

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: MACEDONIAN WOMEN'S FESTIVAL DRESS FROM THE AREAS

SKOPSKA CRNA GORA AND SKOPSKA BLATIJA

Abstract approved:

~~Redacted for privacy~~

Dr. Florence E. Petzel

The purpose of this study was to analyze and compare the women's festival costumes of the two areas surrounding Skopje, Yugoslavia. It was also intended to preserve pertinent information for these costumes, which are disappearing.

A trip was made to Macedonia, and villages were visited in search of old, traditional costumes for the study. Few were located. Villagers were interviewed concerning their costumes, ethnological museum personnel were interviewed to validate findings and supply information not obtained from the villagers. Part of the information included in the study was obtained from observation of costumes in the collection of a dance group and the author's own collection. A small amount of information was obtained from libraries. Costumes were photographed.

Costumes were identified as to fiber content, yarn characteristics, dyes used and fabric construction techniques. The study also included costume pieces and how they were worn, embroidery including the names of stitches, motifs and other forms of decoration.

The Skopska Crna Gora costume included a black embroidered underdress; a short white wool coat with handtwisted silk fringe; a dark red or maroon sash; a dark red or black vertically striped apron; and if the woman were married, two beige headscarves. An unmarried woman wore only one headscarf.

The Skopska Blatija costume included a bright red and gold embroidered underdress, a red pin-striped wool coat, woven wool sash, apron with vertical tapestry woven motifs and a contrasting bright headscarf.

Macedonian Women's Festival Dress of the Areas  
Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija

by

Julie Jirel Reed

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Typed by Bee Reed for Julie Jirel Reed

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## PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Macedonians use the Cyrillic alphabet, but their words will appear in Latin letters. Where there is an "š" it should be pronounced "sh." Where there appears a "č" or "ć" it should be pronounced respectively hard "ch" or soft "ch" as in the word "church." "A" is "ah"; "e" is pronounced as the "e" in "special." "I" is pronounced as the "ee" in "seed." "C" takes the sound of "ts." "R" is rolled. "J" is like the "y" in "Yugoslavia."

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

Baubles -- Used in this study to identify the small, triangular, free-hanging, beaded ornaments found in Skopska Crna Gora.

Breast pieces -- Areas on each side of the neck opening.

Dressing order -- Term used to describe the order in which costume pieces are placed on the person.

Ethnic -- Pertaining to the folk, the peasants of an area.

Ethnic or traditional costumes -- Costumes made by the peasants in the traditional style which has remained relatively the same for the past 200 years.

Floral -- Used to mean both plant and flower.

Košula -- Pronounced "ko shu la," a nightshirt-like garment worn as an undergarment in the day and a nightshirt at night.

Silver -- Buckles and chains of coins.

Sleeve-remnant self-trim -- Describes a trim which is fastened from the back of the shoulder and falls down the back of the coat.

In the Mijaci they are remnants of sleeves. In the Skopska Crna Gora they are simply decoration (Kličkova, 1972).  
Superficial embroidery -- Embroidery executed on the surface of other embroidery.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

Areas mentioned -- Skopska Crna Gora, Skopska Blatija, Mariovo and the Mijaci.

Cities mentioned -- Skopje, Titov Veles, Ohrid.

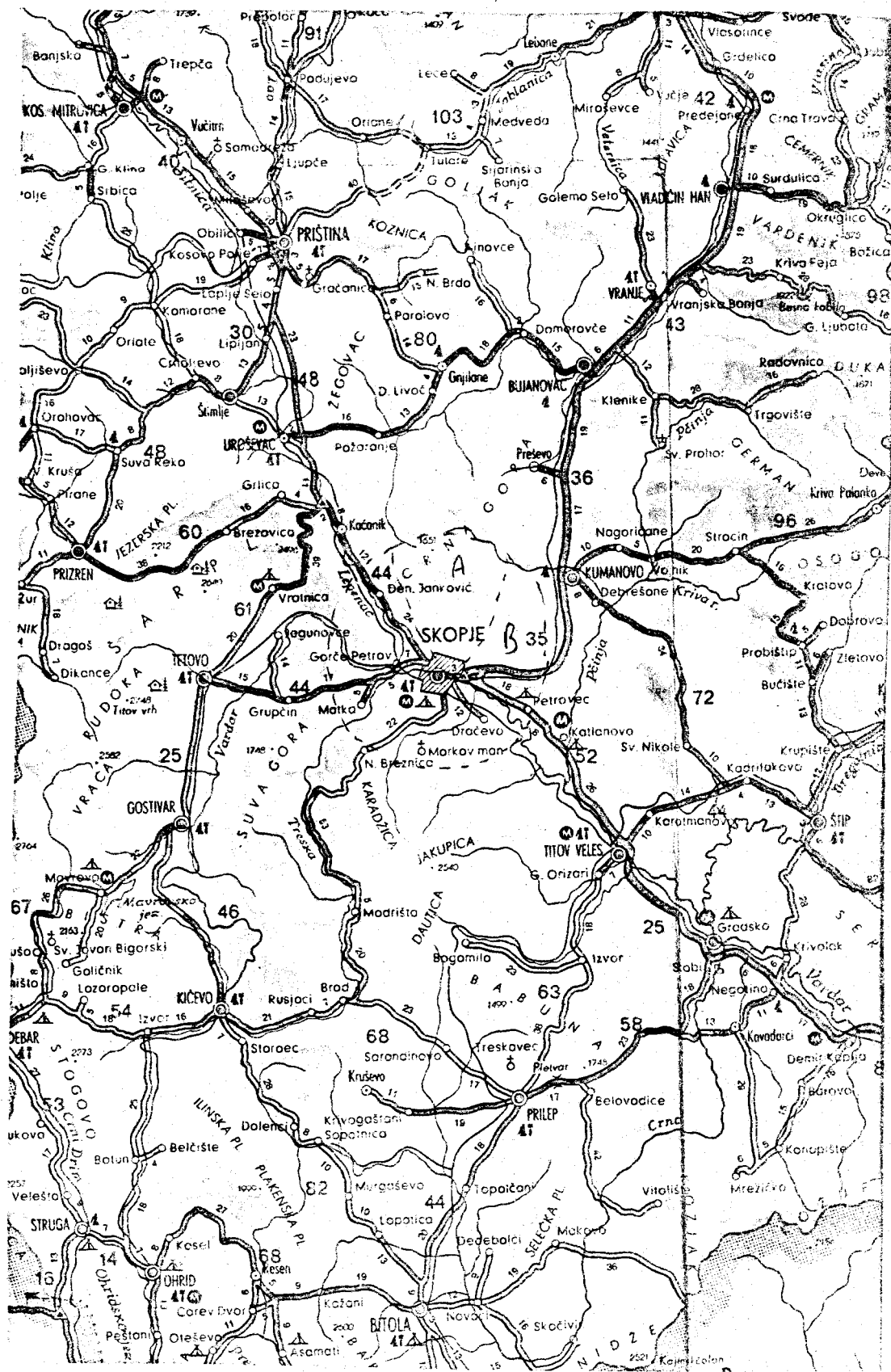
Jugoslavia -- Their way of spelling Yugoslavia.

Macedonia -- That part of Macedonia which lies within Yugoslavia where the people are allowed to speak their language and preserve their national culture. The Macedonians in the areas governed by Greece and Bulgaria are being encouraged to forget their culture (Boxell, 1964; Hristovski, 1970).

Villages mentioned -- Lubanci, Mirkovci, Kučevište, Pobožje, Čučer, Banjani, Luboten and Radišani and Dračevo.

MAP OF MACEDONIAN JUGOSLAVIA

Circle: approximate boundaries  
for Skopska Crna Gora (A) and  
Skopska Blatija (B).





# MACEDONIAN WOMEN'S FESTIVAL DRESS OF THE AREAS SKOPSKA CRNA GORA AND SKOPSKA BLATIJA

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

This research is concerned with the women's festival costumes of two areas around Skopje, Yugoslavia: Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija. The characteristics of the costumes of each area were analyzed, and comparisons were made between costumes of the two areas.

#### Objectives

There are two major objectives for this research: to analyze the women's festival costume of the areas of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija and to compare the characteristics in the two areas.

The following groups of characteristics were analyzed: (1) the assembled costumes and parts thereof, (2) the fabrics and (3) the embroidery. The analysis included: the identification of the costume pieces commonly used, how the pieces were worn (dressing order) and the cut of garments; fiber contents used, weave and yarn characteristics of the background fabric of the košula (chemise); representative embroidery stitches, fiber content of embroidery thread and designs used for the two areas. The comparisons were based upon the foregoing characteristics.

General information common to the two areas such as sources for fibers, dyeing with vegetable sources and type of loom used were also studied.

### Need for the Study

Folk art is disappearing and is not being replaced (Bossert, 1927). Macedonia, Yugoslavia's southernmost province, has some of the richest of the world's ethnic costumes, but the supply of old costumes is being depleted. As Bossert (1927) explained, these art objects are being scattered and their meaning lost.

Some Macedonian costumes are being preserved as art objects in museums and private collections. Much information regarding these costumes needs to be compiled. For example, the author has a large collection of museum-quality costumes acquired on three previous trips to Yugoslavia and knowledge concerning them which must be recorded and preserved to aid persons and/or institutions which inherit this collection. A study such as this would be of value to the student of Macedonian folklore, a private person who might own a costume, a person copying a costume, or an heir.

The only pertinent information on Macedonian costumes known to the author has been the result of efforts of the ethnological museums and other institutions in Yugoslavia dedicated to the preservation of folklore. This is an aid, but there is still need for an in-depth study of dress of the area around Skopje.

The costumes studied are from Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija, two ethnic areas which immediately surround the Macedonian city of Skopje, Yugoslavia. Macedonia is the southernmost province of Yugoslavia, and Skopje lies at the northern border of Macedonia. The area Skopska Crna Gora lies to the northwest of the city in the foothills of the mountains of Montenegro. It is a group of eleven villages (Kličkova, 1963) which are designated the Skopska Crna Gora. Crna Gora means "Black Forest" and at this point in time is hardly a black forest (Plate I-A). The Yugoslav province of Montenegro is called "Crna Gora" in their language. Skopska Crna Gora, therefore, means "Skopje's Black Forest." The remaining area around Skopje is designated Skopska Blatija.

The costumes studied came from several sources: the villages; the ethnological museum in Skopje; the dance ensemble, Orce Nikolov; and the author's own collection.

This study is concerned with the women's festival costume. The festival costume was richly embroidered (Lehmann, 1941; Žunić-Baš, 1963) and was used for festivals such as the "Slava," a saint's day celebration (Lodge, 1935; Album Makedonia, 1931). The traditional festival costumes sought follow a particular style which has remained unchanged for the last 200 years (Kličkova, 1972). These costumes are handwoven, richly embroidered with wool and use traditional designs in the cut of garments and embroidery. Newer costumes not included in the study were sparsely embroidered or decorated with tucks and/or lace at the hem.

The costumes studied in the villages were from approximately 20 to 60 years old. Since the traditional costumes were extremely difficult to find, a total of 10 Skopska Crna Gora and 11 Blatija costumes was studied.

Some physical limitations included: language, inadequate dictionaries, limited transportation, road conditions, poor light, unfavorable weather conditions, inadequate space for work, problems with the camera and limited funds.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### History and Religion

In early times Macedonia was inhabited by Illyrian tribes. In the 4th century B.C. it was conquered by Phillip II of Macedonia. In the middle of the 2nd century B.C. it became a Roman province. In the 6th and 7th centuries the Slavs settled the area (Kuzmanovski, 1964). Christianity began to penetrate, and in 855 A.D. Cyril and Methodius created a Slav alphabet which later became the Cyrillic alphabet. The church at that time was Greek Orthodox, and services were held in Greek. The Greek language was used for writing. In order for the Slavs to write their spoken language, Cyrillic was created (Kossev, Hristov and Angelov, 1963).

Byzantine influence followed. Macedonia was part of Serbia from the 12th to the 14th centuries (Servia and Montenegro, 1908). The Turks arrived at the end of the 14th century and were driven out early in the 20th century (Kuzmanovski, 1964) (A Thousand Years . . ., 1943). Since 1919 Macedonia has been part of Jugoslavia (Lehmann, 1941). Prior to World War II it was part of Serbia and known as South Serbia. Steven Clissold (1946, p. 262) reported:

"The official view of pre-war Belgrade was that Macedonia did not exist. There was only South Serbia and if the inhabitants spoke a strange tongue of their own it must be because they had been corrupted by Bulgarian influence and must be reconverted as soon and as vigorously as possible into good Serbs. When the Yugoslav army collapsed in April, 1941 and South Serbia was occupied by

Bulgarians the latter were greeted as liberators by large sections of the population. Disillusionment, however, soon followed. The liberators at once set about the task of turning the Macedonians into good Bulgarians."

Since World War II Macedonia has been a province of Yugoslavia.

Macedonia had many churches in the Byzantine style which date from the middle ages. The inside walls and ceilings were covered with frescoes of religious paintings. When the Turks converted these churches into mosques, often they destroyed the eyes of the human figures or whitewashed the walls to cover the paintings. The whitewashing served to preserve the frescoes in a church in Ohrid, Sveta Sofia which was built between 1037 to 1056 (Kuzmanovski, 1964).

One historical theme that appeared in numerous references was the unpopularity of the Turkish rulers in Macedonia for 500 years (West, 1944; Kossev et al., 1963).

### Festivals

Festival costumes were reserved for festive occasions such as the "Slava" or saint's day celebration. The festivals had considerable importance as marriage markets and were usually held at a monastery (Costa, 1937; Kuzmanovski, 1964) and sometimes went on for days (Lodge, 1935). Festivals are now attended in western dress.

### Geography and Occupations

West wrote (1944) that there were only eight villages in the Skopska Crna Gora. In 1963 Kličkova reported eleven. Narrow

valleys had preserved diversities (A Thousand Years . . ., 1943) and travel was very difficult.

