

Ethnolocal Features of Traditional Shirts “Sorochkas” in Transcarpathian Hutsul Region of the End XIX — Early XXI Centuries: Openwork Décor

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Abstract: *In the paper local features of traditional shirts “sorochkas” insets of clothes in Transcarpathian Hutsul region of the end XIX — early XXI centuries are discussed. Openwork items’ universal and unique parameters in the context of Hutsul folk clothing in time dimension slice are defined. Special attention is focused to décor, namely lace. Technique and technological methods of manufacturing textile decorations, ways of forming their artistic and stylistic features, local versions of ornaments are studied. Defined that the folk clothing and their décor in north territories (Yasinia, ChornaTysa, Lazenshchyna, Kvasy, Bilyn) has general characteristics with the clothing of Galician Hutsul region (Voronenko, Vorokhta, Yablunytzia). Shirts’ openwork decor in this territory were fragmented: connecting stitches by embroidery or knitting techniques were made. And on the contrary, the clothes of the southern part of the Rakhiv region are more similar to the Slovak and Romanian clothing for the structural elements and décor. Ornaments of this territory mainly consists of phytomorphic motifs (inflorescences, buds, twigs, leaves). Thus, the combination of embroidery, lace, textures and structural details created a unique for the ethnographic Hutsul region, but a widespread and typical for the Ukrainian-Romanian borderland the décor type of traditional female shirts “sorochkas”.*

Keywords: *Openwork; Décor; Tradition; Typology; Local Features; Shirts; Adornment; Manufacturing Techniques; Technological Ornament; Artistic Characteristics.*

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Hutsul traditional clothing has numbers of local features, most of all showed through décor. When we are analyzing it, it is necessary to take into account the mutual influence of the neighboring ethnos and ethnographic groups’ cultures and, as well as socio-cultural factors of the XIX — early XXI centuries. Among the variety of textile techniques — embroidery, weaving, wool cloth making, thanks to which the Hutsul folk garments have been so recognizable and popular for more than a hundred years, openwork decor also deserves attention. Interesting phenomena in the decor are in ethnic contact areas, where the art of making and decorating clothes demonstrates special local features, including to the traditional clothing of the Hutsuls from Rakhiv region, which was confirmed during field research.

The paper aim is to analyze the local features of traditional shirts “sorochkas” in sets of clothes in Transcarpathian Hutsul region of the end XIX — early XXI centuries, namely openwork décor. The features of the borderlands culture, which were influenced on the artistic and stylistic features of the decor, are considered. The paper novelty consists in introduction into scientific using the features of shirts lace decorations, techniques and technological methods of their manufacturing based on the expeditions` materials. Also as a results of respondents` survey, the local names of traditional clothing and décor were recorded.

According to the modern historical and ethnographic division, the territory of the Hutsul region covers Verkhovyna, Kosiv and the southern part of Nadvirna districts of Ivano-Frankivsk region (Galician Hutsul region), the southern part of Vyzhnytsia and Putyla districts of Chernivtsi region (Bukovynian Hutsul region) and Rakhiv district of Transcarpathian regions (Transcarpathian Hutsul region). Based on the author field materials (hereinafter — AFM), obtained during expeditions to the most of these areas, as well as a result of studying the relevant museum objects, certain conclusions were made, which were presented in some scientific publications.

In the historiography of Ukrainian traditional clothing of the second half of the XIX — early XXI centuries there are a number of works (monographs, chapters, papers), where Hutsul traditional clothes were been considered. At the same time, there is little information about the subject of our research. Works of the second half of the XIX — first half of the XX centuries characterized by a lot of field material as an important primary source, which became the basis for many authors of subsequent periods. The data on lace decor in Hutsul clothing are very limited, sometimes with certain inaccuracies, which confirms the relevance of the publication. But some individual studies contain the typological and artistic and stylistic features of the clothing from Transcarpathian Hutsul region (in which there is a small amount of information about shirts and openwork decor in particular), which became an important theoretical support for our scientific works: (Holovatskyi, 1868), (Makovskiy, 1925), (Shmeliova, 1948), (Polianska, 1972), (Mateiko and Polianska, 1987), (Mateiko, 1976), (Pylyp, 2012a), (Pylyp, 2012b), (Kotsan, 2012a), (Kotsan, 2012b), as well as works by A. Kopryva, E. Haiova, I. Hrybanych, T. Solohub, O. Fedorchuk and other. The album by Rudolf Gulka is a unique illustrative content: photographs of Subcarpathian Russ folk types of the interwar period, Transcarpathian Hutsuls in particular have been published in it (Opleshtilova, 2014).

