 1905), "Bum-čik-čik" (1898, Tilsit and 1903, Tilsit). During the analyzed period, Kudirka's piano works predominate, but at the same time as Kudirka's plays were released in Lithuanian, two of Pranaitis' piano pieces for two and four hands were published – "Polka lietuvaitė" (1893) and "Mozūras lietuvaitėms" (1894). The song by Sorbian composer Korla Awgust Kocor "Gals yr 'tylējims" for voice and piano translated by Zauerveinas according to Hamlet's word (from

the Shakespeare's drama) is the only case in this period when a work by a foreign composer is published in Lithuanian.

Most of the publications of religious music (Catholic) in the period in question were not in Lithuanian but in Latin. However, Latin should not be treated as a foreign language, only as a language of the Catholic Church. During the period of national revival, although relatively few works of religious music were published, they were genuinely diverse, covering probably the entire possible genre amplitude of religious (church) music. These are masses (for both a solo voice with the organ and the choir with the organ), cantata, motets, hymns for the choir and a solo voice, and works for the organ.

The first major publication of a cyclic piece of music in Lithuanian is Kalvaitis' Mass (Tilsit, 1886). The title "Misziuos ant pamenklo sukaktuwiu penkiu szimtu metu nuo apkriksztyjimo Letuvos paskirtos kunigui Strazdeliui, nabaszniukui, sudetojui "Pulkiam ant keliu" of the Mass mentions the baptism of Lithuania and the author of the hymn "Lets fall on our knees", priest Antanas Strazdas. A year later, in 1887, under the pseudonym of priest Pailius in Vilnius, priest Aleksandras Burba translated Zientarski's Mass from the Polish language and published it as "Lietuwiszklass misziass su gaidomis (notomis), vartotinos katalikiszkose baznycziose Lietuvos ir Zemaicziau".

Scientific collections of songs were published during the analyzed period: „Melodje ludowe litewskie“ (1900) by Antanas Juška, „Fünf Dainamelodien“ (1901) by Adalbert Bezzenberger, in „Zwon literacky“ (1847) and „Pieśni ludu litewskiego“ (1879) by Oscar Kolberg. in 1847 and in 1879.

“Melodieen litauischer Volkslieder” (Lithuanian Folk Song Collection) by Christian Bartsch was published in two volumes in Tilsit in 1886 and 1889. It is the largest collection of Lithuanian folk song melodies in the 19th century. The lyrics were translated into German, the first verses were presented in Lithuanian, as well as insights on song melodies, texts and instruments were introduced in introductory articles, and instrumental drawings were provided.

Several song books were released during the analyzed period. Leon Eremin's song book "Songs for Four Voices (for Mixed and Male Choirs)" was published in Tilsit in 1902. Two years later, in 1904, Vydūnas' song book for the mixed choir "Lietuvos aidos" was also released in Tilsit. Juozas Naujalis published two song books in Kaunas: in 1904 he published the song book "8 Lithuanian National Songs", which was published for the second time in 1913 in Seinai. The second song book was published in 1908 "15 national songs. For mixed choir."

In the music publications of this period in non-Lithuanian language, the motives of the honorable past and historical personalities are still evident, but the emergence of publications with an exclusively Lithuanian theme is also noticeable. Among them are Chopin's "Lithuanian Song", Moniuszka's songs, Szymanowska's "Song about Vilija", Radvan's "Lithuanian Song", Osmanskis' "Thunder Gallop", and Kurpinski's "Lithuanian Song".

During the period of the press ban, Čiurlionis' piano plays "Prelude", "Nokturn" (both in 1900) and "Mazurka" (1902) were published in Warsaw. An exceptional case in this period was Butkevičius' waltz for the piano "Wspomniene Retowa" (1879). This is one of the rarer cases when a work is associated with a specific town. Attention should be paid to excerpts from operas based on historical themes, published during this period: Żeleński's "Konrad Wallenrod", Jarecki's "Jadwiga", Mirecki's "Rymund Xiąże Litewski".

During the period in question Sowiński's "Słownik muzyków polskich" is published, which is a source of musical-cultural information, musical personalities, events, patriotic attitudes, and romanticized history. At the same time, this book represents the atmosphere of the period between the uprisings of 1830 and 1863 in emigration. The biographical guide compiled in the diaspora about the musicians of a country that no longer exists at that time (the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) reveals a lot of information, such as political and religious views of the people described, the most important events and places for the author. Although the title of the guide declares Polish musicians, it is a comprehensive source of the musical situation in second half of the 19th century. The book covering the territory of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and presenting the values of the persons of the Great Emigration. It also contains a wealth of information related to Lithuania and Lithuanians. It includes a section dedicated to Lithuanian songs and attention to authors and performers of Lithuanian and Samogitian origin.