New occupations that appeared during Turkish rule included: goldsmith, gunsmith, knifsmith, tanner, coverlet maker, tailor, shoemaker, saddler and farrier (Zbornik Etnografskog, 1953). The people of the villages of Skopska Crna Gora have been farmers and stockraisers (West, 1944).

In modern times offspring of peasants have entered all occupational fields, and the cities became more impersonal and cosmopolitan (Ribnikar, 1965). Yugoslavia: Tito's Daring Experiment (1971) revealed that the southern republics were suffering from rural poverty, which could help explain why so many peasants were releasing their costumes.

### Costumes

Costumes have been the same traditional style for a purpose, that of a clan mark (Kličkova, 1963). According to Bossert (1926), a trained eye could recognize which village is represented by a particular costume. Costumes of a particular village or ethnic area were so similar in detail that one might have thought they were copies (Bossert, 1964) until they were closely compared.

In describing the Skopska Crna Gora costume, Leposava Žunić-Baš (1963, p. 98) termed it "particularly attractive." West (1944, p. 646) described the woman's costume as ". . . made of coarse linen, with black wool embroidery in designs using Christian symbols in

the abstract. The sleeves were wide, thick like carpets with solid black embroidery stitched in squares and often with a touch of clear blue." She went on to say it was ". . . heavy enough to wear down the strength of a bullock." (West, 1944, p. 673) These costumes showed Byzantine influence (Kličkova, 1963). The completion of the garment took months of winter evenings (Bossert, 1964).

Žunić-Baš (1963, p. 98) described the apron of the Skopska Crna Gora costume as "especially colorful" and "with stylized geometric designs and ornaments." The apron was worn hanging below the waistline, and the cuffs were turned up (Echoes from Yugoslavia, 1941; Lehmann, 1941). The cut of the košulas which West (1944) called "the standard Slav pattern" was the same as the cut of the košula investigated in this study. All Macedonian (and in the author's experience, Bulgarian and Serbian) undergarments of this type were cut much the same (Kličkova, 1963). The košula was used for sleeping at night and as an underdress during the day (Lodge, 1935).

Silver jewelry has been worn in all parts of Macedonia which had about 70 varieties of costumes (Kličkova, 1963).

### Color and Embroidery

Embroidery was practiced by Slav women in 448 (Kličkova, 1963). Vaclavik and Orel [1935] found folk artists used vivid colors tastefully. The white background fabric was woven of cotton (Veleva and Lepavtsova, 1961) or of linen (West, 1944). The hem



and sleeves were embroidered (West, 1944) by the thread count method (Veleva and Lepavtsova, 1961). The colors used were mostly red and black (Kličkova, 1963).

### Fibers

Flax, hemp and jute needed a temperate climate (Carter, 1910). Durham (1904) noticed flax growing in Albania. Kličkova (1963) stated that Macedonians used wool, jute and flax in their natural colors. Hemp was used in Bulgaria. Linen was reserved for festivals. Goat hair was used in rain wear, and cotton came into use around 1850 (Veleva, 1961).

### Spinning and Weaving

Spinning was done in the traditional manner. Porter (1943, p. 9) observed that in Stobi, a city near Skopje, women ". . . spin with distaff and spindle and weave their cloth on looms as primitive as those of Homeric times." Servia and Montenegro (1908) showed a woman in Sofia, Bulgarian costume spinning as she was walking to town. She held the wool on a distaff and spun with the spindle and whorl.

A clear list of weaving terminology appeared in Dobbs (1938).

The people of Jugoslavia used two kinds of looms. Horizontal looms were used in both towns and country, but the vertical looms were restricted to towns. Zbornik Etnografskog (1953) pictured a loom exactly like one the author found in operation in the Skopska Crna Gora village of Luboten (Plate I-B).

### Dyes

At one time the peasants produced dyes and dyed the yarn at home. The color range was limited by the plants and soil available (Bossert, 1964). Holme (1911), reporting on Slovakian costumes, stated that the dyes were of vegetable origin.

Grassett (no date) listed vegetable sources for dyes which yielded red, green, yellow, brown, reseda, grey, purple, magenta, lilac, black, fawn, pink, crimson, scarlet and claret. He also listed mordants. This was helpful when comparing Macedonian to English terms.

## CHAPTER III

### PROCEDURE

#### Village Study

In order to conduct the research it was necessary to return to Macedonia in the summer and fall of 1972. Most of the study was made between September 1 and November 10. In order to reach the most remote villages it was necessary to travel by automobile.

At the beginning of the research the author intended to study and to compare the costumes of various villages of the Skopska Crna Gora. It was thought that the characteristics of costumes differed from village to village. After some work in these villages, it was decided and later confirmed by the museum (Kličkova, 1972), that there were no clear differences between the costume of the villages of Skopska Crna Gora. The following will illustrate this: the author has two very good Skopska Crna Gora festival costumes which are noticeably different in breast piece embroidery, apron color and sleeve detail. Close-up pictures were taken and shown to each person interviewed in the villages. When asked from which village these costumes came, the reply in each case was "ovo selo" (this village). As a result, the study was expanded to include Skopska Blatija where costumes were distinctly different from those of Skopska Crna Gora.

A questionnaire composed in America was modified after arrival in Skopje. The author first thought an interpreter would be used,

and when this proved impractical the questionnaire was limited in accordance with the author's comprehension of the language. Also the volume of information sought proved too great for one interview. In its revised form the questionnaire dealt with concrete information relating to the costume. Other information on spinning, weaving, dyeing and symbolism was sought on separate, less-frequent trips.

Numerous trips were made to the villages to study with the revised questionnaire (Appendix A). The Skopska Crna Gora villages of Lubanci, Kučevište, Pobožje, Mirkovci, Banjani, Čučer and Luboten were visited as well as the Skopska Blatija villages of Radišani and Dračevo.

The village well (Plate II) was the most productive place to find information from villagers. It was the scene of laundry activities as well as water drawing, and nearly always a group of women was nearby. Since German people were still held in contempt, driving a German car might have been a serious setback. When the visit was explained, people were quick to take up the cause to find traditional costumes. Often they said that a neighboring village had costumes, but their village did not. Too often they were correct.

Villagers supplied information on their costumes. This was a primary source when the woman, herself, made the garment. When checking information with the museum, the two sources agreed. The author chose old, well-established villages and was critical when listening.

From the Skopska Crna Gora eight costumes were found which were suitable for study on the basis of the criteria of handwoven fabric, traditional embroidery, apron, jacket and headdress. The author studied two additional costumes which she collected on a previous trip. In Skopska Blatija were found one nearly complete costume and one excellent košula.

The information taken directly from the villages on the questionnaire included: village, description of costume pieces, owner, age of costume, occasion for which worn, cut, fiber content and thread count of košula background fabric, weave, yarn characteristics, where made (at home or elsewhere), how cleaned, distinguishing features and comparisons. The information was obtained by questioning, observing, drawing and photographing.

Equipment carried included a camera, color film, linen tester with straight pin, tape measure and a small embroidery kit (needles, thread, thimble and fabric). The camera was used to record villagers in costume, embroidery designs, color and other details too intricate for sketching. The linen tester was used to view the weave, to examine yarns and with a straight pin to count yarns per square centimeter of the background fabric of the košula. The count was recorded on the questionnaire. The tape measure was carried to measure costumes. The embroidery kit was helpful when Vera Petrova was demonstrating embroidery stitches in the Etnografski Musej (1972).

### Other Yugoslav Sources

Because costumes seemed more scarce in Skopska Blatija eight costumes from the dance ensemble, Orce Nikolov, were studied and photographed. They were used for information taken directly from the costumes; dance ensemble personnel were not used as sources for information.

Jonče Hristovski, head of the Folklore Department of Radio-Televizija in Skopje and a folklorist and historian, was interviewed concerning costumes and history.

The author's collection was acquired on previous trips to Yugoslavia and contains two Skopska Crna Gora and two Blatija costumes suitable for study. These costumes were included in the analysis.

### Museum Sources

Todor Gruev, director of the Gradski Musej, the City Museum in Titov Veles, Yugoslavia was consulted concerning symbolism and natural dyes of the area.

The Museum, Etnoloski Musej in Skopje, Yugoslavia was a most productive place in which to work. It contains an extensive collection of traditional costumes, and the staff includes several experts on Macedonian costume.

The Museum's collection of Blatija costumes was viewed with an aide. Inadequate amounts of time and light prevented taking detailed information from the costumes, but the villages represented,

the cut of garments and the embroidery designs were noted. The villages represented were Bulaćani Creševó, Rastak, Treševó, Gerfeflia and others.

Several interviews, as many as their time would permit, were conducted with museum personnel. Lists of questions were composed (Appendix B) designed to test findings made in the villages, fill in missing information and provide explanations. The following persons from the museum were interviewed: Vera Klićkova, Velimir Nikolov, Angelina Krsteva and Vera Petrova.

Vera Klićkova, the director of the ethnological museum in Skopje, has authored a book on Macedonian costume. She is an authority on all aspects of costume and was a valuable resource. She was used to test findings, supply missing information and explain such things as how the costumes were cleaned, how Blatija pieces were worn, how a costume which looked like a Skopska Crna Gora with the wrong coat was actually a Blatija bride's costume, why it was difficult to find differences between villages, and traditional character of costumes.

Velimir Nikolov was invaluable as an interpreter for the museum personnel and was the only one who spoke fine English. He was helpful for translating some terms such as dye sources which could not be found in dictionaries and for verifying information.

Angelina Krsteva (1972) was regarded as the authority on Macedonian embroidery stitches. She explained the naming of stitches in different localities, how the wool was prepared for embroidering,

and symbolism. She also gave information on the sources of fibers, spinning and dyes.

Vera Petrova, perhaps not an expert, was the museum's aide who showed the precious collection of Blatija costumes. She gave information as to the names and locations of villages where the costumes were made. She demonstrated two stitches used on Skopska Crna Gora sleeves.

### Publications

Books and periodicals were studied in the libraries of the University of Skopje, of the ethnological museum in Skopje and of Oregon State University. As the folk art section of the library for the University of Skopje was not yet cataloged, only a few books were studied there. The library in the Etnoloski Musej was superior, having an excellent collection of folk art books. Illustrations in books were used to study how costumes were worn, what was worn at festival gatherings and the types of equipment used in the area for spinning and weaving. References valuable for illustrations included: Album Makedonia (1931), Vladimir Kirin (1965), Lehmann (1941), Servia and Montenegro (1908) and Echoes from Yugoslavia (1941).

### Interviews in the United States

Upon returning to America efforts were made to identify a sample of wool like that used in Macedonian costumes. This was accomplished with the aid of Dr. William Hohenboken, Assistant



Professor of Animal Science at Oregon State University. Dr. Kenton L. Chambers, Professor of Botany, Oregon State University, identified dye plants from the Latin translations recorded in Macedonia.

Another American, Dennis C. Boxell, a folklorist, had travelled extensively in Macedonia and had the opportunity to hear many folk tales. He contributed a story about silver buckles (Appendix C).

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### Manufacture and Properties of Textiles Used in Costumes

##### Fiber Content and Sources

Fibers used in the production of festival costumes included cotton, linen, hemp, jute, wool, silk, viscose rayon and metal. At one time cotton, hemp and jute were grown in the areas studied. The peasants interviewed traveled to the market, purchased cotton and spun their own yarns. Cotton in the natural color was used instead of the linen which was used previously in the background fabric of the košula in both areas studied. Hemp was woven with cotton for use as an underlining and rolled for a hem roll in the košulas of the Skopska Crna Gora. Jute is mentioned as used in this area (Kličkova, 1963), but it was not observed in this study.

The two kinds of sheep raised in Macedonia are Šar Planina (Šar mountain) and Ovče Polsko (field sheep). Since mere translation was useless, a sample of wool purchased in a mountain town of Ohrid, Macedonia was compared to wool fibers grown in the United States. The fibers of the Macedonian sheep compare most closely with the Lincoln sheep. This wool is a carpet grade wool of the lowest grade of "Braid" (Hohenboken, 1972). Costumes embroidered or woven of this wool are highly irritating to the skin.

Wool was used in coats, aprons, sashes, socks and embroidery thread in both areas. If they did not have sheep they purchased wool. Wool could be purchased at the markets in several stages from sheep on the hoof to fleeces or scoured wool.

Silk appeared in the woven fabrics of the Skopska Crna Gora headscarves, in the embroidery on these scarves and in the fringe of the coats (Kličkova, 1963). The woven cloth used for the head scarves was purchased from Moslem women.

Viscose rayon was used in novelty trims and a headscarf in Skopska Blatija. Silver or silver-colored metal was used as thin strips wrapped around a cotton core. This thread was used in embroidery and weaving in that area. Yugoslav thread of this type is difficult to work with and tarnishes easily.

### Dyeing

The dyes used in Macedonia fall into two categories -- natural and synthetic. Since the early 1900's, synthetic dyes have been used by peasants. These dyes often were not colorfast even to dry cleaning. It is understandable that synthetic dyes replaced natural dyes because the natural dyestuffs did not yield as vivid colors, and more time was necessary for processing. Natural dyes were valued for colorfastness to light and laundering. Todor Gruev (1972) dyed two samples of wool with madder root, exposed one to the sun for three years and kept the other out of the sun. At the end of the experiment he could see no difference in the color of the two samples.

Todor Gruev (1972) prepared the dyes and dyed samples of wool which appeared in the Gradski Musej, in Titov Veles. The information from this display appears on Table I.

When Todor Gruev (1972) was asked about black dye, he replied the people used wool from black sheep. Mr. Gruev added that black could be obtained from soot, the green coverings from walnuts and walnut leaves. Since the author observed no really black sheep throughout Macedonia, only a chocolate brown and variations in between brown and white, the question was pursued in the interviews with Angelina Krsteva and Vera Kličkova of the Etnoloski Musej. The villagers in the Skopska Crna Gora used the walnut roots and nutshells. Angelina Krsteva (1972) said the Skopska Crna Gora used walnuts or iron shavings and also added kara boje, Turkish words meaning "black color." Vera Kličkova (1972) offered an explanation for the absence of black sheep from the Macedonian countryside. The black sheep were raised and bred by Vlachs, nomads who were not common in that area. The black sheep were said to be resistant to heat, cold and disease and to be good travelers.

