

Traditional Culture of the Mediterranean – Study and Presentation

*“Macaroni, by God, macaroni...!
Food, what food, it is paradise, it is heaven...!”
(Šegedin 1946:101)*

Traditional culture of the Mediterranean includes with no exception, together with many other manifestations, food as well; its growing, its processing, its preparation and its consumption. As an everyday exigency, food is closely connected with many different human activities. In the years of shortage it would provoke processes of exceptional dynamics. Different cultural strata, which left their traces on the Mediterranean in the course of history, can be, by careful analysis, perceived in traditional nutritional habits of its residents even today. This paper presents the results of researches into the restricted area of the island Korčula, bearing special stress concerning peculiarities and differences of rural settlements and the only urban centre – the town Korčula. In the same time, the latest trends in promoting the “authentic cuisine” are discussed here. During the past years, the previous insufficient investigation of this segment of life has been remunerated with enlarged pressure on the presentation of the traditional island cuisine. It was motivated by touristic-economic needs; however such a motivation asks for an additional precaution. Various manifestations in Croatian touristic destinations where food, mostly of traditional aspect, has the dominant role, are more and more frequent. Good communication between the professional and economic-touristic practice would definitely improve its study and its presentation as well.

Keywords: Traditional food, touristic-gastronomic potential, Korčula (Island)

Historical background

Hunger, as a painful opposition of being full, encouraged the man living on the island to perform numerous endeavours and ingenuities. The perpetual threat of economic uncertainty and a continuous feeling of hunger hanged over the past centuries like a dark

shadow, a feast of unbroken series of meals and drink having been a privilege of really the rare ones. This was the state of economic insecurity for the entire population, something that we cannot imagine today in spite of the present moment. Even though the largest number of inhabitants was dealing with agriculture, the notion of being full, well nurtured, remained an unrealized wish to many Europeans who lived in those times. Dalmatian medieval communities therefore paid great importance to objective management of resources, especially of water and food. There existed numerous decrees in the Statute of the town Korčula¹, which regulated relative security in supply of food. Cereals were sorted out as the most important victual, always in need by the communities. Therefore we can follow numerous decrees which try to forbid their exportation, as well as carefully regulated rules of their importation and price. Wine is an economically extremely important victual, produced in abundance on the island, enabling considerable income through its sale and taxing. Hence the need of controlling the local sale of wine, but in the same time its export was encouraged and its import was restricted. In the past, salt was the main conservative, therefore traffic of this omnipresent condiment of life was regulated with a special decree proclaimed directly by the Duke himself and by the majority of the Minor Council. Together with these decrees, it is important to mention those which point at a great caution given to the protection of vineyards, of the vine, especially during the grape harvest. Other victuals which found their place in the frames of the Statute of the town Korčula are those mostly achievable on the island. However, there arose the need to control their traffic, regarding their quantity or price, the selling place, even the profit of salesmen. It is important to specify a decree which regulates the correctness of measures². The commune tried to grant its inhabitants a certain socio-economic stability, conscious of the fact that it can prosper only if the shadow of ominous famine and large social imbalance, which were best observed in what we “have in our plates” every day, be declined!

The present-day reflections of traditional food habits

In which measure do reflections of traditional nutritional habits come to us today? In the consciousness of islanders there definitely remained the idea that the most secure food is the one produced by their own strength, or at least grown near the place where they live³. Older islanders remember great famine. One of the latest took place soon after the end of the Second World War: “Oh, if *only one could have enough to eat! We ate maize porridge, mostly maize porridge and cabbage!*”⁴ However, we cannot speak of this kind of shortage nowadays,

¹ The Statute of the town and island Korčula, translated and prepared by Antun Cvitanić, edited by Miljenko Foretić, published by the Town Korčula, 2002 (third edition). It is the basic book of laws which arranged the complete life of the commune of Korčula and is the oldest written legal document in this part of Europe (1214-1265). By its age it precedes statutes of other Dalmatian communes.

² Decrees of the Statute which regulate relationship concerning food and wine are given in appendix 2 at the end of the paper.

³ The research was performed on the broader area of the town Korčula and its related villages, in spring of 2012. In the following text, the name and birthplace or address of informants are listed, depending on the life period discussed, following the sequence of their statement.

⁴ Informant Davenka Skokandić, b. Matić (1934), Račišće.

neither can we understand phenomena like the ritual sacrifice of the animal, namely the ox; such an act ended the sword dance of Moštra or Kumpanija⁵, performed in villages of the island Korčula from ancient times on. Though nowadays this dance is performed, usually with no great preparations, on the saint patron's day of the particular village and also occasionally for touristic purposes, in the past those demanding, moreover ritual acts for its performance started on Epiphany, while the Moštra traditionally ended on the last day of Carnival, when the period of Lent started:

*“My friend, I will sing now
I will mention the beautiful day of Epiphany.
Even better harmony is on the day
When Kunpanija came out
...
My friend this is not a joke
To cut down the ox's neck in one stroke.
Eight thousand eyes were watching
When he cut off the ox's head”*⁶

This was the rare opportunity that the whole village community could eat meat to their full!⁷