The collaboration between composer Sowiński and poet Adam Underowicz is noteworthy. A participant of the 1830 Uprising, Underowicz from Kražiai, published a book of poetry in French in 1878 in Paris. Many of his poems mention Lithuania, Samogitia, Nemunas, longing for the lost Homeland, the commonality with the Poles, and hate to the Russian empire. Sowiński composed several songs based on Underowicz's poems, which were published in French in 1864, 1870, and 1878.

Also noteworthy are the minor connections with Lithuanian culture in Czubski's scores "Pieśń do Matki Boskiej Ostrobramskiej" and "Modlitwa Jagiełły przed bitwą pod Grunwaldem". As one of the examples of the connection between Polish dances and Lithuanian natural and mythological themes in sheet music publication is the publication of works by the German composer Florian called "Karnawał Wileński. Zbiór tańców salonowych".

4.5. The period of rebirth (1905–1917)

After the abolition of the press ban, the number of publications in the Lithuanian language increased, as did the number of sheet music publications published before 1918. The increase in musical activity and publishing is associated with Lithuanian music professionals who graduated from the Warsaw Music Institute, Moscow Conservatory and St. Petersburg Conservatory.

The analyzed period saw the publication of collections of songs, song books, songs for a choir, revolutionary publications for choir, publications of religious and chamber music, such as piano music, and music for voice and piano, excerpts from stage music. The publications are mostly authored by Naujalis, Sasnauskas, Petrauskas, and Šimkus and predominantly published in Kaunas, St. Petersburg, Seinai, as well as Brooklyn and Boston in the USA. Kolberg's collection of songs (1905) was published in Vilnius and priest Sabaliauskas' (1916) in Helsinki. Moreover, 25 various song books were published from such authors as Naujalis, Vydūnas, Čiurlionis, Čepukaitis, Neimontas, Petrauskas, Niemanas, Šimkus, Gudavičius, and Tallat-Kelpša. Some of the noteworthy song books include Naujalis' *Dainos mišriam chorui* (1912), which was published in Lithuanian and Esperanto; the song book by Čiurlionis *Vieversėlis*, published in Warsaw in 1908 was the first song book after cancellation of the press ban. This publication included the sacral song by Strazdas "Pulkim ant kelių" and Kudirka's anthem "Tautiška giesmė." Song books by Šimkus (1912) and four by Neimonas (1909, 1910, 1913) are noteworthy, as well as those published in Minor Lithuania, written by Vydūnas (1907), Niemann (1910, 1911), and Gudavičius (1912). Many song books in the USA were released by Petrauskas (1909, 1909–1916) and Čepukaitis (1908, 1910, 1912). Only one song book was published in Helsinki by Tallat-Kelpša. Revolutionary song books from this period include those published in Minor Lithuania by Palukaitis (1908), and Petrauskas (1910) and two publications in the USA in 1908. Songs for the choir by Sasnauskas, Čepukaitis, Čiurlionis, Naujalis, Neimontas, Šimkus, and Petrauskas were also published during this period; they were for the most part works written by Sasnauskas and Šimkus and most commonly printed in St. Petersburg and Brooklyn, USA.

The publications of chamber music during the analyzed period are music for piano (9) and music for voice and piano (25). It is necessary to mention works of Kudirka (1905), Naujalis (1907), and Šimkus (1915), collections of piano pieces by Nickus in the USA (1910, 1914, 1915), and Stankevičius in Riga (1908). A larger part of publications is for voice and piano, which include publications of Naujalis, Sasnauskas, Šimkus, Kačanauskas, Tallat-Kelpša, Štarka, Petrauskas and others; places of publications are Kaunas, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Riga, and cities of the USA.

A special place is occupied by two publications with a clear Lithuanian subtext and symbolic covers. These are Krohn's "Lithuanian March" and Gudavičius' "Forest and Lithuanian" with very similar covers. Conductor Gudavičius composed melodies for Samogitian and Lithuanian songs. Op. 6 was published in 1917 in Vilnius. On its colored cover there is a knight's helmet, a spear, a red shield with Vytis; on one of the spears there is the Lithuanian Tricolor, at the bottom a village hut is pictured with a cross standing next to it, from behind the house you can see the rays of the rising sun. A very similar "Lithuanian March" is probably published in 1916. (Mažvydas Library dates it according to the available

copy, with the inscription “Written in 1916 Skliausčiai”). Krohn’s “Lithuanian March” Op. 55 was assigned to Gudavičius. In the center of its colored cover there is a knight’s helmet, a shield with the colors of the flag of Lithuania Minor (green, white, red), a flag, the same village hut, a cross, a tree, and sunlight. Some excerpts from Sasnauskas’ stage works and cantata “Broliai” (1910, 1914) were published in this period. Most of these publications were published in the USA by Petrauskas.

