

Musical Culture of Podlasie: Change, Transformation, Assimilation

LARYSA LUKASHENKO

M. Lysenko National Music Academy (Lviv, Ukraine)

ABSTRACT. Podlasie is a territory of ethnic borderlands, where the Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarusian cultures have coexisted for centuries. Political conflicts of the last century and deportations during the “Wisla Operation” in 1947 have led to today’s situation where the territories of Northern and Southern Podlasie, which some decades ago featured a unified ethnical dialect, now differ in ethno-cultural terms.

In Southern Podlasie, native music culture has partially been recovered by people returning from exile to northern Poland in the 60s and 70s, while Ukrainian musical folklore has almost disappeared. Musical folklore traditions existed in the northern part of Podlasie (which was not touched by the mass transmigration of the mid-1940s) until the end of the twentieth century and continues to exist to a certain extent.

This article investigates the dynamics of this transformation in Southern Podlasie through audio recordings and published sources. Particular attention is paid to the processes of interpenetration and assimilation of the repertoire of closely co-existing Polish and Ukrainian musical cultures. The final aspect of the study is a comparison of ethnic and cultural processes in Northern and Southern Podlasie.

KEYWORDS: musical culture, Northern Podlasie, Southern Podlasie, repertoire, transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, the musical folklore of Podlasie has been practically unexplored from the perspective of ethnomusicology. Only in the last two decades has there been work looking at the traditional musical culture of Northern Podlasie (Лукашенко 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2017a, 2017b), and collections presenting the folk music itself (PPML 4, PPML 5, ТПУПП). Ukrainian ethnic territories in Poland, however, have been the subject of research by modern Ukrainian historians and ethnographers, including a monograph *Холмицина і Підляшшя* (ХП) and some separate articles on the traditional spiritual culture of Podlasie (Кирчів, 1996, 2002; Кравчук 2009, 2010; Стишова 1999; and others).

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the territories of Southern Podlasie have been actively investigated by Polish ethno-linguistic and cultural scholars, respectively studying Polish and Ukrainian language interconnections and mutual influences, bilingual versions of folklore texts, phenomena of bilingual culture (Bartmiński 1987, 1992; Bartmiński, Czyżewski 1997; Łesiów 2005; Bartmiński, Rokosz 2007), and problems of self-identification of the inhabitants, the peculiarities of the interpenetration of traditional forms of Ukrainian-Polish border culture (Adamowski 1992, 2005, 2011, 2014; Barwiński 2002; Bukowska-Floreńska 1997; Rusek 2000). Some articles have been devoted to the study of particular folk rituals and the folk poetic texts that serve them (Awramiuk 2011; Maksymiuk-Pacek 2014; Radzikowska 1994), based mainly on records from indigenous or resettled to these lands after World War II Polish-speaking inhabitants.

This article discusses the musical culture of this region from the standpoint of the Ukrainian folk tradition which was dominant some decades ago, particularly repertoire, musical features and style, influences, dynamics of transformation, etc., using mostly unpublished archival audio recordings from the last third of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Particular attention is paid to the processes of interpenetration and assimilation of the repertoire of closely co-existing Polish and Ukrainian musical cultures. Finally, the study compares the ethnic and cultural processes in the southern and the northern parts of Podlasie.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Today, the name “Podlasie” refers mainly to the Podlasie Voivodeship, created after Polish administrative reform in 1999, which occupies a large territory in the north-east of modern Poland bordered by Belarus, Lithuania and the Kaliningrad region of Russia. Ukrainian scholars describe it as a historical and geographical region (*Підляшшя* in Ukrainian) located around the middle of West Bug river, which divides it into Northern and Southern parts. In these terms, Podlasie occupies an area of 8050 square kilometers, between the Khelm region in the south, the river Narew in the north, the Mazowshe region in the west, and Polissya and Volyn in the east (Верига, Кубійович, Пастернак 1996: 2087); a similar definition is used by Polish researchers. Ukrainian historians often refer to Podlasie as being inhabited by Ukrainians, in particular, the “southern part of the Podlasie Voivodeship with the district towns of Bielsk Podlasky, Hajnowka and Siemiatyche” (Гаврилюк 2004) and the northern part of the Lublin Voivodeship with the towns of Biala Podlaska and Wlodawa. The administrative borders do not correspond exactly with ethnographic ones, and thus the eastern margins of the cultural area are situated in

the Brest oblast of Belarus. “Пудляше” or “Підляше” are phonetic forms of local Ukrainian dialects found there (Hawryluk 1999: 8).