According to a recent insight into nutritional habits of the islanders⁸, the highest appreciation still gets the diet which we generally call – the Dalmatian cuisine. It belongs to a wider notion of the Mediterranean cuisine, but still, as Patricia Lysaght points out⁹, this is a wide and a relatively modern term. It is easy to perceive the difference between the dinner of the poor and the better-off people, but the base is mostly the same. It tends to include as much as possible of fresh seasonal victuals, vegetables, fruit, some cheese, and then fish – especially blue, small fish, fresh and salted. Different kinds of beans and vegetables from the cabbage family are also part of it, while fine white fish and meat, *boji bokuni* (pieces of higher quality) are eaten rarely and mostly on festive days. Sweets are consumed in a small amount and with moderation, usually on festive occasions. Olive oil of course dominates the diet, a decilitre of wine, usually red, is a typical part of a meal. To satisfy thirst there is *bevanda* (wine diluted with water), plain water, water with a small amount of vinegar, or unsweetened herbal teas, of mint or marjoram. Food is prepared *na lešo*, cooked in mildly

⁵ More about „Moštra“ and „Kumpanija“ in texts by authors Ivan Ivančan, *Narodni običaji korčulanskih kumpanija* (Folk customs of Kumpanija from Korčula), Institut za narodnu umjetnost, Zagreb, 1967, and Elsa Ivančić Dunin, *Sword for dances on Korčula island: a living history*, Godišnjak grada Korčule 12 (Almanac of the town Korčula 12), Gradski muzej Korčula (Town museum of Korčula), Korčula 2007, pp. 138- 150.

⁶ The original complete lyrics can be found in the text by Sani Sardelić, *The song of Kumpanija which was held in Žrnovo in 1928*, Godišnjak grada Korčule 9 (Almanac of the Town Korčula 9), published by the Town museum of Korčula, 2004, pp. 187-211..

⁷ The last beheading of the ox was performed in the village Pupnat in 1996. It caused severe reactions and disgust of the wide public, hence in this sense a complete change of stand and attitude of a modern man can be observed. Nevertheless, it opens a completely new research topic for anthropologists. To the contrary, today we are usually not bothered by everyday availability of severed, neatly packed animal meat, moreover it is implied.

⁸ Informants were mostly of older or middle age.

⁹ Patricia Lysaght, *Mediterranean Food, Concepts and Trends*, publishers Institute for ethnology and folklore research and Ethnographic museum in Zagreb, Zagreb 2006.

salted water, soups are usually “false”, with no meat, made of vegetables and pasta. “*If the spoon stood upright in the soup, you would be full, if it was falling down, you would still remain hungry...*”¹⁰ The beloved *gradele* (grill) were used very rarely and occasionally. Meat soup (“Sunday soup”) with rice was considered an excellent and appreciated course. Until recently, rice was an expensive victual. Ivan Skokandić (b. in 1947) remembers that in his early childhood his father had to work one day for a kilogram or two of rice, as it was worth his daily wage. “*Soup was the main meal and every day it is necessary to eat up a plate of good soup*”¹¹ Considering other ways of food preparation, we can mention braising. “*Sauté something on onions*”¹², not too often and usually for festivities or special family reunions, when traditionally a thick, dark beef sauce is prepared, accompanied with hand-made pasta, *makaruni*, or – as in the town Korčula or on the island Vrnik¹³ is the habit – mostly with *njoki* – potato dumplings. In inland villages, cattle rearing were expanded probably to its natural maximum capacity, therefore fresh meat was relatively accessible: “*We would kill a sheep and boil the meat in a kettle on an open fireplace. In the past a lot of sheep were raised, not today any more*”¹⁴. The town and villages along the coast were more inclined to fishing, although every inland village also had its own bay (*vala*), and all island boys learned the skill of fishing in their early age. Naturally, the accessibility of victuals also determined the everyday menu. This would be a very short review of what the inhabitants of Korčula define as Dalmatian, their own, cuisine, which they describe as “*healthy and the best*”¹⁵. If we follow results of the research, accessible to everyone and presented in a popular way, such a diet, as nutritionists assure us, really has positive affects on our health and long life. However, mass consumption and availability of large amount of different victuals, as well as the omnipresent lack of time, time which is probably the “basic ingredient” in traditional recipes, completely change nutritional habits of everyone, also of the islanders. “*So what if there was less, it was better in the past!*”¹⁶ - is the final remark of most informants during the mentioned research.

¹⁰ Informant Merica Bakarić, (b. 1956) Žrnovo.

¹¹ Informant Viktorija Crljen Filippi, (b. 1957) Korčula.

¹² „*Braise(sauté) something on onions and they will eat up the pan too*” – these are funny verses of a popular song performed by a musical band *Gorgonzola* from Korčula, which describes the true nature of tourists.

¹³ The small island Vrnik in the Korčula archipelago is famous for its quarries dating from the period of ancient Rome. Its quarries have become silent, the primary school closed its door round the 1950s. The way of preparing food on the island Vrnik has its peculiarities in regards to the town Korčula, for example red wine is added to the dough when making *prikle* (a kind of doughnuts), while *njoki* (potato dumplings) are shaped on a *perun* (fork) instead of using a *gratakaža* (grater).

¹⁴ Informant Jakica Šain, b. Farac (b. 1941) Pupnat.

¹⁵ Such an opinion is based on results of the present research, island Korčula, May-June 2012.

¹⁶ Informant Kata Gatti, (b. 1938) Korčula.