The following additional dye information was provided by Angelina Krsteva. Maroon was produced by mixing madder root and krmus (kermes), a type of louse which inhabited a special oak tree (kermes oak) grown in southern Europe and Asia Minor. For orange the peasants used a dirty, light red or mixed red and yellow dyes.

TABLE I. Substances Used for Dyeing with Vegetable Dyes

Color	Identification		
	Serbian name	Latin name	English name (if known)
Red	Crven	<u>Rubia tinctorum</u>	Madder root
Faded, canned cherry	Svetlo višnovo	<u>Prunus cerasus</u>	Wild cherry root
Lemon yellow	Limonova žolta	<u>Malva alcea</u>	Sleza, a plant from which tea can be made
Straw yellow	Svetlo žolta	<u>Gnaphalium sylvaticum</u>	Cudweed
True medium yellow	Liminova žolta		Cudweed, cadmium aluminium and bleach
Medium yellow (a light dirt color)	Temno žolta	<u>Bryophyta</u>	Moss, whole plant
Dirty straw yellow	Temno žolta	<u>Juniperus communis</u>	Juniper needles
Medium blue	Vlaška plava		Madder root, copper sulfate and bleach
Blue green	Petrolejska zelena	<u>Euphorbia</u>	Spurge and copper sulfate
Dark, grayed blue green	Temno plava	<u>Euphorbia</u>	Turkish spurge and copper sulfate
Green blue	Temno zelena	<u>Petroselinum</u>	Wild parsley and copper sulfate
Light green blue	plavo	<u>Muscari</u>	Garden plant with blue flowers
Pale olive green	Maslenova zelena		Skin of yellow onions and kara boja (black color)
Light olive	Rezeda	<u>Petroselinum</u> and <u>Prunus persica</u>	Wild parsley and peach tree leaves
Reseda	Rezeda	<u>Hedra helix</u>	English ivy, leaf
True gray	Lila	<u>Papaver rhoeas</u>	Corn poppy, red flower
Coffee	Kafejava		Tree bark, Hornbeam
Dark brown	Temno kafejava		Walnut green covering

The fabrics and trimmings were primarily stock dyed or yarn dyed, if they were not manufactured commercially. General directions for dyeing wool with vegetable material were as follows: for one kilogram of wool, depending on the dye material, 50 grams to 1 kilogram of raw dye material (with 250 to 500 grams the average) was needed. The average amount of water was 5 liters. The dye material and wool were boiled from 30 to 60 minutes, taken out and dried without rinsing. When the wool was dry, it was rinsed in cold running water as in a creek (Gruev, 1972).

#### Yarn Manufacture

To spin, peasants used the traditional distaff, spindle and whorl (Servia and Mont. . . . , 1908; Porter, 1943). For wool embroidery thread they used another technique. They chose a few fibers and rolled them between the palms of the hands so that the fibers were lightly twisted. This technique resulted in embroidery yarns which stood out in relief on the fabric (Krsteva, 1972).

The diameter and twist of hand spun cotton yarns used in the kosula varied along the length of the yarns, and the twist was relatively high. A Z-twist was used in all of the cotton yarns which were viewed. Wool yarns for weaving sashes and coats had a very high twist. Silk yarns were highly twisted to form the fringe for coats and headscarves in the Skopska Crna Gora.

## Fabric Construction

### Loom

The type of loom used in the area around Skopje is shown in Figure 1 and Plate I-B. This loom was found in operation in the Skopska Crna Gora village of Luboten. It was situated in a storeroom with a dirt floor which was attached to the house. The horizontal loom had two harnesses with string heddles, and the beater contained tough, reed-like strips. Harnesses were operated by pedals. The shuttle was made from smooth, carved wood. The loom held a fabric 23" wide, the maximum. The daughter of the family was weaving long rugs with a cotton warp and wool filling and was using a technique similar to that used for aprons. The cotton warp yarns were purchased in a shop in Skopje, and the wool was dyed in Skopje and spun by the woman of the family.

### Košula

Fabric construction will be considered according to type of garment and trimming materials.

White plain-weave cotton is the basic fabric for košulas in Macedonia (Kličkova, 1963). The homespun, hand woven cotton fabric has a unique hand. Because the yarns are highly twisted, the fabric has a crepey texture. This fabric resists wrinkling, and ironing does little good.

The results of the yarn count of the background fabrics of the košulas studied appear in Table II.

TABLE II. Yarn Count of Cotton Košula Fabric

Area	Number of Košulas Examined	Number of Yarns per Inch			
		Range		Mean	
		Warp	Filling	Warp	Filling
Skopska Crna Gora	8	32-36	26-30	34.5	28.5
Skopska Blatija	7	36-42	28-34	40.0	32.0

There was a difference in the hand woven fabric of the two areas. In Skopska Crna Gora the fabric was made from thicker yarns, was heavier and had a lower yarn count. In Skopska Blatija the fabric was woven from thinner yarns, was lighter in weight and had a higher yarn count. A Skopska Blatija košula with embroidery weighed 2 pounds; and a Skopska Crna Gora košula with embroidery and hempen underlining weighed  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pounds.

### Coats

Coat fabrics in the Skopska Crna Gora were constructed from coarse wool yarns and firmly woven in a 2/2 twill weave. The resultant fabric resembled a thick, firm blanket fabric. Fabrics for Skopska Blatija coats were of plain weave and woven with thinner wool yarns. The resultant fabric was relatively thin, smooth and wiry in texture (Plate XX-B).

### Aprons

One interesting variation of the plain weave was used in aprons of both areas. Wool yardage was woven in narrow widths



of 10½ to 16 inches depending upon how long the apron was to be. The thinner cotton warp yarns were widely spaced (16 yarns per inch) and the fine wool filling yarns were closely packed (56 yarns per inch). This combination resulted in a corded texture with the filling covering the warp yarns. Blatija aprons were more coarsely woven than those of Skopska Crna Gora and had a lower yarn count (10 warps and 26 fillings per inch).

Tapestry weaving was widely employed especially in the Skopska Blatija aprons, where designs often covered the apron. Tapestry weaving was used in the Skopska Crna Gora to add smaller motifs to an apron with woven stripes. Slits are evident in the tapestry aprons.

### Sashes

Skopska Crna Gora wool sashes were constructed in twill weave using an inkle loom. Skopska Blatija sashes were woven with a twill weave and by means of card weaving.

### Headscarves

Woven headscarves were purchased from Moslem women (Klíčková, 1972). They were woven of silk, viscose rayon and cotton yarns of varied sizes. Some were woven entirely in plain weave; others contained horizontal bands of filling yarns paired in a half-basket weave alternating with bands of plain weave. Skopska Blatija scarves showed the same banded weaving design with laid-in weaving

for the motif. Another scarf contained a combination of plain and basket weaves.

### Trimming

Trimming used included braided wool trim, beads, hand-crocheted edging, bobbin lace which may have been handmade, as well as industrial manufactured trims such as rick-rack, woven edgings, fringed braid, velvet ribbon, satin ribbon, white cotton fringe and lace. Commercial braids were made of cotton, synthetic and metallic fibers. Other fabrics used in the construction of costumes included heavy wool, lightweight wool, printed cotton and rayon fabrics, red printed cotton outing flannel and a fine woven cotton fabric. The heavy wool was woven with a 2/2 twill, piece dyed and used to trim and add body to the neckline of the Blatija coat. The printed fabrics were used to bind edges on necks, sleeves, aprons and sashes. The flannel was used as a cuff on one Blatija košula. The fine woven cotton was used as a background for bead-work and appliquéd on a Skospka Crna Gora košula. A lightweight wool probably hand woven with cotton warp threads was used to bind the edge of the Skopska Crna Gora married woman's coat.

### Finishing

The coat fabric from the Skopska Crna Gora looks as if it must have been fullered and napped.

## Costumes

### Skopska Crna Gora

#### General Characteristics

The Skopska Crna Gora festival costume (Plates III, IV and V), as opposed to the working costume (Plate VI), was characterized by: (1) a white, ankle-length cotton košula (Figure 2) (Plate VII) with rich black wool embroidery (Figure 3); (2) a short, sleeveless white wool coat with black silk fringe (Plates VIII-B and IX); (3) a dark red, maroon or black wool apron with vertical stripes (Plate X); (4) two headscarves of embroidered beige silk mixture (Plates XI and XII) held on by a beaded headband; (5) a dark red or maroon woven wool sash (Plate XIII); and (6) a beaded belt and silver or silver-colored metal buckle (Plate XIII).

Within the Skopska Crna Gora the women's festival costumes differed between married and unmarried women. Married women wore two headscarves, and their coats had five rows of silk fringe and sleeve-remnant self trim on the back. The unmarried women wore only one headscarf, like the outer one that the married women wore. Unmarried women could have had more rows of silk fringe on their coats, extending to the shoulders, but they did without the sleeve-remnant trim. Either color of apron, red or black, was suitable for married or unmarried women's festival dress. Festival aprons had more baubles and trimming than work aprons.

Embroidery was not mandatory for the festival costume. There were many more costumes available without embroidery (Plate V) than with embroidery.

National dress was still worn in the villages of the Skopska Crna Gora, but this tradition was carried on mostly by the older generation. Some older women still wore a working costume every day as they had all their lives. Other women wore western-style housedresses. Some, valuing the wearability of the ethnic aprons, wore them over housedresses (Plate II).

The working costume differed from the festival costume in that the košula was simple, not embroidered, and lacked a hem roll. The vest was simple and generously patched. The headscarves were worn in exactly the same manner as for festivals but were plain white cotton. The apron was the same as the festival apron without trimming (Plate VI).

### Identity of Costume Pieces

#### Košula

The košula (Figure 2) was cut in the usual Macedonian manner, that is, with the center panel for front and back being one long piece with an opening in the middle for the neckline. There were no shoulder seams. The sleeves were composed of two rectangular pieces with the seams stitched by hand on the sides and the top piece embroidered the full length. Sleeve embroidery was approximately  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width. One gore made the side panel of the garment with four godets between the front, back and side

panels. Rectangular gussets (1" x 6") occasionally appeared at the underarm between the sleeve and the side gores.

The measurements of the costume pieces varied with the size of the person who constructed them, but the structure varied little (Figure 2).

A heavy fabric of hemp and cotton was used as an underlining one-half the distance down from the shoulders following the front panel and down the full length of the back panel (Plate VIII-A). Braided hemp or blanket-like wool was rolled tightly and sewn on the underside of the hem, making a hoop effect. Occasionally other fabrics such as commercially-produced printed fabric or trims were used to bind edges in place of embroidery.

#### Dolama (Coat)

The married women's coat was constructed of blanket-like white wool (Plate IX) with an embroidered and occasionally beaded breast piece. Self trim sleeve-remnants decorated the back and were fastened at the shoulder and again under the fringe at the bottom of the center back. There were four horizontal rows of silk fringe extending from the hem two-fifths of the distance up the back. One short row was placed at the bottom where the self trim ended. The rows of fringe were composed of tassels  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long placed side by side. Fringe extended across the back onto the godets. The edges of the coat were bound in lightweight red wool.

As compared with the married woman's coat, that of the unmarried woman had more fringe which reached up to the shoulders and had no sleeve remnants. The edges were trimmed with red braid (Plate X-B).

The cut for the dolama is shown in Figure 4-A.

#### Skutina (Aprons)

Aprons were dark red, maroon or black with stripes of red, black and occasionally white. The warp ran horizontally. Two widths of apron fabric were seamed by hand, making a horizontal seam in the middle. The apron top was gathered, and the apron tie was one long piece which extended along the top without a break. A loop made of beads or other trimming was sewn in the center for hanging the apron below the waistline. Aprons were decorated with beadwork, couching and trimming of various types.

#### Pojes (Sashes)

The firm sashes were called girdles. They ranged from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and from  $48\frac{1}{2}$  to  $54\frac{1}{4}$  inches long. The color was dark red to maroon (Plate XIII). Occasionally end edges were bound to prevent ravelling, and one end was often trimmed with beadwork.

#### Headscarves

Headscarves were woven of a delicate beige fabric and were embroidered on the sheer area near each end. Their size was approximately 19" by 68" with a  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -inch fringe of handtwisted silk.

## Accessories

Beaded headbands were used to hold the married women's scarves in place; belts were also beaded. Plate XIII shows a typical belt buckle. Sizes of buckles varied. In the past silver was worn more than now. The shoes in Plate XIII are opinci, a type of leather moccasin typical for both Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija.

## Dressing Order

The Skopska Crna Gora woman first put on the košula and made a tuck at each back hip so that the back of the košula laid flat with the aid of the underlining. The hem roll served as a hoop, holding the hem out (Plates IV and V). To protect the embroidery (Kličkova, 1972), the cuffs were rolled up one or two rolls. The sash was then applied around the waist. Sashes were held on by tucking them in or fastening with sharp silver hooks which fastened into the sash fabric. The apron was hung below the waistline (Echoes . . ., 1941; Žunić-Baš, 1963) by bringing the apron ties from the back to the front and putting each one through the center loop. The ends were then tied and tucked into an inconspicuous place. Aprons hung from three to four inches below the bottom of the sash. When a beaded belt with a silver buckle was worn, it would be added after the apron. The dolama (coat) was slipped on over the košula and was the top piece.

After the long hair was braided with ribbons and tied up, the head scarves were put on. The first scarf, the married woman's

scarf, was placed evenly over the head so as to cover the face and fall over the back of the head. The top was gathered with the hands, and the front half was then doubled back to reveal the face, with the crosswise fold at the forehead forming a ruffle. Both ends fell to the back, but the top end was shorter, revealing the bottom one (Plate XI). The circular, beaded headband was applied under the chin to the top of the head so as to hold this scarf in place.

