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student - ethnologist, 27.10.1949

FOLK COSTUME IN GORNA PRESPA¹

The material for this report was collected on a ten-day excursion conducted in May 1949. Conducted by students of the ethnology group, with the following individuals:

Polja Popovska of the village of Stenje, age 50
Donka Ivanovska of the village Leskoec, age 70
Vasilka Nestorica of the village Šurlenci, age 57
Frosa Gunoska of the village Dolno Perovo, age 66
Vasa Vangelova of the village Drmeni, age 70
Mara Popova of the village Care Dvor, age 90
Trifun Andonovski of the village Care Dvor, age 83

Besides these individuals, accounts of other individuals were also collected is used in conjunction with the information from the listed individuals.

Attached: 4 illustrations, 2 photographs and one ansis-map of the costume of Gorna Prespa.

1 The manuscript titled "Folk costume in Gorna Prespa" by Anica Antova is written on a typewriter, as a seminar work submitted for the studies in ethnology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje in 1949, under mentorship of prof. Dr. Branislav Rusiќ. The text is by the well-known ethnologist Anica Petruševa, whose maiden surname was Antova. Anica (Antova) Petruševa's interest in folk costumes began during her studies of ethnology under Prof. Dr. Branislav Rusiќ and was profiled during her career. Anica Petruševa's interests and achievements in the research sphere of the characteristics of folk costume, embroidery and textiles define her as one of the most knowledgeable researchers of this topic in Macedonia. The seminar work is preserved as a result of the care of prof. Dr. Branislav Rusiќ, whose complete scope of materials is found at the "Haralampije Polenakoviќ" Archive at the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The transcription of the text has been completed by prof. Dr. Ljupčo S. Risteski, wherein the language and text are presented fully in their original form with the aim of presenting the linguistic characteristics of the Macedonian language of the time, without proofreading interventions.

THE FOLK COSTUME IN PRESPA

The folk costume is of documentary value alongside other cultural occurrences.

The folk costume among the people, with its beautiful appearance and intricate decorations is one of the most powerful signs of the elevated artistic grip and sense of our people. Embellishments of various beautiful embroidery, weavings and knits are before all evidence of an aesthetic feel. In addition, decorations of the costume show the high skills of our people with which they satisfy their aesthetic needs. Considering this, the costume presents itself as one of the most important factors through which the people emerge as full master-artists who use their skills for satisfying their own taste and achievement of ever-higher beauty in their clothing.

Besides the aesthetic sense and skills of our people, in the process of forming, creating of the costume embellishments an important factor is the natural environment and economic situation of the region, as well as significant historical moments.

Thus, the region of Resen, as one of the rather wealthier regions, completely overgrown by beautiful greenery, fruit on the one side, surrounded by the clear water of the Prespa lake on the other side, whose population generally deals with agriculture, fishing and livestock, has formed its own costume, the creation of which is influenced by nature and the economic situation, and the historical events that took place in this wealthy region.

The most common motive in the embroidery, weavings and knits of this region is the “vedče” (twig), which shows us that the as the woman worked she copied the beautiful nature that surrounded her and stylising it transferred it to her shirts, bofča (apron), socks, šegun (overcoat), etc.

In this region the poor as well as the wealthy pay a lot of attention to decent beauty and a good look of their clothing. The people of Prespa call their clothing *ruvet* or *promena*.

The villages do not create their *ruvet* completely on their own. They sew some parts on their own, they embroider and decorate, and some parts are sewn by tailors either in the city of Resen where they bring their prepared material - baize or, the tailors come to the village where they tailor the *šegun* (overcoats), *džupi*, *kurđii*, etc.

Everyone, regardless if they are poor or rich, takes care that their *ruvet*, if not new, is at least clean and mended.