Nutritional time machine

the way of the preparation of food, together with skills linked to it, is a segment of intangible heritage kept in generations for a long time, and even transferred with members of the community who started new life in distant parts of the world. This is a well known phenomenon of immigrants' cuisines. However, as the way of food preparation can be traced through its moving in space, it is even more interesting to follow its "travel" through time. In a simple, almost primitive, but thus superior achievement of culinary art – a castrated male kid¹⁷ or young goat on a grid (grilled), seasoned only with some grains of coarse sea salt and a little olive oil which is smeared over the meat with a brush made from the twigs of the near bush of rosemary, we can recognize the archaic way of preparation, deprived of anything unessential. The fragrance which spreads during such a preparation, as Homer put it in the *Iliad*, is favourable to gods as well. We can continue in poetical tones – it spreads by all the winds blowing along the coasts of the Mediterranean. Castrated goat tastes especially good in the time of the grape harvest, therefore it is grilled to celebrate a good harvest and taste new wine, or more precisely *slačica* (stum)¹⁸, what leads us symbolically to the cult of Dionysius. It definitely belongs to the corpus of meals which completely fits into "level of unity, suggest the existence of a homogenous food landscape and dietary pattern in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea."¹⁹ A beloved way of satisfying one's thirst, but hunger as well, was with a beverage named "wine and milk"²⁰, made of fresh goat milk, still warm from milking, into which a smaller or a bigger quantity of red wine was added in order to make the milk slightly curdle. The amount of wine depended on the age of the consumer²¹. The beverage was considered a first-rate delicacy, especially for women and children. It was believed to be very healthy and invigorating. "To put a few drops of it on a piece of bread, this was my mother's best meal. You would not be hungry or thirsty afterwards!"²² We can spot ancient nutritional habits in such a way of food preparation. "We would crunch some bread and put it in the oven, then imbue it with the mixture, it was delicious".²³ Moreover, in this beverage two basic economic occupations of the islandvillagers are united – cattle rearing and viticulture. During the research in the

¹⁷ An older castrated male kid, whose meat is especially tender and aromatic from castration, and particularly appropriate for consuming in the time of the grape harvest.

¹⁸ The grape juice, or the liquid in fermentation, after the must has been separated from the stems and skins of the grape berries, results in the first decanting during the process of wine making. As its name suggests, it is very sweet, while its sugar slowly turns into alcohol. It has a relatively low percent of alcohol, having a slightly poignant taste, as the process of fermentation is still in the course. It is not clear but is somewhat unsettled and thick in relation to the final product – wine. After the taste of the stum, skilled wine-makers can estimate whether wine is going to be of high quality or not.

¹⁹ Patricia Lysaght, *Mediterranean Food, Concepts and Trends, Introduction*, editors Institute for ethnology and folklore research and Ethnographic museum Zagreb, Zagreb 2006.

²⁰ In Dalmatian hinterland such a beverage is known under the name *bikla*. In spite of my endeavours during the research to find out how it was named on Korčula, except descriptively "wine and milk", my search after its name was unsuccessful. However, all informants promptly remembered its taste with delight.

²¹ The beverage was enjoyed by older people and children, therefore the quantity of wine was under control.

²² Informant Merica Bakarić, (b. 1956) Žrnovo.

²³ Informant Jakuša Didović, (b. 1928), Žrnovo, Postrana.

area of Žrnovo I noted only a few inhabitants who still consumed it.²⁴ As a way of search for food, gathering of wild edible plants can be traced even deeper in the past and it can be followed to prehistoric times. Even today it is very popular²⁵ among local inhabitants. In early spring, when wild edible plants slowly sprout from the ground, “everyone is eager to consume this delicacy”²⁶. Interestingly enough, these plants can still be purchased on local markets. According to the investigation led by J. Bakić “in the village Blato on the island Korčula such a mixture included even thirty kinds of wild plants”.²⁷ Today, informants could specify about twenty species (fig. 3.01). An ancient, almost primitive way of hunt called “pod pločicu” (under a stone) and realized when hunting small wood animals, like dormice and also birds, like blackbirds and warblers²⁸, procured often the only meat supply for the family. The mentioning of the dish called *makaruni na kosiće* (macaroni in a blackbird stew) brings about exciting memories even today. Many other edible plant species were also gathered, together with mushrooms, which can be found in plenitude in the woods of Korčula²⁹ during the rainy season. There are popular verses which summon help in mushroom gathering, remembered by older residents of Žrnovo:

“Oh Lord, give me a mushroom and a picker³⁰
So that I can fill up both my sleeves”.

Various kinds of beans, which were present on the markets of ancient Rome, like broad beans, grass peas, chick peas³¹, are used in preparing the dish called *sočivo* or *vara* – “You need to soak them the previous night and the following day you boil them over fire and season well with oil”³². They are still planted in the gardens on the island, though much seldom. Mostly young broad beans are consumed today, usually boiled together with fennel (*morač*). *Vara* is an especially beloved dish during late autumn and winter periods; together with beans, it often comprises wheat and barley. There is a saying “St. Barbara cooks *vara*, there are nine things in the kettle”³³. However, nowadays dry beans are mostly purchased in the shop, so the dish is implemented with different kinds of beans, and with lentils, etc. while nobody of my informants remembered that were ever grown on the island (fig. 3.02). Such dishes

²⁴ I thank Merica Bakarić on the help in gathering the number of today’s consumers.

²⁵ See the article by S. Sardelić: *Wild edible plants, mišanca, gruda, parapač*, Etnološka istraživanja 12/13 (Ethnological Research 12/13), Etnografski muzej Zagreb (Ethnographic museum Zagreb), Zagreb 2007/2008.

²⁶ Informant Mara Jeričević, (b. 1929) Žrnovo.

²⁷ Ljubiša Grlić, *Enciklopedija samoniklog jestivog bilja* (Encyclopedia of wild edible plants), August Cesarec, Zagreb, 1986.

²⁸ Today, of course, such a hunt is forbidden by the law, however even the younger generation remembers it. The procedure is most primitive but very efficacious. One would need one bigger and one smaller stone disk, two to three twigs and a small trough with water.

