

Bratislava Ildvorean-Stefanović

CARPET WEAVING TECHNIQUES

among the Serbs in Vojvodina



The Museum of Vojvodina, 2009.

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CONTENTS:

Preface	4
Introduction.....	5
Textile materials.....	12
Hemp	14
Cultivation, collection and separation of fibres.....	15
Processing of the fibre and the required tools.....	18
Combing.....	20
Wool.....	23
Spinning of the threads.....	25
Plying, twisting together two or more single yarns	31
Rewinding the yarn—preparation for warping	32
Warping, winding the warp and its introduction into the heddles and reeds	39
Looms for weaving.....	45
The domestic narrow loom.....	45
Parts of the loom	46
The workshop, broad carpet loom	50
Description of the traditional process of weaving carpets.....	58
Techniques of weaving	62
Shuttle weaving	65
Analysis of selected examples of carpets from the Museum of Vojvodina collection	68
Review of ornaments	121
Review of tapestry weave variants (Typology)	123
Conclusion	128
Illustrations	135
List of table contents	213
Sources of illustrations.....	221
Glossary.....	222
Bibliography.....	226

PREFACE

Carpet weaving in Vojvodina, especially carpetweaving among the Serbs in Vojvodina, has frequently been treated in compendious studies on the general themes of folk and ethnic life. Various topics were covered and among them the greatest focus was on the field of historical studies. These documented the origins and growth of the basic techniques of weaving, especially of the technique of tapestry weaving the origins and varieties of the ornamentation used, the function of carpets in the decoration of living space as well as in rituals. In the monograph study of Dr. M. Maluckov there is an effort to produce an all round view on the appearance and the duration of carpetweaving in this region.¹ Several authors have identified two questions that are closely connected. First question of the use of the tapestry weave technique and its dates in these regions, in secondin the question of its appearance with regard to oriental and other material heritage.² This most prominent decorative weaving technique was abundantly in use in prehistoric Europe in the Middle Ages when the high quality production of tapestries was developed for the special needs of churches and royal courts. In the East however it has remained to this day the technique of carpetweaving (the regions of southern Anadolia, western Persia and the Caucasus). The technique of weaving by tapestry weave was known in the Balkans even before the pre-Slavic times and certainly before Turkish times. Its continuity can be seen in the decorative weaving which was done „on the fingers“ as shown by woollen aprons an example of which can be seen on the idol from Kličevo dating from the bronze age.³ Covers which were among the most characteristic medieval textiles, the *carpetta* can be identified as being similar to simple striped carpets which are still seen among the Serbs today and known as *ponjava*, *ponjavica*, *šarenica*. In this way the local women weavers, who had already mastered respective techniques of weaving when they became acquainted with the eastern carpet, mastered its production very quickly and easily. The weaving of carpets as a creative act, in all the phases of the development of carpetweaving in this region, was a special challenge to the craft of women weavers. The subject of this book are the folk weaving techniques as applied in carpetweaving among the Serbs in Vojvodina. The motivation for the concept is undoubtedly the need to seek the systematic study of the process of traditional textile production. The conceptual framework includes, primarily, the working process along with the required tools and devices for work along with the appropriate textile materials. Within the process there is the preparation of the yarn and the creation of the fabric. Whilst the central theme is the process, from the warping and winding and the placing of the warp on the loom, the fingering, the weaving of the woollen threads, to the final shaping of the carpet. Here, the main focus is on the process of carpetmaking by hand on home looms, is on the process of carpetmaking by hand on home looms together with an interpretation of the usage with regard to the cottage industry. Finally, the understanding and identification of weaving techniques applied in carpetmaking while following the changes which, over time, have manifested themselves in carpetweaving in this region.

¹ M. Maluckov. *Čilimarstvo u Srba u Vojvodini*, Novi Sad, 2003. However, as far as the weaving technique is concerned, the author has chosen to describe the tools for the processing of the material, the tools for weaving and a description of weaving in another publication (ibid., 6).

² V. Tkalčić, *Seljačko čilimarstvo u Jugoslaviji*, Etnološka biblioteka 5, Zagreb 1929, 4; Filipović, M. S., *Čilimi i čilimarstvo u našim zemljama do sredine XIX veka*, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Nova serija, sv. XII, Istorija i Etnografija, Sarajevo 1957, 181; B. Vladić-Krstić, *Tradicionalno čilimarstvo u Srbiji* (exhibition catalog), Galerija Srpska akademije nauka i umetnosti, Beograd 1985, 11, 12; M. Vitković-Žikić, *Pirotski čilimi* (exhibition catalog), Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu, Beograd 2001, 40-43.

³ J. Radauš Ribarić, *O tekstilnom rukotvorstvu na tlu Jugoslavije kroz vjekove*, Čarolija niti (exhibition catalog), Muzejski prostor Zagreb, Zagreb 1988, 16.

INTRODUCTION

Today the carpet is in the inner most circle of symbols of traditional culture of the Serbian people, and folk carpet weaving is considered to be one of the most fruitful fields of its creative expression. Carpetweaving originated and developed on the basis of domestic weaving craft and it was cultivated as the most representative part of textile making and cottage industry during the 19th century, though the real mass production came only in the late period of its development. On the other hand, domestic hand weaving was the basis of textile production among the Serbian people throughout its cultural development in the entire Serbian ethnic region. Women were the ones who have always woven on their looms all the necessary textiles for the household, all the way to the time of the decline of home weaving. Over several decades, during the first half and the middle of the 20th century, domestic weaving starts to truly disappear. During the 19th century there was a gradual spread of the popularity of imported industrial fabrics in towns and in the villages, however, factory made materials were used only for the most festive and formal purposes. By the turn of the 20th century along with imported factory textiles, a significant part of the demand for textiles was met by the local developing textile industry. Furthermore, for some periods of time, due to the poverty of the Great War and inter-war periods of crisis, there was a reversion to domestic weaving for the basic textile needs. However, in the years following the end of the Second World War, the village population reverted completely to using factory made fabrics, first for festive and formal occasions and then for everyday use, while with carpets it was quite different. Due to the specific role of the carpet in the traditional rituals of the Serbian people and its part in native cults, the carpet retained its importance and prolonged its duration for some time. The raising of the carpet to the level of the symbol of the identity of the Serbian people, was also due to the fact that the carpet was never in fact easily available to the majority of village folk, since it was a luxury item and expressed the importance of the house that possessed it. The households that could not afford the cost of the weaving of carpets, as a young girl's dowry, prepared more modest woven rugs for the same purpose. As with carpets, coverlets, were also used in the formal decoration of beds, woven in stripes at first and later with more complex ornamentation. Industrially made colourful bedspreads were used for the same function. Due to its great importance in the past, folk carpet has, to this very day, remained the symbol of the power of the village community. It has remained valuable as part of the romantic memories of the wealth and beauty of life in the village.

During the 19th century, lavish carpets in the modest interiors of village homes drew great interest from many educated people who travelled through this region. They marvelled at the woven handicrafts whose beauty, they were convinced, could satisfy even the most refined tastes; this exclusiveness was contrary to the accepted notions of the craft of local village women. The carpet became a subject of interest of the very first educated ethnologists who studied its appearance and history in the Balkan region.⁴ Through her *Komentare izabrane literature* (Comments on Selected Bibliography), in her monograph study from 2003, M. Maluckov gives accessible historical articles on the subject.⁵

The carpet represents the basic piece of traditional luxury textile in any inventory of the culture of a broad cultural space, which is configured as a unified carpet space. In the Serbian ethnic space, the production of carpets was mainly a domestic craft for personal use, but also as a kind of additional industry for women for potential sale.

The technique of tapestry weaving which is applied in carpetweaving, just as the simple technique of plain weave, is linked to the very beginnings of textile production in general. In areas where the climate required protection from the cold, wet or heat, and in keeping with textile materials available, some kind of production of fabrics developed. In regions with a moderate climate sheep raising developed; these were mainly fabrics made of wool. In the late 19th century, A. Riegl developed a theory on the centralAsian origin of the carpet from the textile inventory of nomadic herdsmen, which the Parthians, after they had conquered Persia, brought back from the region of western Asia.⁶ He claims that the ancient form of this textile object was a rough coverlet

⁴ M. S. Filipović-Ćilimi i ćilimarstvo u našim zemljama do sredine XIX veka, 179-194.

⁵ M. Maluckov, *Ćilimarstvo u Srba u Vojvodini*, Novi Sad 2003.

⁶ Z. Munk, *Ćilim*, Hrvatska enciklopedija, svezak IV, Hrvatski izdavački zavod, Zagreb 1942, 400 (A. Riegl, *Ein orientalischer Teppich aus dem Jahre 1202*, Berlin 1895).

which was easy to make and which could be used for a variety of purposes, thus its popularity spreading quickly. This simple product, developed from the traditions of the ancient techniques of tapestry weaving. The luxury product, in keeping with the aesthetic standards of its new environment, became a valued commodity which spread throughout the entire Mediterranean. This is the reason for so much varied data on multicoloured wool fabrics in ancient Greek literature, as well as on vase paintings. The continued links with the carpet weaving of the east, primarily for production for export to the west, brought new influences. In Europe in the Middle Ages, two different groups of luxury carpet products were known and valued; eastern carpets which were imported from the regions of their production and gobelins from Western Europe. In the late Middle Ages, with the growth of the textile industry, the investment in the production of textile yarn for the textile industry, spread to both east and west carpetmaking.

The production of eastern carpets was also organized in some of the most western regions of the Ottoman empire, in workshops where the necessary preconditions for cheap production could compete on the European market. On the other hand, in western Europe, the making of artistic gobelins developed, with the application and the advancement of the technique of smooth gobelin weaving into lavish compositions, whose subjects came from ancient stories and different artistic styles. At the turn of the 18th into the 19th century, the native variant of carpetweaving developed in the Balkans. The folk carpet weaving of the southern Slavs has all the characteristics of real native weaving and within this, specific Vojvodina carpetweaving has a special place.⁷ In the development of the ornamentation and technique of the Serbian carpet during the 19th century, which was a time of dynamic processes connected with the market production of carpets, certain gifted women had an exceptional place in the folklore carpet weaving of the region. Their role was in the mediation between investors and producers whereby, by their taste and opinions, they were in a position to bring new ideas into discussions. Often, just on the basis of the orders of the buyers, they were able to decide on and negotiate patterns for new carpets. Starting from the chosen traditional model, they selected ornaments and adjusted their dimensions and colours, as well as introducing completely new details. Savka, the wife of Dr Jovan Subotić presents her own experiences of this type from the 1850s with women weavers in the Srem, Slavonia and Bačka regions. She writes about Pela Ivkov from Stapar as a bright woman, a true philosopher, who invented patterns and various types of weave in her youth.⁸ In the folk tradition these women were known as philosophizing women or ornamentation inventing women who were praised by the educated Serbs of the time, since they were to carpetweaving what the singers of folk tales were for epic poetry.⁹

The development of carpetweaving is determined primarily by specific conditions such as the breeding of certain animals and the cultivation of plant species which are the main resources for the making of carpets. The carpet is redundant in tropical regions, while in the polar ones the needs for protection against cold are met with furs and skins, thus leaving the moderate climate regions as the natural ones for carpets. Wherever they are encountered, carpets are made of certain materials; among the nomads from wool, and in the settled land cultivating peoples, of wool, flax, hemp and cotton.

In the way it is produced and in the way it meets various needs, authentic carpetweaving is a product of home cottage industry which functions outside market laws, since the production is primarily for one's own needs.¹⁰ The subsequent growth of workshop carpetweaving in certain communities, was always based on highly developed home cottage industry, whether the culture is nomadic or settled.

⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica 2002, Deluxe Edition, CD 2, kilim: Copyright © 1994-2002: (n the south of the Balkan Peninsula the kilims were in the beginning copies of Anatolian types, but in time they had a special stylistic development such as the black-red-white Pirok kilims in Serbia. Likewise in Romania, there was a variety of local styles, going toward the west, with a great reduction in the presence of oriental elements, in colours and in patterns, as they moved further away from Turkey. In this way, Vojvodina carpetweaving, which was even further west, gave rise to even more creative elements.

⁸ S. Subotić, O našim narodnim tkaninama i rukotvorinama, Letopis Matice srpske, sv. 226, Novi Sad 1904, 56.

⁹ S. Subotić, O našim narodnim tkaninama i rukotvorinama, vol. 227, 69.

¹⁰ Z. Munk, Čilim, 400

The basic notion of the carpet in the traditional village culture in Vojvodina, implies only the most festive form of bedspread. This is the essential difference in relation to the kilim in the authentic culture of its origin, where it represents a universal covering for man or for the covering of almost the entire habitation. In Vojvodina, on the border between different types of cultures of habitation, the function of this expensive decorative fabric is in accordance with the existing interior. In the town communities of Vojvodina, the carpets were in the parlours with furniture in European styles, while in village homes, with floors of uncovered compacted dirt, the carpet found its prime location on the bed.

The carpet in its basic function of a bedspread, along with additional and specific uses, was the main product of traditional carpetweaving in Vojvodina. The typical traditional shape of this coverlet was a rectangle which was made of two halves joined along the length by hand stitching with needle and thread into a firm seam in the middle. The length of one measure was about two metres and the width about seventy centimetres. The two lengths of the carpet of a metre and a half in total width were made individually, one after the other on a small home loom. The custom was to make carpets in pairs so that the warp was prepared for two carpets, four lengths in one piece. All the way to the end of the 19th century, these carpets were woven on simple home looms which were the only ones used in the making of various types of domestic fabrics.

The home loom of the horizontal type is the only shape of this device which was in use, in carpetmaking and other weaving, in the region of Vojvodina. The use of other devices such as the vertical loom for knotted weaving, or the tapestry loom in the form of a frame, would appear from time to time but did not take hold in this region. In the region of Vojvodina, ethnology has not found the use of any form of vertical loom in any phase of development of traditional weaving.

The traditional loom for homemade fabrics is a relatively simple device on which, during weaving, the warp is horizontally tightened between the back beam on which the warp was wound and the front beam on which the fabric was wound. The construction of the loom consists of the main working parts which are: back and front beams with warp and cloth tensioners, two sticks to keep the threads crossed, the threads in heddles, threads with treadles, warp roller and shuttle. During work additional tools were used such as *nagradjuša*, a ramrod for fixing the warp to the roller. For weaving carpets this was, essentially, everything that was necessary. From time to time some other hand tools were used, such as a large tooth comb or fork for the packing and straightening of the inserted woollen yarn.

Due to the limited width of the working parts of the loom it was possible to weave a width of just over seventy centimetres. For this reason the traditional bedspreads, just as carpets, coverlets, bedsheets, were made by sewing together two, or, less often, three halves. The exception to this was semi-professional weaving on broad looms, as production for the market.

As well as the archaic nature of the devices for weaving which had not changed for centuries, domestic weaving was also characterized by a specific universal weaving atmosphere. The space for the loom within the prehistoric houses, was almost identical to the one that was, up till recently, the space for looms in village homes in Vojvodina. In any home in Vojvodina, if you meet an old woman who used to weave, she will describe to you, with great clarity and spontaneity, the space where there was once a loom for weaving. Such a thing occurred in Kumane in 1997.¹¹ The back room of the low ceilinged ground floor, of the house we entered seemed somehow incomplete since there was an empty space in the room between the tiled stove and the window. The aged weaver stopped setting up the loom one winter and gave the prepared warp to a younger woman neighbour. The usual place of the loom was in a corner between two windows on two adjacent walls, meeting at a right angle. Next to this came the large brick stove with a bench on which the older members of the household rested and where the children played. This was the room which was heated and in which the entire family lived. The woman at the loom was able to look after the other household chores and to take care of the children. For the weaving itself, the most important thing during the daytime, was that it was the most lit place especially necessary for the weaving of carpets. The same position of the loom has also been registered in archeological finds of neolithic houses.¹² Over time and a long period of development, certain changes have taken place,

¹¹ Veselinka Sekulić, born 1917, in Kumane.

¹² Idvorean-Stefanović, B., O počecima tkanja na tlu Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 35, Novi Sad 1993, 201; R. Tringham fishers and farmers of Eastern Europe (6000-3000 B.C.), London 1971, 77, 84, 85.

primarily in the development of the techniques of weaving and its devices. This well lit space in the room where there was a fire and where the household lived, remained the ideal corner for the loom, on which the woman produced all the textile necessary for the household.¹³

In the traditional family, the wife took care of all the textile needs of the household. Within the home, it was up to her to organize the labour which, according to the traditional division, was ranked as women's work and included the female children according to their age. Learning to make textiles was considered basic knowledge which prepared the female child for her future life; spinning yarn and weaving were among the most important household chores. According to the words of Milica Stojadinović-Srpkinja in her diary *In the Fruška Gora Hills 1854*, „... of the woman it must be said that she learns ¹⁴ only when she is a child. When she crosses the borders of childhood, then her mother hands her the spindle, the cooking spoon, the rolling pin...“ What was therefore necessary was to start working as soon as possible, to prepare large quantities of fabrics for her dowry and later to spin, weave and sew all the necessary textiles for the household and its members. She quotes a colourful conversation with Vuk St. Karadžić, stating that she herself, like other girls... according to folk tradition, has to spin, weave, embroider not only for herself, but for her entire family ...¹⁵ In this way she wants to justify herself to her older contemporary, who envisioned for her a mission for which he thought she had the mind and talent—to collect, edit, that is to write about the traditional cultural heritage of her people and her region. Vuk St. Karadžić highly valued womens' handicrafts as the collective talent that every peasant woman in Serbia possessed.

In the traditional culture of the Serbian people, the importance of having a female child acquire the art of womens' handicrafts, already started in the pre-natal period, by magical rituals performed over the pregnant mother. This continued during labour, during the child's first steps and during childhood through play in which the little girl wove, knitted and played with the loom imitating her mother until she had mastered all this work. Mastering weaving on the loom began in early childhood. It began with going up and down the warp, helping in the rewinding of the yarn or in the direct preparation of the materials for weaving such as the winding of the warp on the beam; that is winding of the woollen yarn into butterflies for tapestry weave. Young girls practiced weaving starting from the simplest items for everyday use. In real home handicraft where things were made for home use, the teaching was never done on a carpet, for it was too expensive and the work was too complicated. An untrained weaver would make mistakes in the weave, and these would lead to a great waste of materials. For this reason the young girl was always by her mother's side while she was weaving carpets for her marriage dowry. She would be preparing butterflies of yarn of various colours, handing her the necessary tools and materials, admiring her mother's craft in the patterns she was making. Sometimes, she would ask her mother to change some colour or detail to satisfy her own taste.

The preparation of a carpet for a daughter's marriage was a debt which was made, along the female line in a family, in one generation, and was paid in the next one. A quality carpet could only be woven by a capable mature woman weaver. As a rule, the mother wove carpets for her daughters in her mature working life, with the great skill she had acquired, and while she was still physically strong, agile in spirit and with good eyesight.

It was different only in those families where weaving was a cottage industry. In this case all the members of the household helped the women weavers and special attention was devoted to the next generation of potential weavers. If a young girl showed a natural gift and interest she was allowed to work on the loom as early as 7 or 8 years of age. Veselinka Sekulić from Kumane, born in 1917, remembers that at that age she already wove with hemp threads, those lengths which had been left as overlaps. This way she could test and practice in order to attain the skill, for example, to estimate which length of warp had to be put into a certain width in order to achieve an even thread in the structure of the fabric. Likewise she practiced the regularity and rhythm of movements in the insertion and beating of the threads. If the loom was free, the girl could freely weave and take apart what she had made. This did not affect the quality of the carpet since when it was complete

¹³ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, *O počecima tkanja*, 200.

¹⁴ [receives an education]

¹⁵ M. Stojadinović-Srpkinja, *U Fruškoj Gori 1854*, Prosveta, Baština 16, Beograd 1985, 138.

these parts would be partially unwoven to fit into others, and the remaining ones would be sewn into the hem of the carpet. When she matured enough to sit at the loom, Veselinka would impatiently put her books aside when she returned from school and sit at the loom. Her introduction to the tapestry weaving of carpets was gradual. Before a girl gained her mother's confidence to join in work on a carpet, she would try her skills at small pieces of weaving on remainders of the warps, and with remainders of the woollen weft. These were pieces from which, for instance, a child's bag could be made. On the carpet itself, the young weaver would first weave simple surfaces in one colour. The mother would weave the more complicated parts with a complex ornamentation in several colours; she would leave empty the parts that were to be just one colour, which the daughter would then fill in. She would be following her mother's lead, working on the already made pattern, trying to understand and quickly and easily mastering the technical principles. In the weaving of broad carpets in Kumane and in Stapar, the centres of workshop weaving, efficient work on broad looms required two women weavers to be working at the same time. This was possible by the inclusion of the next younger generation in the home. Rather than for instance the aged mother-in-law. When the daughter left upon marriage, her place was taken by the young daughter-in-law. In the Popov household in Kumane such a tradition went on for generations. Several generations of women were engaged in weaving. The family taught young weavers and daughters-in-law were sought who were already trained for work on carpets. The mother of Leposava, born in 1911, was from a weaving home and she had woven on the large loom already by the age of ten. The aged Leposava remembered with horror, when she married into this home.¹⁶ Although eighteen, she was completely ignorant in weaving and only then did she start to learn to work on carpets. Later she took her place at the loom as a pair to her mother-in-law, but she was never ranked among valued weavers.

If carpet weaving was a tradition in a home, the marriage of such a trained and deft new weaver into the home of her future husband enabled her to take the empty seat at the loom; an ideal model in the continuity of obtaining a new generations of weavers. The young bride had been introduced to weaving from a young age, much before her marriage, she had the experience of a mature weaver since she had first taken the place of her grandmother, her mother's mother-in-law at the loom. If it was necessary she would immediately, upon marriage, take the place of the grandmother, the aged weaver, or her young sister-in-law who also mastered weaving in her family home and then by marriage went into another home. This also contributed to the circle of contracting marriages. The best weavers came from families that engaged in weaving professionally. Young women like these gained exception skill at an early age and they wanted even more. Their motivation was self-confirmation and prestige but also the possibility of a very good income. It is true that weaving was considered a complicated skill in which only the most capable women could achieve recognition and the weaving of carpets was the greatest challenge of all. A woman without talent for weaving would not gladly put in a great effort for an uncertain result unless forced to by poverty. For this reason among the broader population there was widespread weaving of amateur carpets for their own use, mostly in poorer households.

The traditional model of good education of a young girl implied the learning of skills of usual handicrafts amongst which weaving was the most complex, especially the weaving of carpets. The social element in the village community was inversely proportional with the best weavers coming from the poorest. On the one hand the necessity to add to the needs of the household by the high quality of woven products and, on the other hand, the aspirations for creating unsurpassable beauty, raised some modest women to great heights. The self-consciousness of the woman folk artist, as well as her respectability in her own community, was a justified reward for the effort made. Having confirmation of their value, together with satisfaction in their own work, the best among them being exceptional was the inspiration which led to their dream of glory within their local community and lasted beyond a lifetime; a dream which sustained their enthusiasm through all the efforts of learning and training from a young age, up to the time when they eyesight was lost.

¹⁶ During the interview in the home of a neighbour, she commented on this and contrasted it with her own case, the situation of Veselinka Sekulić, born in 1917, who, when she got married, although a young weaver, had to work in the fields, and did not have time for the loom until her mature years.

Two basic types of textile production can be distinguished within the early phases of weaving culture: weaving for personal needs and weaving for the professional market. Weaving for personal needs is the oldest and most widespread, especially in more ancient periods, when it met more of the needs of the population than is the case with professional weaving. The roots of an organized cottage industry production lead to the oldest of the countries in civilizations of the settled type, such as Egypt or Mesopotamia, developing a professional production of textiles for personal use among the ruling classes as well as for placement on the market. In the capital cities there were quarters with craftsmen amongst which there were numerous textile workshops. In the ancient town of Ur, forms of crafts production have been discovered which are similar to later guilds and weaving shops. In Egypt, production was the ownership of the pharaoh; the imperial workshop had the absolute monopoly on production.¹⁷ Similar information is also available for the territory of the ancient Srem district. In a suburb of Sirmium, the capital of the province of Lower Pannonia, an imperial workshop was uncovered with an extensive production on the basis of local resources. There was a Gynceum – a female workshop – where women spun, wove, sewed. In written records this one in Bassiania, is mentioned as the first of a total of fifteen textiles manufacturers in the territory of the whole Roman Empire.¹⁸

In the text of the Bible there are also two different categories of female work with regard to the making of textiles: for the need of the household and for sale. In these sections the contribution of women to the well being of the family is praised. In the sermons of King Lemuel, among the proverbs that he was taught by his mother, there is a Description of the Worthy Woman which reflects the universal patriarchal model of womanhood.¹⁹ In his book Tobias speaks of his devoted and exemplary wife, whose weaving not only clothes all of her family, but her weaving for others which brings home what she could get for their living by the labour of her hands.²⁰

This activity by women can be seen in other cultures as well and in various other periods of time and in various geographical regions. In the broader geographical region of Vojvodina, working with textiles was traditionally women's work, primarily for meeting the needs of her own family, and in exceptional cases as a semi-craft. In the Serbian ethnic region, women were the main producers in professional manufacture. With regard to the position of a single mother who maintained her family by spinning, was in fact, was regulated by the Dušan Code of Laws; Mil. S. Filipović has shed light on the roots of one of the oldest forms of hired labour among the Serbs in the Middle Ages. On the basis of article 64 of this Code of Law, by an analysis of historical, linguistic and ethnological data, the usual practice of making textiles for a payment was identified. This work was done mainly by widows and the poorest women.²¹ M. Nistazopulu-Pelekidu thinks, based on this same article, that this is a matter of the right of a woman, without male protection, a widow to take her equal part in handicraft production, and this production is determined as spinning, which is in fact the traditional domestic craft of women. This certainly had something to do with the growth of the market economy in Serbia in the mid 14th century and the significant export of fabrics by way of close connections with the merchant cities of the west.²² Similar motivation will reappear in connection with the development of carpetweaving during the 19th century, through more modern aspects of this, in the final instance, hired labour.²³ In the movement for the advancement of the position of the Serbian peasantry in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy

¹⁷ L. Woolley, *Historija čovečanstva, Kulturni i naučni razvoj, svezak prvi/knjiga druga, Počeci civilizacije*, Zagreb 1966, 290-299.

¹⁸ The information has been taken from dr Vesna Šaranović-Svetek: O. Seeck, "Notitia Dignitatum" accedunt "Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi provinciarum", Berolini 1876.

¹⁹ Description of the Worthy Woman (31, 10-31), Psalms, Book of Wisdom, *Sveto pismo Staroga i Novoga zaveta*, Zagreb 1968, 636: Who can find a virtuous woman? ... She riseth also while it is yet night ... her candle goeth not out by night... She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff... She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant.

²⁰ The Book of Tobias (2, 11-14), *Istorijske knjige, Sveto pismo Staroga i Novoga zaveta ...*, 395: Now Anna his wife went daily to weaving work, and she brought home what she could get for their living by the labour of her hands...

²¹ M. S. Filipović, *The Poor Woman Flax Weaver*, *zbornik Matice srpske, serija društvenih nauka* 5, Novi Sad, 1953, 40-47.

²² M. Нистазопулу-Пелекиду, *La filandiere serbe a la production artisanale (milieu du XIVe s)* [Summary], *Srpska prelja u zanatskoj proizvodnji (sredina XIV veka)*, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta XXXVIII*, 1999/2000, 357.

²³ M. Maluckov, *Čilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini*, 78-81.

in the second half of the 19th century beginning from the 1860s, when more and more individuals used their wills and efforts to achieve concrete goals, this led to certain changes. Mrs. Savka, the wife of Dr Subotić, coming from high social circles, claimed that across all social layers, women, only peasant women, that is, folk women, took part in the support of their entire families... „the hemp and the flax that they plant in the summer, the wool of lambs that they comb and dye and the other materials that they prepare. In the winter they spin, weave and sew everything that is necessary for their households...”²⁴

Looms for weaving carpets for the market in the Serbian ethnic region, north and south of the Sava and Danube rivers, were characterized by contacts with various cultural influences in which similarities and differences appear. The specific features which appear in this region derived, to a great extent, from neighbouring regions which brought together, but also set apart, two worlds with different types of cultures—the east and the west. Such was the case with the introduction of the carpet weaving loom in two neighbouring regions, north and south of two rivers, the Sava and the Danube. In Pirot, which in the 18th century was under the Turks, it was the vertical loom for the weaving of oriental carpets in the same as way was done throughout the east and organized by the Ottoman empire.²⁵ The development of the cottage industry of carpets was based on domestic resources, the abundance of lambs' wool of the highest quality and the weaving skills of peasant women. In this way, through the weaving of carpets, the vertical loom was introduced in this region and is considered the only carpetweaving loom. As opposed to this carpetweaving loom, in the carpetmaking centres of Vojvodina, the installation of devices for weaving carpets in one piece, was based on domestic horizontal looms. The same technical principle was retained as in the horizontal loom with only an adaptation of the width of the working parts. This was achieved by the doubling of the width of all the cross working parts. This made it possible to produce carpets of classical width in one piece without great training of the weavers to work on the new looms. During the second half of the 19th century, with the rise of the influence of western Europe wherever possible, based also on reasons of economy, both new collection points for textile raw materials and production workshops were opened, most often of woollen textiles. Later on, after the consolidation of Serbia, more or less within its present borders, both types of carpets developed creating specific, contemporary and traditional forms. Influences were shared, so that in Vojvodina carpetweaving, just as in Pirot carpetweaving, a large range of techniques and ornaments came into being.

²⁴ S. Subotić, *O našim narodnim tkaninama i rukotvorinama*, 228, 66.

²⁵ M. S. Filipović, *Čilimi i čilimarstvo u našim zemljama do sredine XIX veka*, 189) quotes the claim (Mil. M. Savić, *Naša industrija i zanati*, II, 147) that in Smyrna only Muslims had the right to make piled carpets, while the Christian population was allowed to make tapestry weave ones.

TEXTILE MATERIALS

Carpet weaving in Vojvodina is based on two kinds of textile materials with completely different features; hemp that was the basic feature of textiles in plains farming cultures and wool, the main component of textiles of plains and steppe shepherds. Hemp is a warp material, which makes a firm inner web, and wool the basis for a full weft material of the fabric.

The spacious Vojvodina plain, arable for the most part, traversed by a network of watercourses that include spacious standing waters, is an exceptional ground for growing both hemp and flax. As far as flax is concerned, it is a good basis for fine wool fabrics and there is some evidence that it was also used for the weaving of outer surfaces of decorative coverlets. According to data from 1884, which has been quoted many times and which comes from the writing of Mrs. Savka, the wife of Dr. Subotić, she personally saw a carpet which was woven exclusively from flax.²⁶ According to the findings of the experts of the time, this carpet could have been made in the late 18th century. Judging from the known holdings of museums, as well as known field information, it is rare to find carpets where the warp is of hemp. In the oldest pieces the hemp was spun manually while later, with the introduction of modern devices, the hemp yarn was prepared by leg operated machines or in spinning mills. This came about, firstly through the production of yarn for placement on the market, and later for the preparation of raw materials for processing in hemp workshops in the Bačka district. Late in the 19th century this process was, in addition to industrial, introduced into domestic production of textiles. Even for carpets, machine spun wool began to be used more often which brought great changes in the appearance and quality of carpets. Neither from wool for the weft, nor from hemp for the warp, is it possible to finely spin threads on such mechanical devices as mechanical ones such as the spinning wheel, that is, a foot powered spinner or machine for spinning. In these processes, when the movement of the wheel is set in motion, there is still inertia so that it turns in swings, and it is not possible to finally regulate finely, the thickness and firmness of the spun thread. S. Subotić thought that the threads spun on a machine could never be so smooth and thin as the ones spun by hand using just a spindle and a distaff. Mrs Jelica Belović-Bernađikovska wrote on this subject and on the quality of carpets in general. She claimed that carpets made in the previous times were of much better quality in comparison with those of her time (the time in question is about 1898).²⁷ She further analyzed what made the older carpets better in quality and the modern ones poorer. The new carpets began to be made with rough wool made from old wool because of late sheering, spun by machine and dyed by a craftsman. This loosely spun wool could not be compacted well and evened out during weaving, so that the carpet came out fuller but less firm. However, the best carpets were woven from the so-called first wool shorn in the springtime, before the fleece becomes coarse on the sheep. The wool was then short but it could easily be spun thinly and firmly and carpets with the smallest ornaments could be woven from it. The natural shine of the wool was retained even in the dyed yarn, which also retained a warmth and lustre. These carpets had to be made slowly and carefully but they possessed exceptional beauty as well as firmness and durability.²⁸

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, in traditional home crafts, textiles continued to be made wholly by hand with extremely simple tools. Many factors affected the quality of the fabric though good quality was possible to achieve in the traditional way. In the case of wool, in addition to the breed of sheep and the conditions in which they were raised at the time of sheering, the quality of the yarn also depended on the treatment of the shorn fleece. According to traditional notions, it was best to process the yarn by hand with so-called gypsy combers, and even better by so-called *jurička* ones. The yarn was, after combing, made from the pure longest hairs from the back of the sheep. Percentage wise this is the smallest amount of wool, which was used only for the finest purposes. In sheep herding communities, this wool was primarily used for the making

²⁶ Ibid., S. Subotić, O našim narodnim tkaninama i rukotvorinama, vol. 227, 88.

²⁷ J. Belović-Bernađikovska, Tehnološki rječnik ženskog ručnog rada, v. ovčija vuna i prva vuna, 230, 264.

²⁸ Ibid.

of the outer decorative garments, while the rest of the wool, of poorer quality was used for other purposes. In carpetmaking of the Vojvodina region, while the hemp warp gave the carpets greatest durability, wool being soft, was used for tapestry weaving. For the weft, spun wool was used which had not been combed out for the pure long hairs, so that shorter hairs still remained in the wool. In this way, the weaving was a combination of long and strong with the short and soft. In eastern Serbia, where wool was used also for the warp and the weft of the carpet, there was a distinction in the quality of wool for these purposes. For the warp only the long wool was used, while for the weft mixed wool was used. These carpets described as being made of a mixture of wools.²⁹ Since it was difficult to provide adequate quantities of the highest quality wool.

The traditional village economy of the Vojvodina, since it belongs to the self-sufficient type of production, also included the production of raw material for making homemade textiles. In the old days, it was difficult to earn money from local goods, so every household tried to provide as much of its own raw material for weaving as was necessary. This was a fact relevant even in the relatively recent past, since this is a claim made by many interviewees older than seventy. For instance, in the village of Stapar, every household had at least ten to fifteen sheep and an adequate piece of land for growing hemp. These small amounts of hemp were processed in the home, while the wool was sent for carding and combing to the German shop in Sivac.³⁰ Similar information is available from the village of Mokrin. Washed wool shorn from one's own sheep, was taken to be treated in the spinning mill in Kikinda. Processed hemp was available from general stores.

Traditional sheep raising in Vojvodina originated mostly in those regions that were not suitable for agricultural production, providing it with strong raw material basis for textile production. In the folk culture it is often assumed that the production of cloth or the weaving of carpets came about in some spontaneous way due to the abundance of wool. This is also the reasoning of the villagers of Kumane, a settlement in the plains where the land is infertile and difficult to cultivate. „What would the women have been doing other than making woollen fabrics for sale from all that wool?“³¹ This is logical from the standpoint of modern man who, whether in the village or in the town, necessarily bases his survival on investments in money.

Modern sheep raisers in the Vojvodina region find financial gain in herding sheep mainly from the yield of milk and meat while wool it seems does not bring them financial gain. A large herd gives a good quantity of wool which goes practically unused, therefore remaining uneconomic. During a visit to the members of one such wealthy household in the village of Dolovo in the Banat sandlands, we learned that for years they have not found a way to deal with the large quantities of wool which continue to grow.³² Aware of the absurdity of their situation practically at a time when, in keeping with ecological principles as social trends, there is a continuous promotion and advocacy of the use of natural materials.³³ Thinking that they did not have a great chance at finding a placement for their wool, and in view of the bad experiences of their neighbours, they were not ready to devote the time and the effort to find buyers. Their only possibility appeared to be to sell it to traders at a very low price.

Traditional herding environments are, as a rule, also environments characteristic of woollen textiles as is the case with the Banat plain. The basic traditional forms of weaving products among the Serbs in Vojvodina are primarily carpets and peasant bags. In the closed circles of traditional production, such as was present in the Vojvodina village of former times, needs were filled in a way which, in the given conditions, was the most economic. The availability of resources was a great saving to the household.

Hemp and wool, the materials used in carpet weaving in Vojvodina, are also the basic elements of the textile culture of the southern rim of the Pannonian plain. Flax, an authentic and ancient textile plant in this

²⁹ A term from eastern Serbia.

³⁰ Milica Božin, 1911-1992, Stapar

³¹ Mr. Milan Varadinac, pensioner from Kumane.

³² This information is from 1994. The household is a wealthy one, and the son of the family lives in America, where he deals successfully in knitwear, but he also cannot find a financial interest. He claims that the price of the transportation of the wool to America exceeds the price of the raw materials he can find there.

³³ The problem is not only specific to the Vojvodina region. The gaining of profit from wool through the placement of wool is one of the main questions at periodical conferences of the European Wool Group.

region predominated until hemp took its place because of proved more economic. The tall hemp plant gives more fibre and is useful for everyday rough usage such as the making of ropes and various technical textiles. The strength and the durability of hemp fabrics made it the basic textile plant of this region of the plain. Hemp can be grown in various regions of the moderate climate zone and it adapts to the conditions of the climate and the quality of the soil. The continental moderately wet climate and the favourable rainfall of the Vojvodina region were good for the growth of the hemp plant with its fertile plains soil and an abundance of flowing and still waters all very conducive to the cultivation of hemp.

The period of greatest advancement of carpetweaving in the territory of Vojvodina, coincided with a time when the growing of hemp was revived in the Bačka district by German settlers from the Alsace region who came in the late 18th century. The adaptation of the Italian species of hemp which they brought with them, a new, high growing species was developed, which though greyish in colour, gave rise to strong fibres. In the vicinity of the town of Apatin, the famous Apatin hemp was grown which was sold on the European market. Also in the region, with a centre in the town of Odžaci, a powerful production centre was formed, with commerce throughout the region of the Danube and the Tisa rivers. The Bačka region along the small river of Mostonga grew 2000 tons of hemp of the best quality. An exchange was founded in Odžaci where 8 to 10 train wagon loads of hemp were sold. Along with the famous Apatin hemp, the one from Odžaci also met part of the needs of the British navy as well as the Venetian merchant fleet.³⁴ Cottage industry hemp threads were also used as an ideal material for the weaving of the warp on which top quality carpets were woven. These carpets were sought after in the European markets.

According to traditional notions, available arable land with sufficient moisture for the growth of the plant, along with flowing and stagnant waters necessary for the processing of the raw material, were sufficient preconditions for the successful exploitation of hemp. Realistically speaking the greatest and necessary investment in the production of hemp in the village household was the labour force. Furthermore, since the village household values its own invested labour and time least, especially in the case of the female members of the household, the production of hemp was traditionally considered very lucrative. If, in addition to hemp, the household also had wool from its own sheep, it was possible to produce carpets, almost without any investment of money. From the time of the modernization of these processes, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the costs were increased with professional dyeing and machine processing of the thread.

Hemp

Domestic hemp, from which hemp thread is produced in the region of Serbia, *Lat. Cannabis sativa* from the family *moraceae* is an annual plant, which grows about three metres in height. The male and the female flowers are on separate plants, which differ in appearance, manner of maturing and the quality of threads. The male plant, domestically called *belojka* (white hemp), blooms but does not produce seeds, matures earlier, has a thinner stalk and produces higher quality (finer, softer and thinner) threads. The female plant called *crnojka* (black hemp), on fertilization produces a fruit and seeds. It matures later, is stronger and thicker and when there are fewer plants branches out abundantly. Regardless of whether it is male or female, the young plant is green and juicy and, with maturing, the stalk becomes more woody. The stalk creates a thready layer, the bast, from which the textile raw material is obtained.

According to the traditional division of labour in the village, the cultivation of hemp is considered women's work. The only part that men take in this is the preparation of the soil for planting. The woman plans the scale of production, prepares the seeds and frequently cultivates the hemp and the seed-bearing hemp herself. From the collected ripe seeds she selects the seed material for the next sowing by choosing the best quality seeds.

Traditional domestic hemp growing and processing ranked among the basic activities characteristic of self-sufficient labour in the village. For the cultivation of hemp what is required is a moderately humid climate and sufficient heat for its growth and rainfall at regular intervals. The soil has to be loose, wet and with nitrogen, especially in the lower plains and it has to be fertilized with horse manure.³⁵ In addition to the fertile soil and favour-

³⁴ Dr. J. Kišgeci, *Konoplji hvala*, Beograd 1994, 15

³⁵ M. Arsenijević, *Tekstilne sirovine*, Novi Sad 1946, 47, 148.

able climate, the cultivation of hemp also requires the vicinity of surface waters. In such cases every household, provided it possessed land, would set a portion of it apart for the cultivation of hemp for their own purposes. For a yearly production of hemp yarn between twenty and thirty square metres of land were set apart. This land had to be of the best quality for the purpose.

Cultivation, collection and separation of fibres

Hemp is sown from late April to early May, around St. George's Day, according to the Orthodox Church calendar, when the weather is warmer and there is no danger of spring frost. Sown by hand. The seeds are scattered from a sieve,³⁶ thickly covering the ground so that the stalks would grow thick and thin and tall, yielding a crop of long quality fibres. To ensure seeds for the next harvest, a small quantity of seeds are sown at the edge of the hemp field or between rows of maize, these seeds are sown sparsely, with a hoe, seed by seed. In such conditions the black hemp develops into a branched plant darker in colour, full of quality seeds. Part of the plants of the black hemp, sown for the purpose of seeds, is harvested at the end of the cycle of maturing, which is in late August when the seeds become hard, begin to mature and turn black. When the seeds are mature, this is the best and the latest time for harvesting since the seeds will begin to lose in quality. The seeds are collected carefully. In order that the seeds do not fall out, the blooms are bunched together when later they can be rubbed out easily. They are left in the field, in cloth sacks, where they dry for a week. When the blooms are rubbed, the seeds easily fall out of the dried blooms. Only the round, fully developed seeds are selected.³⁷ If the woman herself does not produce seeds, the seeds are bought in villages known for their hemp production,³⁸ as well as at markets and fairs.

Before sprouting the seeds have to be protected from birds; and after sprouting, the young plants have to be kept free of weeds. In the first weeks the seedling plants of both genders look alike. Then the white hemp takes the lead until it blooms and it seems as if the entire field has been sown with white hemp. After it reaches its maximum height, the white hemp stops growing and the black hemp starts to grow faster breaking through the flowers and the branches of the white shaking its pollen thereby fertilizing the flowers of the white plants. The white hemp completes its growth and, if it is harvested, it gives the best fibres. The woman carefully follows the growth of the hemp in order to determine the right time for the harvest. On small areas of land this is easy since the mature white hemp is high and can be recognized even from afar and can easily therefore be selected. Care has to be taken not to pull out and trample the adjacent still maturing black hemp plants. The first phase, the harvesting of the summer hemp, the white ones, takes place in mid July, and three weeks later the harvesting of the remaining black hemp, except for the plants left for seeds. The harvesting of the black hemp is when its fibres are of best quality, thin and soft. When it matures further, its stalk thicken and become woody and there will be a greater quantity of it, however the fibres will be thicker and rougher.³⁹

The best time for harvesting hemp is when its leaves wither and fall and the stalk becomes pale yellow, yellow or yellow green in colour; this is the time after the the white hemp blooms when the quality of its fibres is best. The oldest method of harvesting is pulling the stalks out by hand one by one. The pulling out is done with the right hand, walking backwards and collecting the stalks in the other hand. When the hand becomes full of stalks, they are placed under the armpit and then one more handful is pulled out which is sufficient for one bundle, which is placed on the ground. The harvester who follows the person pulling out the stalks, ties the bundles with thinner and greener white hemp and piles them up. During the 20th century, in the Vojvodina

³⁶ So that the hemp is as thick as the hole in the sieve.

³⁷ B. Radović, Gajenje i obrada lana i konoplje u našem narodu, Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, vol. 19, Beograd, 1956, 38, 39.

³⁸ The influence of hemp centres spread to neighbouring villages, among other things because they sold the best quality industrial seeds.

³⁹ The relationship between plants of different genders in one planting is characterized by the approximate number of plants of both genders: the female plants are much larger, but they give a lower percentage of fibres than male plants; however, in the overall yield, the far greater portion of fibres comes from female hemp.

region, the Slovaks and Ruthenians of the Bačka region grew hemp. This region was known for the largest production of hemp fibres. The hemp was pulled out of the ground along with the roots, just as it was done in the countries from which they came.⁴⁰ In the 1920s, the villagers of Ruski Krstur could recall the exact time when they began to use the *kosir*, a kind of short cropper which is still in use to this day. They recall that hemp was pulled out by hand until 1906.⁴¹ Only from that time did it begin to be harvested with the short cropper allowing the stalk to be cut near the ground. (Photograph 1). The half dried handfuls of hemp were trimmed, the flowers and roots were taken off, and bundles were formed of thirty to fifty handfuls. In the sheafs the handfuls were placed alternatively in reverse directions so that the sheafs were the same thickness on both ends. The bundles were placed into cone forms, thereby allowing air to flow through them, when the stalks were thoroughly dry, which in warm weather was about a week, the hemp was ready for soaking.



1 Harvesting hemp with a cropper

Following the drying in the open in an upright cone, the next phase in the processing of the hemp was the separation of its fibrous cellulose, the bast from the stalk. The stalk of the hemp is a mixture of fibrous cellulose and other contents.⁴² In the process of maturing, the hemicellulose completely turns into pure cellulose, which is a first class textile material exceptionally resistant to water. It is this resistance of the cellulose to water which enables the hemp stalks to be separated when dried and for the fibres to be freed from it. The basic principle is a prolonged exposure to wetness, that is water. There are two traditional ways of achieving the same basic result. The first one is so-called dew retting, the exposure to the effect of condensed atmospheric

⁴⁰ One in a series of characteristics of Slavic peoples, especially in work with clothmaking, which have roots in their proto-homelands.

⁴¹ Lj. Međeši, *Konoplja u privredi, životu i običajima bačkih Rusina*, Rad VM 21/22, Novi Sad 1976, 41.

⁴² Hemicellulose, pectosan, pectin and lignin.

vapour through dew and the effect of destructive fungus. The other method is soaking, through immersion in water allowing bacteria to develop in moderately warm water (up to 39 °C, the temperature which is the limit for the survival of the bacteria). In the first method, the gradual exposure to damp, along with a regular rotation of the stalks, the quality of the fibre is higher and softer, but much more time and effort is involved. For this reason, where there were flowing or stagnant waters in the vicinity, the second method was used more often.⁴³ The essence of this procedure is to destructure the pectinate, the adhesive which connects the fibres to the adjacent layers of the plant. When this is done, pure cellulose fibre is liberated. Since pectinate is easily soluble in water, the fibres are freed easily. However, this process has to be ended at the moment when the desolving of the adhesive frees the fibres, but before the bacteria destroys the structure of the cellulose fibres. The destruction of the fibre comes about with the desolving of the second adhesive that connects the basic cells of the structure to the fibres themselves. This inner adhesive is much more resistant to wetness than the adhesive which connects the fibres to the bark of the stalk. The effect of bacteria on the individual substances in the hemp stalk is gradual, but it is possible to apply the first phase in which the fibre is separated from the bark of the stalk without any damage to the state and quality of the fibre itself.

Hemp was ready for retting by mid summer when the water was warm in the shallows of rivers and best for this purpose were spacious deep pools in the fields outside the village. There were certain places where retting was done annually. On a small surface, sticks were stuck crosswise from the flow of the water, and the bundles of hemp were placed between them. On top of these, branches and sticks were placed, weighted down by stones or logs. Warmer water was more effective since it entered the swelling stalk more quickly. The bacteria in the stalk multiplied and spread into the stalk. Since they would first destroy the easily soluble elements of the stalk, they would also destroy the pectinate. The process lasted about a week and, if the water was warmer, even shorter. During this time the woman would regularly visit her retting place (*močilo*), following the process so that the hemp would not become overly soaked, which would harm the fibre. From time to time she would test if the fibres had begun to separate off. When the hemp had become sufficiently soaked the water around it would turn green and bubbles would appear. When it was taken out of the retting pool each handful of hemp would immediately be washed out and the washed handfuls would be thrown onto the bank to drain thoroughly. The woman standing in water up to her knees holding the handful of hemp in both hands, would raise it high into the air and powerfully strike the handful into the water until the stalks would turn white. The handfuls would then be untied at the root, be spread out in the lower part, while at the top they would remain tied and could be stood up in cones to dry. If the quantity of hemp was small, and fearful that it could be stolen, it was taken home and placed into cones to dry.

⁴³ In traditional economies preference was given to the use of surface waters, even though the pollution of the water with poisonous materials from the rotting of the pectin causes the death of the fish and harms the environment, and thereby the health of the people. O. Andrašič, *Pet života ciglarskih jama, Tija voda, PČESA, Edicija Istorija poljoprivrede, salaša i sela, XI knjiga, 1995, 330, 331.*

Processing of the fibre and the required tools

The oldest forms of textile production were known as early as pre-historical times, but what is not known is the exact shape of ancient tools that were used in the processing.



2 *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder. Reproduction of the illustration: Whalley, Joyce Irene, *Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis*, Victoria and Albert Museum London, London 1982, Book XIX, 28/29

of processing the hemp stalk and the extraction of the bast. The drawing of a riverlet that winds in the scene, shows the importance of water in this process. In addition to this there is a boat on the river with sails made of hemp cloth. It could be said that this genre scene represents a typical picture linked to the cultivation and exploitation of hemp in a manner reminiscent of recent times. It is only the monumental walls of the inhabited medieval fortification which date this illustration. The pictured essential steps of the process and the tools correspond to traditional forms known even today. The drying of the hemp in bundles placed in a cone, the retting in the river and especially, the washing of the handfuls of the hemp, (Illustration 2) in the foreground. The scutcher by which this is done corresponds to the most widespread form of this tool among the people, just as in Serbian museum collections. (Photograph 3).

The processing of the hemp and the obtaining of textile fabric is a complex procedure which not only requires a corresponding knowledge of the nature of the work, but also the possession of the necessary tools which were not

In the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder, dating from the 1st century, data is recorded on the application of hemp in the textile industry, as a material for making ropes and sails for equipping of ships. In interpreting the exceptional advantages of fast ships, the chronicler mentions, as an afterthought, the advantage of strong and long lasting hemp sails and ropes. Further on, he describes the cultivation and the processing of the material for the making of these fabrics. He quotes that it is possible to make hemp cloth „... to satisfy our crazed extravagance in dress.“⁴⁴ This manuscript of Pliny the Elder had luxurious illustrations in colour added to it in the 15th century in Italy. On its nineteenth page there is a realistically drawn scene with a field of hemp with a series of evident details of the process



3 Scutcher (Hackling)

⁴⁴ Whalley, Joyce Irene, *Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis*, Victoria and Albert Museum London, London 1982, Book XIX, 28/29.

in the possession of every household. These tools were often borrowed or rented. This activity also implied a specialization of labour, so that certain households processed hemp for others for a fee.⁴⁵



4, 5 Scutching

The breaking of the hemp, scutching, was a major activity for a household in which all the members took part, often with help from those on the side.⁴⁶ It is good if the wetting, retting, scutching and hackling are completed during the same summer, and best during the greatest heat so that the stalks are dry and brittle. For the breaking of the bark of the dried stalk, two tools were used, for two parts: First, with scutch, the rough stalks were broken in the handfuls, whereby large pieces of the bast were scraped from both sides. The shape of scutch resembles a mouth, and contains a lower static portion, with three teeth and a pounder with two teeth. The teeth are long sharpened planks, allowing that the two upper ones fall into the three lower ones and in this way break the stalks. This kind of device is known south of the Sava and the Danube river as *bačka trlica* (scutch from the Bačka district).⁴⁷ With her right hand the woman lifts the end of the scutch to open up the breaker, and with her left hand she presses the handfuls. The right hand also breaks, pulls, turns and shakes out the fibres (Photograph 4, 5). When a larger group of people is working the scutch is handled by two women working on the same handfuls. First one of them scutches one end and, when it breaks up at that end, the other woman turns the stalks around and puts in the other end. When they break up the whole stalk, they each take an end to further shake out the pieces of the broken bark



6 Hackling

⁴⁵ These were impoverished households in which the women processed the hemp in the summer, and in the winter spun and wove for others.

⁴⁶ Most often a form of traditional work among women for large enterprises which was returned in appropriate ways.

⁴⁷ In the regions south of the Sava and the Danube rivers this device came from the Vojvodina region and gained the same name *trlica* (swingler) as the ones from those regions, with a specification of the regional origins.

from the bast. When all of the hemp is broken up, the same handfuls will further be processed on by hackling.⁴⁸ This is most often a device on high legs so there is no need to bend over it while working. It consists of two side planks sharpened along the top edge and a beater in the form of a wooden knife sharpened on the lower edge. During the breaking much of the wooden portion has been taken off, in the swingle, the knife is first brought against the handfuls, then one part of the handfuls are wound around the left hand, placed across the device, pressed by the knife and pulled through the swingle. (Drawing 6). After it is hackled from both ends, the largest part of the bark portion is taken off, and the material is no longer a handful, but a *povesmo* (fibre bundle).

Combing

Following the processing on the scutcher and hackling, the hemp is basically broken up and mainly cleaned of wooden parts. It is then processed on the combers for the separation of the fibres and the classification according to quality. In this way, a bundle of the finest hemp fibres is obtained. In the traditional culture of Vojvodina two different types of combers have been used. The older type is known as the gypsy combers



7 Combing with gypsy combers

(Photograph 7) which are a pair of handbrushes with long iron bristles by which the fibres are brushed and cleaned (Drawings 8). The second type of comber is a rounded iron brush in the central part of a long wooden plank, which was known to the population of the former generations, but is linked, to a great extent, to hemp processing as done by the Ruthenians and the Slovaks during the 20th century. The shapes that were used for combers are known as part of the inventory brought from their native countries, by way of re-settlement, but also as a result of their later con-



8 The older type of combers, gypsy combers

⁴⁸The name for the device for the second phase of cleaning from the wooden material is also *trlica* which comes from the verb *trljanje, trljenje* which means rubbing. In the tradition of the Serbian people, most of the similar shapes of this device are known as *trlica* (swingle). For the breaking of the stalk which in the Vojvodina region is done with the *stupa* (decortifier), throughout the Balkan peninsula this was done with different types of devices. Radović, B. Gajenje i obrada lana i konoplje u našem narodu, Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja, vol. 19, Beograd 1956, p. 48, 49, 77, 81: types of z shapes devices in the form of a y shaped instrument made of hard wood, with a large wooden foot on the ground or a single y shape with a wedge on a high thole.



9 Combed hemp bundle

nections with their native countries. Since the old shape of the comber was no longer in use by the end of the 19th century in the Vojvodina region, facts about how it was used derive from the memories of the oldest users recorded in the mid 20th century. While working the woman sits on the ground with her legs spread with the comber between her legs. In front of the teeth and across the handles she places a plank of wood and presses it down with her legs so that it does not move while she throws the fibre bundle and pulls it through the comber. In this way the best quality fibre bundle remains in her hand. The fibre bundles are then tied into a doll like shape (Photograph 9) and are placed to the side and piled one upon another. The best quality fibres are used as the warp, and possibly as the weft, for the finest hemp cloth. If the fibre bundle is larger it will spread out more on the combers and so two combers are placed side by side. Two combers are also used when handfuls of harvested black hemp are processed since they are larger and with their stronger stalks make larger fibre bundles.⁴⁹

With further combing, somewhat shorter, but also first class fibre is separated. The comber, full of fibres that have fallen off from the bundle, is left bristle upwards, with the handle on the outer side, while another empty comber is used to further comb

the fibre through the bristles of the lower comber. When it is sufficiently combed, what remains in the lower comber is mainly fine fibre. Since the combed bundles are placed to one side, what remains on the combers is taken out and collected on another pile, on the other side. The clean fibres are tied into so-called „dolls“ and linked into wreathes and kept until they are spun for weaving. (Photograph 10).

Lower quality fibres left in the bristles of the comber are further processed, but in a different way and used for the weft in weaving. The material that remains after the separation of the fibre bundles is taken from the pile and placed on one of the combers. Both combers are held in the hands and the fibre is combed out by taking it from one comb onto another and, thus combed, the fibres are classified according to their length. Part of the finer fibres are left in the upper comber in such a way that they are



10 A wreath of bundles of first class hemp

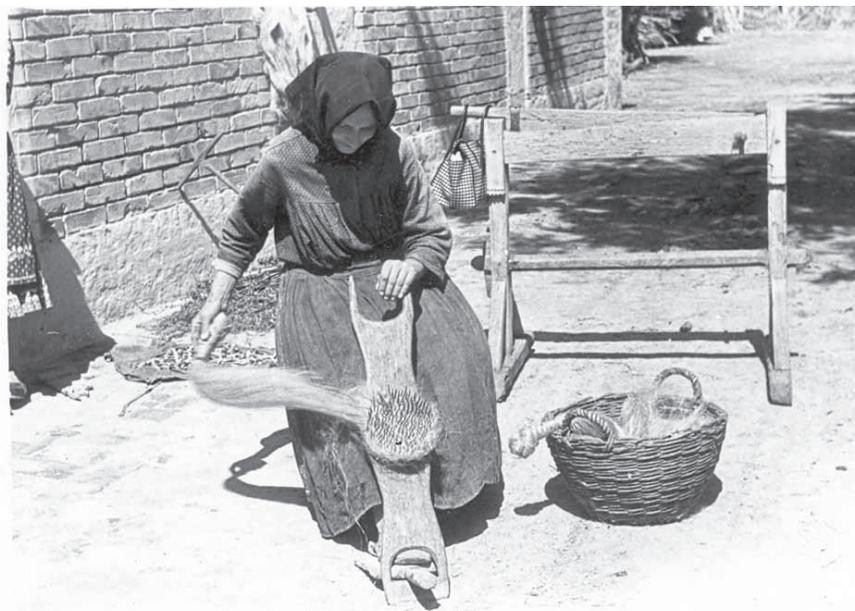
pulled and the better fibres that are wrapped around the bristles are freed. On each comber about half the fibres that are being processed at one time still remain. In this phase, the lower comber contains the shorter fibres, but also the longer ones that have been untangled. From then on both combers are placed together and the fibres are combed out by hand. They are combed by passing one comber over the other on all sides, so that the fibres are untangled. This is done until both combers clearly contain refuse material tangled among the bris-

49. Idvorean-Stefanović, B., Grebena za obradu kudelje i vune u Etnološkom odeljenju Muzeja Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 43-45, Novi Sad 2001/2003, 80.



ties and separated from the longer fibres which are now untangled and straight. These untangled pieces of fibre are layed out lengthwise, 30 to 40 cms in length, depending on the quality of the hemp. This hemp is graded by hand, allowing the longer lengths to be pulled out and placed side by side. When this is finished, the fibres that are obtained are twisted into a large bundle for spinning. They are twisted, that several lengths carefully placed side by side and twisted, permitting the gradual addition of new lengths. In the same way it is possible to comb out the material once again, so that what is left in the comber yields some more fine fibres. These fibres are further processed for the yarn for the weft of the weaving.