The name “Podlasie” originated many centuries ago and the territory has a broad historical background. Records from the beginnings of written history denote Podlasie’s affiliation to the Kiev Rus. In 1340, Podlasie lands became a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while the official name “Podlasie Voivodeship” appeared in the administrative and territorial division of the Lithuanian Principality in 1520. In the nineteenth century, the name “Podlasie” was used only to denote the southern part of the region, located within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland, because the northern part belonged to the Grodno province of the Russian Empire. Southern Podlasie was also often called the Chelm region or Chelm Rus (in Ukrainian, *Холм*) because it was a part of the Chelm Diocese, and from 1912 it belonged to the Chelm province of Russia (Верига, Кубійович, Пастернак 1996: 2087). In 1931, Ukrainians accounted for 70 per cent of the total population, Poles 21 per cent, and Jews 6.5 per cent (ibid.: 2086–2091).

Podlasie was a unified ethnographic area, but over the last two centuries, the historical fate of its two parts – northern and the southern – has been quite different. They usually belonged to different countries and administrative formations, which subjected them to different historico-social processes, and protracted foreign influence affected the traditional culture of the both parts to varying degrees. The imperialist policy of the Soviet Union led to the joining of Northern Podlasie to the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1939, the Belarusian language was imposed in schools and in the press, and Belarusian nationality was introduced for passports. This policy was mainly continued by the postwar Polish authorities (Гаврилюк 2004), but due to the fact that the nationality of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Northern Podlasie was listed as “Belarusian”, Ukrainian residents were not deported during the notorious Wisla Operation¹. The territory of Southern Podlasie was, however, almost completely devastated (Купріянович 1997: 67).

Today, this demographic factor accounts for the greatest ethno-cultural disparities in the two areas; in Northern Podlasie, autochthonous Ukrainian locals constitute the bulk of the rural population, while in Southern Podlasie, the Ukrainian population is quickly vanishing.

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 1 “Operation Wisła” (Polish: *Akcja ‘Wisła’* or *Akcja ‘W’*) was the code name of a military operation carried out by Polish military and security units (28 April to 31 July 1947) that resulted in the deportation of 150,000 Ukrainians from their autochthonous territories <...> in southeastern Poland to Poland’s ‘regained territories’ (*Ziemia Odzyskane*), newly acquired from Germany, in the north and northwest of the country (IEU).

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF SOUTHERN PODLASIE

The situation looked quite different half a century ago. According to local researchers, Southern Podlasie is the only land, apart from the Lemky region, where within one or two decades Ukrainians returned in such a number, after the evictions of the “Wisla Operation” that many villages became mostly Ukrainian once again (Шепелюк 1993: 3).

Local historian, Pavlo Shepelyuk, personally investigated many villages of Southern Podlasie, talking with local residents in a small area between the Slavatychi–Vyshnychi–Radzyń Podlaski highway and the Brest–Biała Podlaska–Mezhyrich highway². Taking into account feelings of national identity and language, as well as religion and belonging, he identified up to three dozen villages where Ukrainians were in the majority, or their population was approximately equal to the Polish population, up to two dozen villages where the number of Ukrainians was smaller or represented by a few families, and up to two dozen villages outside the designated area where Ukrainians lived (ibid.).

The return of departed Ukrainians to their fatherland allowed local ethnographer, Ivan Ihnatyuk, to record a number of Ukrainian folk songs in the 1970s and 80s. He visited 31 villages, mainly in Wlodava and Biala Podlaska counties, and recorded more than 1200 songs, details of calendar and family rituals, folk narratives, and other ethnographic information (Лукашенко 2008b: 102). The audio archive consists of Ukrainian calendar and family-ritual songs (about one third of the recordings), non-ritual and influx songs of literary origin (including church carols, an import from Russian and Polish cultures), and a small number of native Polish songs (Лукашенко 2010: 58). Calendar ritual music is mostly represented by spring songs, while winter and summer tunes are rare. The family ritual repertoire is represented more abundantly, especially in wedding songs, but Christening and funeral songs are presented, as well. Such a disproportion between the song genres can be explained by natural processes influencing the decline of traditional musical cultures. Thus, the Kupalo ritual (Midsummer festival) was the first to have gone away, whereas the Kupalo songs were sung only by people who were born in 1900s–1920s (a similar situation is typical of Northern Podlasie)³ (see music example 1).