The *ruvet* was rarely mended in the past, but in recent times it is common. Once the *ruvet* needs to be mended it is the job of the woman. The man, even if he is completely alone, never mends, as that work was considered to be below the dignity of a man. If he does not have any close relative that would do this job then he would go to his neighbor

who would mend it fully. Mending and washing are exclusively women's work, and men almost never do it.

The youth, often the rich, like to decorate themselves and to dress better than others, they were called *kibarlii* (*elegant*), however overdone decorations were not looked upon well, and those were called *foduli* (*show-off*).

There is not a big difference between the ruvet of the rich and the poor, as there is not a big difference between the summer and winter promena.

Women's promena. The women's promena in this region endured many changes. The geographic-economic events and the long restless times and uprisings did not go in favor of the upkeep of the costume in this region, which in the past used to be very beautiful and embellished. In general, one can note 3 phases of degeneration, if this term can be used here, of the costume in this region.

In the first phase we can consider the women's promena of 100 years ago. It consists generally of a shirt made of white, home-made woven cloth. The cut of the shirt was similar to today, i.e. it was made of stan or stanok as the different village terms appear and of 4 rebornik or klin (wedges) each on the sides. On the chest the shirt was open and with a deep cut to the stomach. The sleeves of the shirt were made of whole cloth and poltinče. The sleeves and the underarms of the shirt were intricately embroidered. The shirt itself was not embroidered on the chest, rather specially embroidered pieces called "gubiña" were placed on top. The embroidery on the sleeves reached above the elbows and guvezlija (dark red) and pufkina (orange) color prevails in the embroidery. The lower part of the shirt was embellished with ojminja and svitki. The shirt had 8 edges of which 4 were made with čikme (čikme is a type of lace made with a sewing needle). The čikme was intricate and around 2 cm wide. The other 4 hems on the ribs was made with the sejmen technique. The shirt itself was not very long, however still the length reached under the knees.

Džupa - made of cotton lining and aladža cloth. It is sewn so that the cotton is placed between the lining and the aladža and afterwards is sewn with straight lines like a mintan or pamuklija. The džupa has a wide open slit to the stomach in the front. The front panels of the džupa were embellished with svitče and srma.

Šegun - made of white baize with sleeves. The šegun, like the džupa, was not sewn by the women themselves, rather by tailors. After the sewing, the šegun was embellished by the women on the underarms and sleeves. The embellishments on the sleeves were generally made on separately prepared embroidered pieces called "prčalki" and placed on the sleeves after they were closed. The embellishment of the frontpiece was also done with a separately embroidered piece and decorated with red felt, bikmi, cords etc. On the back the šegun has "kitčinja" that go down the two sleeves. Those are in fact degenerated sleeves and in the past those pieces used to be 2-3 cm wide. On the bottom the šegun is

embellished with felt, svitki, kitoi and kitčinja. The šegun has a stan and wedges and on the hems there are rabuši which on their side have stapčína. In those times the šegun had 4 rabuši.

Vest (elek) - the back of which is made of aladža, cotton and lining like the shirt. The frontpieces are made of black felt with lining. The vest is open in the front and the hems of the opening are embellished with silver cord (srma). The vest is buttoned with two hook and eye fasteners.

Belt (pojas) - woven, around 5 cm wide, is wrapped around the middle.

Overcoat (bofča) - woven and embellished with drobni šarki for the elderly, and tailored with silver cord and embellished with puloi for the young.

Džube - made of black baize. The džube was sewn by a tailor, and afterwards embellished by the women with bikmi and cords. The džube has 6 wedges that make 3 duška. The ornaments on the embellished of the džube are several twigs grouped together. Just on one side of the džube there are 15 twigs, and sometimes more. On the other side as well. The džube has pockets around which there are embellishments of cords and bikmi. The front hems of the džube are sewn with dark red felt and cords and are rolled back, and in the lower edge there are embellishments of svitka and velvet.

A characteristic of this phase is that in each part of the costume the color orange dominates. Later this color is left out and instead of it a dark red is included that resembles burgundy more.