The author of the proposed paper has published several results of case studies, which are based mainly on field materials and museum collections: (Kozakevych, 2004), (Kozakevych, 2011), (Kozakevych, 2014a), (Kozakevych, 2014b), (Kozakevych, 2014c), (Kozakevych, 2017), (Kozakevych, 2018a), (Kozakevych, 2018b) etc.

Traditional clothing complexes of the Hutsuls from the Rakhiv region of the late XIX — the middle XX centuries consisted from typological groups and types of clothing, typical for almost the entire Hutsul region. However, there were some

distinct differences. They showed themselves through the form, the cut, manufacturing techniques and, mainly, decor. In the Transcarpathian Hutsul region there is possible to distinguish four centers of traditional clothing region, taking into account the general constructive and artistic features, and the decor: Jasinia, Bohdan, Rakhiv, Velykyi Bychkiv (Kotsan, 2012a), (Kozakevych, 2018a) (AFM).

The main component of the male and female traditional costume of the Transcarpathian Hutsuls was a shirt “soróchka”, the local features of which were formed and were changed under an influence of certain factors. In the XIX — first half of the XX centuries there were three main types of male shirts “koshúlia” in the Rakhiv region: old, new (XIX century) and “factory” (the end of XIX — early XX centuries) (Polianska, 1972). They were made from a piece of homespun hemp or linen fabrics cut by “vperekýd”. A cutout for the neckline (along the line from shoulder to shoulder), which was gathered on a thread, and a shallow vertical cut “pázukha” were made on the body front center. The old items without collars were sewed with puckered neck only and wide sleeves at the bottom without cuffs. In the new shirts “koshúlia” of the late XIX — early XX centuries a narrow Mandarin collar and narrow cuffs “dúdy” were appeared. Since the beginning of the XX century in the decor of male shirts, embroidery was used much more: along the shoulder line at the junction of the shelf and the sleeve, in the lower part of the sleeve, and since 1920—1930 they also embroidered two vertical stripes (“pásy”) on the chest part on both sides of the cutout “pázukha”. The artistic solution of the ornamental stripes on the shirt is either identical, or consists of similar motives and their compilations. Sometimes the embroidery on the chest (“nahrúdneyk”) was slightly wider, which, accordingly, influenced the options for the layout of the ornament. In the northern part of Rakhiv region, the geometric pattern “pine” “sosnívka” was widespread — broken zigzag lines, a diverse way of which created multivariate compositions of the ornament (P). Embroidery with phytomorphic motifs (geometrized or stylized) is more common in the shirts from Velykyi Bychkiv center in the southern regions of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region (Ukrainian-Romanian borderland) (AFM). Another embellishment option consisted of decorative colored stitches on top of the connecting, which created an openwork effect. It was named “tsyrukuvánnia”. In a similar way the side joint lines and the bottom hem of the shirt were decorated (AFM) [Fig. 1].

Almost until the beginning of the XX century Hutsuls (and the elderly — and up to the 1930s) wore shirts in the old manner (“old-fashioned”) to release them atop of linen (“háchi”, “háti”, “portianýtsi”, “porkenytsi”) or cloth (“kholóshni”) pants from homespun fabrics, tying them in waistband “baiúr” or a leather belt (“rýmin”) (AFM) (Kozakevych, 2018a). From 1920—1930 the shirts “koshúlia” began to be worn in a new way, tucking into the pants, and in these connections, the length of the shirt was shortened. Festive linen pants (“nohavýtsi”) in their lower part were decorated with openwork patterns (“merézhka”, “tsýrka”, “tsérka”) with various techniques: they pulled the horizontal thread of the fabric and sewn them; cut holes named “óchka”, the open edges of which were thrown around with thread. Among the Hutsul pants,

items from Velykyi Bychkiv have some distinguish features. They were made from white fabric, widened to the bottom and more shortened in comparison with the “Hutsul” ones, embellishments along the bottom hem with small fringes (“striápy”) and embroidery with threads in shades of white (AFM). Pants of this type were common in Romanian, Slovak and Hungarian male clothing. This emphasizes the ethnolocal and artistic characteristics of these items and makes them unique against the background of other components of waist elements of male wear in the Hutsul region.



Figure 1. The fragment of decorative stitches by “tsýrka” for joining parts of the female shirt hem (“pídtychka”, “pídtichka”, “pídshyvka”). The middle XX century. M. Moldavchyk property (1952). Bilyn village, Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.