²⁹ It is believed that the island Korčula got its name after the impression which the dense wood forests of the Mediterranean oak and black pine made on its first colonists, the Greeks, who named the island Korkyra Melaina – Black Korčula.

³⁰ *Gnjivar* (“gljivar”) is a mushroom-picker, a person who knows a lot about mushrooms and knows where to find them.

³¹ Informant Marija Skokandić, (b. 1938) Žrnovo.

³² Informant Marija Skokandić, (b. 1938) Žrnovo.

³³ St. Barbara’s Day falls on December 4th.

and kinds of porridge made from cereals ground on hand-mills (*žrnji*) and boiled in salted water, then seasoned with olive oil, were frequently on islanders' plates; they were real feeders of numerous families of common people. Nowadays, such food, especially porridge, has almost disappeared from the table (fig. 3.03). However, if we take into account the recommendation of modern nutritionists, it represents an extremely rich source of easily digestible high-quality nutrients, and today it is recognized even in trendy circles, together with many other traditional dishes, as "healthy food". The already mentioned meat stew, a festive and not everyday food, is by default scented with *garofalići* (cloves) and *roza muštarda* (nutmeg), spices which are the gift of the great geographic discoveries from the beginning of the 15th century. Still, though the accessibility of those spices, so costly in the past, is much easier today, they are still used very sparingly and mostly, as aforementioned, in festive dishes. Small tomatoes from the village Lumbarda³⁴ and dishes prepared on their base, especially a kind of light handmade pasta, represent a superb gourmet experience. The originality and relative triviality of these small, half-wild, dark-red fruit of an old tomato sort overlooked by genetic and hybrid handling, witness the first encounters of the Old and the New continents.

The obligatory summer dish *zeje na tabak na male pamidore* (sliced cabbage with small tomatoes) is considered authentic by every village on the island³⁵. The saying "*On the first of August one should eat cabbage!*" confirms that this sort of cabbage, known under the name *raštika* in other parts of Dalmatia, while on Korčula known simply as *zeje* (cabbage), can well tolerate the drought, being therefore mostly a fairly reliable source of food in summer. Sayings from both parts of the island are witnesses to this:

*"Two forkfuls of cabbage and two pieces of salt fish – and you are not hungry!"*³⁶

*"A plate of pickerels, a plate of cabbage, and an old woman farted from joy."*³⁷

The islander, especially the resident of island villages, mostly provided his food from the nearest surroundings, producing it with his own forces. Residents of the town Korčula, focussed on craftsmen's occupations, especially on shipbuilding and stone-masonry. As they usually did not own any arable soil, they purchased fresh food from the villages nearest the town – from Žrnovo, Pupnat, Lumbarda, Račišće. Hence we can partly find the source of permanent tensions between the inhabitants of the villages and the townspeople. Nikola Skokandić³⁸ told us an interesting story to confirm it. A long time ago his grandmother, then being just a little girl, was sent to town with a basket of grapes. After a long walk on foot she delivered the grapes and kept standing by the door awaiting the empty basket. The mistress of the house, craving for fresh and attractive fruit, started hastily to devour it behind the semi-shut door. When she surfeited, she separated the remaining

³⁴ Informant Sanda Hančević, b. Šestanović (b. 1973), Lumbarda. The association "*Baščina*" (Heritage) from Lumbarda and its member Milka Batistić deserve special merit for the promotion of tomatoes and courgettes from Lumbarda.

³⁵ Inhabitants from every village on Korčula considered that this particular dish had its origin right in their village.

³⁶ Informant Mara Jeričević (b. 1929), Žrnovo.

^{37v} Informant Tonko Barčot (b. 1979), Vela Luka.

³⁸ Informant Nikola Skokandić (b. 1947), Žrnovo. By profession he is an academic graphic artist and author of the excellent graphic map "Happiness" inspired with the short story of the same name, written by Petar Šegedin.

berries from the stems, spiked them on a silver needle and placed them on a fine porcelain plate. Then she opened the door wide and asked the little girl whether people in the village eat the grapes served in such a manner. The girl answered: “No, not like this, but in the way like you ate them before!” As the informant finished his story, his grandmother was not sent to carry grapes into the town any more. The continuous tension regarding the accessibility of food was especially stressed during the First and the Second World Wars. It was enlarged with general life insecurity, difficult communication with the mainland and shortage, but in the same time it was the period of time when positive human relationships were strengthened and consolidated (fig. 3.05). Older town residents remember from their childhood how delicate and demanding was the purchase of milk, for ex. Kata Gatti from Korčula recalls:

*“In the morning in the first place you would have to arrange firewood which women from Pupnat brought on their mules, then - still before eating anything - you had to bring the milk. Our milk woman was Milka, and there was another one too, named Fana. They sold milk in the place called ‘ispod Trisulara’. They would bring about ten bottles of milk, plugged with leafs of cabbage. Then you would bring the milk home and only then you were allowed to eat something. I used to collapse while I was waiting in the queue for milk,,”*³⁹

Families had also their “own” milk women who would deliver milk, mostly goats’ milk, early in the morning, travelling on foot from villages several kilometres far from the town. The last shepherd from Žrnovo, Nikola Grbin, better known under the name Miko Pastir (Miko the shepherd) still lives in people’s memories. He was born in Žrnovo on January 14th 1877, and died on the island Lastovo on April 6th 1963. Though illiterate, he made comments about everything in rhyme; his life presents an extremely prolific topic for ethnological, anthropological, and even sociological research⁴⁰. The peculiar character of this shepherd motivated the literary work of the writer Petar Šegedin, especially when creating short stories named “Happiness” and “Holy Devil”⁴¹. One of his rhymes goes like this:

*“Oh women from the town, go to the devil,
Here comes Miko, and brings you your milk!”*⁴²

There is an interesting ridicule song in which Miko describes the event when milk women, his direct rivals, ended in the town’s jail as they watered milk:

*“Wait, my friend, you will laugh now
As I will tell you a funny story
How from Postrana, a small village
Poor milk women cried
The loudest were three sisters Ćurice*

³⁹ Informant Kata Gatti (b. 1938), Korčula.