The second period of the degeneration of the women's costume can be considered to be the time before the uprising. At the time women wore shirts like they did in the past, except the embroidery was significantly smaller. On the sleeves, the embroidery was around 5-6 cm while the embroidery on the front pieces completely disappears. On the edges of the front pieces and nape a small embellished called "kršanje" remains. The embroidery on the sleeves is reverse and one starts first with brazdenje (outlining) with the darkest black color. The outlining here is only with black whereas in the past it was done with various colors. The outlining always is done twice and is lowered and repeated. After the outlining one starts with filling in with different colors, but what is characteristic is that all of the colors are muted so the general impression is that the colors are darker. The most common motive in the embroidery is the twig. The twig is embroidered with "očinja" (eyes) and crosses on the tips. The edges of the sleeve are knit nicely and that is called "poplita na robot". The shirt itself goes through some changes. The čikme on the edges is shortened, as is the length of the shirt which now reaches the knees. Because the shirt is quite short, women wore underpants (gašti) with long leggings, the ends of which were embellished with ojminja and basma. The underpants were placed on the legs so that the embellished parts were visible when walking. On the chest area, where the embroidery is, there is a velvet or silk gušnik (neckpiece) embellished with ojmiña, svitki and perdufi (feathers).

The šegun goes through some changes. The pieces that used to hang from the shoulders disappear. The intricate embroidery of the frontpieces also disappears and is replaced by aladža or felt. The embroidered prčalki on the sleeves are replaced by a more simple embellishment called "kitoi". The lower part of the šegun loses its beautiful decor of orange color and is replaced by a smaller one that is more muted. The rabuši are also lessened so now instead of on 4 edges there are rabuši only on 2 edges that each have 4-5 sticks (stapčinja).

The belt is not woven red, rather knit red, around 20 m. long.

It is characteristic for this epoch that the tone of the colors is muted, from orange first, to muted red, to burgundy. The separate parts of the costume lose their intricate decor, becoming simpler and smaller.

On their feet they wore socks that were very nicely knit and with various patterns and various colors.

They also wore opinci or shoes on their feet. The poor made do with what they had, however they tried, at least during holidays or other festive days, to have better footwear so even since then the usage of shoes appeared in the region. However, opinci are still most commonly used in the region, made by the villagers on their own using simple pressed pigskin or cowhide. Of shoes they wore several lace-ups, either geti or rampoti.

Head. Women of this region always took care of their hair. Beautiful, long and dense hair was very valued. But not all women had such beautiful hair. To compensate for that the women braided in fake plaits of other's hair. Women brushed their hair parted down the middle. On each part they plaited small plaits. On the back women braided one plait in which they braided rusumen and tablaanka with three coins on a base of silver. The rusumen was braided with cords and hair. On the kocel - plait they put a gugutče made of 3-4 silver coins (groša). They braided in the hair a plait of wool, spun into yarn, embellished with cords and coins. On the front, on the forehead and above the ears they put in tuntulici and above the tuntulici a scarf, the ends of which they threw behind.

Later they began to wear a čkepe or škepe on their hair, a silk scarf from which only a pinch of hair was visible, on workdays a simple white scarf for the young, and darker colors to black for the older.

Later the braiding of small plaits is left behind and the hair is brushed with a middle part or without a part and the women wear a scarf (čkepe or škepe) on their hair. Later, around 16-20 years ago, they began to brush their hair completely differently. They began to cut the hair on the front and make limbi - bangs or culufi above the ears and let them down as krkmi - buljki. The buljki-krkmi were made with a small machine which they purchased in the city of Resen. Not everyone had a machine, only some, and they lended it to each other. So, they wore a scarf (čkepe) behind their ears and tied the ends on the top of their head. On workdays they tied their scarves under the chin and tied it behind.

On working days women dress the same except without a džube or vest which was considered to be more of a festive change (promena). Understandably, the everyday ruvet - promena was older and used. Usually the worn out promena for festive days become the everyday one so there was not a big difference between the festive and everyday promena.

