

**Research Project: New and Ambiguous Nation-Building Processes  
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**STATE AND FOLKLORE:**

**INSTITUTIONALIZING FOLKLORE AND ETHNOLOGY IN THE PROCESSES  
OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN MACEDONIA BETWEEN 1945 AND 2005**

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**State and Folklore:  
Institutionalizing folklore and ethnology in the processes of national  
development in Macedonia between 1945 and 2005**

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The first results of the *Institutionalizing Folklore in Macedonia (1945-2005)* topic and project have shown a definite connection between state, ideology and national traditions as integral parts of the two state-building concepts: the Yugoslav (1944 -1989) and the Macedonian (since 1991). During this research period (January-July 2007) I was focused primarily on analyzing the political and ethnic justifications for institutionalizing folklore in the first two or three decades in post Second World War Yugoslavia. Taking this into consideration, I placed my emphasis on the ways and reasons national traditions - in this case, the folklore - have become one of the crucial elements in building a national state.

It is unquestionable that the consolidation of *Yugoslavism* as a Balkan cultural phenomenon started under the guidance of the Yugoslav cultural/political elite, which after 1945 began to pressingly work on constructing the new common identity that needed to contain the sum of the many ethnicities found on Yugoslav territory. This resulted in immediate documentation and research of national cultural traditions. The strategy was to first define the territory and people linguistically and then to further define people as belonging to particular ethnic communities. Folklore was considered a fundamental example for the collective representation of the different ethnic communities.

The common Yugoslav culture, which was the basic idea behind the union of the Yugoslav peoples, had its flaws from the very beginning. Namely, the political establishment did not realistically manage (or want) to provide equal power for these different cultures. On a linguistic level, the Serbo-Croatian language lasted as long as Yugoslavia did. On a mutual-tradition level, the equality among the peoples was symbolically demonstrated by constructing and staging a folk choreography of brotherhood and unity. From a confessional perspective, the union was built on Catholic-Orthodox Christian grounds. Yugoslavism as a collective cultural identity was, therefore, founded on a utopian Slavicized language and a Christianized culture.

With this approach to creating a new common culture, an explicit cultural stability was achieved, and the threat of *cultural instability* due to the disloyal treatment of linguistic and ethnic minorities was ever-present.

Immediately after 1945, as the most efficient weapon against such potential *cultural instability* (which could invite all other sorts of social instability), an “aggressive” documentation and research of all ethnic and national traditions in the newly-formed Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY; since 1963 SFRY: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) ensued. The institutionalization of collecting activities, which aspired for the common Yugoslav folk culture to be founded on the sum of individual folklores - that is, the national folk cultures - coincided with the ideology at the time.

Institutionalizing the documentation and the studies of the folk cultures in Yugoslavia was realized by opening ethnology and folklore museums and institutes in all the major Yugoslav cities.

### **The Beginnings: the Pre-Institutional Period**

A specific step towards the institutionalization of folklore in Macedonia was the formation of the Institute of Folklore in Skopje in 1950. Originally named the Folklore Institute, it evolved to become a multicultural institution responsible for documenting, archiving, and scientifically processing information regarding the spiritual and material culture of the population in Macedonia, with a special emphasis on the Macedonian ethnic community.

As shall be discussed in more detail later, the need for creating such an institute came *from above* with a decree from the government of the People's Republic of Macedonia (PRM). This ‘need’, however, also had its parallel history, which will be reflected on briefly.

In the first years after the creation of the People's Republic of Macedonia (PRM) as part of the FPRY, folklore was the crucial instigator of the gradual construction (consolidation) of the Macedonian national identity, as well as the new state identity of the PRM. It had always been tightly linked to politics and ideology, and was unscrupulously used in political actions. The need for such folklorization of identity went as far as constructing a series of folklore manifestations for certain political purposes.

Direct evidence of this are the journalistic articles regarding the celebration of 11<sup>th</sup> October - Liberation Day - in which the folklore manifestations were always the main topic. Folklore was to be one of the pillars in creating the new People's Republic of Macedonia

and as much a state-building factor as the celebration of Liberation Day. This is implicit in the fact that during and around this holiday the largest *parades* of Macedonian folklore were organized, which were intended to be read as a *review*, or, wording it more accurately, a *control* of the folklore symbols.