Authentic winter ritual songs were scarce too, because, during the 20th century, traditional winter songs called *kolyadki* (колядки) were replaced by an influx of church carols. Spring ritual songs, or, as they were called in Southern Podlasie, *volodarki* (володарки), were found in the repertoire of contributors born before the 1930s and

2 See the map of Southern Podlasie (<http://www.holm-kyiv.org.ua/kartografiya/>).

3 In 1999–2002 the author of these papers together with Halyna Pokhylevych carried out a number of folk expeditions in the Northern Podlasie. The materials are published in the folksong collection “Traditional Songs of Ukrainians of Northern Podlasie” (ТІІІІІІ).

40s (music example 2). In other words, the tradition of spring ritual singing was active until the middle of the twentieth century (Ігнатюк 1999: 32; Лукашенко 2010: 58), while the variety of spring songs recorded in this and adjacent territories was much greater in the 19th century, for example in the collection of Oscar Kolberg (Kolberg 1890, 1891). They were called *vesnyanky* (*веснянки*), *zalimany* (*залімани*), and *khakhulki* (*хахулки*), but none of these can be found today (Adamowski 2014: 37).

Wedding songs were the most durable, as they were often performed by young singers, as well as the older contributors we would expect to maintain traditions. The Ukrainian wedding in Podlasie consisted of several acts with a prologue, *divosnuby* (*дівоснуби*)⁴, succeeded by a dramatic interlude, and an epilogue, *perezva* (*перезва*)⁵, each important moment of which was accompanied by ritual music. The majority of vocal wedding music was made up of *svashyni pisni* (*свашині пісні* – matchmaker’s songs)⁶ (music example 3). The wedding ritual songs recorded by Ihnatyuk represent the full diversity of rhythmical and melodic types and, in addition, he recorded many wedding dance songs, among which there are Polish songs called *przepirky* or *przep’yurky* which were often performed in Ukrainian (Лукашенко 2010: 60–61).

According to ethnolinguist Jerzy Bartmiński, who worked in Southern Podlasie in the latter half of the 20th century, the inhabitants were fluent in two languages, or more precisely, in their regional dialects. Specific cultural elements were also borrowed, such as the baking of *korovay* (*коровай*), a wedding bread common in the Polish context only in the river Bug region. It has a range of associated rituals (e.g., baking, decoration, sharing, etc.), songs and dances, whereas “kolach” the usual Polish traditional wedding bread, is mainly associated with the wedding itself. Baking and sharing the *korovay* among the guests at the end of a wedding were accompanied by ritual singing, often in Ukrainian (in native dialect: “po-khakhlacki”, “po-ruski”) (Maksymiuk-Pacek 2014: 119–121). This rite existed not only in Southern Podlasie, but also extended beyond its borders with some slight changes; in the western part of the Lublin Voivodeship, for example, the same songs were performed in Polish. Typologically, these songs correspond to the most common Ukrainian wedding songs, those with basic six-syllable tirades (Adamowski 2014: 36–37). The Polish singers in Hansk village, Vlodava county, mentioned that in the 1950s and 60s, during Easter time, they used to play spring

4 Matchmaking, i.e. the first visit payed by a groom (*кавалер*) and his spokesman (*маршалок*) to the girl’s family for getting their agreement.

5 The delegation from the bride’s family which carries a chest with a dowry to the groom’s house at the end of the wedding. The chest is traded, then all the guests together with the bridal couple have a dinner.

6 The first matchmaker’s song usually begins with the phrase *Дай нам, свахо, сира* (‘Give us, matchmaker, some cheese’).

games accompanied by songs, including “Zelman”, which is definitely of Ukrainian origin, since there are many analogues there (EK-160/10) (music example 4).