Female shirts of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region are more diverse, the cut and decor of which also succumbed to certain changes during the XIX — XX centuries. Conditionally, two types of shirts “soróchka” can be distinguished: “Hutsul”, which dominated in the Hutsul women clothing (“ubéry”) of Rakhiv region, and “Voloskyi”, characteristic for the Velykyi Bychkiv part of Hutsul region, where the influence of Romanian and partly Slovak clothing can be traced. The shirts of the second type have a large amount of lace embellishments, which is not very common in the clothing of the rest parts of the Hutsul region.

At the end of the XIX — the first third of the XX centuries female shirts of the first type were sewn mainly from homespun fabrics, long to mid-calf or even longer (“dodílna”). As in male shirts, in female items they made a shallow vertical cut from the neckline in the item’s body front center — “pázukha”. In older items, the

necklines were tied with a rope “na ochkúr”, which created a certain volume and texture. The puckers were fixed with thin collar, which was tied with narrow shopping ribbons. The lower part of the sleeves was also puckered under narrow embroidered cuffs (“dúdy”) (AFM) (Kozakevych, 2018a). From the beginning of the XX century, and especially in 1920 —1930 (Czechoslovakian period) in the manufacture of shirts industrial fabrics (silk, artificial silk) have been spreading. There were one-color, white, often with stylized plant patterns in thin fabrics. Shirts made of such fabrics were sewn from two parts: the top (namely, shirts) from silk fabric, and the bottom — a skirt (“pídtychka”, “pídshytka”, “pídshyvka”) which was often made from four parts (“pílkas”) of homespun fabrics (AFM). These parts were connected with decorative embroidery stitches of an openwork texture (Polianskaia, 1972), often with multi-colored threads, which emphasized the constructiveness of the line and enhanced the decorative effect.



Figure 2. The fragment female “volòska” shirts body front, Velykyi Bychkiv center: neckline with square (deepening in front and back) cutout, with puckering, lace and embroidered embellishments. 1930s, Dilove village Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.

Female shirts (“volòski”) of the southern Rakhiv region, namely from Velyky Bychkiv center, differ substantially from the Yasinia`s and Bohdan`s items, as well as the Hutsul ones, in particular, mainly in cut and decor: tunic-like (“vperekýd”), “dodìlnyi”, sewn from several wide straight rectangular panels, due to which a larger volume was obtained. Sometimes they made the upper part of the shirt from the better quality fabric and the lower part they sew from the cheaper one. Probably, this was done solely from practical consideration, whereas on the top of the shirt they wore a skirt made of industrial fabric — “sùknia”. There were no in “volòska” shirts, and they had deep square cutouts in the item`s body front and back (AFM) [Fig. 2; Fig. 3].



Figure 3. The fragment female “volòska” shirts body front, shoulder part, sleeves with cuffs, Velyky Bychkiv center: neckline with square (deepening in front and back) cutout, with puckering, lace and embroidered embellishments. 1930s, Dilove village Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.

On the central part of the chest (the width of the cutout), along the line of sewing the sleeves to the longitudinal panel of the shelf and back (conditional armhole) and the lower part of the sleeves, the shirt was little folded, which is not quite typical for traditional women's shirts of the Hutsul region. The folds were distinguished by the rhythm of styling, proportions, and the complexity of the textured surface as a result of their formation. The lower part of the sleeve was embellished with a decorative, also folded, ruffle cuff (“fòdra”, “fòdry”, “fòdrosh”) (Shmeleva, 1948), (Kozakevych, 2018b) (AFM), which was formed by the technological method of puckering named “rysuvànnia”, “bryzhuvànnia” and “embroidery above the folds”, often from a single piece of fabric with the main part of the sleeve, or as a separate part of the cuff. They puckered “bryzhuvaly” a transverse strip 3.5—4.5 cm wide

(depending on the ornament width) at the distance of 6—7 cm from the bottom edge of the sleeve. They tightly laid and fixed with two lines of stitches vertical folds, as a result of which a textured plane was created (2.5—3 cm). Geometric and stylized plant motifs were embroidered on top of the folds “bryzh” with coloured threads, laying the stitches transversely to the vertical fold “zbÿrky”, in this way additionally fixing the folds “brÿzhi”. The lower open edge of the sleeve (or cuff) was decorated with lace of various widths — with fancy edges (“zÿbtsi”, festoons), varying degrees of openwork, which gave the product a special embellishment effect (AFM) [Fig. 4; Fig 5)].