On 10<sup>th</sup> October 1947, the front page of the *Nova Makedonija* (*New Macedonia*) newspaper had the following headlines: *Parades of Our Rich Folk Art Began in Bitola and Stip Yesterday, Our Folk Culture Is Our Pride; The Folk Dances Are Our Greatest Treasure; Great Results on the First Day of the Festival in Stip; The Choirs Demonstrate the Beauty of our Folk Songs.*

It is interesting that these manifestations were directly supported by the Macedonian government and that eminent state officials took part in them, either as delegates or as members of various juries:

And here we have the jury, consisting of: Vlado Malevski, Ivan Tocko, Lazo Licenoski, Dimce Koco, Asparuh Hadzi Nikolov, Stojan Krstevski and Ordan Manevski. Among the guests are also Blagoja Fotev, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Macedonia, cultural workers from Czechoslovakia, members of the Culture and Arts Committee at the government of FPRY, guests from the other people's republics, etc. (...).<sup>1</sup>

The folklore manifestations and competitions continued after Liberation Day. In the 14 October, 1947 issue there was also an article on the 11 October Celebration in the village of Belciste (the Ohrid region), including a number of folk ensemble performances.<sup>2</sup>

In the following year, the front page of the *Nova Makedonija* was dedicated to folklore, but in the context of celebrating 11 October. *Yesterday in Skopje the October Festival Began – a Parade of our National Art* was the front-page title.<sup>3</sup> As in previous years, the festival began on 7 October and lasted until the 11 October, when a large celebration of the greatest Macedonian holiday - Liberation Day - ensued. One of the most complete performance programmes, with a daily follow up, was published in the same newspaper on 6 October, 1949.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these manifestations, holiday greetings were also sent to President Lazar Kolisevski. Enormous photographs of Stalin, Tito, Georgi Dimitrov, and Lazar Kolisevski became compulsory features of the folklore manifestations which were used for political purposes. At the peak of the celebration, the folk dancers spelled out Tito's name with their bodies on the Skopje sports stadium.<sup>5</sup>

It is self-evident that the beginnings of institutionalising folklore in the PRM are closely related to politics, ideology, and state-building. The participation of eminent politicians in

these manifestos and the exploitation of folklore for political purposes indicate that the presence of officials and the political establishment meant *control* of the folk symbols that were sent out to the people.

Considering that the folk performances were mainly nationally oriented presenting the folklore of Macedonians rather than the folklore of Macedonia (with the folklore of Yugoslavia as compulsory), the control was twofold: on the one hand, controlling all public displays of actual authentic folklore, which the communist ideology had judged a backward and inappropriate expression of socialist culture, and, on the other, instigating the so-called amateur *folklorism* (fakelore) that would serve as a good example for demonstrating the idyllic multinational union of fraternal peoples. The amateur republican associations, as well as the republican folk ensembles, were therefore encouraged to include songs and dances from the other republics in their repertoires.

The question raised here, which affects all further models for institutionalizing folklore in state-building purposes, is to what degree this *applicative folklore* is fake, and to what degree it is authentic.

Furthermore, immediately after liberation, it was the Yugoslav and Macedonian political elite who, through folklore and purely national folk manifestations, offered a new Macedonian ethnic identity as one of the many identities offered by the political context at the time.

These folk manifestations not only contributed towards institutionalizing the Macedonian ethnic identity, they also represented the option which would allow for the rejection of all previous identities and the formation of a completely new one.

In the creation of Yugoslavia, and later Macedonia, the main issue regarding ethnic identity and its formation in the process of radical societal changes, was how to maintain this identity through the generations.. Folklore and the constant use of folk symbols is merely one of the ways to do so.

Hence in Macedonia, following the Second World War, institutionalizing folklore represented a strong identity symbol; even if it was built on fake folklorist principles

## **The Homemade Handicrafts Office**

In the same year that Macedonia celebrated its liberation, Skopje hosted an exhibition of folk embroideries from Sofia, organized by the Macedonian Cultural Society of Women. Due to the astonishing interest this exhibition generated, a special department within the

Homemade Handicrafts Office<sup>6</sup> was initiated and formed. This was the first institutionalized and organized attempt to use folklore for cultural identity purposes.