The festive promena was complemented with jewelry. They placed a “gendar” made of Turkish coins on their chest. On the hips, on the belt they put silver toki. They placed a “kopec” with three chains on their chest and at the end “gugutče”. The kopec was placed on the chest, and the gugutče on the shoulder. They also placed a “kordon” on their chest, made of Turkish coins (medzudija) on a chain. They were silver pafti on their middle, large and leaf-shaped.

On especially festive days, to achieve an even more beautiful form and a better look women wore two džube. Around their neck, let down the edges of the džube they placed a silk scarf which they purchased in the city of Resen. On the belt, below the pafti, they also placed a silk scarf and below it a beautiful silk shawl.

On the day of the wedding, the bride, or as she is called there the “nesta”, puts on a completely new ruvet specially made for the day. The nesta, on the day of the wedding and some time afterwards, wears two džube. On the belt the nesta wears three scarves, white, black and red, and above them silver pafti. The nesta braids a plait on her hair with rusumen and tablaanka for the first time on the day of the wedding. On her head they placed a sokaj, completely embroidered, the ends of which was made into jaguška - a hood. Above the sokaj they placed a beautiful purple scarf - čkepe decorated with ojmiña, the ends of which were simply thrown behind. Above that they placed a wreath plaited of different flowers so it represents a whole garden on the head of the bride. The wreath was made of vine and in it they braided basil, džundule etc. Below the wreath, pulled in front of the face was the veil - a thin, silk, see-through red scarf, which the woman wore for three days. Besides that, the head was also decorated with a lot of jewelry, like piliña, peltiña, šipčinja, rešminja, etc. They wore nicely patterned socks and lace-up shoes - geti - on their feet, which they bride wears after the wedding as well. The bride also wears an opregač, a small, narrowly woven apron decorated with various patterns. On the edges of the apron there were tassels (kivčinja) in different colors.

The girl's promena was different from the women's in that the maidens - girls did not embroider the sleeves of their shirts, they were content with just a small embellishment on the edges of the sleeves. The girl's šegun (overcoat) was black with long sleeves. The back and front pieces of the šegun were of šajak, whereas the sleeves, like the džupa, of aladža. Instead of the woven bofči (aprons) they were bovčalaci decorated of cloth, and on holidays of velvet or silk. The girls did not braid other's plaits into their hair.

Today's costume. The period of Turkish slavery, the long and restless time and frequent disturbances and uprisings, had a big influence on the changes of the women's costume in this region. After that period, under the influence of various historical events, the people left behind their old habits and rituals for dressing, as demanded and ordered by the events of the times. Later, when more peaceful times came, there was no need

to renew the old. The new period was in favor of that, so the new generation, desiring a newer and more comfortable life, easily separated from the old traditions.

So the uprising in 1903 and the long period afterwards brought in large changes to the women's and men's costume.

Now the women's costume is generally made of a shirt similar to the past, just significantly narrower and losing the two wedges on the side. The čikme on the edges is shortened so much that it is barely visible. The sleeves lose the embroidery and poltinče so that now they are made of just one cloth that is so tight that it sticks to the arm. The shirt itself is very short that it barely reaches the knees. Under the shirt they wear a knit vanela, the sleeves of which are long and visible under the rolled up sleeves of the shirt. Often in the summertime instead of a whole vanela they just knit sleeves which they put on their arms. The vanela is often white, but it can also be in different colors.

The džupa stays almost the same, just the opening in the front is large so that now the whole stomach is outside.

The šegun, instead of white, appears as black and without sleeves and almost any embellishments. The opening on the chest of the šegun is greater so that it is the same as the džupa. The bofči are gradually lost and in their place are found bofčalaci of aladža for every day and silk or velvet for holidays. The bofčalaci are the same form as the bofči and are put on in length. The bofči or bofčalaci are put on below the stomach. In the winter they wear wool black socks on their feet, without any patterns and shoes that are purchased, and in the summer kalce, also black, or they walk barefoot.