⁴⁰ See more in: Zbornik otoka Korčule 1 (Almanach of the island Korčula 1), edited by Marinko Gjivoje, Zagreb 1970 (pp. 264-269).

⁴¹ Petar Šegedin, *Sreća* (Hapiness), *Sveti vrag* (Holy Devil), Na istom putu, edited by Naprijed, zagreb 1963. An interesting comment on this text is given by Luko Paljetak in: *Arhetipska simbolika i ezoterijska značenja u noveli „Sreća“ Petra Šegedina* (Archetypal symbolics and esoteric meanings in a short story “Happiness” by Petar Šegedin), Zbornik Dani Petra Šegedina 4 (Almanach Days of Petar Šegedin 4), editors Town Korčula and Lexicographic Institute Miroslav Krleža, Korčula 2012 (in print).

⁴² After the memory of the informant Dinko Jeričević Cive (b. 1922), from Žrnovo.

*They cried aloud
 Because they poured water in milk
 This happened never before
 Anica and Lisa also finished there
 There is the full prison of them
 Mara, wife of the deceased Marko is also there
 You cannot tell the number of villages they come from
 If only God would allow that they never come home...⁴³*

Delivery of the firewood needed for cooking was a demanding job. Village women used donkeys and mules for the transport, but they also used to carry the burden themselves, on their backs. As in the town people also used to cook on open fire, in kitchens built on the highest floor, under the roofing slates, household keeping was a very demanding job. Today such an ancient kitchen can be seen in a permanent exhibition of the ethnographic collection of the Town museum of Korčula⁴⁴. Here, in the space which leaves a deep impression on all visitors because of its authenticity, one can truly admire the history of everyday life and understand difficulties in preparation of food and delivery of all other kitchen supplies to urban or noblemen's homes (fig. 3.06).

According to the research, it is evident that people tried to use every edible part of an animal for food, like guts and bowels, and even the animal blood. It could be turned from the liquid into the solid state with a simple procedure⁴⁵, which would make it suitable for further processing and cooking (fig. 3.07). *Naduvenica* was a kind of sausage made of barley and maize semolina, mixed with pig blood and suet and seasoned with raisins and cinnamon. *Kulin* was a dish made of goat's pluck and chopped set blood. For a modern consumer it is hard to imagine such food as an acceptable gastronomic offer, although today these dishes certainly have their role as meals with a welcome touristic story contextualised with the historical spot of their very tasting. Ancient mocking rhymes: "Hey, brat, kulin has been cooking in your house, run home and see that it doesn't overcook!" speak in the favour of this. The same can be noticed in the answer given by Tonči Baždarić to the quest which dish is the most beloved to the islanders of Korčula:

"The most beloved dish to people on Korčula... is kulin, čipi-čap or tripa (tripe). This was eaten mostly by people, who did not have better pieces of meat or fish for the grill, but nevertheless everybody likes tripe, or for example boiled lamb with the salsa from small tomatoes, this is the good dish to eat in summer. But tripe was eaten in summer and in winter too."⁴⁶

A time ago food of the poorest, to which the mentioned pieces of the animal were usually the only affordable food, is a special delicacy today! We can find interesting anecdotes which witness the meeting of food habits of islanders and those of the inhabitants from the

⁴³ Zbornik otoka Korčule 1, edited by Marinko Gjivoje, Zagreb 1970 (pp. 264 – 269).

⁴⁴ More in the article by Marija Hajdić: *In the kitchen and at the table of an urban family in Korčula – an incentive for the research and preservation of nutrition customs*, Ethnological researches 12/13, Ethnographic museum Zagreb, Zagreb 2007/2008.

⁴⁵ "In the evening, when you kill a goat or a kid, you hang it and let blood to drop into apot, then you put some salt into it, a tea spoonful, not much, and blood will set till the morning". Informant Marija Skokandić (b. 1938), Žrnovo.

⁴⁶ Informant Tonči Baždarić (b. 1956), Korčula.

distant parts of mainland. According to the story of the deceased Slavka Skokandić from Žrnovo (b. Šale), on the day when a maid from the mainland came to the house, the family dined a stew of small fish. Unused to fish and a lot of tiny bones, the servant remained hungry. She asked her mistress what was that served for dinner and got the answer: “*Milost božja*” (Grace of the Lord). The next day they ate *lazanje* (a soup made of broad pasta, vegetables and beans). The maid ate her full that time and again she asked her mistress what they ate for dinner. When she got the answer “*lazanje*”, the servant readily made a rhyme:

*“Lazanje, the crawlers, do float and sail as you will,
But let Grace of the Lord never enter our house!”⁴⁷*