One of our sources on this issue still has fresh recollections of the times the Office was founded:

Marica Antonova came from Sofia with a Rajna Rumenova exhibition. She is from Ohrid and had worked in Sofia in the Women's Macedonian Society. They collected ornaments and were interested in ornaments and embroidery and came here for the exhibition. Macedonian embroidery, but as applied embroidery (...) members included Marica Antonova, Cucukov as well as several other older folklorists. After Macedonia's liberation there were no other institutions of the sort, apart from the museum. Maybe Vera Klickova came as well, I'm not so sure. She had already been a director for a long time back then. They invited Marica Antonova to work for the Homemade Handicrafts Office, where there was a new department for textile and embroidery. Although she was quite old and had retired in Bulgaria, she accepted the offer and was employed here. I worked with her and stayed on to later work with Sojlev. We got along great - he liked my work and hired someone else, called Stefka Danilova, from the department. While still at the Homemade Handicrafts Office, he worked with her. In 1951 the Executive Council formed the Institute of Folklore. They then started bringing together folklorists, you know, I believe Mane Cucukov was the initiator.<sup>7</sup>

In the archives at the Marko Cepenkov Institute of Folklore in Skopje I discovered during my research a notebook entitled *Plan and Report – Arts Institute Scientific-Artistic Institute*<sup>8</sup> It contained, to the best of my knowledge, the entire records of the meetings held by the Homemade Handicrafts Office in 1950; the same year that the Folklore institute was founded

Not many people in Skopje today remember the work of this institute, but we were fortunate in our research to encounter the abovementioned lady who explained the situation in detail, on both an organizational and an operational level. A slight paradox might lie in the name of the Office and the records, since the first one is of an applied nature, and the records dating as early as 1950 demonstrated a gradual transition towards a scientific approach to the subject.

According to our sources, the purpose of the Homemade Handicrafts Office was to create sketches of Macedonian national embroideries that would later be forwarded to institutions that dealt with the production of “typical” Macedonian products, such as the *Makedonski folklor (Macedonian Folklore)* factory. According to the *Scientific-Artistic Institute* records, one could note that the Office was divided in several departments which catered

individually for carpets, filigrees, woodwork, and embroideries. Publishing were also included in their operations. There were several employees:

Marica Antonova, Ranka Radovanovik, Lena Stefanova, Slave Trajkovski, Kiro.... and there was this painter, graduated in Sofia, Kumanovski. There was a Julija as well.<sup>9</sup>

In general, the Office dealt with:

1. Improving the qualifications of the technical staff within the Institute and its production companies.
2. Perfecting the patterns created at the Institute, as well as the patterns realized into artefacts in these companies.
3. Constant collaboration with the above-mentioned companies.
4. Collaboration for a more prestigious representation of the handicrafts.
5. Cultivating an interest and a better understanding for the folk heritage as part of contemporary artefacts.
6. Expanding the production with the folk elements included.
7. Collecting authentic materials necessary for creating the patterns.
8. Analytical, technical, and scientific processing of the authentic materials gathered.
9. Systematizing the problematic materials.
10. Gathering materials for publications and propaganda.
11. Creating and supporting relations with the management of (...) institutions.
12. (...) marketing activities, etc.

And more specifically:

Department: Filigree, Woodwork and Others

1. Two sketches were made for a combined model for working with a combination of brass, copper, wood, and leather.
2. A sketch was drawn for a lemonade set with a combination of copper, brass, and wood.
3. Work on realizing the above-mentioned sketches and acquiring the combined materials: leather, copper, brass.
4. Instructions for manufacturing furniture were given – an office at the *Makedonska rezba (Macedonian Woodcarving)* company.
5. There was a visit to the folk museum and to *Makedonski folklor (Macedonian Folklore)* (...) *Tetovo Carpeting* for correcting the fringes on the *Polog* carpet. ...

Below there are several entries regarding the final report on the work carried out by the Office:

1. Based on the programme and the work in (...) there was an effort to create a society of applied art creators within the PRM.
2. The Scientific-Artistic Institute was transformed into a special department within the newly formed Folklore Institute in PRM.
3. There were guidelines with special interest for developing primary folklore creation in PRM by:  
(...)

- a) Academy for Applied Practices (Applied Arts) in Zagreb.
- b) (...) of Applied Arts at the Ministry of Culture and Science in Belgrade.
- c) The manager of Jugobra...
- d) The craftwork officer – Belgrade.
- e) The artistic five –
- f) Unofficially – the representative of the Ministry of Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Macedonia.