A second type of comber was used until the mid 20th century. This was a rounded comber with bristles in the form of sharp spikes fixed on a length of plank. While working, it was held vertically or a



little inclined, but it could also be horizontally across some kind of stand. Often this type of comber would be fixed to a foot that was used earlier. In the first stage, the separation of the first class hemp fibres took place, the bundle was combed for a long time. On one end it was twisted around the hand while the other end was pulled over the comber (Photograph 11, 12). This combing went on until what was left in the hand were only the finest fibres, while the shorter and the tangled ones, as well as the remaining particles of the hurd of the hemp

11, 12 Combing hemp on a round comber

stalk (*pozder*), remained among the bristles of the comber. The combing was done by persistent pulling through the spikes, until the fibres appeared to be clean. When the first end was cleaned, it was turned around, with the processed part twisted around the hand, giving way for the other end of the bundle processed. The fibres which remained tangled in the spikes of the comber were taken off after each bundle and to be placed on a pile. This part would later be combed again on a comber of a similar shape, but with bristles closer together. The residue material was the roughest fibre, which was known as *kučina* (*wad*) in the region.

For the warp of the carpet first class fibres were used and were processed and spun into threads with the utmost care. The threads had to be well spun, thinner but stronger compared to the woollen weft which is fuller and less spun, soft. This was necessary because the warp gave the fabric its strength and durability, yet on the surface it should not be visible through the dyed woollen weft, which gave fullness and colour. The combination of the colours of the warp was the basis of the decorativeness of the tapestry woven fabric. Likewise, a well spun thin yet strong and smooth thread would not become stuck or knotted in the heddles and beam during weaving.

Wool

The fleece of domestic sheep was sheared in May and June. The whole fleece was taken off from the old sheep and the lambs. These were a species of domestic sheep with long hair and soft fleeces. If it were thinner and somewhat sharper it was called *bičevito vlakno* (whip fibres). The sheep with this rougher wool were the first to be slaughtered and in this way eliminated.

Before shearing, during April, the sheep were trimmed. Wool was taken off from their stomachs, feet and tails and left only on the ribs up to the stomach, backs and necks. The reason for this was that while they are grazing the sheep get tangled in thorns and twigs, leading to damage and loss. This trimming was sheared



so that the wool fell off in pieces and was of poorer quality. Following shearing this wool was washed and later used for rougher weaving. Trimming was necessary especially when temperatures increased, by the end of April.

The real shearing was done in late May or early June. The only tools were steel shears for the shearing of wool and were of a special shape. Unlike trimming full shearing took off the whole fleece. The work was done slowly, row by row. The shears were placed close to the skin, tufts of wool were cut, but re-



13, 14 Shearing

mained as part of the fleece as a whole; the fleece therefore remains in one piece (Photograph 13, 14). After shearing, the sheep is released, the fleece rolled up and carefully gathered in a bundle and left to the side. The process was repeated with the next sheep.

The wool was washed more successfully in flowing water which removed the impurities, in particular, the *sijera* (grease), the natural oily secretion of the sheep. In this process no detergent was necessary, while *cedj* (traditional sort of home made ash leach) detergent was required in the washing of wool at home. The women went to the river with the wool and a tub for washing into which the fleeces are immersed one by one, and left to soak to remove the grease and impurities. After a certain period of time the fatty material was dissolved and the dirt was separated from the fibres. Wool soaked in this way was washed in flowing water in large wicker baskets many times, until the water was clean.

Alternatively, if no flowing water was available in the vicinity the wool was washed at home by steaming in lye. A weak solution of this was prepared in advance from the ash of burned wood. The clear water from the ash, previously doused with hot water, was poured off, heated and poured over the greasy and dirty fleece which was then left to cool. During this time, the impurities settle on the bottom of the vessel. Additional hot water was poured on and left to cool so that the wool could be handled by hand. However, it was not left to cool completely since wool shrinks in cold lye. The wool was then washed several times in luke warm water, always remaining as a whole fleece to be put on a clothes line or over a fence to dry.

The washed wool was combed by hand tuft by tuft; it was pulled by length and width so that the fiber became fluffy. The combed wool was then further carded in order to clean it, straighten it and strand it for spinning. The wool was combed on so-called gypsy combers, such as were formerly used for the combing of hemp. The wool was combed through two combers by passing one comber over the other, so that the hairs were combed out and straightened along their whole length. The long hairs were pulled out of the comber by hand until everything that could be was pulled out. The shorter slivers of combed wool were laid out on the side lengthwise, while, the ones that were too long, were pulled in two and laid out in pieces of equal length. When enough wool roving was combed out so that it could be shaped for spinning, it was gathered, twisted and knotted. The remainder of the wool in the bristles was laid aside, and would later be combed once again. These strands were spun for warp for weaving rougher thicker fabrics. If a part of the trimmed wool or lambs' wool was added to these remaining rovings which were short, it could even be used for the weaving of carpets, coverlets, cloth or for knitting. With the introduction of the craft of machine processing of wool in wool mills, the hand processing of wool on combers died out during the period between the two great wars.

In the Vojvodina region there are some indications, though no data, on a widespread use of a special shape of comber wool carder with short hooked bristles, used for work on short and soft wool fibres. Joruk combers came to Serbia with the migrations of craftsmen from the southern regions of the Balkans.⁵⁰ According to museum inventories on the territory of Vojvodina, there is data on the use of such combers for combing woollen fur in the craft of making sheeps' skin garments.⁵¹

⁵⁰ S. M. Mijatović, *Zanati i esnafi u Rasini, Život i običaji narodni*, vol. 17, Srpski etnografski zbornik 42, 107-109.

⁵¹ Idvorean-Stefanović, B., *Grevena za obradu kudelje i vune u Etnološkom odeljenju Muzeja Vojvodine*, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 43-45, Novi Sad, 2003, 86.

Spinning of the Threads

The oldest form of spinning among all the ethnic groups in the region of Vojvodina was hand spinning with the aid of a spindle and distaff. Their length of usage differs in various ethnic communities. Disappearing first amongst the Hungarians,⁵² it was modified amongst the Slovaks and the Ruthenians. The Bačka Croatians continued usage for a long time with the Romanians and the Serbs retaining it the longest along with a temporary popularity of the foot spinning wheel during the first decades of the 20th century. At that time, at markets and fairs, a large selection of turned wooden products for this purpose were on offer. During the changes which were brought on by the introduction of the spinning device operated by foot, in the second half of the 19th century, there were still some forms of old fashioned hand distaffs. In the old forms of foot spinning wheels where there was to place the fibres during work on the machine the old distaffs were used whether they were hung from the waist or hand distaffs with a stand. Later hand distaffs were adapted so that they could be placed on the spinning wheel. This led to the renewed use of some already antiquated types of hand distaffs such as the stick or cone forms; convenient for work on the spinning wheel since the wound fibres were simply unwound or used later during weaving. However, in sheep herding regions, the small hand distaff at the waist has remained the basic type of tool for spinning. Since she valued domestic and traditional skills highly, Jelica Belović-Bernađikovska at the end of the 19th century, regretted finding that hand spinning had been forgotten and that only peasants continued to spin in this manner.⁵³ Her words did not refer to authentic domestic practice but to those communities where the home industry was raised to a higher level that is to the level of domestic textile cottage industry.

The classic process of spinning is simple and even modern machine spinning, just as hand spinning, contains essentially the same key operations: the parallel placing of thin threads, spinning to achieve the necessary strength and fulness of the threads and, as a final operation, the spooling.⁵⁴ The textile yarn whether it is flax, hemp or wool, is specially shaped during processing to be placed on the distaff. Flax and hemp, following combing, are shaped into bundles. With the spread of the machine combing, the yarn was shaped by the machine into a piece. The forms ready for weaving were elongated, convenient for placing on the distaff and ready for tying with a special string. On distaffs there is protrusion, or hole which served for the string to be tied to the distaff, and also secure the fibres. Originally, there was a tool or a type of needle, now forgotten, which tied the fibres for spinning onto the distaff.⁵⁵

The oldest tool for the spinning of a textile thread was a piece of a wooden branch which, crudely shaped for the purpose, certainly existed in the early phases of the development of culture in various areas. Today there is no extant material, so there is no basis for the more precise determination of the date of origin of this oldest arch-tool. The earliest known tool for spinning is a ceramic whorl which is the remnant of a arch-spindle which was probably made of wood. This is a more perfected form of the tool since it had a specially added weight for rotation. The wooden remains of real spindles with a whorl can be found in archeological material finds dating from the Bronze Age in Europe,⁵⁶ but not in the Vojvodina region. Small, often ceramic objects, which were often designated by archealologists as whorls or weights for a spindle. They are found in the inventories of female graves which, as closed sites, give the most reliable data in archeology. There are many of them and they are often found in settlements from all cultural periods. As the body of the spindle, a roughly carved stick, was usually stuck into the vertical hole in the middle of the whorl, which meant that the whorl was the earliest tool for spinning. It is clear that it was the only real and durable tool which the woman

⁵² Idvorean-Stefanović, B., *Karakteristike zbirke pribora domaće radinosti*, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 37-38, Novi Sad 1995-96, 86.

⁵³ J. Belović-Bernađikovska, *Građa za tehnološki rječnik ženskog ručnog rada*, Sarajevo 1906, v. predenje.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ A type of pin like needle in the shape of a long, sharpened piece of wood tied to the end of a ribbon or narrow tape to the hole or protrusion in the distaff. At the end by a prick and threading through the fibres everything would be well fixed so that during spinning the firmness of the fibres would not be reduced. As a frequent gift of love, this detail of the tools was also made out of more costly materials and shaped decoratively so that it became part of the female decorative objects.

⁵⁶ C. A. Giner, *Tejido e cesteria cu la Peninsula Iberica*, bibl. *Prachistorica Hispana*, vol. XXI, Madrid 1984, 73, 79, Lamina IV:1,2.

kept by her side and used for spinning, that is underlining the fact that it was the only tool known to us which was specifically produced for such a purposer in ancient pre-history.⁵⁷

There is no data for a sure dating of the use of the distaff, that is, the date when the distaff was added to the spindle along with which it constitutes the only necessary traditional tools for spinning. The first information on the existence of the distaff derives from mediated sources, mainly from the figurative arts. Material finds of distaffs in the regions of the ancient world date from the second millennium B.C. and the oldest reliable find is a distaff in the ruins of Troy, from the time of about 1500 B. C.⁵⁸ The simple tools for spinning which consist of a distaff and a spindle continue to be the authentic spinning tools in the village communities of sheep herding regions, if spinning is practiced in them, at all.

The development of the shape of the distaff followed the changes in the technique of spinning. Since the studies of history are linked primarily to immediate sources, attention can be drawn to the chronological categorization of existing types in Vojvodina museum collections. The formal similarity of newer shapes with the ones represented in medieval depictions indicates the chronological origin of the shape, but, in our case, primarily its geographical and ethnic origin.⁵⁹ In the process of changes in the technique of spinning, as well as in the development of the very tools of spinning, what is characteristic is a great slowness and long preservation of the same working techniques and tools, which refers primarily to home or cottage industry. For thousands of years, there were no changes in the manner of work and the tools for spinning, up until the late Middle Ages. It can be stated with certainty that spinning practically did not change until the discovery of the wheel for the spinning of threads.⁶⁰ Figurative sources document the use of the hand wheel for spinning in the spinning processes of the then large state textile workshops, most often those weaving tapestries.⁶¹ There are various variants of devices for the spinning of threads, and one can see, in addition to large hand wheels in the spinning workshops, frequent depictions of small devices which harmoniously add to scenes of domestic life in the portraits of women from the upper social classes.

The Serbian name *preslica* (distaff), just as a series of similar derivatives of the Slavic root *pred*, belongs to the storehouse of preserved common Slavic heritage, and it defines the simple tools which the woman uses in the hand spinning of textile threads. This means that all the variants of this name imply an action in which the distaff is a means. Furthermore, in folk language, the name *preslica* is carried over, in various derived variants connected to function, to a series of other devices which are used in some way in the process of the spinning of the textile thread. In the recent changes in the tools and manners of spinning, the circle of devices for spinning is broader, and parallel with that there is a certain lack of precision in the use of such names. Among the folk the hand and then the foot spinning wheel was accepted, this brought changes in the way of work, and all of this was accompanied by a corresponding lexicon. The sudden development of the processes and the devices of work which were characteristic of Europe in the 18th century, occurred particularly in the early development of the textile industry. For the new devices there was often use of the names of the old tools with similar functions, so that the process was not followed by a corresponding development of lexis. Thus, among the Serbs, along with the authentic hand distaff, the word distaff also names the machines for spinning in craft workshops (wool processing or weaving workshops), even in textile mills. The name *preslica* (distaff) and similar names imply a great variety of shapes of tools for spinning. Similar words have been applied in the names of tools for the twisting together two or more single yarns such as *preslica*, *prelja*, *preljica*, *presličica* and the like.

In the start up inventory which was given, by the state, to German settlers during the second half of the 18th century, modern devices for spinning arrived in the Vojvodina. At state cost, for spinning needs, large quantities of these devices were ordered from the famous Traxler centres on the territory of the Austro-Hun-

⁵⁷ B. Idivorean.Stefanović, *Preslica alat i simbol* (exhibition catalogue), Novi Sad 1993, 5, 6.

⁵⁸ C. Đ. Popović, *Bosansko-Hercegovske preslice i vretena*, GZM u Sarajevu, VIII, Sarajevo 1953, 160.

⁵⁹ Distaffs with a foot belong to the culture of the Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slovaks.

⁶⁰ M. Hoffmann, *The "great wheel" in the Scandinavian Countries*, *Studies in Folk Life*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1969, reprinted in 1977, 282.

⁶¹ For instance, the oil painting *Spinners or the Story of Arachne*, Diego Velasques de Silva (1644-1648).

garian monarchy, The plan of re-settlement of Germans according to the idea of Baron Cottman was directed toward establishing modern agricultural production.⁶² It planned for the provision of a start up of basic devices to each resettled household for life in the new lands. In addition to arable land, a house, a house garden, tools for agriculture and the necessary household furnishings—beds, carpets, blankets, the necessary seed for crops and gardens, and among them for flax and hemp growing, utensils and devices for female work (spinning, weaving, sewing) were also provided.⁶³ On the basis of the new plan for re-settlement from which the patent of 1863 derived, the position of peasants on the properties of Hungarian aristocrats was improved, and German immigrants from the northern regions (Czechland, Moravia, Schlesia) were settled. Among them, there were skilled craftsmen, and from Schlesia, weavers in particular. Among the obligations toward the landlords, one day was also prescribed for the spinning of hemp.⁶⁴ The later, so-called Joseph re-settlement of Germans (1784-1789), implied a careful selection for the resettling of true farmers, who were to introduce the mentality and experience of their old country into their new one. Among the craftsmen, there were many weavers, so that there were many people with the surname Weber in the Banat and Bačka districts. Weber in German means weaver.⁶⁵ The main achievement of planned re-settlements was strong economic progress, and, in addition to the contributions of the Germans, the Serbs also gave their indirect contribution. Count Mercy allotted groups of Serbs to the Germans to be taught land cultivation, and their wives, working in the same household, learned new textile techniques as well. In this way the Serbian peasant women certainly learned how to work the foot spinning wheel. Still, the real spread of the foot spinning wheel was to come almost one hundred years later, in the late 19th century, when home production became part of the European market economy. Since the use of the spinning wheel in these regions was short dated and limited to certain communities, this device was never fully accepted among the people. Among the Serbs, its use was connected with organized carpetmaking, so that, it was limited, to a great extent, to carpetweaving areas. Between the two great wars, a weaver from Melenci wove the wool (weft) with a *maljka* (elongated spindle), and the hemp (warp) on a Hungarian distaff.⁶⁶ Since the foot distaff was mainly used for the weaving of hemp, its use was important for specialized hemp cultivating communities, primarily for the Ruthenians and Slovaks. The foot spinning wheel appears in many variations of shapes, and, to this day, it is generally known according to names indicating their ethnic origin *preslica švabica, mađarica, ruskinja* (German, Hungarian, Russian distaff). In the villages surrounding the town of Senta, the appearance and use of the foot spinning wheel is directly linked to the arrival of Slovaks in the region. There are claims that among the domestic population in the area, only the ordinary hand distaff was used for spinning, and the spinning wheel only after the arrival of the Slovaks.⁶⁷ In the folk tradition of the Serbs connected with spinning wheels, that is, the foot and the machine wheels, there are claims that these devices were taken over primarily from the German, and then from the Hungarian, Slovak and Ruthenian population, which have proved true, but what does not prove true is that these forms derived from the spontaneous development of the native culture in the regions of emigration, as could be concluded according to modern collection of materials on the site.

The manner of spinning of textile fibres into threads varies depending on the kind of material which is being spun and the purpose of the yarn for weaving. The practice in traditional Vojvodina carpetweaving uses two basic materials: hemp for the warp of the carpet and wool for the weft. Hemp, processed and prepared for weaving, in the form of smooth elongated bundles (*povesma*), was preserved carefully bundled and linked into a wreath or carefully piled into sacking, until the season of spinning. For the spinning of hemp, short hand held distaffs were used. For the spinning of the hemp warp just as the wool weft, it is possible to do it on almost any shape of device. It was customary to use types of spinning devices most adapted to the function of hemp spinning such as the *buzđovanski*, mace shape. Furthermore, still in extensive usage there were stick like distaffs and

⁶² B. Dr. Jankulov, Pregled kolonizacije Vojvodine u XVIII i XIX veku, Novi Sad 1961, 17.

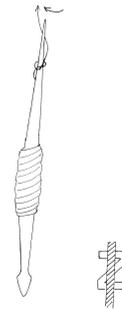
⁶³ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 30, 31.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 38: The emperor Joseph II himself, following personal visits in 1767 and 1773, ordered changes to be made. The new counsellor to the governor, Cempele, created a plan with a series of measures for rationalization.

⁶⁶ Latinka Milojević, born in 1906. Since in a traditional carpetweaving community there are high standards for the processing of wool, today it is a problem to find a satisfactory quality of yarn. In the previous year (the data is from 1994) she gave a newcomer, a woman from Serbia proper to spin her wool at the price of 10 DM per kilogram, and still she was not satisfied.

⁶⁷ Upitnik III Etnološkog atlasa Jugoslavije, Crna Bara, Etnološki arhiv Muzeja Vojvodine.

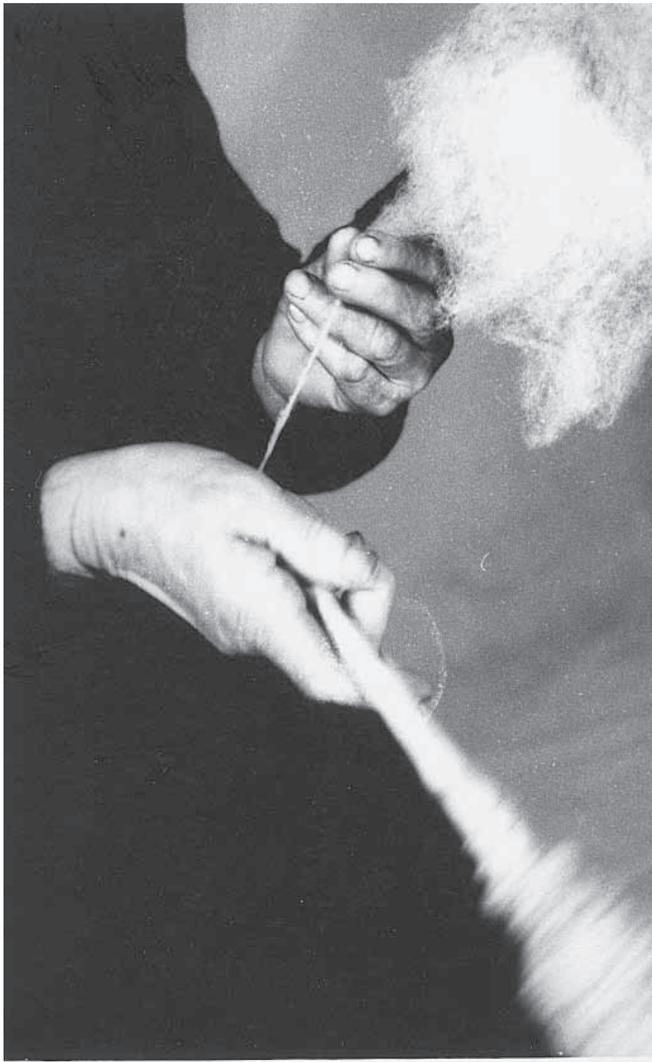


15 *Spinning the warp*

distaffs shaped from a branch of a tree. These were forms on which it was easy to wind the long, straight fibres of hemp, so that, in the reverse direction, when the threads were used, the distaff would turn and the bundle would open up. As opposed to hemp, for the spinning of wool, the broader, spear or shovel shape distaffs were more suited forms. On the top of the spear like distaff, there was a head on the tip or some cleavage for the tying of the thread. In the case of shovel-like forms, the upper edge of the shovel like portion was knotted or the edge had a series of decorative holes. For the tightening of the thread, there were side notches on the edges of the distaffs. These shapes had multiple purposes. Formally, along with functional purposes, there was also decorativeness as an outward feature, but with deeper and more distant, magic and religious connotations, which have been forgotten today.

The spinning of the warp: the prepared fibres of wool, flax or hemp, combed into a bundle are twisted and fixed to the distaff which is then placed into a belt on the spinner's left side. The spinner holds the distaff with her elbow and forearm. During the spinning of thinner but stronger yarn, for carpets, this is the hemp yarn for the warp of the weave, the spindle is held in the right hand in a hanging position. With three fingers of her left hand, the spinner pulls out the fibres, twists them into the desired thickness, and if necessary, with her right hand, she cleans the yarn of remains of impurities or bark. From time to time, she wets the yarn with spit and continually twists it between her fingers. Thus she spins what she has pulled out with one hand, while with her right hand, she turns the spindle which has a knot and spins the thread in a Z-direction.⁶⁸ The handle of the spindle is held and turned with the first three fingers of the right hand, while below she holds her ring and her small finger. In this way she spins as much as she can hold in her hand by herself (Photograph and small drawing 15). As the thread becomes longer, the woman straightens her hand out, pulls it to the side so that the thread does not crinkle, rewind on itself or knot. Before she takes off the knot from the spindle, with her left hand, between the thumb and the other fingers, she twists the entire spun portion into a figure eight, and then, part by part, she unwinds it from the hand, now with a reverse procedure, she twists the thread drawing the spindle to the hand from which the threads are taken off. During work, the spindle, grown heavy, is often let go, knotted as it is to the hand by the thread. Quality yarn will certainly stand the weight of the full spindle. When the spindle is filled, before the thread is broken off, from the top of the stomach of the spindle, it is tightened and wound spirally along the length of the spindle, from its stomach to its top, where several

⁶⁸ Idvorean-Stefanović, B., Ručna vretena za pređenje i prepređanje u Etnološkom odeljenju Muzeja Vojvodine, Rad MV, Novi Sad 2004, 215, figure 2.



16 Spinning the weft, enlarged detail

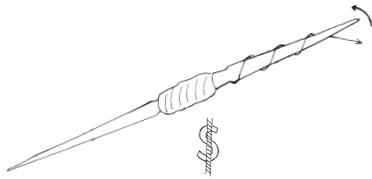
consecutive knots are made and then the thread is broken. This manner of spinning was used for the spinning of the warp since it could be spun much thinner, straighter, stronger. For carpets, the best processed smooth and strong threads were prepared from the best quality hemp fibre.

In the second variation of the procedure, the fibres are pulled out and straightened with the left hand, while the right hand turns the spindle which is almost in a horizontal position, at the same time, spinning the thread. The spindle lies by its upper part (handle) in the palm, and the spinner, by circular movements, primarily with the thumb and index finger, rolls the spindle in her hand (Photograph 16). The thread is shaped and let go by the left hand, while the thread wound round the body of the spindle is not knotted, but is also spun at the same time. This gives an S-direction to the twists.⁶⁹ When the spindle is full of thread, the part from the upper portion of the spindle is unwound and wound around the stomach of the spindle, and then once again wound and spun. This second of the two basic and traditional techniques has been better preserved in the Vojvodina region. Spinning with the spindle in a horizontal position is better for obtaining softer, less spun threads which can be used for various purposes, but not for the warp in weaving (Drawing 17, 17a).



17, 17a Spinning with a elongated spindle in inclined position

⁶⁹ Idvorean-Stefanović, B., *Ručna vretena za predenje i prepredanje*, 215, figure 3.



18 The spinning of the weft by the elongated spindle (S-direction)

Spinning with a Z-direction winding was abandoned with the spread of the use of the spinning wheel which was mostly used for the spinning of the warps of rougher fabrics. Later, hemp for the warp was prepared by machine, and the yarn for other needs was spun by hand. The spinning in an S-direction required a different kind of spindle, the *družica* (elongated spindle), larger and cut into on the side that is held in the hand. During spinning, the hand distaff is placed in the waist belt, but in a somewhat more inclined position than during the Z-direction spinning. The left hand pulls out and smoothes the fibre, while the right one turns the spindle, so that the thread is wound onto it continuously. By its upper part, this type of spindle lies in the palm, and the spinner uses circular motions to spin the thread by rolling the spindle in her hand. The yarn is, therefore, let out of the left hand, and the spindle moves in the right hand, in the direction of the hands on a clock (Photograph and small drawing 18).

In the case of stick like and other spherical shapes, during spinning, the spindle turns according to how the fibres are twisted around it. In the case of shovel like and spearlike distaffs, the shaped fibres are simply wound round the shovel, tightened and tied. During work, the fibres are slowly drawn out of the tightened ties, and when that side is used up, it is untied and drawn toward the spinner. It can be noticed that these mentioned forms are functionally characterized by certain differences. In the described details of the operations, it can be seen that certain types of distaffs turn in a circle, and in the case of other types of forms, the distaff stays in the same position, while the fibre is drawn toward the spinner's hand. During work, the distaffs with the pronounced upper parts are held by the face, on what can conditionally be called the more decorative side, turned away from the spinner. This indicates that representativeness has become a newer function, but the magical attributions remain as the ancient meaning of the decorations on the distaff.

Plying, twisting together two or more single yarns

In weaving, as well as in other techniques of textile production, it is often necessary to have a strong thread spun several times, which is especially important for the hemp warp of carpets. The lengthwise threads of the warp of a carpet create the firmness of the weaving and so it is best to use thin and several times doubled and then re-spun fuller yarn (Drawing 19). Technically, for this operation it is necessary to use tools for re-spin-



19 Plying threads for respinning



20 Respinning with a spindle

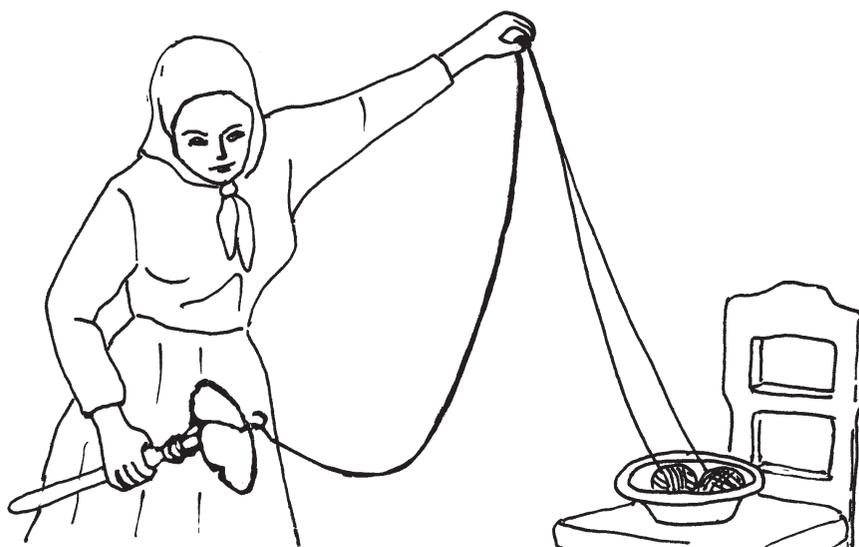


21 Respinning with an elongated spindle

ning since this is a case of re-spinning and twisting together several lengthwise threads into one re-spun thread. In this, the operation is related to spinning. On the other hand, the thread that is obtained is thicker, composed of several primary spun threads, and in this sense this thread is different structurally.

One more variant of the procedure of the manipulation of the spindle, whereby the respun S-direction thread is obtained, is not only connected with spinning but with respinning two or more threads together into one. The spun threads are taken off the hank or spindle, and they are respun onto a spindle in the right hand. The top of the handle turns, and the respun thread is wound from the stomach toward the lower part, over the thicker part at the end and thus this respun thread is wound in the S-direction. (Drawing 20). In the case of spinning and respinning in traditional practice, it is usual to combine these two ways of spinning. In this region, the fine single yarn for the warp or if exceptional fineness is necessary for the weft, is done by spinning in the Z-direction. Furthermore, such a thread can be folded and it can be spun in the S-direction (Drawing 21).

In addition to the described way of obtaining a spun multiple S-direction thread, respinning and plying with the help of the spindle in the right hand, there are also various tools which are meant solely for respinning. This is primarily the *sukalo* (small hand respinner), a type of simple and specific shape of spindle, but also many other, with quite different forms, for the same purpose. What is characteristic of them is the existence of some form of wheel in the function of a flywheel, and also the absence of any kind of holder for the fibre such as the distaff. The basic form of the *sukalo* is a simple spindle, round in diameter, on which, at the lower



22 Respinning with the small hand respinner

end, there is a largish, flat, wooden wheel which increases the turning of the spindle. (Drawing 22). This basic spindle with additions, appears also in some more complex devices, where it is placed on some sort of stand. These forms develop the function of the wheel by increasing the diameter, which can be moved directly by pulling by hand. They were made in many variant and very complex forms, decoratively made and additionally decorated in various techniques. By their mechanism, these devices are close to the foot spinning wheel, and so in the absence of the small hand respinner, the foot spinning wheel was used instead.

Rewinding the yarn—preparation for warping

Following spinning and plying, the hemp yarn from the spindle is further rewound depending on the phase of preparation for warping. The tools for the rewinding of the yarn for warping consist of the cop, drum winder, spooler, windlass. The preparations of the warp for weaving begins with the rewinding of the yarn with the skein winder, to determine the total amount of yarn for a certain length and width of the future fabric. This is done by the precise calculation of the length of the future warp and the number of the threads in the warp necessary for the width of the weave. The thickness of the yarn and the type of reed and heddles are the basic elements in the calculation of the width of the carpet. The necessary amount of yarn is rewound into skeins (*raše*) whose form is appropriate for the further processes of softening, bleaching and starching.

During the rewinding, the loops are constantly counted and the skein (*pasmo*) is recorded. In this way the single or the multiple thread, most often from the spindle or the spool (*kolenika*), is rewound into the so-called hank, with the aid of the cop, which, after the taking off from the cop, remains in the form of a loose elongated bundle. The yarn rewound in this way, sometimes while it is still on the cop, can be starched by sinking into a solution of cooked starch for the purpose of impregnation which is obligatory in the case of hemp yarn before warping. The threads tightened on the cop are straightened out and made smooth and dried into a firm and smooth thread.

The oldest and the most prevalent type of cop is the simple one, made of roughly carved wood, by the men for use in their own households, and its application ranks among the spontaneous use of suitable forms



23 *The winding of the yarn into a skein on a forked cop*

from nature. Most often this is an extremely functional form without any additional or decorative finishing. It is made of a piece of forked wood from nature, which is cleaned and evened out, where there are side branches, and on the top of it a horizontally positioned little plank is fixed. This simple device is the most widespread type of cop. The usual length of such a cop is between 80 and 100 cms, so that a winding of yarn of up to two metres is obtained. When the winding begins, the thread is first placed over the plank of the cop and held by a finger during the first windings. The winding is done by holding the cop with the left hand around the middle, where the beginning of the yarn is, and in the right the thread from the spindle is held so that it can turn freely and thus unwind the yarn. A more rarely used variation of this type of cop is about double in length so that the length of the winding is also double. In this the principle of the measuring of the required length for warping remains the same, but with the modification of the number of windings for the length of the warp.

It is possible to make big hanks in three ways. The first way is with a cop of the basic form with a fork, but double in length, which is only seemingly easy to be done with the help of the long forked cop, since its length on the other side makes it difficult to manipulate.

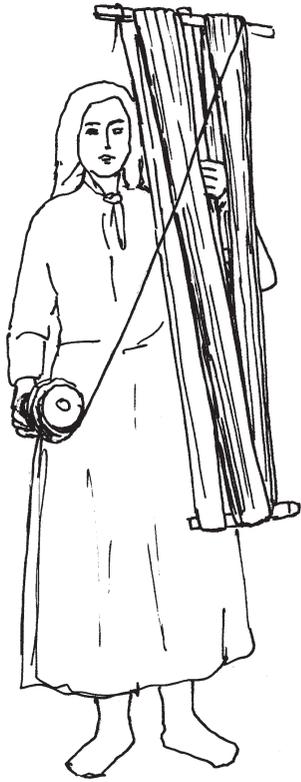
The variation of the shape of the classical cop form

with a form double in length is rarely used. The reason for this is primarily because it is inconvenient to work since it needs space and the work is mainly done in winter time in the house, where all the members of the household are present. Furthermore, it is difficult for a woman to evenly and regularly wind a thread on the long cop, and to have this thread unwind easily later on. Simply put, the long forked device does not give the freedom to work easily, often in the cramped spaced kitchens of village homes, especially in the winter time, since they are the only heated rooms and the ones in which the life and the work of all the household members is taking place.

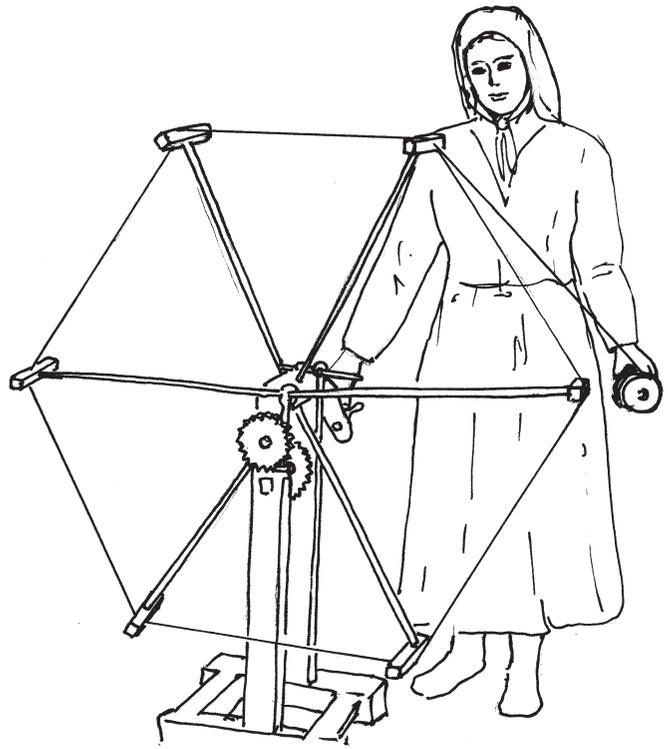
In shaping the large hank of double length, most often the usual shorter cops are used, but the winding is done in a certain way. The thread is led over one of the sides of the horizontal plank, then over the fork on the opposite end of the cop, back to the other side of the plank, continually in the same way round in a circle. The threads are thus crossed and in the fork a cross is made temporarily, so that this is winding cross-wise. This hank, taken off the cop is unfolded into a double length compared to the winding. Since at the place of crossing, the threads become partially knotted, they have to be unknotted and straightened out by pulling and tugging. This means that even with the most simple small cop, in a certain order, with added attention, it is possible to wind a double length, in a way that at the end where the plank is, the spun thread is continually led in the same order, alternatively over the left and the right side. The wound material is carefully taken off the cop in such a way that the ends on both sides of the plank are removed, and the whole winding is unfolded and pulled out into the double length of the cop (Drawing 23).

A newer, similar type of this device, although made by a craftsman, a professional cabinet-maker, is also very simple in construction. The length is about 100 cms. It is made of a long pole and two short narrow slats, which are fixed to both of its ends, horizontally, but in opposite directions. Due to the position of these slats, this cop is convenient for the winding of large hanks of yarn (Drawing 24).

The latest type of device for the same purpose is in the shape of a vertically positioned cross wheel which is on an axle and is turned by hand, which increases efficiency to a great extent. (Drawing 25). This is not a traditional form known in the Vojvodina region, from ancient times, but it has arrived and spread in use with



24 Winding of the hank on a double length cop with slats



25 Winding of the hank on a cop with a cross wheel



26 Winding of the hank on a cop with a cross wheel

the arrival of the group of re-settled populations, especially the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, who processed flax and hemp (Photograph 26). A significant influence on the spread of these more sophisticated devices was the spread of domestic cottage industry. The spread of these more complicated devices for the rewinding of the yarn, as we know them today, is primarily connected with the Slovaks and Ruthenians during a period when the production potentials of the village population were engaged in the cultivation and partial processing of hemp for the needs of further industrial use.

Regardless of the shape of the device for rewinding, during the preparation of the warp for weaving, the hank determines and marks the length of the future weaving. During the rewinding, it is separated and caught and in this way the yarn of each hank is marked off. This is done with a thread in a different colour, so that it is visible, and so that the warp proceeds in this manner. Often the rewinding into hanks was done gradually, during spinning, when several spindles had been filled. In this way, the yarn for the warp was prepared consistently, by measuring the length of the thread, which implied the continuous following of the making of the necessary amount of yarn for a specific purpose. Measuring by the small cop, five lengths were necessary for a carpet, two metres for two halves of the carpet and a metre for the warp fringes (*ureznici*). This length was multiplied by three, for a *čisanica* (triple length) of three threads and then by ten for the hank. A carpet required seven to ten hanks.

More complicated and efficient devices for work were also spread in communities where intensive domestic production of final products was developed. This was the case, in Stapar, as the main centre for carpet-making, since the use of these devices only made sense if large quantities of yarn were being prepared for the production of larger amounts of textile items for the market. In the case of hanks, individual carpetmaking did not necessarily imply the whole, often cumbersome and complex equipment for the processing of hemp and the preparation of the yarn. Developed hemp production also included the production and supply of potential markets with yarn prepared for the weaving of carpets. In this process, the makers, or the buyers of carpets, bought hemp yarn always from certain places and from known and tried producers or traders. In times of greater carpet production, especially in larger towns, there were specialized shops with various ware for the production of different kinds of textiles. Even to this day, the inhabitants, especially in former better known textile centres and their vicinities, still remember these shops by the names of their owners. Between the two great wars, in hemp cultivating areas, the buyers bought directly from the producers. Others bought what they required at markets, fairs or in hemp processing workshops.

In places with specially developed weaving activity, corresponding and specific crafts also were developed to accompany weaving. In Stapar they remember a time between the two world wars when there were five hemp processing workshops.⁷⁰ Following the Second World War, all of them were nationalized, while one of them, for the needs of the villagers, remained in the ownership of the farmers' co-operative, while the remaining ones were dismantled, and, according to the testimony of the villagers, shipped to Albania.⁷¹

In the production of domestic textiles, there were established inter-ethnic relations and a division of labour. Since local, that is, ethnic communities were often characterized by certain and specific crafts, in the Vojvodina region, and in the broader territory, certain commodities were procured primarily from the places of their production. Serbs, for example, bought hemp yarn in one of the mentioned ways from all the villages on the territory of the Šajkaška district, but, in the final instance, from the Ruthenian producers in the village of Djurdjevo.

In these communities, there was a rationalization and advancement of production, and also the modernization of tools for the rewinding of yarn. Such an example is the perfected cop in the form of a cross wheel with a mechanism which automatically registers, by sound, the starting of a new hank, and so the hanks can be counted. The cross wheel device is on a stand and around it the yarn is wound. It is operated by hand with a mechanism on the principle of the spinning jenny. Later a transmission mechanism was added which consisted of two wheels cut out as a full circle of wooden plank and with teeth that functioned as a cogwheel. In the place where the length of the hank ends, there is a delimiter by which the transition to a new measure of length is automatically announced by a piercing sound. The woman ties off the measured hank.

⁷⁰ Owners: Ivkov Vlajko-Bakrak, Nikačev Miša, Trnjakov Jovan (from the Budišin family), Volić Vitomir etc.

⁷¹ According to the information of Dušan Ivkov, born in 1934, from Stapar.



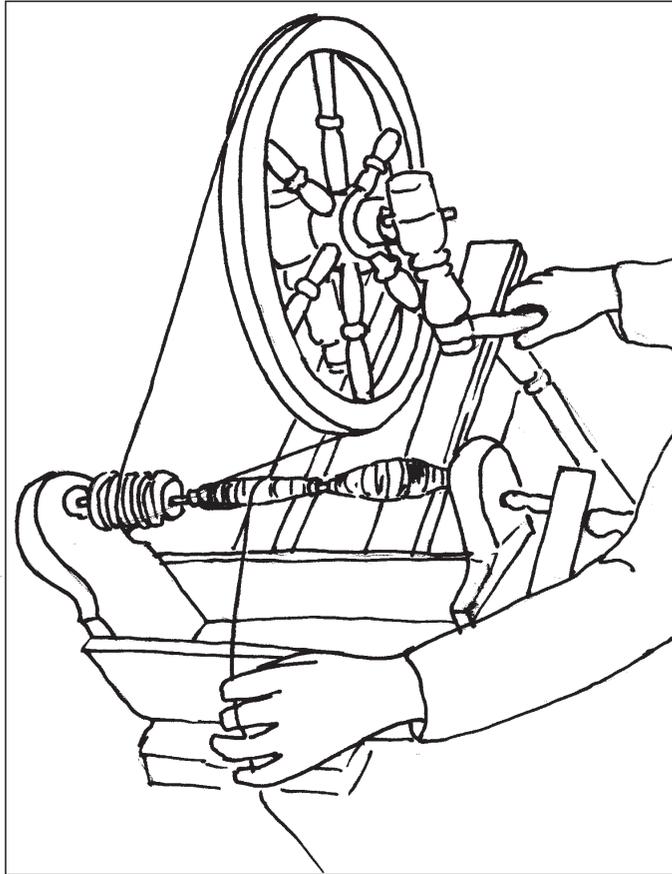
27 Rewinding threads for the warp on a spool

the yarn in a convenient position, can stretch it from time to time and spread it out, and move her hands so as not to hamper quick winding. This way of winding was rarely used and only for small amounts of yarn. The traditional procedure implied the use of some sort of standing device on which the hank would be placed and drawn from it, so that by the inverse movement the yarn would unwind and then be wound by hand into a ball shape. In this way, from a hank stretched out on a turning device, the thread would be drawn and wound by hand into an ordinary ball shape. If a larger number of threads were to be warped, the winding was done on large spools so that during warping they could be placed on a frame, from which several threads could be drawn at the same time. For this purpose a winding device (*čerk*) was used, whose mechanism for pulling consisted of a wheel with an axle and a handle, and the portion for winding was a stand on which the pipe for winding was placed, or a metal pipe on which the spools were placed. The wheel was connected by a hemp rope to the metal axle. The turning of the handle turned the wheel as well and drew the thread from the skein placed on the device and wound it on the pipe (Photograph 27). The same devices were used for the winding of woollen threads on the spools which would be placed in the shuttle in which weaving was done in shuttle weaving (Photograph 28). The ancient device for this purpose was a simple one, it consisted of an axis on whose one end there was a full wooden wheel which was turned toward the person doing the winding and a thread was drawn for winding on the pipe or spool. If it was a pipe, it was wound simply by fixing its ends into the ends of the stand, and a wooden wheel was fixed onto one side. The stand resembled a box with protruding sides. The spools and the pipes were drawn onto the axis which transmitted the movement. (Drawing 29).

As opposed to the shuttle technique, where these forms of winding and tools are used for the inserting of the warp through the open threads, tapestry weaving is done by inserting of various colour wool by hand. For this purpose, it is necessary for the threads to be wound in convenient shapes, so that small quantities of all the necessary colours are wound. The woman weavers quickly uses up large amount of these butterflies so that it is necessary to continually keep adding many new ones, according to the colours the weaver requires. In a carpet

The yarn wound on a cop is known by the terms *raša*, *štrengla*, *kanura* (hank). In the vicinity of Kikinda, these terms had a more precise definition, whereby the term *kanura* was used for wound hanks of wool, while the term *štrengla* was used for flax and hemp, or cotton. While the yarn is in the form of a hank, depending on its purpose, it can be processed in various ways. In this form it is dyed or bleached, and for the warp of a carpet, it is also starched.

According to folk recipes, the starch is made of flour, in a way that resembles the way housewives prepare starch for clothes, but some salt and lard are added to the mass. The heated starch is poured over the yarn for the warp which is in a hank, and it is left in this way over night. On the next day it is put out to dry. While drying it is spread out, then pulled and stretched in order for the yarn to be straight and evenly thick. Furthermore, before it is warped, the yarn can simply be rewound into hanks, or rewound into the number of portions necessary for the carpet warp. The most simple way is to wind a ball shape from the skein which another person holds around her spread forearms. In this way, the weaver can take off the threads and wind them into a ball shape according to her own rhythm, and the assistant, in addition to holding



28 Rewinding threads for the weft on a pipe



29 Rewinding of thread for the warp by a small respinner

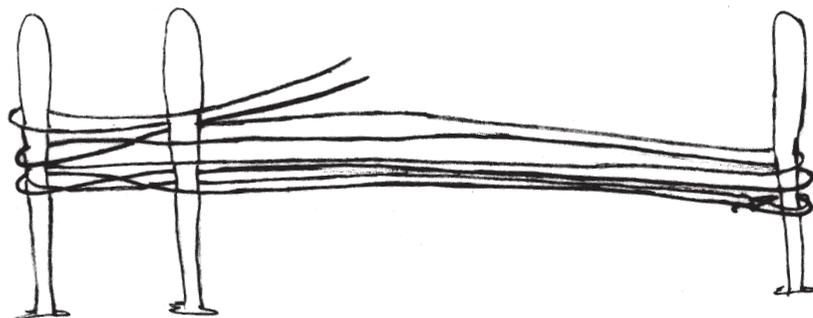
weaving household, it is important to introduce many members to the winding of small yarn butterflies, for anyone who has some time can sit down and wind as many as they can (Photograph 30).



30 Yarn butterflies

Warping, winding the warp and its introduction into the heddles and reeds

In the textile fabrics of the Vojvodina plains region, a large portion were made from materials of plant origin, in the old tradition this was hemp, and in the newer one, cotton is the most often used material for the warp of fabrics. In the weaving of carpets, the usual warp is a hemp one. In weaving in Vojvodina, two completely different manners of forming the warp were in practice, warping on the ground or on the large warping reel (*snovaljka*), so that different sets of tools were in use.



31 *Warping on three pegs, crossing*

In the first case a small number of tools were used. The basic ones were several pegs of the simplest shape, about 40 cms long, half a metre in length at the most, which were simply sharpened for sticking into the ground. Around them the threads of the warp were led and crossed, which is the essence of the making of the warp (Drawing 31). The additional tools were usual utensils in which the balls were placed and from which the woman

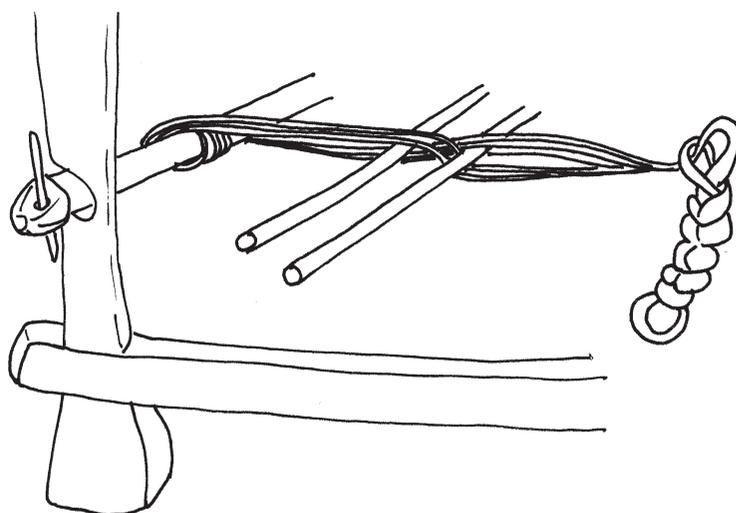
pulled the thread as she was making the warp (Photograph 32). Various adequate kitchen utensils were used for the purpose.

The second procedure, the warping on the warp reel was more adapted for semi-craft workshop weaving. During this operation more varied tools were used. These tools, which were a novelty, came to be known and accepted by the home weavers from craftsmanship and manufacturing work processes.



32 *Warping a carpet in the yard, Novo Miloševo, 1998.*

Special instruments for warping great lengths of thread were used by women weavers who made cloth for sale or women who did warping as a service, the making of the warp for others. The large warp reels were specially made stands of large dimension, but of the same shape as one of the tools in the process of re-winding. This was a type of double frame reel like the cross wheel used in the rewinding of the yarn from the skeins onto pipes, into hanks which would be made into spools for tapestry weave. The device for warp winding was of the same shape but several times larger. In addition to the large warping reel, a warping paddle (lat-



33 Winding of the warp

tice), was also used for leading the thread along the reel and a certain number of spools or pipes. The yarn prepared for warping, wound onto pipes is on a special stand in the shape of a frame. It is placed in such a way that it can be pulled off and unwound while at the same time it is being wound on the warp reel.

In the technique of carpetweaving, the essential part is in the introducing and weaving into warps of various colours, while the manner of crossing, that is opening into a shed is extremely simple, for the warping of a carpet, the most simple way, with pegs, is used. A description of this process has been given on the basis of the archive material in the Ethnological Department of the Museum of Vojvodina.⁷² In this case, the warping was done with the aid of three pegs, with balls instead of the prepared warp being rewound again on pipes. The

balls of yarn are each placed in a separate utensil. For this purpose bowls, wooden bowls or little baskets were used.

A description of the further procedure of making the warp is based on a reconstruction of the process of carpetweaving in Novo Miloševo. This was done by Velinka Đukićin, born in this village in 1928.

The winding⁷³ of the on the back beam of the loom is done first (Drawing 33). The uncut ends of the warp have to be fixed to the back beam. In this phase, the back beam is placed where the front one should be. The helper is behind the loom and begins on the side where the thread crossings are, and which later, during



34 Distribution of the warp threads

⁷² The operation was demonstrated in the home of Lepa Subašić from Novi Sad in Vojislav Ilić Street 7, on September 29, 1953 and described by M. Jovanović, expert archives Ethnological Department of the Museum of Vojvodina, Inventory no. 137

⁷³ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, Tradicionalni proces tkanja čilima (rekonstrukcija po modelu iz 1865.godine), Rad Muzeja Vojvodine, vol. 39, Novi Sad, 1997, 257-263.

work, will be moved backward by their whole length. She places the beam through the uncut end of the warp, in front of the thread crossings, and then she fixes it into the groove of the back beam and ties it well with strong ropes

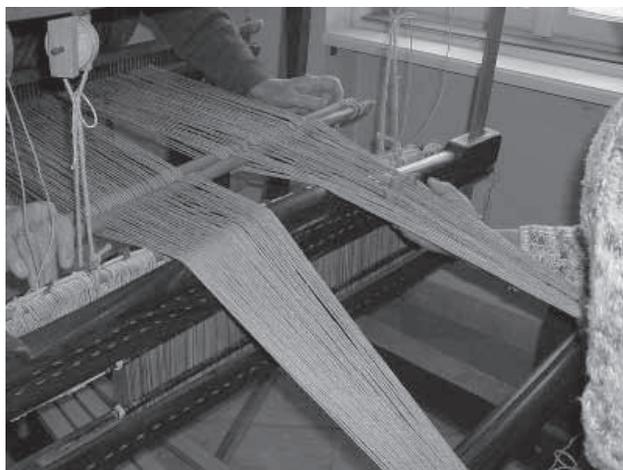
In the open reeds for the winding raddle, four threads are usually between its scarce frame (Photograph 34). When all the threads have been placed in position, the reeds are closed, so that the upper side of the frame is returned to its place. Two women have to do this work, one of them by the back beam tightly draws the warp, while the other one holds it firm. In this, the beam is held slanting, for the threads to fall straight (Photograph 35).



35 Stretching the warp



36 Winding of the warp on the back beam with a tightening mechanism



37 Moving of the lease rods during warping on the back beam



38 Counter tightening during winding on the back beam

For the winding of the warp on the back beam, no additional tools are necessary. Since it is the first phase of the placing of the warp on the loom for weaving, the back beam of the loom is used together with a device for tightening. (Photograph 36). The reeds for the winding are not primary and necessary, but an additional tool, which is placed in front of the beam, in order to spread the threads and retain their direction for the entire length of the warp. However, not every woman possessed such a device, so that the work could be done even without them, in such a way that one woman would continually order the warp by its width by hand, taking care that it was wound evenly.

The shape of the raddle for winding is basically like the shape of the reeds for weaving, with the only difference that on the same width there is a much smaller number of tines, thicker and stronger two centimetres apart. This reed is in the form of an elongated, but folding grid. It is placed in such a way that before beginning winding the upper part of the grid is taken off so that the warp could be placed in tussocks between the tines of the reed. When the warp is spread by length, the upper part of this reed is put back in its place, which gives a closed grid frame through which the warp is evenly wound on the back beam.

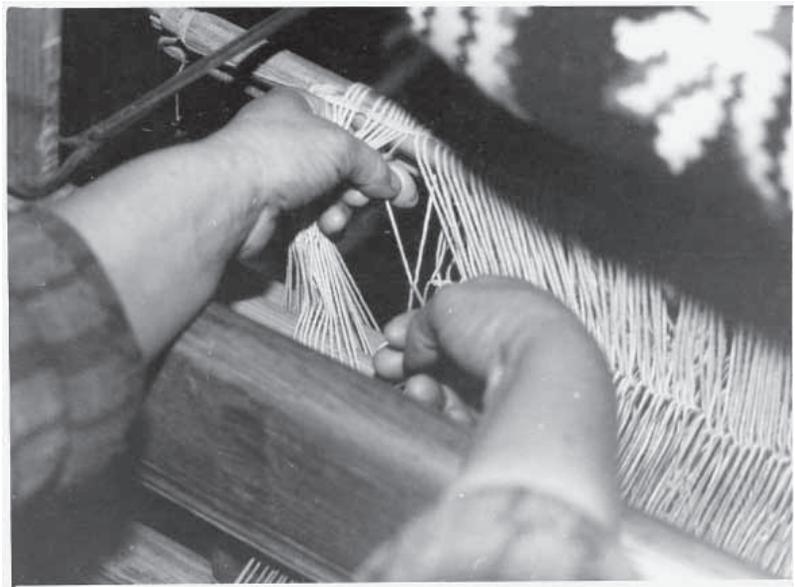
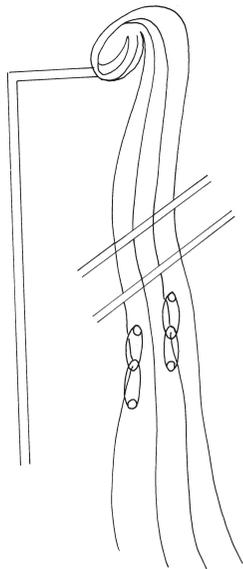
Before she began tying the warp to the beam, where the pegs were during the warping, the weaver placed two lease sticks which would, to the end of the weaving, maintain the crossing and enable the weaving of the threads one into another. For this work, the presence of another woman was also necessary. The weaver herself worked with the beam, sitting on her seat at the loom. She turned the beam with the aid of a tightening mechanism. With evenly spread threads along the width of the beam, she would wind the beginning of the warp, all the while continuously moving the lease sticks with crossed threads further away from herself (Photograph 37). At the same time, her companion would hold the chained warp, gradually freeing it and letting it go part by part, straight between the sides of the posts, so that the woman doing the winding could gradually wind the warp on the beam. The woman holding the warping would let the chained part loose in two pieces, keeping the direction of the threads according to the middle, while the remaining part of the braids hang from one of her hands (Photograph 38). This is a simplification of the traditional procedure, without the raddle for the winding of the warp. With all their might, the women carefully maintained the direction of the threads during the pulling. This was essentially so, that during the moving of the warp in the process of weaving itself, the threads would come evenly and the fabric would have a more even structure. In the same way, continually tightening well, the entire length of the warp was wound. On its end were the lease sticks with crossed threads. The next phase was the introduction into the heddles, and then into the reeds.



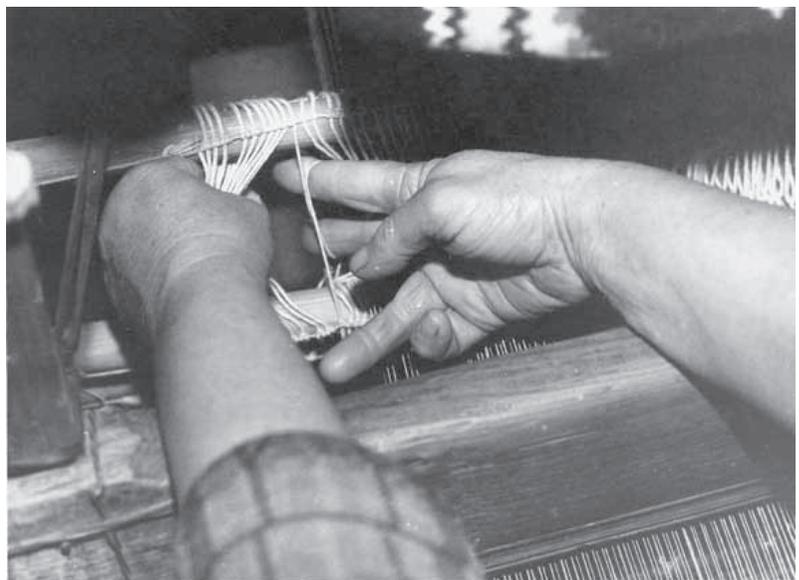
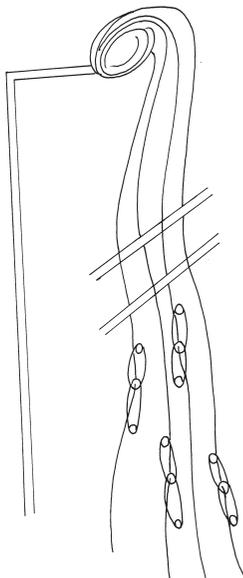
39 Wound warp before introduction into heddles

The wound back beam is taken out of the bed of the front beam, lifted and taken over the upper frame of the loom, so that the ends of the warp fall toward the hands. (Photograph 39) The introduction of the warp into the heddles is done in order, one by one. The heddles are over the sides of the loom, so that they hang linked to one another by strings. The end of the warp is unwound, the lease sticks are moved back and then before the thread. The end of the warp is cut so that the threads can be introduced one by one. The weaver sits down in front of the heddles, while her companion is, on the side closer to the heddles and behind the separated threads, which are let down from the height of the frame. The weaver then takes the upper and the lower long eye heddles, turns and straightens the opening and takes the thread from her companion. Her companion takes thread by thread in the order of introduction, she counts and hands the thread from the first group for the long eye heddle of the first heddle (Photograph and drawing 40, 41) and the second thread she puts beside it, outside the long eye heddle, so that later, it can be threaded into the long eye heddle of the second heddle (Photograph and drawing 42, 43). The weaver opens the long eye heddle in such a way that she pulls the upper and the lower link and opens their cross-section into an opening through which she passes the thread. Later on, during weaving, with a pressure on the treadle, this long eye heddle is tightened and by the pulling of the heddle it tightens and pulls the thread with it, upwards or downwards, which represents the shed for passing the wollen threads through. In this way, the two of them count and pass through, all of the threads, taking care of the hanks and the order of the total number of threads. In all of this, they conform with the markings on the heddles. (Photograph 44).