In the expeditions of the mid-1990s, I discovered that talented performers, both Polish and Ukrainian, had roughly equal numbers of Ukrainian and Polish songs in their repertoires. A woman of Polish nationality, born in 1916 in the Volyn region and living in Southern Podlasie since 1943, told me: “On Christmas they went all together, first to celebrate Polish holidays, then – Rusyn. <...> as they went to the Polish, they sang in Polish, to the Rusyns – in Rusyn”. Immediately she illustrated her words by performing several Ukrainian and Polish Christmas songs (EK-160/05). She also had in her repertoire five wedding ritual songs in Ukrainian, two Polish wedding songs, as well as several dancing songs, Ukrainian summer and harvesting ones, Polish funeral songs and a few non-ritual ones, both Polish and Ukrainian. So, it is evident that she learned the Polish and Ukrainian traditions of her native area, creating a repertoire that was later enriched by the songs of the area where she was living in the second half of her life. The existence of both Ukrainian and Polish ritual and non-ritual songs in local repertoires is a characteristic phenomenon of bi-national villages (as confirmed in, for example, Adamowski 1992; Bartminski, Rokosz 2007).

It is characteristic of the region that a single tune can be found with many poetic texts in both Polish and Ukrainian, so-called “krakowiak” song. The songs are short, usually one-verse, performed on different occasions, often at the beginning of a wedding, before going to church, when guests present the bridal couple with gifts or money, or at any other time, as well (music example 5). These songs are also popular in the neighboring territory of Galicia, where they are likely to have migrated from Poland, inasmuch as in other west Ukrainian territories the short wedding songs are in the form of kolomyika (коломийка)⁷ (Carpathian region and adjacent areas) or tonic verse songs (Volyn, Western Polissya).

A characteristic peculiarity of Podlasie, both in its northern and southern parts, was the spread of the “Plon” type of harvesting song (so called after the first word of the refrain) that was distributed in the western direction and was inherent in the Polish tradition (music example 6). It is interesting that it was performed in a bilingual version, which testifies to a lengthy assimilation in Ukrainian culture (Лукашенко 2011: 132–133). The area of distribution of another bilingual harvesting song type recorded in Southern Podlasie, which contains verses with syllabic structure 433(2), extends east to the origins of the river Prypyat in Western Polissya (music example 7).

Instrumental music was a key connecting element in the coexistence of Ukrainian and Polish cultures, since instrumental ensembles consisted of local musicians, both Poles and Ukrainians, which accompanied all necessary ritual

7 A short, mainly one-verse song with a specific syllabic structure 446(2).

and non-ritual events. The composition of the ensembles was mixed: the main basic instruments traditionally being a violin and a tambourine, or two violins and a tambourine. The instrumental ensemble could be complemented by other instruments: harmonica, accordion, trumpet, clarinet, bass (tubes), etc., as well as different kinds of panpipes (*sopilka* 'сопілка', *floyara* 'флояра'), found mainly among shepherds.

Similar configurations are typical for instrumental ensembles of neighboring Western Podlattia and their repertoires are also similar. For example, at a wedding, musicians played marches, polkas, waltzes, krakowiaks, obereks, foxtrots, tangos, etc. Certain melodies were played at ceremonial moments, such as the blessing of the bridal couple before marriage⁸; the waltz was played when the bride's head was covered with a headscarf⁹, accompanied by ritual singing¹⁰ (EK-160/02, 160/03).

After World War II, in addition to traditional ensembles, many brass orchestras gained popularity. Their repertoire was similar to that of ensembles in many cases, and they provided the same function of accompanying weddings and other public entertainments. According to respondents, only rich people could invite a brass band for a wedding, whereas people with an average income continued hiring instrumental ensembles. Respondents also mentioned that unconventional ensembles existed after World War II that included the domra and the balalaika, obviously influenced by Russian culture (the territory of the Southern Podlasie was a part of the Russian Empire for about 130 years; EK-160/02).

At the time of my fieldwork in 1996, the instrumental tradition of the Southern Podlasie was quite vibrant in comparison with singing culture and I recorded performances of several instrumental ensembles and joint singing and instrumental performances, as well. This latter form is more typical of the Polish musical tradition, whereas in Ukrainian culture musical instruments sometimes accompany the ritual singing at weddings and during Christmas rituals, etc. Overall, the traditional instrumental music and song traditions of Southern Podlasie are characterized by a slight Russian influence and I recorded several church carols, non-ritual songs and humorous songs called *chastushka* (*частушка*), performed in old Slavic and Russian (EK-160).