Several conclusions could be drawn from the above-mentioned. First of all, the Homemade Handicraft Office (Scientific-Artistic Institute) was the first organized example of promoting Macedonian folklore as an institution that, within Yugoslavia and in collaboration with similar institutions throughout Yugoslavia, could offer advice and sketches of ideas for the factories that were involved in the mass production of Macedonian folklore. Secondly, this institution assumed the role of controller. That is to say, it *controlled* the applied folklore produced in the factories and other similar institutions. Apart from this control, a crucial responsibility of this institute was also to create models and examples of Macedonian folklore according to ideas from employees and that were later to be used in creating “authentic” Macedonian folklore.

This institution, which could be considered the predecessor of the Folklore Institute formed by the government in 1950, began creating the cultural identity of Macedonians through the production of Macedonian folklore. Yugoslav newspaper articles from this period provide evidence of the manner in which things in Macedonia often got out of control. Concerning the art of making carpets and their stitch work, a practice assumed to be authentically Macedonian, one of the first issues of the Belgrade *NIN* magazines states:

The same degeneration occurs in our carpeting as well, and its decadence is complete and versatile, from Pirot and Sarajevo to Macedonia. Pirot introduced provincially toxic colours and stitch work, Sarajevo imported patterns from Central Europe, and Macedonia largely manufactures fake *buhars* from the Orient, using the full and authentic names.<sup>10</sup>

According to the Office records, one could note that the patterns from the folk costumes were used for the sketches of folk embroideries according to which the Macedonian popular folklore was created. This is something which is largely disputable.

Take into consideration that at the Institute of Folklore, which was founded in the same year as the date on the notebook of records, it was transformed in a separate department at the newly-formed Folklore Institute.

## **The Museum of Ethnology**

Although the Folklore Institute was the first *scientific institute* to deal with the scientific documentation and classification of folk heritage, there was some museum activity in its infancy beforehand, represented by the Museum of Ethnology<sup>11</sup>. On an academic level ethnology had existed as a scientific and educational field at the Faculty of Philosophy. It was formed immediately after the liberation<sup>12</sup>, and run by Professor Branislav Rusik. Although this department was part of the Faculty of Philosophy, the lectures took place at the Museum of Ethnology.

A: During that time, Ethnology was part of the Faculty of Philosophy. It was not at the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences as nowadays. Until recently, even Aneta Svetieva and Galaba Palikruseva have been struggling to return it to the Faculty of Philosophy, considering that ethnology is much closer to the social sciences. There had been several generations of ethnologists before me, but even in the first years there were rumours that the department would be cancelled.

E: Why should it be cancelled?

A: That I do not know. They may have not been pleased with Professor Rusik.

E: Was it political or something else?

A: I am not sure.

E: And which professors taught there?

A: Rusik used to teach there - he was the head professor. There were several professors, Professor Lisicar taught Classical History and Archeology. Tomovski taught Medieval History and someone else taught Modern History. Ljuben Lape taught National History. We had more national and modern history. Rusik taught Ethnology and the lectures were held at the Museum - the Museum of Ethnology still existed at the time - above the *NAMA* department store.<sup>13</sup>

It is interesting to note that there are no records as to why the Ethnology Department at the Faculty of Philosophy was cancelled only a couple of years after its formation. The only information we were able to obtain was from the above-mentioned source, who assumed that Professor Rusik was unsuitable. Unsuitable for whom? Why? This remains to be investigated.

## **The Museum of Southern Serbia and the Museum in Kocani**

The Museum of Ethnology located at the Skopje square (later together) with the Folklore Institute, was actually a continuation of a museum of sorts called *Muzej Juzne Srbije (Museum of Southern Serbia)*, which was operational between the two world wars. The purpose of the *Museum of Southern Serbia's* was to gather materials relating solely to objects from Macedonia and Kosovo. During the Second World War bombings, the Museum was relocated in an old house in Kocani, only to disappear sometime after that. One of our interviewees speaks about it in the following way:

(...) and between the two world wars there was the Museum of Southern Serbia, but when the bombings started, in order to save the many objects, we had to move them... Today those artefacts are at the Museum of Macedonia. That was the concept.

(...)