The wound back beam is taken out of the bed of the front beam, lifted and taken over the upper frame of the loom, so that the ends of the warp fall toward the hands. (Photograph 39) The introduction of the warp into the heddles is done in order, one by one. The heddles are over the sides of the loom, so that they hang linked to one another by strings. The end of the warp is unwound, the lease sticks are moved back and then before the thread. The end of the warp is cut so that the threads can be introduced one by one. The weaver sits down in front of the heddles, while her companion is, on the side closer to the heddles and behind the separated threads, which are let down from the height of the frame. The weaver then takes the upper and the lower long eye heddles, turns and straightens the opening and takes the thread from her companion. Her companion takes thread by thread in the order of introduction, she counts and hands the thread from the



40, 41 Threading the first heddle



42, 43 Threading the second heddle

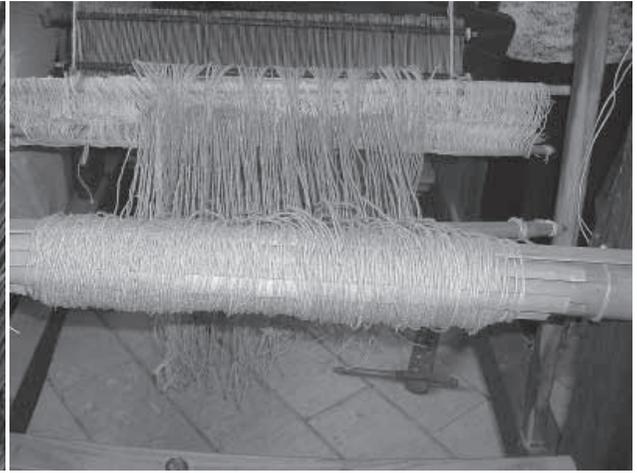
The next stage is the threading of the same warp, so that the even and odd threads, according to their own order, are placed between the dents of the reeds. During this operation, the reeds are placed so that their lower part is turned upward. The companion is in front of the heddles from which the threaded ends hang, she takes them one by one and hands them, so that the weaver passes the edge of a dull knife through, takes the thread and draws it toward her with her left hand through the reeds, while with her right hand, with the aid of a hooked needle, she catches and straightens the ends so that they fall in front of the reeds. This procedure is simplified and quickened, if, instead of a dull knife a tool with its end shaped in the form of a hook is used. In this case, the weaver passes the end of the tool with a hook, takes the thread and in one move pulls the end through the



44 Introduced warp in the heddles



45 Introduction of the warp in the reeds



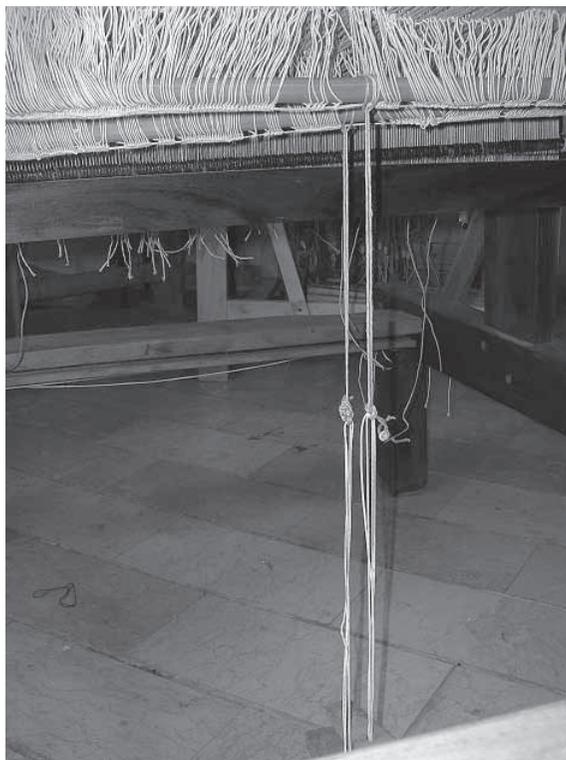
46 Warp introduced into the reeds



47 Straightening of the introduced warp



48 Placing of the reeds into the frame



grid of the reeds (Photograph 45). When it is introduced, the winding is once again straightened by the tightening of the back beam and all of the threads controlled once again in the hanks (Photograph 46). Then, the reeds are turned into a normal, just slightly slanted position (Photograph 47) and the ends of the warp are drawn, forward before the placing of the reeds into the frame (Photograph 48).

The well straightened ends are tightened and tied to the lease stick which will later be placed into the front beam and attached to it. The warp is pulled once again, so that it is firmly tightened between two beams (Photograph 49). Since the warp has been threaded and tightened, during weaving the even and odd threads can be opened into a shed, the heddles are tied to treadles. By pressing on one or the other treadle one of the heddles comes down, while the other goes up. In this way the threads are pulled down, that is, up and open the shed into which the woollen weft threads are woven.

49 Heddles tied to the treadles

LOOMS FOR WEAVING

Just as they prepared all kinds of textile threads for their work, Serbian women weavers also wove on maximally simple looms. With the patience of Sisyphus and with their hands they counted and introduced various colours of woollen threads creating ornamental compositions in decorative woollen weaving. A population which in addition to farming also engages in sheep herding has wool and makes woollen fabrics for a variety of domestic needs, that is, cultivates flax and hemp and weaves cloth. The women themselves wove everything that was necessary for the household.

In olden days, when weaving was one of the main labours of the family, there was a certain dynamics in the development of devices for weaving. In the existing collection of old items, there are many variations of the loom, which by their construction indicate an exceptional age. The known examples and forms used in the Vojvodina village, by their age only go as far back as the middle of the 19th century. The changes in development that can be registered happened over a period of fifty years, since during the first half of the 20th century, until the end of home weaving, the loom retains the form that became popular around 1900. Examples of looms from the 20th century, mainly belong to the same type. The same form was also used on a much broader territory, in regions where in the home cottage industry, the simple hand weaving of various textiles was retained. It was only in those cultures in which weaving began to be developed as a craft, that there were significant changes in the construction of weaving devices, by the introduction of elements which either speed up the work or in some other way increase the efficiency of the loom.

In carpetweaving in the Vojvodina region, only the horizontal loom is known and it has two forms. The first and the basic type of device for home weaving, the small narrow loom served for the weaving of all the fabrics that were made in the traditional village household. Although its working features are adapted primarily for the home production of cloth, on this same loom, various pieces of textiles were made, including carpets. The second type was created sometime in the late 19th century, it was connected with the production of carpets for the market. It differs from the original loom primarily in the double width of its working surface, that is, in the width on which it is possible to weave a carpet in one piece.

The domestic narrow loom

The collection of looms, in all of the collections of the Museum of Vojvodina, number hardly more than 40 looms, among which there are various variants dating from the 19th to the middle of the 20th century.⁷⁴ The analysis of this collection is the basis for the description of the basic type of traditional loom in the Vojvodina region. Among the materials, there are no visible specific features according to territorial origin, but more according to the time of the construction of the individual items. In certain periods of time, quite similar construction forms on the corresponding level of functional development are noticeable. The local specific features concern the shaping of the wood, especially the decoration, although the decorations of the looms are most often quite simple ones. The rare ones which are highly decorated, reflect the fashion and the style of decoration of high quality furniture of a specific time. Among the items which were constructed in the late 19th century and during the first half of the 20th, there are variations of ways of decoration which are also found in the decoration of other household furniture.

The universal device for weaving in the home cottage industry was one form of loom, and that was the horizontal loom with side supports. With its basic shape, construction and use, the small female loom is one more in a series of cultural features of the Vojvodina region as a bordering, that is, peripheral region for the spread of carpetweaving of south eastern Europe. This loom is not a simple one, such as the vertical looms for weaving, but it is also not an advanced kind of loom for the weaving of complicated patterns on the cloth. On this loom, it was possible to weave dreadnought, sacks, blankets for horses, as well as carpets or the finest of cloth called *svilenac* (silk like cloth).

⁷⁴ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, Razboji za tkanje u muzejima Vojvodine, Rad Vojvođanskog muzeja, vol. 30, 1986-1987, 183-202.

The hemp warp, tightened between two beams, counted and crossed and further on divided into two parts with one pair of heddles, by alternate pressing on one of a pair of wooden treadles would separate into a shed. Over this tightened warp, the woman weaver would weave in the samples of patterns, mixing her taste and feelings in an effort to express her own identity, and around these threads she would create a fabric of simple structure, but of abundant figurativeness. This procedure implied a developed knowledge of carpetweaving in several variations of tapestry weave according to the manner of alteration of variously coloured woollen threads.

The preserved looms in the collections of the Museum, as it was among the common people, belong to the horizontal type of loom. It was named after the position of the working parts, which are all horizontal, just as all the work activity is performed on the horizontal.⁷⁵

The home loom in the Serbian ethnic region is characterized by simplicity in all its phases of development. Starting with the archaic shape, with supports in the shape of a full rectangle frame, the loom changed mostly in the liberation of working space in front of the seat of the weaver. This very fact indicates that the fabric made in this way was for the most part the product of the skill of the hands of folk creativity, and not of the technical capacities of the work device. Rare were innovations in functional solutions, and one of them marked the last stage in the development of the hand loom during the 20th century. According to a testimony recorded in 1981, from Sofija Zečev, born in 1910, in the village of Stapar, it is possible to date precisely the introduction of the last development shape of the loom. Her grandfather, Sima Vulić, in 1896, ordered for his daughter, her mother Jelena, a *kusasti* (cut-down loom) that was just coming into fashion. It gained its name, cut down, because the breast beam on low supports is in front of the weaver, so that the frame of the support seemed incomplete, cut down. From the Stapar workshops, the new model soon spread throughout the Vojvodina region, and later on, over a period of several decades, up to the 1940s, it was mainly this model that was produced. The numerous looms that can, to this day, be found in village homes come mainly from the dowries of old women, who were born more than half a century ago.

It should be emphasized that variations with more complicated tightening mechanisms were used in those ethnic communities where cloth fabrics by the metre were primarily woven. These are looms with tightening of the beam by cog wheels, or looms with several beams for the transfer, straightening and winding of the finished cloth. They resemble the forms which are close to those used in workshops for the productions of fabrics.

Within its functional development, the horizontal loom was primarily adapted to the weaving of fabrics by the metre, in the form of cloth of various quality, by the very fact that on the winding beams, it was possible to move the warp of immeasurable length. Relatively late in the development of weaving in the Vojvodina region, with the beginning of carpetweaving as a real home cottage industry, the carpet was added to the traditional inventory of textiles.

Parts of the loom

The entire construction of the loom consists of two kinds of parts: supporting elements and connectives, and functional parts (Table I). The basic parts of the supporting construction are the supports, two vertical parallel sides that are connected one to another by horizontal connectives made of wooden planks. In corresponding parts, they support the parts involved in the very process of weaving: the back and front beam with tightening mechanisms, the heddles and the treadles, reeds at the frame. The supporting construction is put together by the placing of the horizontal connectives in the slots in the supports and all of this is fixed on the outside with flat wooden pegs. The front connective in the form of a broad plank serves as the seat for the weaver. The solution to the support gives the formal characteristics of the entire device. On the basis of morphological analysis, it is classified as a horizontal type of loom, and there are seven variations, according

⁷⁵ Z. Marković, Razboji u Etnografskom muzeju u Beogradu, Beograd, Zbornik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, 1901-51, 65.

to the construction of the supports as the basic feature.⁷⁶ In fact, according to the supports, the relations and position of each working part of the loom is determined.

The back beam is in the form of a massive roller, about 10 cms in diameter, with a shallow groove along its length which serves for the beginning of the warp to be placed into it, with the aid of thin cylindrical lease rods. The left end of the beam is somewhat thicker, as a rule a hexagonal diameter, the so-called head of the beam, has holes in a number of places, for the tightening of the weaving. When the beam is in place for the warp to be tightened with the aid of the front beam, this is done by winding and inserting a peg through the corresponding hole in the head. The pegs are a longer or shorter stick, most often tied to the upper plank of the frame of the supports, whose narrower end is inserted into the hole on the head of the beam.⁷⁷

For the determining of the shed on the warp there are two lease sticks. They are placed in the position of the cross threads, one on each side of the crossing, and they divide all the threads of the warp into even and odd ones. In the rewinding of the warp, the lease sticks are also moved, so that they slide, moving with them the crossing of the threads. On the tightened warp, they are left always on the place of the unwinding, along the back beam. These are long and thin cylindrical sticks with notches on both ends. Every weaver has among her tools dozens of such rods and uses them on various occasions, in the process of production of textiles. When it is necessary to weave into the threads of the warp, after pressing the corresponding treadle, over the thread, the shed changes with the change of the position of the threads along the vertical, while at the same time the lease rods hold the crossing unchanged. Among the other functions of the lease rods in weaving, for instance, is their use in the tying of the warp to the beams, further in the dividing of the threads of the warp, in the placing of the pattern for weaving over in some forms of shuttle weaving or for the making of new heddles. The lease rods were made and sold by spindlers, and they were ordered from local turners or bought in specialized stores.

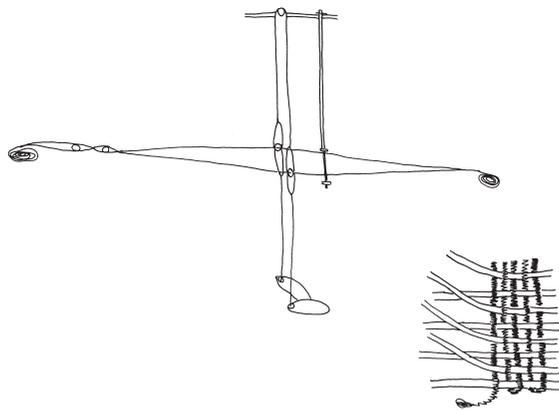
A pair of heddles hangs tied by strong string from a horizontal support on the top of the loom, in the form of a stick. The horizontal support lies on the upper planks of the loom supports fixed into the corresponding notches on both sides. The strong string that links the heddles sometimes glides directly over the horizontal support, and most often so that it slides along the wooden wheels. In the place where the string is placed, on both sides, on the horizontal support, a wooden wheel hangs. This is a pair of little wooden wheels which turn around an axle, and on them there are grooves through which the string glides, up and down, as the treadles are pushed and the position of the heddles is changed. On their lower side, the heddles are linked to the treadles and tightened by wooden sticks which are placed in front of the front legs of the loom. The treadles are mechanisms whereby pressure on one or the other, alters the position in the crossing of the threads and opens a shed for weaving into the warp.

The heddles are one of the basic elements in the process of weaving, which is seen in a brief description of weaving: between the two beams, the warp is tightened, divided into odd and even threads which are separated by the pulling of the heddles, up or down, so that transversely in the angle of the shed, the warp is woven into. The pushing of the left or right treadle, the warp threads alternatively take two different positions for the weaving (Drawing 50, 51). On the domestic, horizontal loom, the heddles are in pairs, for weaving with two threads there is one pair, for weaving with four threads, two pairs. They are made of hemp or cotton threads and lease sticks, and the threads are introduced by needles or a wooden device.⁷⁸ In the threading of the heddles, the hanks are marked the same way as on the reeds, every thirtieth loop is marked and tied with coloured thread or pieces of cloth (Photograph 52).

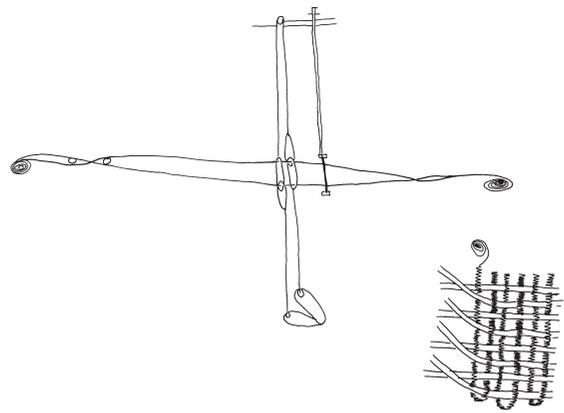
⁷⁶ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, *Looms for weaving*, 185/6 : Type 1. With a four corned support, in two subvariants (a) Vertical poles, fixed into horizontal planks. (b) 2. The horizontal poles fixed to the supports stick out from the frame; 3. A longer horizontal pole, narrowed frame, one vertical, added front leg; 4. The basic horizontal pole, frame with additions, a short support for the back beam; 5. A horizontal pole, frame added to, and a prop for the front beam; 6. Horizontal pole, prop for the front beam and incomplete frame (a) vertical support, (b) a slanting support g) without a support; 7) The front beam in the horizontal pole, incomplete frame, vertical support, additional lease rods.

⁷⁷ In the older form this is a long wooden stick whose sharp end is only pressing on the floor, which implies that it was an earth floor.

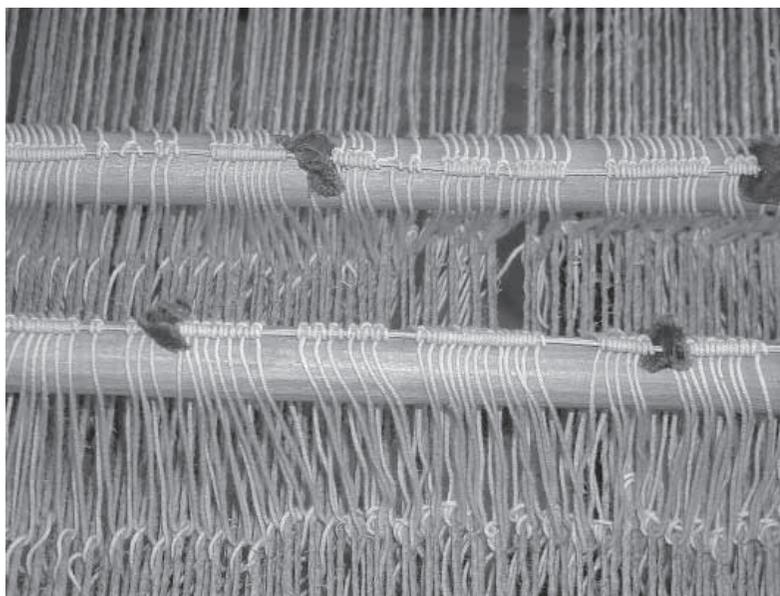
⁷⁸ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, *Razboji za tkanje*, 192.



50 Shed by lifting the even threads of the warp



51 Shed by lifting the odd threads of the warp



52 Marking the hanks on the heddles

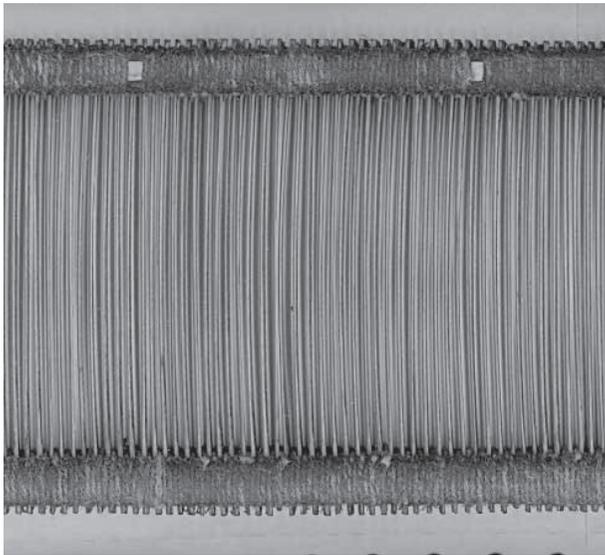
The frame with reeds hangs on the second horizontal support, closer to the weaver. The reeds through which, all of the threads of the warp have been introduced in order, is an elongated rectangular grid which consists of a wooden frame and a series of dense teeth, often made of reed, rarely of metal or wood. The reed frame is placed into a supporting frame of wood (*brdilo*) which in addition to being the support of the reed frame, in some techniques, serves also for the beating into the warp. Taking the reed frame by its middle, more massive part, the weaver firmly pushes the frame of wood away, then pulls it forward to beat in the weft threads.

The heddles and the reeds are parts which are determined depending on the technique of weaving and type of fabric (density, thickness, width etc.).

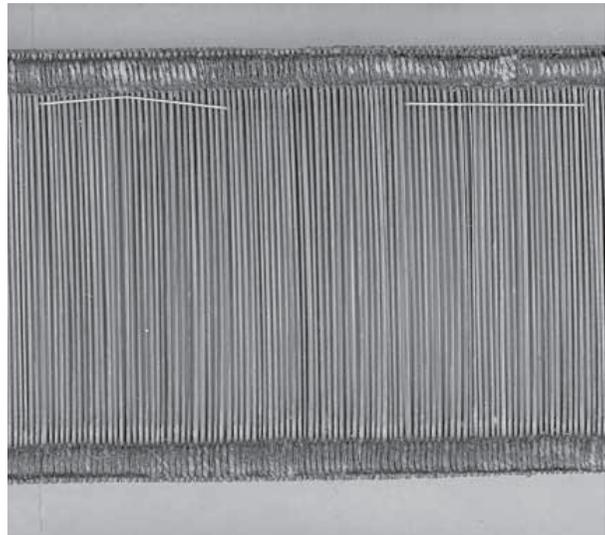
The hank as the basic unit of measure in weaving, is also applied with the reeds and represents a portion of 30 teeth in the reeds. The usual measure for threads in the reeds in the weaving of carpets is about 8 hanks. On the reeds, the places for the hanks are marked, by setting apart every 30 teeth and by inserting a reed above the string which is wound over the frame (Photograph 53); often even by sewing through, that is, by pulling a thread through (Photograph 54)

On the reeds, the numbers of hanks were carved in, usually with Roman numerals (Photograph 55). In this there are some departures, that is, mistakes made out of lack of precision in using the numbering, even a free use of notches for the marking of the units. Such an example is a marking of 7 vertical notchings on reeds of 7 hanks (Photograph 56).

The front beam is a roller on which new weaving is wound during work. By its shape, it matches the back beam, but it is cut through the middle so that during the tying of the beginning of the warp of the new weaving to the beam, it is pulled through using *nagradjuša*, to link the warp to the front beam. This is a piece of fabric which was kept and used for the winding of the warp on the loom, for the fixing of the beginning of the warp to the front beam. The typical way is through a broader hem, on the straight end of the cloth, to pull through the lease rods by which the *nagradjuša* itself is fixed. The fringes on the other end are used to tie the second lease rod on which the new warp is tied, also in tufts. The term *nagradjuša* in some villages implies a metal pole on



53 Marking of the hanks on the reeds by passing a reed



54 Marking the hanks on the reeds by pulling a thread



55 Marking the numbers of hanks, 17



56 Marking the number of hanks by notches

which the new warp is tied. The front beam is tightened by the front tightening mechanism, on the weaver's right hand side. The older, more customary type of tightening mechanisms consisted of a peg with a hole which is placed into a gridded plank. When, by tightening with the aid of the peg, the beam is brought in its correct position, in which the weaving is firmly tightened between the two beams, through the hole in the gridded plank, the peg is inserted and into its place a blunt wooden nail placed, which in recent times is made of iron.

The shuttle serves for weaving into the warp in so-called shuttle weaving, in such a way that it is passed through the shed, which is the basic way of weaving the weft, in weaving in general. The shuttle is elongated, a boat-like shape. The shape is ideal for an easy sliding through the shed in the warp, so that by one deft movement, the weft can be passed from one edge of the weaving to the other. The thread of the weft is wound on a piece of reed, and the reed prepared in this way is inserted into the middle of the oval space in the shuttle. It turns easily; the weft unwinds and passes through the opening on the side of the shuttle. This opening is often lined with a ring-like bone inset, so that the thread can glide along the smooth bone better.⁷⁹

In the phase of developed of multicoloured ornamentation over the whole surface of the carpet, the shuttle was not used much, so that shuttle weaving is an additional technique. It is mostly used in the weaving of a kind of new variety of bedspreads, as well as, wall carpets woven in the same technique on a weaving

⁷⁹ B. Idvorean-Stefanović, *Razboji za tkanje*, 191

board. In this technique a device is used in the form of a rectangular frame as a weaving board.⁸⁰ Made of light wood, it simply lies put through pairs of counted threads of the warp so that, when it is stood up, it can separate them out into a shed. For this reason, the technique is called weaving on a board, and it is most widespread in modern home weaving for the creation of various ornaments. In the weaving of these bedspreads, with one face, while the board is placed horizontally, the weaving is done by the interweaving of the cloth, with cotton, by a pressure on the lower part of the board and the passing of the shuttle. When the board is straightened up, so that variously coloured threads are separated into the shed according to a corresponding order, the weaving is done with multicoloured wool, but rarely with the shuttle, mainly by weaving in the pattern by hand.

The workshop, broad carpet loom

The introduction of the broad carpet loom was a kind of revolution in carpet weaving in the 19th century. Since this loom originated from the small home loom which almost every woman possessed, the women in the Vojvodina region could be very easily and quickly trained to work on it. It was necessary to find a device on which it was possible to weave a carpet from one width without the seam in the middle, because the aestheticians, as well as middlemen of the time, considered that the original seam down the middle of the carpet marred its beauty and reduced its value. Since the carpets were being made as exclusive products for the European market, their stands were reflected in the economic programs of the time, as well as in the development of carpetweaving in the decades that were to follow.

The weaving school in Kikinda, founded in 1883, first trained women for the weaving of so-called Serbian cloth, but by the end of the year, for carpets as well. At the Novi Sad exhibition of 1884, as far as it is known, the first carpet woven on the broad loom was exhibited. In May 1884, a weaving school was opened in Veliki Bečkerek (today's Zrenjanin). In the first decision on the acquisition of a loom, one ordinary broad loom of 180 cms in width was ordered from the region of Maramuresh in Romania, with all the additional tools for the weaving of carpets. When the state bodies entered into the solving of this problem, by the end of 1884, the school had seven broad looms for carpets.⁸¹

For the Budapest exhibition of 1885, all the preparations for the presentation of folk handicrafts adapted to modern taste, from the territory of the Srem and Slavonia districts, were directed by Mrs. Savka Subotić. In this, she placed a special emphasis on carpets. Led by the desire to shape a modern product, on the basis of traditional patterns, with the help of grandmother Pela from the village of Stapar, she carried out an idea on the making a large floor carpet in several ornamental compositions taken from various folk carpets. She considered this achievement her exceptional contribution to the national cause. By doing this, she wanted to show part of the possibilities of applying the craft of the village for exclusive production. Many such carpets appeared at prestige exhibitions of folk domestic cottage industry during the second half of the 19th century, so that these carpets drew the great interest of Filip Hass, the largest carpet dealer in Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, Isidor Kršnjavi perceived the high artistic value of these specially prepared items and organized the acquisition of one such carpet for the Museum in Zagreb.⁸²

Mrs. Savka, the wife of Dr. J. Subotić, gives a colourful description of one of her experiences in modernizing devices for weaving. At her request, in 1884, the Hungarian government ordered and financed the creation of several looms with a broad breast beam, but they were created on the model of a male loom, so they were difficult for women to use. She gave up on installing this type of loom in her home, but from its construction, she took the broad breast beam, and other parts were made for her by village carpenters. In this way, she obtained a construction which resembled the old-fashioned women's loom, but of larger dimensions, firm and stable, with supports dug into the earth. On this loom, she wove a broad carpet in one piece, created in such a way that the traditional ornamentation formed a harmonious whole. This was the carpet that Filip Hass liked so much, so he showed a great interest on contracting a business deal in which carpets would be woven in the Srem district for placement through his distribution network.

⁸⁰ This device was also used minimally in the weaving of carpets, and if used, for the execution of comb like ornaments of multicoloured criss-crossing stripes.

⁸¹ F. Nemeth, *Torontalski ćilim, četvrt veka tkanja u Banatu*, Novi Sad 1995, 31.

⁸² *Later Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb: S. Subotić, O našim narodnim tkaninama i ruktvorinama*, vol. 227, 66.

There is similar data connected with some other individuals in other parts of Austria-Hungary of the time, which offered good conditions for the initiation of production programs that had a future. In this way, in Croatia, during the 19th century, there were attempts on the part of the authorities to initiate the production of carpets on broad looms, through the organization of production associations. This was achieved only in 1900 in Zagreb, when Solomon Berger organized the production of carpets by employing female weavers from the villages.⁸³ According to a claim by Jelica Belović-Bernađikovska, Mrs. Tisch adapted the old home looms so that broad weaving could be done on them.⁸⁴

By the end of the century, a similar process went on at the same time in the mid Banat region, where A. Schtreitman oversaw the complete alteration of the composition, spirit and ornamentation of carpets, and especially of colour schemes. In this way, the new carpet in one piece was introduced. In the weaving workshops, which were managed by the graduated pupils of his school, this type of carpet spread throughout the whole of Banat. The weaving of modern carpets on the broad loom developed as a new form of cottage industry. According to an article in the *Torontal Magazine* from January 1887 the domestic taste was changing, and the use of broad looms became increasingly popular. Workshops were opened in the villages of Melenci, Vranjevo and Elemir, and the handicrafts of women became a commodity.⁸⁵

The uncompetitive prices of the handicrafts that it offered on the market, led to the closing of the weaving school in Zrenjanin and the collapse of the network of workshops. However, the cottage industry originated in this way, continued to develop spontaneously, through the work of the former members of the network. As semi-professional weavers, these women satisfied the needs of the local population for carpets. The weaving school was later organized once again and functioned as part of the carpetweaving factory as an experimental workshop of one of a kind carpets. After a change of production programs, the same looms would be used for the production of piled Smyrna carpets.

In the late decades of the 19th century, the women weavers trained in the workshops throughout the Banat district, received awards at European exhibitions. In this, one should emphasize particularly the merits of members of the most prominent families such as Nina Lang in Elemir, the wife of Istvan Istvany from Turski Bečej, the wife of Ignaz Jesensky in Velika Kikinda.⁸⁶ The greatest artistic and economic reputation was held, at the time, by the workshops of Charlotte Kowalsky in Nemački Elemir and Vilmos Grinbaum in Veliki Bečkerek. In these manufacturing workshops, the employed women workers wove according to drawn patterns, and their work was sold in Vienna, Budapest and other European cities.

A special place in weaving manufacture in the Middle Banat region was achieved by the firm of Vilmos Grinbaum, and for the needs of broadening the production assortment and from the belief that old carpets woven in the Banat villages can serve as an inspiration to designers, the firm made a viewing collection of original folk carpets. Samu Borovszky used these items for illustrating his study on the Torontal county⁸⁷, from which it is possible to identify types such as are found in museum collections today.⁸⁸ These items were acquired much later and dated for the most part around 1880. Except for the territory of today's Vojvodina, carpets with certain types of ornamentation, as well as weaving techniques, can be found on the territory of Banat and Maramuresh.⁸⁹

On an advertising postcard⁹⁰, the drawing of a model has been preserved such as can be found as a decorative floor covering in many old photographs taken in the photographic studios of the then Zrenjanin. In fact, the same model of composition can be followed through the Banat region, even to the Danube banks of Srem where it was taken over into the villages from the Banat banks of the Danube.⁹¹ The advertising postcards of the Grinbaum firm were printed at the very end of the 19th century and they document even newer models, made according to drawing patterns on the basis of modified elements of ornamentation taken from older

⁸³ J. Gargaševac, *Umetni obrt*, Zagreb 1926, 84/85.

⁸⁴ J. Belović-Bernađikovska, *Tehnološki rječnik ženskog ručnog rada*, v. Tehnika hrvatskih narodnih ćilima, 156

⁸⁵ F. Nemet, *Torontalski ćilim*, 32.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 55/56.

⁸⁷ Borovszky Dr. Samu, *Torontál Vármegye*, Budapest, 1911, 160, 169, 170.

⁸⁸ F. Nemet, *Torontalski ćilim*, 61.

⁸⁹ Focșă, M., *Scoarțe românești din colectia Muzeului de artă populară al R. S. România*, București 1970, 256-324.

⁹⁰ F. Nemet, *Torontalski ćilim*, 57.

⁹¹ *Ćilim na bašte, carski dvor* (Carpet with a garden, Royal Court), Petrovičić, Srem, 1890, inv. no. 703.

carpets. Design No. 2 is the pattern of a very widespread type of carpet on the territory of Romania in the Morish district of the time⁹². These items are mainly dated about 1900. The carpets are composed of darker tones of dark green, navy blue, green, copper yellow with developed rhomboids, planters, flowers, on a distributed and less perceptible colour division in the background. These carpets were created and made very evenly, so they resembled one another, although the composition is very loose and alterable. Judging from illustrations in literature, such carpets from the territory of Erdely distinguish themselves by their fine weaving, complex composition and subtle colours, and they also date from 1900 or somewhat later. In the vicinity of Zrenjanin, especially in Elemir, a somewhat altered variation was made, but with all the basic characteristics. This confirms the almost same technique of execution of certain, almost identical forms of ornaments.⁹³

Similar ideas on the commercialization of the tradition of folk weaving appeared once again at the period of the start of capitalist production relations in the newly created, but economically backward Yugoslavia. Evaluating the existing possibilities, many experts found that the folklore wealth of the village could form a good basis for entry onto the world market. A year after the exhibition in Paris in 1925, on the basis of an analysis of the existing situation on the territory of all the united countries, Jaša Gargaševac published a study entitled *Artistic Production*, where he devoted special attention also to the weaving, that is, carpetweaving industry.⁹⁴ In this work he mentions the originality of folk ornamentation applied on various kinds of home weaving, and among others, he emphasizes the beauty of the carpets that are made in the lower Banat, Srem and Bačka regions.⁹⁵ He also presents the most well known factory at that time, the modern Carpetweaving Factory Lazar Dundjerski A.D. in Veliki Bečkerek. In a short history, he also uses the data that can be found in the study of Nemeth Ferenc, *The Torontal Carpets*, and Sonja Vulešević in her master's thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1994, which links this factory with the creative designs of Dragutin Inkiostri-Medenjak.⁹⁶

Besides the factory in Veliki Bečkerek, J. Gargaševac also mentions the Weaving Workshop in Sombor. He also writes that Heinrich Eidenmuller in Stari Vrbas weaves heavy carpets in all colours and designs in a width of more than two metres.⁹⁷

Similar things were going on also in other parts of the then Yugoslavia and Europe. During the 1930s, in the town of Split, engineer Kamilo Tončić was very esteemed for his efforts at preserving the traditions of folk handicrafts, with the possibility of financial gain.⁹⁸ The context of these ideas was economic turmoil and activities organized at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century throughout Europe. The circumstances of the time in this region can be understood through an interpretation of the biographical data on Dragutin Inkiostri-Medenjak, whose designs followed the trends of fashion in Europe and which were especially accepted in the circles of the Austro-Hungarian administration. Inkiostri brought a certain kind of enthusiasm to Serbia, and even more his experience acquired in different settings. Namely, even the neo-national style, that is, folklorism in the shaping of modern products, and later the so-called Secession movement in Europe, appeared mainly as local, national variations. In this way, about 1900, by the application of national features in Serbia, there was a tendency to revive medieval Serbian traditions in art, while in Croatia more dominant were ideas on the introduction of folklore elements into the modern aesthetics of man's environment and household objects, which are defined as folklorism today. At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, with an emphasis on the national question and ethics, inspired by the ideas of Ruskin and Morris, numerous art societies were founded. This was especially manifested in the Serbian ethnic region, where the notion of an independent Serbia was a continuous impulse for the raising of the Slavic question, just as in the case of the Serbs in Austria-Hungary.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the climate was favourable for the introducing of traditional technologies in European market trends. The villages were visited by agents of commercial companies in a search for profitable business deals,

⁹² F. Nemeth, *Torontalski ćilim*, 59.

⁹³ Our example 40, inv. no. 8516 and Cat.154, the carpet from The Banat Museum, Temišvar: M. Maluckov, *Ćilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini*, 269.

⁹⁴ J. Gargaševac, *Umjetni obrt*, Zagreb 1926.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* ..., 146/147

⁹⁶ F. Nemeth, *Torontalski ćilim*, Novi Sad, 1995, 50; S. Vulešević, *Dragutin Inkiostri-Medenjak* (manuscript).

⁹⁷ J. Gargaševac, *Umjetni obrt*, 148.

⁹⁸ *Naša narodna umjetnost*, Split 1931.

⁹⁹ S. Vulešević, *Dragutin Inkiostri-Medenjak*, manuscript catalogue of the exhibition

so it seemed to be a God given business to make money out of the traditional textiles skills of the Serbian peasant women. Among the first ideas was the production of carpets. Judging from data from that time, this idea was not an original one, nor was it applied exclusively in specific communities at the time. By the end of the 19th century, it was current in many regions on the territory of Austria-Hungary. The idea took root in those communities where folk carpetweaving was already developed and praised at exhibitions and fairs of cottage industry. The idea of adapting traditional models of textiles to modern needs, in the case of carpets, also meant the introduction of broad looms and along with this the organized training of village women weavers. Since in traditional weaving in Vojvodina, the vertical carpet weaving loom was unknown, though it could weave standard dimensions of carpets, it was not possible to organize production in the conditions available in the homes. On the other hand, it was not a case of acquiring unknown labour processes, rather, on the contrary, the initiators invested a certain capital relying completely on local potentials. The solution was in the change of the width of the old-fashioned loom, so that traditional skills could be applied to a new product. The old-fashioned loom was adapted so that the horizontal parts of its construction and work area, including the connectives between the supports and the working parts, were lengthened so that the warp for the entire width of the carpet could be introduced and worked on.

During the second half of the 19th century, the widening of the horizontal loom, took place first in some areas around the well known centres, where home cottage weaving was already advanced. Weaving schools were opened where skilful home weavers were given additional modern training. As part of this project, the state financed the making of a 100 new broad looms, which were distributed to weaving workshops opened in a number of villages in the Middle Banat region, which were headed by the graduated students of the weaving schools. They spread knowledge of the technique of weaving on new devices for work. Since the modern weaving production was based on the principles of traditional weaving, the already skilled village weavers very quickly and easily trained for work. The instructresses themselves often were able to add to their own knowledge with the help of the peasant women in their homes in order to fulfil, more efficiently, the requirements of the investors.

The introduction of broad looms began in areas around the well known carpetweaving centres (Stapar in the Bačka region, Kumane, Melenci, Elemir in the Banat region). The fashion then spread out to neighbouring and other areas thus affecting the advancement of carpet weaving, so that today, only a careful analysis can distinguish with certainty the older phases of development of the ornamentation from elements of modernized compositions. The traces of the semi-handicraft production of carpets introduced at the time can also be found in some Serbian villages in the Romanian part of the Banat region.¹⁰⁰

In the mind of today's interviewees, in those villages where semi-professional carpet weaving developed, the loom implied primarily the broad carpet weaving loom. Although in their homes there were often, more or less worn old carpets of two halves, inherited from previous generations. They were passed over without much attention. They considered them obsolete from long ago, and they did not consider their products carpets in today's sense of the word. By carpet, they considered and took as part of their own tradition, the one woven in one piece on the broad loom.

Created in the process of modernization of the production of carpets, the broad carpetweaving loom at first served primarily for the training of village weavers for hired labour. It was organized by the authorities and by weaving schools, that is, by societies for cottage industry. These new looms made it possible to make flowered carpets cheaply, since such carpets were in demand at the time. These new carpets later also claimed domestic tastes, and in the following decades they completely claimed the Vojvodina region. In the collections of Vojvodina museums, there are few examples made in the early phases of the introduction of the broad loom. According to the dated items from Stapar and Kumane, the year 1900 can be taken as the time when the broad loom was already certainly in use. In the museums, there are quite a few carpets woven on broad looms, which were made between 1900 and 1910.¹⁰¹ Since such carpets, as a rule, were not woven in the home, the documentation on their origin is scarce. Family memories and elements of history mainly refer to the nature of the family investment in the carpet as part of a daughter's dowry. The woman weaver is emphasized if she was

¹⁰⁰ For this information I am thankful to Dr. M. Maluckov.

¹⁰¹ When carpets were acquired, the advantage was given to the oldest preserved ones from the phase of the so-called true folk carpet weaving.

a member of the family, or if she was reputed for her work, which would increase the value of the carpet. The heirs most often name whose property the carpet was and that it was ordered in Stapar, that is, in the nearby village where many women weavers wove carpets as additional production.

The acquisition and use of broad looms was to a large extent connected with those communities where carpetweaving was a form of additional production. As time went by, under the influence of carpetweaving centres, the use of these specialized carpetweaving looms spread to other communities as well. The parallel development of nearly the same type of workshop carpetweaving in centres in the Bačka and Banat regions, caused certain changes in real home carpetweaving in the communities which were under their influence in Bačka, as well as in Banat. According to the general features of carpetweaving in certain regions, the present day situation indicates that in the mean time two development trends were formed, whose traces exist to this very day. Along a series of specific characteristics within the basic type of composing the floral ornamentation, in some variants there are also directly mutual connections, when an identical pattern is found woven on two carpets, just as was a lately researched item from Kumane, identical with an item from Stapar found in the Ethnological Collection of the Museum of Vojvodina (Photograph 57). In regard to the devices for car-



57 Mara Zokić, with a cream coloured carpet, Kumane, 1994.

petweaving, there are also two development trends, finally leading to two different variants of the broad loom on which carpets are still woven sporadically, according to the latest information to this very day, still only in Stapar and Kumane. In the Stapar variation of the broad loom, the basic construction has been preserved with all the working parts in their original functions, but the entire device has been inforced by mountings, while the tightening of the warp is with the aid of chains and an iron tightening device (Photograph 58), (Photograph 59), (Photograph 60).

At one time, in the production of carpets in Stapar, for the efficient work of two women weavers in one household, it was necessary for them to be assisted by other members of the family as well. The best weavers made carpets for sale only on broad looms. Many others wove carpets mainly for the needs of their household and a narrow circle of close relatives. In such cases, the devices for weaving implied a set of looms



58 *Milka Nagulov at a loom with metal tightening devices, Stapar, 1994*

which consisted of one pair of supports and two corresponding complete transverse parts. From the transverse connectives and working parts from this set a narrow or a broad loom could be mounted, depending on needs. According to data from the 1950s, in Bačko Gradište, outside the carpetweaving centres, only one woman possessed a broad loom for the weaving of carpets.¹⁰² She sometimes wove for others, but in the lack of orders, she rented out the loom to others to weave for themselves. The loom was taken to the home of the renter and mounted there. For this occasion, one bed was usually taken out of the room and the loom put in its place. In certain communities it was possible to borrow almost all the broad working parts for weaving carpets, except for the broad reeds, since such reeds were rare and valuable. They could be damaged when they



59 *Detail: Iron mountings of the front beam and front tightening device*



60 *Older type of front tightening device*

¹⁰² According to the testimony of Ljubica Klaić, her mother Krista Rajić, from Bačko Gradište was the only one in the village who possessed a broad loom for weaving at the time.

were borrowed, so their owners lent them unwillingly. There was a way for two narrow reeds for the loom to be joined together and tied together so that the warp unwound evenly and for the trace of this joining not to left on the woven carpet.

In Kumane, the loom underwent important alterations in construction and function. The construction solution was degraded with time, and gained the character of a frame and support, while certain elements of its functioning were solved separately. In this, it is evident that the simplest solutions were reverted to at the expense of putting in immeasurably more time and effort.¹⁰³ The variant in Kumane is without the frames, the warp is beaten in by hand, like working on the vertical loom, with additional evening out with an iron comb or fork from time to time. Since the warp was not compacted by the pulling of the frame on the beam, the frame lost its function. It became useless, and its mass and heavy form hampered the tension of the warp threads, which made the work of the weaver more difficult and reduced the quality of the fabric. All this was reflected on the overall construction of the loom, since the frame was completely excluded from the loom. The present level that the transformation of the mechanism has reached is the abandoning of the moving of the warp during weaving. Instead, the bunches of threads of the crossed warp are tightened, and firmly tied to the back beam. In this way, after weaving each ten centimetres, each individual bunch of threads if untied, the warp is moved and tightened and tied again (Photograph 61), (Photograph 62). On the basis of drawings of looms which are certainly known to derive from the Elemir workshop¹⁰⁴, the differences between domestic variants of the broad loom can be perceived, as they were developed in the Vojvodina region and the workshop ones which were introduced by way of weaving schools organized by Hungarian authorities, and which were later adapted to domestic weaving processes.¹⁰⁵

As far as the influence on true home carpetweaving, the sudden development of the modern carpet in workshop carpetweaving was crucial and marked the end of the old fashioned carpet woven on the home loom in two halves. For this reason, today, the notion of a carpet is a semi-handicraft piece of work made to order or for sale. It is the work of the most deft, most prominent women weavers on special looms, who have specialized in weaving as their additional labour. For the interpretation of the development of carpetweaving in Vojvodina, the example of Stapar is the most representative, which is reflected well in the examples of carpetweaving terminology used in Stapar. As a consequence of the growing importance of this carpetweaving centre, there was a specific development in local carpet production, which was accompanied with the change in the meaning of the word carpet. At present, this word is linked to a high quality carpet product, produced as a semi-handicraft item, ordered and made for sale. The decorative piece is woven as a whole as a tapestry weave ornamental symmetrically centred composition. It is the work of the most qualified weavers on special, broad looms. This change, especially in carpetweaving in Stapar, has led to another lexical and essential change. The development of the traditional carpet in the Vojvodina region ended with the separation of a more modest type of cover for less formal purposes, under the name *čilimac* (small carpet, bedspread). It is made for home use by copying the oldest models of carpets, which have been preserved due to this less formal use, for the everyday covering of beds. The type of carpet coverlet with a striped ornamentation has lasted among the Serbs since the medieval *šarenica*, taking on various forms as it developed. In Vojvodina, during the first half of the 20th century, a variant of a lighter decorative coverlet, woven in a combination of wool and cotton, has taken on, in a certain way, the function of the carpet. It is known under various names: *prekrivač*, *prostirač*, *ponjavica*, *čaršav* (coverlet, bedsheet, rug, spread). It is woven with one face, in a technique which is more complicated to execute, but the use of material is less by half than for the making of a carpet. The essence of this transformation is the transition from old-fashioned double thread techniques of weaving, characteristic of village carpetweaving, to the more advanced types of multiple thread weaving, such as handicraft and manufacture weaving.

By their ornamentation, they imitate fully the figural compositions of carpets. In the typology of bedspreads, among carpet products, this type of spread has a special place. It is widespread especially in those

¹⁰³ Which indicates the non-commercial nature of the activity.

¹⁰⁴ F. Nemeth, *Torontalski čilim...*, 90/91.

¹⁰⁵ S. Subotić, *O našim narodnim tkaninama*, vol. 227, 65.

regions where the development of the traditional carpets has stopped, though there is still a need for ornamental expression under the influence of carpets, whose development has been continued. In this way, there is a situation, that the overall current fashion and choice of ornamental compositions is dictated by two existing centres of carpetweaving in Vojvodina.



61 Verica Češjarova at a loom without frames, Kumane, 1998.



62 Tightening of the warp on the back beam in thread bunches

Description of the traditional process of weaving carpets

(According to the testimony of Milica Volić born Plavšić from Sivac, married into Stapar)

Before the WARPING is done, the necessary length and the number of threads of the future weaving are done, so that in the length the required number of threads would be warped. In the preparation, likewise, an adequate amount of hemp threads are obtained, especially spun for the warp. For this reason it was called *osnova*, foundation (warp). For instance, for a pair of carpets it was necessary to warp 5 metres of length. In more recent times, warp material was bought and the hemp yarn would be wound into bundles. Larger lengths of warp were done on a special cop, reel in the shape of a large cross, which was in fact an enlarged drum winder in winding. For the warping of the carpet, the most often used method, was the simplest, that is, the most archaic one, warping on the ground. On the one side, two pegs are necessary for the cross-threads, and on the other side, one peg (the beginning or end one). In both cases, whether the work was done on the warping reel or on the ground, the warping was begun with the tracing of the route, in such a way that the thread was looped onto the beginning peg, and with it the whole circle of the future warp was made. The bundles, as much as there were for warping one turn, were in separate vessels and from them threads were caught in the hand and drawn along a certain route, along the cop or around the pegs. Concentration is necessary in this work, so one woman usually did it. She possibly needed some help, to hold the tightened threads in which she would carefully tie a small knot, which would later not get caught in the beam or stand out in the fabric. These would be required during the placing of the warp onto the beam—the winding.

The carefully removed warp was fixed onto the back beam and the threads introduced into the harness and reeds. In this process, one woman handed out the threads in order, and another woman took them over. In the end, for the fixing onto the front beam, in order to save warp material, the devices for extending the warp of a traditional shape were used, a rectangular piece of homemade cloth with the loose ends of the warp and the free ends of the warp. The next phase of the preparations for weaving was the placing of a piece of fabric on the long ends of the warp. For the same function in the case of broad looms, there was an iron rod.

On the warp prepared in this way, wool in various colours was woven in, creating a pattern. The pattern samples were most often already woven carpets with popular ornamental compositions. The women weavers gladly tested their skills on the most complicated patterns. According to the data, which we can collect on site today, there is no mention of creating new and original patterns. The taste of the weaver was expressed in the selection or the change of colours. These were usually the changes in the colours of the flowers or some other details, or the change of the colour of the middle and border surface, which created a new colour scheme. Thus, along with the name of the composition, the carpet is also determined by its basic colour. For instance, green surface with pansies, and some of them by only one colour, the freesia carpet. The modernizing of the ornamentation of carpets is considered the reproduction of patterns from factory made bedspreads or from drawings on paper.

The description of the procedure in the weaving of the carpet is given according to the example of a carpet from the dowry of Milica Volić, born Plavšić, ordered and woven for her, in 1904/1905 in Sivac, the village from which she was married into the village of Stapar.

By the variation of the basic ornamental motif—the rose—a floral composition was created and organized into two surfaces: the field, ground or middle and the border. The field is green and the border is dark red.

The pattern has 206 threads in its width; so that 210 threads were warped, the catching of several threads together strengthened the edges. For the weaving of the customary set of two carpets and a tablecloth, the warped length of material was 12 metres (4 times 2 metres for two carpets and 2 times 1.5 metres for the tablecloth and a metre was added for the finishing of the edges). If some material was left over from the warp, smaller pieces were woven off such as seat covers for chairs and the like.

For 210 threads, 7 hanks were warped in a length of 12 metres, so that their threads could later be used, that is, for the reed also of 7 hanks (since one thread was introduced into the heddles and one into the reed). In the warping, 10 spools of the warp were taken, so that 10 threads could be pulled out. The warping was done three times 12 metres in order to obtain one hank, which was repeated seven times, which makes $10 \times 3 \times 7 = 210$.

Since the length is relatively small, the warp was spread on the ground. For this, on one side two pegs were

stuck into the ground, at a distance of 12 metres and a third for the beginning. On this third peg, the beginning of the warp was looped, so that these 10 threads crossed around those two other pegs by hand, 2 by 2, and then everything was returned to the beginning, turned round and once again until the crossings were reached. Here 2 by 2 threads were separated off, and then separated in this way, crossed over (Cf. Photograph 32 of the crossing). For one hank, 3 times 10 threads were warped and in this way up to 7 hanks.

When the material was warped, the beginning and the crossings were tied so that when moved, the warp did not become tangled. It was gathered, woven like a chain and wound around the beam of the loom, usually in the middle of the yard. Women who were professional weavers, had a stand for the beam, where it could be placed so that it functioned with the warp tensioner.

Into the uncut warp, at the end, where the lease rods were, the beam was drawn in and along it, the threads were spread out into the width of the future carpet. Then, across the warp, a piece of reed was placed, in the place where the notch in the back beam was and tightened well and compacted so that the surface became completely even. This was turned round, once or twice and the warp was twisted, and then caught with the warp tensioner. All the rest of the length of the warp was spread out, and the other end was weighed down (the very end of the warp was placed on a staff which was stuck into a forked piece of wood, across the fork there was a plank and it was weighed down with a stone). In this way, the warp was stretched, but it also moved while being wound. The winding was done by the woman sitting at the back beam. While the warp tensioner was loose, she turned the beam several times, and when it stretched, she distributed the threads and evened them out along the lease rods. And so, alternatively, until the end. The lease rods remained on the back beam.

Before the introduction of the threads, the front beam was on the frame of the loom. Two women had to be working, one at the loom, and another behind the threads. The warp was cut so that thread by thread could be drawn first through the heddles, in each catch one thread (Cf. Photographs 41,43 of introduction of the threads), in a double introduction it was in pairs. Then the thread was threaded into the reed, into each slit one thread. The introduced warp was drawn through the heddles and reeds and hand straightened out to the front beam.

Before the tying of the warp itself, a reed was tied to the front beam in the width of the weaving, through the notches on the back beam, in the middle and at the ends, by rags or rope, a hand's length from the back beam itself, so that it could be handled. In the same order, the ends of the warp were tied to the weave rods, catching from below and from above two to three threads, pulling them through, so that they were well stretched: "with blind knots, so as not to become undone, and not sloppily" In the end, the treadles were tied to the heddles for the pairs of threads to open up into a shed.

Before the beginning of the carpet itself, it was woven over several times with bits of rag or a hemp weft and compacted well for the width of the weaving.

For weaving, a total of 9 kilograms of wool was needed (3 kilograms per bundle), dyed according to the pattern (in certain, necessary amounts). The largest amount was prepared for the surface, the ground, in this case, it was a green colour and one of the shades of dark red, a dull dark red, for the border, and much lesser quantities of the other colours for the making of the ornaments (dark green and grass green, yellow, orange, red, dark red, pink, navy blue, light blue, white and black). For the fringes store bought wool was used, in this example, dark red and grass green.

The beginning and the end, where the largest width was in colour, the ground, was woven with a shuttle. In this way, two to three finger widths were woven, after that, the pattern was begun, and afterwards the weaving was done in the units of structure, *iver*, with butterflies of wool. The butterflies are little bunches of wool prepared in various colours for the making of the ornamentation by hand weaving in, by finger, inserting into the double threaded warp. They were made by winding around four fingers, gathered and wound around the middle, so that during weaving the started end could be drawn from the middle. The unit of structure, *iver*, is the length of weaving in one colour which forms the zigzag raster characteristic of weaving in Vojvodina as well. The length varies, just on one carpet, there can be large and small squares, on this example, it varied by ten returns of the weft. When the colour was changed, the weft thread was linked onto the thread of the warp, which belonged to the next colour. When the basic unit of structure (*iver*) was shorter, the fabric was firmer and denser, since the slits characteristic of this variant of tapestry weave were smaller.

In one unit of structure, *iver*, there were as many yarn butterflies as there were colours, that is, changes of

colour along the width of the weaving. The butterfly was led along a certain ornament, so that every ornament in the unit of structure, *iver*, had its own colour. If the colour was repeated several times in the same *iver*, they were separated off and there were separate butterflies for them. When the same colour branched out from the unit of structure, *iver*, to the next level, a new piece of weft was added in the same colour. In such places, the *iver* was also moved according to the ornament, by one or two units of structure. Each element was separated by the basic colour, the foundation.

Thus, according to the pattern, the weaving was done to the end, and at the end of the pattern, several centimetres were added by weaving in by a shuttle in one colour. There are firm claims in the villages that there was no shuttle weaving on the carpets, but that the basic unit structures, *iver*, were woven in by hand, even though it was a matter of the end width of the weaving. After the finishing of half of the carpet, before the next half was begun, a rag bit of fifteen centimetres was woven off, which was later unwoven, in order to form free warp for tying of knotted fringes.

The second half was woven with a change in the direction. A symmetrical pattern was formed, so that when the left and the right halves of the carpet were turned toward each other, they were like in a mirror. When the second half was woven enough so that it could be fixed onto the front beam, the finished half was cut off in order to lighten the load on the beam. Later, the same would be done with the second half, and then the carpet could be put together. The weaver was, naturally, impatient to complete the carpet as soon as possible and to see what her finished work was like.

During the finishing, the cut ends of the warp, were firmly tied, and then these ends, together with the the ends of the weaving, were hidden in the hem, and finally the halves were hemmed with the aid of a sewing needle. The length-wise putting together of the halves was also done by sewing with strong hemp, so that the thread could not be seen. The putting together was front to front, so that the sewing was done through the wool, from one side to the other, they were pulled well together, for the thread not to show through. In this, one had to pay attention that the basic structures of the weaving, *iver*, of certain colours should match up precisely in the pattern. In a carpet woven in two halves, for the pattern to be ideally composed, without the mismatching of the ornaments in the putting together, the sewing had to be careful, *iver* into *iver*.

The woven and sewn together carpet could be decorated with fringes, which was done by linking them on with the aid of a hook. The middle portion of the yarn was pulled through the edge and through this loop both of the ends were pulled through. The fringes could be in two or more colours. If they were in one colour it was usually the predominant colour on the carpet, and if there were several of them, they were usually alternated at certain intervals. In this example, they are alternated each ten centimetres. Store bought yarn was usually used for the fringes, in this case dark red and grass green. The knotted fringes were then evened out to a certain, desired length.



TECHNIQUES OF WEAVING

The basic technique of weaving carpets is tapestry weave done on a horizontal loom by introduction into two harnesses. The skill of weaving was a matter of pride in the traditional culture of the Serbs, and a skilful woman weaver was especially valued. Among the Serbian people, the home weaving of carpets is considered a traditional model, while in certain communities this activity was significant for additional production activity by women. Therefore, Branka Imbronjev from the village of Melenci considers that the neighbouring village of Kumane is a mine of carpets. Mr. Varadinac from Kumane explained this by the fact that the soil in Kumane is poor, so that the villagers tried, in various ways, to earn an income. Among the better ways was the breeding of sheep and linked to this came weaving. The wool they got in this way was used by the women as a resource for the making of woollen fabrics for sale. Among these products, carpets were the most valued.

In carpet weaving in general, there are two basic types of looms for the production of carpets: the vertical and the horizontal. In connection with this there are also differences in the position of the warp threads, so that tapestry weave can be defined in two ways: on the vertical loom, as the technique of making patterns by the horizontal weaving of threads of the warp around a series of vertical threads of the weft by executing the pattern, and on the horizontal loom as the technique of the hand weaving in and through the the longitudinal warp threads, between even and odd.