Figure 4. The fragment the lower part of the collar with puckered ruffle cuff (“fòdra”, “fòdry”, “fòdrosh”) of female “volòska” shirts Velykyi Bychkiv center: embroidery, crocheting, “bryzhi”. 1930s, Dilove village Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.



Figure 5. The fragment the lower part of the collar with puckered ruffle cuff (“fòdra”, “fòdry”, “fòdrosh”) of female “volòska” shirts Velykyi Bychkiv center: embroidery, crocheting, “bryzhi”. 1930s, Dilove village Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.

The decorative openwork inserts are a characteristic feature of the “volòskiyi” female shirts. They were on the chest part of the shirt, crocheted or made from industrial lace, in combination with embroidery. Sometimes they were sewn on the shoulder part of the sleeves (something like the shoulder insert named “ùstavka”), on the lower cuffs. The decorative strip, most often consisting from three parts — horizontally laid ribbons, in combination with embroidery, reached a width of up to 15 cm: the central one was embroidered on the fabric, on both sides of which there were lace. In contrast to the dominance of geometric ornament in the embroidery of the north-central part of Rakhiv region, the embroidery of “voloskiyi” shirts are mainly characterized by a phytomorphic ornament. These were mainly floral motifs combined with leaves, realistic or stylized outlines. Lace practically repeats ornamental motifs of embroidery or as close as possible to it as far as technological methods of crocheting allow [Fig. 6].



Figure 6. The fragment female “volòska” shirts body front, Velykyi Bychkiv center: openwork (crocheting) and embroidered (cross stitch “khrèstyky”) decorative insert. 1930s, Dilove village Rakhiv district, Transcarpathian region. AFM. 2016. Photo by O. Kozakevych.

Research of folk shirts in Transcarpathian Hutsul region of the end XIX-early XXI century indicates a change in the tradition of décor them during this period. There are also local features that emphasize the multicultural of the defined area. For example, shirts from the northern part have more in common with shirts from the Galician Hutsul region. This is embroidery on home-made canvas, monochrome geometric ornament. The products of the southern part differ in the cut, dominants floral ornament and more lace in the decoration. This is due to the influences of Romanian and Slovak attire. So the decor of shirts of the northern and southern part of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region differs quite significantly. Decorative characteristics changed during the XIX–XX centuries under the influence of socio-cultural factors, urban fashion in particular. From the beginning XX century in the folk costume are distributed industrial fabrics significantly influenced their use in sewing traditional clothing. During 1920—1930s for shirts was used silk-like fabric. The popularity and availability of beads creates a new technological version of embroidery: often instead of threads use beads.

So, field materials indicate that the Transcarpathian Hutsul traditional clothing of the late XIX — early XXI centuries have many common artistic, stylistic and typological features with clothing complexes from other territories of the Hutsul region, however, they partially differ in local features. For the generalization of certain features, four centers can be distinguished: Yasinia, Bohdan, Rakhiv and Velykyi Bychkiv. The decor deserves of attention, in particular, in the traditional shirts, in

addition to the cut, the arrangement of garments, the color scheme. Lace decoration in shirts is less common in the Hutsul region, however, in some clothing complexes, original artistic and stylistic solutions can be traced. In the north-central areas, embroidery is more widespread: when using technological methods for joining the details of shirts, openwork fragments are obtained. The female shirts of the southern part of Rakhiv region from the Velykyi Buchkiv center “volòskyi” were recognizable for their decorative lace inserts and ornaments. The combination of embroidery, lace, textured folds, as well as features of the cut created a type of shirt, unique for the ethnographic Hutsul region, but widespread and typical for the Ukrainian-Romanian border guards.

At the beginning XXI century traditional clothing is used exclusively during festivals and ceremonial events (folklore festivals, weddings, religious holidays). These traditions are especially preserved in the Hutsul region, which has always attracted the attention of tourists, travelers, researchers with its archaic and folk art. In Ukraine after independence folk dress became a kind of marker of national identity. Using of folk motifs in the décor of clothing becomes extremely important. Authentic items are in great demand (however, this is a separate issue, as there are heated debates and discussions about wearing old products). This demand for traditional clothing, especially embroidered shirts, has helped to restore the centers of embroidery, special courses, creation of exclusive designer products. However, such popularization leads to the following issues: the quality and artistic value of these products. Of course, the decor of modern embroidered shirts is different from the products of centuries ago. But in this way the tradition continues, changes and forms a “new” model of traditional embroidered shirt in Ukraine of the early XXI century.

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