Several publications of religious music were released during this period. There are sacral song books by Naujalis (1906, 1908), priests Katilius (1910, 1913) and Čižauskas (1915), sacral songs by Naujalis (1906), Sasnauskas (1909, 1915), and Čiurlionis (1912), and a sacral cantata by Naujalis “Garbė didvyriui” (1909). Most of these publications were dedicated to organists in catholic churches. The places of publications are Kaunas, Seinai, S. Petersburg and the USA. In the period from 1905 to 1917, when the number of music publications in the Lithuanian language increased significantly, Lithuanian themes continued to be recorded in opera publications in non-Lithuanian languages. Mention should be made of Jarecki’s opera “Jadwiga”, Gorski’s opera “Margier”, Ponchielli’s opera “I Lituani”. Chopin’s “Lithuanian Song”, “Filaret’s Song”, works by Moniuszka, Żukowski, Karłowicz’s “Rapsodia litewska” are published separately or in collections.

Religious works by Naujalis and Sasnauskas, mass, hymns, works for the organ published in Poland, Germany and France are examples of religious music, which in their theme have no national aspect. The exception could be Naujalis’ Mass St. in honor of Casimir. Mention should be made of Štarka’s religious works published in Latin and Polish. It is also worth noting the examples of religious music created in Polish by amateur-composer priests, bishop and poet Baranauskas and priest Ambraziejus.

Sheet music publications by Maria Ludwika Broel-Plater can be considered as one of the cases of publishing works by women-nobles. Although she mainly composed chamber music, it is worth mentioning the song for voice and piano released in Vilnius in 1915 based on Jan Tarwid’s poems “Zlituj się, zlituj się nad polską krainę! : pieśń do badoślawnego Andrzeja Boboli” (Vilnius, 1915). Although the work was published in Polish and is intended for the Vilnius Church, it can hardly be considered a manifestation of Lithuanianness. Apparently, due to the lack of language, these publications were not included in the lists of Lithuanian musical bibliography, although they are mentioned in the works of musicologists.

CONCLUSION

1. Lithuanianness and the change of its concept are observed throughout the 19th century. Although its description in different languages (Lithuanian, Polish, Russian) varies in the published literature, it is possible to capture the general tendency, linking the concept of Lithuanianness with the historical events of that time and the changing conditions of economic, social and cultural expression. The formation of the concept of Lithuanianness and its modern content is based on the union of ideas of the authors examined in the dissertation – Römer, Hroch, Kavolis, and Subačius, because in many places they overlap or complement each other. Römer's proposal to link the beginning of the Lithuanian national revival with "Auszra" is also suitable for evaluating the publishing of notes in Lithuanian, eliminating Lithuanian-themed music publications in other languages. During this period, the first works in Lithuanian with a clear Lithuanian theme were published – Kalvaitis' Mass. However, later, the works of Pranaitis and Kudirka, published during the crisis period, as named by Römer, only further emphasized the rise of Lithuanianness, as did the songs published by the third period of political movements. Hroch's stages of development of national movement are suitable for the analysis of sheet music publishing. Although he considers the beginning of the Lithuanian national movement with the events in 1905, its first stage – the collection of folklore – took place in the first half the 19th century. During this period, not only several works of linguists who studied the Lithuanian language were published, but also the first publication of music in the Lithuanian language, Stanevičius' "Pažimes ..." was released in 1833. Thus, the stage of a new identity, one that was not singular, can be considered as the Lithuanian theme in the works of Polish composers since 1830 as well as music publication in Lithuanian since J. Kalvaitis' mass in 1886. The period of mass development has to be considered as the growth of publishing after the lifting of the press ban. The elements presented by Kavolis, such as secular consciousness, historical nostalgia, joy of innovation, social criticism, mobile person and activation of nation are also visible in Lithuanian music publication: secular consciousness is evident in collecting and presenting Lithuanian folk song collections, historical nostalgia is seen in worship of history and nature, the joy of innovation is visible in original compositions, social criticism – in revolutionary song collections, the emergence of a mobile person – in diaspora publications, the activation of the nation – in publications in which the image of the modern Lithuanian nation is formed. The principles of Subačius' three-culture model are adaptable in the analysis of sheet music publications. In the first, in the culture of accumulation of nationality,

historiography, folklore is updated, collections of songs and studies are published. In the second, the culture of national liberation, efforts to integrate Lithuanian symbolism can be seen, a modern, and at the same time eclectic concept is created, that of harmonized folk songs, plays based on folk songs, richly illustrated publications. In the third, the culture of politicization of the nation, symbols are differentiated and ideologized. Subačius emphasizes that these stages do not necessarily develop consistently over time, they can develop in parallel and overlap; this is relevant in view of the publication of sheet music in various parts of Europe and the world.