The term for this weaving is *klečanje* which is an authentic folk term, adopted in expert literature in Serbian to signify the characteristic techniques of making patterns in carpets. Where it is known among the people, the term *klečati* means weaving in by fingers the pattern of a carpet. In addition to *ekavica* dialect variants of the Serbian language, it is also known in its *ijekavica* and *ikavica* dialect variants.¹⁰⁶ The term *kleča* in some villages in the Šumadija region means pattern: among the Dinaric population, settled in north eastern Serbia and the surrounding areas, it means a pattern woven by fingers, while in the Banat region of Vojvodina, *klečke* indicates the geometrical patterns in old-fashioned carpets.¹⁰⁷

The rep woven fabric is smooth, weft-faced, only the weft is visible on its surface. The loose thread of the weft wavers under vertical pressure and in this way the decorative threads are completely covered by the uniform, as a rule undyed threads of the warp. The warp is the inner structure of the fabric, much stronger, well spun, the thread that gives firmness to the fabric. This is a type of weaving which is used for the making of the pattern, in the east for kilims, but also other carpetweaving products made by variations of procedures for the blending of coloured surfaces. In the west, because of its most popular application in the making of tapestries, the technique is known as tapestry weave.

The surface of the carpet is composed of multicoloured surfaces of various forms, smooth because of vertical compacting, but also mildly wavy from the length wise threads of the warp, which by their mass and form stand out as elevations between the passing of the weft through the shed. In the fabric, the threads of the warp and the weft create a net, a constructive interlacing which keeps together these numerous, thickly compacted threads.

The basic form of the weave is weft-faced, purely rep so-called tapestry weave in which the woollen weft in one colour is well beaten into the whole width of the warp (Cf. T. III, 3). This type of weaving was used for the making of the parts in one colour on the carpet, for the mono-coloured strips of the old carpets *šarenica*, as well as for the broad stripes in one colour, when the modified carpet became a form of modest coverlet, parallel with the development of the real carpet in regions under the influence of carpetweaving center. Rep carpetweaving, with the weaving in of the woollen weft from edge to edge is done with a shuttle and in weaving terminology it is known as the basic type of shuttle weaving. This is a weaving which incorporates two different techniques, so that mono-coloured and simple parts are done by shuttle weaving, and parts with patterns by tapestry weave and it had a universal application in the home weaving of carpets. However, in workshop weaving, this type of combined weaving was applied in the Bačka region, while in the villages of the Middle Banat region it was not.

¹⁰⁶ P. Skok, Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskog ili srpskoga jezika, Zagreb 1971, knj. III, 93.

¹⁰⁷ B. Vlačić-Krstić, Tradicionalno čilimarstvo u Srbiji..., 31/32.



63 Weaving on a vertical loom, Novi Sad 2005.

In this, even the larger surfaces in one colour are made by interweaving by fingers, in the same way as parts with complicated multi-coloured patterns. The work is done in such a way that along the width, every ten centimetres, a bunch of the woollen weft is woven in, and then this part is beaten and the weaving is continued in the same manner with the same bunch of wool to the edge. According to the weaving in and beating of the weft, this procedure is close to the weaving of oriental carpets on vertical looms. The difference is in the fact that the odd and even threads of the warp are opened into a shed by treadles, and the weft is woven in at once, along the whole width of the warp. In the case of the oriental type of weaving, the weft is woven around the vertical threads of the warp, which are separated by hand so that a bunch of the woollen weft can be pulled through (Photograph 63).

The decorative weaving technique which in Serbian expert literature is named *kelečanje* (tapestry weave) is the basic technique for creating of the multi-coloured woven surface of the carpet, in carpetweaving in general, as well as in carpet weaving in the Vojvodina region. Although it has been known in this region since prehistorical times, its application in carpetweaving is a

relatively late stage in the development of local weaving activity. Various procedures of interweaving woollen threads of various colours have derived, primarily from a combination of autochthonous weaving experience and the influence of oriental weaving cultures. With time, with the taking over of ornamental forms, there was an indirect mastering of elements of weaving procedures as well. In some cases, the woman weaver would, in copying a certain pattern, consistently imitate the weaving as well, and sometimes the other way around, she would adapt the technique in which she was working. The preserved carpets in the collections of museums, made from the mid 19th to the mid 20th century, will serve as a basis for the analysis and systematization of procedures which appear within the category of tapestry weave.

The basic procedure in the tapestry weave in Vojvodina carpet weaving is the principle of the change of colour around two adjacent threads of the warp, during which each colour is taken back in the same way. The surface of such a fabric is not a unified one. There are slits between the edge threads of the warp in two different colours. Lengthwise, the same colour of the weft is taken along as far as the length of the slit in the bordering of two colours. The length of the slit is called *iver*. If the colour is changed in the next slit, the weaving is continued with wool in a different colour. In the relationship between the length and the width changes, the typical geometrical structure of the coloured surface becomes visible, the structure of the coloured surface on which the ornamentation is based. The basic module is most often a little square. Practically speaking, in order for the fabric to make up a unified network of longitudinal and transversal threads (the warp and the weft), the slit at the interweaving of two different colours is of limited height, and so the change of colours is done by the moving of the colours along the longitudinal, to the side, so that the rhythm of the longitudinal and the transversal change of colours is permanent and creates a slanting and cascading raster. An example in which this principle has been consistently applied is a carpet in which the whole surface is an unending pattern, a rhomboid one, inv. no 2152. In this case, according to the mentioned principle, there is a continuous alternation of several colours in cascading series. In this case, the ornamentation is in keeping with the technique of the procedure, so according to this, the carpet is not an example of the spirit of folk carpetweaving in which additional pattern contents are always present. This type of pattern which can cover the whole surface of the carpet, or some of its specific parts, is well known in the broader geographical region spreading toward the south

east. The endless slanted movement and change of colours, in a 1:1 relationship toward the right, and in the same way toward the left, creates multi-coloured rhomboids, in which the centre is in the shape of a cross in one of the colours (Cf. T. 2.4.).

In carpetweaving in Vojvodna, during the 19th century, the basic way of changing colours along the width of the warp was in the length of one unit of a square, and the basic movement of the lines between the coloured surfaces was a cascading movement in which a right angle is created between the coloured surfaces. This is the case with even the tiniest detail—the square of one colour when the ornamental line is diagonally position against it. Slanting multi-coloured stripes were also executed in this way. In the detail of the little square, in the beginning corner, the colour was continued onto the previous colour, and the slit was longitudinal. With the finishing of the row (*iver*), the colour of that square was transferred to the next row by one width of square to the right. This transition of colour is visible as a link between two other neighbouring colours which are woven in the same way. The links of the iver of these adjacent colours are on the top edges of the squares. In contrasting compositions of colours, this is very visible (Cf. T. 30.5).

This basic principle is developed in various ways, a large number of which have been found in Vojvodina carpets as well. On the principle of the cascading moving of the transition of colours, various effects are created and they are connected with elements of ornamentation such as: lengthwise overlapping stripes, geometrical ornamentation in horizontal stripes, rhomboid shapes. In carpet weaving in Vojvodina, this procedure had a specific application in the finishing of the lengthwise edges of the carpets. In the oldest carpets from Stapar, the peaks at the beginning and the end of weaving were a typical decorative way of finishing the transversal edges of the carpets. They are begun with the counting of the threads of the warp and marking of the place where the peaks will be, and in this the carpet itself, in intervals each with a special butterfly of wool, as a rule, in the same colour. The top of the peak is woven in, and in the next *iver*, a width is added on both sides, three to five rows at most. On the final edge, the peaks are made in the reverse way, starting from the base of the triangles toward the tops. There are differences in the making of the peaks. Sometimes there are few of them on the width of the carpet, but broader and less peaked (Cf. T. 11, 22), and sometimes there are more of them and more peaked (Cf. T. 10. 20.3) In the shaping of the peaks, the usual variant is the one in which a cross in one colour is the central ornament, and around it there are two or three more colours in cascading series. These peaks also end in a cascading edge. In the execution of these peaks, the principle of the moving of the colour is applied, from *iver* to *iver*, half of the width of the square, so that the colour by one half of the square is transferred to the next.

The closed or open broken line in the shape of a border, usually in white, as a contrasting colour, served to emphasize the borders between the surfaces of fields and edges in different colours. On a carpet from Kulpin, inv. no 2195, the lengthwise border line is in the form of a zig-zag stripe, the width of two squares which move by three steps to the right, and then by three steps to the left, alternatively (Cf. T. 29. 7).

The horizontal border stripe is made in the form of a central white shuttle woven stripe with a combination of multi-coloured (white and other colours), horizontal tapestry woven stripes. In three *ivers*, so that the middle one is in one colour and shuttle woven, without slits, and on the edges they are on the principle of tothing, in which the basic colour and the individual squares in different colours are alternated, continuing on the unified shuttle woven portion, but from the other side (Cf. T. 31.5).

One of the ornamental systems of tapestry weave patterns on a striped Stapar carpet (inv. no 1824), made with the technique of tapestry weaving with slits, contains a series of figural patterns of the same type. In this pattern, a total of ten little squares on a mono-coloured surface have variants in shapes, so that different figural representations are achieved (Cf. T. 12: flower, bird, rooster, pony).

In tapestry weaving with slits, for the execution of a more complex, multi-coloured ornamentation, the *iver* is made smaller, especially its width, so that two threads of the warp are the basic measure for cascading movement, and often the colour is changed even by one thread. This is applied when the created pattern approximates the realistic appearance of plants. In this, even though the slits are grouped in a small space, due to the developed and colour shaded ornamentation, the unified weft in a certain colour is maintained and thereby the firm vertical link in the fabric (Cf. T. 37). On such a carpet, there is an uneven distribution of the ornamented surface with the small patterned portions, but also in the large and unified undecorated surfaces. This weaving which follows the continuity of the warp and the weft, gives a stronger structure to

the fabric in relation to the complete change of colour on the raster principle, in which the fabric in some places is on one thread.

As part of the technique of tapestry weave, which is the basic type of technique used in the ornamenting of carpet weaving, several variations developed which are manifested in the manner of the change of colours of the weft along the width, as well as through the systems of composing polychrome surfaces along the width, as well as the lengthwise direction of the weaving. Technically, these variants of interweaving can be grouped primarily according to the manner in which the next colour is linked on, which determines the kind of raster of the weave. The first among them is tapestry weaving with large slits, where the lines of the colours are cascading, constantly changing at angles of 90 degrees. The cascading raster can be different, from the largest to the smallest in size. Such a system is best suited for geometrical ornamentation. The newer of the techniques, with large slits, which are most evident in carpetweaving of the newer development phase, is the hanging of the weft at the beginning of the *iver*. The same interweaving is applied also in the exchange of two neighbouring colours along the vertical, in which the vertical line remains straight, as well as in all the directions of the change of colours. It is most adapted primarily for the weaving of flowers in bouquets of various shades of colour. This does not require the geometrical movement of the lines but can enable the execution of ornaments of various forms. The shortcoming of such a fabric is a great porousness. For this reason, the tendency became to make this element of structure smaller. In the case of quality weaving, since the hemp warp is very firm, and the weaving is closely compacted, the openings are not prominently visible. In the case of older carpet items, made by this variation of technique, the ornamentation is larger. The next very favoured interweaving is the technique, which is commonly known as *sitan zamet* (fine interweaving), tapestry weave with small slits and changes in colour by moving by one thread of the warp, with the compacting in of the weft. This also provides for the fine positioning of the lines of the ornamentation. The least frequent among the important interweavings, especially in carpetweaving in the Banat region, is single dovetailing, the change of two neighbouring colours around the same border thread of the warp, so that the weaving is without slits. Adjacent surfaces in colour are simply linked together in such a way, that thread by thread of different colours are alternatively wound around the same warp thread, making a thick comb like structure. In a way this shadows and enlivens the composition. The lines of change of colour, in the making of shapes, and slanting cascades is knotted just as in tapestry weave with slits, so the structure of the ornamentation is also in *iver*. By varying the technique, various square structures are made, from verticals to large cascading to sharply slanting lines.

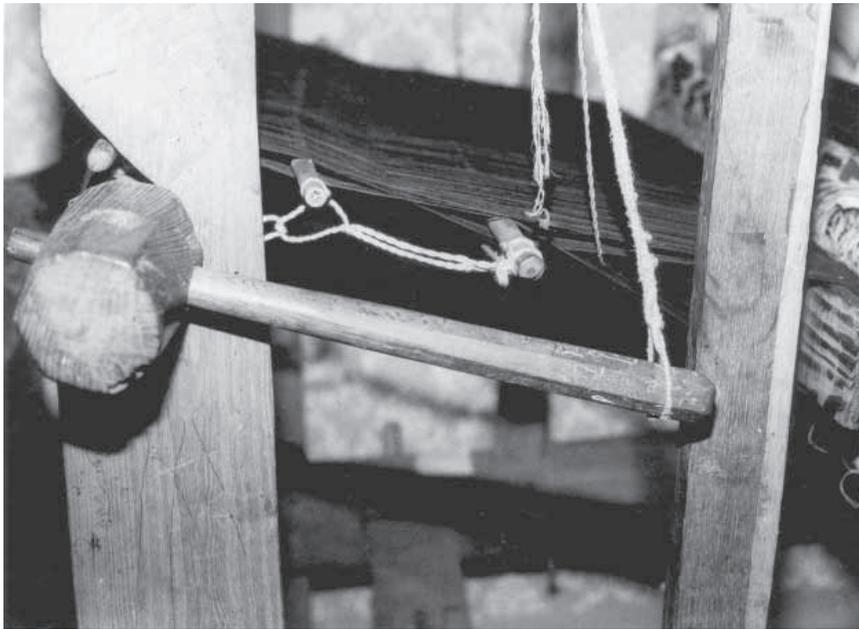
Shuttle weaving

In weaving with wool, shuttle weaving is a technique that is applied extensively, starting from cloth weaving by which light wool sheets are made to bedspreads, mosquito protectors,¹⁰⁸ where the warp and the weft are made of wool, in a 1:1 relationship (Cf. T. III, 1); then compacted over the *rep*, in everyday, mono-coloured and striped rugs and coverlets, where the warp is made of hemp and the weft of very compacted wool (Cf. T. III, 3). Or decorative weaving of which we shall cite here the example of the newer form of more formal bedspread (Cf. T. III, 7-12).

Since shuttle weaving, throughout the entire development of carpetweaving in Vojvodina, had a small role, as far as carpetweaving techniques are concerned, it can only be treated as an additional technique. Shuttle weaving was applied primarily for the making of large surfaces in one colour. In this way, large unadorned portions were woven, in a width and in a lengthwise direction in relation to the warp. This application was characteristic primarily of authentic home weaving, intended for personal needs. In semi-handicrafts weaving, shuttle weaving was avoided in favour of a greater firmness of the fabric. Along its entire surface, the fabric was evenly compacted by hand, combs and forks.

Shuttle weaving, the overweaving of changes of two colours in the form of a comb, was applied in the making the usual introductory stripes, among the mono-coloured and ornamented parts on carpet, with a striped ornamental composition (Cf. T. III, 5,6).

¹⁰⁸ Protection against mosquitoes, a village version of the canopy, in the summer time it was out over the bed in the open hallway.

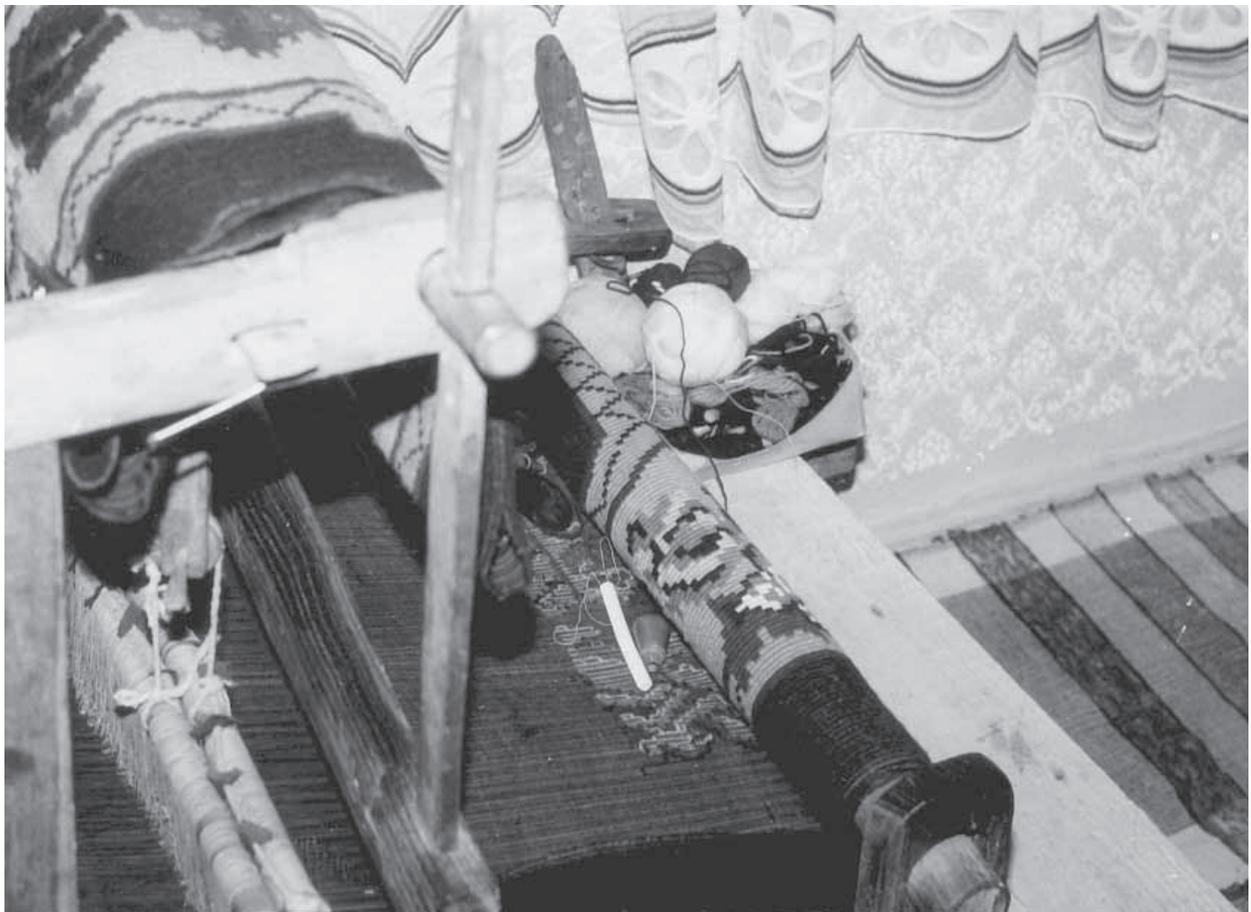


64 *The shed opened by a plank*

Among woollen woven pieces, similar to carpets, it is necessary to determine more closely those which appear under the name of *ponjava*, *ponjavica*, *čaršav*, *prekrivač* (bedspread, sheet, coverlet, blanket). In relation to their function and manner of execution, various variants of these spreads and coverlets for the bed among the Serbs on the territory of Vojvodina, can be defined in two ways: one of them is a daily, practical simple group of shuttle woven woollen fabrics, most often with stripe ornaments executed with the change of

colour of the weft (Cf. T III, 4) and less often in squares, with a warped and overwoven polychromy (Cf. T. III, 2). The warp is primarily made of hemp, as well as of well spun wool, and later of cotton.

Another type of spread was woven by the technique of weaving with a board, which developed particularly in the Bačka region, as a formal bedspread on which a series of functions of the carpet was placed. These types of pieces originated in a newer time, according to testimony collected in field research, some time around 1915.



65 *Weaving of a coverlet, Deronje 1987*

Its development went into supporting the ornamentation of carpets. In keeping with this, there is a complete change in the manner of decoration, in which on the bedspread there is a further development of compositions which imitate the models of workshop carpetweaving. The making of this type of formal fabric rests on a complex technique in which a connection is made between shuttle weaving with a cotton weft with the separation of the threads of the warp by a pressure on the treadles and an additional wool weft, which is woven in, during the opening of the warp threads by an inserted plank (Photograph 64). This technique was known popularly as weaving with board. Among the techniques of folklore weaving, this one is specific by the fact that during weaving on the loom, on the upper side, in front of the eyes of the weaver, there was only the reverse side of the fabric (Photograph 65).

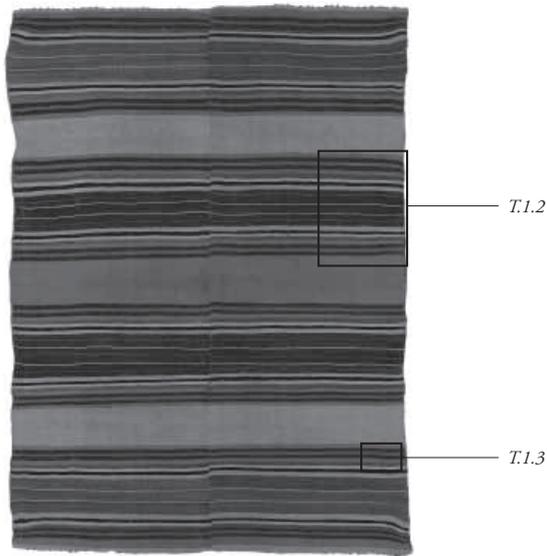
Bedspreads in the technique of weaving with board, were done completely on a cotton warp, with a cotton weft (shuttle weave) which formed the net structure of the fabric. The basic, cloth weave in cotton is applied, and on it, as a base, another woollen weft is woven additionally in colour, creating a multi-coloured decorative surface. When the threads of the warp are opened by the lifting the board into a vertical position, the woollen threads can be woven over, in one colour, or patterns are made in various colours of wool by weaving in by hand. The raster of the fabric and the basic pattern are striped (Cf. T. III, 7-12). These structural stripes are simple, but they can be in a number of combinations of counting of threads of the warp. The structure is positioned according to the system of combining changes by crossing of the warp threads, so that the larger number of these warp threads are covered by woollen weft threads. On the face of the fabric coloured wool is visible for the most part, while the cotton over-weave is visible only as one or two warp threads. By this length-wise ribbed structure of the fabric, by finger weaving according to the given patterns, various compositions are made. These fabrics have one face, and their basic feature is a ribbed structure, on the surfaces in one colour, as well as on the ornamented ones.

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CARPETS OF THE MUSEUM OF VOJVODINA COLLECTION

The application of tapestry weave in carpetweaving in Vojvodina, throughout its entire development is characterized by a variety of weaving techniques and the manner of inserting the colours and their changing in the process of creating the ornamented surface. In all the processes of creating the multi-coloured surface, whether it was a mere taking over of ornamental models by imitating the technique in which the model was made, or the change and adaptation of the technique in situations when it was necessary to solve certain problems of technical execution, the solution was motivated by aesthetic reasons. However, the very choice and adoption of certain types of carpets was, in the beginning, directed mainly toward those which were close to the character of traditional weaving in the Vojvodina region. So, it often happened that the women weavers even in their first attempts created works which by the skill of execution were not behind the models from which they were taken. The first native type of carpet which developed in this region had variations on striped compositions which originated from the striped small rugs. Into various combinations of stripes, larger or smaller decorative forms were woven in the tapestry weave technique identical to the eastern Karamany techniques. This is a double threaded weave in which there are vertical slits between two woven surfaces in different colours which, each for itself, were integrally executed in a compacted rep weave. Since the carpet was the product of the most skilled weavers, most often meant for someone else, the work was motivated by an effort to achieve both an aesthetic and also an enviable technical level of execution. The accepted aesthetic principle and the effort at technical perfection unvoidably led to the creation of stereotypes in the form of the most popular models. In creating for themselves, the village weavers also went after the fashion and worked on current patterns. Still, by including the elements of the personal, through motifs, shapes or colours, these patterns were refashioned with time. Various derived types of composition solutions were created, often of unequal quality, starting from the fineness of the processing of the fibre, the structure of weaving, the choice and coordination of colours. In Vojvodina carpetweaving, the introduction of innovations came gradually. As a rule, small or larger changes were made in a certain known model and the solutions for their execution were found in traditional knowledge. There were also instances of the introduction of certain foreign elements, including the imitation of their technique of execution, which brought in new weaves. In workshop carpetweaving, the criterion was a consistent one, only foreign models were taken over, their manner of execution was taken over completely. With time, in the search for a harmony of given shapes and weaves, new systems of execution also came about. Firstly as something fashionable, altered or innovative patterns were spread and accepted, and then, later, they would be accepted as more modern forms.

The purpose of the specific analysis of representative examples of carpets from the Museum of Vojvodina collection is the identification and classification of the weaves used. The expected result is a valid review of the variants of weaves common within the traditional technical solutions in tapestry weave. In addition to this, there is a detailed description of untypical, unusual procedures registered in the examples in the analyzed collection of carpets from throughout the territory of Vojvodina. The indication of possible analogies, certain examples are included into the context of mutual influences as compared to other carpetweaving regions. In untypical solutions, there are also reflections of the personal skills of weavers in overcoming the problems in the relation of the structure of the fabric and the colour scheme in the ornamentation created. A review of these various and different exceptions and unusual features has been added to the traditional variations of tapestry weave in Vojvodina in order to make the variety of carpetmaking in Vojvodina understandable.

In the first part of this chapter there is an analysis of the application of technical solutions on carpets starting from the ornamental types of continuous pattern, from stripes to very complex centrally symmetrical compositions. From the analyzed content, the choice of tapestry weave figural shapes is formulated in order to represent the characteristic motifs of decorations on carpets. Finally, on the basis of the variety of identified weaves, a typology is derived of all the weaves used in folk carpetmaking among the Serbs in Vojvodina.



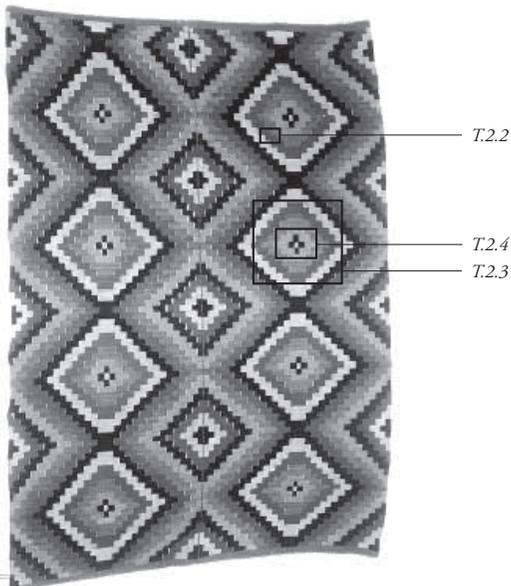
Example 1
CARPET

Uljma (Ferdin, today's Kozjak), about 1875.

Dimensions: 186 x 133 cms.

Inv. no. 4029 (T. 1.1.)

The warp of the carpet is hemp and the weft is made of wool (red, dark blue, green, yellow, white and black). It was woven in two halves by shuttle weaving in stripes, in the rep weft-faced technique, by a firm compacting of the woven loose threads of the weft around the tightened threads of the warp. This is the principle on which gobelin techniques of woven tapestry were also developed. The ornamentation is made with this basic weaving technique, with a change of colours of the woollen weft, which creates the horizontal stripes (T. 1.2). The only small element of advanced decoration procedure are several narrow stripes woven by shuttle, but in two colours, so that thread by thread these two colours alternate and create a vertical pattern similar to a comb or teeth, *zuberici* (T. 1.3). The horizontal stripes (red, dark blue, green, yellow, white and black) of various width, alternate along the length of the carpet's half.



Example 2

RHOMBOID CARPET

Surduk, Srem, second half of the 19th century

Dimensions: 213 x 130 cms.

Inv. no. 2152 (T. 2.1.)

The warp is hemp and the weft of multi-coloured wool (dark red, dark blue, yellow, olive yellow, chestnut) and white cotton. Slits: 6,7 threads of the warp, 18-26 rows of the weft (T. 2.2).¹⁰⁹

The technique of weaving is tapestry weave with slits - *rešme*, executed in the same way over the entire surface of the carpet. In this example the ornamentation is completely executed with a full application of

¹⁰⁹ The count of the number of threads is according to the catalogue of Dr. M. Maluckov, *Ćilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini*.

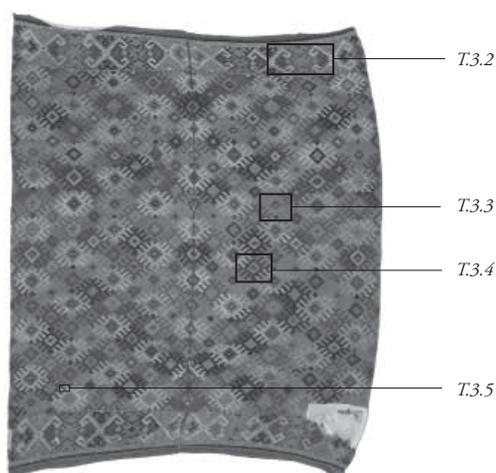
the principle of the technique. On the carpet there is no ornamentation as a specially conceived and stylized content. This ornamental type belongs to the category of the continuous pattern. The motif is a rhomboid, and the basic pattern is a square space with a large rhomboid in the middle axis. The centre of the rhomboid is a small cross, and around it are the cascaded layers of the rhomboid in six colours (T. 2.3.). The carpet was woven in two halves, 66 cms in width. On one half, four rhomboids have been executed on a square surface (on one side a part of the ornamentation has been added due to the length of the carpet). The precisely woven halves have been put together into a unified ornamental surface, whereby, in the middle portion, a third series of rhomboids is formed. On the side edge of the carpet, there are halves of such rhomboids. By the repetition of the pattern by length and width, a continuous surface has been obtained with rhomboids among which there are two with an identical distribution of colours. In the middle, lengthwise, is a series of rhomboids in which darker colours predominate, and on both sides a similar series in which a lighter colour predominates. The play of lighter and darker broken lines, optically reduces the middle darker rhomboids, and enlarges the rhomboids in a lighter colour.

Figurally it is a perfect geometrical stylization with an exceptional dynamics of simple form and colour. On the other hand, in addition to the technical skill of the woman weaver's hand, there is no trace of any variation of technique.

The tapestry weave—double thread weave (by using two heddles) with slits—follows a slanting cascade series in which there is a slanted series in one colour, which is repeated endlessly. The very unit of the square forms the raster of the weave 2:2 cm (T. 2.4.). In the basic square, the number of threads was reduced or increased in the weaving, so that the geometrical pattern would be harmonious and the shapes consistent over the whole surface.

This ornamental type was made often in workshop carpetweaving during the the 19th century, so it gained in popularity and became common even in home weaving in the Vojvodina region. There are two characteristic kinds of execution of this popular composition: through stereotype handicraft workshop weaving and the looser manner of home weaving, characteristic of a certain local community.

The system of endless rhomboid pattern, such as on the carpet inv. no. 2152, was also made in completely different techniques. One such example is a small carpet by Sekuly Hungarians (inv. no. 7570, T. 2.5, T. 2.6.) which is an example of firm workshop weaving in a technique without slits—single dovetailing, seems like stitching in by needle. The second is a light weight coverlet in a rhomboid pattern from Srem (inv. no. 1425, T. 2.7, T. 2.8.), a piled fabric, woven with loops.



Example 3

CARPET

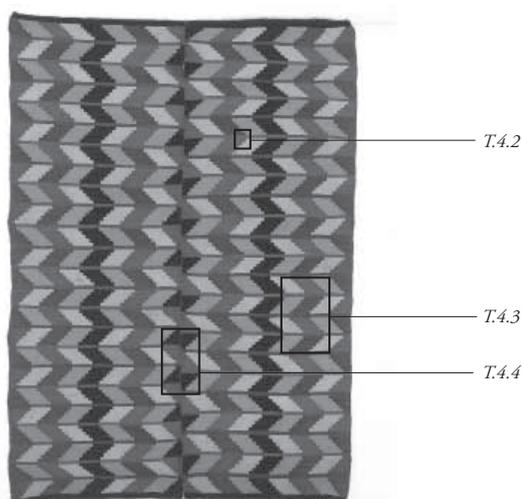
Vršac, Banat, middle of the 19th century.

Dimensions: 160 x 146 cms

Inv. no. 366 (T. 3.1.)

The warp is hemp and the weft is wool (orange yellow, green, dark blue, darker shades of red, black) and white cotton.

The surface of the carpet is filled by an ornamentation with a continuous pattern, and with additional edge stripes on both sides (T. 3.2.). The element which multiplies on all sides, is basically a rhomboid one. In its centre there is a smaller rhomboid from which rays extend on all sides. The rays of the adjacent rhomboids intertwine which develops, to a certain extent, this uniform composition. The rhomboid module is repeated in two variations which differ only in their centre where there is a rectangle or cross element (T. 3.3, T. 3.4.). This ornamentation is enlivened also by contrasting, light and dark colours. Only the variant of jagged tapestry weave with slits has been applied ¹¹⁰ (T. 3.5.).



Example 4

STRIPED SMALL CARPET, ČILIMAC

Kumane, Banat, about 1900.

Dimensions: 183 x 131 cms

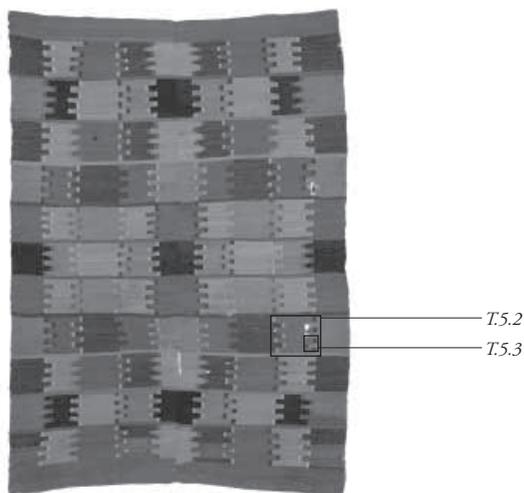
Inv. no. 1143 (T. 4.1.)

The warp is hemp, the weft wool (red, olive-green, yellow, navy blue, white). By its weaving technique, it can be included in the basic carpet weaving group—tapestry weave with slits. It has been executed very uniformly, with a regular structure of weaving. The proportion is 4 threads of the warp and 10 to 14 rows of the weft per square (T. 4.2.). The cascading series are in colours which change both by length and by width. The simple ornament has been made by the making of zig-zag colour stripes according to the basic principle of the technique itself. The very alternation of colours creates the effect of the pattern. The breaking of the stripe is only indicated by the thin horizontal line which is continued, so that it is in a contrasting colour to the stripe that it crosses (T. 4.3.).

¹¹⁰ The raster is uniform with a change of colour by 2 threads of the warp and 6-8 rows of the weft.

By the character of its ornamental composition, it is included in the continuous pattern type. The narrow, horizontal sides were begun by shuttle weave so that it is a mono-coloured, pure shuttle woven stripe, and on the edges the ornamentation ends in a light coloured stripe. Along the edges there are remaining red and green peaks.

In one half, there is a horizontal cascading of seven stripes in various colours. At the joining of the two halves in the central portion, which has not been done perfectly, a dark raster of weaving has formed, which suits this composition of colours (T. 4.4.). Where the colours are changed there is also a slanting, cascading linking of five squares to the right, and further on, the same number of squares returns to the left. The additional ornament is only the horizontal stripe which changes the colour in keeping with the colours of the vertical stripes.



Example 5

STRIPED CARPET

Sakule, Banat, about 1860.

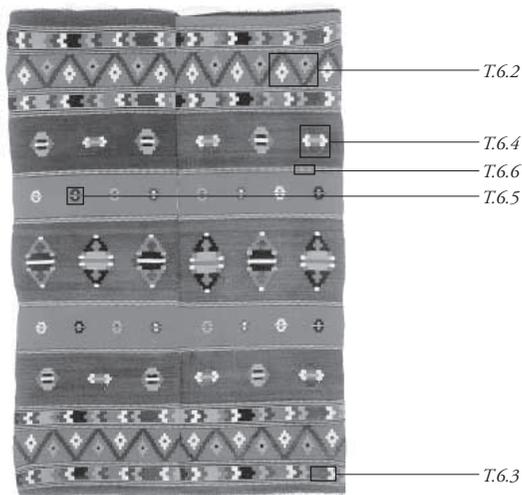
Dimensions: 184 x 129 cms

Inv. no. 6418 (T. 5.1.)

The warp is hemp, the weft is loosely spun wool (red, green, yellow, blue) and white cotton.

It belongs to a group of carpets whose ornamentation, that is, polychromy of simple coloured surfaces has been made within the possibilities of tapestry weave with slits. The technical, as well as the ornamental principle is based on the change of colours along the horizontal, as well as, along the vertical line. The basic organization of the pattern are horizontal stripes. The striped organization is uniform in structure. The multi-coloured rectangles are dovetailed into one another in the form of combs, teeth (T. 5.2.). The alteration of colours in the vertical series forms vertical stripes. The course of the changes of colours and slits is in the direction of the warp, by the dovetailing of two colours, with one tooth left and right, by 4 threads of the warp and 14-18 rows of the weft. As in more complex examples, such as inv. no. 1900 here, as well, the leading of one square of a third colour in the places of dovetailing is an important element of technical execution. (T. 5.3.).

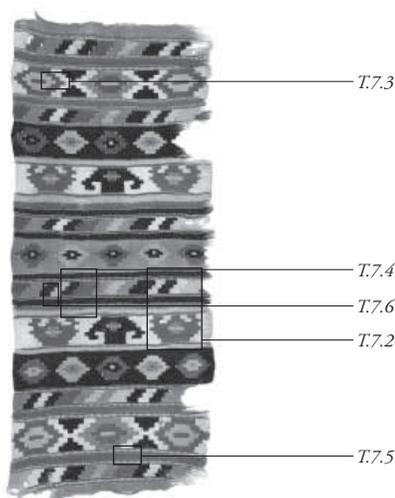
Horizontally, between these tapestry woven stripes, the weaving is reinforced with borderline, narrow, shuttle woven stripes. The outer edges are straight so that visually the carpet has a frame, horizontally it is mono-coloured, while along the vertical edge the colours alternate in the width of the stripes of ornamental structure of the carpet. In one half, within the frame, there are three toothed, comblike ornaments which, by joining down the middle, form an additional middle one which is somewhat broader.



Example 6
 SMALL CARPET
 Stapar, Bačka, 1890.
 Dimensions: 185 x 122 cms
 Inv. no. 9348 (T. 6.1.)

The piece is of relatively small dimensions, woven in two halves on a narrow loom, by a combination of tapestry and shuttle weaving. According to the notion of the villagers of Stapar, *čilimac* is something between a real carpet and a small formal bedspread or rug. The warp is of hemp and the weft of wool (red, green, copper yellow, purple, navy blue).

The exhibit was made by an alternation of various tapestry weave stripes in a composition where there is a lengthwise symmetry, but the primary one is the horizontal axis of the symmetry. In the stripes there are several different forms of geometrical ornaments. These are primarily three types of rhomboids of different sizes and complexities. Among them, characteristic is the garland in the broadest stripe. In this stripe, two by two squares move to form a broken line which represents a stylization of a plant stalk with one simple rhomboid flower in the spaces in between (T. 6.2.). On the patterns of the ornamentation, several sizes of square can be distinguished: a wedge of four threads of the warp (T. 6.3.); the alternation of colours in three threads of the warp, the middle rhomboid (T. 6.4.); the alternation in two threads of the warp (T. 6.5.). The initial stripe between the tapestry woven ones is a multi-coloured stripe executed by shuttle weaving. The narrow stripes are in one or two colours (T. 6.6.).

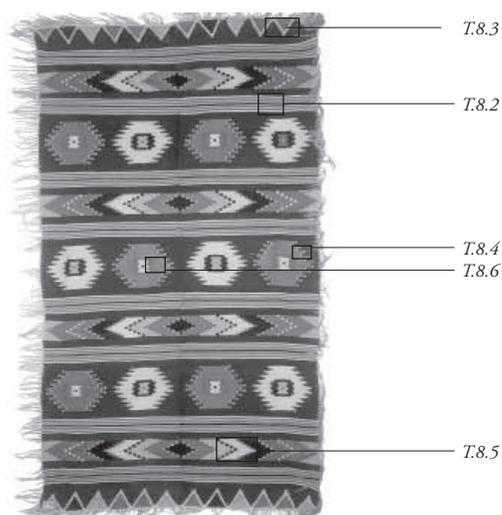


Example 7
 STRIPED CARPET
 Sombor, around 1850.
 Dimensions: 143 x 60 cms
 Inv. no. 867 (T. 7.1.)

This half of a carpet was donated to the Museum of Vojvodina by Nera Vukadinović, and the other half to the Sombor City Museum. The warp is of hemp, the weft is of wool (olive-green, dark blue, reddish yellow) and white cotton.

In the striped composition there is a symmetrically positioned geometrical ornamentation in a series in relation to the horizontal middle of the carpet. On both sides, there are various, relatively narrow stripes with a tapestry woven pattern. The two most distinctive features are the rhomboids and especially the stylized vessel

in dark colours against the white background of the stripe (T. 7.2.). The colours are natural, tastefully selected. This is an example of developed ornamentation characteristic of the mid 19th century, executed, for the most part, by the classical technique of slanted cascading tapestry weave with slits (T. 7.3.) in combination with shuttle weaving. In addition to shuttle weaving in one colour, there are also various patterns made by varying multicoloured dovetailed stripes (T. 7.4.; T. 7.5.) of the classic stripe type. The light coloured threads of the warp are noticeable through the finely spun weft (T. 7.6.).



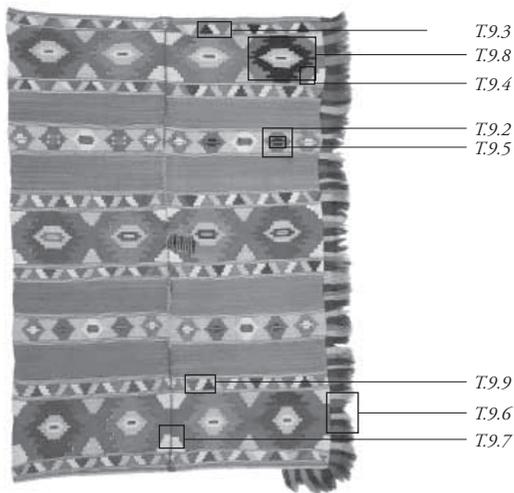
Example 8
STRIPED CARPET
 Bočar, Banat, 1880.
 Dimensions: 233 x 131 cms
 Inv. no. 1900 (T. 8.1.)

The warp is of hemp, and the weft is of wool (dark cherry red, blue, white, dark yellow, copper yellow, red and black). The basic colour of the carpet is dark cherry red. The wool is of medium thickness.

The entire composition consists of broad tapestry woven stripes, with hexagons in a series and narrower stripes with various peaks with the tops pointing toward the outer edges. On the entire surface the same horizontal multi-coloured separating stripe is repeated and it is executed by shuttle weaving. In the middle there is a somewhat broader black stripe and on the sides copper yellow, blue, yellow, red, white ones (T.8.2.).

The techniques of tapestry and shuttle weaving have been applied, On the whole surface there is an alternation of two types of tapestry woven stripes. The ornament of tapestry woven peaks defines the part of the frame along the horizontal edges (T.8.3.). The ornamentation and the execution are in keeping with the principles of the tapestry weaving technique. There is, however, also an untypical detail in the technique of execution which figurally, enlivens this simple and uniform composition. This is the finishing of all the edges of the patterns between the lines of the ornament forms and the background in the form of one unit square in one of the selection of colours on the carpet. In the ray-like dovetailing of two colours, the third one is contrasting to both and is made as a square on their vertical connection. The moving of one colour to the left or to the right, it is led from the same small butterfly of weft. Its transition is visible as one thread between two bordering colours along the horizontal. A rustic procedure achieves a firmness of the fabric, and the visual effect depends on the total appearance, and not on the detail of the introduction of the thread. The insistence on such a weave was conditioned by the special leading of the third colour between the basic fusing of the colour of the background and the pattern. The carried over threads are visible, from square to square, and between colours in rep weave (T.8.4.).

Of the squares of the raster, the larger ones are in the narrow tapestry weave stripe and the edge peaks: 12 x 12 mms, or 4 threads of the warp : 10 rows of the weft (T.8.5.), and the smaller ones in the large rayed hexagons, 8 x 8 mms, 3 or 2 threads of the warp x 8 rows of the weft (T.8.6.).



Example 9

STRIPED CARPET

Novo Miloševo, Banat, 1865.

Dimensions: 195 x 130 cms

Inv. no. 2852 (T.9.1.)

The warp is of hemp and the weft is of wool (olive-green, dark red, copper yellow, brick colour, black and light coloured undyed wool). The weaving is in two threads, by tapestry and shuttle weave.

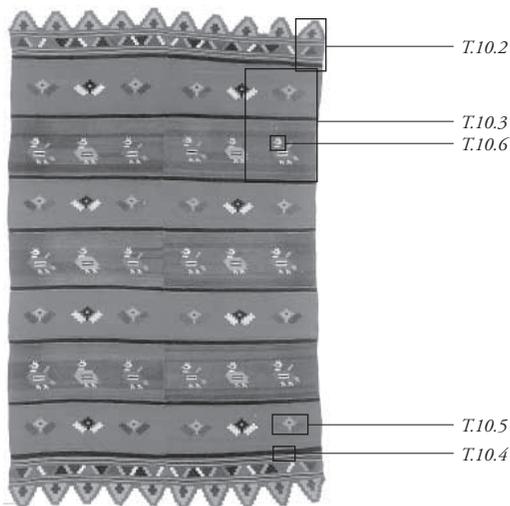
The ornamentation is a striped one in combination with decorative tapestry weave and one coloured shuttle weave stripe. The composition is symmetrical by its width as well as by its length. In the middle there is a broad tapestry weave stripe edged by two narrow ones which are also in tapestry weave but also simple in ornamentation. On both sides, from the middle to the transverse edges, there is one shuttle weave green stripe and also one tapestry weave one with rhomboid ornaments, just as the central one, but narrower and simpler (T.9.2.). Everywhere on the connections of these surfaces, there are complex narrow multi-coloured stripes consisting of two or three passes of the shuttle. In these combinations, in some places, there are also discrete stripes in two colours in the same technique, but alternatively, one pass of the shuttle in two colours, so that in the gobelin rep there are alternating ribs in two colours (T.9.3.). At both ends there is repetition: after the olive green shuttle weave stripe, the central tapestry weave pattern.

The carpet is made out of two halves. By the structure of the weaving, which is done with fine well spun wool, with a firm compacting of the rows of the weft, this carpet is a large patterned one. This means that the alternating of the patterns and the nuancing of the shapes is in larger surface units. However, it has large and smaller squares. Not only are the squares of different size, but in the structure of the rectangular raster there are both larger and small rectangles.

As far as the manner of weaving is concerned, this example, which was made in 1865, undoubtedly possesses all the features of real home weaving for one's own needs. The patterns used were the usual ones, or the carpet may have been copied from an older one, without much insistence on the uniform structure of the fabric, and even less on the strictly given selection of colours. In the tapestry woven stripes, there are departures in the application of certain colours. So, in one corner there is a large rhomboid which is black instead of brick colour. The wool was dyed unevenly, which is visible even though the carpet, on the whole, has faded to a great extent.

On all the tapestry woven surfaces, the rhomboid, triangular and linear shapes have been done with a slanted cascading flow, although without a unified rhythm in the cascading structure of the tapestry weave with slits (T.9.4.). Likewise, only in accents, in the central surfaces in the rhomboid, the polychromy was introduced in two ways: the introduction of squares in a contrasting colour between the prongs of the crosslike portion, and the other way, transversal, also in a contrasting colour, thin stripes of only two threads were introduced (T.9.5.). A specific of the northern Banat region are also the fringes that were created by the unweaving of the woven piece of fabric (T.9.6.). The putting together of the two halves is classical, by needle stitching (T.9.7.) just as in carpet inv. no. 3745, and as in many others.

The main ornament of the supporting decorative stripe is a large rhomboid in many colours, repeated twice more in a series on one half of the carpet (T.9.8.). In this detail black appears, although the corresponding combination is in all the large rhomboids, there is a terracota colour throughout. Surrounding the rhomboids there is dark red, and a broad, also rhomboid, frame. Around them there are white and yellow triangular interspaces. Further on, there is a repetition of a narrow cascading tapestry weave stripe (T.9.9.). The weaver, with small butterflies of wool, lead the pattern along the length, according to a pattern, in a cascading course, with slits of 1.5 to 2 cms. When inserting the accent of one colour in the shape of a little square, the wool was not tied, but only compacted well (cf. T.9.5.).



Example 10
 SMALL CARPET
 Stapar, Bačka, 1905.
 Dimensions: 184 x 115 cms
 Inv. no. 9457 (T.10.1.)

This type of carpet, in Stapar carpet weaving, is included among less formal coverlets, and this example has a simple ornamentation, but is exceptionally well executed technically, firm and uniform in structure. In the collection there are such, mostly small carpets, which were often made even by the most famous women weavers either for themselves, or for others, but in their solid technique. From this example, it is evident that a master technique has been used to weave a small carpet for everyday use, from remnants of wool which is of unequal thickness and unevenly dyed.

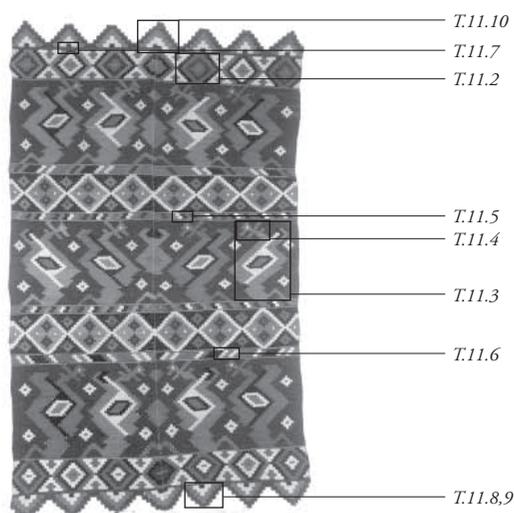
The warp is of hemp and the weft of wool (red, green, dark blue, dark yellow) and white cotton.

Such small carpets were, as rule, woven in two halves, often in shuttle weave in addition to tapestry weave, which is the main technique of its execution. The horizontal edges have decorative peaks done in tapestry weave. In the peak, there is a little cross, and along the edge, there is a decorative tapestry woven stripe of slanted, cascading and triangular surfaces (T.10.2.). As part of the decorations along the edge, there are shuttle woven stripes in various colours. The stripes with tapestry weave ornaments alternate: on the red ones there are stylized flowers with two leaves, and on the green stripes there is a zoomorphic ornament, some feathered fowl (T.10.3.). Between the main ornamented stripes, there are dark blue relaxes (pauses), with the white colour woven into them, so that this stripe is framed with dark blue and white ribbed stripes (T.10.4.).

Although these tapestry weave figural shapes are of relatively small dimensions, on stripes in one colour which are the basic decoration of the carpet, the major portion of the weaving is done by shuttle.

In the technique of execution, in this example especially interesting are the two ways in which the colours are intertwined in the colouring of the ornaments. The little flower is made by tapestry weave with slits. For this stylization the procedure used is the basic cascading movement of the line of the colour of the ornament, and if the slant is made by one square, the connection between the tops is visible. This is a double weave of the thread in the colour in which it is executed, caught between the other two colours on one thread. Only in one place is linking on applied, on the stem of the flower where one of the colours with only one connection is by linking on (T.10.5.). This detail would determine the level of development of this carpet cover as being from a relatively late period, when in Stapar carpet weaving, the variation of tapestry weave with linking on was applied extensively.

As opposed to this execution, the ornament resembling a hen is executed in such a way that the stylized form approaches, to a certain degree, the natural shape, by hand weaving into two or even one thread of the warp (T.10.6.). The line is cascading so that this is the usual type of tapestry weave, but the figure is, by these small moves, drawn on the background.



Example 11

CARPET

Šid, Srem, 1865.

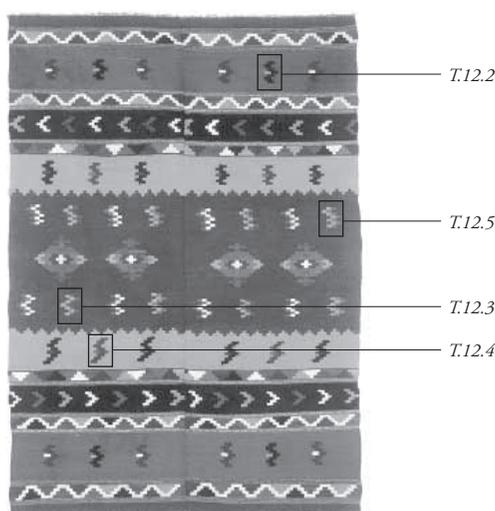
Dimensions: 186 x 112 cms

Inv. no. 1455 (T.11.1.)

The ornamentation of the entire surface of the carpet consists of horizontal tapestry weave stripes. The carpet has tapestry weave peaks. The weave starts and ends on the tips of the peaks. The geometrical ornamentation is in friezes and in the form of a dynamic striped composition which consists of friezes of rhomboids *kola* (T.11.2.). The wide stripe is a large stylization (T.11.3.; T.11.4.), while the narrow intertwined stripes are with a geometrical tapestry weave pattern on two (T.11.5.) or three levels (T.11.6.).

The technique of execution is tapestry weave with slits. The weft is wool of medium thickness, woven evenly and firmly compacted in the overweaving. The unified surfaces of gobelin weave are smooth with vertical rep rows. The additional technique is shuttle weaving, simply done in the form of narrow horizontal stripes or comb like ornaments (T.11.7.).

After the finishing of the tips of the peaks and the cutting of the warp, the hemp ends are visible, on the back of the carpet, pulled into the edge material (T.11.8.; T.11.9.). The halves of the carpet are put together by simple slanting stitch. On this example, it is possible that this was an attempt at conservation (T.11.10.).



Example 12

CARPET

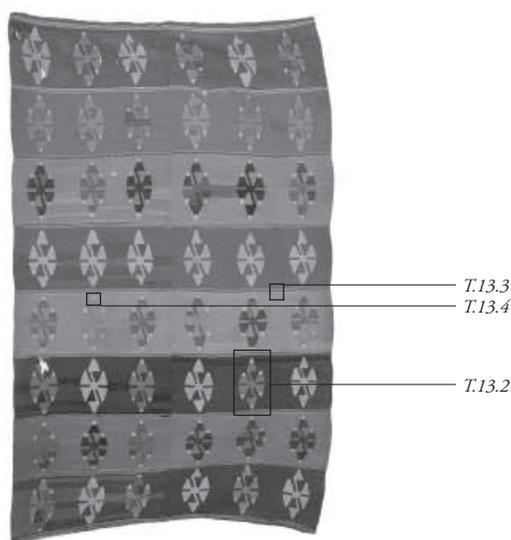
Stapar, Bačka

Dimensions: 180 x 125 cms

Inv. no. 1824 (T.12.1)

This next example of a warm, well preserved colour scheme is a striped carpet. The middle stripe is the widest one, olive-green, and symmetrical to it are also broad stripes in yellow and red. This striped order is filled with variously tapestry woven friezes or individual tapestry woven patterns. What is characteristic here is the presence of figural ornamentation, in fact, very simple shapes in geometrical form, in one of two colours, with broader backgrounds in one colour (green, yellow, red). They have been made by a variation of the order of the number of squares, so that the pattern represents a flower (T.12.2.), bird (T.12.3.), rooster (T.12.4.), pony (T.12.5.).

In the following series of examples, the variant of tapestry weave with slits is primarily represented where the change of colour by one thread along a slant achieves, figurally, an almost ideal slant. The application of this weave appears in the broader carpet weaving region, but was especially developed in the eastern Balkans. This is the omnipresent weave used in the peripheral regions of oriental carpet weaving.



Example 13

STRIPED CARPET

Sakule, Banat, around 1860.

Dimensions: 205 x 126 cms

Inv. no 6417 (T. 13.1.)

The warp is of hemp and the weft is of wool (blue, green, red, maroon, orange, yellow, dark red, white).

The local name *pirotski ćilim* (carpet from Pirot) clearly indicates the origin of the influence reflected in carpet weaving in the Banat region. One pattern is repeated in a series on the whole surface of the carpet, on horizontal stripes in various colours, forming not only horizontal, but also vertical series. This tapestry weave pattern resembles the *vraško kolo* (the devil's circle) of Pirot carpets (T. 13.2). There is, therefore, no trace of a freely developed composition, but only an adapted borrowed motif repeated in series. The novelty of the introduction of this model increased significantly with the selection of models for market production of this type of simple coverlet.

The technique is uniform, on the whole surface there is an alternation of narrow stripes woven by shuttle (T. 13.3). The overlapping stripes are in groups of three thin stripes in contrasting colours. The tapestry weave is small, the slants by one thread of the warp, and since there is a proportionally large number of weft threads, up to ten, the slant of the line is quite steep, and the shape of the ornament elongated (T. 13.4).

There is a similar item in the possession of the National Museum in Pančevo (Etnologija, inv. no. 120), but under the name of *kopite* (hoof prints). It was woven by Draga Mojse in Crepaja in 1903. The only difference is in the miniature rhomboids inserted in the transition of the colours of the horizontal stripes. An analogy to these examples is a carpet from the Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade made in Markovac near Velika Plana in 1920.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ M. Draškić, *Ćilimarstvo u Srbiji* (exhibition catalogue), Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, Beograd 1967, illustration no. 10.

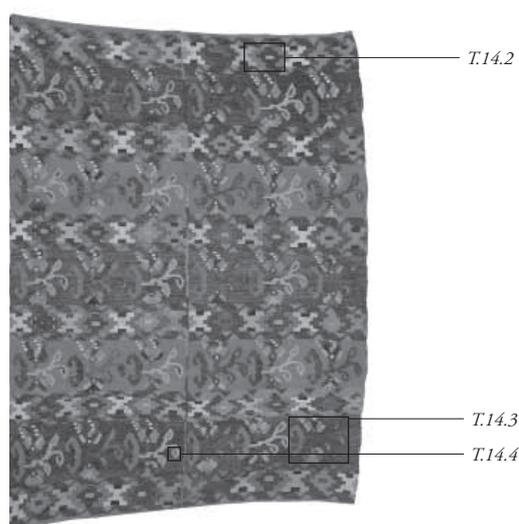
Example 14

STRIPED CARPET

Jablanka, Banat, around 1880.

Dimensions: 197 x 143 cms

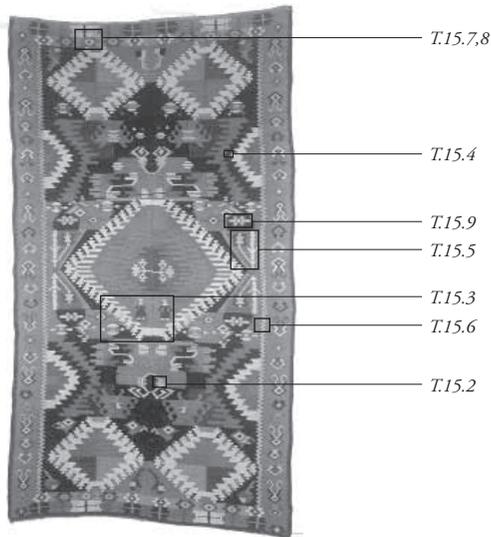
Inv. no. 1069 (T. 14.1)



This example is a good illustration of the domestic carpetweaving of the south eastern Banat region which is, as a rule, characterized by a mixture of different and heterogeneous elements. Toward the end of the 19th century, there was a predominating fashion of realistic floral ornamentation, and in this type of simple carpets there is an introduction of completely modern ornamentation which is done in the already known technique of tapestry weave with small slits.