In general, half a century ago and earlier, the musical culture of Southern Podlasie was marked by the interconnection of Polish and Ukrainian traditions with, as noted above, a slight Russian influence, although the Ukrainian substratum

8 Before church marriage, relatives bless the bridal couple, then the bride and the groom go to the church in separate carts.

9 At the end of a wedding, after the dinner with *perezva* (*перезва*), the wreath is taken off the bride's head and a headscarf is put on.

10 By the way, the instrumental ensemble's musician wages were quite high. For the wedding service everyone earned up to one hundred zlotys, which was approximately equal to the cost of a cow.

in Polish culture somewhat dominated. Over the last two or three decades, the Ukrainian musical culture of Southern Podlasie has mostly vanished. As Ihnatyuk noted, “the world in which I had been born and lived during my childhood has passed... Not only is the Ukrainian musical culture disappearing, but also the dialect which was spoken not only by the orthodox inhabitants, but also by Catholics, whose ancestors moved to the Latin church at the beginning of the twentieth century. A few of them are speaking Ukrainian” (Купріянович 2001: 1).

As it turned out, on my recent expedition in the summer of 2017, the last traditional singer from the Kijowiec village of Biala Podlyaska county had died. Although there are still a few people speaking Ukrainian in this village, they have no opportunity to use it because the vast majority speaks Polish. Assimilation processes absorb the rare appearances of Ukrainian tradition. In today’s conditions, marked by the domination of Polish mass culture, there is a mass renunciation of parental heritage, such as language, culture, and faith, by the middle and younger generations. A kind of stage folklore has replaced traditional musical culture. In 2017, at a regional folklore festival in the Khansk village of Volodava county only two Ukrainian songs were performed in a series of performances.

The traditional musical culture of Southern Podlasie has undergone many transformations during the last century, from the domination of Ukrainian tradition in the first half, to a brief period of recreation in the 1960s to 1980s, as people returned from exile, and finally to an absolute decline, which began approximately in the 90s and is now almost complete.

The modern musical tradition of this region is heterogeneous, since people from different regions of Poland settled the area after World War II, which had brought many deaths and a total deportation of Ukrainians in the second half of the 1940s. The second and third generations of Ukrainians who returned from exile to their native land became gradually involved in Polish social and church culture and finally assimilated with the Polish environment.

THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF NORTHERN PODLASIE

Traditional musical culture of Northern Podlasie, unlike the Southern, was not affected by the same demographic cataclysms (apart, of course, from the pervasive, devastating effects of the World Wars I and II). The extensive field study of the musical culture of this region that I conducted in the early 2000s¹¹ makes it possible

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 11 The records were made in 39 settlements, located in 6 counties and 17 districts; 53 sessions were held, about one and a half thousand traditional songs were recorded, about two thirds of them ritual songs. The materials are preserved in ALME (EK-184, 186, HI-19).

to draw some conclusions and despite the natural process of the decline of folk music common over the last few decades, the traditions of Northern Podlasie were preserved quite well, although mainly in passive or stage forms.

The predominant cultures in the rural areas were autochthonous Ukrainian and Belarusian (the borderland is located in the basin of river Narew), although they were touched by Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian influences. So, how have the ethnic boundaries and the constant influence of foreign nationalities affected the traditional musical culture of this region? The most significant changes to the traditional repertoire have come from three hundred years of coexistence with the Orthodox Church, and as a result most of the traditional Christmas songs¹² were replaced by church carols (music example 8). It is obvious that the influence of the church itself contributed to the decline and disappearance of traditional folk rituals, replaced by church rituals and ceremonies (Лукашенко 2017a: 204, 2017b: 117).

The strict prohibition against singing during the Great Fast affected the rituals and the timing of the performance of the spring songs. The church contributed to the decline of the Kupalo rituals and the associated ritual songs. In addition, religious doctrine often prohibited the performance of secular songs, especially during the Fast, contributing to the decline of seasonal rituals and music (Лукашенко 2009: 110–111, 2017a: 204–205).