That museum was at the Kursumli-An but in order to save the objects from being destroyed during the raids in Skopje, it was relocated in Kocani. The house allegedly burnt down, although nobody knows a thing. The artefacts may have been taken by the Bulgarians - it remains a mystery - at least for those of us who don't know the details of what had happened. Nothing is left, only some artefacts from Kosovo. Very little was preserved from the Macedonian ones. So collecting began right away, the museum began collecting immediately after the liberation.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to such oral records on the beginnings of museum activities in Macedonia, there are a number of written, historical and factual records on the vanished museum from Kocani.

The only museum was in Kocani, and it comprised materials gathered over the course of 20-30 years, but it was destroyed by the enemy in 1944.<sup>15</sup>

The museum activities of the newly-formed Museum of Ethnology were mainly focused on collecting artefacts from Macedonia, with an affinity towards objects belonging to the Macedonian ethnicity, regardless of whether they were found in the People's Republic of Macedonia or the Macedonian regions outside its borders. Thus the museum archives also contained objects from Aegean Macedonia. The first work group at the Museum of Ethnology consisted of a handful of members: Milica

Gorgieva, Anica Petrusavska, Velimir Nikolov (...), Zotka Delinikova,, Angelina Krsteva.

Later on, this Museum was relocated to where the Museum of the City of Skopje stands today, finally becoming part of the Macedonian Museums.

## **The Folklore Institute**

When the current Institute of Folklore was founded, it was done so under the name of Folklore Institute. It was founded by the proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Science and the Government of the PRM, with the act No. 1183, on 6 April, 1950.<sup>16</sup> Zivko Firfov signed as the director of the Institute. The President of the PRM Government was Lazar Kolisevski, and the Minister of Culture and Science was Krste Crvenkovski. The reason behind forming this institute was primarily to collect, document and publish the folklore treasures of the Macedonian people. In the foundation statute of the Folklore Institute the main goals of this newly founded were formulated in the following way:

1. To organize the work of collecting, systematizing and preserving the folk heritage of the Macedonian people;
2. To scientifically analyze, refine and process the collected materials from the domain of national folklore;
3. To offer advice and expert opinions on transposing our folk art into homemade handicrafts, music, industry, construction, etc;
4. To cooperate with organizations, societies and institutions working on promoting our folk art throughout the territory of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and abroad, and assure the purity and authenticity of our folk art;
5. To attend to the preserving and further developing of our folk-art production;
6. To publish scientific and popularly scientific volumes from its domain.

One may note here from section two of the Institute's foundation act that the main goals of this institute were to primarily focus on collecting artefacts exclusively from the culture, that is, the folklore, of Macedonians. But this *ethnization of culture* was symbolically complemented by a multiculturalism of special kind.

No sooner than 1956, in one of the letters addressed to the education and culture council of the PR of Macedonia on 11 September, 1956, sent by the director Zivko Firfov regarding the alternatives for remodelling the Folklore Institute, the first comments appeared relating to the fact that the institute should not limit itself to collecting solely

Macedonian folklore, but also the folklore of the other ethnic minorities living in Macedonia. This issue first arose at the Musicology Department, which makes perfect sense since in those days folklore implied mainly folk songs and dances. Zivko Firfov suggested that the Musicology Department at the Folklore Institute be separated and renamed the Institute of Musical Folklore. It would be responsible for:

Collecting, systematizing and preserving musical folklore (Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Vlach) from the national folklore territory<sup>17</sup>.

It is apparent that the proposal suggests equal treatment for the nationalities living in Macedonia, even though it is not completely clear what collecting musical folklore from the *national folklore territory* actually implied.

A certain general control on the work of the Institute is evident in the original plan on how the institute was supposed to be divided in departments<sup>18</sup>.

At the beginning, the Folklore Institute was designed as a complex of everything representing any trace of national tradition, including folk dances, songs, instruments, etc. It was primarily envisioned as a sort of a melange of several scientific, specialized, and practical departments. According to a document written as a contribution to the inner organization of the Institute prior to its foundation, one could note that it was divided into several departments: Propaganda Department, Musicology Department, Choreography Department, Ensembles, Department of Material Culture and Technical Department, as well as Management and Secretariat.

The Propaganda Department was supposed to issue musical and literary collections and anthologies, as well as picture albums, etc.<sup>19</sup>

The institute was also meant to include folk dancers and musicians that would reproduce folk songs and dances for the institute employees to analyze. This later instigated arguments among the institute employees.