From the central horizontal floral stripe on a blue background, there are also symmetrical ones in red and then again in blue, on both sides. As a separating stripe between two floral friezes, a tapestry weave stripe is repeated, purely geometrical in pattern. In this stripe there is a rhomboid or *kolob*, and according to the words of the owner of this carpet, there are *kolanca* (small rhomboids circles)¹¹². It was made in the basic technique of tapestry weave with long slits, a cascading line of colour change (T. 14.2.). In the broader stripe, with leaves and flowers, the tapestry weave has minimal slits, where the colours alternate by one thread of the warp. This type of overweave was cultivated in workshop carpetweaving of the edge space of oriental carpetweaving of the Romelia, Wallachia and Balkan regions. It developed as compatible with complex, scaled down, geometrical carpet ornamentation, and as such it even reached the village weavers. In the prevailing conditions, it was the best means for imitating natural floral shapes (T. 14.3.; T. 14.4.).

¹¹² V. Milutinović bought the carpet on its original site and is the author of the main card inv. no. 1069.



Example 15
 CARPET WITH RHOMBOIDS, *calendar*
 Golubinci (Popinci)
 Dimensions: 242 x 131 cms
 Inv. no. 367 (T. 15.1)

The warp is made of hemp, and the weft is made of wool (dark red, black, navy blue, olive green, lighter and darker violet, light red skin colour, dark red, yellow-green, white). The larger part of the white surfaces has been woven in thicker white cotton.¹¹³

In this complex composition, the colours are in hushed and darker tones. In the composition, besides the large main ornamental wholes, in the form of one central and four corner rhomboids, there are numerous individual ornaments included on the side, the striped surface and inside the rhomboids. There is the motif of a flower in numerous variations, for the most part, stylized elements of plant life, as well as geometrical element, broken lines and combs (T. 15.2) and various complex geometrical surfaces. An innovative detail is the twice repeated symmetrically positioned female figure, *lutka* (doll)¹¹⁴ in a violet dress (T. 15.3).

The basic woven surface is thick, rep gobelin weave with wool of medium thickness. The tapestry weave is with small slits (T.15.4).¹¹⁵ The lines where the colours are changed are slanted. The moving of the colour by one thread along the slant, has created, visually, almost regular slants. The slanted, toothed lines of the ornaments are expressive of the shaping of the patterns, and not of the raster conditioned by the technique of execution. The slits are most often in the shape of minute squares, since the basic unit of the weave along the vertical is one thread of the warp and 4 or more rows of the weft. In the slanted lines of the ornament, there is a compacting of the threads of the warp, two colours on one thread and the dovetailing of one into the other (T.15.5). What is characteristic of this example is also the execution of the overlapping stripe in the form of a broken (zig-zag) line. The zig-zaging of the white stripe is executed on eight warp threads (T.15.6).

Unusual for folk carpetweaving is that such a striking piece rich in ornamentation was made with one face (T.15.7.); For the firmness of the fabric, on the back, threads of one colour were carried from pattern to pattern, which makes the back seem untidy (T.15.8.). After the execution of this abundance of patterns, numerous such threads remained, as well as visible ends with simple tying of knots. I would say that this piece was conceived by someone learned and with authority, but who did not know the systems of folk carpetweaving, so that elements were combined, which it were not possible to execute correctly in the traditional manner. The known history and the fame of this carpet in its time, explain this to a certain extent.¹¹⁶ It was shown, in 1910, at the exhibition in Prague.¹¹⁷

This striped carpet has a cross like field in the middle stripe, in which the medallion is in the form of a hexagon. The ornamentation is floral. In the edge stripes there is a flower garland, two patterns of flowers which are different in colour and shape and which alternate. Among them there is an addition in the form

¹¹³ Cotton has a rougher and more rustic effect than woollen surfaces. The wool is spun with one thread while the cotton thread is twisted from several already spun threads, which is visible on the woven surface.

¹¹⁴ Used for magical rituals for fertility.

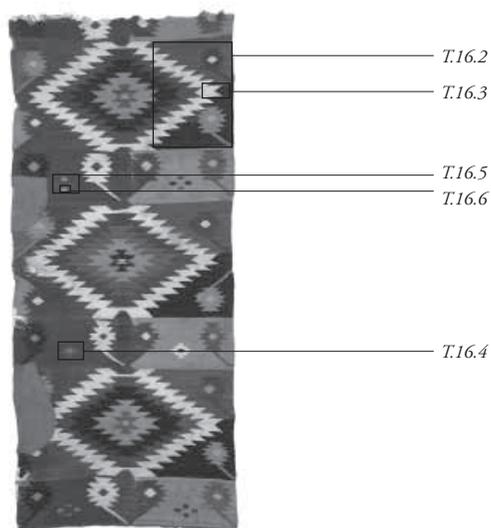
¹¹⁵ The square does not appear as the basis of the raster in the structure of the coloured surfaces either.

¹¹⁶ On the origin of this example, cf. M.S. Filipović, *Beleške o ćilimarstvu u Vojvodini*, Zbornik Matice srpske, Serija Društvenih nauka, 4, Novi Sad 1952, 159.

¹¹⁷ Data from the main card of the item in the Ethnological collection, inv. no. 367.

resembling the figure of a doll just as in the pattern from the catalogue of Pirot carpetweaving (cf. T. X). In the central stripe, outside the medallion, in the corners there are stylized flowers, and in the hexagon a stylized little wreath.

The technique of execution is tapestry weave, except for the shuttle weaving on the edge parts. The change of colours itself has been executed along vertical slits between adjacent colours (T.15.9).



Example 16

CARPET

Deč-Petrovčić, Srem, 1850.

One half, dimensions: 162 x 77 cms.

Inv no. 565 (T. 16.1.)

This preserved half is from a carpet which was used to cover a table. The warp is hemp, the weft, exceptionally finely spun, first class wool and cotton.

According to ornamentation, colour scheme and technique of weaving, it is characteristic of the famed domestic carpetweaving industry of Srem during the 19th century. The technique of execution is a thick compacting of the warp and tapestry weaving with minimal slits. The drawing is clear and the stylized lines are sharp and toothed by small alterations of colour, even to the minimum of 3 interweaves of the weft along 1 thread of the warp. This made it possible to achieve mild slants as well as sharp breaks (T. 16.2.; T. 16.3.). To a lesser extent, only on the details, such as the small rhomboid (T. 16.4.) or rectangles in a group (T. 16.5; T. 16.6.), was tapestry weave in a variation with large slits applied.

The next group of examples is representative of a type of modest ornamentation in good taste which is primarily the characteristic of carpetweaving in Banat. In this type of pattern, there is a reflection of the presence of trained draftsmen who directed the development of ornamentation by stylized shapes and adapted colour schemes.¹¹⁸ The examples of carpets presented in literature show that this variation of tapestry weaving with slits reduced to a minimum, was very widespread throughout the whole carpetweaving region.¹¹⁹ Analogues to the composition, such as are found in the collections of all the museums of the Vojvodina Banat region, can be found also in the broader region, especially in the neighbouring carpetweaving regions of Romania.¹²⁰

Examples 17-20: Carpets from Pivnice, Bačka inv. no. 1003 (T. 17.1.); Gospodjinci, also Bačka, inv. no. 1007; (T. 18.1.); Novo Miloševo, Banat from 1865, inv. no. 2851, (T. 19.1.); and from Sivac, Bačka, dating from 1890, inv. no. 790, (T. 20.1.).

In the collections of museums throughout Vojvodina, there is a certain number of examples which differ from others, at first sight by the type of ornamentation, but what is more important here, they differ significantly from others by their technique of execution. The reduced geometrical ornamentation is in a hushed composition of colours, most often dark red and olive green, made in the tapestry weave technique with slits. Several variants of this technique have been applied, but what predominates is tapestry weave with small weaves

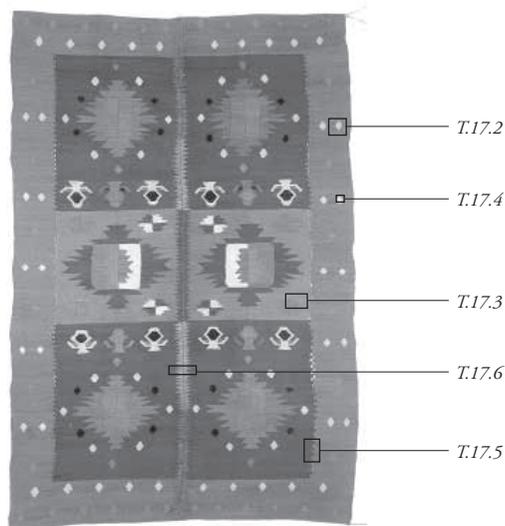
¹¹⁸ Nemeth, F. *Torontalski ćilim*, 32.

¹¹⁹ Hull, A. and Luczyuc-Wuhowska, J., *Kilim The Complete Guide*, London 2000.

¹²⁰ M. Foça, *Scoarțe Românești, din colecția Muzeului de artă populară al R.S. România, București 1970, Lista Ilustrațiilor*, 276.

where the slits are reduced to a minimum. These carpets were made during the second half of the 19th century, spreading from the famous carpetweaving workshops of the Middle Banat and under their influence.¹²¹ The examples that are found in present day collections also come from developed semi-craft carpetweaving. These examples exhibit common primary features, while the secondary ones, such as the treatment of the edges and the technique of joining of the halves, indicate their belonging to a narrower local community.

These are, for instance, edge fringes for northern Banat (T. 19.2.), and peaks on the narrower sides of the carpets, for northern Bačka (T. 20.2.), or the manner of decorative joining by wool in contrasting colours for the southern (cf. T. 17.1.), that is, middle and northern Bačka (T. 20. 3.).



Example 17

CARPET

Pivnice, Bačka.

Dimensions: 186 x 126 cms.

Inv. no. 1003 (T. 17.1.)

It is distinct in this group primarily by its clear and extremely reduced enlarged striped composition with pronounced ornamental motifs. The basic element is a representation of the Serbian coat of arms as the basis of national symbolism. The remaining ornamentation is spread out, and what stands out are the symmetrically positioned series of vessels in relation to the central stripe (cf. T. XI). Another common element applied as a filler to the mono-coloured empty spaces in the broad stripes and frame are small circular forms *bobe*, *tufne* (dots, polka dots) (T. 17.2). Judging by ornamentation, this was an exceptionally formal table cloth or decorative carpet. This is a rare example of this kind of composition where a characteristic floral shape is missing, which otherwise marked the ornamental stripe in question, and this a geometrical flower or double flower with spiked petals which represents the basic solution for the representation of floral ornamentation in such carpets (T. 19.3.). The basic technique of execution of the ornamental shapes is a variation of the tapestry weave with small slits and the change of colours by moving by one thread of the warp (T. 17.3.; T. 17.4.). Of the other variations of weave also important is the variation of tapestry weaving with large slits (T. 17.5.). Illustrative here is also the decorative joining of the halves of the carpet done in the technique of satin stitch (T. 17.6.).

¹²¹ M. Foça, *Scoarțe Românești*, din colecția Muzeului de artă populară al R.S. România, 276.

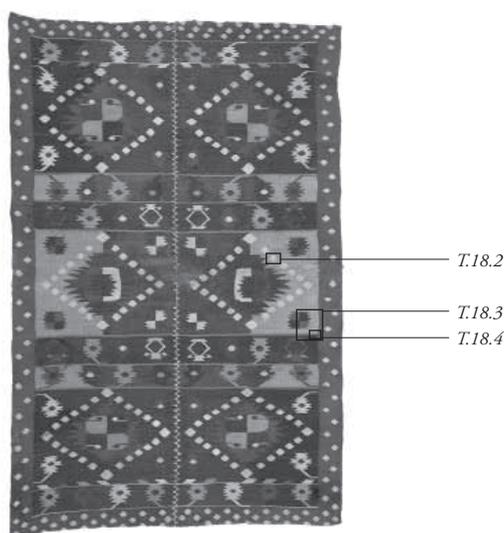
Example 18

CARPET

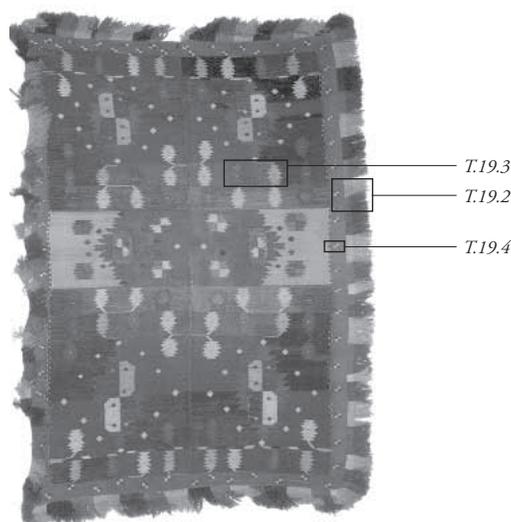
Gospodjinci, Bačka.

Dimensions: 196 x 127 cms.

Inv. no. 1007 (T. 18.1.)



This carpet is characteristic firstly by the basic feature of this group of carpets, the type of striped composition with large rhomboids as the supporting ornaments, as well as by the characteristic inventory of ornaments. In the broad stripe is the Serbian coat of arms with a rhomboid frame, and in the narrow stripes there are stylized representations of flowers, that is, vessels. Such representations of vessels for eating or drinking are frequent and noted details whose presence indicates the indirect influence of oriental carpetmaking. These representations are explained by associations with objects which the woman weaver used daily, but also as relicts of distant oriental origin, the representation of vessels linked to ritual washing¹²² (cf. T XI). The dot is an important detail here which functions to fill out the large surfaces in one colour (T. 18.2.). This carpet with a fine structure is mainly done by an application of a variation of tapestry weave with minimal slits, and in its details also by the stitching in on the verticals joining the fields and the edge (T. 18.3.; T. 18.4). In the same detail, the application of shuttle weave can also be seen in the stripe, where two neighbouring colours join.



Example 19

CARPET

Novo Miloševo, Banat, 1865.

Dimensions: 190 x 132 cms

Inv. no. 2851 (T. 19.1.)

A carpet in shades of warm reds, browns, dark yellows and greens, with a a border and characteristic woollen fringe illustrates the Banat rural variation of the type. The specific feature of old-fashioned Banat woollen fringes is that they were created by the unweaving of the warp threads of shuttle woven woollen fabric, so that the freed ends of the weft hang as a fringe (T. 19.2.). As in the previous example, the tapestry woven figural ornamentation has been executed primarily in the variation with minimal slits (T. 19.3.), and the colour changes and straight lines in the variation of tapestry weave with long slits, with two variants, (T. 19.4.).

¹²² Šobić, J., Pirotsko ćilimarstvo i njegove veze sa istoka, Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, vol. XXI, Beograd 1958, 31.

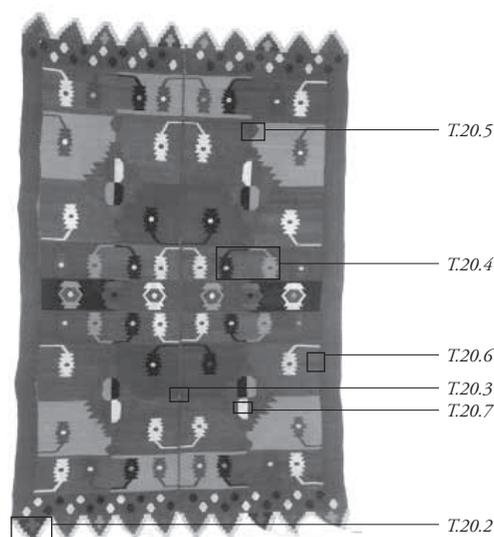
Example 20

CARPET

Sivac (vicinity of Stapar), 1890.

Dimensions: 191 x 121 cms

Inv. no. 790 (T. 20.1.)



By its texture, colours, that is, as an overall impression, a variation typical for Stapar carpetweaving of the time. Since it was made in the later phase of development of this type, it has a weaker organization of the structure of the rhomboid medallions, while its floral structure is stronger, although it is stylized in the manner characteristic of this group (T. 20.4.). The overall Stapar impression is especially added onto by the peaks on the horizontal edges, which also defines this piece clearly as a formal cover for a table. By the variation of quite different weaves of tapestry weaving, the impression of uniformity is created here, starting from slants with minimal slits (T. 20.5.), pointed dovetailing (T. 20.6.) and thick dovetailing of two colours around one thread (T. 20.7.).

On the basis of the presented series of examples, it becomes evident that there was a much more uniform approach to the ornamentation of the surface of carpets. With a certain observation of the given patterns, various weaves are combined on the same carpet, but much more uniformly than is usually the case with folk carpetmaking in general. There are examples of different approaches to the technical solution of identical lines of ornamentation, but in very different ways. For instance, in some cases, such as inv. no. 2851, in the connection of colours in straight lines and in the case of larger patterns, tapestry weaving with long slits was applied (Cf. T. 19.4.). Furthermore, in inv. no. 790, in such shapes, pointed dovetailing of two colours was applied (Cf. T. 20.6.), which in the case of inv. no. 1007, was done in verticals by the thick dovetailing of two or three threads, similar to stitching in (Cf. T. 18.3.).

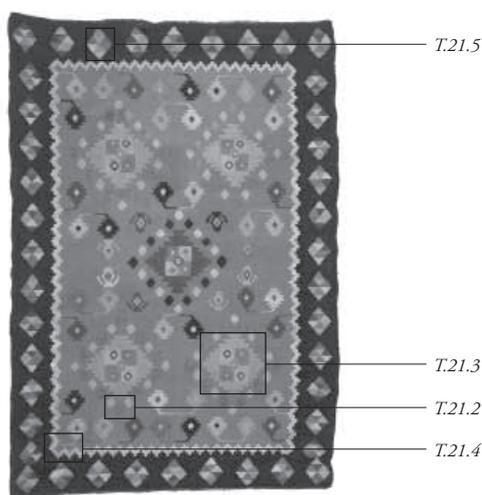
This practice of combining different and diverse variants of techniques for the execution of structured ornamental compositions was much more pronounced in the other development aspects of folk carpetweaving during the latter half of the 19th century. It coincided with the time of the organized efforts of the artists of the time for the revival and the stylistic improvement of folk carpetmaking in the villages. There was a systematic collection of original woven pieces from village homes, so that the artists could review them and analyze them in order to profile forms and colour schemes. This was explained by the motivation that, instead of the naive and disharmonious, they could bring in a modern style into new home cottage industry carpetweaving, which would make products desired by European bourgeois circles. In the first decades of this activity in the villages, it became clear that it was necessary to modulate the given ornamentation with the technique of weaving. Like the makers of drafts for tapestries, the artists imagined models and drew patterns for carpets which would then be made by weavers looking at techniques from models of carpets that were created in carpetweaving workshops. Trained village women weavers continued to make created patterns under the control of women instructors trained for introducing new models into production. Often times, already during primary work in the workshops from which they came, several different variations of techniques were combined together in order to achieve certain lines of ornamentation, that is, the desired shapes. However, changes were also made on occasions when the young weavers brought the new fashion into their own communities, where the new patterns were made in conditions at home. When technical problems arose, they were aided by their mothers and grandmothers based on their traditional experience. In this way, the momentary problem of the execution of the given form was bridged over, but in this way different elements

of technique were also introduced, old, well known ones among the people, but outside the new system, so that they stand out from the created whole.

In studying the forms of carpets initiated by European models of folklorism, the appearance of such carpets is found in the second half of the 19th century, on the territory of today's Romanian and Serbian Banat, as well as in the Bačka region. In this period, there was a parallel development of workshop carpetweaving in several local communities which all gravitated toward today's Zrenjanin, as a centre of the carpet industry. In our collection there is a developed artistic form which dates from around 1900. Such are the examples in the Ethnological collection of the Museum of Vojvodina inv. no. 8516, from Elemir and inv. no. 10731, from Novi Sad. In her analysis, M. Maluckov¹²³, adds to these examples also a very similar one from an estate close to Timisoara, claiming that carpets of this type were used in town and country estate circles, and that they were made by direct order in Elemir, or under its influence. This group of models certainly crystallized in the creative sections of carpetweaving workshops in Banat, around the year 1900.

Following the development this phase of carpetweaving in Vojvodina, along the inspirations from Middle Banat, by the end of the century, a new variation of carpetweaving technique with slits appeared, which was developed for the making of realistic shapes of floral ornamentation with blooming bouquets of flowers and floral wreaths. The technique of tapestry weaving with slits and with the tying of the weft of adjacent colours at the end, that is, the beginning of the pattern unit, is today the only technique that is applied in what remains of carpetweaving in Vojvodina.

Just as it was the case in the introduction of older experience in newer models, after a certain period of time it happened that some stylized details were introduced into floral carpets, on which in two dimensions, but quite clearly, the floral theme was presented. Such an example is 26, a carpet from Orlovat, which was intended as a gift to the church.



Example 21

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka.

Dimensions: 190 x 126 cms

Inv. no. 903 (T. 21.1.)

By its ornamentation and applied type of tapestry weave, this example is connected with the group of carpets with rhomboids (examples 17-20). It is dated at the same time, around 1870. Because of its dating, and since it was woven on the broad loom, this example deserves special attention. Namely, according to known data on the introduction of the broad looms, this dating is not sustainable. It is most probable that the carpet was made in the late 19th century, on a broad loom, but as a copy of the pattern of an older carpet. In the early phase of the development of new, workshop carpetmaking, according to completely different patterns, with realistically depicted floral wreaths, a woman may have wanted a carpet with a clear stylized composition such as this example. From the older patterns which were made on broad looms, there are developed compositions

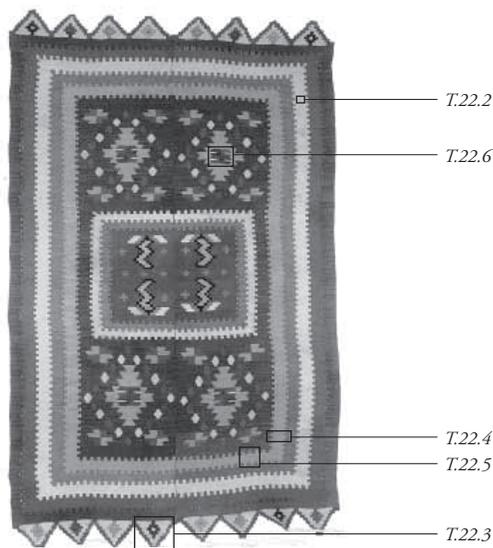
¹²³ Maluckov, M., *Čilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodina*, 269, from the Museum of Banat, Timisoara.

with a rich stylized ornamentation. In such a case, the dating can go only as early as the 1880s, which is the time broad looms were introduced.¹²⁴

The warp is finely spun hemp, and the weft is wool, soft and shiny, of good quality, although some colours were more thickly spun than others, which is visible on the woven surface. Due to the uneven quality of the execution, but also the texture of the fabric that is compacted, on the surface there are waves of ribbed structure of the rep weave around the rhomboid shaped ornaments (T. 21.2.). The colour of the field is red, the borders are black while the ribbed border is white. The patterns are dark red, light green, blue and yellow in colour.

The carpet was woven on a broad loom in the tapestry weave technique with slits. In the execution of the ornamentation in the field the change of colour is along the vertical by one thread of the warp. There are also lines where the change of two colours on a slant is small and cascading, only on one thread of the warp, on which two adjacent colours are changed. The weft was compacted into peaks which dovetail into one another. The characteristic line of the creation of the ornamentation is a fine, cascading slant by which simple rhomboids are created, as well as the characteristics with slanting, toothed edges. Such an example is the main ornament, the rhomboid, made by combining two mentioned ways: slants with minimal slits and dovetailing (T. 21.3.). The second border edge is a zig-zag with a alteration of three threads of the warp (T. 21.4.). In the outer border, there are complex multicoloured rhomboids, which are made by slanted, cascading movement by two threads of the warp (T. 21.5.). Of the ornamental forms, the representation of the coat of arms in the rhomboid frame, the polka dots or dots, flowers and little vases is the same as the inventory of decorations which connect this carpet to the previously analyzed group.

This example belongs to the group of lighter carpets, among other things because of the fine texture of most of the material used. Unavoidably, also, the carpet became worn with usage and time.



Example 22

CARPET

Serbian freedom, Stapar, 1860.

Dimensions: 197 x 122 cms

Inv.no. 2126 (T. 22.1.)

An older ornamentation of carpet weaving in Vojvodina, girdled with bands, which, according to the words of the interviewee, symbolizes the fettered Serbian nationhood of the time.¹²⁵

The technique is a refined gobelin (T. 22.2), the wool is very fine, thickly compacted. Several variants of tapestry weave have been applied: in some parts there are up to 26 threads of the warp. The applied technique is tapestry weave with slits, slanting and cascading, and this is done in the ornamentation of the central portion and on the peaks (T. 22.3.). In some parts, the tapestry weave is with slits and in horizontal and the straight verticals, there is dovetailing. This is the case with the borders (T. 22.4, T. 22.5.). Further on, there is also a move by one tooth in the slant, as well as, real dovetailing around one thread (T. 22.6.). Variations of this type of composition appear in the Northern Banat, in the Bačka and Srem regions. The colour scheme is very varied, from the subtle, traditional to contrasting relations of intense aniline colours.

¹²⁴ According to information obtained when the carpet inv. no. 9623, was acquired in Stapar. The pattern of the carpet is a flower garden, with butterflies and bees, such as were up to then woven in two halves, but this one was woven in one piece.

¹²⁵ The application of this symbolic ornamentation was characteristic of the second half of the 19th century in Vojvodina, both in northern Bačka, as well as southern Banat.

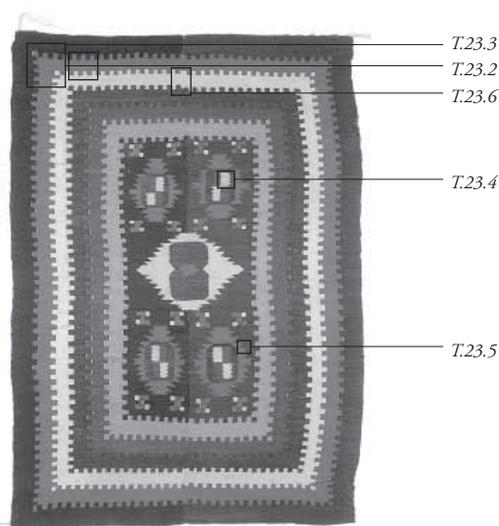
Example 23

CARPET

Serbian freedom, Pavliš, Banat, 1890.¹²⁶

Dimensions: 190 x 132 cms

Inv. no. 7639 (T. 23.1.)



In the late 19th century, the national subject matter was visually represented as stylized symbols of the Serbian state, restrained by the colours of Austria and Hungary. In the weaving technique there are two variants of tapestry weave. The borders and the stylized flowers are made by tapestry weave with long slits, while the elements of the Serbian coat of arms by tapestry weave with minimal slits.

The outer borders in five colours, two and two of which dovetail into one another, that is, fit comblike into one another in a large row of a weaving structure, *iver*¹²⁷, are made by five threads of the warp with about twenty weaves of the weft (T. 23.2.). The basic feature of this carpet is the national symbolism,¹²⁸ while its function is decorative, though there are weaknesses in the technique of execution. There are parts where the slits are in a straight line, so that the carpet is not sufficiently firm in these places. These are tightened interweaves where the connections between the two levels of a weaving structure (*ivers*) are formed by two or four threads (T. 23.3.).

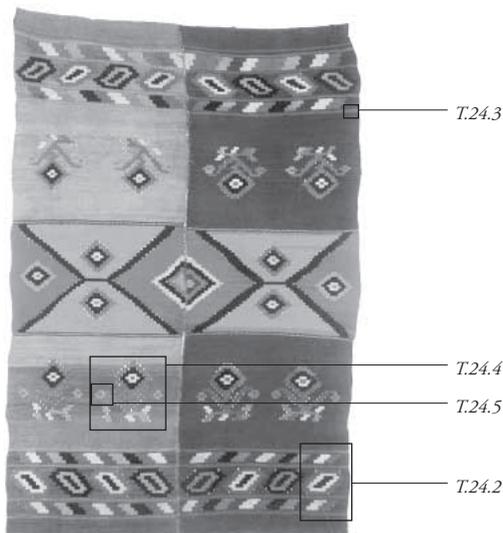
In the middle and in the corners there are rhomboids, in this part the tapestry weave is with an alteration of 4 threads of the weft on one thread of the warp, so that the pattern looks like a triangular tooth (T. 23.4.). This variant was used in the vertical straight lines, as well as for the slants in the rhomboid ornamentation. This example is a good illustration of one of the systems of combining various techniques, the use of the main carpetweaving technique of the time, tapestry weave with slits, in the carpetweaving east, the Karamany (T. 23.2.), along with elements of the ornamentation and technique as with carpets with rhomboids, minimal slits, the compacting of 4 threads, and moving by 1 thread of the warp (T. 23.5.). As opposed to the above mentioned, decorative ways of stitching together the halves of the carpets, in this case there is only stitching in small and dense stitches with thinly spun hemp thread (T. 23.6.).

Starting from the next example, in the series of carpets woven during the second half of the 19th century, there is an illustration of one of the characteristic processes in carpetweaving in Vojvodina. The dating refers just to these examples, while the features of the process itself can be taken as the principles of transition in the development of folk ornamentation. In the transition processes in carpetweaving in Vojvodina, during the 19th century, a series of characteristic transitional forms were created which are marked by the abandoning of the striped carpet and an introduction of a complex floral composition which fills the entire surface of the carpet.

¹²⁶ The same as in the carpet from Veliki Gaj, at the National Museum in Vršac, inv. no. E 424: Ilić, Ž. Arsen, Tri banatska ćilima, Rad vojvođanskih muzeja, vol. 1, Novi Sad 1952, p. 201.

¹²⁷ Local term for one row of a weaving structure.

¹²⁸ Ilić, Ž. Arsen, Tri banatska ćilima, p. 202.



Example 24

CARPET

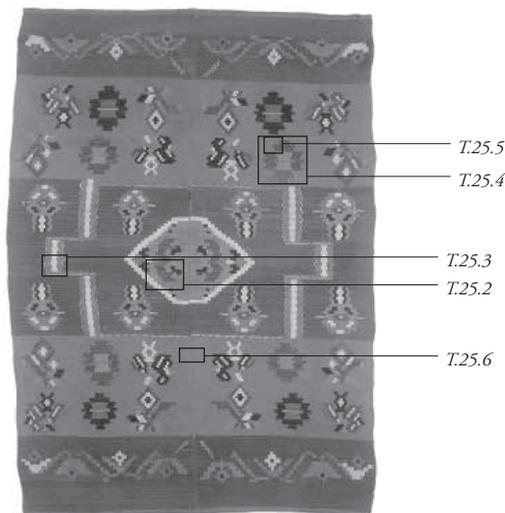
Begeč, Bačka, 1860.

Dimensions: 196 x 124cms

Inv. no. 2545 (T. 24.1.)

On this olive-green carpet, where the layout is archaic, the basic ornamentation is geometrical, as well as the basic technique of cascading tapestry weave with slits, suitable for geometrical shapes (T. 24.2.). The small multi-coloured rhomboid is the motif in the middle stripe with large tapestry woven geometrical shapes, and the same rhomboid is the crown of the floral series which fills out the spaces between the border and the central decorative stripe. The blooming floral ornamentation is the only plant element, and yet, to a great extent, it marks the entire composition. The floral composition is place symmetrically, vertically against the centre there are two such flowers on the broad green surface. It seems to be a spontaneous modification, and yet, such a floral form is repeated in many variants of compositions on carpets in the Vojvodina region (T. VIII).

As far as techniques are concerned, there is shuttle weaving in the mono-coloured olive-green surfaces and in the narrow separating stripes (T. 24.3.). In the middle stripe the tapestry weave is of the classic Vojvodina variant, cascading with large *iver* in a gobelin rep weave. In the floral motifs the technique of tapestry weave is with slits, in slanting, cascading lines of colours, where the tapestry form is prominent in the integral green surface of the weft (T. 24.4, T. 24.5.).



Example 25

CARPET

Bačka Palanka, 1870.

Dimensions: 186 x 133 cms

Inv. no. 1977 (T. 25.1.)

The warp is made of hemp and the weft is of wool (olive-green, dark red, navy blue, bright red, orange) and white cotton.

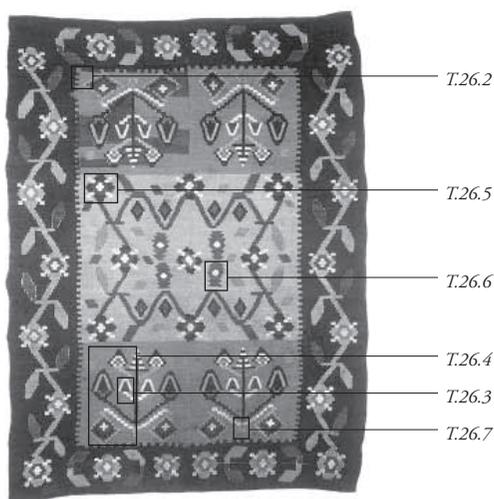
The relationship of the geometrical and the floral elements in this carpet, in comparison with the previous one, is just the reverse. In this carpet, as well, the basic organization of ornamented surfaces is into broad stripes. However, the tapestry weave ornaments which fill the surfaces are, for the most part, floral in a variety of shapes. In the composing of the whole, the phase of transition is noticeable in the cross like ornament in the central stripe, and within this there is also a hexagonal central medallion.

The ornamentation is floral. In the border stripes there are floral garlands, toward the middle there are two different floral patterns. Among them there is a shape which resembles a Pirot pattern. In the central stripe, outside the medallion there are stylized flowers in the corners, and within the stylized hexagon there is a stylized small wreath.

The technique is to a less extent shuttle weaving, and to a greater extent tapestry weave. The change of colours is done along the vertical slits between adjacent colours. The structure of the fabric is not uniform, in squares, but the number of warp threads in the change of colours varies from one row of a weaving structure, to another, so that the movement of the colour lines has been adapted to the drawing to some extent. The line of movement of the colours is mostly slanting, cascading, but in this movement, the square does not move completely but in the next row, the colour is moved so that the colour in the ornament is continued on from the square in the previous level (*iver*), at least by one thread, two or three (T. 25.2.). Instead of a square structure, in this variety of tapestry weave, there is a system of complex, smaller and larger, longer or narrower rectangular surfaces. This system was applied in the execution of the flowers (cf. T motifs). The decorative shape of the side frame of the cross was solved in another way, by the dovetailing of two adjacent colours of the weft around one thread of the warp. The straight lines of the ornament were led along the vertical so that two adjacent colours are changed around one thread (T. 25.3.).

In this example there is one more application of the technique of tapestry weave with slits, similar to the previous one, except that instead of the shallow dovetailing of two colours, there is a moving of the colour of the weft, along a slant by one thread of the warp. The lines of the change of colours are steep slants, but they flow uniformly creating a regular rhomboid form, which calms the floral friezes in the red stripes, visually (T. 25.4; T. 25.5.). Comparing the effects of these two kinds of patterns, in the case of the rhomboid they seem minute, as opposed to the large floral shapes, although they are done in a frieze, almost the same in height in a corresponding number of rows (*iver*). The joining of the two halves of the carpet has been done with the typical decorative stitch for joining fabric, but with fewer and more simple ones (T. 25.6.).

In the examples that are to follow one can identify characteristic technical principles which originated from the combination of traditional taste with a variety of new influences. In this process, which took place during the second half of the 19th century, through changes and mutual influences, in regard to the technique, the carpets are marked by floral themes. The content is in compositions framed by floral garlands, vases and flower pots in the field, as well as with flowers in the central medallion.



Example 26

CARPET WITH CANDLESTICKS

intended as a donation to the church, Orlovat, 1880.

Dimensions: 186 x 134 cms

Inv. no. 1463 (T. 26.1.)

The warp is cotton, and the weft is multi-coloured wool of medium thickness (dark cherry, olive-green and dark yellow as the colours of the basic surfaces with various ornaments executed in brick, purple, darker shades of olive-green). The primary division for the making of the tapestry weave pattern is a broader, dark red in colour, dark cherry and the middle surface which is in three parts, the broader one is in dark yellow, and the parts toward the corners are olive-green.

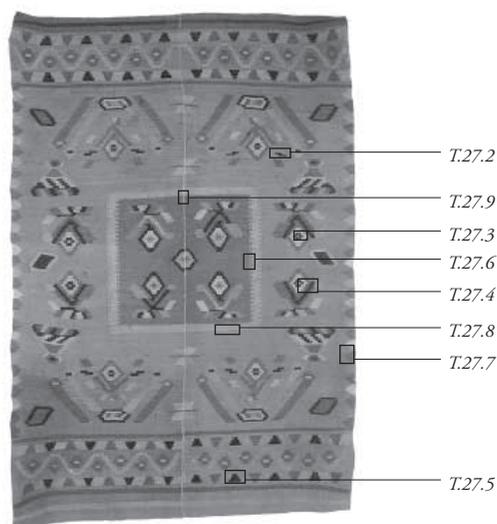
Among the woven patterns the dominant one is a flower shape with a cross like layout of coloured surfaces so that they form flowers with four petals. This flower is executed in various combinations of colours, and in the form of a large floral garland moderately stylized on the broder, and in the central portion. The corner composition, which is a variation of a flower stalk, is seen here as a candlestick. For this reason the carpet is named with candlesticks.

The technique applied is for the most part tapestry weave with slits, with a cascading movement of the lines of the ornamentation, but the number of threads varies depending on the shape made. In the straight lines two ways of connection are applied. The first one is dovetailing of the coloured surfaces by an alteration of the squares of colour in the direction of the warp thread (T. 26.2.) and the second one is the connecting with one of the adjacent colours to the first warp thread of the other, adjacent colour (T. 26.3.). The moving of the number of threads of the warp varies, from 1 to 5 threads (T. 26.4.). Likewise, there is an uneven number of weaves of the weft by a unit of square of the structure. Most often there are 14 weaves of the weft (T. 26.5.). There are mistakes in the execution, irregularities in shapes due to the variation of the number of threads during the moving of the squares.

In this example there is also a stylized shape, a flower which is repeated four times, in the middle portion of the surface. This shape derives from carpets with rhomboids illustrated by the previous examples (17-20.). The only difference is that in the making of these flowers a variant of tapestry weave with minimal slits was applied (T. 26.6.), so that, for this reason as well, this part looks like a completely foreign element among the other ornamentation of the carpet.

This carpet can be considered to be typical amateur work which the peasant women wove personally and donated to the church. It has a powerful sense of naive artistry, which is reflected in the inconsistencies of the technique. There are major mistakes in the execution such as the lack of co-ordination in the patterns in the juncture of the halves, as well as the shading of colours in the absence of corresponding shapes. Along with the variations in the tapestry weave, also in one detail, the stand of the candlestick, a detail of ribbed structure in two colours has been added (T. 26.7.). The detail was executed by hand weaving, but as an imitation of the weave achieved with a shuttle.

The following example is distinguished by the high quality of its technique and the originality of the composition. The organization of the ornamentation is complex, but in small shapes and spread through the broad surface. Mistakes in technique are more often when a woman weaves a carpet for personal use, but here they are negligible. On the other hand, the carpet has a subtle freshness of naive artistry. One could say that there is a combination of emotion, imagination, measure and taste, which makes this example representative of the best folk carpetweaving.



Example 27
CARPET WITH A SQUARE MEDALLION

Čoka, 1875.

Dimensions: 204 x 139 cms

Inv. no. 550 (T. 27.1.)

The warp is hemp and the weft is wool. For the most part the carpet is light olive-green, with some dark red, bright red, light-coloured undyed wool and navy blue.

In the refined stylized ornamentation floral stylizations predominate. The surface is light olive-green, while the square central field is dark red. The edge borders consist of two vertical stripes with stylized floral garlands. The basic motif is a blooming stalk of flowers which in the corners is placed in an oversized flower pot or vase. The variants of the flowering stalk are applied in such a way that the symmetrically placed pairs frame the square medallion. The same flowers are in the medallion.

The carpet was woven in two halves. The quality of the materials is exceptionally fine. The finely spun hemp and the likewise finely spun wool is shiny and of great quality. The thin threads of the warp were compacted and regularly layered into the classic rep surface.

The applied variation of the tapestry weave technique is among the rarely used in the Vojvodina region. Since the tapestry weave is done with stitching in, the alteration of two adjacent colours around the same bordering thread of the warp, the fabric is without slits. The adjacent coloured surfaces are simply connected in such a way that thread by thread of different colours are wound around the same warp thread forming a thick combed structure (T. 27.2.). To a certain extent this shades and enlivens the composition. The lines of the change of colours, in the making of shapes, are slanted and cascading or comb like as in tapestry weaving with slits, so the structure of the ornamentation is also in squares by rows (*iver*). For the most part, the coloured surfaces are executed on two threads of the warp in the rows of a structure, with a height of 10 to 12 weft threads (T. 27.3.). The shapes are predominantly rhomboid, for the most part with cascading lines (T. 27.4.). This technique is rare in the Vojvodina region, and it can mostly be found in the northern Banat.¹²⁹ All the other elements of the ornamentation have been executed by a variation of the same technique of stitching in. Beside the large cascading square raster, in some spots, in the same height of the row (*iver*) the movement of the line of the colours has been done by one thread of the warp, so that as steep cascading shape is obtained (T. 27.5.). In the case of the vertical stripes the dovetailing of the squares in the row along the vertical is also by stitching in (T. 27.6.). In the indication of a border along the lengthwise edges of the carpet, by alternating triangles (white and red in colour), the slants have been made by small moves by one thread of the warp, but

¹²⁹ This technique appears in some areas of oriental carpetweaving, and in this region it is a continuation of the carpetweaving of Romania and Bulgaria: Hull, A. and Luczyuc-Wuhowska, J., *Kilim...*, 45: 54, 55.

only by four compacted threads of the weft in height (T. 27.7.). The frame of the square medallion has been done by shuttle weaving in two colours (T. 27.8.). The halves of the carpet have been put together by the typical stitch with a needle and a strong cotton thread (T. 27.9.)

The following example is one more with a wealth of content and symbolic meaning. The carpet is not marked by a perfect of form or a virtuosity of execution but by the charm of its naive daring in the play with coloured surfaces. The manner in which it is done is considered to be a typically Vojvodina one from the older phase of ornamental development. On the darker field there are various floral forms framed by a floral wreath, and among them there are hearts, dolls and crosses as symbols of love, birth, faith and death.



Example 28

CARPET WITH A CROSS CENTRE

Belegiš, late 19th century,

Dimensions: 246 x 130 cms

Inv. no. 804 (T. 28.1.)

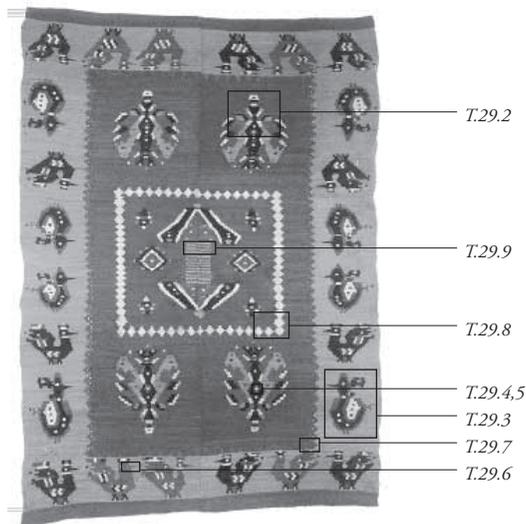
The warp is made of unrefined hemp, the thread is quite thick and roughly spun. The weft is made of wool in various colours and of medium thickness and of white thick cotton, which stands out by its rough texture. The colours are contrasting, but in dark shades: red, navy blue, dark yellow, violet, black and white.

The organization of the ornamented surface contains the basic traditional elements: a border with a stylized floral garland and a central field with a cross-like medallion, but without horizontal stripes, only with comblike verticals.

The tapestry weave that is applied is in the traditional manner, in the variant with slits, along slanted cascading lines connecting the coloured surfaces. The variant of tapestry weave with slits and the dovetailing of the squares in the row (*iver*) along the vertical, in linear forms, in the case of the comblike ornament (T. 28.2.). The number of threads of the warp in the changing of colours is not a fixed one, so that there are very different structures made more prominent by the contrasting colours (T. 28.3.). In the details there are applications of different techniques such as shuttle weaving in two colours, the teeth-like forms on the inner horizontal side of the border (T. 28.4.). Furthermore, the skirt of the doll has horizontal stripes, which are made by a change of colours on a slant by one thread of the warp. The colour of the warp connects with the colour of the stripes in the skirt, not strictly regular but with jumps (T. 28.5.).

The mastering of the technique is far from perfect. There are mistakes in the counting, unequal tension of the fabric in various parts, incorrect calculation of numbers and size of the elements of the composition, one of the ends is shorter than the other. The dolls are shorter by a head, the patterns in the two halves do not coincide, which is visible in the main field.

Example 29
CARPET WITH PIGEONS
 Kulpin, 1856.
 Dimensions: 192 x 131 cms
 Inv. no. 2195 (T. 29.1.)



The warp is hemp and the weft is wool. The carpet is vivid with a very large, figural zoomorphic ornamentation (hens and pigeons in the borders and a double headed eagle in the four corners of the central field). The large woven figures are distributed on three surfaces, clearly divided by separating lines: the dark yellow border, the olive-green central field and the dark red central decoration.

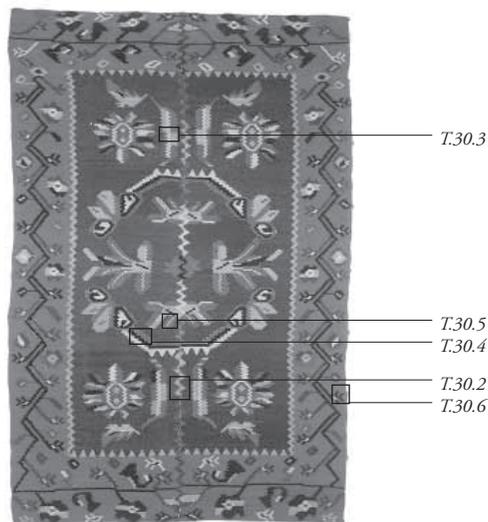
The technique is tapestry weave with slits, but during the execution there was a more liberal exchange of colours for the sake of a more precise shaping of the patterns. The lines of the connection of the colours are cascading. The patterns are made with a freedom in the shift along the different number of threads of the warp (T. 29.2.). Some of the lines blend visually into straight ones, while on the other hand, although there are also regular square structures, the woven image contains predominantly figural shapes on a background of a certain colour (T. 29.3). For the weaving in of the fine decorative elements, such as the separate little squares on the background, the required colour of the weft was cut after finishing the square, so that the front and the back are the same (T. 29.4, T. 29.5.).

The number of threads of the weft in the tapestry weave raster is very varied. The specific features of this example are the making of the beaks of the fowl, where the imitation of the sharp beak approaches the manner of Coptic, that is, Pirot weaving. The colours of the weft are gradually led in the warp and gradually changed, so that there is a horizontal changing of the colours without any visible breaking of the lines or slits. The colours of the weft are moved by only two rows, so that the fabric is multi-coloured, but compacted (T. 29.6.).

The two kinds of border frames which have been applied in this carpet belong to the typical decorative features in the division of the border and the central field. In the outer border, in the first example, the vertical and the horizontal edges of the border differ due to the direction of the weaving, vertically by the weft on the warp. The verticals are the zig-zag stripes, the horizontal ones are a series of triangles with cascading slanted sides (T. 29.7.). The inner white frame of the red medallion is in the form of a rhomboid (T. 29.8.).

Among the solutions for the special decorative effects on the carpets, there are aspects of decorative weaving in several colours which look as if they were woven by shuttle. The same comb effect is achieved, but in the details of the patterns, the weaving was certainly done by hand weaving, so that these portions can be called pseudo shuttle weaving (T. 29.9.).

In the second half of the 19th century in the Bačka district, there was a popular composition, basically a floral one, with representations of butterflies and bees in the central portion. This model had a great effect on carpetweaving in the Srem district, and especially in Banat. By a combination of the basic distribution of the elements of this composition with various figural shapes, new popular forms were originated. Such an example is a model of a composition with a cross-like medallion and with corner compositions named icons with rays¹³⁰. This model was widespread mainly in the Banat district, including the Romanian Banat region¹³¹. A variant from the Srem district is especially illustrative. It was woven in Deč in 1890, with the same ornamental basis, but it was named the royal court.



Example 30
CARPET GREEN GARDEN
 Parage, Bačka, 1870.
 Dimensions: 192 x 122 cms
 Inv. no. 23 (T. 30.1.)

This is a carpet with butterflies and roses. The border is cinnabar red with a floral garland, moderately stylized, in the green central field there are butterflies and bees and in the corners of the field turtles. The halves of the carpet have been connected by embroidery stitch in the shape of triangular peaks in several colours which are distributed symmetrically in relation to the centre of the carpet (T. 30.2). On one of the vertical edges of the carpet, loops were made, which makes it obvious that the carpet served as a decoration on the wall (T. 30.6).

The warp is hemp and the weft is of wool (red, green, dark blue, dark yellow, purple and white). The basic features which strike the eye are contrasting colours and a high technical quality of execution, although the wool is of uneven thickness.

The lines of ornamentation consist, for the most part, of moves by two threads of the warp, with the exception of the horizontal border where the move is by one thread (as in T.29.7). The tapestry weave with slits makes the pattern loose. This move is the same in the slants and in the straight lines. In the case of the straight ones, the colours change and dovetail (T. 30.3). If the series of colours flow slant-wise on the warp, a pattern is obtained which can serve as a decorative stripe (T. 30.4), whether in a border, or as a line in some ornament. On the slants of the ornamentation the colours can be linked to one another also by a weaving into the warp of that certain colour, which from the lower *iver* moves into the upper one slantingly. In this way the squares are linked in the corners (T. 30.5).

In relation to previous technical procedures, a much freer application of tapestry weave is visible in these carpets. The previous phase of folk carpetweaving was characterized by, primarily, the cultivation of the authentic striped pattern woven by traditional procedures. In the transitions during which foreign influences were taken over and new patterns created, as is visible in the above mentioned examples, there were some unversed combinations. It was usual for modern carpets with different compositions to be made by copying their techniques as much as possible, and when problems arose, the known, old solutions were reverted to.

¹³⁰ M. Maluckov, *Ćilimarstvo Srba*, 50

¹³¹ N. Țaranu, *Cilimuri*, Photograph. 281.

In the series of examples of the type flower gardens, it is possible to perceive the development by which the original ornamental style is stabilized, along which corresponding technical solutions are found. The decrease in the degree of stylization of natural figural forms is accompanied by finding ways in which multi-coloured threads are led in order to fit complicated forms into a whole. The wavering of the lines into growingly natural forms becomes one of the basic premises of the technique. Various forms in many colours are made on a background in one colour. The forms are not densely linked into a whole, as in the geometrical types of ornamentation, but are continuous on the fabric. In this way, even their structure can be composed at will, with more or less, rare or frequent slits.

Made at almost the same time as the previous example, a carpet from Gospodjinci, also in the Bačka district from 1869, shows all the possibilities of a free choice of elements, although they fall into certain selected patterns.



Example 31
CARPET WITH A GARDEN
 Gospodjinci, Bačka, 1869.
 Dimensions: 197 x 122 cms
 Inv. no. 273 (T. 31.1.)

The warp is of hemp, and the weft is of wool and white cotton. The choice of colours is the same as in the previous example, which was popular at the time. The threads are thicker so that the fabric is also thicker and stiff and unevenly dyed.

The border is especially carefully conceived and executed. The narrow side edges are yellow, while the vertical edges have a white wavy line on a violet background. From this there is a red background of the border with a flower garland, a white frame and a green field with butterflies and bees. The ornamentation is moderately dense. The central composition with bees and butterflies is carefully done. A large portion of the ornamentation in the corner and wreath are combinations based on a model of a stylized flower. It is repeated in several places: individually in the field (T. 31.2.), four such flowers form a stylized group (T. 31.3.), as a flower in the garland in the border (T. 31.4.). This variant of the flower shape is frequently found on carpets from the time.

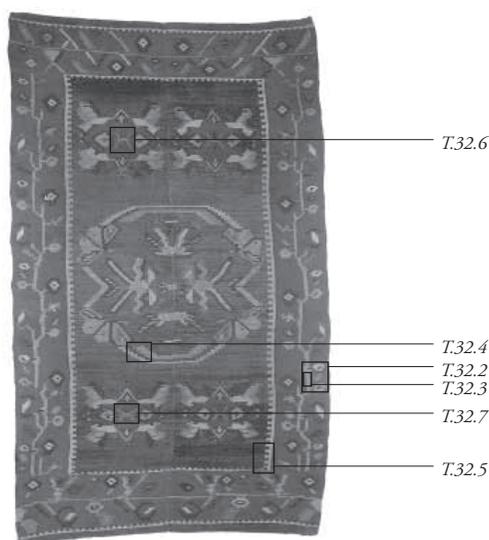
As far as the lines of the ornamentation are concerned, the predominant ones are slanting and cascading. The individual coloured shapes are formed by the principle that at the transition of the final thread of the woollen weft of the previous row of a weaving structure, on a part of the thread of the warp, the same colour of the weft is left in the next row. In this example, there is a characteristic decorative application of the basic technique of tapestry weave with slits. The vertical dividing stripe was made with slits by moving the little square in the row of structure, to the left or to the right, and the horizontal one also by tapestry weave with slits between squares of different colours (T. 31.5.).

By its origin, concept and decorative elements, this carpet belongs among the group of true home cottage industry carpets, made for one's own needs. The work is of high quality, evidently it was made by a very skilled woman weaver.

The following carpet is from Ostojićevo in the Banat district. In this series of examples on the subject of flowering gardens, it is an exception. The others are typical at the same time even by the techniques applied.

The applied technique is a variation of tapestry weave without slits, known in Banat as stitching in, and it is very rare in carpetmaking in the Vojvodina region. However, it can be found in the entire carpetweaving region of Euro-Asia, and rarely in Anadolia and North Africa.¹³² It is the simplest technique of connecting multi-coloured surfaces into a fabric without slits. The multi-coloured structures may be straight, but also rhomboid as in the case of the tapestry weaving with slits. Rare are the examples as the ones in the Museum of Vojvodina collection¹³³, which are made completely by this technique. The preserved carpets indicate the origination of a completely new form of carpet where the technique blends with the artistic interpretation of a certain popular pattern of carpets with flowering gardens. In such works, the weaver would add some detail which, as a rule, stands out, stylistically, from the whole.

As part of the analysis of the technique of stitching in, among our examples, there is also a piece of a quite different shape and origin, which represents the only variant of a tapestry weave coverlet among the Hungarians in the Banat region. The closest analogy to this piece is a woolen coverlet with a rhomboid pattern, woven in the same technique, which is usual in the mountains of northern Transylvania. Presenting bed textiles in the Maramureş, the author claims that carpet weaving is much more developed in other regions, such as Moldavia, Banat and Oltenia.¹³⁴ In addition to the development of the ornamentation which is beginning to approximate the compositions of carpets, there continues to be an application of the traditional technique of tapestry weave by the simple connecting of the threads of adjacent colours. Such a coverlet is warmer, which indicates the continuity of the practical value of the textile.



Example 32
 CARPET WITH A GARDEN
 Ostojićevo, Banat, 1880.
 Dimensions: 220 x 130 cms.
 Inv. no. 6641 (T. 32.1.)

The carpet is with a green garden in the middle of the field, with bees, butterflies and a garland on the red border. In the corners of the field are compositions with the figure of a woman feeding poultry. The ornamentation is typical by its content but is a more developed form with a variation of colours.

The warp is made of cotton, and the weft is multi-coloured wool of medium thickness, uneven in colour and the fineness of the thread. The colours used are: olive-green, red, yellow, white, violet, brick colour and light blue. The front and the back are the same, the raster varies, according to the shapes of the patterns. In the garland there are vertical lines (T. 32.2.; T. 32.3.), for the most part the movement of the colours is by two threads, but also by four and five threads of the warp (T. 32.4.). The thin white frame is straight on the outside and toothed on the inside, and the technique of stitching in is adapted to this (T. 32.5.). This execution makes the carpet firm and durable, which would not be possible in other types of tapestry weave.

In the manner of execution, the weaver is recognized by her lack of skill, but also by her strong intuition.

¹³² Hull, A. and Luczyuc-Wuhowska, J., *Kilim...*, 41

¹³³ Example 28 from Čoka and a following one, example 33 from Ostojićevo in Banat, were made in two neighbouring villages along the Tisa River, within a period of five years.

¹³⁴ Bănăţeanu, Tancred, *Artă populară din Nordul Transilvaniei*, Casa Creaţiei Populare a Judetului Maramureş, Busureşti, 1969, 156, 157.

In the case of such an unusual piece it is quite clear that it was made with much inventiveness, but also with a clear idea. It is, in fact, in these amateur work processes that the highest achievements of folk carpetmaking were reached. In the technique of tapestry weave with stitching in, two adjacent colours are alternately wound around the border thread between them. The departures from this technique are only the details of the ornamentation of the central part and the corners of the field (the doll, the frog, the flower and the heart). In this case the movement of the colour is slant-wise by one thread, with a thick compacting of a large number of threads of the weft. These forms in addition to being decorative are also symbolical, and reflect, latently, on the woman weaver's deep intimate world. The representation of the frog is among the main symbols of fertility magic. This figure is made by tapestry weave with slits, but with an unequal treatment of the form. The figure is elongated due to the movement by one thread (T. 32.6.) or more compacted by two threads (T. 32.7.). There is also, though unevenly, the representation of a woman, a figure shortened in the region of the head and neck and stocky in stature (cf. T. XIV).

By the complexity of its ornamentation, the developed floral shapes, figural elements of folk art, even by its inconsistencies and its mistakes, this carpet is an example of spontaneity as a feature of folk carpetweaving.

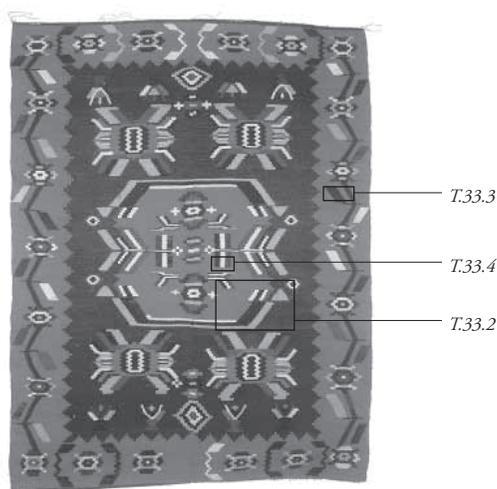
Example 33

CARPET

Margita, Banat, 1900.