The Russian Empire, too, was a notable influence on the folk repertoire of Northern Podlasia. About 10 to 15 per cent of the common non-ritual songs were Russian, with *chastushki*, often performed in the ritual context of weddings and christenings, being particularly popular (music example 9). The Russian romances, probably brought by returning exiles who had been evacuated to Russia during World War I, were well liked, too (Лукашенко 2017a: 205, 2017b: 118). Common Ukrainian non-ritual songs also migrated to Podlasie in this way. These include such songs as “Летить галка через балку” (‘The pebble flies over the *beam*’), “Візьму я коновочки та й піду по воду” (‘I will take *buckets* and go to bring water’), etc. The fact that the songs are borrowed is evidenced by the misunderstanding of some unfamiliar dialectal words by the performers, and the replacement of them by phonologically close and more comprehensible words. For example, the beginning of the first song as performed in Podlasie sounds “Летить галка через Байкал” (‘The pebble flies over *Baikal*’¹³), the second – “Візьму я канавоя...” (‘I will take a *convo* and go to bring water’) (music example 10).

A small part of the repertoire consists of songs that migrated and were assimilated from Polish and Belarusian cultures “Oj siadaj siadaj, moje kochanie” (‘Oh, sit

12 Nevertheless, on the basis of the materials gathered, it was possible to restore practically the entire genre and song types’ picture found in winter ritual music (Лукашенко 2008a).

13 The biggest lake of Russia.

down, sit down, my love') (Poland), "Ой лятели гусі з броду" ('Geese flew from a ford') (Belarus). Moreover, all of the borrowed songs are performed mainly in the language of the original¹⁴ (Лукашенко 2017a: 20, 2017b: 118). Thus, as it turns out, outside cultural influence has significantly impacted the repertoire¹⁵. Singers clearly distinguish their local songs from those that come from outside. With regard to foreign influences on syntax, morphology, and phonetics, it can be assumed that these interferences are minimal (although such a topic deserves a separate, thorough study).

Despite the good conditions for preserving traditional musical culture in Northern Podlasie, it was not possible to record folk songs, especially ritual ones, in every village. In many settlements only the non-ritual repertoire has been preserved; when it came to ritual songs, the respondents answered that these types of songs had disappeared and directed me to other villages where they had recently heard such songs. Instead of the ritual songs I sought, they performed common popular ones, calling them ritual songs, or the common one-verse songs mentioned above. This testifies to the extinction of folklore traditions through the loss of succession and continuity. In such conditions, folk songs often are distorted, and undergo irreparable syntactic and morphological changes. This is largely facilitated, especially in recent decades, by the active assimilation processes taking place in society (Лукашенко 2017b: 115).

The tradition of instrumental ensembles in Northern Podlasie was less developed than that in the south. Here shepherd culture dominates with corresponding instruments that reveal the Baltic influence. These are mainly aerophones (pipes made of the bark, horns, different kinds of whistles), although there were instrumental ensembles, too, which included violin, accordion and tambourine (Мацієвський 2003).

The processes of assimilation with Polish culture have affected the native culture of Northern Podlasie too. After World War II, the number of inhabitants gradually increased with Polish settlers coming in from the west. The farmstead system of settlements has almost disappeared, urbanization has gradually increased and the radio and television era has led to the gradual disappearance of ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences. However, the Polish government's policy supports national communities, the local Ukrainian and Belarusian press, radio and television, various cultural events like concerts, festivals, and contests, etc., and so plays an important role in preserving the local culture of Ukrainian and Belarusian minorities.

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14 Of course, this is not pure language, but assimilated and folklorized, so songs in their verbal-textual part undergo specific lexical and morphological-phonetic changes.

15 Songs from outside the region make up about 25 per cent of the non-ritual repertoire and are of widespread popularity.

The Union of Ukrainians of Podlasie actively supports the preservation of traditional musical culture, offering many events such as workshops that are aimed at the bringing older generations who still carry traditional culture together with younger people who want to engage with and learn the culture. There are many youth and children's groups performing folk music on stage. The Union also maintains close contacts with folk music ensembles from Ukraine, frequent guests in different arts events. Such ethnographic and folklore performances attract and unite different generations of Ukrainians in Poland, such as native speakers raised in the rural areas and urban youth, the Polish-speaking generation which is trying not to lose touch with its ancestral culture.