We already mentioned that the difference between the more opulent and the poorer, village or urban, cuisine, corresponded more with the quantity than the choice of victuals. Also, it is evident that the difference between the village and the town on the island is not mirrored in the way in which the food is prepared, but more in the fact that villagers mostly ate food which they have grown themselves, while the townspeople would buy the same food at the town’s markets: “*At Rotunda we used to buy greenery, we bought parapač (a mixture of wild plants) from women from Lumbarda and Žrnovo...*”⁴⁸ narrates Kata Gatti from the town Korčula. Merica Bakarić recalls her childhood in the village: “*We would eat some meat when somebody killed a goat or ram, one time we would kill the animal, next time a neighbour would kill his goat, then we would divide the meat and return them what they gave us earlier, and we would sell some to the butcher too.*”⁴⁹ Novelty in nutrition came equally fast to the well to do residents of the town as to the villagers. This concerned especially sweets for children, candy, various salamis... Village women, who worked as help in town’s homes or taverns, could easily learn more modern recipes from their landladies. Also, they used to bring home some still edible leftovers, named *kantuni* (edges) of such “lordly” food, so when the mother returned from the job in the town, the main question of the child was: “*Did you work in the house where the mistress eats cheese and salami?*”⁵⁰ But it is not surprising that the list of traditional sweets in the village and in the town is the same: *cukarini* (sugar-coated cookies), *klašuni* (pastry filled with almonds), *prikle* (doughnuts), *hrstule* (fritters), *bruštulani mindeli* (caramelised almonds), *sirnice* (Easter-bread), *lumblije* and *lojenice* (sweet pastry made with *loj* = goat suet).⁵¹

⁴⁷ The story and rhymes are reproduced after the narration by Slavka Skokandić (b. Šale) from Žrnovo—now deceased.

⁴⁸ Informant Kata Gatti (b. 1938), Korčula.

⁴⁹ Informant Merica Bakarić (b. 1956), Žrnovo.

⁵⁰ After the story by Slavka Skokandić, b. Šale, Žrnovo (now deceased).

⁵¹ This is the conclusion based on the information from the inhabitants of the town Korčula and its neighbouring villages during the mentioned research. I stress out the difference between *lumblija* and *lojenica*, though the base is almost the same, yeast dough with no eggs, to the difference of *sirnica* (Easter bread) where eggs dominate. But, together with the typical spices, in *lojenica*, as its name says, one should add *loj* - tallow from the kidney of a young or castrated goat, which is especially prepared and very aromatic. Although in the past *lojenica* was prepared for “festive days”, today it is made for the feast of St. Martin’s, in the town Korčula and its neighbouring villages. *Lumblija* is baked in the villages Blato and Vela Luka for All Saints Day.

Traditional food in a modern way

Dishes mentioned so far - *škopac na gradele* (castrated male goat on a grid), *makaruni* (macaroni), *makaruni na pamidore* (macaroni with tomato sauce), *njoki* (potato dumplings), *parapač* (mixed wild plants), *sočivo* (thick vegetable soup with cereals), *naduvence* (blood sausages), *kulin* (dish of goat's pluck and blood), *čipi-čap*, *tripa* (tripe), *lazanje* (vegetable soup with pasta), *popara* (bread soup), *zeje na tabak* (sliced cabbage), *zeje na pamidore* (sliced cabbage with tomatoes), *lešo janjetina* (boiled lamb) and *salsa* (tomato sauce), together with sweets (fig. 3.09 and 3.10) and beverages, represent a very interesting touristic-gastronomic potential. We can find some of them also in daily menus of some restaurants and taverns on the island. However, we think that the value of traditional gastronomic offer has still not been recognized to the full extent, nor has it been presented in a systematic and sufficiently authentic way. The Ministry of Tourism performs particular efforts for improvement of this situation in the Republic of Croatia on a general level. In the same time, several dishes on the territory of the Republic of Croatia are identified as exceptionally valuable and put on the list of intangible cultural goods, made by the Ministry of Culture. This refers, for ex., to "starogrojski paprenjok" (honey-cake made in the town Stari Grad) from the island Hvar and "brački vitalac" (lamb dish from the island Brač). In the recommendation to enter *vitalac* into the Registry, it is stressed out among other: "This special dish made of lamb's or kid's offal (pluck), represents a live link with the times of the first contacts of the Greek civilization with the inhabitants of the island Brač"⁵², in which we can recognize some elements of the already mentioned dish prepared in the villages of Korčula, from goat offal and blood – so called *kulin*.⁵³ *Poprenjak* is even a more interesting link for the story about Korčula:

*"Honey cakes are a traditional sweet which used to be baked in the region of Dalmatian coast and on the islands, while nowadays they are made only in Stari Grad on the island Hvar. Large and small honey cakes made from flour, honey and saffron, were mentioned on the island Korčula. They were sent in barrels outside Korčula as early as from 1503 on".*⁵⁴

It is perfectly clear that these two pearls of our intangible heritage encompass a cultural and geographic, and we can also say historical pregnancy of the island region, but in the same time we can understand that a long path to the registration awaits in front of traditional gourmet delicacies from Korčula, although exceptionally valuable. Of course, a qualification degree of caterers defines the quality of presentation of autochthon cuisine. Here we can highlight some good examples: Caterers' practicum of the secondary school *Petar Šegedin* in Korčula and Croatian Employment Service – region of Dubrovnik, which, in collaboration with educational institutions of Dubrovnik-Neretva and Split-Dalmatia Counties, as its head Dasen Jasprica assures, make efforts to include training in the prepa

⁵² *Preparation of the traditional dish brački vitalac.* The text is from the Decision of the Ministry of Culture for establishing the feature of intangible cultural good. Class: UP-Io 612-08/07-06/0339, Reg. No.: 532-04-02-02/1-07-1, Zagreb, October 17th, 2007.