The second scarf was placed, partially unfolded, over the top of the head. The left-hand side was approximately one foot longer than the right-hand side. The right-hand side was then brought over to the left ear, and a twist was made by placing the right-hand end to the back and over the shoulder. The left-hand end was then taken in the right hand, brought back to the right side across the back of the head (Plates IV, V and XI) and tucked in at the right ear. In Plates IV-B and XI-B the woman had the twist on the opposite side.

### Decoration

#### Embroidery

Embroidery was the most outstanding feature of the Skopska Crna Gora košula. The outer side of the sleeves was covered with thick wool embroidery, and narrow strips of embroidery followed the seam lines in the back of the košula (Plate VII). The collar and breast pieces were usually embroidered with black wool. Edges were usually finished with embroidery.

Sleeve embroidery of Skopska Crna Gora festival costumes followed the basic plan in Figure 6-A. Three-fifths of the sleeve was occupied



by two sections of embroidery, each one divided by two diagonal lines. The other two-fifths of the sleeve embroidery included a short section and a very long section (Plates XIV and XV).

Košula embroidery most often involved counting of yarns in the ground fabric. The two major embroidery techniques used on Skopska Crna Gora sleeves and elsewhere on the košula were named ploči and punežacki. Ploči was the only Macedonian embroidery stitch worked from the top side and appeared almost exclusively in the upper portions of the sleeve embroidery (Krsteva, 1972). Ploči was characterized by a slanting, high relief stitch in a pattern of radiating diamond shapes (Figure 6-A,a).

Punežacki was worked straight along a yarn of the fabric and with high relief so that no white košula fabric showed through (Figure 6-A,b). Povrat was an even heavier stitch used to introduce design (Figure 6-A,c). Krivulica was a zigzag-patterned stitch used for edge interest (Figure 6-A,d). Krsteno, a type of cross-stitch, was used on the neck and hem (Petrova, 1972). An unnamed stitch resembling short satin stitch was used to outline areas.

Occasionally superficial embroidery in pastel colors appeared on the surface of the black embroidery (Plate XIV). This embroidery is not typical (Kličkova, 1972). An edge was finished by hemming and embroidering close to the edge or overcasting the turned edge with embroidery thread.

Embroidery on the headscarves was executed by Moslem women (Kličkova, 1963) using Turkish designs. This embroidery was not typically Macedonian (Plate XII).

Another type of embroidery, couching, appeared on the breast pieces of the coats. This technique was adapted to the thick, blanket-like wool background fabric. Some superficial embroidery was applied on top of the couching, some chain stitches being used in this way (Plate VIII). Couched cord appeared on each side of the center seam on the aprons.

### Beading

Beads were made of glass and sometimes of plastic. Many colors were used, with dark colors predominating. Beads were used widely for an edging on aprons, for baubles and strung to form floral motifs. Occasionally they were used on the breast pieces of coats and košulas. On the košula they were applied to a fine cotton fabric in floral motifs and then appliquéd to the košula. The appliqué was not artistic. Belts and headbands were completely covered with beadwork in floral motifs.

### Other Trimming

Other decoration included baubles, ribbon flowers, heavy braid, white cotton fringe and commercially-printed fabric. The aprons were the most heavily trimmed garments, with braid on the edges and center seam, ribbon or bead flowers or baubles in the interior. Košulas occasionally had narrow cotton fringe on the sleeve edges and long cotton fringe collar decoration or braid used to trim edges in lieu of embroidery. A lightweight red wool was used to bind the edges of

married women's coats. Sashes occasionally had bead trim decoration at one end and often had commercially-printed binding on the edges.

### Motifs and Symbolism

The motifs were geometric with straight and angular lines.

Floral motifs appeared in superficial embroidery, beadwork and trims and the Turkish motifs.

According to Todor Gruev (1972) the straight lines on the Skopska Crna Gora sleeves were posts, and the diagonal lines were ribs. There was supposed to be Byzantine influence in the Skopska Crna Gora sleeves (Kličkova, 1963), but it was not very apparent in this study. Kličkova (1972) said there was some influence from mystical and none from religious sources.

### Skopska Blatija

#### General Characteristics

The Skopska Blatija women's festival costume (Plate XVI) was characterized by: (1) a white ankle-length košula (Figure 2-B) with colorful embroidery (Figure 3-B); (2) a long, red pin-striped sleeveless woolen coat, heavily trimmed (Plate XVII); (3) an apron, either bright red or maroon, and decorated with tapestry-woven designs (Plates XVIII and XIX); (4) a sash reflecting the brightness of the aprons (Plate XX-A); (5) a head scarf, often in sharp contrast with the aprons (Plate XXI-A); and (6) a silver buckle, as in the Skopska Crna Gora (Kirin, 1965).

The costumes differed between young and aging women. The young women wore more elaborate trimming on their coats (Kličkova, 1972). They wore the headdress in the same style, but an unmarried woman placed a flower on the left side, while a married woman wore a flower on the right side.

### Identity of Costume Pieces

#### Košula

The Blatija košula was cut much the same as the corresponding Skopska Crna Gora garment but had no godets (Figure 2-B). The sleeves were seamed at the front, but not in the back, and again at the underarm. The košula fell straight down with no underlining, hem roll or other attempt to alter the line. Embroidery appeared most lavishly on the back of the košula hem. Other forms of trimming were sometimes used in lieu of embroidery.

#### Elek (coat)

A red pin-striped wool coat was typical of Skopska Blatija. Gold, black, white and green yarns were present in the pin stripes. Newer types of solid color (maroon or bright red) coats followed the same tradition (Plate XVII). The cut of the coat appears in Figure 4-B. Coat lengths varied from 30 to 38 inches. Košulas or older costumes were worn ankle-length, and coats were long. Also coat lengths varied according to the height of the person who wore them. The coat was heavily trimmed and couched.

## Skutina (Aprons)

Apron fabrics woven 13 to 16 inches wide were seamed by hand, horizontally. The top had a casing of yarn or self fabric through which the apron ties were pulled to gather the top. Aprons had vertical sections of geometric tapestry-woven motifs. The ties served as trimming, and the aprons were trimmed in lace around the outer edges and across the center seam (Plates XVIII and XIX).

## Pojes (Sashes)

Blatija sashes were of intricate card or inkle woven designs. They ranged from 2 to 3 inches wide, and the card woven sashes had fringes of 5 to 14 small braids formed from warp yarns. The braided fringe appeared at both ends with the hidden end shorter (2 inches) and the visible end longer ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches).

The inkle woven sashes were bound on the edges with commercially-printed fabric.

## Headscarves

The typical Blatija headscarf was 17-3/4 inches wide by 81 inches long and was woven similarly to the Skopska Crna Gora headscarves. The fabric was not very sheer, was made of rayon and cotton yarns arranged in bands and was decorated with laid-in weaving. There was much variation in Blatija headscarf color.

## Dressing Order

In Skopska Blatija the košula was put on first, then the long coat. The coat did not cover the bust but outlined it. The sash was fastened around the waist over the coat and secured by separating the braids, tucking half of the braids in on top and half in on the bottom of the sash itself (Hristovski, 1970). The creased sides of the coat (Plates XVI and XVII) were tucked forward and pulled out so that they stood straight out to the side. The apron tie was then pulled to gather the apron top. It was gathered so as to fit between the two wings on the coat but cover the front edges of the coat (Plate XVI). The apron was placed on top (Kličkova, 1972) of the sash, tied in front and the ends of the ties tucked out of sight. If silver was to be worn it would follow (Kirin, 1965). The typical headscarf was applied in the same manner as the unmarried women's scarf in the Skopska Crna Gora (Kličkova, 1972). A flower would be worn on the left if the woman were unmarried and on the right if she were married.

## Decoration

### Embroidery

Blatija košulas were embroidered with bright colors, predominantly red and gold, with maroon, green and black also used (Plates XXI-B to XXVI). The embroidery appeared most lavishly at the hem and breast piece. The small embroidered motifs appeared at the hem of the front

panel, which was covered or nearly covered by the long apron. The remainder of the hem area had large motifs. Breast pieces were nearly always embroidered in diamond or hexagonal shapes. Occasionally the sleeve of the košula was embroidered with a pattern much like the breast piece, but often it was left plain and occasionally trimmed with other fabric. Embroidery was often used to finish edges of the neck, sleeves, hem and apron.

The embroidery stitches used in Skopska Blatija were located by counting yarns in the fabric and working from the reverse side. Puneš or ~~pulneš~~<sub>z</sub> (slant Slav) was a slanting stitch usually done from lower left to upper right, but in Blatija only, it slanted in the opposite direction on occasion (Krsteva, 1972) (Figure 5-A). Lozeno (outline) was used for outlining the pattern to be embroidered (Figure 5-B), and then ~~polneš~~<sub>z</sub> was used to fill in the space. Krst (cross-stitch) was widely used (Figure 5-C). Četirica, four little stitches, was composed of four uniform horizontal stitches traveling up and then down, making a zigzag (Figure 5-D). Krivače was much the same as četirica, with the uniform stitches placed vertically (Figure 5-E). Polneto consisted of vertical stitches graduating in size and producing an up-and-down effect along the top edge (Figure 5-F). Kolči was a long floating stitch used in a small area such as a diamond shape (Figure 5-G). Numerous other embroidery stitches were used on košulas in Skopska Blatija. Stitches were worked with wool or metal thread.

Couching was used on the coats above the rows of purchased trimming. Cord was couched in floral motifs.

## Other Trimming

The Skopska Blatija coats had wide bands at the hem composed of many rows of commercially-produced trimmings. The neckline of the coats was lined with a very heavy wool fabric which was also used as part of the trimming. Heavy commercial braid was used on the outer edges of the neckline and the hem.

Other forms of trimming included lace and ties on the aprons, fringe on the scarves, braid on the košula and commercially-produced printed fabric. Lace was placed around the outer edges and along the center seam of aprons. Ties for the apron were made of smoothly twisted cord or tape so that they could slide easily through the casing. Fringe was placed on the short ends of headscarves, and braid was used as trimming on košulas in lieu of embroidery. Commercially-produced fabric was used for bindings.

## Motifs and Symbolism

The motifs used in Blatija were predominantly floral. Todor Gruev (1972) said that the people were inspired by things around them. The Blatija apron resembled the Navajo rug because both were produced in dry environments where similar insects and wild life were used for inspiration. Other symbols illustrated in Plate XXVI-B include coins, gold (a protection from the evil eye) and insect and floral life.

The only Byzantine influence located was a cross on a Blatija apron. Plates XXI-B to XXVI show motifs and colors used in košula embroidery (breast pieces, sleeves and hems).



Comparisons Between the Festival Costumes  
of the Two Areas

Similarities and Differences

Costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija are similar in some respects, which is not surprising considering the close proximity of the two areas. In other respects they differ considerably. The similarities and differences are summarized in Table III.

There were numerous small differences between the areas, but the most notable differences were the use of somber colors on the part of the Skopska Crna Gora people and the heaviness of the costumes. Heavy costumes were typical in the mountain regions, but they seemed out of place among the costumes of the lower areas. The costumes of Skopska Blatija employed much brighter colors and were much lighter in weight.

The author feels that there have been differences between villages in Skopska Blatija to a greater degree than in Skopska Crna Gora. This was the reason for identification of the villages in the captions on the plates. Villages are identified for Skopska Crna Gora because the author took the photographs in the villages, but no noticeable differences were found. Probable identification of Blatija villages was offered when a close similarity was observed between the Ethnological Museum's collection, in which sources were identified, and the Ensemble Orce Nikolov collection, which was studied and photographed. Vera Kličkova (1972) stated that there were no clear differences among costumes of different villages within each area.

Costumes of the two areas were worn for the purpose of identification. They were made employing the same principal fibers and dyes commonly available. Spinning and weaving developed similarly. The costumes of both areas included a košula, apron, a kind of coat, sash and headscarf. There was little influence between areas which was reflected in the costumes, especially up until twenty years ago. The development of the Skopska Blatija Crna Tica costume is an example of this influence and was the only example known to the author.