2. In researching the manifestations of Lithuanianness in music publications, Golianek's principle was applied to the attribution of music publications to one or another ethnic community. According to this principle, several features have been identified that define the connections of music publications with Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation. It was established that Lithuanianness in the 19th century music publications have had two main aspects: external and internal factors. External factors include the titles of musical publications, illustrative-visual material, themes and the plot line, depictions of historical personalities and the connections of the authors of the musical works with the Lithuanian nation. Internal factors include musical genres, elements of musical language expression, and the use of folklore. Based on these principles, the uneven nature of publishing Lithuanian music publications was revealed, where in the first half of 19th century, the external features of Lithuanian publications dominated (especially in non-Lithuanian language publications), and in the second half, the internal features of publications intensified, which first manifested themselves through more obvious self-identification of authors and identification with the Lithuanian nation. Although the 19th century Lithuanian folk music was unfamiliar (or very little known) to composers composing instrumental and vocal music, since 1830 a number of works have been created and published that are called Lithuanian or have a supposedly Lithuanian name. Such publications are classified as the first type of publications with external factors. They were composed by authors of various nations (Polish, Belarusian, Italian, Russian composers), including Moniuszko and Oginski. In the works of Mickiewicz, and which Golianek named as the creator of the border, there are also obvious external elements of Lithuanianness used in the music publications of his contemporaries. It should be noted that almost at the same time, in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century and against the background of the uprising of 1830–1831, the first musical publication in Lithuanian were published and works were named and published as “Lithuanian”, although they

were published in Polish. In them, Lithuania and Lithuanian identity are inseparable as separate and unique, but treated as a part of the history of the same Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth country. Due to the political situation and long-term common history of the period under study, Polish authors seem to naturally mention Lithuania, Lithuanians, famous Lithuanian (and at the same time Polish) personalities in their works, declaring a common history. This is especially noticeable in publications during the uprisings and after emigration.

3. According to the musical publications of the 19th century and even of the beginning of the 20th century it can be seen that the general civic history of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth has influenced music authors and folk music researchers inertly for long time. As a result, Lithuanianess in their work and publications was treated as one of the varieties of Polishness. Only in the second half of the 19th century and especially during the revival there was a clear break in the consciousness of music authors and a decision to create only Lithuanian music, to rely only on Lithuanian national music (folklore) and to publish it only in Lithuanian. This is shown by the particularly large emergence of relevant music publications at the crossroads of 19th and 20th centuries, which also testify to the final abandonment of the narrative of the history of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the illusion of restoring a common state.
4. After analyzing music publications from the genre point of view, it was established that at the beginning of the 19th century, music researchers and publishers paid more attention to folk music (first – Lithuanian folk songs), later it turned into original works of instrumental music with the use of separate elements of folklore, and finally the original works for the choir began to be composed. The interest in folklore was a common European trend in the 19th century. Instrumental music was the most neutral genre during the post-revolutionary repression and press ban. Choral music is associated with the movement and mass of national revival. Meanwhile, few instrumental works of religious music were composed and released, as church hymns and vocal religious music dominated here. Unlike secular music, the latter has been published in Latin, and its inclusion in the field of Lithuanian research remains debatable in individual cases.
5. During the research, a number of publications not mentioned in the Lithuanian bibliography, not included and unknown, were discovered and examined. The works discovered and examined in the dissertation expanded and significantly supplemented the 19th century field of Lithuanian music.

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IVADAS

Lietuviškumo apraiškos XIX a. muzikos leidiniuose – sudėtinga ir netgi kontraversiška tema analizuojant ne tik muzikos leidinius, bet ir visą istorinę-kultūrinę tautos saviraišką. Tai itin sunkus laikotarpis Lietuvai, apimantis kiek daugiau nei 100 metų – nuo ATR padalijimo 1795 m. iki valstybingumo atkūrimo 1918 m. Į šį laikotarpį patenka tokie istoriniai įvykiai kaip Napoleono Varšuvos Kongresinė karalystė, 1830 - 1831 m. ir 1863 - 1864 m. sukilimai su visomis jų pasekmėmis, Vilniaus universiteto uždarymas, lietuviškos spaudos draudimas bei cenzūros įstaigų atsiradimas. XIX amžiuje Lietuva kaip valstybė neegzistuoja. Iki 1918 metų ji yra Rusijos dalis, Северозападный край (rus. Šiaurės Vakarų kraštas), kur suformuotos atskiros Vilniaus, Kauno ir Suvalkų gubernijos. Tokioje politinėje situacijoje diskutuoti apie tautos kultūrinę saviraišką yra sudėtinga. Dar daugiau klausimų kyla apsibrėžiant nagrinėti lietuviškumo apraiškas muzikos leidiniuose. Tačiau būtent natų leidiniai yra pakankamai ryškus ir objektyvus rodiklis, kaip kito, transformavosi ir naujai formavosi lietuvių tautos savimonė, kaip reikėsi jos dvasinis ir kultūrinis gyvenimas, kas sugebėta išsaugoti, o kas yra prarasta adaptuojant, asimiliuojant kitų kultūrų patirtį ar pačiai lietuvių kultūrai asimiliuojantis ir adaptuojantis prie totalaus ignoravimo ir sąmoningo dvasinio naikinimo sąlygų.