Dimensions: 188 x 146 cms

Inv. no. 243 (T. 33.1.)



In the composition known as the green garden, with turtles, which was widespread in the Banat region, there are those which are prominent for their red medallion framed by butterflies and bees. In the corners of the green field there are turtles, as in the case of the carpet from Parage (Example 30), but the same basic content is represented here by simplified, even rough forms. Although the lines are simplified, the technique of tapestry weave with slits had been applied freely, and the choice of the adequate variant of tapestry weave is according to the form and the taste of the weaver. Besides the uneven cascading structure with slits (T. 33.2.) there is also a slanting movement of colours by one thread of the warp (T. 33.3.). There is the linking of colours along the vertical in such a way that the weft is twisted twice around the adjacent thread of the warp, which is visible in the weft of the second colour (T. 33.4.).

This type of composition which developed much earlier in the Bačka region, began to spread throughout the Banat villages toward the end of the 19th century, but with great changes in the ornamentation, as well as in the technique of execution. This is illustrated well by the same distribution of patterns but with simplified forms.

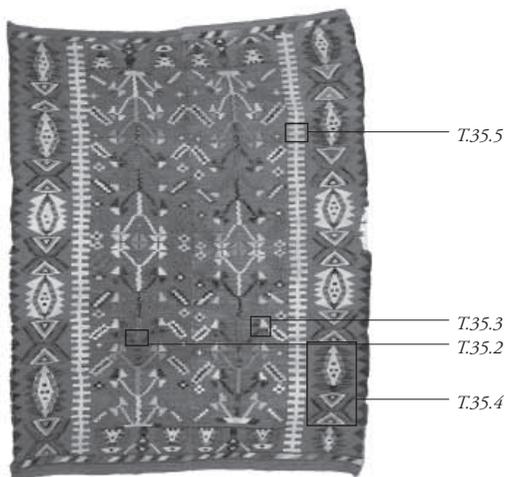
Among the Serbs in the south eastern Banat, in the broad border area, on the basis of the same traditional pattern, a quite different, very expressive style developed. The pattern is harsh and exaggerated, without any mutual proportions, and the colouration is contrasting. An example of this is the next carpet¹³⁵ which is marked by two aggressive elements: large geometrical shapes in the borders and a naturalistic representation of a flower pot with an enormous rose bud in the corners of the field.

¹³⁵ M. S. Filipović, *Ćilimarstvo*, Banatske Here, Novi Sad 1958, 148.



Example 34
 CARPET WITH A HEXAGONAL CENTRE
 Vračev Gaj, end of the 19th century.
 Dimensions: 227 x 142 cms
 Inv. no. 639 (T. 34.1.)

As a whole, this carpet is characterized by intense shades of basic colours (red, green yellow, blue as well as black and white). The wool is thick and unevenly spun, and the structure of the woven surface is unequal in quality and manner of execution. Several types of tapestry weave have been applied. In the borders, in the connections of coloured surfaces, there is dovetailing of two colours by the compacting of the weft along a straight line (T.34.2, 34.3). The cascading shapes were done by moving by one to six threads of the warp (T. 34.4). The rustic nature of the procedure is also seen in the difference between the front and the back in some places (T. 34.5, T. 34.6). In the places where the squares do not touch, since a third square has been introduced as a colour accent, the thread of the weft in a different colour which is carried over, as well as the different interweave solutions for the leaves (T. 34.7). One of the variants is tapestry weave without slits, by moving of the colour of the weft along the horizontal by one thread. An ideal slant is thus achieved as in the typical kind of Pirot weave. A very similar carpet, by its content and technique of weaving is inv. no. 9729 which comes from Lugovet in Romania.¹³⁶



Example 35
 CARPET
 Jablanka, Banat.
 Dimensions: 181 x 130 cms
 Inv. no. 1016 (T. 35.1.)

It can be linked to the previous ones, primarily by the ornamentation of the border. In regard to its technique, a series of procedures coincides with the solutions that can be seen in examples of carpets from the south Banat region (T. 35.2.). In this example, in the making of the petals of the carnation, there is yet another application of tapestry weave with stitching in, by the winding together of adjacent colours, alternatively

¹³⁶ Maluckov, M, Čilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini, 248, photograph. 93.

around the border thread between them (T. 35.3.). In addition to this, on the same detail of weaving, on the other hand, there is tapestry weave with slits, which is one more feature of the later phase of home weaving in which the weaving technique is chosen according to the shape of the pattern. This example differs from the previous ones by the elongated form of the tree of life which, in fact, consists of floral elements, such as can be seen in the photographs of carpets from the Greenbaum collection.¹³⁷

In the Hera villages of the south Banat, the pattern resembling a shuttle in the border of the carpet (T. 34.8; T. 35.4) is known as the comb by which such carpets are known as carpet with combs.¹³⁸ However, in this example, in addition to this, there is one more, different element of decoration that also goes under the name of a comb. In this case it is the stripe that divides the border from the field. It is made by tapestry weave with slits so that the adjacent colours, dovetail well into one another. The colours alternate in a regular rhythm, on a total of eighteen threads of the warp (T. 35.5.). A comb is, otherwise, the usual association in the description of decorative forms, which are sometimes also defined as figures or representations of combs.

Toward the end of the 19th century, a new style of ornamentation appeared, and in the Museum of Vojvodina collection this is best illustrated by examples from the Middle Bačka region. The transitional phase is characterized by the well known concept with the introduction of new decorative elements. The starting point is the traditional composition, but some of its elements are treated more and more freely. The border, the field and the medallion are spaces filled with traditional, but also with completely new floral shapes.

Example 36

CARPET

Djurdjevo, Bačka, around 1880.

Dimensions: 178 x 126 cms.

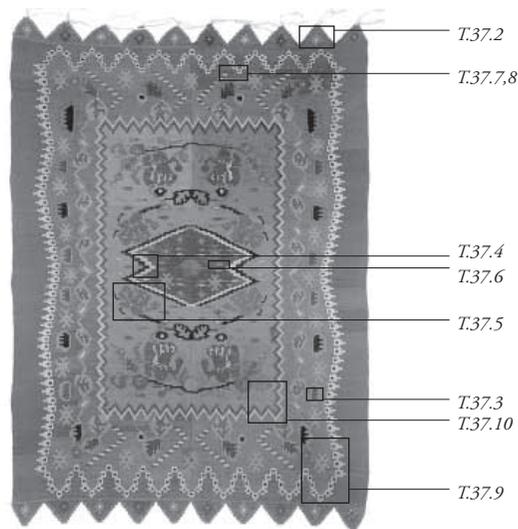
Inv. no. 305 (T. 36.1.)



It is among the oldest examples of this kind. The stylized old-fashioned form of the floral garland in fact divides the border background into two colours (T. 36.2), while the entire, spacious central frame part is filled with a variety of types of flowers. In the making of these different shapes of flowers, various techniques of weaving were used: the geometrical shapes by the technique of tapestry weave with slits (T. 36.3.); tapestry weave with minimal slits (T. 36.4.); on the same flower there can also be a weave without slits, by the connecting of one of the colours of the weft onto the adjacent thread of the warp, but there can also be the weaving in of long thin lines, in the shape of lines, from threads woven in, weaving without a slit by one thread of the weft from the left to the right, with one return (T. 36.5.).

¹³⁷ Nemeth, F. *Torontalski ćilim*, Novi Sad 1995, 61

¹³⁸ Maluckov, M. *Ćilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini*, 64.



Example 37

CARPET

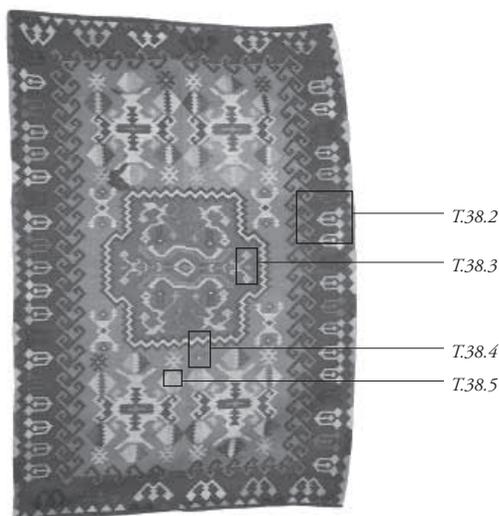
Bačko Gradište, dating from 1895.

Dimensions: 200 x 135 cms.

Inv. no. 3754 (T. 37.1.)

As in the previous carpet, in the making of the complex pattern a whole series of available variants of weaves was applied: slanting cascading tapestry weave with slits (T. 37.2.); with slits by connecting rows of structure, *ivers* (T. 37.3.); as well as their combinations (T. 37.4.). The manner of newer folk carpetweaving that the technique should be adapted to the desired form, is clearly manifested in this instance. Although it was inspired by Biedermeier roses, the weaver imitates them by weaving in two colours of the contour lines, counting off the necessary number of warp threads with the completely arbitrary branching of the *ivers* (T. 37.5.). In addition to a series of types of floral ornaments, the detail of the flower stalk, as was seen in the previous example, hints at a different spirit, a tapestry like one. The stalks are in the shape of lines, woven in by threads (T. 37.6.). In the transitional phases, it is characteristic that it is not possible to consistently weave the carpet with two faces, as when the threads are carried over visibly from the back (T. 37.7, T. 37.8.).

Carpets of this type resemble less and less the original pattern, the flower garden, and look more and more western store bought floral coverlets. The border resembling a lace pattern contributes to this effect, and this, as a solution for the border, becomes established in this group of carpets (T. 37.9.), while the inner portion continues to be traditional (T. 37.10.).



Example 38

CARPET AS A COVER FOR THE TABLE

Zrenjanin, Banat, 1862.

Dimensions: 194 x 129 cms

Inv. no. 329 (T. 38.1.)

This carpet was woven in the Tošić household and it was kept in the family until it was acquired by the Museum in 1949. The basis of the composition is a traditional pattern, as well the colour scheme (the red border and the green field) according to folk taste. In the centre there is a red cross-like medallion. The corner composition in the field is a very well known stylization widespread throughout the Banat region, both the Serbian portion and the Romanian one. Furthermore, in the solution of the border, as in the details of the decorations in the intermediate spaces there is an evident uniform level of stylization of the forms.

Concerning technique, the weaver's hand is very skilled, the tapestry weave is trained, and the solutions made are consistent on the whole piece.¹³⁹ The overweave is the basic type of tapestry weave with slits, but reduced to moving by two threads of the warp (T. 38.2, T. 38.3.). The lines are cascading, so that as a whole the pattern is a geometrical one (T. 38.4, T. 38.5.). This type of geometrical pattern makes the slits fewer, and so the fabric is quite compact although the wool is soft and the compacting is not overly firm.

All of these features are recognizable later in the patterns that were developed and propagated by the Zrenjanin weaving school. Such is the carpet (inv. no. 2613) from the collection of the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina, woven at the end of the 19th century, with elements of the model of the carpet called a garden with butterflies¹⁴⁰, but it was woven on the broad loom¹⁴¹. This type of carpet is also known from the advertizing postcards printed around 1900 in Zrenjanin and its surroundings, but also as a frequent decorative background in old photographs made in photo studios.



Example 39

CARPET WITH A CROSS-LIKE MEDALLION

Farkaždin (Sakule), Banat, 1865.

Dimensions: 166 x 134 cms

Inv. no. 6540 (T. 39.1.)

The central content of the garden with flowers in a cross-like central field is, in this case, surrounded by specific rhomboid forms as modules for the making of the candlestick in the corners of the field, as the ornamentation of the border. This pattern has been found in a series of examples in the collection,¹⁴² woven during the second half of the 19th century in the surroundings of Bečkerek (today's Zrenjanin). As opposed to the combination of red and green, which was favoured in folk carpetweaving in Vojvodina, in this case the basis of the colour scheme is light, undyed wool as the foundation of the field and a delicate shade of dusky violet in the border. The same colours are also used for the making of the ornaments. Since light coloured carpets are recognizable on a series of old photographs¹⁴³ taken in the studios of Zrenjanin and surrounding places, during the first decades of the 20th century, it is evident that they were popular. The influences of the elite taste,¹⁴⁴ of the time, in addition to the local urban communities, began to spread to the Banat villages. In the notes of M. Filipović dating from the period 1947-1950, about the famous weaver from Orlovat, Agnica Mihajlović, we learn that she learned to weave from her sister-in-law, who learned to weave in a factory, and that later, the two of them together, wove at home. When her sister-in-law got married, she received from the factory a loom as a gift and a bazaar (a catalogue of patterns).¹⁴⁵ They copied the woven patterns further, as a rule in two ways. As an order, if there were no explicit requests for changes, the weaver made a complete copy. If she worked for herself, the weaver would adjust the colours to please herself, changing and introducing details. During the 70s

¹³⁹ If we did not possess incontestable truth in our documentation, it could have been said to be made in a workshop.

¹⁴⁰ Inv. no. 2613, part of the property of Dr. Jovan Nenadović which was nationalized in the 1950s came into the possession of the 2nd Chemists Shop in Novi Sad. As a gift from the Chemists Shop, it came into the possession of the Museum of Vojvodina.

¹⁴¹ Maluckov, M., *Čilimarstvo Srba*, 196.

¹⁴² Maluckov, M., *Čilimarstvo Srba*, catalogue 110-116.

¹⁴³ The photograph collection of the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina, reproductions, inv. no. negatives 2467, 6579, 6584 i 7639.

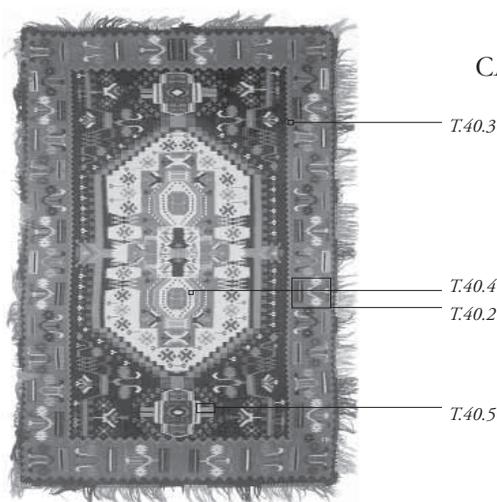
¹⁴⁴ Nemeth, F., *Torontalski čilim*, Novi Sad, 1995.

¹⁴⁵ M. S. Filipović, *Beleške o čilimarstvu u Vojvodini*, 138.

and 80s of the 19th century, when the series from the Museum of Vojvodina collection originated, the changes were gradual and they were the result of meeting the taste of customers, and among them the wholesale businesses such as Filip Hass from Budapest. Collections of old-fashioned folk carpets were made to serve designers as a basis for the creation of models for the wholesale business. The stylized composition of a garden with candle sticks was popular throughout the entire Banat region, including the present Romanian portion of it.¹⁴⁶

The spirit of folk carpetweaving is manifested by the presence of a variety of elements, and in this case it is the representation of a bird which was woven by the tapestry weave technique without slits (T. 39.2.), or the verticals in the wings of the butterfly, where the tapestry weave is without slits but with stitching in (T. 39.3.). These are characteristic examples of the sporadic application of some completely different weaving techniques in the whole of a certain composition, according to the principle as in example no. 32.

In addition to these exceptions, the technique of tapestry weave with slits was basically applied on two threads of the warp (T. 39.4.) both in wholes and in details (T. 39.5, 39.6.), as well as in the stripes (T. 39.7.). On the transverse side of the outer stripe, the impression of a ribbon is achieved by a combination of shuttle and tapestry weaving (T. 39.8.).



Example 40

CARPET WITH A STYLIZED FLORAL ORNAMENTATION

Elemir, Banat, 1900.

Dimensions: 240 x 174 cms

Inv. no. 8516 (T. 40.1.)

The warp is hemp and the weft is of wool in darker shades of colour (olive-green, navy blue, dark red, dark yellow and white). The carpet was made according to a pattern that was very popular around 1900 and it was woven in the organization of the company of Nina Lang.¹⁴⁷ It is an expression of the imitation of the European fashion of the time, but on the basis of the fund of traditional ornamentation. If we compare this carpet from Elemir with an earlier one which illustrates a similar event, but half a century earlier in the Srem region¹⁴⁸, we will perceive that it is basically the same type of tapestry weave, but that it is a case of a completely different situation. The Srem carpets with rhomboids, complex and with an abundance of ornaments, were composed to gain the praise of higher social circles, but they passed through the eyes and hands of village women *muštratorke* (pattern makers), so that they preserved the folk spirit.¹⁴⁹ The creation of the Torontal carpet in the Middle Banat region was connected with the Weaving School in Bečkerek whose curriculum included the composing of patterns for carpets, the drawing of patterns for individual ornaments and the co-ordination of colours. In this case, the carpet is a product from the vicinity of the workshop in Elemir, possibly a product from the Company for Folk Handicrafts of Nina Lang.¹⁵⁰

With the clear division of the surfaces for ornamentation into the edge, the border, the stripe, the field and the medallion, this carpet has the basic features of a folk carpet. The surfaces in red, navy blue and white, are filled with numerous small, mostly floral stylizations. The drawer of this pattern was very dedicated to drawing

¹⁴⁶ Fosca, M. Scoarte românești, photo 281

¹⁴⁷ Nemeth, F, Torontalski ćilim, 56.

¹⁴⁸ Example 16, Carpet with a calendar from Popinci.

¹⁴⁹ S. Subotić, O našim narodnim tkaninama, vol. 226, 70.

¹⁵⁰ Nemeth, F, Torontalski ćilim, 56.

many details, linking them into a seemingly dynamic whole, but of stylistically uniform shapes. It can further be perceived that the manipulation of a certain fund of ornaments is primarily in the relations between the colours, as in the traditional carpets, but in this case also in the size of individual ornaments which remain the same despite their place in the pattern. This is especially noticeable in the border, where the flower stalks, as well as peasant flower pots are in vessels in the forms of comb, but are of the same shape and in the same position. This indicates, undoubtedly, the formal approach of the pattern creator, were the figures are placed on their sides, which is quite contrary to the traditional concept (T. 40.2.).

The pattern has been executed masterfully by the technique of fine tapestry weave that was cultivated in the cottage industry workshops of the then eastern regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The tapestry weave is small with four overweaves of the weft on one thread of the warp, two from left to right and the other way around. The lines of the coloured surfaces are varied. In the case of straight lines there is dovetailing with small peaks in two colours, and in the slanting ones there is fine cascading moving along the slant one by one warp thread (T. 40.3.). In the slants, the movement of the colours is by one thread of the warp and four threads of the weft, so that the slits are quite small and unnoticeable. The threads of the colours at the place of the dovetailing are compacted into a little tooth (T. 40.4.). A type of comb-like ornament made by the dovetailing of wefts of two colours has a prominent place here. In different elements of the ornamentation, the colours are dovetailed in variants of one thread of the warp to up to even twenty ones in the comb (T. 40.5.) The position of these decorative elements is the same over the entire surface. They are placed side-ways along the direction of the thread of the warp, with teeth along the width of the warp.

*

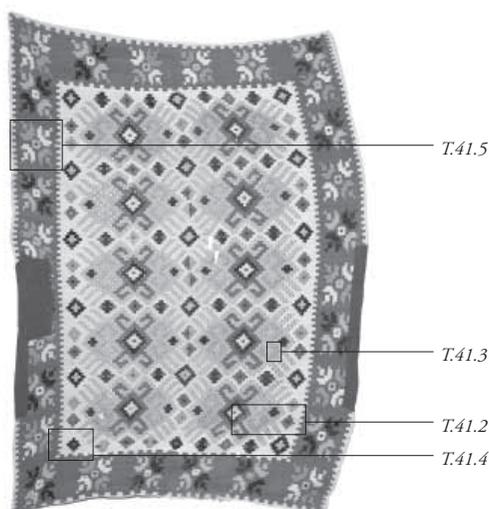
The variant of tapestry weave that is illustrated by a series of the following examples is dominant as a technique of the youngest phase in the development of carpetweaving in Serbia. Its beginnings are in the second half of the 19th century in the carpetweaving centres of Vojvodina, and its late predominant application, is connected with the floral carpets of western stylistic origin. The Vienna patterns enter the carpetweaving in Vojvodina as one of series of fashion phases during the 19th century, by way of patterns ordered by Vienna companies for sale on the European market. In connection with this the study *A Review of the State and Cottage Industry Handicrafts in the Austrian Empire*, by Stefan von Kess, published in 1822 contains much information of the weaving of quality carpets in the southern parts of the Military Border and presents ideas on the possibilities of further development. On the basis of this, M. Maluckov supposes that there were subsequent specific actions on the part of the state, and from this she moves the dating of developed carpetweaving in the Vojvodina region by several decades earlier.¹⁵¹ Along with the new patterns with realistic floral compositions, and on the basis of the traditional skill of village women weavers, a completely different type of weaving was created in relation to the kind of tapestry weaving which in folk terminology was called *sitan zamet* (small overweaves)¹⁵².

In the Museum of Vojvodina collection, as well as among the older carpets in the villages of northern Banat, there are examples of carpets on which it is possible to register an older phase of development of this weave, as tapestry weave with a large overweave with slits, made by the linking of the weft onto the warp at the beginning of the horizontal row of a structure (*iver*). The floral shapes made in this way are large and stylized, and the new way of weaving in the next colour was applied in places where two different colours border each other in two or more rows in a vertical series. In the verticals, the adjacent warp threads are linked along the level (*iver*), and where the shape of the ornament permits, a variant of tapestry weave with slits is applied, with a cascading change of colours, so that the colours branch out in the row of a weaving structure, *iver*. Although the proofs of this variety in a large overweave come from the territory of Banat, it was also developed in full measure, likewise in its smaller structure, in the Bačka region with a centre in Stapar, and, later, as a secondary

¹⁵¹ Maluckov, M., *Ćilimarstvo u Srba*, 55-57; 135.

¹⁵² One of the characteristic variants of the tapestry weave of the western margins of oriental carpetweaving, Romania, Bulgaria, Eastern Serbia, Greece. It was especially perfected in carpetweaving centres as a technique of artistic weaving. This variant originally arrived from the influence of the eastern most regions with developed carpet centres and then took root in Vojvodina and Serbia. It later served as the basis for the development of local carpetweaving industry in Banat. In this text the application of the *sitan zamet* is represented by earlier examples (16 - 23; 41).

feature, also in all the regions of Vojvodina, Serbia and the Balkans. This technique is especially suited for the sorting of colours since it facilitates the movement of lines of colours in various directions, up to colour nuancing which is closer to the gobelin colour scheme. In the mature phase with a very small, basically square-like structure of the tapestry woven fabric, along with the possibility of linking on of other colours according to the shape of the ornament, this technique solves the problems of making faithful copies of the flower heads in lavish bouquets and wreaths. It also made it possible to copy the most complex patterns from factory coverlets, regardless of whether floral, geometrical, or even classicist or oriental ornaments were in question.¹⁵³ The first two examples illustrate the early phase of the largest overweave.



Example 41

CARPET

Krstur, Banat, around 1890.

Dimensions: 184 x 138 cms

(inv.no. 8713, T. 41.1.)

In this example there is a combined application of two characteristic variants of tapestry weave with slits in the Vojvodina region: in the inner field of the carpet, it is cascading under a right angle, with a square structure, in the border part, the weaving is done by the connecting of the weft at the beginning of the row of a structure, *iver* and this will be discussed further.

The warp is of cotton and the weft is of multi-coloured softly spun wool. The ornamentation is geometrical and stylized floral. The spacious field of the carpet with a surface of natural white wool, is filled with ornamental rhomboids in red, yellow, blue and dark purple wool (T. 41.2.). The entire decoration of the field is made by a repetition of a branching rhomboid shape, resembling stylized snowflakes with variations of rhomboids in the interspaces. In this part, as a whole, tapestry weave with slits was applied, in a cascading manner, with the basic principle of the alteration of colours by three threads of the warp (T. 41.3.). On the edges of the basic colours of the surface, the tapestry weave is with slits, by the simple dovetailing of squares of adjacent colours (T. 41.4.).

As opposed to the classical type of cascading introduction of colours, in the border there is a larger stylization of a flower in the tapestry weave variant of linking on of the weft at the beginning of the row of structure in *krupni zamet* (large overweave) (T. 41.5.).

An example with an identical central surface, made in the same weave appeared in Kumane in December 2001. During examination of this piece offered for sale, a series of very characteristic examples were found which have been preserved by the Ćurčić family, and which were inherited by the daughter-in-law Marija Ćurčić, born in 1952, who brought them into the home of her parents (the Mučalov family).¹⁵⁴ This example comes from the dowry of her mother-in-law, which means that it was woven around 1900.

¹⁵³ B. Vladić-Krstić, *Tradicionalno ćilimarstvo u Srbiji*, 25: This variant of tapestry weave is characterized by great porousness, so strong spun threads are needed for the warp since it bears the weight of the firmness of the fabric. In carpetweaving in Vojvodina this is material is hemp. In the period of the rise of carpetweaving in Vojvodina, the cultivation of hemp was also developed, organized for the purpose of meeting the needs of the local hemp factories.

¹⁵⁴ Following the death of her husband's parents, Marija Ćurčić inherited a collection of carpets which derived from the dowries of several generations of women from the Ćurčić family in Kumane. The oldest of them has the year woven into it (1895) and the name of the owner (Duka Ćurčić) who was also born Ćurčić. The piece is from the early phase of the spread of floral compositions, woven in two halves. The next carpet was the property of Boška Ćurčić (born Stančić), quoted as an analogue to example 41. Then there is a Pirot carpet analogous to example 54, woven around 1930. The youngest by its creation is the carpet named Pansies, one of the newer models popular to this very day (cf. photograph 61).



Example 42 CARPET WITH A BORDER AND STRIPES

Kumane, Banat, 1890.

Dimensions: 200 x 72 cms, two pieces

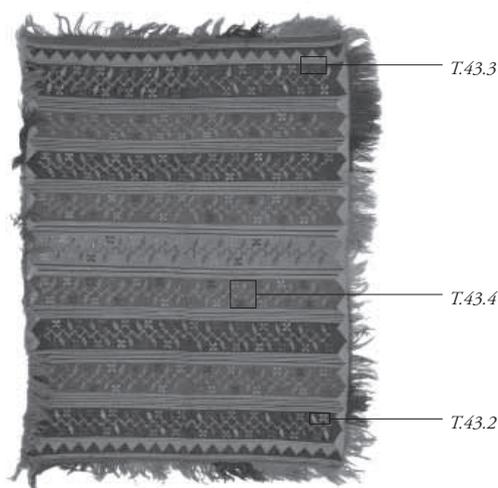
Inv. no. 11160 (T. 42.1.)

The carpet has been divided into its two halves which were used as runners. This example illustrates another, intermediate phase which lasted several decades toward the end of the 19th century. This is a new aspect of large overweave applied in the making of the border as well as the striped central portion. Over the ornamented stripes, in the very centre there is a floral wreath. Here it is possible to register a combination of manners of tapestry weave with slits with a change of the weft according to a variable number of warp threads, according to the given shapes, on a surface in one colour, with a new principle of linking in at the beginning of the row of a structure (*iver*).

The warp is of hemp and the weft is made of wool. The basic colours of the carpet are marine blue, red, yellow, while the colours of the ornamentation are black, white, cherry red, orange, light blue, green, olive-green. The pattern belongs to the group of simpler compositions where the division of the surfaces for ornamentation is in the manner of the traditional distribution. In the borders there are two floral forms which go around. The large stylized flower in the shape of a rectangle, with four petals, is the same one as in the borders of the previous example, while the second one represents a bud. Within the border is a striped field in which the same flower with four petals is repeated in series.

The floral content consists of three different types of flowers. The predominant one is the larger flower which consists of rectangular coloured surfaces in various combinations of colours (T. 42.2.). In the border there are buds made by two contrasting colours like a chess board (T. 42.3.). Even the small floral wreath in the middle has been made with a precise colouration of details (T. 42.4.).

The tapestry weave is, for the most part, quite large in its raster. The connections of the colours are mainly in straight lines (T. 42.5.). In the straight lines, the linking is by weaving in of the adjacent colour over the border thread of the adjacent colour. This kind of linking is visible in the details of the buds and in the form of chess board (T. 42.6.). Although these are slantingly placed squares in a cascading series, the structure of the weave is smaller, but the linking of the colours is the same as in the case of the large rectangular fields. The linking of the colours by the picking up of the warp thread of the adjacent colour is a variant technique which developed in carpetweaving in relatively newer times. Among the known examples of the application of this variant, the oldest carpets come from the Banat region (Srpski Krstur, Kumane).



Example 43

CARPET WITH STRIPES

Melenci, Banat, 1896.

Dimensions: 184 x 134 cms

Inv. no. 3878 (T. 43.1.)

In the third example in this series, which was woven in 1896, the manner of varying the application of this overweave is already quite visible, with a more moderate stylization of floral ornaments. Instead of the large square structure of the coloured surfaces, the broader forms are combined here, most often on four threads of the warp, with narrower transitions on two threads (T. 43.2.). The applied technique is still the most simple type of tapestry weave with slits with the transference of colour at the top of the row, *iver*, by linking on the warp thread of the adjacent colour.

The striped composition is formed by various coloured stripes placed symmetrically in relation to the central transversal stripe, separated by narrow shuttle woven stripes in several colours (T. 43.3.). The stripes and the floral garland are of the same shape, but with a variation in the co-ordinating of the colours of the garland and the surface. The pattern which makes up the floral garland is of the same shape in all the stripes (T. 43.4.), however, the sovereign rhythm of the variation of the uniform ornamentation and even weaving indicate a skilled hand, so that it is possible that the carpet was made in a workshop. According to the type of decoration, but also judging by the fringes on all the edges of the carpet, this was a table cloth in the parlour of the house.

Following examples in the early phase of this overweave in the northern Banat region, the continued development of this technique is also well illustrated by items from Stapar. Namely, in the carpetweaving centres, even more intensely than in the areas of their weakest influence, there is also real home carpet weaving going on simultaneously. As already mentioned, this was the production of the simplest carpets which continued to be woven on narrow looms. The decorations on them are simpler and with ornamental elements that evidence a desire to imitate large carpets.

In the beginnings of the development of this technique, which would later become incontrovertible in carpetweaving, solutions were found to making decorative forms on a surface in one colour. Later more complex polychromy is mastered, up to the nuanced flowers from the Vienna Biedermeier.

Example 44

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka, about 1930.
Dimensions: 175 x 121 cms
Inv. no. 9621 (T. 44.1.)



Anica Nagulov wove a pair of such carpets, as a young woman, for herself.¹⁵⁵ She was a gifted weaver but she did not venture to weave on the broad loom. She wove carpets on the narrow loom, just as all other fabrics. Later she taught her daughter-in-law Milka, who went on to work on the broad loom and by the 1950s came to be known as one of the best weavers of carpets in Stapar. Over the decades of their joint work on large carpets, they co-ordinated their techniques in such a way that it was not possible to distinguish the different pairs of hands.¹⁵⁶

The carpet is black, with a wreath of flowers in the border field in the form of a pseudo-lace (T. 44.2.). As opposed to carpets of this kind in which the flowers are in many colours, with a light-dark contrast with the colour of the surface, in this case there is a rose in several colours (T. 44.3.). The simplified interpretation of the Vienna rose approaches the realism of the large floral carpets.

The line in the shape of a pseudo-lace carpets in this example indicates the manner in which all the separating and framing straight and curvy lines were made on the large broad carpets (T. 44.4). The adjacent colours which are carried over in a straight line are connected together by linking two threads of a certain colour onto the bordering warp thread of the adjacent colour (T. 44.5.).

The Biedermeier desire for warmth brought a lavish neo-Baroque spirit to crafts in the Vojvodina region. Stapar and its surroundings became a centre where a modern type of carpet appeared and from there spread throughout Serbia. The carpet with wreaths and bouquets, woven to order according to the patterns of the Vienna Biedermeier, in the decades of the closing of the 19th century, spread not only throughout Vojvodina, but also in Pirot carpetweaving.¹⁵⁷ In the beginning these were carpets with colourful floral compositions, which were brought out powerfully against a dark background. The colours used were black with a hint of red, known among the people as *crno bordovilo* (black red shaded), and on their path of development toward precise neo-Baroque patterns, these carpets show a softening of the forms and the broadening of the schemes of the colours used. The examples of such carpets were woven in Stapar (about 1900, inv.no. 9730 and inv.no. 9618 about 1915.). Following the phase in which there was a flourishing of floral combinations with figures of birds, in the factory workshops new compositions were made but with a limited selection of models on offer to customers. In the authentic village environment, on a traditional foundation, a new type of carpetweaving came into being, which brought respect as well as financial gain for the weavers. The customers, merchants, intermediaries and Austro-Hungarian wholesalers, obtained a cheap product, the women weavers a sure placement for their products, which gave an impetus to the further development of Vojvodina carpetweaving centres. The new carpetweaving stabilized the available assortment of products and directed subsequent production toward the

¹⁵⁵ She sold one piece to the Museum, while she kept the other one for herself.

¹⁵⁶ In 1976, Anica was in her 80s, and Milka was in her 50s, when as a weaver she could get a price of 3,000 DM for a pair of carpets, she received awards in neighbouring villages, exhibitions of handicrafts, and had the reputation of the best woman weaver in the region.

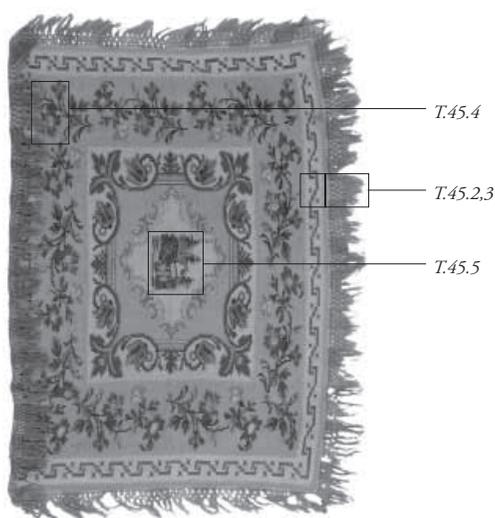
¹⁵⁷ Petković, M. & Vlatković, R., *Pirotski ćilim*, (exhibition catalogue), Beograd 1996, 112/113.

making of the most sought after models, as well as to the inclusion of foreign ornamental forms. The process was a quick one and in this speed the freedom of the weaver was suppressed and her capacity to express a dose of individuality, which was the basic feature of the old model of home weaving. Previously, the chosen patterns for a new carpet was very rarely copied literally, rather, it served as the basis of a composition in which the weaver kept or changed what and to what degree she could or wanted. The gradual introduction of change, the combination of elements with various models, led to the recasting of old ornaments into new shapes.

Starting from the next example, there is a series of carpets woven in one piece on the broad loom. These characteristic types were made in the two most influential centres in Vojvodina.

In altered market relations, the precondition for the successful placement of growingly complicated models on carpets woven on the broad loom, their solid technical execution was crucial. The perfection of the technique in the making of the polychromy, as well as the firmness and the durability of the fabric. Since this type of fabric, which has very large slits, is very loose in structure, the solution was to make the square structures smaller and increase the density of the weaving. There was control of the quality of the processed wool, thickness and fineness of the spinning, and the wool was dyed into shades according to catalogues. The suggestive nature of the new process brought in a completely different ornamentation and a new aesthetic ideal. The top level women weavers in the carpetweaving centres retained to the end the same relation toward the technical standards, but also an affinity for the often overcrowded models from the women's magazines.

In both centres of workshop carpetweaving in Vojvodina, in the vicinity of Zrenjanin in Banat and in Stapar in Bačka, this same type of overweave was applied—linking onto the angles of the little squares, with slits between the colours and the same tendency toward the reducing of the size of the structure of the weaving. Carpets, market products woven on broad looms, can be classified into several distinct groups, but only by ornamentation. Certain types, originating on one side, in the Bačka district, soon reached the Banat district and vice versa.



Example 45

CARPET

Elemir, Banat

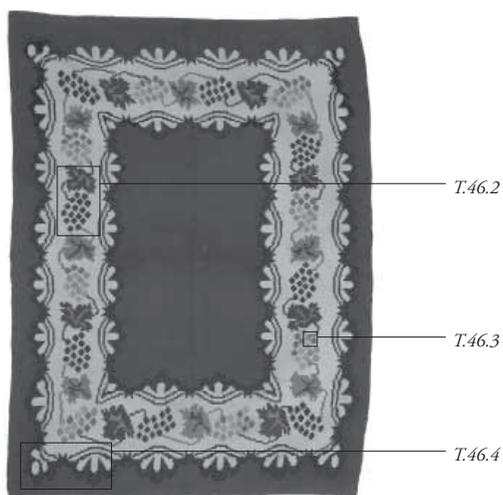
Dimensions: 120 x 160 cms

Inv. no. 11166 (T. 45.1.)

It was made in the workshop period of Banat carpetweaving, woven in Elemir about 1910 on the broad loom. It is a specific combination of neo-classicist decorativeness, characteristic of European interior textiles, with the authentic technique of carpetweaving of the Vojvodina area of the time. These are, starting from the edges, its fringe (T. 45.2.), then the stylized wreath in the border (T. 45.3.), flowers from the Vienna catalogues (T. 45.4.), complete with the central motifs of an Alpine cottage surrounded by pine trees (T. 45.5.).

Furthermore, a whole series of examples woven on the broad loom reveals the same variant of overweave, but they are indicative of the most popular ornamental types.

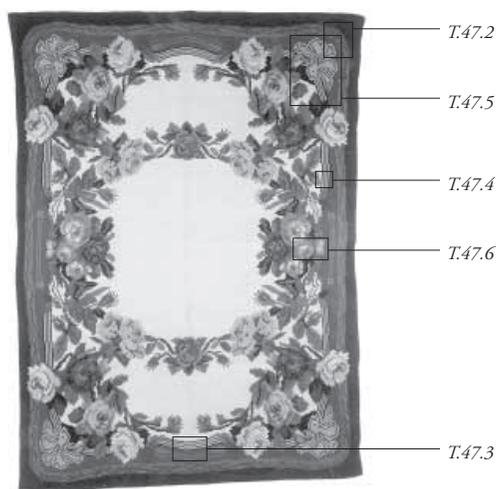
In the early phase of workshop carpetweaving, the typical carpet had a surface in one colour, with a wreath in a broad inner field in a contrasting colour. In the decoration of the field itself, the ornamentation is regularly a type of decorativeness found in factory coverlets. About 1900, wreaths of vines with grape clusters were popular.



Example 46
 CARPET
 Stapar, 1905,
 Dimensions: 171 x 124 cms
 Inv. no. 9343 (T. 46.1.)

The carpet is dark green with a rectangular white field on which there is a wreath of vines with grapes in dark blue and pink (T. 46.2.); detail of the grape (T. 46.3.). The decorative workmanship of the edge of the white field are ornaments in the shape of vine leaves (T. 46.4.).

A proof of the direct connections between the two main carpetweaving centres in Vojvodina, are analogous pieces with compositions with roses, cream in colour. The pattern was originally taken from a factory coverlet. These are carpets from Stapar in the Museum of Vojvodina collection (inv.no. 9514) dating from 1914, on the one hand and the same kind of carpet which we found during field research in Kumane, owned by Mara Zokić, born in 1921 (cf. Photograph 46). The owner inherited the carpet from her mother, and she knew that it was woven according to a carpet in the latest fashion that was brought from Stapar.



Example 47
 CARPET WITH ROSES, *with turtles*
 Stapar, Bačka, 1915.
 Dimensions: 184 x 135 cms
 Inv. no. 9514 (T. 47.1.)

The carpet is of the finest wool, quality workmanship, precise weaving technique. The colours are in calm shades and delicately combined together.

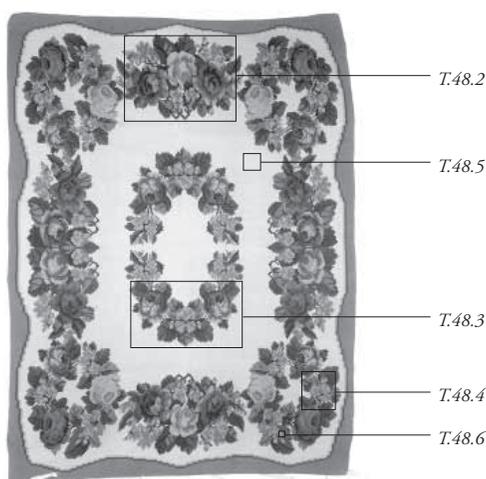
The elements of the ornamentation are executed in such a way that the shapes of the ornaments come together with possibilities in the manipulation of the overweave, blending into a harmonious composition. This is visible in the construction of the decorative frame of the wreath (T. 47.2.). The curve of the transversal decorative frame has been made by the rhythmical movement of the colours by the moving of the colours in the stripe by a variant of tapestry weave with slits (T. 47.3.), as opposed to the vertical edges where the main overweave is the linking onto the vertical. The adjacent colours are linked thickly along the vertical so the carpet is in fine weave (T. 47.4.). It was woven in the proportion of two threads of the warp with six threads of the weft in the same colour.

The part of the name with turtles, for this perfect model of village Biedermeier, was given according to the corner ornament which looked like a turtle to them, although it is in fact a corner bow (T. 47.5.). The warp is

hemp and the weft is wool (white, black red shaded and several shades from the darkest to the most light ones dark red, red, rose, green, brown yellow).

Although the pattern derives from a store bought velvet bedspread produced in a factory, this carpet was made according to a finished carpet. The technique of tapestry weave is in the variant which has been discussed on the previous examples of Stapar carpets, but the workmanship is much smaller. The slits between the colours are short, the fine, thin threads of the wool in the weft have been densely compacted, and in the case of the straight lines have one of the adjacent colours caught into the thread of the other one, so that in the case of contrasting colours this is very visible. The lines of the change of colours flow straight, or bend, or branch out in all directions. The copied ornamentation is realistic, so it was necessary to follow the shading of the colours in the original. This is how shaded surfaces were created, which was achieved with several shades of the corresponding colours. The delicate shading of the floral shades is consistent on all elements composing the complex oval wreath or the corner bouquet. In this form of tapestry weave, by the simplest technical procedure, a complex ornamentation is made in a realistic effect, in the natural shapes of floral ornamentation (T. 47.6.).

Following the phase of black red shaded as the basic surface of multi-coloured models with floral combinations, already by the 1920s, a model of a white carpet with wreaths began to predominate and it stayed popular and was made into the last decades of the 20th century. This type of carpet perhaps best documents the trend toward a unified structure of the fabric, the precision of the making of the given drawing, that is, the pattern which is being copied.



Example 48

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka, 1926/27.

Dimensions: 193 x 136 cms

Inv. no. 9344 (T. 48.1.)

This cream coloured carpet with roses, and wreaths, was woven by Živka Sovilj, for her daughter's dowry. Živka Sovilj also wove carpets for others. This is a typical Biedermeier version of small bouquets of roses with violets (T. 48.2.), which varies and forms two wreaths. The outer one is lavish, while the inner is a more modest ovals. The outer wreath is in fact a complex whole: the corner round wreaths and two shapes of bouquets (elongated on the horizontal sides and oval on the vertical ones). The central medallion consists of two floral arches connected into an oval wreath (T. 48.3.). In all the shapes the same content is repeated: darker and lighter red and pink roses and blue violets. However, the Stapar women weavers again added a note of the romantic since the blue violet can also be seen as a blue forget-me-not (T. 48.4.).¹⁵⁸

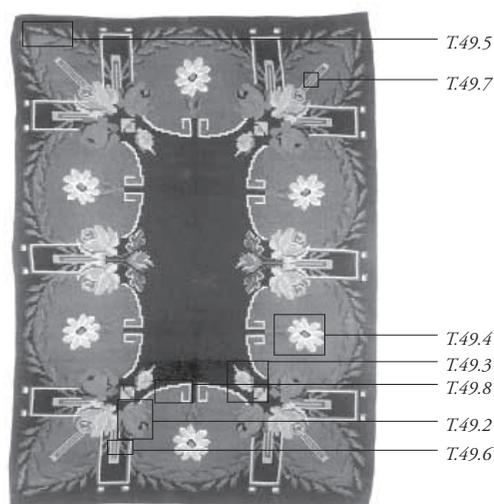
Under confident hands, the overweave is perfectly uniform in all places, and the colours consistently applied. The fabric is thick and firm, and the surface is smooth (T. 48.5.), and the floral shapes appear natural. The blending of the colours in this type of shading is especially effective if it is observed from a certain distance. The features of the tapestry weave applied are the same as in the other examples in this group.

Usage and maintenance have shown the instability of the colours of the wool (T. 48.6.).

In the infinite series of examples analogous to this one, there is also a carpet from the National Museum of Zrenjanin (inv.no. 652), procured in the vicinity of Zrenjanin.

¹⁵⁸ The forget-me-not is a favoured motif in Serbian folklore and romantic poetry.

The example of the following two different interpretations of another kind of composition, on a carpet from Stapar, dating from 1915 and on rug from Silbaš in the Bačka region, from the 1930s, are excellent illustrations of the phenomenon when the traditional functions of the carpet are transferred to bedspreads.¹⁵⁹ In this case the substitution has been made already on the level of the technique and the working materials, more precisely, only in these aspects. The entire composition has been transferred to a ribbed structure of a completely different weaving. Starting from the 1920s, there is a very decorative application of weaving on the board, which was primarily, used for the weaving in of ornaments on decorative linen cloth textiles. This led to a completely new category of weavers who made a new form of adaptation on the basis of patterns of the most modern carpets, especially the ones from Stapar. Semi-professional women weavers made these same models on broad looms, and home weavers on the narrow home looms, in two halves.



Example 49

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka, 1915.

Dimensions: 186 x 135 cms

Inv. no. 10314 (T. 49.1.)

It is green with an ornamental composition in which classicist elements are mixed with Biedermeier flowers. The classicist geometrical outline with typical figural forms, including the large rectangular vases, are, in this case, an elegant framework in which the warm Biedermeier rose bouquets are placed (T. 49.2.), as well as buds (T. 49.3.) and the delicate daisies in the light green medallions (T. 49.4.). The outer border of the medallion is in the form of laurel sprigs (T. 49.5.).

The carpet is made of firm material, the warp is hemp, and the weft is well spun, smooth wool. This example has been made medium large, with the same overweave of tapestry weave with a linking of the adjacent colours at the borders of two levels (*iver*), in a proportion of three threads of the warp and ten rows of the weft. The principle of the changing of colours is in keeping with the forms of the patterns, to that, linking along the verticals has been applied (T. 49.6), and then the slants with the carrying over at the opposite angles, diagonally (T. 49.7.) as well as combinations of linking on with cascading tapestry weave with slits (T. 49.8.).

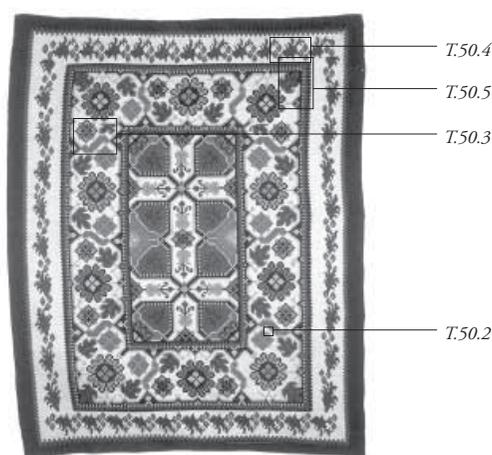
The next example 49a, a bedspread, Silbaš, around 1930 (inv.no. 11245), represents a completely different execution of the previous composition. The rug from Silbaš was woven on the board around 1930. According to the owner, Ljubica Kolarić, it was woven on a board. The light, decorative bedspread was woven on a cotton warp, but with two wefts. The basic transversal weft is of cotton dyed black, woven by shuttle weaving, and the decorative shapes of multi-coloured wool have been made by hand weaving in (T. 49.9.). The additional tool in the form of a light, smooth board was the solution here for weaving in ornaments by hand by the introduction of wool in various colours. The board in the up position among the counted threads of the warp keeps the threads open in a shed. The basic ribbed structure of the fabric is determined by the counting of the warp threads, so that on the front of the fabric, in a width of three threads of the warp, the woollen weft is visible, and in the width of the fourth only cotton (T. 49.10.). Such a fabric has only one face (T. 49.11.). It is woven from the back which is the only side that is visible and available while it is on the loom.

¹⁵⁹ In the part by the technique of shuttle weave.

One more instance of the parallel relation between the ornamentation and the technique is visible in the example of the two most popular versions of compositions inspired by Pirot carpetweaving. Each of these versions of the Pirot carpet, is a representative of a certain trend in the carpet weaving centres, in Stapar and in Kumane. Both of them are distinct by their geometrical features which are, along with being a suggestive name, the basic elements which indicate the source of the inspiration. The carpet from Elemir with a rhomboid central and symmetrical composition, which is filled with stylizations of the carnation flower, and the Stapar model which is primarily organized as a carpet with wreaths, with the difference that the fields for ornamentation are in the form of strict rectangular borders¹⁶⁰ filled with floral stylizations with two wreaths. The origin of the pattern from Kumane is possible to date to the late 19th century on the basis of an identical piece from that period in the possession of the Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade.¹⁶¹ The influence of Pirot elements in the Banat district date from several decades earlier, which is seen in a series of examples dating already from the 1870s. However, it is only in the 1930s that there is a contemporaneous and clear wave of this fashion.¹⁶²

With the introduction of elements of Pirot carpet weaving, in both of the Vojvodina carpet weaving centres there are models with an evident effort at originality. In Stapar there is an original interpretation of the local authentic experience of the Pirot influence. The ornamentation is put through a strong stylization, with the exception of the outer wreath of violets (*forget-me-nots*) which is linked to the details of Stapar floral compositions.

In the subdued colour scheme, which is a feature of both pieces, the dominant colours are the white colour of wool and various shades of brown. The Stapar carpet is enlivened by accents of pastel colours in the floral elements. Since the Stapar model, as far as its technique is concerned, belongs to the variant of tapestry weave on which the whole development of workshop carpet weaving of this region relies, it will be linked onto the previous series of carpets.



Example 50

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka, early 1940s.

Dimensions: 195 x 145 cms

Inv. no. 9818 (T. 50.1.)

This piece was woven according to the latest fashion of the time as part of the dowry of Mira Bekvalac. The composition looks like the work of some draftsman, and if it is, then during the execution there were a series of departures in the symmetry of executed details, mainly in the broad wreath. This geometrical ornamentation was made by the linking on of the weft on the warp thread of the adjacent colour, in the transition from one level of a weaving structure (*iver*) to another, in varying relations of the warp and the weft in the raster, from two to four, most often three threads of the warp with seven or eight rows of the weft (T. 50.2), depending on which side the colour of the wool in the row, *iver* was changed. As far as the lines of the ornamentation are concerned, the predominant one are cascading slants and rhomboid forms (T. 50.3). A somewhat softer stylization can be seen in the border wreath of violets, or as Staparians think of them, *forget-me-nots*. In this, there is a manifestation of the typical aspect of the overweave with linking on (T. 50.4). There are verticals

¹⁶⁰ The trace of the oriental influence is the central field in the shape of an elongated rectangle with two crosses, similar to a Kazac carpet.

¹⁶¹ B. Vladić-Krstić, *Tradicionalno čilimarstvo u Srbiji*, cat. 55, photograph 53 (Kikinda, inv. no. 8673).

¹⁶² M. S. Filipović, *Beleške o čilimarstvu u Vojvodini*, 145.

where the long slit between two different colours is broken by a simple picking up of the adjacent warp thread and going back. These slits with another colour are sometimes done in the same direction, from one colour to another, and sometimes they are done alternatively (T. 50.5.). On the same detail of weaving it is visible how the geometrical structure of the composition is especially emphasized by the effects of the various dovetailing of the squares which is made by the consistent application of the basic overweave of tapestry weave with slits. The dovetailing of the squares is done here with variants of simple dovetailing, but also by withdrawing and pulling in of the squares along the vertical.



66 Pirot patterned carpets, Elemir 2003, Milica Petrović possesses the original photo

A pair of carpets from Elemir, represents another prestigious type of Pirot pattern, but in a Banat variant. The carpets were woven to order in some village in this region of Banat, around 1930. For decades they were carpets in the parlour as a family heirloom (Photograph 66). After the death of their parents, the two sisters who inherited them gave them as a gift to the Museum in 2003.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ An interest in the offer of carpets for buying to the Museum, and in many cases even as gifts, increased after the exhibition *Carpet Weaving Among Serbs in Vojvodina 1850-1950*, which the Museum held in 2003. This is how this acquisition was made. The gift giver Milica Petrović possesses a photograph of the carpets in their authentic environment, and has also preserved a photograph of the carpets themselves.

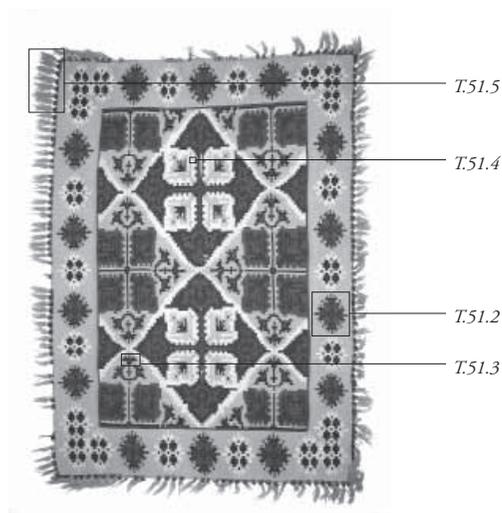
Example 51

CARPET

Elemir, Banat, 1930.

Dimensions: 220 x 160 cms

Inv. no. 11826 (T. 51.1.)



The carpet was most probably woven in Kumane, Melenci or some other village in the vicinity, as a workshop piece. In addition to the fact that this was a very popular pattern, it is, on the other hand, the only type of model where it is possible to register a special variant of tapestry weaving with stitching in, which is included under the name of small weave among the people. The workshop origin of this example is primarily indicated by the technical consistency in all the elements of execution, the strict symmetry of all the regular forms and the arrangement of decorative elements (T. 51.2.), the consistent application of the tapestry weave without slits with sharp and fine dovetailing of the adjacent colours with two threads of various colours, alternatively (T. 51.3, T. 51.4.). The type of stylization also resembles the manner of a professional designer of about the period of 1900. Although it bears the name of a Pirot carpet, it could hardly have been made by direct copying of Pirot products, but, most likely, by the mediation of classical forms of oriental models created for the cottage industry. Independent of the ornamentation, the fringes on the edges are a recognizable part of a Banat carpet, which is the case here (T. 51.5.).

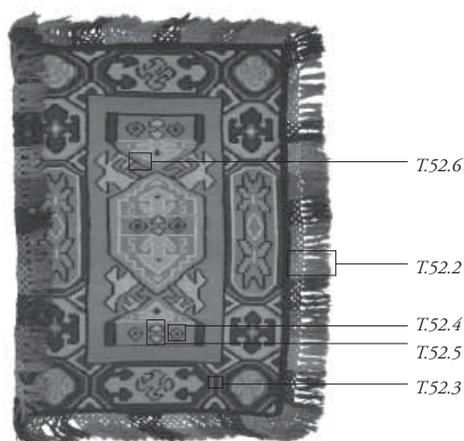
Example 52

CARPET

Sanad, Banat, 1929.

Dimensions: 235 x 180 cms

Inv. no. 11446 (T. 52.1.)



This carpet was acquired from the inheritance of the Dovijarski family from Sanad, and it is now one of the rare pieces of this type in museum collections. The composition represents a quite simplified variant created by the taking over of elements from other carpets. The basic colour of the background is dove blue and is from the colour scheme of undefined half-shades modern at the time, and the large shapes of the ornamentation are in corresponding shades of pink, freesia, dark yellow, rust, olive-green, dark red. The carpet is thick and soft, with an abundance of fringes in the colours on the carpet (T. 52.2.). The example is outside the traditional pattern of folk carpetweaving, but it is an addition to the closer acquaintance with trends in a certain local community. It is possible that it is from the same workshop in Sanad where the following carpet in this series

was made in the same weaving. These are, for the present, the only examples known to us among the newer carpets made in the 20th century. The applied variant of tapestry weave without slits, by stitching in, is like the one analyzed in a series of examples in this text. In this piece from Sanad, we can register a phase of the revival of an archaic type of weave which was used in home carpetweaving in Banat during the 19th century. M. S. Filipović states that in the period between the two world wars, Pirot carpets were woven in the villages, noting the similarity with real Pirot carpets, primarily in technique, since they have a small square.¹⁶⁴ Examples 51 to 53 of this series document the transition in which the foreign ornamentation is made by the reviving of old-fashioned weaving techniques. The stitching in has been consistently applied both on the verticals and on the slants in the shape of iver structures. The thick stitching in around the border thread on the vertical transitions from colour to colour gives firmness but also the effect of shadowing (T. 52.3.). Stitching in was, likewise, used for making the slanting cascading structures (T. 52.6.), but also for the rounding of the lines into stylized forms with small squares in structure *iver* (T. 52.4, T. 52.5.).

The next pair of carpets from Sanad are quite unusual in regard to the technique applied. Both pieces with an identical pattern were created by copying the ornamentation of Pirot carpets, which was the fashion between the two wars. This is a model of local, Vojvodina Pirot carpets, which by the pattern and the colour scheme are closest to the original inspiration. The colours are characteristic of Pirot carpet weaving (dark red, black and white with details in purple), but the two carpets have been made by completely different techniques. They came to the Museum of Vojvodina from the Todorov family from Novi Sad, but at different times, in 1992 and in 1997. The first one to come as a gift to the Museum was the piece closest to the Pirot technique (inv. no. 10768). At that time the other one was kept as a family memento, and later this one also came into the possession of the Museum collection.¹⁶⁵

The conditions under which these carpets were made are completely outside traditional patterns. At the request of the buyer, a woman weaver, such as there were in many homes in Sanad, undertook an unusual endeavour. The inheritors do not know the motive why, instead of an order of two completely identical carpets, for which wool in the required amounts had been prepared, the buyers requested the making of a pair by two completely different techniques. Besides the colour scheme, there is an identical ornamental composition so that from a distance the two carpets look completely the same. However, the structure of the fabric is completely different, since two different technical principles were applied.

¹⁶⁴ M. S. Filipović, *Beleške o ćilimarstvu u Vojvodini*, 145.

¹⁶⁵ The carpets are from the Todorov family which lives in Novi Sad. The traditional way carpets are inherited are along the female line, however, Gliša Todorov was an only child, so he and his wife, Rakilja, brought the carpets with them when they came to Novi Sad. According to his testimony when he donated one of them in 1992, the carpet was his grandfather's, and it was woven when his grandfather was about 50 years old. At the acquiring of the second piece, Rakilja stated that the carpets were owned by her mother-in-law, who, when she was young, ordered a pair of carpets to be woven in Sanad.

Example 53

CARPET

Sanad, Banat, around 1930.
Dimensions: 200 x 140 cms
Inv. no. 11184 (T. 53.1.)