⁵³ *Vitalac and kulin differ in the way of preparation, the first dish is roasted on live embers, while the other is boiled in a kettle; however the base is the same – offal, stomach, and intestines of a kid.*

⁵⁴ *The art of preparing the traditional sweet starogrojski paprenjok.* The text is from the Decision of the Ministry of Culture for establishing the feature of intangible cultural good. Class: UP-Io 612-08/07-06/0411, Reg. No.: 532-04-02-02/1-08-2, Zagreb, May 12th, 2008.

ration of traditional meals into programs offered for prequalification of unemployed islanders. However, their programs bear against the needs expressed by economists.⁵⁵

Makarunada in Žrnovo

in attempt at the better promotion of such an autochthon dish of the island Korčula, namely of *žrnovski makaruni*, a handmade pasta in a beef sauce with spices, a village feast was organized under the name “Makarunada”. It has taken place for several years already, following the idea of the author of this paper. It is held in summer, between August 16th, the Day of St. Roch, patron-saint of the hamlet Postrana, and September 8th, the Day of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the patron-saint of the hamlet Prvo selo of the village Žrnovo (fig. 3.11 and 3.12). According to my personal estimate, the said dish has a high potential to enter the Registry of cultural goods of RH. The fact that all previously mentioned informants listed *makaruni* as an exceptionally festive and beloved dish “which was not prepared every day”⁵⁶ speaks in favour of such a judgement. This is confirmed in rhymes which I present after the memory of the narration by the deceased Slavka Skokandić from Žrnovo:

*“Three girls were dancing
In the home of a grey-haired⁵⁷ old man
They were given a cup of flour each
And they would make thin macaroni.
You, who are pretty, eat macaroni,
You, who are ugly, go under the sheets!”*

This is the reason why the present paper is motivated, and titled too, with a quotation from the novel “Children of God” by Petar Šegedin. It reflects all the blessing of enjoying food in its opulence, but also the fear of its shortage⁵⁸.

“Macaroni, by God, macaroni...! Food, what food, it is paradise, it is heaven...but she forgot even how bread looks like!” (fig. 3.13).

Macaroni from Žrnovo are eagerly mentioned by residents of the town Korčula, hence the “Dictionary of the dialect of the town Korčula”⁵⁹ contextualizes the word *makarun* with the following sentence:

⁵⁵ After having finished the courses for prequalification in Korčula, HZZ-PO Dubrovnik and University in Split prepare a celebration of assignment of certificates, when students prepare dishes for which they were trained. Among other dishes there are present traditional ones, also more modern dishes based on traditional victuals. According to my opinion while following these presentation, I think that the traditional way way of nutrition, though on a good trail, has still not been used in an adequate measure. It has still not been completely recognized by economists.

⁵⁶ Informant Marija Skokandić (b. 1938), Žrnovo.

⁵⁷ *Sidili starac* is a grey-haired old man; in other versions the old man is *sidobradi* (grey-bearded).

⁵⁸ Petar Šegedin, *Djeca božja* (Children of God), MH, Zora, V stoljeća hrvatske književnosti (Five centuries of Croatian literature), Zagreb 1977, p. 99.

⁵⁹ Damir Kalogjera, Mirjana Fattorini Svoboda, Višnja Josipović, *Rječnik govora grada Korčule* (Dictionary of the dialect of the town Korčula), Novi Liber, Zagreb, 2008.

Makarun (macaroni) – kind of pasta

Na Malu Gospu Kuneji činu domaće makarune s lipin točon. (For the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, *Kuneji* make homemade pasta with a nice meat sauce).

Kuneji is the summary name for the inhabitants of Žrnovo, given by citizen of Korčula. It comes from the fact that in the past people from Žrnovo used to eat, from love or from shortage of other food, a lot of plants from the cabbage family (“*the cabbage from Žrnovo is the best*”), and they especially ate a lot of wild edible plants, like rabbits (“*kuneji*” is the dialectal form of the Croatian word “*kunići*” = rabbits). On the other hand, inhabitants of Žrnovo gave the name *Bonkulovići* to the citizen of Korčula, as they like to eat nice *bokuni* (pieces) of meat or fish (“*they like to put something good into the belly*”). We can notice from this playing with words and nicknames how stratified the art of traditional cuisine really is and understand the wider context of life with which it is connected. Interestingly enough, although primarily these nicknames were given in mockery and derision, nowadays people from Žrnovo and from the town Korčula like to call themselves *Kuneji* and *Bonkulovići* respectively. But let us turn back to modern presentation of ancient food. The manifestation was in focus of different public media. For example, in the contribution to the program of the Croatian Radio named “A thousand pearls”, edited by Adriana Tomašić, it is said, between other, that never has an entertainment in Žrnovo attracted a larger number of visitors. The newspaper *The Dubrovnik Courier* made a big report on the fourth *Makarunada*.⁶⁰

Although generally accepted and, it seems, successful manifestation in a touristic sense in every way, “*Makarunada*” found itself on the crossroad between the wish of the organiser to satisfy a large number of consumers and respect the traditional preparation of food. In fact, instead of keeping to the traditional way of preparing this delicate handmade pasta, as they present it through the media, the organisers and above all hardworking cooks or pasta makers freeze most of macaroni in freezers days before the manifestation. When asked why such a change, their answer is simple: “This is easier! We do this at home too”. Such is the way, unfortunately, how cooks in the majority of restaurants do, where macaroni are offered as authentic dish for a very high price. But, are they really authentic when prepared like this, and could they, produced in such a way, be put on the list of dishes which entered the Registry of cultural goods of RH? Maybe the doubt of the author of this paper concerning the mentioned question is motivated with speculations about the boundaries to which we should intervene concerning the preparation and stora-