TABLE III. Comparison of Costumes of Skopska Crna Gora  
and Skopska Blatija

Characteristics of Costumes	Similarities	Differences	
		Skopska Crna Gora	Skopska Blatija
Fiber content	Cotton, wool, rayon	Hemp, silk	Metal
Fiber use Cellulosic fibers	Cotton: kos- ula	Hemp: underlin- ing, hem roll	
Protein fibers	Wool: coats, aprons, sashes, embroidery yarns	Silk: fringe, headscarf fabric	
Man-made fibers	Rayon: head- scarf fabric, trimmings		Metal: Embroi- dery thread, weaving yarns
Yarn construc- tion	Used distaff, spindle, whorl		
	Handspun cotton yarns	Larger yarn size	Smaller yarn size
	Crepy texture		
Weaves	Weaves used: plain, half- basket		
	Tapestry		
	Ribbed weave	Finer rib	Coarser rib
	Inkle weaving for sashes		Card weaving for sashes

TABLE III. (Continued) Comparison of Costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija

Characteristics of Costumes	Similarities	Differences	
		Skopska Crna Gora	Skopska Blatija
Finishing		Coat fabric fulled, napped	Coat fabric wiry
Dyestuffs	Natural, synthetic		
Garments:			
Košula	Cut with no shoulder seams	Had godets	Had no godets
	Sleeves had two seams	At side front and side back	At side front and underarm
		Underlining, hem roll	
Coats		Different style for married, unmarried	Same style for married, unmarried
		White	Red, pin-striped
		Cut short	Cut long
	Trimmed	Silk fringe	Commercial trimmings
		Coat worn on top of all garments	Coat worn under sash, apron

TABLE III. (Continued) Comparison of Costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija

Characteristics of Costumes	Similarities	Differences	
		Skopska Crna Gora	Skopska Blatija
Aprons (continued)	Made from two widths of wool fabric with filling placed vertically	Short length	Long length
		Subdued colors	Bright colors
		Vertical stripes	Vertical motifs
		Small amount of tapestry-woven motifs	Large amount of tapestry-woven motifs
		Much trimming	Little trimming
		Worn below the waistline	Worn on sash at the waistline
Sashes		Trimmed	No trimming
		Not fringed	Fringed with braided warp yarns
Headscarves	Used long, thin shapes	Scarves worn two different ways, one for married women, one for unmarried women	Scarves worn the same way for married or unmarried women
		One scarf in each area was worn in the same manner	Different technique for wearing married women's scarves

TABLE III. (Continued) Comparison of Costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija

Characteristics of Costumes	Similarities	Differences	
		Skopska Crna Gora	Skopska Blatija
Decoration:  Embroidery		Used black and blue  Full embroidered sleeve	Used red, gold, maroon, green, black and metal  May have embroidered motif on lower part of sleeve
	Embroidered hem	Zigzag pattern on hem edge, columns follow design lines	Floral motifs placed along hem edge
	Breast piece embroidery	Used long, narrow rectangle	Used diamond or hexagon
	Used couching on coats		
		Geometric motifs	Floral motifs
Commercial trimming	Used commercial trimming	Major concentration on aprons	Major concentration on coats

Skopska Crna Gora seemed less inclined toward change, the most modern change being the lack of embroidery on the košula. The remaining details of the costume were the same as in the embroidered festival costume. Skopska Blatija seemed to have the more modern costume, judging by the use of commercial trimming in the actual design of the coat. Skopska Crna Gora had trimming applied rather superficially on the apron. However, commercial trimming was not substituted for the handtwisted silk fringe on the coats, a change which would have been more fundamental. The women of Skopska Blatija also introduced solid color as opposed to red pin-striped coats.

#### Skopska Blatija Bride's Costume, Crna Tica

One of the questions which plagued the author was whether the costume often observed with a red pin-striped coat and a black-embroidered košula was a distinct ethnic costume or combined elements from the two areas studied. The red-striped coat was clearly from the Blatija area, but the black-embroidered košula was puzzling. The embroidery in the hem and sleeve patterns of the košula was different from that of the Skopska Crna Gora festival costume. However, it compared closely to the Skopska Crna Gora bride's costume (not included in this study). The costumes from the area of Skopska Crna Gora were the inspiration for this costume (Kličkova, 1972).

This costume was called the Crna Tica which means "Black Tree" (Plate XXVII) and was used only as a bride's costume in the area Skopska Blatija (Kličkova, 1972).

Generally the colors used in Skopska Blatija embroidery were bright. Only in the Crna Tica costume did the Blatija women embroider only in black, and it was predominantly black rather than a blue and black which was used in the Skopska Crna Gora area. The embroidery pattern on the sleeve of the Crna Tica costume (Figure 6-B) was composed of six squares divided by diagonal lines, using two squares to cross the sleeve. The cuff area was one section with branch motifs embroidered in straw color. The remainder of the sleeve was worked in black wool with high relief stitches, much like the Skopska Crna Gora ploči (Figure 6-A).

The embroidered portion of the sleeve was wider (9 inches) than in the Skopska Crna Gora festival costume, actually covering more than half the width of the sleeve (Plate XXVIII-A). The embroidery on the hem was similar to that of the Skopska Crna Gora bride's košula (not covered in this study). The Skopska Crna Gora bride's hem is illustrated in Figure 7-A. The Crna Tica costume had vertical columns of black, closely situated and extending approximately 10 inches high with much lacy embroidery between columns. The Skopska Crna Gora bride's costume had more solid embroidery between similar columns and had characteristic circles at the top of the columns. The Crna Tica embroidery did not extend above the height of the columns (Plate XXVII). Both the Skopska Crna Gora festival and bride's costumes had columns of black embroidery along the design lines and center up the back of the košula (Plate IV).

The comparisons between the Crna Tica and the festival and bride's costumes of Skopska Crna Gora are summarized in Table IV.



TABLE IV. Comparison of the Skopska Crna Gora Festival and Bride's Costume  
and Skopska Blatija Bride's Costume

Characteristics of Costumes	Similarities	Differences		
		Skopska Crna Gora Festival	Skopska Crna Gora Bride's	Skopska Blatija Bride's (Crna Tica)
Košula Cut	Same basic cut	Had godets	Had godets	Had no godets
Embroidery color	Predominantly black	Used blue, black	Used blue, black	Used black, with only very small amount of straw color
Hem embroi- dery design	Similar design in bride's hem pattern	Zig-zag design on hem, design lines embroidered	Vertical columns, solid embroidery between columns, circles on top, design lines embroidered	Vertical columns, lacy effect be- tween, no circles, design lines not embroidered
Sleeve embroidery design		Design composed of three main sections	*	Design composed of seven smaller sections
Coats		White wool married women's coat	White wool married women's coat	Red, pin-striped festival coat
Aprons		Red or black festival apron	Gold or silver bride's apron	Brightly colored festival apron with extra trimming

\*Information not included as there was insufficient material to examine to make a generalization.

This costume was mentioned to show a relationship between the costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija. It is important to note that the people of Skopska Blatija were inspired by the neighboring area and that Skopska Crna Gora had remained uninspired by other than tradition until recently. This may be assumed by the fact (Kličkova, 1972) that until twenty years ago the Skopska Crna Gora costume had remained relatively unchanged for 200 years.

Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija are ethnic areas. The costumes within each of these areas resemble one another so closely as to be considered one costume -- a Skopska Crna Gora or a Skopska Blatija costume, but the costumes of the two areas are distinctly different. Apparently, if there were fine differences between villages within either area, they are now lost.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY

The general purpose of this study was to analyze and compare the characteristics of the women's festival costumes of Skopska Crna Gora and Skopska Blatija, two areas of Macedonia, so that collections such as the author's did not become separated from information concerning them. Macedonian costumes are fast approaching extinction. The costumes of the two areas are scarce probably because they are near a large city and influences such as changing attitudes and the development of a taste for money have caused the costume to lose its place of importance in the lives of the peasants. Costumes available for study were scarce, but the information about them was encouragingly consistent.

Sources used for information included the few costumes left in the villages (especially in the Skopska Crna Gora), the collection of the dance ensemble Orce Nikolov, the information from the learned staff of the Ethnological Museum in Skopje and the City Museum in Titov Veles, references from the Oregon State University Library and the Ethnological Museum Library, local experts in botany and in wool and the author's own collection.

The costumes studied were limited to old, traditional (ethnic) costumes, those which have remained relatively the same for 200 years. The criteria were handwoven fabrics, traditional embroidery and inclusion of the traditional coat, apron, sash and headdress. Costume

information studied included: identification of costume pieces, cut of garments, yarn count of košula, yarn characteristics, embroidery designs and stitches, method for wearing, method for cleaning, distinguishing features and comparisons between the costumes of the two areas.

The same spinning and weaving techniques were used in both areas except that in Skopska Blatija card weaving and tapestry weaving were used in greater quantity. Both areas used natural and synthetic dyes but chose different colors. The košula fabrics of both areas were handspun, handwoven and had a crepy texture, but the Skopska Crna Gora fabric was heavier. The cuts for the košulas followed the same basic Macedonian pattern, but the coats, although both of wool, differed considerably. The Skopska Crna Gora coat was cut short, trimmed with silk fringe, and the fabric was fullered and napped. The Skopska Blatija coat was cut long, woven of highly spun yarns and had a wiry texture. The Skopska Crna Gora coat was worn over the other garments and the Skopska Blatija coat was worn under the sash and apron. Aprons were constructed in the same style with two widths placed in the horizontal direction and sewn together by means of a seam in the center of each apron. The Skopska Crna Gora apron was constructed of narrower widths, was permanently gathered and worn below the waistline. The apron had the most commercial trimming of any of the Skopska Crna Gora costume pieces. The Blatija apron was longer, having been constructed of wider widths and had a draw string and casing construction at the top. It was worn at the waistline.

Sashes were of wool, long, narrow and woven with a twill or a card weave. Skopska Crna Gora sashes were wider and woven with a twill weave while those of Skopska Blatija were narrower and woven with a twill or a card weave. The married women of Skopska Crna Gora wore two headscarves. The unmarried women in Skopska Crna Gora wore one scarf in the same manner as the women in Skopska Blatija. Married women in Skopska Crna Gora wore one scarf differently.

The general impression of the costume of the Skopska Crna Gora was one of subdued colors, heaviness but stateliness. West (1944) was impressed by the sadness of the overworked Skopska Crna Gora women. Perhaps in 1944, during World War II, they were quite depressed. This author found the Skopska Crna Gora women, like all Macedonian people, quite friendly and sincere.

Skopska Crna Gora costumes were distinct from surrounding areas because they employed only black, white and blue with a dark red the brightest color. The surrounding areas, especially the neighboring area of Skopska Blatija, used bright colors. The two areas used primarily embroidery for decoration on the košula. Both areas used yarn counting as a method for placement of the embroidery stitches. A wider variety of stitches was used in Skopska Blatija, and the motifs were primarily floral. The women of the Skopska Crna Gora tended to use solidly embroidered areas with primarily geometric motifs. Environment and mysticism influenced development of the motifs.

Commercial fabrics and trimmings were used in the costumes of both areas, but Skopska Blatija coats had far more trimming of this kind than any other garment.

A costume which seemed to be a careless mixture of pieces from each of the two areas, the Crna Tica, was an ethnic bride's costume of Skopska Blatija. This costume showed a blending of the two areas, a black embroidered košula and a red pin-striped coat.

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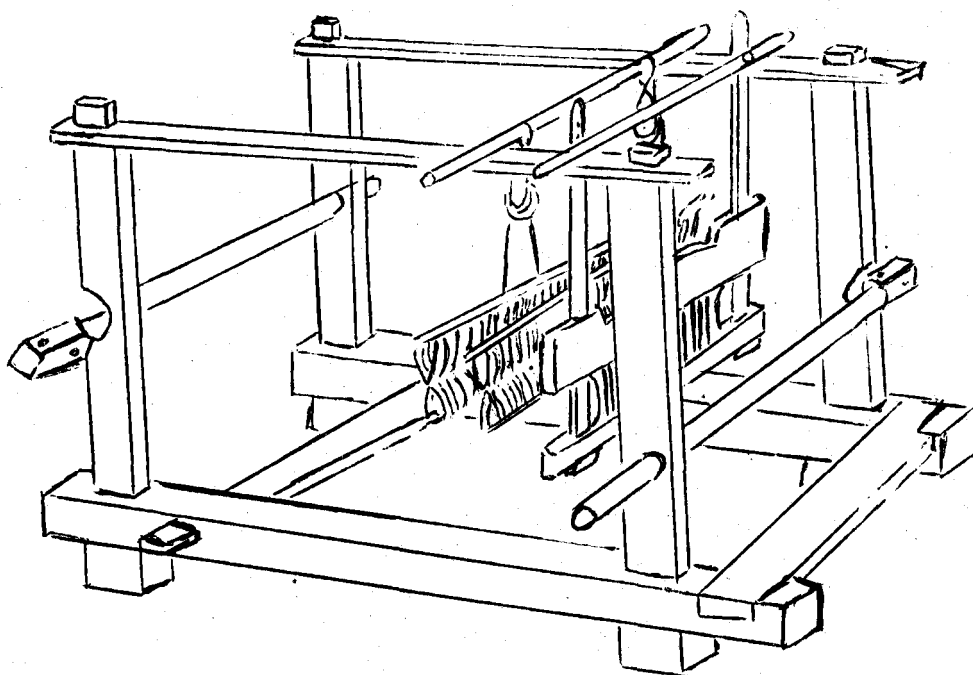
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## FIGURES

FIGURE 1



LOOM FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD  
OF SKOPJE (ZBORNIK . . . , 1953).