CONCLUSION

Comparing the state of traditional culture in Southern and Northern Podlasie, it is clear that, in the former, Polish culture has almost completely replaced the Ukrainian folk music which was dominant half a century ago. Contemporary Polish folk culture is heterogeneous and exists mainly in a stage form, performed on certain planned occasions: concerts, festivals, and so on. Northern Podlasie, however, has preserved its specific musical traditions rather better, though they exist in two forms: passive (in the memory of the older people) and active (in stage performance). The maintenance of traditional musical culture in Northern Podlasie is largely carried out by the people themselves, while in Southern Podlasie, Ukrainian autochthons have mostly integrated with Polish culture. By studying two parts of one ethnic territory, each with their own histories, we can see clearly how and when various factors, such as demography, cause assimilation and transformation, bringing about a complete change in traditional musical culture.

Music examples

1. Kupalo song МАЛАЯ НУЧКА КУПАЛНУЧКА

♩ = 60

1. Ма - ла - я нуч - ка Ку - пал - нуч - ка, (V)

Не ви - спа - ла - ся На - тал - нуч - ка. (V)

2. Spring song НАСЕРЕД СЕЛА ВИРОСЛА ВЕРБА

$\bullet = 78$

1. На - се - ред се - ла ви - рос - ла вер - ба.

Рос - ти, вер - бо зе - ле - нь - ка - я, Роз - ви - вай - ся, зе - ле - ней - ша.

3. Wedding song ДАЙ НАМ, СВАХО, СИРА

$\bullet = 180$

1. Дай нам, сва - хо, си - ра, Дай нам, сва - хо, си - ра,

3. Го - жа сва - неч - ка, го - жа,

Дасть то - бі пан Бог си - - - на.

4. Spring song JUŻ PRZYJECHAŁ PAN ZHELMAN

$\bullet = 72$

1. Już przy - je - chał pan Zhel - man, już przy - je - chał je - go brat,

Przy - je - cha - ła, przy - je - cha - ła ca - ła fa - mi - li - ja je - go.

5. Krakowiak song СпІВАЮ, ГУЛЯЮ, СВОЄ ГОРЕ ТІШУ

$\text{♩} = 222$

2. СпІ-ва - ю, гу - ля - ю, сво - є го - ре ті - шу.

Я сво - ї во - ро - ги на го - ру по - ві - шу.

6. Harvest song ТАМ НА ОБЛОЗІ СКАКАЛИ КОЗИ

$\text{♩} = 100$

Там на об - ло - зі ска - ка - лі ко - зи,
Да - жа - лі жит - ко ма - ла - ді го - жи.

Пльон, Я - сю, пльон, на - що - му па - ну в двор.

7. Harvest song Ой ГОЛЮЄ ПОСТАТНІЦЯ

$\text{♩} = 54$

1. Ой го - лю - є пос - тат - ні - ця, го - лю - є,

І згу - бі - ла спуд - ні - чи - ну - не чу - є.

8. Christmas carol ДИВНАЯ НОВИНА

$\text{♩} = 84$

1. Див - на - я но - ви - на: ни - не Де - ва Си - на

По - ро - ди - ла в Віф - лі - є - мі,

Ма - рі - я є - - - ди - на.

Detailed description: The musical score for 'Дивная новина' is written in G major and 6/8 time. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics '1. Див - на - я но - ви - на: ни - не Де - ва Си - на'. The second staff contains the second line of music with lyrics 'По - ро - ди - ла в Віф - лі - є - мі,'. The third staff contains the third line of music with lyrics 'Ма - рі - я є - - - ди - на.' and ends with a double bar line and repeat dots. There are fermatas (V) above the notes 'на' in the first line and 'мі,' in the second line.

9. Chastushka Я ПЛАТОЧКИ ПОЛОСКАЛА

$\text{♩} = 72$

1. Я пла - точ - ки по - лос - ка - ла, на бе - ре - зу ве - ша - ла.

Я ми - ло - го не лю - би - ла - раз - го - во - ром те - ши - ла.