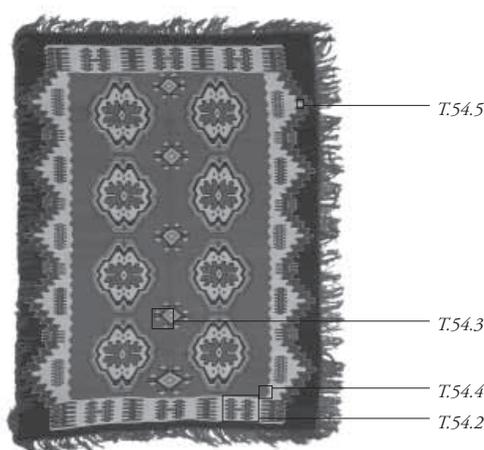


A variant of tapestry weave without slits was applied, with stitching in instead, as in the previous example, but also as in the case of some previous examples in this text.¹⁶⁶ This means that the model of the composition was created according to the pattern of ornamentation of the Pirot carpetweaving, by a technique without slits, but with an archaic type of overweave which was known in the eastern Pannonian region and the western slopes of the Carpathians. The stitching in is consistently applied in all the vertical transitions from colour to colour, but with a variation of shapes, that is, ornamental lines, which gave different variants of polychrome structures. These are the effects of shading along the vertical (T. 53.2.); plasticity of dovetailing in the form of squares and rectangles, with a third colour between them (T. 53.3.); slanting, cascading (*iver*) structures (T. 53.4.); also in the variant with a colour in between (T. 53.5.).

Example 54

CARPET

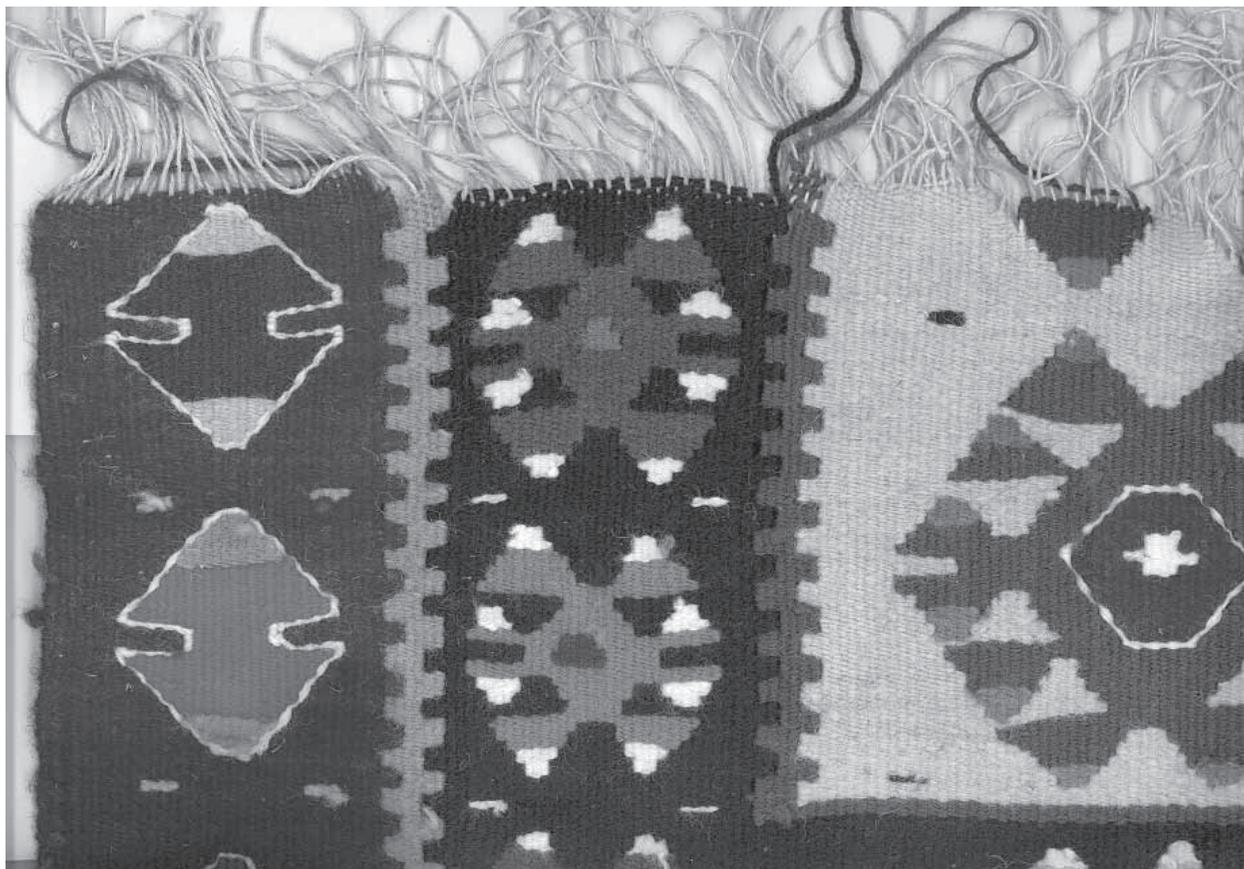
Sanad, Banat, around 1930.
Dimensions: 200 x 140 cms
Inv. no. 10768 (T. 54.1.)



It was woven in a variant of tapestry weave with slits and for the most part in relations of one or two threads of the warp, to five or six rows of the weft. In this way the slit is a short one, and the weave is medium large. For the decorative elements which are to be found on the previous carpet, woven by stitching in, in the case of this one, corresponding technical solutions were found: the introduction of a third colour between two that were dovetailed, which gives plasticity and dynamicism to the large comb-like forms (T. 54.2.); the slanting and cascading structures (T. 54.3.); and the simple change of two colours along the slant (T. 54.4.). The change of the line of the form has occurred in this carpet only because of the longer vertical at the linking of colours, where, instead of the longer slits, a link has been made with the weft of one colour by one thread of the warp, to the left or to the right (T. 54.5.).

¹⁶⁶ Examples 27, 32, 35, 39.

Observing the structure of the overweaves applied here, only one of the procedures is completely foreign to carpetweaving in Vojvodina, and that is the use of the technique of links for the filling in of the slits between two adjacent colours. Here it serves as the possible solution for adding in a third colour between them. With wool of a third contrasting colour, with the aid of a needle, the outlines of the tapestry woven figures have been stitched round. While it is sporadic in this case, this technique was wide spread in oriental carpetweaving¹⁶⁷, from where it was taken over by Pirot carpetweaving. This, as well as a series of other procedures from the characteristic fund of Pirot carpetmaking, was never accepted in Vojvodina. In the mentioned review of acquisitions in 2001, in Kumane, this same model of Pirot carpet appeared, also from the 1930s, woven by tapestry weave with slits. In addition to the fact that it did not have fringes and that the basic ornaments are somewhat stocky, there are only small differences in the two shapes of ornaments which serve as a filling of the intermediate spaces.



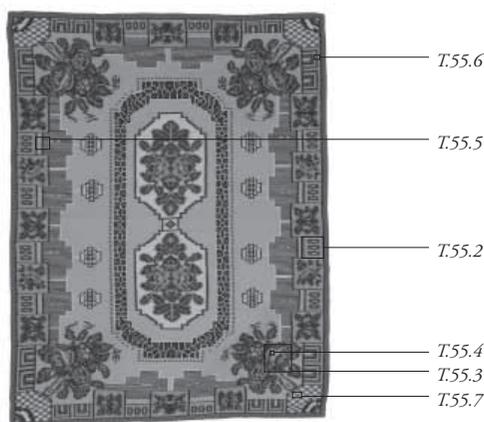
67 Sample of weaving, in the Pirot pattern and the Pirot technique, made by Radojka Žarin, Kumane 1993.

Various attempts at imitating the subjects or the techniques of Pirot carpetweaving were either the testing of the craft of the woman weaver starting a pattern (Photograph 67),¹⁶⁸ or individual cases of copying Pirot patterns. In this pair of carpets from Sanad, the weaver showed her skill at mastering a series of complex problems, either in a completely original way, or with the use of a whole scope of variant procedures from the weaving tradition of the Vojvodina and the Pannonia region.

¹⁶⁷ Hull, A. and Luczyuc-Wuhowska, J., *Kilim, The Complete Guide*, 50, 77; M. Vitković-Žikić, *Pirotski čilimi*, 73: 6.

¹⁶⁸ In the collection of the Museum there is a sample of weaving, in the Pirot pattern and the Pirot technique (inv. no. 11161), which Radojka Žarin from Kumane made by imitating an original Pirot piece. When she achieved a satisfactory quality of weaving, she left it unfinished. She had no wish to possess something fully made from such a completely different culture of weaving.

During the 20th century, the remaining rare women weavers in Stapar constituted the last phase in the development of local carpetweaving of the workshop type. The best among the weavers, such as Milka Nagulova was,¹⁶⁹ developed a technique of transferring various decorative models from magazines. They chose the new patterns according to their own taste or in agreement with the buyers. At that time, carpetweaving in Vojvodina, which was in its final phase, went through a kind of naive exhibitionism in an attempt to reach such achievements as the smallest patterns such as lace, or the smallest possible overweave.



Example 55

CARPET

Stapar, Bačka, 1955.

Dimensions: 197 x 148 cms

Inv. no. 9346 (T. 55.1.)

This example woven in 1955, registers the greatest density of weaving in this variant of tapestry weave. The wool is thickly compacted, and the adjacent portions in various colours are linked on by every four rows of the weft, so that the proportion is two threads of the warp by four threads of the weft in the row of structure, *iver*.¹⁷⁰

Such a carpet was a high achievement of mastering the fashion of copying the patterns of velvet bedspreads from Italy. This meant the translation of completely free forms, without any type structure, into the square structure of tapestry weave. The weavers were very proud of their successes, although their enthusiasm was not shared by experts and critics of modern folk cottage industry. The carpet is named *with boxes*, according to the geometrical shapes along the border ornamentation of the carpet (T. 55.2.). As opposed to the previous examples, in which there is shading which leaves the impression of natural forms from afar, here this is not the case, to such an extent. The pattern of the composition has been transferred with the sure execution of various geometrical form, including the miniature ones. However, in the case of realistic floral elements, the hand of the weaver is not so sure, so that the rose seems awkwardly made (T. 55.3, T. 55.4.). In this example there is an emphasis on the play of smaller geometrical shapes in contrasting colours, such as vertical and horizontal stripes (T. 55.5.). In the contrasting links along the verticals, small comb teeth shapes are very visible (T. 55.6.), as well as the careful shading of the chess-board (T. 55.7.).

The colour scheme is tasteful, the basic colour is a specific mixture somewhere between beige, grey and lilac.¹⁷¹ In addition to this piece from Stapar with a recognizable colour combination, the same model has recently appeared as an offer for acquisition from Omoljica in the Banat region.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Famous for participation and honorary diplomas at various media events of the type of meetings of villages, during the 1960s and the 1970s.

¹⁷⁰ Data from M. Maluckov, *Ćilimarstvo Srba u Vojvodini*, measure of the threads, Gordana Jolić, senior documentalist of the Ethnological department.

¹⁷¹ The folk name is freesia coloured according to the freesia flower.

¹⁷² On offer to the Museum for acquisition, among seven carpets, there is also one such model, but woven in intense contrasting colours of green, red, white, with accents of other bright shades.





Based on the presented material, in the light of the commentaries offered and conclusions and in the context of the subject matter of carpetweaving Vojvodina, in closing, two of the basic key aspects of the subject should be emphasized: the ornamentation motifs and the variants of weaving overweaves. The model of illustrative conclusion, in the case of the ornamentation, is the review of sample patterns according to basic motifs, and in the case of overweaves it is the identification and table review illustrated by corresponding photographs of enlarged details.

REVIEW OF ORNAMENTS

Just as the entire ornamental composition of Vojvodina carpets is contained in the catalogue of all the variants of figural ornamentation, the variety of figural ornaments is a fund in which a review is crystallized of all the found forms of variants in the weaving of the fabric. In the case of geometrical stylizations, there is a variation of applied cascading tapestry weave with a rectangular raster with a long slit, while in the case of Vienna pattern a variation of the long slits was developed with a link on the borders of the structure unit, *iver*. In the case of delicate compositions such as carpets with rhomboids, the basic weave is tapestry weave with minimal slits. However, in some shapes of small figural ornamentation, which are most often ritual in meaning, there are various types of compositions which have the air of naive expression. A typical detail is a bird, which is made by following the desired line of shape, so that its manner resembles the details of Coptic weaving. The technique of executing these details lies outside the technical system of the carpets in which they are found; just as such a pattern is outside their ornamental system. On the other hand, this type of spontaneous expression is universal and such forms appear in authentic conditions, which make them irresistibly similar. About their art, these could be some departure from the system to an unskilled hand, naive outlook, but also as a visible reflection of outward forms and hidden meanings. These are, more often than not, initial places for the understanding of the complex mixture of outer forms and latent intents of the ornamentation. In reality, even when they wove a carpet for themselves, the women weavers most often took someone else's finished carpet as a pattern. Since she liked the pattern, she copied it with some alterations, most often in the relations of the colours, which is the easiest way to satisfy a taste without complications in execution. The combining would be successful primarily with the organization of ornamentations into borders, inner fields, crosses, medallions, whose content could be substituted with another, but in corresponding dimensions. The greatest opportunities for alterations and the addition of new patterns was on a base in one colour, in the spaces in between, where the weaver added details according to her own taste. In this, the favoured flower would be the representative of the visible and public, while the doll, chick, heart would be a reflection of the hidden ritual meaning, fertility, or love magic. For this reason in the analysis of the ornamentation of the carpets, a double division was applied: according to form (types of motifs and the visible shapes of the patterns) and according to the primary function of the ornament (decorative or ritual). Although disproportionately, all the basic types of ornamentation are present on the carpets, in relation to the type of motif (plant, zoomorphic, figural). Within this framework, there is a further definition of decorative forms that are most developed within the plant category, primarily floral ornamentation (flower buds, vines, flower stalks, flowers in a vase, baskets of flowers and the like). Starting with the development phase of carpetweaving with the application of tapestry weave with a long slit, when the flower bud is surrounded with geometrical ornaments, changes its floral shapes with the change of applied weaving variants. Up to the change of the floral ornamentation which is completely separated from the context of the geometrical ornamentation, there is a visible tendency toward a realistic representation of the floral ornamentation. This is finally achieved under the influence of carpetweaving centres and in a new variant of weaving, in which the changes of colours are made in all directions, with slits and links of the weft in the corner of the unit of structure, *iver*, with a tendency of reducing the structure of weaving. The second style which continued on from the mid 19th to the first decades of the 20th century, primarily in carpetweaving in the Banat district is the type of measured rhomboids ornamentation with corresponding shapes of flowers. In this type of pattern there is a visible presence of a learned draftsman who stylized shapes and adapted colour schemes, in fact, channelled the development of ornamentation, executed by tapestry weave with slits reduced to the minimum with a change of colours by a move by one thread of the warp. Women weavers who, more or less skilfully, included various floral forms into compositions of contrasting colours develop the third line of development of the floral ornamentation.

The basic function of the entire ornamentation of the carpet is certainly a decorative one with the aim to offer enjoyment in beauty, but also to provide for the reputation of the weaver and the owner of the carpet. Since the flower is a notion of beauty and finesse, the floral surrounding is a setting for superior enjoyment, which led to it being so in the development of carpetweaving in the Vojvodina region with the development of

floral ornamentation on carpets. The flower was also the dominant motif in elite, as well as folk art, so that on the carpets there is an intertwining of folk aesthetics with the insuring elements of middle class art of the time. The carpet was a perfect field for a variety of variations and combinations of old and new models of floral ornaments. The turning point is the abandoning of the archaic model of the carpet, the continuous or striped compositions with geometrical ornamentation done in the tapestry weave technique with a long slit, and with a cascading structure. The beginnings of the changes in the organization of the surface for ornamentation are the broadening of stripes in one colour where, in addition to geometrical details, individual floral ornaments were also woven in. Gradually there is an exchange of roles on the carpet, instead of the broad stripe of geometrical ornamentation; the supporting ornamentation of the carpet becomes the broad floral stripe. With time, there is also a separating out of the border in one colour, which is the surface for the floral vine along the edge of the carpet. The middle field is filled out with corner compositions, and in the middle of the carpet, in connection with the large central ornament, the central medallion is made and further on various interspaces of various shapes. Such an organization of the surface for ornamentation offered optimal possibilities for the variation of ornamentation, in the Vojvodina case, primarily a floral one. The unlimited choice of the woman weaver, to include on a surface, divided in this way into various models of wholes for various carpets or to choose the major content and compose it into shapes, within the given pattern of the surface.

Although the physical presence of ritual ornamentation is discrete, it expresses a powerful emotional intensity. In the first instance the representation of the doll is woven in, with expectation for a birth soon to come. An exceptional example of a composition in the corner of the green field, with an exceptional outer narrative is a homemaker in the yard feeding the poultry, and in the centre, the Cyrillic letter ж as a stylized representation of a frog and heart on both sides, and the real meaning expressed as a desire for traditional values. In idyllic representations of the weaver's, private universe is the desired child and a life filled with love and advancement.

The national romanticism of the Serbs during the second half of the 19th century has left its mark on carpets as well, primarily in the form of the associations with the Serbian coat of arms and tri-colour. From the representations of religious symbolism, the central motif is the cross that has various artistic forms, as well as various places in the composition. Most often it is very small, in the centre of the flower, heart etc. Nevertheless, monumental as well, so that it covers the central portion of the carpet in the form of a cross-like medallion.

REVIEW OF TAPESTRY WEAVE VARIANTS (TYPOLOGY)

In the summarizing of the characteristic features of carpetweaving technique let us start from the most general, exclusively in regard to the application of weave variants, that is, from the basic structure of weaving which is the same in every detail independent of the fact in which way the polychromy is solved. In this sense, the carpet fabric belongs to the group of smooth, dense double threaded weaves with a dominant effect of the weft. This is rep weave, which, because of its universal application in the weaving of tapestries is known also as Gobelin weave.

Weft-faced plain weave - *rep*

Pure rep weave in one colour is a uniform smooth fabric where the woollen weft is woven over by a shuttle from edge to edge, on the rep surface only the weft is visible. The soft and loose woollen thread, under vertical pressure wavers and so the decorative threads completely cover the uniform, an as a rule, undyed threads of the warp. The basic, inner structure of the fabric, made of an incomparably stronger, well-spun thread, gives firmness and durability to the fabric. This is a type of weaving which is used for the making of patterns on carpets and similar woven products by the application of different variants procedures of composing coloured surfaces.

The shuttle weaving technique is very widely used in weaving in Vojvodina. It is defined by the way the weft thread is manipulated, when it is woven over by being unwound from the movable little rod from the shuttle device, which is led from one to the other edge of the fabric. Its application also includes various woollen fabrics such as woollen sheets, coverlets, mosquito nets, light fabrics in the sloth weave where the warp and the weft are in an equal proportion, rep in the case of everyday rugs or coverlets in single colours or stripes, where the warp is hemp, and the weft is compacted wool, or a complex decorative technique of weaving on the board in the example of a newer, quality bedspread. As opposed to this, in carpetweaving shuttle weaving is just an additional technique.

Tapestry weave

For the making of various decorative elements in carpetweaving in the Vojvodina region, tapestry weave is the basic technique applied in the making of the complex multi-coloured surface of the carpet. Its application in carpet weaving itself is a rather late phase of local weaving. The development of carpet weaving as a whole is characterized by a variety of variants of weave during the introduction of the weft threads in various colours and their exchange in the process of the making of the decorative surface. On the horizontal loom, this is the technique of the weaving in with the fingers and the moving of the thread of the weft by the interweaving of the weft between the even and odd, length of the horizontal threads of the warp. *Klečanje* is the authentic folk term and in expert literature in Serbian, it implies the main technique of execution of the ornamentation of the carpets. The verb *klečati* means in Serbian to weave in carpets ornaments by the fingers.

Judging by the typology, which concerns the various regions and varieties in the context of a unified carpetweaving area (Eastern Europe, Western and Central Asia and Northeastern Africa), the presence or absence of slits in the fabric and their size, is the basic criterion for the classification of weave variants in tapestry weave. Thus, the basic division of weave variants is reduced to three groups: tapestry weave with long slits, tapestry weave with short slits and tapestry weave without slits. The same principle is confirmed in our case and this is a primary division into two groups, but with the inclusion of both groups with slits into a unified group of weave variants with a slit, so that the primary division is into two groups with a slit and without a slit. In this way, there are two clearly distinct and different concepts, the first of which has a very broad application, and the second is registered very rarely.

All the distinguished examples of variants of weaves have been systematized in the form of a table based on their formal characteristics, and not based on chronological principles. Within the framework of the basic division into tapestry weave with slits and without slits, the first group is divided into variants with long, that is,

short slits. Furthermore, the tapestry woven fabrics with long slits are divided into variants of tapestry weave variants with a rectangular structure and net-like weave in which the change of colours is done by the linking of the weft at the borders of the weaving structure, *iver*. Within these two groups, there are different sub-systems in relation to the basic lines of the ornamentation, such as the slant, the vertical, as well as some other specific features in execution (T. XVI, T. XVII).

In the sub-group with slits among the fabrics tapestry woven with minimal slits, two basic sub-systems can also be distinguished, with slanting and vertical lines of ornamentation (T. XVIII).

In the examples of tapestry weave without slits, one and the same micro-weave is demonstrated in which one on one thread of the weft of two adjacent colours is alternatively wound around the same border thread of the warp. Since, in this case, the threads are equally visible from the front and the back of the fabric, it is possible to have a varied division of the warp threads, as well as the height of the basic unit structure, *iver*, the ornamental concept and the linear form are not significantly limited by the very technique of execution here. For this reason, examples have been registered with all the usual ornamental types present, both in large and in small basic unit structures, *iver*, both in slanting and in vertical lines of ornamentation (T. XIX).

The final segment of the table contains examples of atypical weaves, such as varieties of fabrics without slits, made on the basis of weaves by stitching in, in the form of multiple dovetailing, then, the execution of thin lines with a long over weaving and return of the weft, the filling in of the slits in the form of contour lines of the warp thread in a third contrasting colour, or accents in weaving executed as pseudo-shuttle weaving (T. XX).

In the first group, in the variant with a long slit, the structure of the multi-coloured surface is in the shape of small squares or rectangles with limits in the direction of the change of the colours. The natural flow is a slant, while verticals are made by the broad dovetailing of the squares. For the most part, the whole development of carpetweaving in Vojvodina is based on the variation of the basic system of tapestry weave with slits. The changes were along two paths: one of them was the gradual reduction of the size of the slit, so that the structure of the fabric changed from the large geometrical patterns to the smaller ones, and the continuity is visible in this process. The second type of changes took place in the relatively late phase of development of carpet weaving in Vojvodina. A new system of weaving variants was introduced which retained the square structure of the fabric with slits, with the exception that the slits, practically arbitrary in length are bridged with several overweaves with the same woollen thread at the edge of the change of colours. This makes it possible to have changes in colours in all directions. The raster was a large one in the beginning (T. XVII, 112), but with time it became smaller to the extent of fine nuancing (T. XVII, 1122).

The variant of tapestry weave with slits is identical to the eastern Karamany technique and is the basic one in this region for the making of decorative shapes. This is a double thread weaving in which the vertical slit is between two adjacent woven surfaces in different colours. These surfaces are, otherwise, each unto themselves, made in the compacted rep weave. The basic principle is the exchange of colours around two adjacent threads of the warp and the same way back. Vertically, the same colour of the weft is carried on as necessary for the slit to be long between two colours. If the colour is changed in the next unit of structure, *iver*, the weaving is continued with wool in a different colour. The basic module of the geometrical structure of the coloured surface is most often the little square. The slit at the connecting of two different colours is limited in height, so that the change of colours is done by the moving of the border between colours along the vertical, to the side and creates a slanted cascading raster. The basic way of moving of the lines between the coloured surfaces is the cascading movement in which a straight angle is made between the coloured surfaces. In tapestry weaving with slits, the two threads of the warp are the basic measure for the gradual moving and the colour is changed also by one thread, when the pattern being created approaches the realistic shape of plants (T. XVI, 1116). When the slits are grouped in a small space, a unified warp is preserved in a certain colour of the surface of the ornamentation, which adds to the firmness of the fabric. Within the technique of tapestry weave with long slits,

in addition to the slanting, cascading raster, there is also dovetailing of two or more adjacent colours along the vertical. The dovetailing of two adjacent colours along the width of the unit square of the raster has a primary functional application in the bordering of the fields for ornamentation (T. XVI, 1121). Among the advanced, decorative applications of this weave variant there is a dovetailing of several colours in a vertical series, so that they create a dynamic comb-like stripe. There is also special emphasis on the decorativeness of the length stripe executed in a third contrasting colour between two different colours of adjacent fields (T. XVI, 1122). A specific application of the technique of tapestry weave is the leading of a third colour in the decorative effect in the form of a square in a zigzag distribution, where it is not possible to have a classical cascading movement, but the thread of the third colour is also visible along the horizontal (T. XVI, 1114).

In the workshop type of tapestry weave developed along the western periphery of the oriental carpet region, the slits have been reduced to a minimum in the exchange of colours where there are, along the vertical, only several over weaves of the weft in the same colour. The characteristic line of the ornamentation is a small cascading slant where the exchange of colours is only by one thread of the warp. The densest structures are made by only two over weaves of the weft (T. XVII, 1211). This variant of over weaving gives a comb-like ornament (T. XVIII, 1222).

Tapestry weave without slits has a far lesser application and it is limited to the territory of the middle and northern Banat. The system of the exchange of colours of the weft is in principle the weaving round of the same border thread of the warp by the threads of two adjacent colours, which is visible on the front as well as on the back of the carpet. This technique is with shaded lines but it is dense and durable. This over weave is also used to create the usual ornamental types, large and small units of structure, *iver*, of slanting or vertical lines of ornamentation. Among the variants of of tapestry weave without slits is the dovetailing of pairs of threads of adjacent colours around one border thread of the warp. The more significant application of this variant of weave in the more recent date carpetweaving in Banat, on versions of compositions which support the ornamentation of Pirot carpetweaving, and appear sporadically as solutions for the verticals in compositions of a naturalistic expression in the southern Banat (T. XX, 22).

Table XVI

1	Slit weave
1	1 Long slits
1	1 1 Rectangular structure
1	1 1 1 Cascading slits
1	1 2 1 Vertical dovetailing
1	1 2 2 Comb-like dovetailing
1	1 1 3 Horizontal line
1	1 1 4 Leading of a third colour
1	1 1 4 1 Zigzag
1	1 1 4 2 Slant
1	1 1 5 Separate square
1	1 1 6 Varying number of warps

Table XVII

1	1 2 Net-like weave
1	1 2 1 Long slits
1	1 2 1 1 Straight vertical
1	1 2 1 2 Slant line
1	1 2 1 3 Indefinite direction
1	1 2 2 Short slits
1	1 2 2 1 Vertical
1	1 2 2 1 1 Constant direction of changing colours
1	1 2 2 1 2 Alternate direction of changing colours
1	1 2 2 2 Free direction of changing colours

Table XVIII

1	2 Minimal slits
1	2 1 Slanting lines
1	2 1 1 Slite slant lines
1	2 2 Verticals
1	2 2 1 Cogged
1	2 2 2 Deep cogged colour lines
1	2 3 Large cogged line
1	2 4 Zigzag

Table XIX

2	Without slits
2	1 Single thread-interlocking
2	1 1 Vertical lines
2	1 1 1 Straight vertical
2	1 1 2 Large cogged line
2	1 1 2 1 Small cogged
2	1 2 Cascading raster
2	1 2 1 Large cascading series
2	1 2 2 Scarp
2	1 3 Fine cascading lines
2	1 4 Inserting the third coloured weft thread
2	1 4 1 Slants
2	1 4 2 Zigzag

Table XX

2	2 Fine cogged structures
2	2 1 Vertical
2	2 2 Cascading
2	3 Long thin interweave
2	4 Fine shape interweave
3	Contour bands of weft
4	Pseudo-shuttle weave
4	1 Striped
4	2 Comb-like interweave



CONCLUSION

This study, although an extensive one and the first in the form of a special publication, is the result of many years of work at the Section for crafts and cottage industry of the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina, and a part of a much broader project of the systematic analysis of the ethnological subject matter of traditional weaving in the Vojvodina region. For this reason, it is necessary, in the conclusion, to clarify the entire basis on which the project was conceived, the expected results that will be achieved, but also to indicate the search for new ways and methods of work, more in keeping with the latest times. The communication facilities mark the beginning of the third millennium and bring a new quality and crossroads such as, during the mid 1970s, the reorganization the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina. Along the idea of a complete thematic approach to ethnological subject matter, at that time, the fund was internally divided, though it has remained to this day as an integral Inventory of the ethnological collection, according to newly founded Sections, and thematic wholes and with the concept of the monographic research of the corresponding field of ethnology.

The Section for crafts and cottage industry has an inventory of craft workshops and articles for weaving, includes other relevant museum materials connected with it (tools and illustrative material, copies, small-scale models, archive collections). Since the concept of the work of the Section implies the systematic study of the collections of tools and devices for work, there is a parallel study of the corresponding work processes. The key to the museum study of the tools for work is the observation and the understanding of their function, and in the case of tools for weaving, an effort is made to reconstruct and preserve the knowledge of the process of weaving as a form of preservation of non-material cultural heritage. This implies the systematic research of a complex ethnological problematics of traditional home weaving in Vojvodina, as the foundation of the long-term programming of research and rounding out of the results of the experts in the Section. Systematic study is primarily directed toward the process of examining textile materials and the techniques of weaving, as the basic precondition for the recognition and systematic adding to, as well as museum analysis, of the collection of tools for weaving. The results are being continuously published in the editions of the Museum.

One part of the studies was a search for the key connections between ethnology and museum studies¹⁷³, and the next one was a series of catalogues of individual collections along the key model of the combination of analysis and the classification of the the forms in which they appear with an interpretation of the tools in the work process.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, contributions have been made to knowledge of forgotten weaving process¹⁷⁵.

The published results, including this book, originated from the study of traditional weaving techniques, primarily in the villages, dating from 1975, to the present. The research was carried out in a large number of villages, in all regions of Vojvodina.

The book *Carpetweaving Techniques Among the Serbs in Vojvodina* rounds out a chapter in the activity according to the conception of the Section: a reconstruction of knowledge on the processes of carpetweaving in the traditional culture of Serbs in Vojvodina, starting from the preparation of the thread, the positioning of the warp, and with special emphasis on the making of patterns on carpets by the tapestry weave technique. The first part of the book summarizes a review of the entire process of weaving in home carpetweaving among

¹⁷³ Muzeološki pristup priboru za tkanje, Rad Vojvodanskog muzeja 31, Novi Sad 1989, 287-300; Karakteristike zbirke pribora domaće radinosti u Muzeju Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 37-38, Novi Sad 1996, 195-202; Znanje o tradicionalnim radnim procesima kao nematerijalni sadržaj muzeološke obrade alata za tkanje, Negovanje i zaštita nematerijalne baštine u Srbiji, zbornik radova sa stručnog skupa sv. 2, Muzejsko društvo Srbije, Beograd 2006, 51-56; Slike i sećanja na muzeje, zbornik radova sa stručnog skupa sv. 7, Muzejsko društvo Srbije, Sirogojno 2008, 45-48

¹⁷⁴ Razboji za tkanje u muzejima Vojvodine, Rad Vojvodanskog muzeja 30, Novi Sad 1987, 183-202; Tipovi preslica u Muzeju Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 36, Novi Sad 1994, 109-127; Grebena za obradu kudjelje i vune u Etnološkom odeljenju Muzeja Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 43-45, Novi Sad 2001-2003, 79-95; Ručna vretena za pređenje i prepredanje u Etnološkom odeljenju Muzeja Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 46, Novi Sad 2004, 213-230;

¹⁷⁵ O počecima tkanja na tlu Vojvodine, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 35, Novi Sad 1993, 199-218; Proces tkanja ćilima (Novo Miloševo, mart 1997) Rekonstrukcija tkanja po modelu iz 1865, Rad Muzeja Vojvodine 39, Novi Sad 1997, 109-127; Neke sličnosti odnosno razlike u tradicionalnoj tekstilnoj radinosti kod Srkinjai Rumunki u Banatu, Radovi simpozijuma Jugoslovenski Banat Istorijska i kulturna prošlost, Rumunsko društvo (fondacija) za etnografiju i folklor, ... ; O nekim mustrama, njihovom izvodjenju i narodnim nazivima u banatskom ćilimarstvu, etno-kulturološki zbornik-Svrljig, knj. V, Svrljig 1999, 221-226.

Serbs in Vojvodina, starting from the production of textile raw materials, to the positioning of the warp on the loom. Systematization is given as of a series of procedures of the processing of textile raw materials, the spinning of fibres into threads, the measuring and the winding of the threads, the warping and the placing of the warp threads on the loom (including all the tools and devices used in this work). The process described systematically and explained in this way, with all its elements and according to the logical order of procedures, is what gives a realistic context to all the diverse tools for weaving, which are, systematized, more all less, and preserved in ethnological collections.¹⁷⁶

In the second part of the study analyses, the application of all the weave variants that have been identified in the analyzed museum funds. A study is made of the applied technical solutions on the carpets, starting from the ornamental type of infinite patterns, through stripes to very complicated centrally symmetrical compositions. From the analyzed contents, the selection of tapestry weave figural shapes represent the characteristic motifs of the decorations on the carpets.

The basic aim of this specific analysis of representative carpets from the collection of the Museum of Vojvodina was the identification and classification of weave variants. The result is a description and classification of all the weave variants found on Serbian carpets preserved in the museums of Vojvodina. In this way, a review of the typical variants in tapestry weave was obtained, but some unusual weave variants were also registered and explained based on known phenomena and in the broader geographical and cultural contexts. These atypical solutions also reflect the personal skill of the women weavers in solving problems in the relations between the structure of the fabric and the colour schemes in the ornamentation created, so that a review of these unusual weave variants has been added to the traditional variants of tapestry weave in Vojvodina. This makes the variety of Vojvodina carpetweaving more technically understandable.

The results in the search for an understanding and knowledge of the principles and trends in the weaving processes up to the present have been summarized through a continuous presentation of the preparation for weaving, in this case on the example of carpets. This is the case of the basic weaving system of weaving with two threads, which means that the threads of the warp were prepared and placed on the loom so that they form a primary type of shed mechanically, of even and odd threads, through which the threads of the weft would be woven in by hand. The double thread weave by hand picking is the basic principle of the interweaving of two systems of threads (the warp and the weft) in the creation of a fabric. The warp is placed horizontally and tightly drawn so that the alternative vertical pressure by foot, on the left or right treadle, would open up into a shed of all the even and odd crossed threads. The weft is woven in by the fingers from the wool yarn butterflies in various colours which can be pulled through the entire length of the weaving, but, also, partially, by the introduction of different colours according to the pattern. The compacting of the weft into a dense woollen material which completely covers the warp made of hemp was a technical advancement which made the carpet weave in rep weave different from the plain weave of cloth in which there is an equal relation in the density of the warp and weft threads, just as in the case of simple plain fabrics in two threads.

In this example, the understanding of the order and mutual dependence of actions in the process of the preparation for weaving on the loom is reduced to its basic principle from which a series of other different systems of the preparation of the warp for weaving are derived. There are various possibilities in the the winding and the warping of the threads, introduction into the reeds and the system of the opening of the threads up into the shed for weaving in the threads of the weft, primarily by the system of the tying to the to the treadles, but also with the use of some additional device such as a board or lease rods.

Following this complex presentation of the basic model for the preparation for double threaded weaving with hand picking and weaving, the field opens up to a research of all these derived systems for the making of much more complex structures, whether it is the case of mono or multi-coloured relief fabrics. In this case, on the example of a carpet, the research was continued for an understanding of various manners of hand weaving of variously coloured threads of the weft for the creation of multi-coloured (patterned) surfaces, with the result of a review of the forms in which types of weaves appear in the technique of carpet weaving—tapestry weave. Just as the review of the preparations for weaving in the first part depends on the basic elements of the weaving process, likewise, these identified and systematized hand pickings and weaves, on the basis of an

¹⁷⁶ Such an effort is also evidenced by the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Vojvodina entitled Weaving.

analysis of the selected samples of carpets from the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina, belong to the catalogue of weaves which were also applied in weaving other different types of domestic fabrics. However, this has included only a portion of the available and applied weaves in weaving on the handloom. For this reason, the establishing of a valid typology, which would include all the recorded variants of weaves in Vojvodina weaving as a whole, is a goal for the major part of the research and a part of the results gained within the department.

A concise review of the basic division of folklore weaving techniques in the Permanent exhibition of the Museum of Vojvodina, dating from 1988, marks the current campaign for making a precise typology of all the forms weaves in weaving in Vojvodina, which would be a reference book for museum work, useful for the identification of weaves in the regular analysis of textile items. Work is in progress on the identification and systematization of all the forms of weaves based on a study of the textile funds of the museums in the Vojvodina region. This is to be followed by an analysis and establishing of a system of procedures applied on all types of textile inventory. The result aimed at is a Catalogue with a classification of weaves reduced to the basic patterns of making interweaves in different materials and forms of textile samples, as well as in various ethnic communities. The interpretation and detailed description with illustrations in the form of scanned enlarged details should serve researchers of textile techniques, but also modern practitioners who, by artistic or craft work, are cultivating authentic techniques.

The establishing of a relevant typology of weaves is being created gradually both on the basis of an insight into museum funds and also on the collection of verbal testimony on weaving techniques. An identification is being made of technical solutions through the application of various systems of the opening of the warp and the introduction of the weft. According to the introduction of the threads into the warp and the beam, the basic techniques are into two and four threads. Plain weave, in two threads is the basic technique in the making of most of homemade fabrics, and the four thread twill, in the making of most of everyday and winter wear textiles. According to the manner of the introduction of the weft, the most usual one is shuttle weaving through a shed opened up by treadles, a board or by lease rods. By the same position of the shed, the weft can be woven in by picking and weaving with the fingers. Only on museum textile samples is it possible to find the long ago obsolete technique of hand picking and weaving, where the threads are selected according to the pattern, opened up by hand and the decorative threads of the weft woven in by hand.

The typology in the Permanent exhibition is a concise review of the techniques most frequently applied, in two groups of fabrics for different purposes. The first group of techniques of making domestic fabrics is by the metre. These are fabrics woven by a shuttle, in two threads (cloth weave, rep weave, various thicknesses of warp, various thicknesses of warp and weft overweave but also with four threads—twill). The second group of characteristic ornamental techniques was applied in the weaving of the decorative weft during the execution of patterns of pieces of textiles (the inlaying into the shed, picking and weaving with the fingers and with the aid of a board placed between the picked threads of the warp, weaving with a shuttle over a board, weaving with lease rods and tapestry weave). This review is represented by ten items, in the portion of the review of weaves in the Permanent exhibition, as a conclusion of the illustrated story of domestic weaving.

The current preparations of the exhibition entitled: Multi-ethnic image of traditional weaving in Vojvodina and the accompanying published material, Classification of weaving techniques in Vojvodina are aimed at two basic museum effects: by the exhibition, a reminder of some of the most archaic elements of culture, and by the published material an aid to the visual recognition of the fine points of weaving techniques in the study of museum collection textiles.

New horizons are being opened by way of the internet, with albums of photographs that would be continuously available on the net, which offers an impetus to completely new possibilities for research by connecting specific, local illustrated typologies into an interactive basis for comparative research of weaving techniques, with analogies from surrounding regions and throughout the world. The conception is that such a catalogue, in a specific local community, should function as a reference book for the standard study of museum textiles, for the identification of variants of weaves, while, on the other hand, on the international level, an interactive catalogue can be a source for the study of weaving techniques. Some form of efficient co-operation among ex-

perts in the field is necessary for placing a relevant material into a context, which would cover broader cultural regions. For knowledge of weaving techniques in the real context of their development, it is better to make analyses based on an insight into valid documentation and visual illustrations of the very material, with direct access to analogies, than based on available published literature on the subject matter. In this sense, the motivation for advocating this is the small amount of illustrated typologies in classic types of publications.







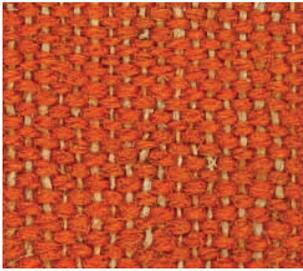
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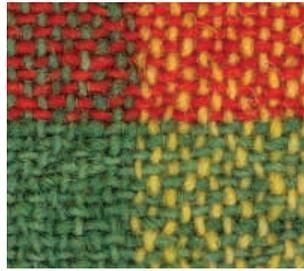
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T. III



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T. 1

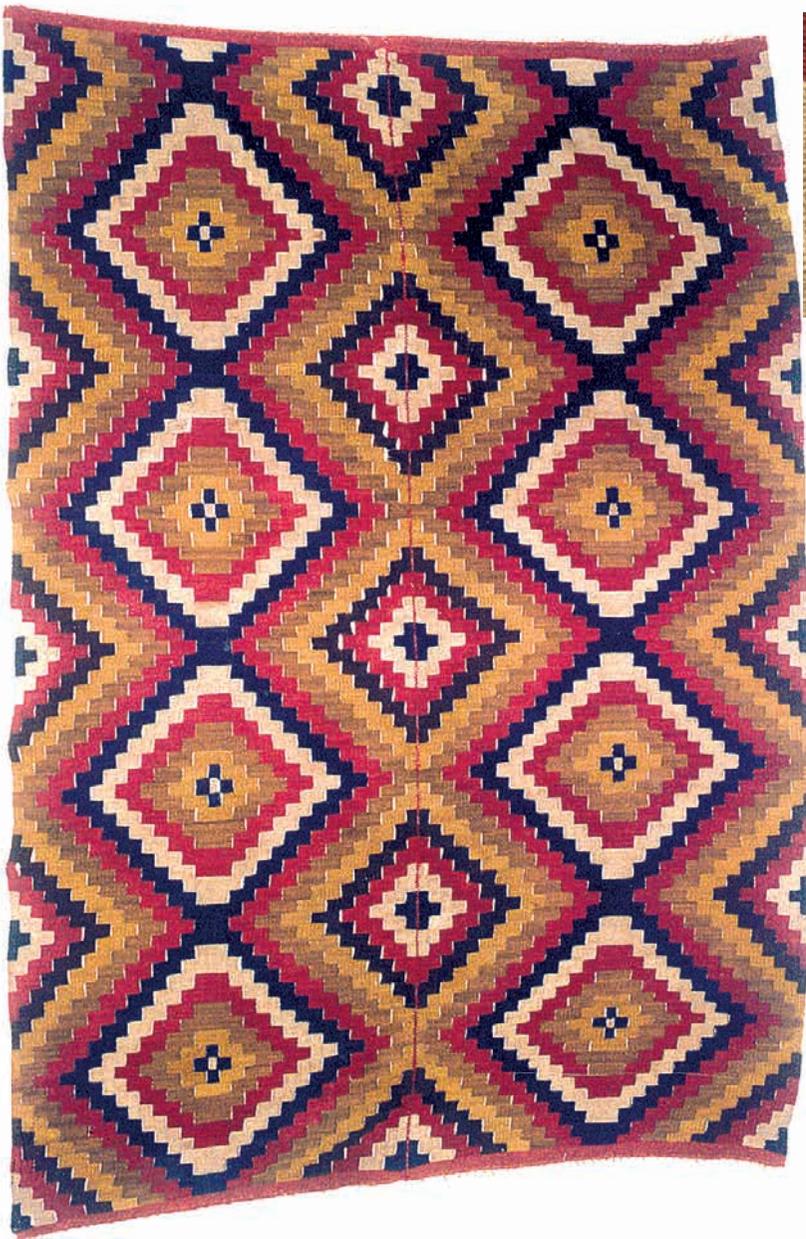


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T. 2



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T. 3



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T. 4



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T. 5



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T. 6



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T. 7



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T. 8



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T. 9





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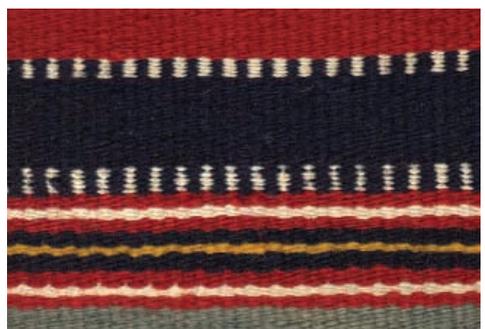
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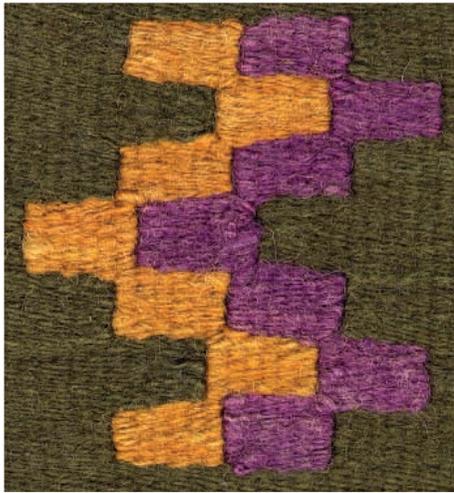


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T. 12



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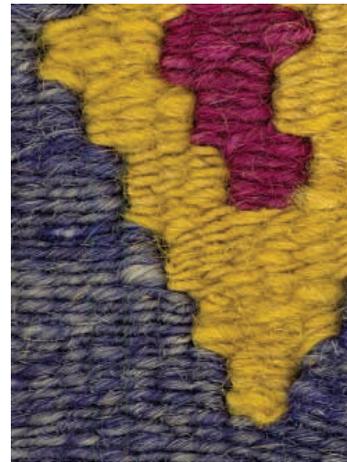
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T. 14



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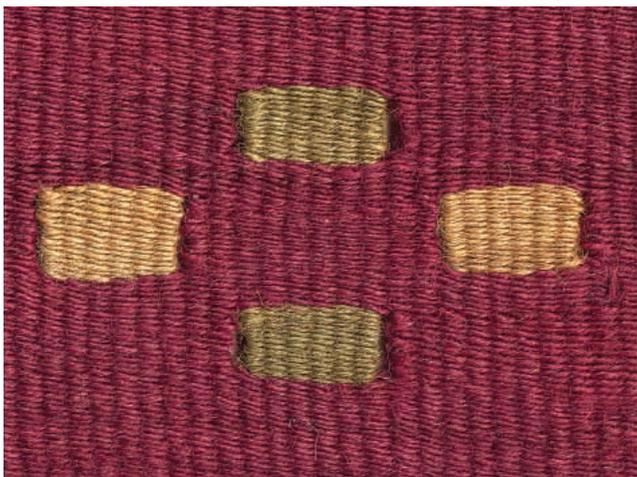
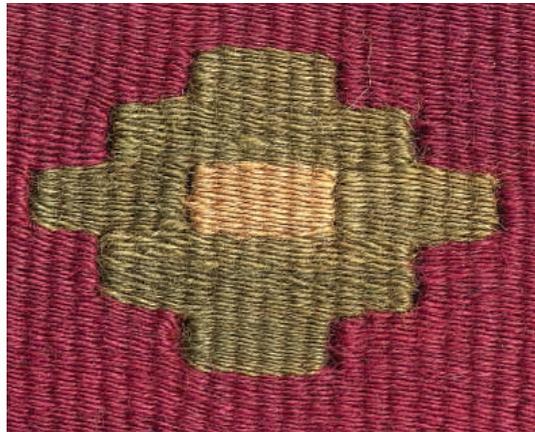
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T. 15



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T. 17



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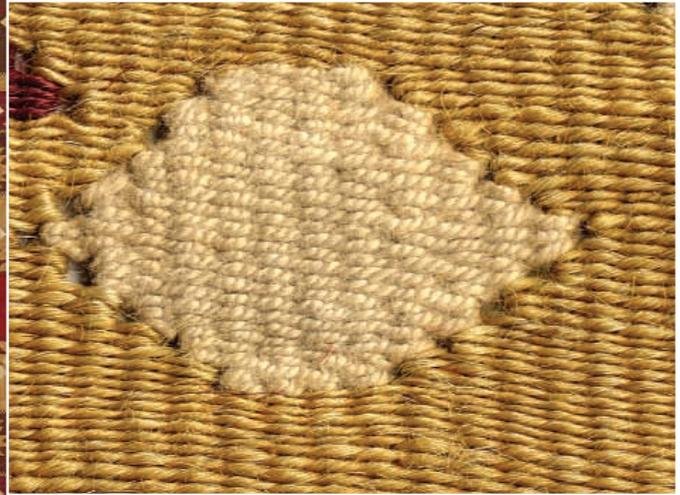
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T. 19



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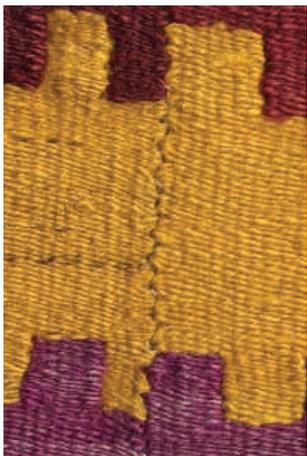
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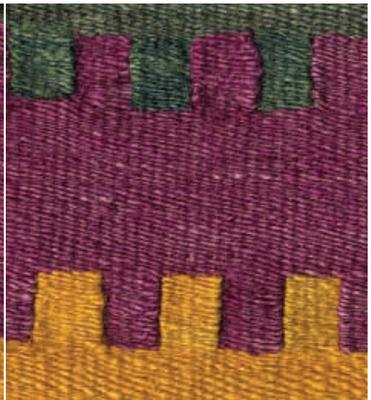
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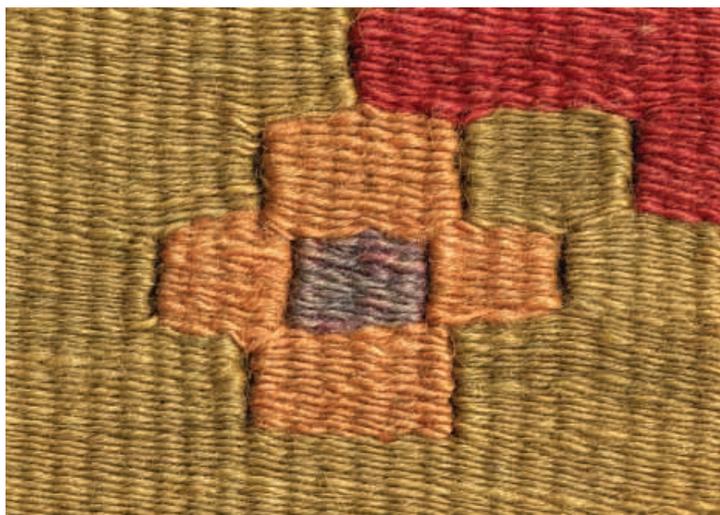
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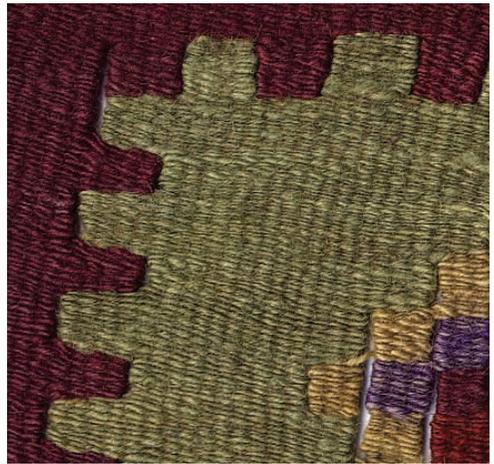
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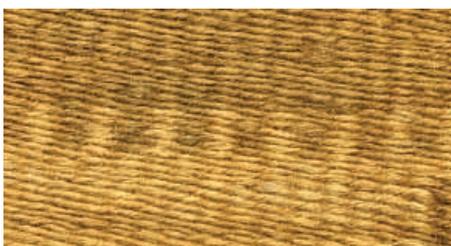
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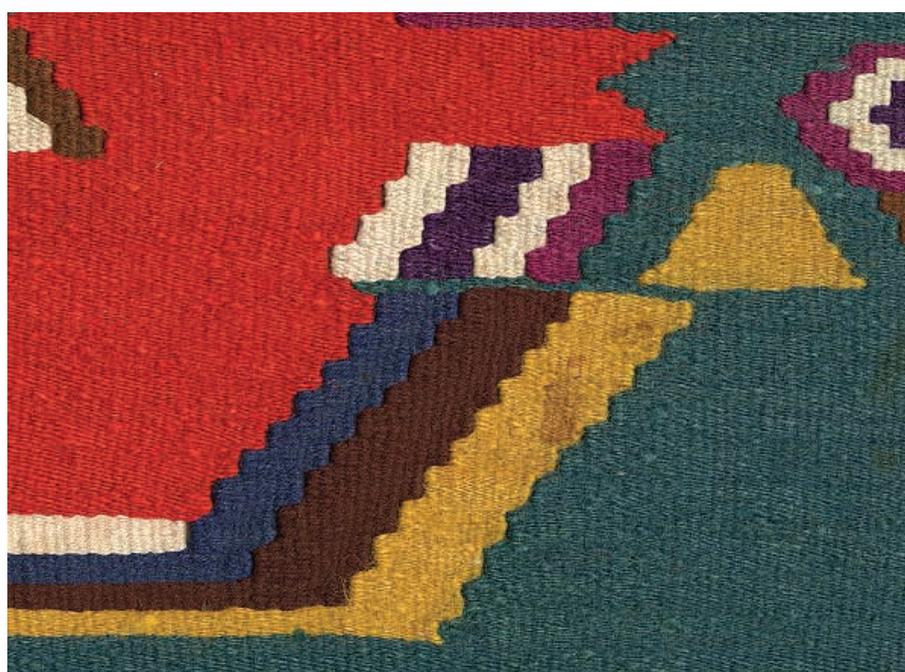
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T. 35



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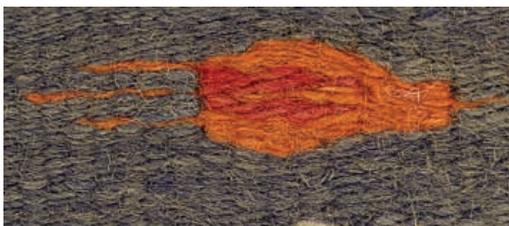
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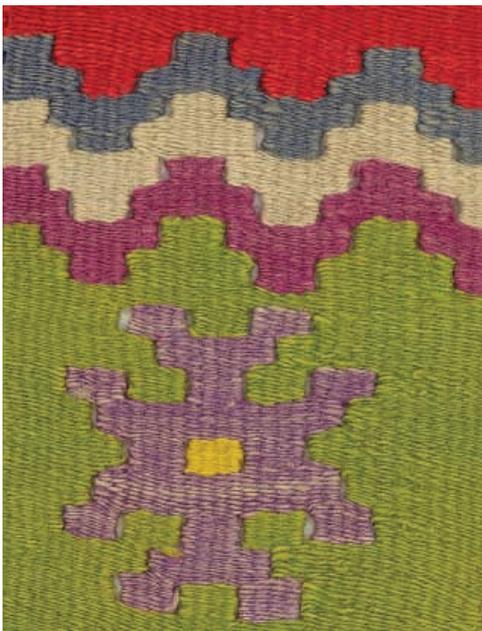
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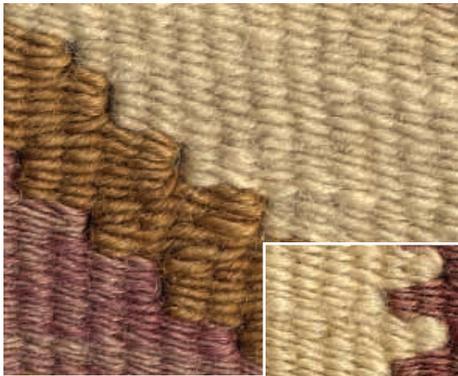
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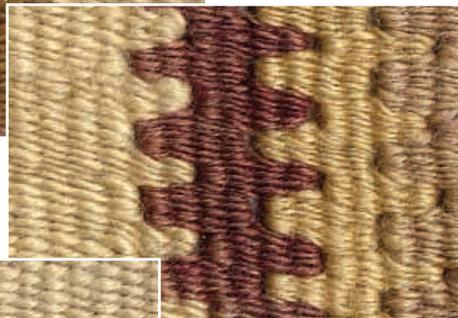
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T. 39A





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T. 41



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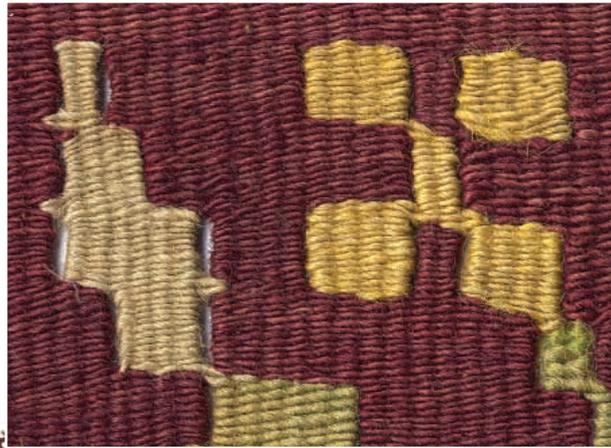
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T. 43