Finally, in 1951 the institute was organized into four departments: a) Folk Customs Department; b) Musicology and Choreography Department; c) Folk Literature Department and d) Folk Arts Department with a Folk Textile Section. The Folk Literature Department separated from this organization and formed a Folk Language and Literature Department at the Faculty of Philology.

The members of the first council of the Institute were: Dime Koco, associate professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje; Blaze Koneski, associate professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje; Boris Cipan, director of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments; Emanuel Cucukov, director of the People's Republic of Macedonia State

Ensemble; Todor Skalovski, director of the Macedonian National Philharmonic; Zivko Firfov, musician, artistic director of the PR Macedonia State Ensemble; Vera Klickova, director of the Museum of Ethnology; and Vasil Iljoski, writer.<sup>20</sup>

The first-lineup employees at the Folklore Institute included: Asparuh Hazdi Nikolov, Niko Tozi, Jakimovski, Branislav Rusik, Zivko Firfov, Cucukov, Marica Andonova.

According to the first staff record found in the Republic of Macedonia Archives, the members set several goals for themselves:

1. Acquire all books contain information about Macedonia.
2. Search for literature from the other republics.
3. Buy an electronic record player.
4. Buy a film camera from Blagoja Drnkov.
5. Ask Radio Skopje to make all folk songs available.
6. Invite all folk singers to sing all the folk songs they know.
7. Write letters to teachers in towns and villages and ask them to send lists of people who know folk songs, stories, dances; together with their addresses

Other employees in the following year were: Marija Hadzi Pecova from the Arts and Culture Department at the Ministry, Marica Pop Stefaniya from the Local Industry Committee, Metodija Simeonovski from the Macedonian State Ensemble, Ranka Hristova from the Homemade Handicrafts Office, Risto Prodanov from the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Ganco Pajtondziev from the Education, Science and Culture Council, Olga Sinkolova from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Vera Raleva, Angelina Krsteva, etc.

## **Conclusion**

Based on the oral and written documents about the beginnings of institutionalizing folklore in the new People's Republic of Macedonia immediately after 1944, which have been reviewed thus far, the following conclusions could be drawn:

- FPRY and its centralized power began institutionalizing folklore as a means of analyzing the lives and mentalities of the peoples living on its territory, with the purpose of strengthening a completely new and invented identity - Yugoslavism;
- Within FPRY, the People's Republic of Macedonia, on these same principles, but on a macro-structural level, began

documenting its own national identity, based mainly on national folklore;

- Immediately after liberation, as part of the folklore state-building efforts, several amateur and scientific institutions were formed. These included the Museum of Ethnology, the museum in Kocani as a branch of the Museum of Southern Serbia, the Homemade Handicrafts Office, and the Folklore Institute.

## References:

- 1 *Nova Makedonija*, 10 October 1947 (cfr. app. No. 1), front page.
- 2 *Nova Makedonija*, 14 October 1942, p. 2 (cfr. app. No.2).
- 3 *Nova Makedonija*, 7 October 1948, front page (cfr. app. No.3).
- 4 *Nova Makedonija*, 6<sup>t</sup> October 1949, p. 4.
- 5 Cfr. app. 4.
- 6 The archival documents regarding the Homemade Handicrafts Office are being researched.
- 7 The information comes from the personal archives, made accessible to me by Ranka Hristova, one of the first employees at the Folk Ornamantics Department at the Homemade Handicrafts Office.
- 8 The document belongs to the Marko Cepenkov Institute of Folklore.
- 9 Ranka Hristova, private archives.
- 10 Pedza Milosavljevic, *Misli o folkloru (Thoughts on Folklore)*, the *NIN*, No. 270.
- 11 Cfr. information from the Archives.
- 12 Cfr. information from the Archives.
- 13 A conversation with Angelina Krsteva (personal archives).
- 14 Angelina Krsteva.
- 15 Folk heritage concerns (from the Institute of Folklore activities, the *Nova Makedonija*, 13<sup>th</sup> February 1952 (check).
- 16 Cfr. a photocopy of the document (app.5).
- 17 A document from the Macedonian Archives (cfr. appendix No. 6).
- 18 Cfr. appendix No 7.
- 19 A document from the Macedonian Archives (cfr. appendix No.7).
- 20 Cfr. appendix No. 8s.