Detailed description: The musical score for 'Я платочки полоскала' is written in G major and 2/4 time. It consists of two staves. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics '1. Я пла - точ - ки по - лос - ка - ла, на бе - ре - зу ве - ша - ла.' The second staff contains the second line of music with lyrics 'Я ми - ло - го не лю - би - ла - раз - го - во - ром те - ши - ла.' The piece ends with a double bar line.

10. Romance ВОЗЬМУ Я КАНАВОЯ

$\text{♩} = 72$

1. Возь - му я ка - на - во - я і по - йду по

во - ду, А там хлоп - ці - ри - бо - лов - ці

з ко - заць - ко - го ро - ду. А ро - ду.

Detailed description: The musical score for 'Возьму я канавою' is written in G minor and 6/8 time. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first line of music with lyrics '1. Возь - му я ка - на - во - я і по - йду по'. The second staff contains the second line of music with lyrics 'во - ду, А там хлоп - ці - ри - бо - лов - ці'. The third staff contains the third line of music with lyrics 'з ко - заць - ко - го ро - ду. А ро - ду.' There are fermatas (V) above the notes 'я' in the first line and 'ці' in the second line. The piece ends with a double bar line.

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Muzikinė Palenkės krašto kultūra: kaita, transformacija, asimiliacija

L A R Y S A L U K A Š E N K O

S a n t r a u k a

Raktažodžiai: muzikinė kultūra, šiaurės Palenkė, pietų Palenkė, repertuaras, transformacija.

Palenkė yra istorinis ir geografinis regionas, esantis abipus vidurinio Vakarinio Bugo upės dalies. Palenkė – etnografinė sritis, kurioje ilgus amžius sugyveno lenkų, ukrainiečių ir baltarusių kultūros. Vis dėlto per pastaruosius du šimtmečius dvi jos dalys – šiaurinė ir pietinė – patyrė skirtingą likimą. Politiniai XX a. konfliktai ir deportacijos, vykusios „Vyslos operacijos“ metu, nulėmė, kad šiaurės ir pietų Palenkės teritorijos, anksčiau sudariusios vientisą etninį dialektą, dabar gerokai skiriasi tiek etniniu, tiek kultūriniu požiūriu.

Per praėjusį šimtmetį tradicinė muzikinė pietų Palenkės kultūra patyrė nemažai pokyčių. XX a. pirmojoje pusėje čia vyravo ukrainiečių tradicija, kuri trumpam – nuo septintojo iki devintojo dešimtmečio – dar buvo atgimusi, nes daug žmonių sugrįžo iš tremties, tačiau maždaug nuo dešimtojo dešimtmečio patyrė smukimą ir dabar yra galutinai sunykusi. Dabartinė šio regiono muzikinė tradicija yra gana mišri, nes po Antrojo pasaulinio karo čia apsigyveno žmonės iš skirtingų Lenkijos sričių. Antriosios ir trečiosios kartos ukrainiečių, grįžusių į gimtinę iš tremties, palikuonys pamažu įsitraukė į socialinę ir pažintinę lenkų kultūrą, kol galiausiai visiškai asimiliavosi.

Tradicinė muzikinė kultūra šiaurės Palenkėje tokių reikšmingų demografinių kataklizmų nepatyrė. Nors kelis pastaruosius dešimtmečius čia taip pat vyko natūralūs liaudies muzikos nykimo procesai, bet muzikinė kultūra, daugiausia gyvuojanti pasyvia ar scenine forma, išliko

gana gerai. Šio krašto kaimuose ligi šiol vyrauja senbuvų ukrainiečių ir baltarusių kultūros (skiriamos Narevo upės baseino), nors ir paliestos rusų, lenkų ir lietuvių kultūrinės įtakos. Tiesa, lenkų kultūrinės asimiliacijos procesai paveikė ir prigimtinę šiaurės Palenkės krašto kultūrą, bet Lenkijos valdžios teikiama parama padeda išsaugoti vietos mažumų kultūrą.

Ištyrus dvi tos pačios etninės teritorijos dalis, kai dėmesys koncentruojamas į pietinę dalį, o šiaurinė pasitelkiama palyginimui, galima nustatyti, koku būdu ir per kokį laikotarpį pakitusi demografinė padėtis lemia tradicinės muzikinės kultūros asimiliaciją, transformacijas ir galutinį pokytį.

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