FIGURE 2

A. SKOPSKA CRNA GORA      B. SKOPSKA BLATIJA  
CUT OF KOŠULA

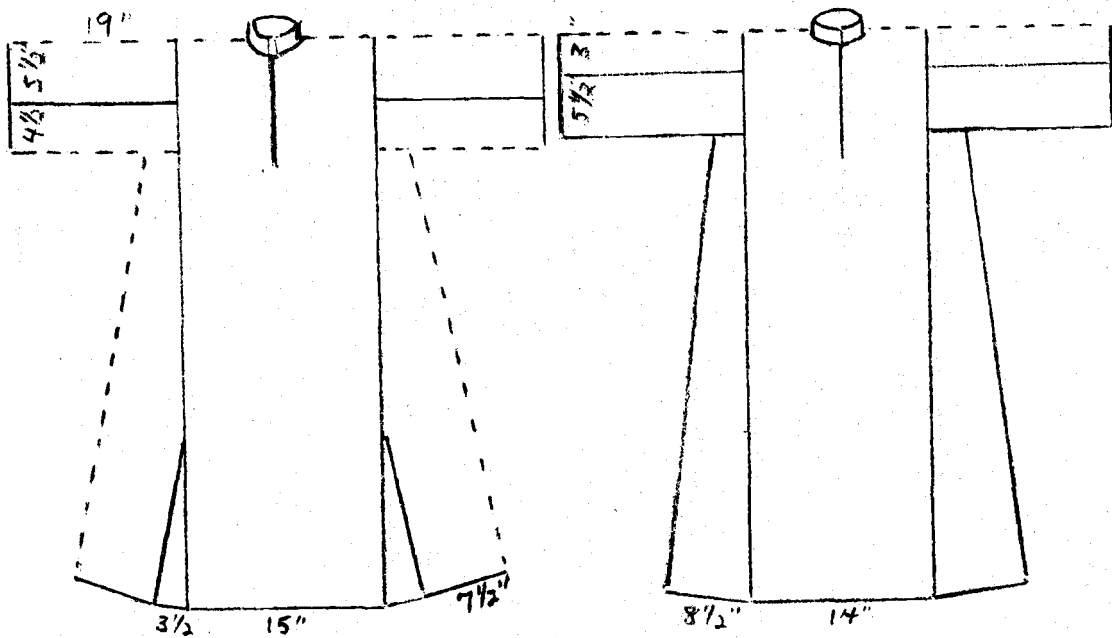
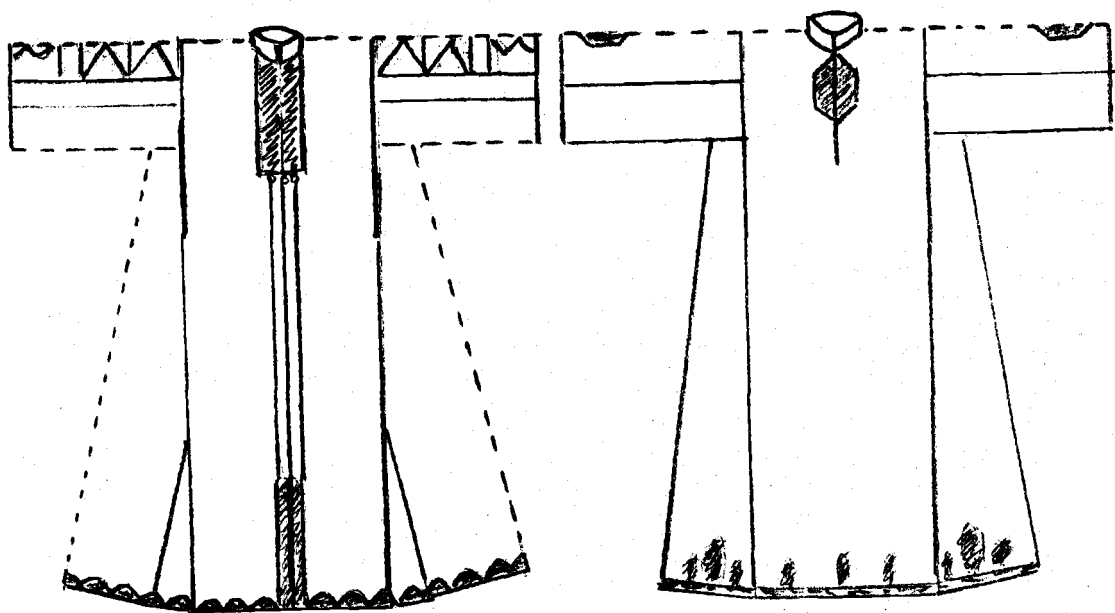


FIGURE 3



EMBROIDERY LOCATION

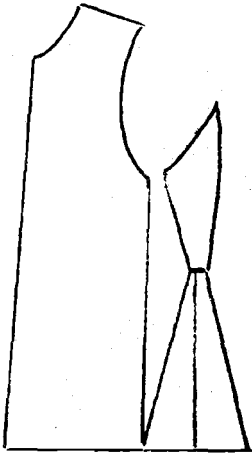
FIGURE 4

A. SKOPSKA CRNA GORA

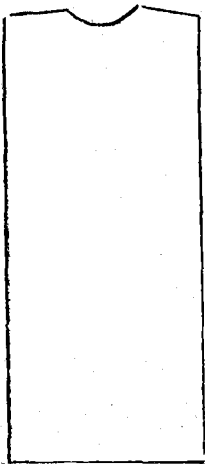
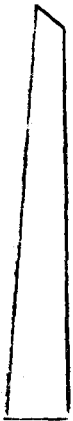
B. SKOPSKA BLATIJA

CUT OF COATS

FRONT

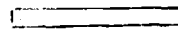
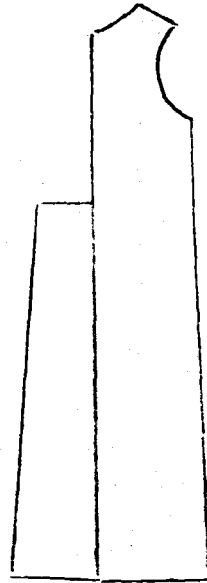


SIDE

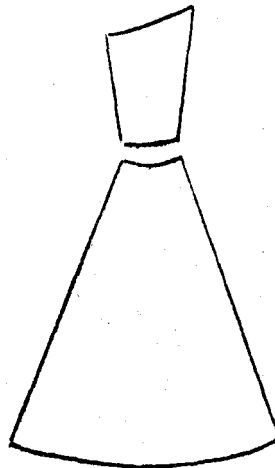


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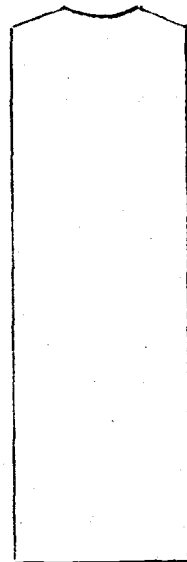
FRONT



collar



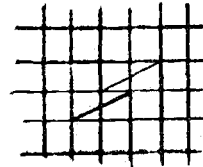
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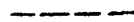
BACK

# BLATIJA EMBROIDERY STITCHES

A. polneš



B. LOZENO



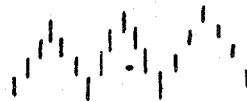
C. KRST



D. ČETIRICA



E. KRIVACE



F. polNETO



G. kolči



FIGURE 6

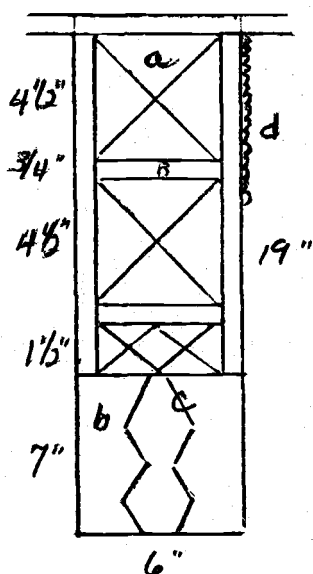
63

A. SKOPSKA CRNA GORA

B. BLATIJA CRNA TICA

SLEEVE EMBROIDERY

FESTIVAL COSTUME



BRIDE'S

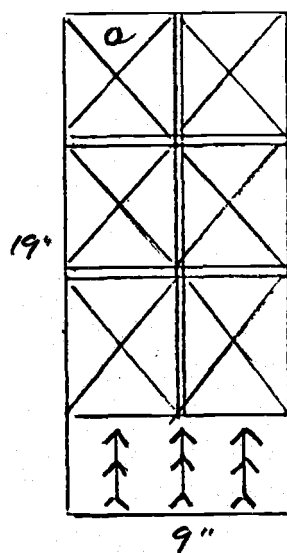
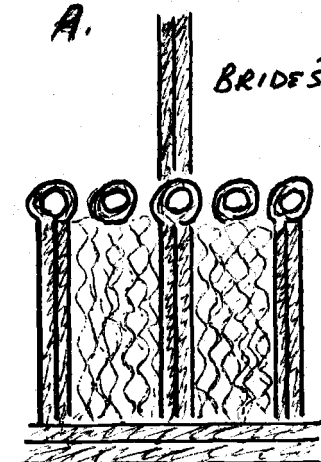


FIGURE 7

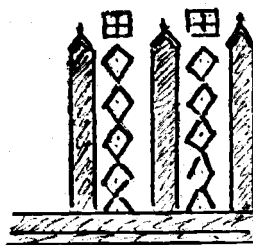
A.

BRIDE'S COSTUME



B.

BRIDES COSTUME



NECK EMBROIDERY

## PLATES





A. Oxcart loaded with firewood, Skopska Crna Gora.



B. Girl weaving. Village: Luboten, Skopska Crna Gora.

## PLATE II



A. Village well, Kučevište, Skopska Crna Gora.  
Note stomne (waterjugs) in foreground.



B. Laundry day, Pobožje, Skopska Crna Gora.



## PLATE III



A. Festival costume:  
Mirkovci,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Front view.



B. Festival costume:  
Banjani,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Front view.

## PLATE IV



A. Festival costume:  
Mirkovci,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Side back view.



B. Festival costume:  
Banjani,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Side back view.

## PLATE V



A. Festival costume:  
Lubanci,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Front view.

No embroidery.



B. Festival costume:  
Lubanci,  
Skopska Crna Gora.

Back view.



## PLATE VI



Working costume: Skopska Crna Gora, Kučevišće.

## PLATE VII

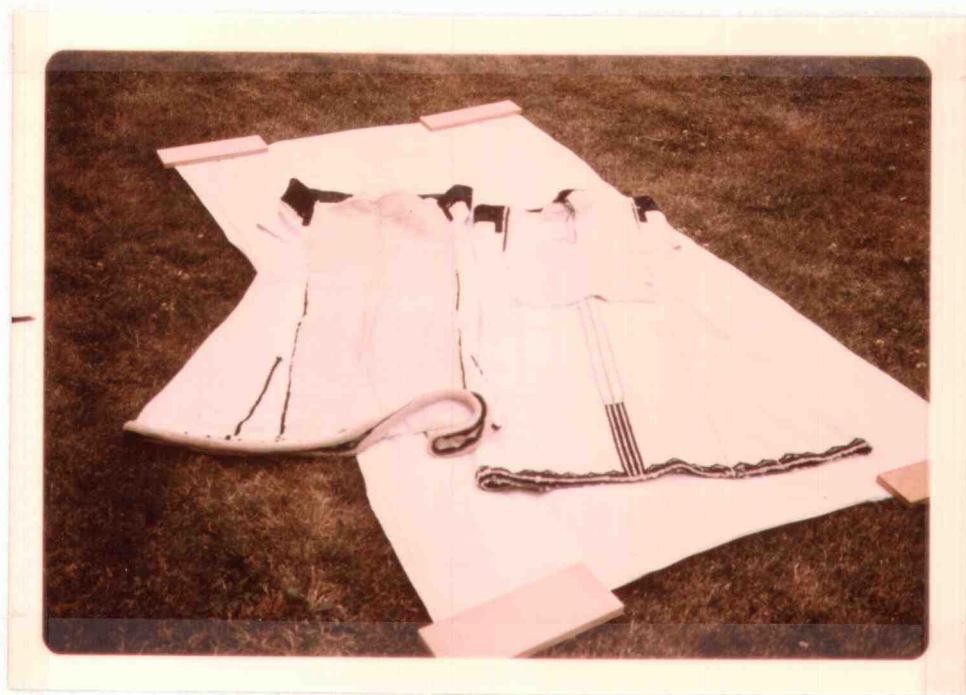


A. Festival costume: Skopska Crna Gora kosula, front view.

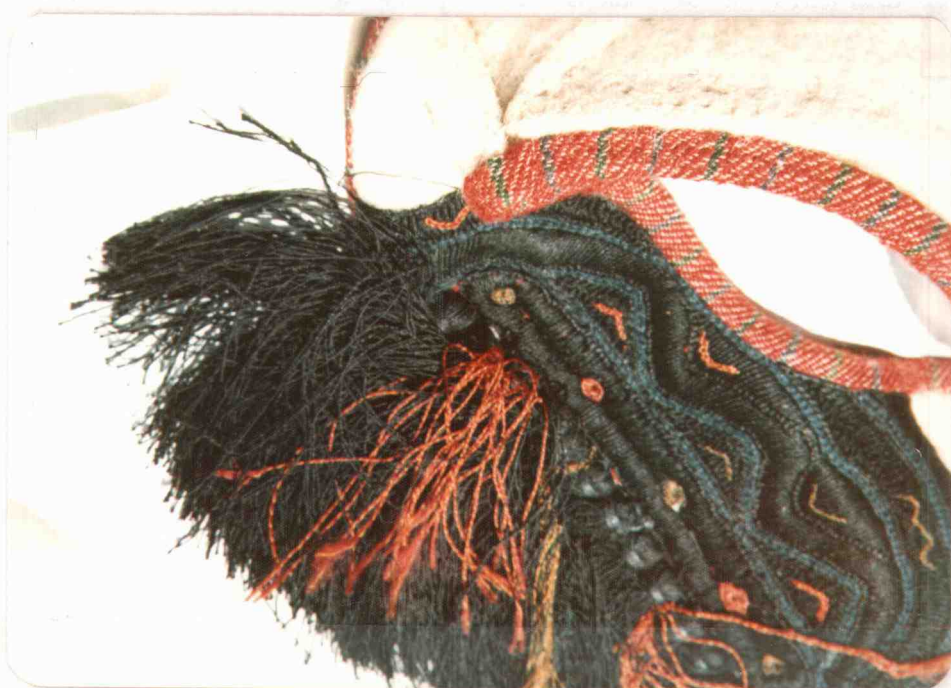


B. Festival costume: Skopska Crna Gora kosula, back view.

## PLATE VIII



A. Festival costume: Košula, Skopska Crna Gora showing inside and hempen underlining.



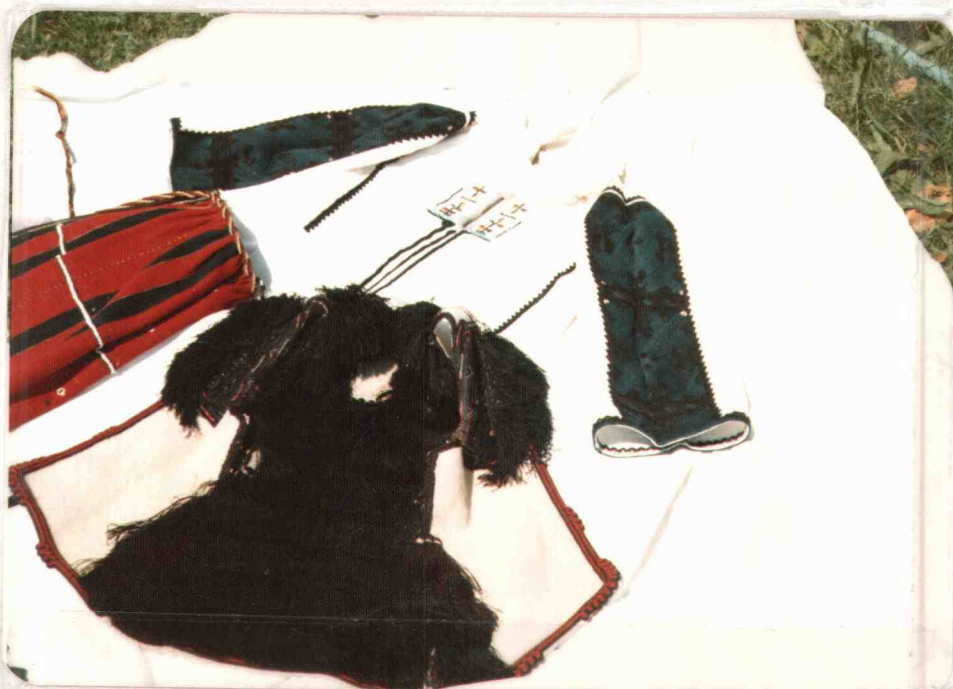
B. Festival costume: Skopska Crna Gora breast piece of Dolama (coat) showing hand-twisted silk fringe.