Disertacijos tyrimui yra pasirinktas XIX a. laikotarpis. Tikslesnės jo ribos brėžiamos ne formaliu metų skaičiavimu šimtmečiais, bet remiantis istoriniais ir politiniais įvykiais, kurie iš esmės ir nulėmė bei suformavo atitinkamo laikotarpio sampratą. Dėl to disertacijoje nagrinėjamas laikotarpis nuo ATR sunaikinimo 1795 m. iki Lietuvos nepriklausomybės paskelbimo 1918 m. Geografiniu požiūriu disertacijoje taip pat nėra apsiribota tik formaliomis dabartinės Lietuvos sienomis. Taip yra dėl to, kad pasirinktas tyrimo objektas (natų leidiniai) nėra susijęs su geografinėmis valstybės ribomis – lietuviški leidiniai buvo leidžiami visur, kur gyveno ir dirbo lietuviai, ir taip pat ten, kur veikė kitų tautų atstovai, besidomintys ir tyrinėjantys lietuvių kalbą, religiją bei visą dvasinį ir buitinį lietuvių tautos gyvenimą (Rusija, Lenkija, Prancūzija, Vokietija, Suomija, JAV).

Disertacijos **tikslas** yra atskleisti, iširti ir įvertinti lietuviybės apraiškas XIX a. muzikos leidiniuose, išanalizuoti leidinių ypatumus, juos suvokiant kaip daugianarį kompleksinį muzikinės-kultūrinės raiškos produktą, turėjusį didelės reikšmės nacionalinės muzikos formavimuisi ir jos raidai, svariai prisidėjusiai prie tautinio identiteto formavimosi ir tuo pačiu atlikusį reikšmingą tarpkultūrinės komunikacijos vaidmenį. Tyrimo **objektas** – XIX a. muzikos leidiniai, įvairiais būdais susiję su lietuvių tautos kultūrine raiška, didesnę dėmesį skiriant autorinių kūrinių leidiniams, kurie, lyginant su dainų rinkiniais – studijomis, dažnai yra nedidelės apimties. Terminu *muzikinis leidinys* čia įvardijami visi leidiniai su natomis.

Siekiant pagrindinio disertacijos tikslo yra apsibrėžti šie tarpiniai uždaviniai:

1. Aptarti nacionalinio identiteto sąvoką ir jos kaitą XIX amžiuje.
2. Apibūdinti istorines, ekonomines, kultūrinės ir politines sąlygas, nulėmusias bendruosius ir tautinius XIX a. muzikos leidybos bruožus.
3. Išnagrinėti XIX a. muzikos leidinius istoriniu, muzikologiniu, knygotyrimu ir kultūrologiniu požiūriais.
4. Atlikti leidinių repertuaro struktūrinę analizę.
5. Suformuoti apibendrinantį XIX a. lietuviškų natų leidybos vaizdą ir atskleisti tarpkultūrinės komunikacijos pobūdį, jos formas ir intensyvumą atskirais leidybos laikotarpiais.
6. Įtraukti XIX a. muzikos leidinius ne lietuvių kalba į lituanistinę mokslinę apyvartą ir jais papildyti visuotinę Lietuvos bibliografiją.

Tyrimo naujumas. Iki šiol nagrinėjant lietuvių tautos muzikinę raišką XIX a. būdavo aptariami tik leidiniai lietuvių kalba ir lietuvių liaudies dainynai. Jie tarsi savaime rodė lietuvių tautos gyvastį ir brėžė aiškią trajektoriją link Lietuvos valstybės atkūrimo 1918 m. Tokių leidinių nebuvo daug, jie atspindėjo tik žemdirbio gyvenimą ir mąstymo būdą ir neapėmė miesto muzikavimo tradicijos bei profesionaliosios muzikinės raiškos, kuri, savo ruožtu, tiesė gijas į kelis šimtus metų egzistavusią valstybę. Apsiribojus tik užrašytais liaudies dainomis Lietuvos muzikologijoje ilgainiai nusistovėjo nuomonė, kad XIX a. lietuvių tauta reikšėsi tik per buitinę muziką. Neįtraukus į muzikologinę apyvartą kitų, ne taip akivaizdžiai su lietuvių tauta ir buvusią valstybę susijusių reiškinių (pirmiausia – muzikos leidinių), buvo labai susiaurinta to meto lietuviybės samprata ir lituanistinė muzikinė bibliografija. Taigi, šios disertacijos naujumas pirmiausia ir yra praplėsta lietuviybės ir muzikinės lituanikos samprata. Pirmą kartą Lietuvos muzikologijoje lietuvių tautos muzikinė raiška nagrinėjama ne tik per liaudies dainynus, bet ir per profesionaliąją muzikos kūrybą. Šių kūrinių autoriai dažniausiai buvo ar save vis dar laikė ATR ainiiais. Jų muzikinė raiška priminė buvusią valstybę ir palaikė lietuvių tautos gyvastį bei tautinį sąmoningumą. Kitas disertacijos požymis, nurodantis jos originalumą ir naujumą, yra tai, kad čia pirmą kartą nagrinėjami muzikiniai leidiniai ne lietuvių kalba, kurie vienu ar kitu aspektu siejasi su Lietuva ir lietuvių tauta. Dalis šių leidinių iki šiol apskritai nebuvo įtraukti į visuotinę Lietuvos bibliografiją ir nefunkcionavo muzikologinėje literatūroje.