They brush the hair with a part on the middle and one plait on the back. They wear a scarf on their hair, the ends of which they wrap around the chin and tie behind. The scarf is placed so that it goes around the chin, and the mouth is covered.

On a working day one can rarely see a woman with a šegun. They usually wear a džupa which serves as a šegun. The šegun is now more of a holiday promena.

When they are in mourning the women instead of sleeve shirts wear džupai with long sleeves. They also wear a black neckpiece (gušnik) and black scarf on their head.

It is interesting that the girls wear a scarf on their head on working days so that the scarf goes down above their forehead, almost to the eyes. At the bottom, the scarf covers their chin and mouth so that only the eyes and nose are visible. To my question why they wear the scarf like that they said that they are careful of the sun, but I do not believe that that is the main reason because they wear their scarves like that at night as well, when there is no sun.

The women of this region pay attention to the good look of their whole figure. Slim women are not looked at well, especially women with thin waists. So women who are not naturally thick compensate for that with specially prepared stuffing. They place a small pillow on their middle and under that a gazarnik with another stuffed pillow. With that they achieve a figure that is according to their taste beautiful.

For today's costume one cannot say that it is beautiful. Without any embellishments and the long opening to below the stomach, with the belt and bofča below the stomach they give the impression of being undressed or put together. To my question why they put their belt on under the stomach and not in the middle they answer that they put their belts on like that because it looks good like that to them. I think it came to be as a way to protect women while lifting heavy weights.

Men's costume. The old costume is completely lost today. The old costume can barely be seen today. The only person I met that still wears the old promena was grandpa Gudo - Trifun Andonovski of Carev dvor, but his promena too was ripped so one can barely imagine what it was like new. The old costume in Prespa lives as a memory among the older people. To my request to be shown at least some part of the older costume I received the answer that they do not have anything, that the daughters-in-law are not there, etc.

The men's ruvet is made up of a shirt of white home-made cloth. The nape and front piece were embroidered however later this was left behind.

Above the shirt they wore a vest of baize (klašna), embellished with cords. The vest had no sleeves.

Vermele also of wool baize without sleeves and decorated with cords.

Kusale with sleeves of black or gray baize. In the past the kusalinja were with long sleeves which were encircled and rolled like caps.

Ćurdija of white baize up to below the knees. The ĩurdija was sewn by a tailor. At the bottom, the ĩurdija was wide and sewn with many wedges. Each wedge was later encircled with cords. Based on the width of the ĩurdija one could tell a person's desire towards dressing. The more kibarlii (elegant) and meraklii (passionate) made ĩurdii with more duljci. Later, after the uprising, the ĩurdii change and appear black.

Men also wore gašti (underpants) made of white home-made cloth, and above them bečvi (trousers) which they tied with a gáknik embroidered quite nicely.

In the middle they wore a belt which used to be long, black and knit like the women's, and later red, woven a foot long.

Besides that, on the middle the younger men placed 2-3 toki which were similar to the women's, just larger. On the chest they placed watches with long ĩusteci. Understandably, this jewelry belonged to the wealthier who were in the position to buy such expensive pieces.

In the winter when it was cold, to protect themselves from the cold they wore a gunja of gray baize over their clothes, long to the heels. The same gunja had a jaguljka (hood) which protected the head from the cold. On their legs they placed "objala" made of baize with which they wrapped their legs. On the middle above the belt they wore "siljav" and in it strapped a gun and vezminja.

Head. The boys wore short hair which they began to cut after the first year. In this region people remember that the men used to wear a perčin (braid) of buljka in the past before the uprising. Afterwards the braids began to be cut off and those who still wore them were considered to be simple or stupid. Before the uprising the men wore long hair to their ears which they later began to cut. A special embellishment for the men were long and thick mustaches. The mustaches were left to grow freely so long that they even tucked them behind their ears. There were cases of people swearing on their moustaches. It was shameful to be beardless in this region and those people were looked down upon.