## PLATE IX

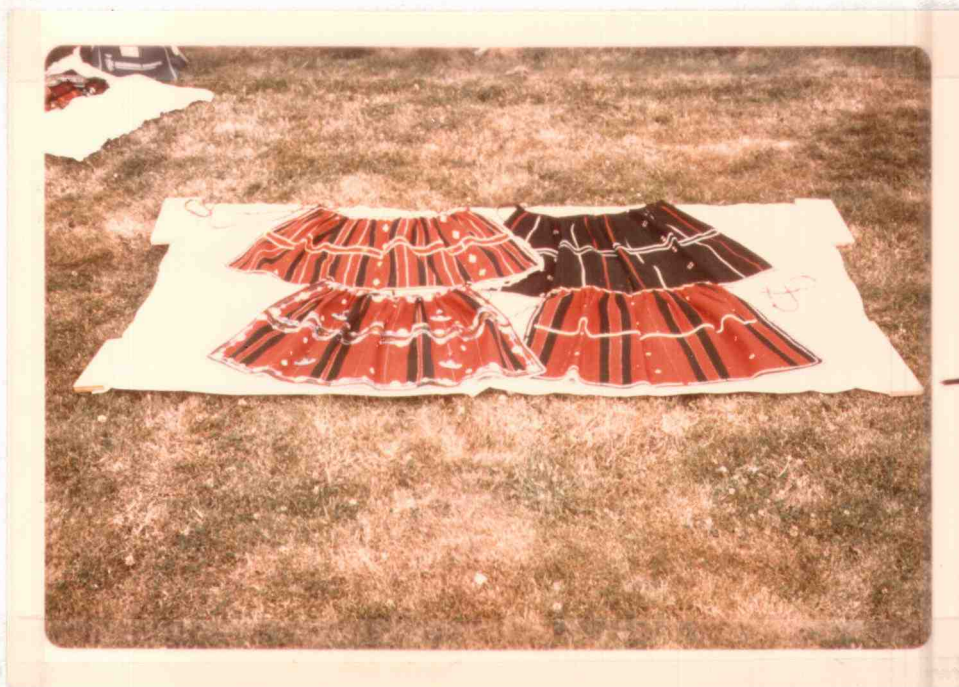


A. Festival costume: Skopska Crna Gora <sup>✓</sup>Ženska dolama  
(married woman's coat).



B. Festival costume: Skopska Crna Gora Devojka dolama  
(unmarried woman's coat).

## PLATE X



A. Festival costume: Four Skopska Crna Gora skutina (aprons).



B. Festival costume: Close-up of Skopska Crna Gora apron on lower left. Color representation is better. This apron appears on Plate III-A, Mirkovci.

## PLATE XI



A. Festival costume: Headscarves, Mirkovci, Skopska Crna Gora.



B. Festival costume: Headscarves, Banjani, Skopska Crna Gora.



## PLATE XII



A. Festival costume: Close-up of Skopska Crna Gora head scarves, Mirkovci.



B. Festival costume: Close-up of Skopska Crna Gora head scarves.



A. Collection of Skopska Crna Gora accessories (from the left):

1. Opinci (shoes)
2. Čorapi (socks)
3. Pojes (sashes)
4. Marama (headscarf)
5. Kolonče (beaded belt)
6. Silver pafta (silver buckle)
7. Remenče headbands to hold married women's headscarf (far right).

## PLATE XIV



A. Festival costume: Upper half of Skopska Crna Gora sleeve embroidery.

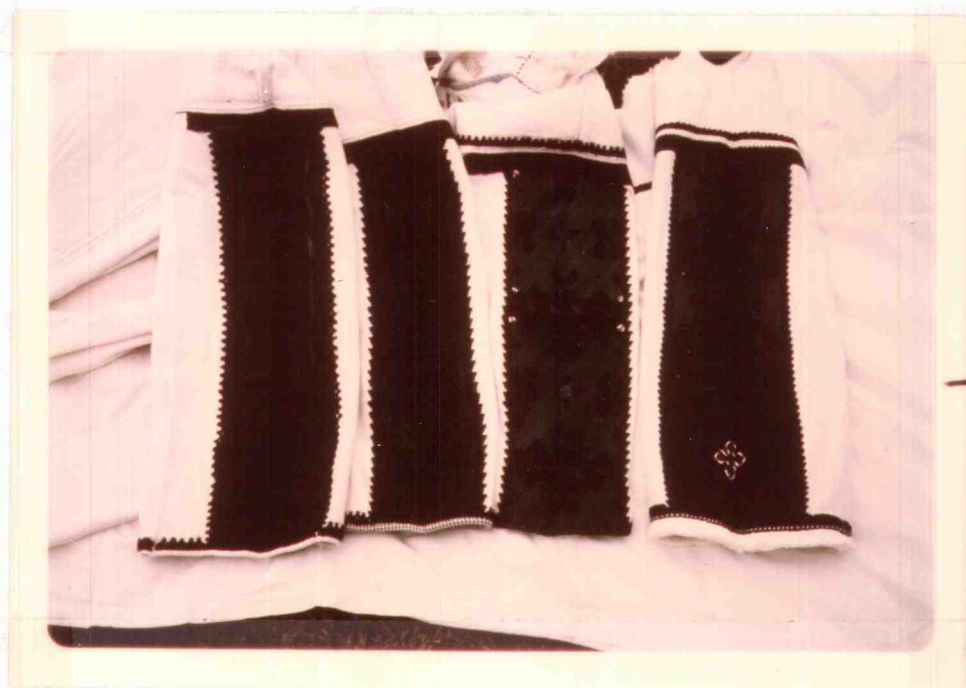


B. Festival costume: Lower half of the same sleeve.

## PLATE XV



A. Festival costume: Lower half of Skopska Crna Gora sleeve embroidery.



B. Festival costume: Sleeves of four Skopska Crna Gora košulas.



## PLATE XVI



A. Festival costume:  
Dračevo,  
Skopska Blatija



B. Festival costume:  
Skopska Blatija

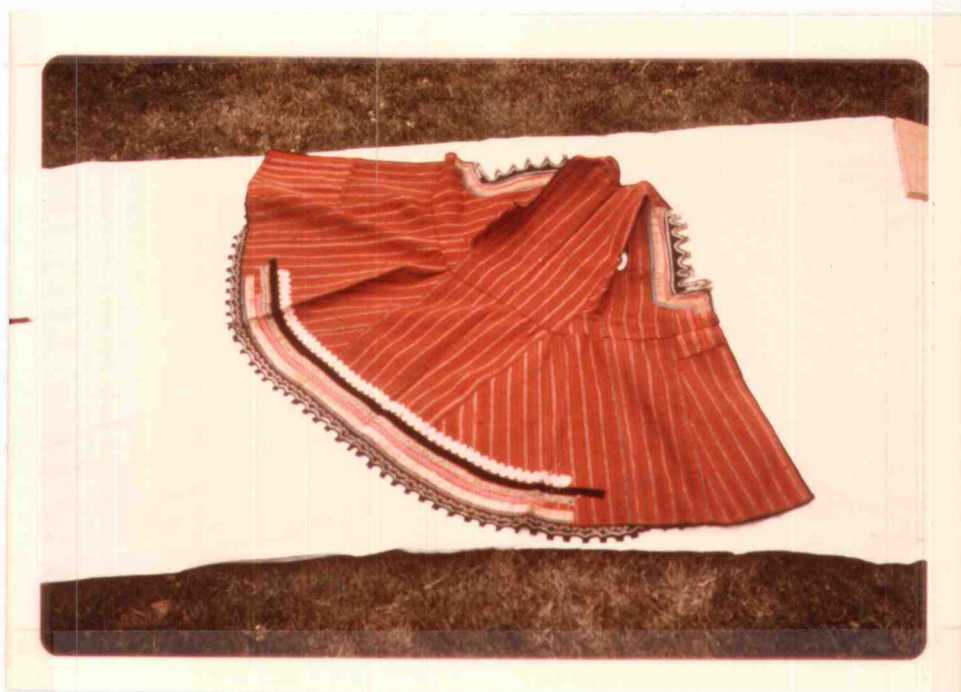
Author's collection



## PLATE XVII



A. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija eleks (coats).



B. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija elek, showing grainlines.

## PLATE XVIII



A and B. Skopska Blatija skutina (aprons).



## PLATE XIX



A and B. Skopska Blatija aprons.

## PLATE XX



A. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija pojes (sashes).



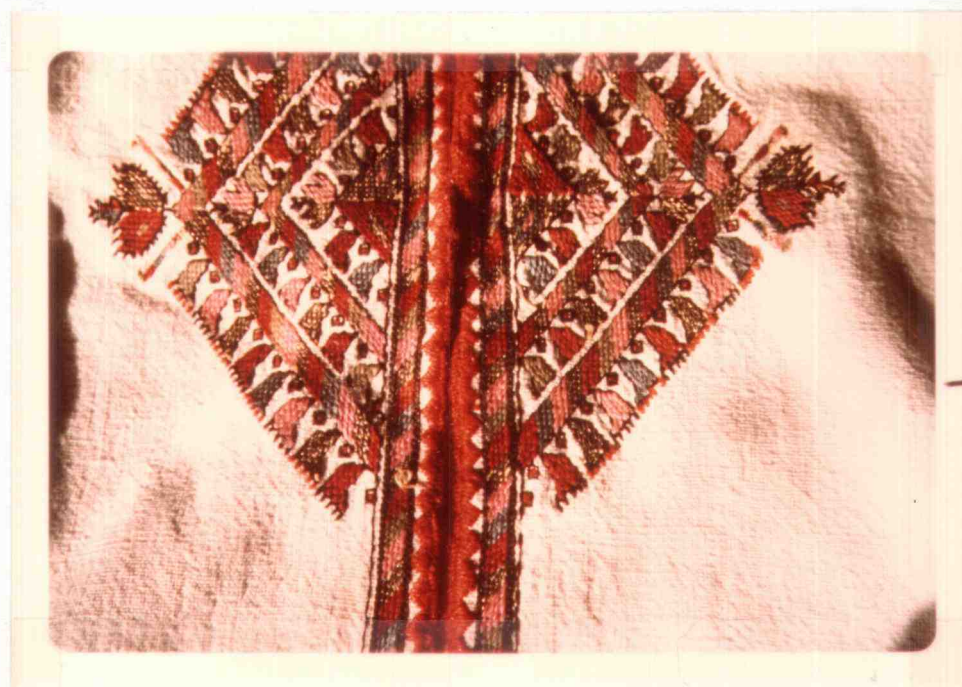
B. Festival costume: Close-up of Blatija coat fabric (wool).



## PLATE XXI



A. Skopska Blatija headscarves (woven design).



B. Close-up of Skopska Blatija breast piece embroidery.

## PLATE XXII



A. Festival costume:  
Skopska Blatija

Breast piece  
embroidery

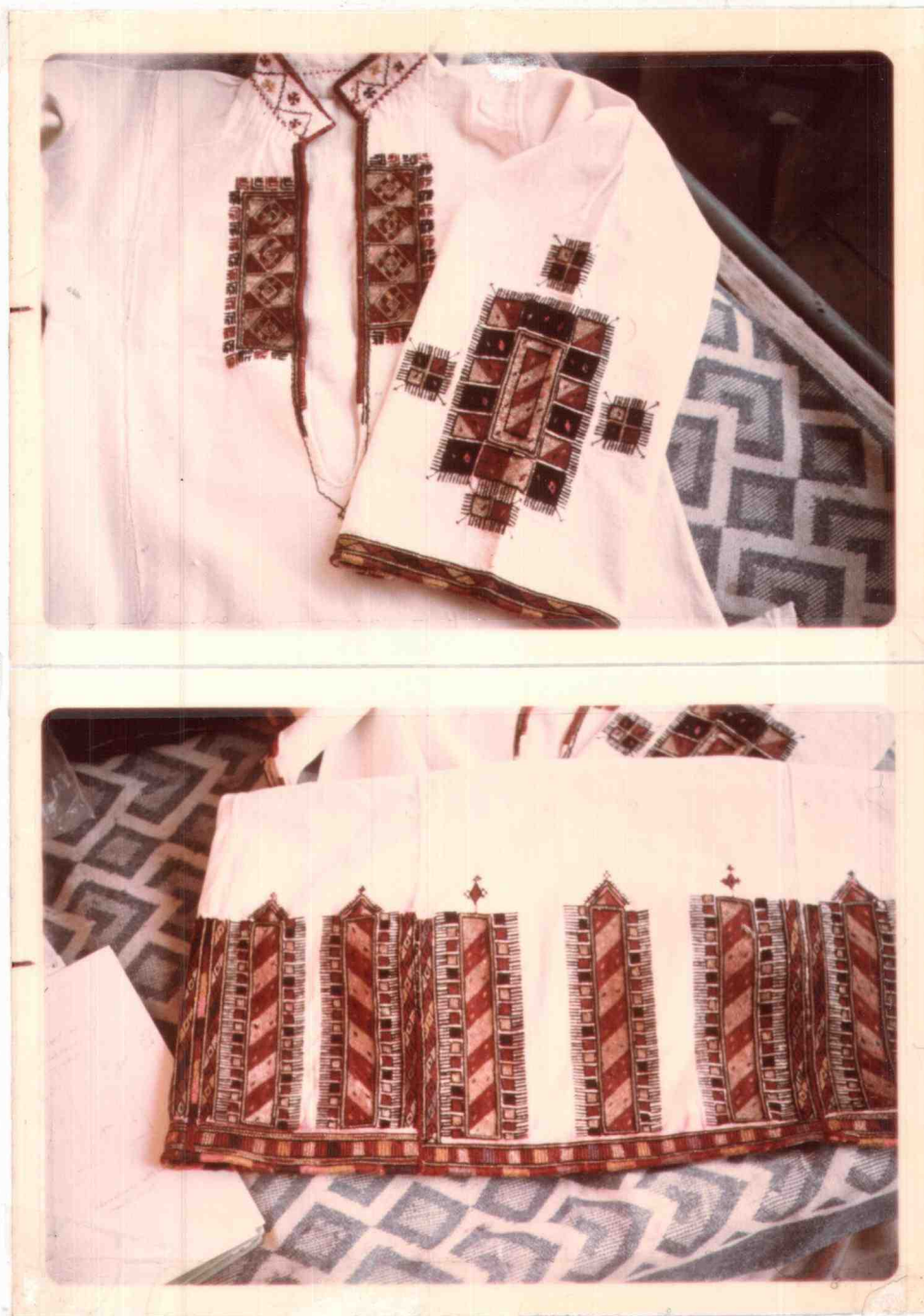


B. Festival costume:  
Skopska Blatija

Breast piece  
embroidery



## PLATE XXIII



A and B. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija breast piece, sleeve and hem embroidery from the village of Dračevo.