Trečias aspektas, nusakantis disertacijos naujumą, yra tarpdalykinis tyrimo **metodas**, kuris apima istorinį-kultūrologinį, knygotyriminį ir muzikologinį analizės metodus. Pagal tyrimo metodą lietuviškų natų leidiniai šiuo metu yra atsidūrę paradoksaliajame situacijoje. Lietuvos knygotyriminkai dažniausiai aptaria tik giesmynus, kurie, beje, dažniausiai buvo leidžiami be natų. Kiti muzikos leidiniai į knygotyriminkų tyrimo lauką nepapuola. Savo ruožtu muzikologai muzikos leidinių taip pat neanalizuoja – čia nagrinėjami tik patys muzikos kūriniai ir gilinamasi į kompozitorių biografijas. Darbų, kuriuose būtų apimti abu – knygotyriminis ir muzikologinis XIX a. muzikos leidinių tyrimo aspektai, Lietuvos

menotyroje iki šiol nėra. Taigi šios disertacijos naujumas taip pat pasireiškia per kompleksinį tyrimo metodą. Istoriniu ir chronologiniu požiūriu yra analizuojama bendra politinė, ekonominė, socialinė lietuvių tautos situacija XIX amžiuje. Kultūrologiniu metodu yra grindžiamas visas tyrimo ir jo pateikimo būdas, lietuviybės samprata ir jos raida. Knygotyriiniu požiūriu muzikos leidiniai analizuojami pirmiausia kaip leidybinio proceso rezultatas, analizuojamos leidinių atsiradimo sąlygos ir priežastys, leidimo ir spausdinimo technologijos, tiriami šių leidinių sklaidos būdai, priemonės, geografija, pačių leidinių meninis, natografinis ir poligrafinis apipavidalinimai. Muzikologiniu požiūriu analizuojama leidinių repertuaro struktūra, žanrinė įvairovė ir stilistinė sandara, gilinamasi į istorinio-kultūrinio konteksto lauką, tarpkultūrinės komunikacijos ir tautinio identiteto klausimus.

Atliekant tyrimą buvo naudotasi įvairia literatūra, išleista Lietuvoje ir užsienyje. Taip pat pasinaudota gausiais Lietuvos, Lenkijos ir Prancūzijos bibliotekų bei muziejų fondų išteklių. Disertacijos rengimo metu buvo susipažinta ir peržvelgta naujausia literatūra ir tyrimai, elektroninės duomenų bazės. Iš viso susipažinta, išstudijuota ir rengiant disertaciją pasinaudota daugiau nei dviem šimtais archyvų, bibliotekų, muziejų ir elektroninių išteklių šaltinių.

Tyrimo aktualumas. Analizuojant lietuvių tautos muzikinę raišką XIX amžiuje ir gilinantis į lietuviybės apraiškas muzikos leidiniuose atsiskleidžia esminiai tautinio identiteto bruožai, būdingi ir šių dienų visuomeninei raiškai. Per šių leidinių analizę galima atsekti tuos požymius, kurie sudaro svarbiausius muzikinės raiškos elementus. Jų išsaugojimas ir puoselėjimas yra svarbus šiuolaikinės visuomenės savivokai ir saviraiškai. Juo remiantis galima prognozuoti ir planuoti ateities muzikinės raiškos gaires.

Disertacijos struktūra. Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, keturi skyriai, išvados, literatūros sąrašas ir priedai. Įvade yra suformuluojamas pagrindinis disertacijos tikslas, objektas, uždaviniai, apibrėžiamas disertacijos naujumas ir originalumas. Pirmame skyriuje apžvelgiami ankstesni tyrimai apie lietuviškus natų leidinius ir lietuviybės apraiškas XIX amžiuje. Antrame skyriuje apibūdinama bendra Lietuvos ir lietuvių tautos situacija praradus valstybingumą. Trečiame skyriuje aptariamos skirtingos lietuviybės sampratos, egzistavusios nagrinėjamu laikotarpiu ar susiformavusios vėliau, jau atkūrus Lietuvos valstybę 1918 m. Ketvirtame skyriuje nagrinėjama lietuviybės sampratos kaita ir jos apraiškos natų leidiniuose. Čia išskiriami leidiniai lietuvių ir ne lietuvių kalba. Detaliam nagrinėjamos leidinių atsiradimo aplinkybės, leidinių struktūra, muzikinės kalbos elementų raiška. Darbo pabaigoje pateikiamos išvados, naudotos literatūros sąrašas ir priedai. Prieduose pateikiamas chronologinis leidinių lietuvių ir ne lietuvių kalbomis sąrašas ir žanrinis tipologinis sąvadas.