On their heads men placed a fes with long tassels and later once the Albanians entered this region they began to wear keče of white, purple or red color. The white keče was a sign of Albanians, while the purple and red of the Turks. Later the keče and fes were left behind and they wore black hats embroidered with yellow, red, etc. The hats were purchased in Resen.

Long beards were rarely worn. Usually the beard was left to grow during mourning, usually six weeks. Otherwise one can rarely see elderly men with a longer beard. The beard is not shaved on Fridays and big holidays because it is not good to do so. The young boys do not shave until they get married because it is shameful for a boy to shave.

They wore colorful knit socks on their feet, two patterns for the younger, and one for the older, or their socks were kozineni. They wore opinci of pressed pigskin or cowhide or kosek which they made on their own, and on holidays they wore shoes.

Today's male costume is very simple. The men's ruvet is now completely different from the past.

The men wear pants or shalvars of gray or brown baize. The shirt is made of cloth, without any embellishments. The coat and pants are tailored like city coats. They wear black socks on their feet without embellishments and opinci on working days, and shoes purchased in the city.

Costume for boys.

Children in Prespa are all called boys until they are married. The children's costume is made up of a shirt of white cloth embroidered on the sleeves and nape. A vest made of black or red baize to the length of the belt. The belt is woven red, bečvi (trousers) like the men that are tied with a gaknik which is nicely embroidered here. They wore socks of two patterns on their feet and opinci made of cowhide or kosek, also opinci made of nice leather similar to gon.

The very small children, girls and boys, wore a long shirt and a black anteriiče made like the overcoat (džupa). They wore a small, red, woven belt. The boys went bearheaded, and the girls wore a red or white small scarf.

Today's costume in Prespa one cannot say is beautiful. Neither the female nor the male is embellished with any decorations and embroiders, making the costume even more simple and basic.

Today, after the liberation, the youth have begun to leave behind this costume as well. The falling apart of the zadruga, today's way of life are leading to the leaving behind of the costume and its replacement with the city clothing, so it is common to see women wearing dresses.



Photograph 1. Women's folk costume in Gorna Prespa.



Photography 2. Women's costume in Gorna Prespa.



Illustration N°. 1 Shirt



Illustration N^o. 2 Šegun

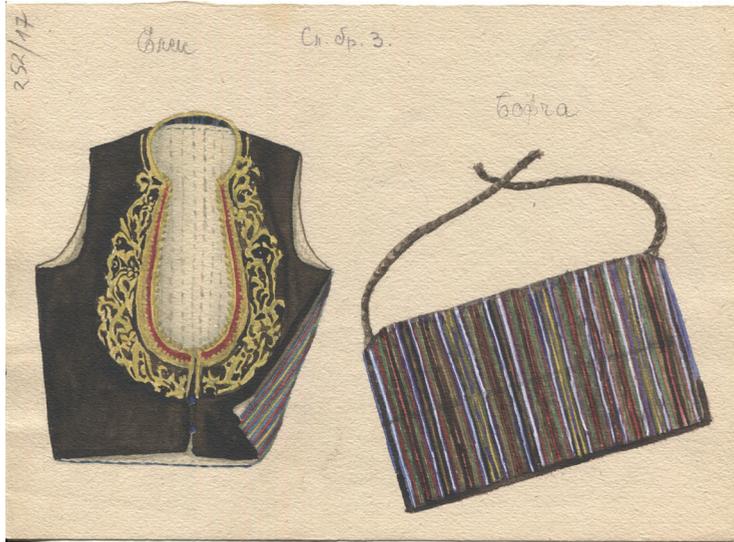


Illustration №. 3 Vest; Bofča;



Illustration N°. 4 Džube