## PLATE XXIV



A. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija hem, probably from the village of Gergeflia.



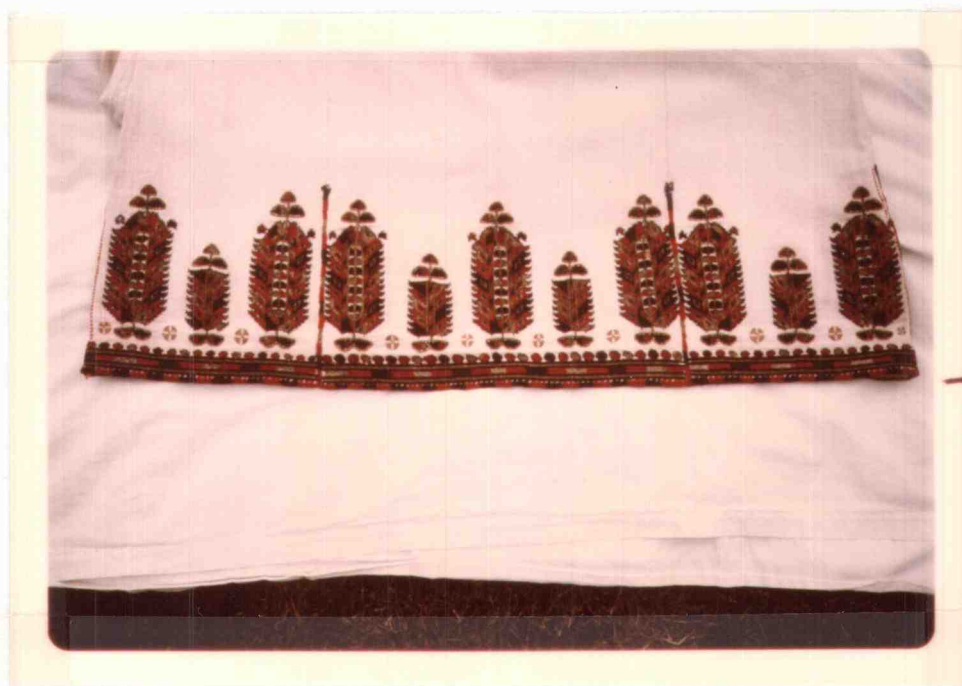
B. Festival costume: Close-up of the same hem embroidery.



## PLATE XXV



A. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija hem, probably from the village of Rastak.



B. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija hem, probably from the village of Crševo.

## PLATE XXVI

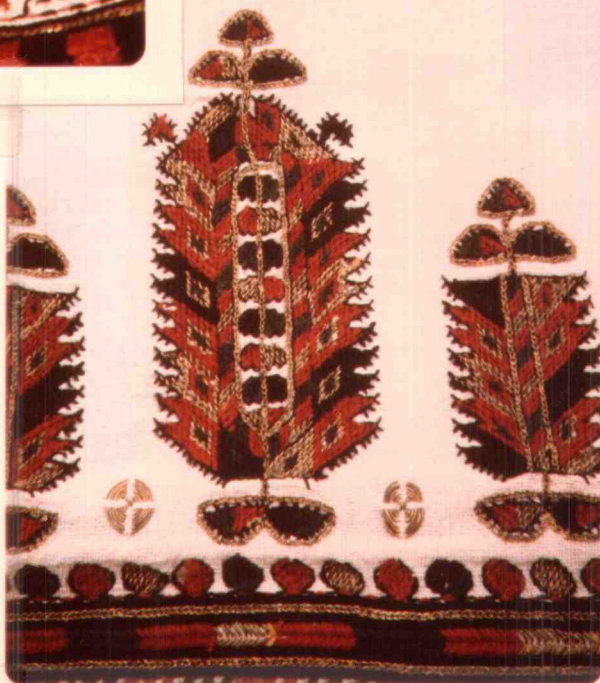


A. Festival costume:  
Close-up of  
Blatija sleeve  
embroidery

(This is the  
same košula as  
in Plate XXII-B.)

B. Festival costume:  
Close-up of hem

(This is the  
same costume as  
in Plate XXV-B.)



## PLATE XXVII

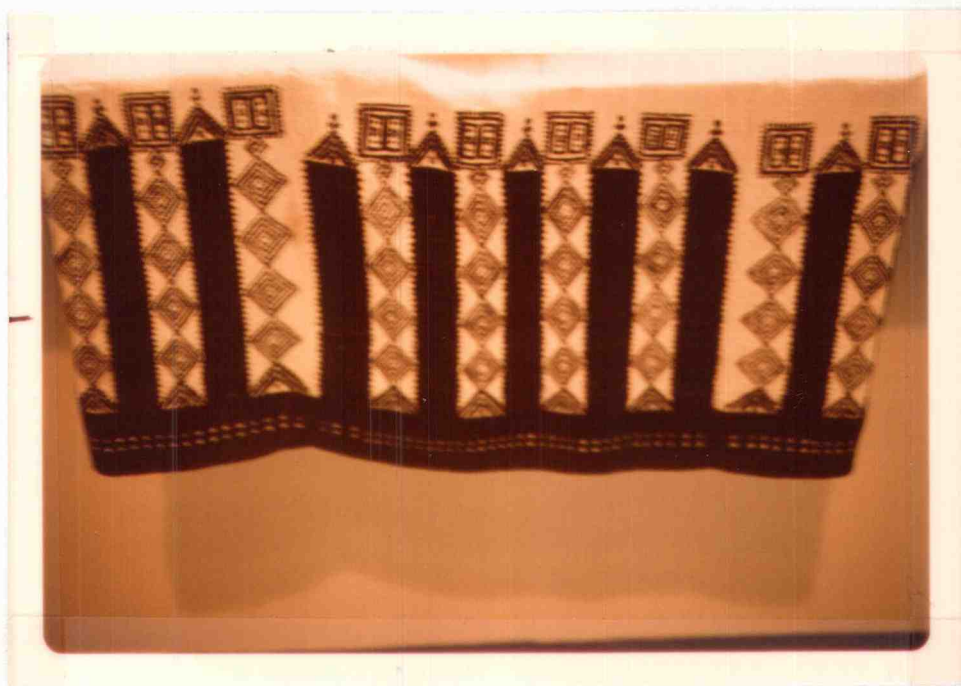


Skopska Blatija bride's costume, Crna Tica (Black Tree).

## PLATE XXVIII



A. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija Crna Tica sleeve embroidery.



B. Festival costume: Skopska Blatija Crna Tica hem.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Region	Village	Description of pieces
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Possessed by whom	Social position	Age of costume
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Background fabric:

Fiber content

Yarn count, 2 places

Yarn characteristics



F



F

Embroidery:

Fiber content

Characteristic stitches

Yarn structure characteristics

Sketch cut, other pieces

Dressing order

What is made at home?

How is it cleaned?

Distinguishing features

Comparisons

## APPENDIX B

The following are examples of information sought in the museums.

1. Where the peasants obtained cotton, jute and hemp.
2. Where black wool was obtained.
3. Information about sheep, spinning and spinning for embroidery.
4. What dye substances were used in the area.
5. Colors used.
6. Translations for dye substances.
7. Dye information and symbolism.
8. Differences between villages.
9. Checking information from villagers with the experts in the museum.
10. Testing findings.
11. Why the Skopska Crna Gora women chose black and blue on white.
12. Why the Skopska Crna Gora women rolled the sleeves.
13. How the Blatija costume was worn.
14. Embroidery stitches used in both areas.
15. Effect religion had on costume design.
16. Symbolism.
17. To what extent one can extrapolate from northern Yugoslavia.
18. Why the embroidery "lozeno" was done in inconspicuous places.
19. Checking information from questionable sources.
20. The purpose for wearing silver coins and buckles.
21. Validating the silver buckles and the Turks' story. Appendix C.
22. The explanation for the Crna Tica costume.

## APPENDIX B (Continued)

23. The explanation for the sleeve-remnant trim.
24. How laundering was accomplished.



## APPENDIX C

### The Wearing of Silver

It has been a tradition in Macedonia to wear silver buckles and/or varying amounts of silver coins with the festival costumes. The tradition was carried on more recently in the mountain areas of Mariovo and the Mijaci (Lodge, 1935). This was also true in the areas of Blatija and Skopska Crna Gora (Kličkova, 1972). The purpose of wearing silver was to display one's wealth and to decorate (Kličkova, 1972).

There was a story that Turkish soldiers who were highly hostile to the Macedonians caused the wearing of large silver buckles. It was reported (Boxell, 1964) that unruly Macedonians were to be extinguished by the soldiers. When the soldiers saw a pregnant Macedonian woman they were to run her through with the sword. This was to kill the child and if the woman died, that was all right. It was said that the pafta (buckle) was made even larger to protect the woman and to hide the signs of pregnancy.

Since the wearing of the pafta was practiced before the arrival of the Turks in the latter part of the 14th century, the Turks were not the cause of the wearing of the pafta. It is possible, however, that a few atrocities might have occurred (Nikolov, 1972).

## APPENDIX D

### Care of Costumes

#### Cleaning

Caring for ethnic costumes is a tedious problem. If the košula were embroidered in thread dyed by natural dyes, it can probably be washed without a problem. If synthetic dyes were used the chances are excellent that the colors will fade with washing or dry cleaning. The majority of costumes in personal collections have been colored with synthetic dyes. Not all synthetic dyes fade, but the dyes the Yugoslav peasants used were not fast colors.

Peasants reserved their costumes for festivals and did not clean them often, if at all. Wool coats and aprons were simply brushed when dirt was dry. Sometimes the košula would be washed, avoiding wetting the wool embroidery (Kličkova, 1972). If the garment were washed the advice was to wash when the weather was freezing and allow the garment to dry frozen (Kličkova, 1972).

To determine if a color will fade, a white cloth may be dampened in cleaning solvent or water which is then rubbed on the colored area. If no color appears on the white cloth, the dye is probably fast.

Washing was done in iron kettles over open fires beside a river or stream or at the village well (Plate II).

## Storing

The Macedonian villagers kept their costumes in huge wooden chests on the porch, a storeroom or even in the barn. This method of storage is not recommended. Airtight foot lockers and adequate insecticide are preferable. The author has witnessed wool coats with the nap literally eaten away by moths.

The first step in protecting garments was to turn the costume pieces inside out. The košula was turned if it were possible. Some sleeves such as the Mariova costumes are so stiff as to be highly resistant to turning. Turning helps to protect the costumes from insects, gases and light. The wool is highly susceptible to moths.

### Skopska Crna Gora

The košula, because of the hem roll, was stored by laying the back flat and folding sleeves across the upper chest with the sleeve tops even with the shoulder. Then the sleeves were folded down the košula in three folds. The folded unit was then stored flat in a huge chest. If one has a foot locker, the method for folding Blatija košulas may be employed.

The coat was turned inside out and folded once lengthwise, covering the fringe and embroidery. The apron was folded in fourths lengthwise, first in half to protect the front, then folded again. The sash was stored by folding, starting from one end -- the decorated end. It was folded into a six-inch long unit.

Headscarves were folded in half, then in fourths, lengthwise.

Next they were folded in half, crosswise, and folded from the center fold to form a nine-inch unit.

### Skopska Blatija

The košula was first folded in half lengthwise, back to back. Then the sleeves were turned to be even with the shoulder, with the fold occurring at the underarm seam. The lower part of the sleeve was then folded back on top of the upper sleeve. The side gores were folded in and the sleeve folded down the košula, making three folds and forming a unit approximately the size of the folded sleeves.

The coat was not turned inside out so as to retain the crease at the side gores. The coat was folded in half lengthwise, back to back, the front lower panels turned, right sides together with the respective fronts. The coat was then folded crosswise at the waist. Aprons for Blatija were folded in half, lengthwise, right sides together. The ends were turned in toward the center forming an apron folded in thirds. Skopska Blatija headscarves were folded using the same method as the Skopska Crna Gora scarves.