IŠVADOS

1. Lietuvybė ir jos sampratos kaita yra stebima visą XIX amžiaus laikotarpį. Nors jos apibūdinimas skirtingomis kalbomis – lietuvių, lenkų, rusų – išleistoje literatūroje įvairuoja, galima fiksuoti bendrą tendenciją, lietuviybės sąvoką siejant su tuo metu vykusiais istoriniais įvykiais ir besikeičiančiomis ekonominėmis, socialinėmis bei kultūrinės raiškos sąlygomis. Lietuviybės sampratos formavimasis ir jos šiuolaikinis turinys paremtas disertacijoje išnagrinėtų autorių – M. Römerio, M. Hrocho, V. Kavolio, P. V. Subačiaus – idėjų sąjunga, nes daugelyje vietų jos persidengia arba papildo viena kitą. M. Römerio siūlomas lietuvių tautinio atgimimo pradžios siejimas su „Aušra“ tinka ir vertinant natų lietuvių kalba leidybą, eliminuojant lietuviškos tematikos muzikos leidinius kitomis kalbomis. Šiuo laikotarpiu išleidžiami pirmieji autoriniai kūriniai lietuvių kalba su aiškia lietuviybės tema – J. Kalvaičio Mišios. Tačiau vėliau, M. Römerio įvardintu kriziniu laikotarpiu, leisti P. J. Pranaičio, V. Kudirkos kūriniai tik dar labiau akcentavo lietuviybės kilimą, kaip ir trečiuoju, politinių judėjimų, laikotarpiu leisti dainynai. M. Hrocho tautinio sąjūdžio raidos tarpsniai labiau tinkami analizuojant natų leidybą. Nors jis lietuvių tautinio sąjūdžio pradžia laiko 1905 metų įvykius, jo nurodomas pirmasis, tautosakos rinkimo, etapas vyko nuo XIX a. pirmos pusės. Šiuo laikotarpiu buvo išleista ne tik lietuvių kalbą tyrusių kalbininkų darbų, bet ir pirmasis natų leidinys lietuvių kalba - S. Stanevičiaus „Pažymės...“ 1833 m. Tad naujos tapatybės, kuri buvo ne viena, etapu natų leidyboje galima laikyti tiek lietuviškų temų atsiradimą lenkų kompozitorių kūryboje nuo 1830 metų, tiek natų leidinius lietuvių kalba nuo J. Kalvaičio Mišių 1886 m. Masinės raidos laikotarpiu tenka laikyti leidybos išaugimą atšaukus spaudos draudimą. V. Kavolio elementų - pasaulietiško sąmoningumo, istorinės nostalgijos, novatoriškumo džiaugsmo, socialinės kritikos, judriojo žmogaus ir tautos aktyvėjimo savybės matomos ir natų leidiniuose lietuvių kalba: pasaulietinis sąmoningumas akivaizdus renkant ir visuomenei pristatant lietuvių liaudies dainų rinkinius, istorinė nostalgija matoma leidiniuose pabrėžiančiuose šlovingą praeitį ir gamtos garbinimą, novatoriškumo džiaugsmas – originaliose kompozicijose, socialinė kritika – revoliucinių dainų rinkiniuose, judraus žmogaus atsiradimas – išeivijos leidiniuose, tautos aktyvėjimas – leidiniuose, kuriuose formuojamas modernios lietuvių tautos paveikslas. P. Subačiaus trijų kultūrų modelio principai pritaikomi analizuojant natų leidinius. Pirmoje, tautiškumo akumuliacijos, kultūroje aktualizuojama istoriografija, folkloras, leidžiami dainų rinkiniai, studijos. Antroje, tautinio išsivadavimo, kultūroje matomos pastangos integruoti lietuvišką simboliką, kuriama moderni, kartu eklektiška samprata – harmonizuotos liaudies dainos,