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T. 45



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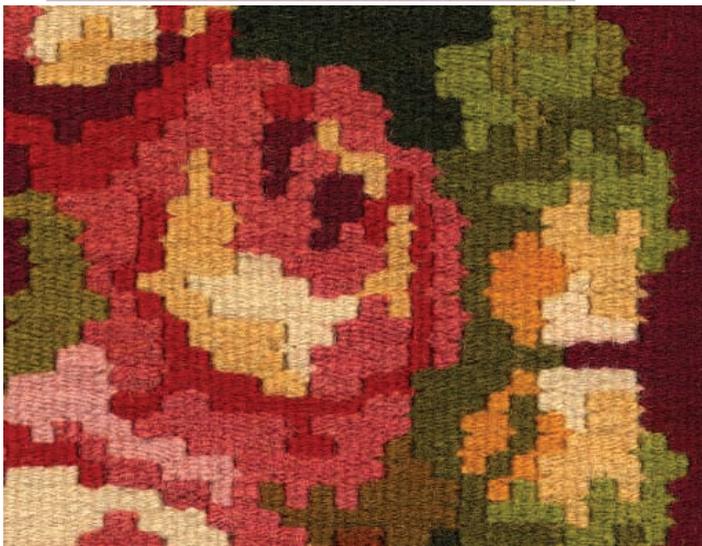
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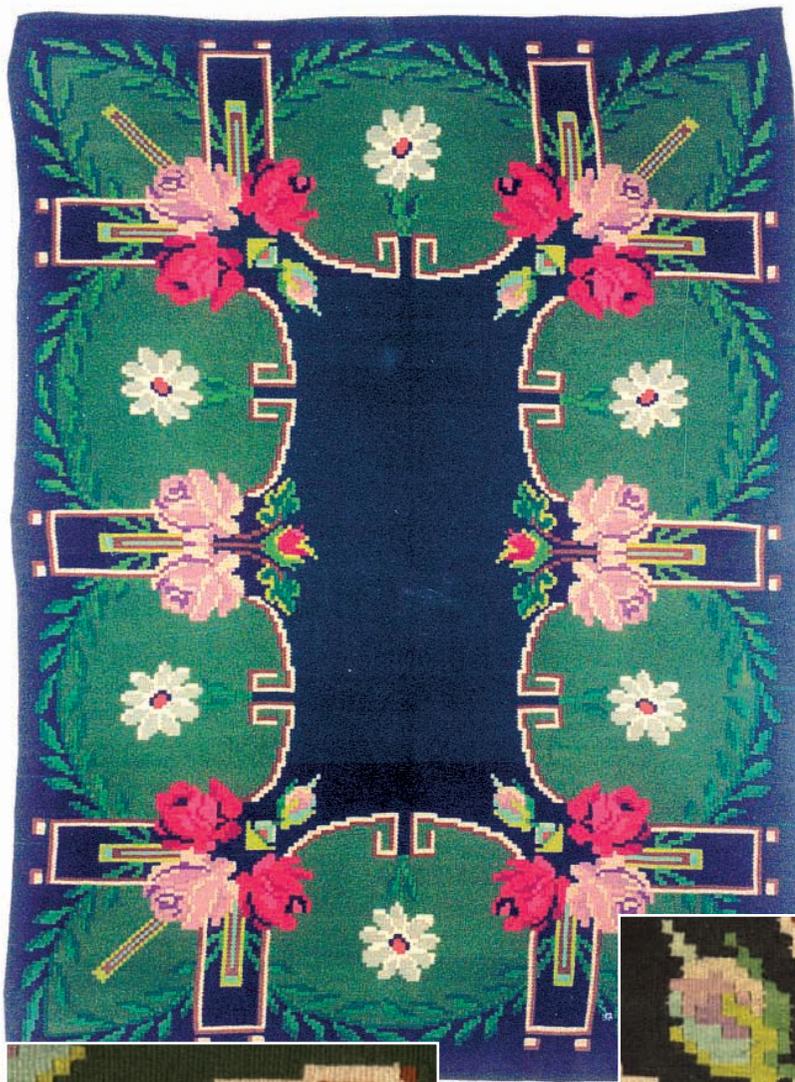


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T. 55



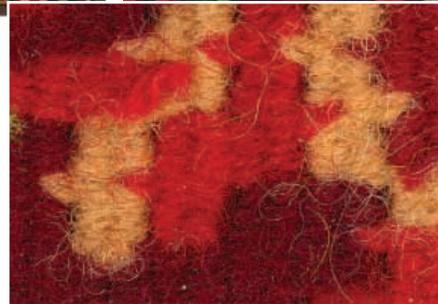
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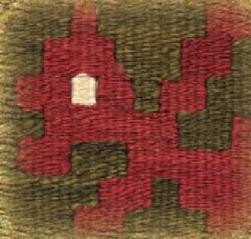
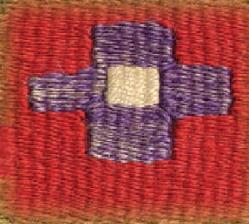
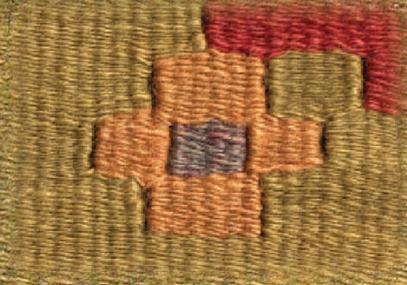


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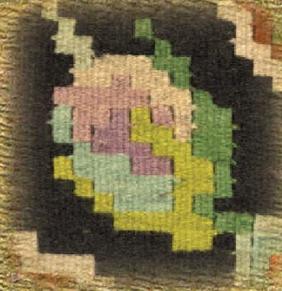
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T.V



T. VI



T. VII



T. VIII

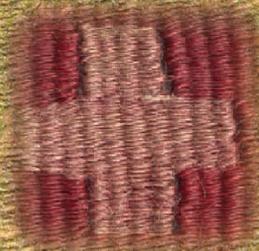


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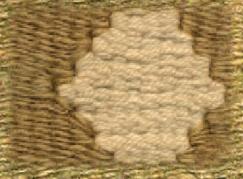
T. X







T. XIII



T. XIV



T. XV



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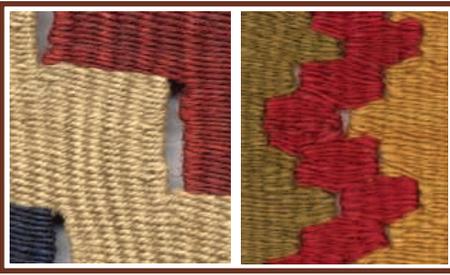
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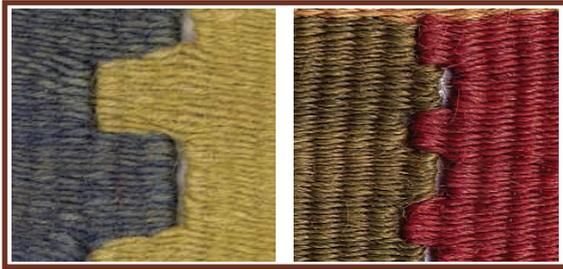
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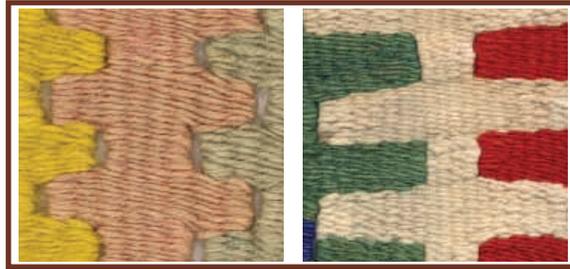
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1.1.2.1



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1.1.1.3



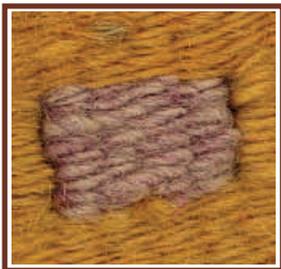
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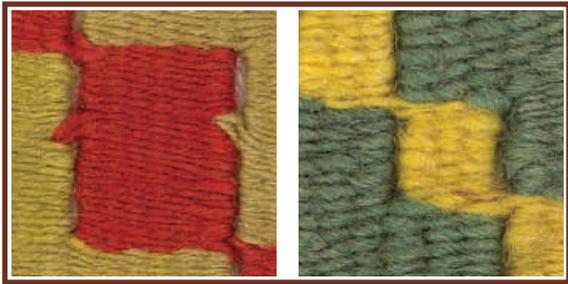
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1.1.1.6

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1	1	5	
1	1	6	

T. XVII



1.1.2



1.1.2.1



1.1.2.1.1



1.1.2.1.2



1.1.2.1.3



1.1.2.2



1.1.2.2.1



1.1.2.2.1.1



1.1.2.2.1.2



1.1.2.2.2

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T. XVIII



1.2



1.2.1



1.2.1.1



1.2.2



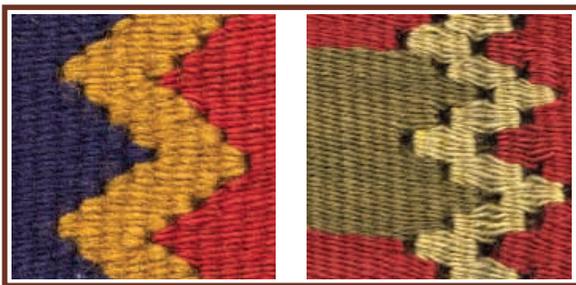
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1.2.2.2



1.2.3



1.2.4

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T. XIX

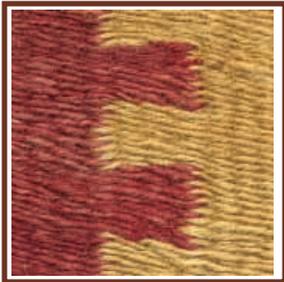


2.1.1



2.1.1.1

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2.1.1.2



2.1.1.2.1



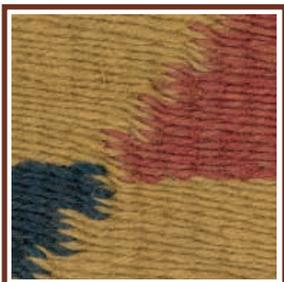
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2.1.2.2



2.1.3



2.1.4

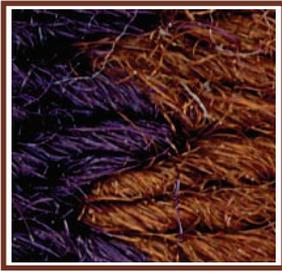


2.1.4.1



2.1.4.2

T. XX



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2.2.1



2.2.2



2.3



2.4



3



4.1



4.2

2	2	
2	2	1
2	2	2
2	3	
2	4	
3		
4	1	
4	2	



LIST OF TABLE CONTENTS

Table I, Parts of the weaving loom, marked, p. 135

Table II Carpet from the dowry of Milica Volić, born Plavšić, ordered and woven for her, during the winter 1904/1905 in Sivac, the village from which she was married into the village of Stapar, p. 136

Table III Shuttle weaving: p. 137

1) Balanced plain weave; 2) Multicolored plain weave, combination of warp and weft; 3) Monochrome weft-faced plain weave; 4) Weft-faced plain weave, striped; 5) Stripes with alternating two colours of the weft; 6) Patterning *on the board* by weaving in by hand; 7 and 8) *Weaving on a board*; 9 and 10) *Weaving on a board*, striped pattern; 11 and 12) *Weaving on a board*, patterns by hand picking.

T. 1.1.: Example 1, Carpet, Uljma (Ferdin, today is Kozjak) about 1875. Dimensions: 186 x 133 cms. (inv. no. 4029), p. 138

T. 1.2. Change of colours of the woollen weft, which creates the horizontal stripes

T. 1.3. Vertical pattern similar to a comb or teeth, *zuberaci*

T. 2.1.: Example 2, Rhomboid carpet, Surduk, Srem district, second half of the 19th century. Dimensions: 213 x 130 cms. (inv. no. 2152), p. 139

T. 2.2. Slits: 6,7 threads of the warp, 18-26 rows of the weft

T. 2.3. A small cross at the centre of the rhomboid, cascaded layers of the rhomboid in six colours, around it

T. 2.4. The unit of the square forms the raster of the weave 2:2 cm

T. 2.5. The system of endless rhomboid pattern, such as on the carpet inv. no. 2152, in the detail of small carpet by Sekuly Hungarians (inv. no. 7570)

T. 2.6. Detail of the fabrics woven in the technique without slits, interlocking

T. 2.7. A piled fabric, woven with loops, detail from a light weight coverlet in a rhomboid pattern from Srem (inv. no. 1425)

T. 2.8. Reverse of the previous detail example

T. 3.1.: Example 3, Carpet, Vršac, Banat district, middle of the 19th century. Dimensions: 160 x 146 cms (inv. no. 366), p. 140

T. 3.2. Detail of edge stripe on the side

T. 3.3., T. 3.4. Two variations of the rhomboid module differing only in the centre where there is rectangle or cross element

T. 3.5. Detail of comb-like tapestry weave with slits

T. 4.1.: Example 4, striped small carpet, Kumane, Banat, about 1900. Dimensions: 183 x 131 cms (inv. no. 1143), p. 141

T. 4.2. Cascading series in colours which change both by length and by width

T. 4.3. Thin horizontal line in a contrasting colour to the stripe that it crosses

T. 4.4. At the joining, which has not been done perfectly, a dark raster of weaving suits this composition of colours

T. 5.1.: Example 5, striped carpet, Sakule, Banat, about 1860. Dimensions: 184 x 129 cms (inv. no. 6418, T. 5.1.), p. 142

T. 5.2. The multicoloured rectangles are dovetailed into one another in the form of a comb or teeth shaped ornament

T. 5.3. The leading of one square of a third colour in the places of dovetailing is an important element of technique

T. 6.1.: Example 6, Small carpet, Stapar, 1890. Dimensions: 185 x 122 cms (inv. no. 9348), p. 143

T. 6.2. Two by two squares move to form a broken line as a stylization of a plant stalk with one simple rhomboid flower in the spaces in between

T. 6.3. Wedge of four threads of the warp

T. 6.4. The middle sized rhomboid in an alternation of colours in three threads of the warp

T. 6.5. The alternation in two threads of the warp

T. 6.6. Multicoloured stripe between the tapestry woven ones is executed by shuttle weaving, in one or two colours

T. 7.1.: Example 7, striped carpet, Sombor, around 1850. Dimensions: 143 x 60 cms (inv. no. 867), p. 144

- T. 7.2. Especially the stylized vessel in dark colours is against the white background of the stripe
- T. 7.3. Classical technique of slanted cascading tapestry weave with slits
- T. 7.4., T. 7.5. In addition to shuttle weaving in one colour, there are also various patterns made by varying multicoloured comb shaped stripes
- T. 7.6. The light coloured threads of the warp are noticeable through the finely spun weft
- T. 8.1.: Example 8, striped carpet, Bočar, 1880. Dimensions: 233 x 131 cms (inv. no. 1900), p. 145
- T. 8.2. Horizontal multicoloured separating stripe is executed by shuttle weaving
- T. 8.3. The ornament of tapestry woven peaks defines the frame along the horizontal edges
- T. 8.4. Leading of the third coloured thread between the colour surfaces, from square to square, in rep weave
- T. 8.5. Of the squares of the raster, the larger ones are: 12 x 12 mms, or 4 threads of the warp, 10 rows of the weft
- T. 8.6. The smaller ones in the large rayed hexagons, 8 x 8 mms, 3 or 2 threads of the warp x 8 rows of the weft
- T. 9.1.: Example 9, striped carpet, Novo Miloševo, Banat, 1865. Dimensions: 195 x 130 cms (inv. no. 2852), p. 146
- T. 9.2. Rhomboid ornament at the tapestry weave stripe, narrower and simpler than in the main stripe pattern
- T. 9.3. Stripes, passing with shuttle twice in two colours, so that in the gobelin rep there are ribs in two colours
- T. 9.4. Slanted cascading flow, although without a unified rhythm in the structure of the tapestry weave with slits
- T. 9.5. Polychromy was introduced in two ways: separate squares in a contrasting colour and the other way, thin stripes of only two threads transversally, also in a contrasting colour
- T. 9.6. Fringes that were created by the unweaving of the woven piece of fabric
- T. 9.7. Classical way of putting together of the two halves is by needle, stitching in
- T. 9.8. A large rhomboid, the main ornament of the supporting decorative stripe
- T. 9.9. A narrow, cascading, tapestry weave stripe
- T. 10.1.: Example 10, Small carpet, Stapar, 1905. Dimensions: 184 x 115 cms (inv. no. 9457), p. 147
- T. 10.2. In the peak, there is a little cross, and along the edge, there is a decorative tapestry woven stripe of slanted, cascading and triangular surfaces
- T. 10.3. Tapestry weave ornaments: stylized flowers with two leaves on the red ones and some feathered fowl on the green stripe
- T. 10.4. The stripe is framed with dark blue and white ribbed stripes
- T. 10.5. The double weave of the thread in the colour in which it is executed, caught between two other colours on one thread, in one place linking on is applied, on the stem of the flower
- T. 10.6. The ornament resembling a hen is executed, the stylized form approaches, to a certain degree, the natural shape, into two or even one thread of the warp
- T. 11.1.: Example 11, Carpet, Šid, 1865. Dimensions: 186 x 112 cms (inv. no. 1455), p. 148
- T. 11.2. Rhomboid *kolo*, from one of the friezes of a dynamic striped composition
- T. 11.3. Wide stripe with a large floral stylization
- T. 11.4. Detail from previous image example
- T. 11.5. The narrow intertwined stripes are with a geometrical tapestry weave pattern on two levels
- T. 11.6. And of three levels
- T. 11.7. Shuttle weaving is done in the form of narrow horizontal stripes or comb like ornaments
- T. 11.8.; T. 11.9 At the finishing of the peaks and the cutting of the warp, the hemp ends are pulled into the edge material, on the back of the carpet
- T. 11.10. It is possible that this was an attempt at conservation
- T. 12.1.: Example 12, Carpet, Stapar, Bačka district. Dimensions: 180 x 125 cms (inv. no.1824), p. 149
- T. 12.2. A few variations of the order of the number of squares have been made here, so that the pattern represents a flower
- T. 12.3. Bird;
- T. 12.4. Rooster;
- T. 12.5. Pony
- T. 13.1.: Example 13, striped carpet, Sakule, Banat, around 1860. Dimensions: 205 x 126 cms (inv. no 6417, T. 13.1.), p. 150
- T. 13.2. Tapestry weave pattern resembles the *vraško kolo* (the devil's circle) originating from Pirot carpets
- T. 13.3. An alternation of narrow stripes woven by a shuttle

- T. 13.4. By one thread of the warp, and a proportionally large number of weft threads, up to ten, the slant of the line is quite steep, and the shape of the ornament elongated
- T. 14.1.: Example 14, striped carpet, Jablanka, Banat, around 1880. Dimensions: 197 x 143 cms (inv. no. 1069), p. 151
- T. 14.2. Tapestry weave stripe, purely geometrical in pattern, there is a rhomboid
- T. 14.3. Leaves and flowers executed with the tapestry weave have minimal slits, by one thread of the warp
- T. 14.4. Tapestry weave with minimal slits, where the colours alternate by one thread of the warp
- T. 15.1.: Example 15, Calendar carpet, with rhomboids, Golubinci (Popinci). Dimensions: 242 x 131 cms (inv. no. 367), p. 152
- T. 15.2. Comb shaped stylized ornament
- T. 15.3. Symmetrically positioned, female figure, doll *lutka*
- T. 15.4. Detail of the tapestry weave with small slits
- T. 15.5. In the slanted lines of the ornament two colours on one thread and the dovetailing of one into the other
- T. 15.6. The zig-zagging of the white stripe is executed on eight warp threads
- T. 15.7. This striking piece rich in ornamentation was made with one face
- T. 15.8. On the back, threads of one colour were carried from pattern to pattern, which makes the back seem untidy
- T. 15.9. Stylization of the flower
- T. 16.1.: Example 16, Carpet, Deč-Petrovčić, Srem region, 1850. One half, Dimensions: 162 x 77 cms. (inv. no. 565), p. 153
- T. 16.2. Execution of thick compacting of the warp and tapestry weaving with minimal slits
- T. 16.3. It is possible to achieve mild slants as well as sharp breaks
- T. 16.4. In the details, such as the small rhomboid, tapestry weave in a variation with large slits was applied
- T. 16.5. Tapestry weave with large slits was applied on rectangles in a group, too
- T. 16.6. One rectangle, the detail from the group
- T. 17.1.: Example 17, Carpet, from Pivnice, Bačka, Dimensions: 186 x 126 cms. (inv. no. 1003), p. 154
- T. 17.2. Small circular forms, dots, polka dots, applied as a filler to the mono-coloured empty spaces in the broad stripes and frame
- T. 17.3.; T. 17.4., Tapestry weave with small slits and the change of colours by moving by one thread of the warp
- T. 17.5. Variation of tapestry weave with large slits
- T. 17.6. Decorative joining of the halves of the carpet done in the technique of satin stitches
- T. 18.1.: Example 18, Carpet, Gospodjinci, Bačka. Dimensions: 196 x 127 cms. (inv. no. 1007), p. 155
- T. 18.2. The dot is an important detail here, filling out the large surfaces in one colour
- T. 18.3., T. 18.4. An application of tapestry weave with minimal slits, but in details also the stitching in on the verticals
- T. 19.1.: Example 19, Novo Miloševo, Banat. Dimensions: 190 x 132 cms. (inv. no. 2851), p. 156
- T. 19.2. Woollen fringes were created by the unweaving of the warp threads of shuttle woven woollen fabric
- T. 19.3. The tapestry woven figural ornamentation has been executed primarily in the variation with minimal slits
- T. 19.4. In the straight verticals, there is dovetailing of two colours, and linking in at the beginning of the row of a structure
- T. 20.1.: Example 20, Carpet from Sivac (vicinity of Stapar), 1890. Dimensions: 191 x 121 cms (inv. no. 790), p. 157
- T. 20.2. Peaks on the narrower sides of the carpets are typical for northern Bačka
- T. 20.3. Manner of decorative joining by wool in contrasting colours in the middle and northern Bačka
- T. 20.4. Figure executed using the variation with minimal slits in the manner characteristic of this group
- T. 20.5. Slants with minimal slits
- T. 20.6. Pointed dovetailing
- T. 20.7. Thick dovetailing of two colours around one thread
- T. 21.1.: Example 21, Stapar, Bačka. Dimensions: 190 x 126 cms (inv. no. 903), p. 158
- T. 21.2. Waved ribbed structure of the rep weave around the rhomboid shaped ornaments

- T. 21.3. The rhomboid, was made by combining two, three mentioned ways, slants with minimal slits and dovetailing
- T. 21.4. The second border edge is a zig-zag alteration of three threads of the warp
- T. 21.5. Complex multicoloured rhomboid was made by a slanted, cascading movement by two threads of the warp
- T. 22.1.: Example 22, Carpet, Serbian freedom, Stapar, 1860. Dimensions: 197 x 122 cms (inv.no. 2126), p. 159
- T. 22.2. An example of finely managed gobelin technique
- T. 22.3. Peak was made by using the slanting and cascading tapestry weave with slits
- T. 22.4., T. 22.5. Case with borders: the tapestry weave is with slits in horizontal and straight verticals, there is dovetailing
- T. 22.6. Moving by one tooth in the slant, as well as, real dovetailing around one thread
- T. 23.1.: Example 23, Carpet Serbian freedom, Pavliš, Banat, 1890. Dimensions: 190 x 132 cms (inv. no. 7639), p. 160
- T. 23.2. About twenty weaves of the weft are made by five threads of the warp
- T. 23.3. Tightened interweaves where the connections between the two levels of weaving structures (*ivers*) are formed by two or four threads
- T. 23.4. An alteration of four threads of the weft on one thread of the warp looks like a triangular tooth
- T. 23.5. Tapestry without slits, the compacting of 4 threads, and moving by 1 thread of the warp
- T. 22.6. In this case, joining of the halves, is only stitching in small and dense stitches with thinly spun hemp thread
- T. 24.1.: Example 24, Carpet, Begeč, Bačka region, 1860. Dimensions: 196 x 124cms (inv. no. 2545), p. 161
- T. 24.2. The basic technique of cascading tapestry weave with slits, suitable for geometrical shapes
- T. 24.3. Shuttle weaving in the mono-coloured olive-green surfaces and in the narrow separating stripes
- T. 24.4. A big flower with slanting, cascading lines of colours is prominent in the integral green surface of the warp. A detail from the same example, T. 24.5.
- T. 25.1.: Example 25, Carpet with stripes with a circle with crosses, Bačka Palanka, 1870. Dimensions: 186 x 133 cms (inv. no. 1977), p. 162
- T. 25.2. Here the colour was moved continuing on from the square in the previous level, at least by one thread, two or three
- T. 25.3. The straight lines of the ornament were led along the vertical so that two adjacent colours are changed around one thread
- T. 25.4. The lines are steep slants, but they flow uniformly creating a regular rhomboid form. A detail from the previous example, T. 24.5.
- T. 25.6. Typical decorative stitch for joining fabric, but simpler ones
- T. 26.1.: Example 26, Carpet with candlesticks, intended as a donation to the church, Orlovat, 1880. Dimensions: 186 x 134 cms (inv. no. 1463), p. 163
- T. 26.2. Dovetailing of the coloured surfaces by an alteration of the squares of colour in the direction of the warp thread
- T. 26.3. Connecting with one of the adjacent colours to the first warp thread of the other, adjacent colour
- T. 26.4. The number of threads of the warp varies from 1 to 5 threads
- T. 26.5. Uneven number of weaves of the weft by a unit of square of the structure, often there are 14 weaves of the weft
- T. 26.6. Only technical exception is in the making of these flowers, with a variant of tapestry weave with minimal slits
- T. 26.7. Detail of a ribbed structure in two colours on the stand of the candlestick.
- T. 27.1.: Example 27, Carpet with a square medallion, Čoka, 1875. Dimensions: 204 x 139 cms (inv. no. 550), p. 164
- T. 27.2. On two threads of the warp in the row, there are 10 to 12 of weft threads
- T. 27.3. Tapestry weave is with stitching in without slits: thread by thread of different colours are wound around the same warp thread forming a thick combed structure
- T. 27.4. Predominantly rhomboid shapes, mean cascading lines for the most part
- T. 27.5. In the same height of the row, the colours have been changed by one thread of the warp
- T. 27.6. Dovetailing of the squares in the row along the vertical is also by stitching in

- T. 27.7. In the border of the carpet, the slants have been made by small moves by one thread of the warp, but only by four compacted threads of the weft in height
- T. 27.8. The frame of the square medallion has been done by shuttle weaving in two colours
- T. 27.9. The halves of the carpet have been put together by the typical stitch, with a needle and a strong cotton thread
- T. 28.1.: Example 28, Carpet with a cross-like centre, Belegiš, late 19th century. Dimensions: 246 x 130 cms (inv. no. 804), p. 165
- T. 28.2. Tapestry weave with slits and dovetailing of the squares in the row along the vertical
- T. 28.3. Changing of contrasting colours by a different number of warp threads, makes structures more prominent
- T. 28.4. Detail of application by shuttle weaving in two colors in the inner horizontal line
- T. 28.5. Skirt of the doll has horizontal stripes, which are made by a change of colours on a slant by one thread of the warp
- T. 29.1.: Example 29, Carpet with pigeons, Kulpin, 1856. Dimensions: 192 x 131 cms (inv. no. 2195), p. 166
- T. 29.2. Because of a more precise shaping of the patterns in tapestry weave with slits, the exchange of colours was made with a freedom in the shift along the different number of warp threads
- T. 29.3. The woven image contains predominantly figural shapes on a background of a certain colour
- T. 29.4., T. 29.5. The required colour of the weft was cut after finishing each square, so that the front and the back are the same
- T. 29.6. Colours of the weft are moved by only two rows, so that the fabric is multi-coloured, but compacted
- T. 29.7. The verticals are zig-zag stripes with slits, the horizontal ones are a series of triangles with cascading slanted sides
- T. 29.8. The inner white frame of the red medallion is in the form of a rhomboid
- T. 29.9. Certainly done by hand weaving, so that these portions can be called pseudo shuttle weaving
- T. 30.1.: Example 30, Carpet green garden, Parage, 1870. Dimensions: 192 x 122 cms (inv. no. 23), p. 167
- T. 30.2. Joining the halves was by embroidery stitch in the shape of triangular peaks in several colours
- T. 30.3. In the case of the straight lines the colours change and dovetail
- T. 30.4. Series of colours flow slant-wise on the warp
- T. 30.5. On the slants the colours can be linked to one another also by a weaving into the warp of that certain colour, linking the squares at the corners
- T. 30.6. Loops on one of the vertical edges, make it obvious that the carpet served as a decoration on the wall
- T. 31.1.: Example 31, Carpet with a garden, Gospodjinci, 1869. Dimensions: 197 x 122 cms (inv.no. 273), p. 168
- T. 31.2. A model of a stylized flower is the basis of various ornamental combinations
- T. 31.3. Four such flowers form a stylized group
- T. 31.4. As a flower in the garland in the border
- T. 31.5. The vertical dividing stripe was made with slits by moving the little square in the row of structure, and the horizontal one also by weave with slits of different colours
- T. 32.1.: Example 32, Carpet with a garden, Ostojićevo, 1880. Dimensions: 220 x 130 cms. (inv. no. 6641), p. 169
- T. 32.2., T. 32.3. On the red background of the border is a flower garland with prevailing vertical lines of changing colours
- T. 32.4. The colours are mostly changing by two threads, but also by four and five threads of the warp
- T. 32.5. The frame is straight on the outside and toothed on the inside, woven in the technique of stitching in
- T. 32.6. The same figure ornament is elongated due to the movement by one thread
- T. 32.7. And more compacted by two threads
- T. 33.1.: Example 33, Carpet, Margita, Banat, 1900. Dimensions: 188 x 146 cms (inv. no. 243), p. 170
- T. 33.2. Cascading structure with slits by two weft threads
- T. 33.3. Slanting movement of colours by one thread of the warp
- T. 33.4. Linking of colours along the vertical in a way that the weft is twisted twice around the adjacent thread of the warp

- T. 34.1.: Example 34, Carpet with a hexagonal centre, Vračev Gaj, end of the 19th century. Dimensions: 227 x 142 cms (inv. no. 639), p. 171
- T. 34.2. Dovetailing of two colours by the compacting of the weft along a straight line
- T. 34.3. Dovetailing of two colours of the weft, with slits
- T. 34.4. The cascading shapes were done by moving by one to six threads of the warp
- T. 34.5.; T. 34.6. The rustic nature of the procedure is also seen in the difference between the front and the back in some places
- T. 34.7. Two different interweave solutions for the leaves
- T. 34.8. The pattern resembling a shuttle in the border of the carpet
- T. 35.1.: Example 35, Carpet from Jablanka, Banat. Dimensions: 181 x 130 cms (inv. no. 1016), p. 172
- T. 35.2. Some procedures coincide with the solutions that can be seen in examples from the south Banat region
- T. 35.3. Tapestry weave with stitching in, by the winding together of adjacent colours. The same example there is tapestry weave with slits.
- T. 35.4. Pattern resembling a shuttle in the border of the carpet
- T. 35.5. One more, different element of decoration that also goes under the name of a comb
- T. 36.1.: Example 36, Carpet, Djurdjevo, Bačka, around 1880. Dimensions: 178 x 126 cms. (inv.no. 305), 173
- T. 36.2. The stylized floral garland divides the border area into two colours
- T. 36.3. In the making of these different shapes of flowers, various techniques of weaving were used. For geometrical shapes the technique of tapestry weave with slits was used
- T. 36.4. Tapestry weave with minimal slits
- T. 36.5. Weaving without a slit by one thread of the weft from the left to the right, with one return
- T. 37.1.: Example 37, Carpet from Bačko Gradište dating from 1895. Dimensions: 200 x 135 cms. (inv. no. 3754), p. 174
- T. 37.2. Slanting cascading tapestry weave with slits
- T. 37.3. Tapestry weave with slits by connecting rows of structure, *ivers*
- T. 37.4. Combinations of two different variants of tapestry weave with slits
- T. 37.5. Counting off the necessary number of warp threads with the completely arbitrary branching of the *ivers*
- T. 37.6. Tiny lines woven in by threads
- T. 37.7.; T. 37.8. In the transitional phases, it was not possible to consistently weave the carpet with two faces, as when the threads are carried over visibly from the back
- T. 37.9. The border resembling a modern lace pattern contributes to the effect
- T. 37.10. While the inner portion continues in the traditional way
- T. 38.1.: Example 38, Carpet as a cover for the table, Zrenjanin, Banat, 1862. Dimensions: 194 x 129 cms (inv. no. 329), p. 175
- T. 38.2., T. 38.3. The overweave is the basic type of tapestry weave with slits, but reduced to moving by two threads of the warp
- T. 38.4., T. 38.5. The lines cascade and the whole pattern is a geometrical one
- T. 39.1.: Example 39, Carpet with a garden and a cross-like medallion, Farkaždin (Sakule), Banat, 1865. Dimensions: 166 x 134 cms (inv. no. 6540), p. 176
- T. 39. 2. Representation of a bird was woven by the tapestry weave technique without slits
- T. 39. 3. At the verticals of the butterfly wings, there is tapestry weave without slits with stitching in
- T. 39. 4. The technique of tapestry weave with slits was basically applied on two threads of the warp
- T. 39. 5., T. 39. 6. Both in wholes and in details
- T. 39. 7. As well as in the stripes
- T. 39. 8. An impression of a ribbon, on the transverse side of the outer stripe, is achieved by a combination of shuttle and tapestry weaving
- T. 39 A.: Carpet, Vranjevo (Novi Bečej), about 1870. Dimensions: 213 x 133 cms (inv.no. 2238); Carpet, Petrovčić – Deč, Srem, about 1890. Dimensions: 192 x 132 cms (inv.no. 703) p. 177
- T. 40.1.: Example 40, Carpet with stylized floral ornamentation, Elemir, 1900. Dimensions: 240 x 174 cms (inv. no. 8516), p. 178
- T. 40. 2. Created figures are placed on their sides, which is quite contrary to the traditional concept
- T. 40. 3. The colour line is fine cascading, moving along the slant one by one warp thread

- T. 40. 4. The threads of the colours at the place of the dovetailing are compacted into a little tooth
- T. 40. 5. Two colours are dovetailed in variants of one thread of the warp to up to even twenty ones in the comb
- T. 41.1.: Example 41, Carpet, Krstur, Banat, around 1890. Dimensions: 184 x 138 cms (inv.no. 8713), p. 179
- T. 41. 2. A tapestry weave with slits in the inner field of the carpet, cascading under a right angle
- T. 41. 3. In a cascading manner, the basic principle of the alteration of colours is by three threads of the warp
- T. 41. 4. On the edges, the tapestry weave is with slits by the simple dovetailing of squares of adjacent colours
- T. 41. 5. A larger stylization of a flower in the variant of linking on of the weft at the beginning of the row of structure
- T. 42.1.: Example 42, Carpet with a border and stripes, Kumane, Banat, 1890. Dimensions: 200 x 72 cms (inv. no. 11160), p. 180
- T. 42. 2. The predominant form is the large flower which consists of rectangle coloured surfaces in various combinations of colours
- T. 42. 3. In the border there are buds made by two contrasting colours like a chess board
- T. 42. 4. Even the small floral wreath in the middle has been made with a precise colouration
- T. 42. 5. The tapestry weave is, for the most part, quite large in its raster. The linking of the colours by the picking up of the warp thread of the adjacent colour
- T. 42. 6. Linking the weft threads is visible in details of the buds in the form of a chess board
- T. 43.1.: Example 4, Carpet with stripes, Melenci, Banat, 1896. Dimensions: 184 x 134 cms (inv. no. 3878), p. 181
- T. 43. 2. Forms are combined here, most often on four threads of the warp, with narrow transitions on two threads
- T. 43. 3. Narrow shuttle woven stripe in several colours separates the floral ornamentation
- T. 43. 4. The pattern which makes up the floral garland is of the same shape in all the stripes, but with different colours
- T. 44.1.: Example 44, Carpet, Stapar, Bačka, about 1930. Dimensions: 175 x 121 cms (inv. no. 9621), p. 182
- T. 44. 2. Typical design with a wreath of flowers in the border field in the form of a pseudo-lace
- T. 44. 3. This interpretation of the Vienna rose approaches the realism of the large floral carpets
- T. 44. 4. Lines in the shape of a pseudo-lace carpets indicate the manner in which separating straight and curvy lines were made
- T. 44. 5. The adjacent colours in a straight line are connected together by linking with two threads of a certain colour onto the bordering warp
- T. 45.1.: Example 45, Example 45, Carpet, Elemir, Dimensions: 120 x 160 cms (inv. no. 11166), p. 183
- T. 45. 2. Decorative knotted fringes of added woolen threads on the sides of textile
- T. 45. 3. Stylized flower garland in the border, woven by linking the weft threads to adjacent warp threads
- T. 45. 4. Detail from the lavish flower garland
- T. 45. 5. An Alpine cottage surrounded by pine trees at the centre
- T. 46.1.: Example 46, Carpet, Stapar, 1905, Dimensions: 171 x 124 cms (inv. no. 9343), p. 184
- T. 46. 2. Composition, a wreath of vines with grapes, by technique, linking of the adjacent colour over the border warp thread
- T. 46. 3. Detail of ornament executed by linking of the adjacent colours at the borders of two *iver*
- T. 46. 4. Stylization of vine leaves as the decorative frame of ornamentation
- T. 47.1.: Example 47, Carpet with roses, and with turtles, Stapar, Bačka, 1915. Dimensions: 184 x 135 cms (inv. no. 9514), p. 185
- T. 47. 2. Detail of the decorative frame where the shapes of the ornaments come together with possibilities of manipulation with overweaves
- T. 47. 3. At the transversal side of the frame there is a variant of tapestry weave with slits, but verticals are linking to adjacent warp threads
- T. 47. 4. The adjacent colours are linked thickly along the vertical, so the carpet is in fine weave
- T. 47. 5. The name with turtles is because of the ornament that looked to them like a turtle, although it is in fact a corner bow
- T. 47. 6. Slits between the colours are short, thin threads of the wool in the weft have been densely compacted with a realistic effect, in the natural shapes of floral ornamentation
- T. 48.1.: Example 48, Carpet, Stapar, 1927. Dimensions: 193 x 136 cms (inv.no. 9344), p. 186
- T. 48. 2. This is a typical Biedermeier version of small bouquets of roses with violets

- T. 48. 3. Floral arch from the central medallion
- T. 48. 4. Among Stapar weavers the blue violet can also be seen as a blue forget-me-not
- T. 48. 5. It is an example of thick and firm fabric with a smooth surface
- T. 48. 6. Usage and maintenance have shown the instability of the colours of the wool
- T. 49.1.: Example 49, Carpet, Stapar, 1915. Dimensions: 186 x 135 cms (inv.no 10314), p. 187
- T. 49. 2. A rose from a Biedermeier bouquet
- T. 49. 3. As well as buds
- T. 49. 4. The delicate daisy from the light green medallion
- T. 49. 5. The outer border of the medallion is in the form of laurel sprigs
- T. 49. 6. The principle of the changing of colours is linking along the verticals
- T. 49. 7. The slants with the carrying over at the opposite angles, diagonally
- T. 49. 8. Combinations of linking on with cascading tapestry weave with slits
- T. 49. 9. The light, decorative bedspread was woven on a cotton warp, but with two wefts
- T. 49. 10. The ribbed structure is determined by the counting of the warp threads, here, in a width of three warp threads, the woollen weft is visible and only cotton at the fourth
- T. 49. 11. Such a fabric has only one face
- T. 50.1.: Example 50 Carpet, Stapar, early 1940s. Dimensions: 195 x 145 cms (inv. no. 9818), p. 188
- T. 50. 2. Most often, there are three threads of the warp to seven or eight rows of the weft
- T. 50. 3. At the lines of the ornamentation, the predominant one are cascading slants and rhomboid forms
- T. 50. 4. A somewhat softer stylization can be seen in the border violets, through the manifestation of the typical overweave with linking on
- T. 50. 5. Dovetailing of colours is sometimes done in the same direction, from one colour to another, and sometimes it is done alternatively
- T. 51.1.: Example 51, Carpet, Elemir, Banat, 1930. Dimensions: 220 x 160 cms (inv. no. 11826), p. 189
- T. 51. 2. Technical consistency and strict symmetry of decorative elements indicates the workshop origin of this example
- T. 51. 3. Tapestry weave without slits with sharp and fine dovetailing of the adjacent colours
- T. 51. 4. Three threads of various colours, were dovetailed around the same warp thread
- T. 51. 5. Decorative knotted fringes of added woollen threads are a recognizable part of a Banat carpet
- T. 52.1.: Example 52, Carpet, Sanad, Banat, 1929. Dimensions: 235 x 180 cms (inv.no. 11446), p. 190
- T. 52. 2. On the thick and soft carpet there is an abundance of fringes
- T. 52. 3., T. 52. 4. Thick stitching in on the vertical transitions from colour to colour makes the weave compact but also gives the effect of shadowing
- T. 52. 5. Stylized forms based on the structure with small squares
- T. 53.1.: Example 53, Carpet, Sanad, Banat, about 1930. Dimensions: 200 x 140 cms (inv. no. 11184), p. 191
- T. 53. 2. Dovetailing by single interlock weave with effects of shading along the vertical
- T. 53. 3. Single interlock weave by inserting the third colour in the form of squares and rectangles
- T. 53. 4. Slanting, cascading structures
- T. 53. 5. Slanting, cascading structures by inserting an additional colour in between
- T. 54.1.: Example 54, Carpet, Sanad, Banat, about 1930. Dimensions: 200 x 140 cms (inv. no. 10768), p. 192
- T. 54. 2. Introduction of a third colour between two that were dovetailed with slits gives plasticity and dynamicism to the large comb-like forms
- T. 54. 3. There are slanting and cascading structures
- T. 54. 4. Simple change of two colours along the slant
- T. 54. 5. At the longer verticals at the linking of colours, instead of the longer slits, a link has been made with the weft of one colour by one supplementary thread, to the left or to the right
- T. 55.1.: Example 55, Carpet, Stapar. Dimensions: 197 x 148 cms (inv. no. 9346), p. 193
- T. 55. 2. The carpet with boxes, according to the geometrical shapes along the border
- T. 55. 3., T. 55. 4. Of the realistic floral elements, the rose seems awkwardly made
- T. 55. 5. There is an emphasis on the smaller geometrical shapes in contrasting colours, such as vertical and horizontal stripes
- T. 55. 6. There are small comb, teeth shapes very visible in the contrasting links along the verticals
- T. 55. 7. Dense dovetailing of contrasting colours in the chessboard

Review of ornaments

- Table IV: Flower buds, p. 194
Table V: Floral stylizations, p. 195
Table VI: Roses, p. 196
Table VII: Flowers, p. 197
Table VIII: Rhombic Floral stylisations, p. 198
Table XIX: Blooming garland and plant vine, p. 199
Table X: Portrait of a human beings, p. 200
Table XI: Objects of everyday or a ritual use, p. 201
Table XII: National symbols, p. 202
Table XIII: Geometric figures, p. 203
Table XIV: Animal figures, p. 204
Table XV: Ritual and decorative contents, p. 205

Review of tapestry weave variants

- Table XVI, p. 207
1.1 Tapestry weave with long slits
1 1 1 Rectangular structure
1 1 1 1 Cascading slits
1 1 2 1 Vertical dowetailing
1 1 2 2 Comb-like dovetailing,
1 1 3 Horizontal line
1 1 4 Leading of a third colour
1 1 4 1 Zigzag slant
1 1 4 2 Zigzag
1 1 5 Separate square
1 1 6 Varying number of warps
Table XVII, p. 208
1 1 2 Net-like weave
1 1 2 1 Long slits
1 1 2 1 1 Straight vertical
1 1 2 1 2 Slant line
1 1 2 1 3 Indefinite direction
1 1 2 2 Short slits
1 1 2 2 1 Vertical

- 1 1 2 2 1 1 Constant direction
of changing colours
1 1 2 2 1 2 Alternate direction
of changing colours
1 1 2 2 2 Free directions of changing colours
Table XVIII, p. 209
1 2 Minimal slits
1 2 1 Slanting lines
1 2 1 1 Slite slant lines
1 2 2 Verticals
1 2 2 1 Cogged
1 2 2 2 Deep cogged colour lines
1 2 3 Large cogged line
1 2 4 Zigzag
Table XIX, p. 210
2 1 1 Single thread-interlocking
2 1 1 1 Straight vertical
2 1 1 2 Large cogged line
2 1 1 2 1 Small cogged line
2 1 2 Cascading raster
2 1 2 1 Large cascading series
2 1 2 2 Scarp
2 1 3 Fine cascading lines
2 1 4 Inserting the third coloured weft thread
2 1 4 1 Slants
2 1 4 2 Zigzag
Table XX, p. 211
2 2 Fine cogged structures
2 2 1 Vertical
2 2 2 Cascading
2 3 Long thin interweave
2 4 Fine shape interweave
3 Contour bands of weft
4 1 Striped
4 2 Comb-like interweave

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations by the author: 9, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40-43, 50 – 52, 57, 58 – 60, 62, 64, 65, 67
Drawings by Vera Vojt: 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29
Reproduction from *Historia Naturalis*, by Pliny the Elder, 2.

Ethnographic department of Museum of Vojvodina: Rajko Nikolić 18, 27, p. 61, p.132, Milosava Bosić, 1, 3-5, 11; 12, 26; Milica Đukić, 8, 16, 30, 34, 35, 37, 39, 44 – 49; p. 134, 136, 206, 212, carpet catalogue 1-55, cover; Julija Pap, 10, 53 – 56; Mirjana Maluckov, 13; Šandor Nađ, 14; Marija Đurić, 15;
Dušan Čekić: 32, 61, p. 133
Petar Jovanović: p. 135
Jelena Kovaček-Svetličić: 63
Milica Petrović: 66
City Museum of Vršac: p. 127
City Museum of Zrenjanin, p. 119

GLOSSARY

A weaving board A simple auxiliary device of very specific role in some weaving techniques. It is made of light wood and simply lies put through pairs of counted threads of the warp so that, when it is stood up, it can separate them out into a shed

Authentic carpetweaving home cottage industry, primarily for ones own needs

Back beam Is in the form of a massive roller, with a shallow groove along its length for the beginning of the warp to be placed into it, with the aid of thin cylindrical lease rods

Beater (*brdilo*) or a reed holder, part of weaving loom, which in addition to being the support of the reed frame, in some techniques, serves also for the beating into the warp. Taking the reed frame by its middle, more massive part, the weaver firmly pushes the frame of wood away, then pulls it forward to beat in the weft threads

Black hemp Female plant, domestically called *crnojka* (black hemp), upon fertilization produces a fruit and seeds

Bobbin A spool on which yarn are wound for various operations of weaving process; as a small pipe of reed, used in shuttle weaving, placing at the middle portion of loom shuttle

Broad carpet weaving loom a device on which was possible to weave a carpet without the seam in the middle

Carpet The most festive form of bedspread in Vojvodina region, the carpets were in the parlours with furniture in European styles, while in village homes, with floors of uncovered compacted dirt, the carpet found its prime location on the bed

Cloth beam tensioner (*prednja zapiinjača*) A front beam tightening device, so as to give the required degree of tightness to the whole weave between boat beams of the loom.

Chaining the warp To prevent the yarns from becoming a tangled mess, the warp is removed from the board in an orderly fashion called chaining the warp. To chain off the warp, the end of the warp is removed from the last peg. A loop is made with this end of the warp bundle. The weaver slowly unwinds the warp, peg by peg, drawing released warp threads through the loop. Multiple loops are created over the length of the warp

Coverlet, blanket, bedspread, bedsheet (*Ponjava, ponjavica, čaršav, prekrivač*) belong to a group of similar types of practical simple shuttle woven woollen fabrics, most often with stripe ornaments executed with the change of colour of the weft

Čisanica (triple length) The length was multiplied by three, for a *čisanica* (triple length) of three threads and then by ten for the hank

Ćilimac Small carpet, bedspread made for home use by copying the oldest models of carpets, which have been preserved for the everyday covering of beds

Dew retting Exposure to the effect of condensed atmospheric vapour through dew and the effect of destructive fungus, at the retting place (*močilo*) where the baits of hemp were placed

Double thread tapestry weave with slits (by using two heddles) follows a slanting cascade series in which there is a slanted series in one colour, which is repeated endlessly

Drum winder *vito*: from a hank stretched out on a turning device, the thread would be drawn and wound by hand into an ordinary ball shape

Fine interweaving (*sitan zamet*) tapestry weaving with small slits and changes in colour by moving by one thread of the warp, with the compacting in of the weft, also provides for the fine positioning of the lines of the ornamentation

Fleece The entire coat of wool that covers a sheep or other similar animal; also, the quantity shorn from a sheep, at one time. The work was done slowly, row by row, with the shears placed close to the skin and tufts of wool were cut off. The fleece remained in one piece. After it had been shorn, the sheep was let go, while the fleece was rolled up, carefully gathered in a bundle and left to the side

Front tightening mechanism Is on the weavers right hand side, with the aid of the peg, the beam is brought into its correct position, in which the weaving is firmly tightened between the two beams, through the hole in the gridded plank, the peg is inserted and into its place a blunt wooden nail placed

Hackle (*grebeno*) a kind of large comb for smoothing fibers (as flax or hemp), an instrument with long iron teeth set in a board, for cleansing flax or hemp from the tow, separating the coarse part of flax or hemp from the fine, by drawing it through the teeth of a hackle or hatchel

Hank (*raša, štrengla, kanura*) A parcel consisting of two or more skeins of yarn or thread tied together. Hank also means the basic unit of measure in weaving, which is also applied with the reeds and represents a portion of 30 teeth in the reeds, as much as long eyes of the heddle

Harness The part of a loom comprising the heddles, by which the threads of the warp are alternately raised and depressed for the passage of the shuttle

Head of the beam has holes for the tightening of the weaving

Heddles A pair of heddles hangs tied by a horizontal support on the top of the loom, fixed into the corresponding knotholes on both sides. One of the sets of parallel doubled threads which, with mounting, compose the harness employed to guide the warp threads to the lathe or batten in a loom. They are linked to the treadles and tightened by wooden sticks which are placed in front of the front legs of the loom.

Interlocking (*ušivanje*) Tapestry weaving variant dovetailing by change of colour using two yarn butterflies, executed by the change of two neighbouring colours around the same border thread of the warp, so that the weaving is without slits, but with a thick comb-like structure

Iver Local term for a small square in the multicoloured woven structure, in the length of the slit in tapestry weave, and the little square in it is the basic modul of the typical geometrical structure of the coloured surface

Lease stick or lease rod (*cepač*), long and thin cylindrical stick with notches on both ends

Lye (*cedj*), traditional sort of strong chemical cleaner, a strong caustic alkaline solution of potassium salts, home made by leaching wood ashes, through which water passes. It is much used in making soap, etc.

Maljka, družica elongated spindle used for plying two or more threads together into one

Nagradjuša a piece of fabric, or even a ramrod, which was used for fixing the beginning of the warp to the front beam during the process of winding of the warp on the loom.

Peaks At the beginning and the end of weaving these were a typical decorative way a finishing the lengthwise edges of the carpets from Stapar; they are begun with the counting of the threads of the warp and marking of the place where the peaks will be, each with a special butterfly of wool; on the final edge, they are made in the reverse way, starting from the base of the triangles toward the tops

Povesmo fibre bundle (hemp or linen) prepared for spinning

Reed Controls the density of the warp during the weaving

Reeds for the winding Basically like the shape of the reeds for weaving, with the difference that on the same width there is a much smaller number of tines, thicker and stronger, about two centimetres apart

Reel (*motovilo*), Frame on which yarn is formed into hanks or skeins

Rep weave is the basic form of the weave, in which the woollen weft in one colour is well beaten into the whole length of the warp

Rep weave Weft faced weave, when the woollen weft from edge to edge is done with a shuttle

Hand respinner (*sukalo*), A simple spindle, round in diameter, on which at the lower end there is a largish, flat, wooden wheel which increases the turning of the spindle

Rešme An archaism, means slits in the typical variant of tapestry weave

Shed The space between raised and lowered warp threads through which the weft passes—the path across the warp in the loom formed when some warp yarns are lifted by their harnesses while others are left down. It is determined with two lease sticks: dividing all the threads of the warp into even and odd ones

Shuttle A tool for holding and carrying wefts, used in weaving for passing or shooting the thread of the woof from one side of the cloth to the other between the threads of the warp. It is an elongated, boat-like shape, serves for weaving into the warp in so-called shuttle weaving, in such a way that it is passed through the shed, which is the basic way of weaving the weft

Side frames of the loom (*stative*) Supporting construction of two vertical parallel sides, connected one to another by horizontal connectives of wooden planks

Sijera Natural oily secretion from sheep, grease, unrefined lanolin.

Single interlocking seems like stitching in, tapestry weave. The adjacent coloured surfaces are simply connected in such a way that thread by thread of different colours are wound around the same warp thread forming a thick combed structure around the same bordering thread of the warp, the fabric is without slits. Since, in this case, the threads are equally visible from the front and the back of the fabric, it is possible to have a varied division of the warp threads, as well as the height of the basic unit structure, *iver*.

Skein (*pasmo*) A quantity of yarn thread, put up together, after it is taken from the reel

Tapestry weave (*klečanje*) Is the basic technique for creating of the multi-coloured woven surface of the carpet. A term that is adopted in expert literature in Serbian to signify the characteristic techniques of making patterns in carpets. Among the people, the term *klečati* means weaving in by fingers the pattern of a carpet

Tapestry weave with slits follows a slanting cascade series where the lines of the colours are cascading, constantly changing at angles of 90 degrees. The slits between the edge threads of the warp in two different colours are on the principle of the change of colour around two surrounding threads of the warp, during which each colour is taken back in the same way

Tapestry weaving with slits and with the tying of the weft of adjacent colours at the end of iver that is, the beginning of the pattern unit, is today the only technique that is applied in what remains of carpetweaving in Vojvodina.

Tapestry weave with cascading slits The slit at the interweaving of two different colours is of limited height, and so the change of colours is done by the moving of the colours along the longitudinal, to the side, so that the rhythm of the longitudinal and the transversal change of colours is permanent and creates a slanting and cascading raster

Threading of the warp Placing the warp threads, according to their order, between the dents of the reeds

Tow (*kučina*) the coarse and broken part of flax or hemp, separated from the finer part by the hatchel

Treadle (*podnožnik*) The part of a foot lathe, which is pressed or moved by the foot, altering the position in the crossing of the threads and opens a shed for weaving into the warp. With a pressure on the treadle, the long eye heddle is tightened and by the pulling of the heddle it tightens and pulls the thread with it, upwards or downwards, which represents the shed for passing the woollen threads

Warp The threads stretched on the loom, wound onto the warp beam and threaded through the heddles and reeds

Warping The process of threading the warp onto the loom.

Warp reel (*snovaljka*) Large warping reel for semi-craft workshop weaving

Warp beam tensioner (*zadnja zapinjača*) Mechanism for tensioning the warp on the loom to the required degree of tightness

Weaving with a board Weaving technique completely on a cotton warp, with a cotton weft (shuttle weave) which formed the net structure of the fabric, as a base; another woollen weft is woven additionally in colour, creating a multicoloured decorative surface. When the threads of the warp are opened by the lifting the board into a vertical position, the woollen threads can be woven over, in one colour, or patterns are made in various colours of wool by weaving in by hand. The raster of the fabric and the basic pattern are striped

Weaving with slits (*Net-like weave*) with the connecting of the weft on the principle of linking onto the angles of the little squares, *iver*.

Weft The crosswise threads that are woven through the warp yarn threads are passed through the shed across the warp threads

Weft-faced plain weave or rep If wefts are much more numerous or of thick thread, firm compacted, woven loose threads of the weft around the tightened threads of the warp

White hemp Male plant or domestically called *belojka* (white hemp), blooms but does not produce seeds, matures earlier, has a thinner stalk and produces higher quality (finer, softer and thinner) threads

Winder A device used for winding threads on spools, bobbins, reels, or the like. Mechanism for pulling consisting of a wheel with an axle and a handle, and the portion for winding was a stand on which the pipe for winding was placed, or a metal pipe on which the spools were placed

Yarn butterflies (*dolls*) Bunches of the woollen weft, small quantities of wool in the necessary colours

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ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS:

- Cover: Photos of the weaving loom, the Permanent exhibition at the Museum of Vojvodina, by Milica Đukić
Leposava Subašić, weaver, Novi Sad, 1955. p. 61
Ethnological exhibition in the City Museum of Zrenjanin, 1953. p. 119,
Inviting guests to a wedding, the beginning of the 20th century (original photo in the City Museum of Vršac),
p. 127,
Živka Aćimović, spinning wool at the spinning wheel, village of Progar (Srem), 1950., p. 132,
Milka Nagulova, weaver, Stapar, 1997. p. 133
Carpet, Ravno (Šove), Bačka, 1860 (inv. no. 1454), p. 134
Carpet, Crepaja, Banat, around 1860 (inv. no. 7371), p. 206
Carpet, Ostojicevo, Banat, around 1880 (inv. no. 6641), p. 212

When a weaver makes a carpet, she is combining, according to her own need, her idea, impression, skill and experience. From one phase to the next, the making of the carpet goes on, until the warp is cut from the loom and the last knot is tied. In a similar way, the reader goes through the phases of the making of a carpet, from chapter to chapter, from the tools and devices needed for the work, the growing and processing of the raw materials, through weaving procedures and types, to the patterns and descriptions of carpets from the collections of the museums in Vojvodina.

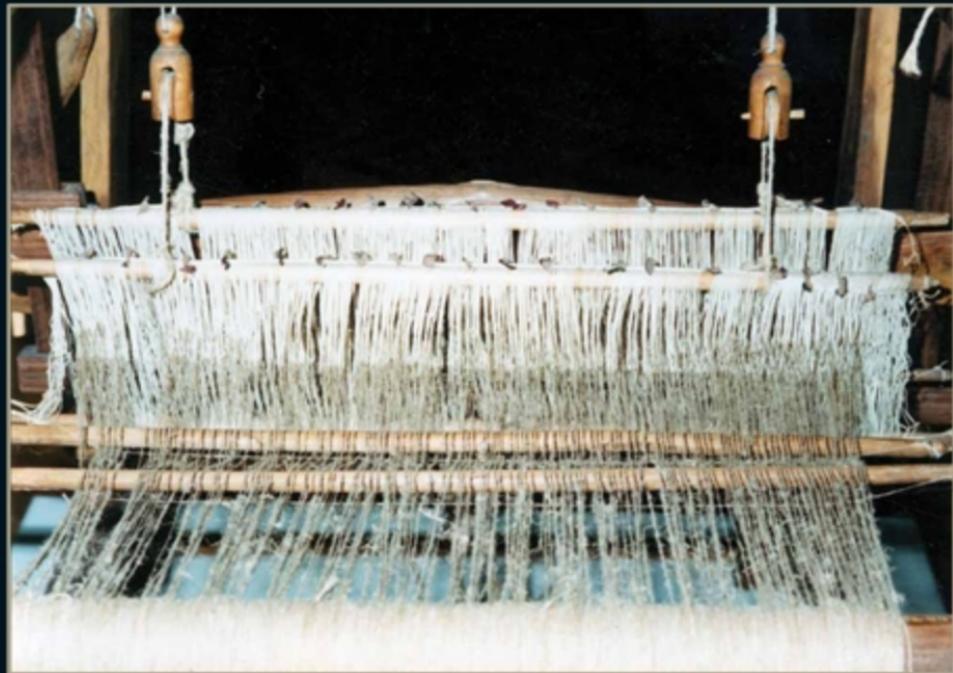
The abundant information in the monograph study *Techniques of Carpetweaving Among Serbs in Vojvodina* is filled with broader interpretations of the history, social conditions and cultural influences on the making of textiles, which the author, Branišlava Idvorean-Stefanović, offers in extensive detail. This information introduces us to an inner experience of the wealth of forms, colours, rhythms and harmonies, offering a universal spiritual meaning for the dedicated work of generations of women weavers and their achievements.

Olivera Ninkić, MA, associate professor, Belgrade, Faculty of Applied Arts, Design of textile

The study, *Techniques of Carpetweaving Among Serbs in Vojvodina*, offers interpretations and detailed descriptions of the techniques and practice of carpetweaving among the Serbs in Vojvodina. Modern weavers should read it and acquaint themselves with these techniques not only to increase their own knowledge but also to continue the traditional folk heritage of the people who wove carpets.

Mirjana Marković

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