- pjesės liaudies dainų motyvais, gausiai iliustruoti leidiniai. Trečioje, tautos politizavimo, kultūroje diferencijuojami, ideologizuojami simboliai. P. Subačius pabrėžia, jog šie etapai nebūtinai vystosi nuosekliai laike, jie gali vystytis lygiagrečiai, persidengti; tai yra aktualu atsižvelgiant į natų leidinių leidybą įvairiose Europos ir pasaulio vietose.
2. Tiriant lietuviškumo apraiškas muzikos leidiniuose buvo pritaikytas R. D. Golianeko principas, muzikos leidinius priskiriant vienai ar kitai tautinei bendrijai. Pagal šį principą išskirti keli požymiai, nusakantys muzikos leidinių sąsajas su Lietuva ir lietuvių tauta. Nustatyta, kad lietuviškumas XIX a. muzikos leidiniuose pasireiškė dviem pagrindiniais aspektais – tai išoriniai ir vidiniai faktoriai. Prie išorinių faktorių yra priskirti muzikos leidinių pavadinimai, iliustracinė-vaizdinė medžiaga, tematika ir siužetinė linija, pavaizduotos istorinės asmenybės ir pačių muzikos kūrinių autorių sąsajos su lietuvių tauta. Prie vidinių faktorių priskirti muzikos žanrai, muzikinės kalbos išraiškos elementai ir folkloro panaudojimas. Remiantis šiais principais atskleistas netolygus lietuviškų muzikos leidinių leidybos pobūdis, kur XIX a. pirmoje pusėje dominavo išoriniai lietuviškų leidinių požymiai (ypač leidiniuose ne lietuvių kalba), o antroje pusėje sustiprėjo vidiniai leidinių požymiai, kurie pirmiausia pasireiškė per akivaizdesnę pačių autorių saviidentifikaciją ir susitapatinimą su lietuvių tauta. Nors XIX a. lietuvių liaudies muzika buvo nepažįstama (arba labai menkai pažįstama) instrumentinę ir vokalinę muziką komponavusiems autoriams, nuo 1830 metų buvo sukurta ir publikuota nemažai kūrinių, įvardintų lietuviškais arba turinčių tariamai lietuvišką pavadinimą. Tokie leidiniai priskirti prie pirmojo, išoriniais faktoriais pasižyminčių leidinių, tipo. Juos kūrė įvairių tautų autoriai (lenkų, baltarusių, italų, rusų kompozitoriai), tarp jų S. Moniuška, M. Oginskis. A. Mickevičiaus, kurį Golianekas įvardijo kaip pasienio kūrėją, kūryboje taip pat akivaizdūs išoriniai lietuviybės elementai, panaudoti amžininkų muzikos leidiniuose. Pabrėžtina, jog beveik tuo pačiu metu, XIX a. 3-4 dešimtmetyje ir 1830-1831 metų sukilimo fone, išleidžiamos pirmosios natos lietuvių kalba ir sukuriami bei išleidžiami kūriniai, įvardijami „lietuviškais“, nors paskelbti lenkų kalba. Juose Lietuva ir lietuviška tapatybė yra neišskiriama kaip atskira, unikali, tačiau traktuojama kaip tos pačios ATR šalies istorijos dalis. Dėl tiriamo laikotarpio politinės situacijos ir ilgametės bendros istorijos lenkų autoriai tarsi natūraliai kūriniuose mini Lietuvą, lietuvius, žymias Lietuvos (o kartu ir Lenkijos) asmenybes, deklaruodami bendrą istoriją. Tai ypač žymu leidiniuose, išleistuose sukilimų laikotarpiu ir po to emigracijoje.
 3. Pagal XIX a. ir net XX a. pradžios muzikos leidinius matyti, jog bendra pilietinė ATR istorija ilgą laiką inertiškai veikė muzikos autorius ir

liaudies muzikos tyrėjus. Dėl to lietuviškumas jų kūryboje ir leidiniuose buvo traktuojamas kaip viena iš lenkiškumo atmainų. Tik XIX a. antroje pusėje ir ypač atgimimo laikotarpiu muzikos autorių sąmonėje įvyko aiškus lūžis ir apsisprendimas kurti tik lietuvišką muziką, savo kūryboje remtis tik lietuvių tautine muzika (folkloru) ir ją leisti tik lietuvių kalba. Tai rodo ypač didelis atitinkamų muzikos leidinių atsiradimas XIX-XX a. sandūroje ir tai taip pat liudija apie galutinai atsisakytą ATR istorijos naratyvą ir iliuziją atkurti bendrą valstybę.

4. Išanalizavus muzikos leidinius žanriniu požiūriu, nustatyta, kad XIX a. pradžioje didesnis muzikos tyrėjų ir leidėjų dėmesys buvo skiriamas liaudies muzikai (pirmiausia – lietuvių liaudies dainoms), vėliau tai peraugo į autorinius instrumentinės muzikos kūrinius su atskirų folkloro elementų panaudojimu ir galiausiai buvo pradėti komponuoti originalūs kūriniai chorui. Domėjimasis folkloru buvo bendros XIX a. europinės tendencijos dalis. Instrumentinė muzika buvo neutraliausias žanras posukiliminių represijų ir spaudos draudimo laikotarpiu. Chorinė muzika siejasi su tautinio atgimimo judėjimu ir masiškumu. Instrumentinių religinės muzikos kūrinių buvo sukompnuota ir išleista nedaug, nes čia dominavo bažnytiniai giesmynai ir vokalinė religinė muzika. Skirtingai nuo pasaulietinės muzikos, pastaroji buvo leidžiama lotynu kalba ir jos įtraukimas į lituanikos tyrimų sferą atskirais atvejais lieka diskutuotinas.
5. Tyrimo metu atrasta ir išnagrinėta nemažai iki šiol lietuviškoje bibliografijoje neminimų, neįtrauktų ir nežinomų leidinių Daugiausia tai leidiniai, kuriuose publikuoti kūriniai ne lietuvių kalba, sukurti autorių, savęs aiškiai neidentifikavusių su lietuvybe ar lietuvių tautiniu judėjimu. Atrasti ir disertacijoje išnagrinėti kūriniai praplėtė ir gerokai papildė XIX a. muzikinės lituanistikos lauką.

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