⁶⁰ “The Dubrovnik Courier, August 16th, 2011. A successful Makarunada: In the organization of the primary school Ante Curać-Pinjac and the catering services “Žrnovski dvori” and “Atrij”, under the patronage of the Town Korčula and its Association for Tourism, the County Dubrovnik-Neretva, and sponsorship from NPKL Vodovod (Waterworks) and Sea-port Management of Korčula, the traditional “Makarunada” took place on a Sunday evening. It was held in front of the Hall of Culture and it attracted a large number of Croatian and foreign visitors eager to taste *žrnovski makaruni*, which are a well known gastro- speciality of housewives from Žrnovo. “Last year we made and sold 70 kilos of makaruni”, states the principal of the school and director of the “Makarunada”, prof. Ante Radovanović Bjondo. This was not enough, so for this year’s, the fourth manifestation, 100 kilos of macaroni were produced. Although the recipe is a secret, cca 90 kilos of flour and meat were used, together with 20 kilos of small tomatoes. The special attraction was spinning more than 34 thousand macaroni, which was also a hard job. The curious were allowed to knead the dough on the board for the first time, a then they were turnig it, with mealy hands and a wooden needle, into a hollow pasta. Along with a delicacy of housewives from Žrnovo and good wine, this culinary evening continued with dance and a performance of a music group *Andrija and friends*. Text by Nikola Perić”.

ge of food when using modern technology, while we still consider this food as original and promote it as such. As this paper is inspired by the topic announced for the no. 17th of the periodical Ethnological Researches, Traditional culture of the Mediterranean – research and presentation,⁶¹ the question which arose connected with the presentation and gastro-nomic – mostly tourist – offer, is primarily related to the change of the way of preparation which is the necessity of the modern life. Which is the acceptable degree of reshaping and modernising the preparation, if we still offer contents as authentic? Although there is probably a worse example of the presentation of authentic food in touristic-commercial purpose than this one, I believe that this is not a superfluous question. In the afterword of the book entitled “Dishes from the ice”,⁶² Igor Mandić offers a peculiar view on the freezing of food, considering that the freezer is more than a plain house aid, it is – a view to the world! So although almost thirty years have passed since Mr. Mandić wrote his text, this what the author suggested as a specific vision is coming true. Therefore, the basic thought related to macaroni from the ice is whether we, when offering authentic, original food, understand it is authentically prepared, or we annihilate its authenticity by the very act of freezing? The more so as it is regularly offered like traditionally made pasta, while it is never stated, not even in expensive restaurants, that macaroni are not freshly made, but frozen.⁶³

Feasts in the house of Marco Polo

“Feasts in the house of Marco Polo” is the title of the exposition open in the Town museum of Korčula in December of 2011. The exhibition is based on archaeological evidence from the locality “House of Marco Polo” in the old town’s nucleus of Korčula (see appendix 14).

We extract the following from the text by Sanda Hančević and Valerija Jurjević:

*“The exhibition displays the results of the archaeological excavation which took place on the locality House of Marco Polo in Korčula in 2007 and 2008. Investigatory works were led by the archaeologist Sanda Hančević, while the art historian Valerija Jurjević was in charge of the documentation. They are co-authors of this exhibition, and they also collaborated with colleagues from the Town museum of Korčula, the ethnologist Sani Sardelić, and the director Marija Hajdić.”*⁶⁴

⁶¹ <http://www.mdc.hr/hr/kalendar-dogadjanja/?d=1-3-2012>

⁶² Biluš, Ivanka, Božić, Ivanka, Rode, Cirila, *Jela iz leda* (Dishes from the ice), August Cesarec Zagreb 1985: “More than some theoretical or philosophical-ideological novelty, it has influenced changes in the mentality of immeasurable mass of people for a long time already, from the simply gastronomic level, to the economic one, from the organization of the family life to the construction of the collective world. We can see that this is about something big. The essential, hence also revolutionary grasp into the nature of the subject of man – namely refraction of this natural course by intervening into the very essence of natural processes – can by no means remain without deep consequences. Simply enough, (?) ... by cooling, refrigerating, freezing and deep freezing of any possible thing and ingredient, man has deprived nature from its privilege of putrefaction, rotting, destroying and disappearing of anything possible – which is an intervention and transformation of millennial dimensions. Man interfered into the chain of life, he broke a link and put the idea of freezing in its place ... First, a crazy and adventurous legendary genius stole Fire from gods ... then inventors appeared who thought out the Principle of Ice in order to let modern beings, in a completely new ambience, keep those reserves which they lost by alienating themselves from nature.” Igor Mandić, afterword in the book (pp.143-144).

⁶³ Fresh, high quality white fish, for example, is by its price clearly distinguished from the frozen one.

⁶⁴ Hančević, Sanda, and Jurjević, Valerija: *Gozbe u kući Marka Pola* (Feasts in the house of Marco Polo), Godišnjak grada Korčule 14 (Almanach of the town Korčula 14) edited by Gradski muzej Korčula (in print). The quotation is published with the authors’ permission.

According to the fact that the larger part of the findings, over 5000 pieces, consisted mostly of broken parts of ceramic vessels and some remnants of food ingredients like fruit stones, bones, and shells ... the main idea was to foster the reflexion about what was cooked in these vessels and which food was offered on the tables of town houses and palaces in so nicely decorated plates (fig. app. 3. 15).

The authors go on:

“... The word is mostly about luxurious ceramic specimens that were brought to Korčula from workshops in Italy, Spain and England in the time span between the 13th and 20th centuries. Relying on discovered items, an aspect of life of the old Korčula was partly reconstructed through exhibits which demonstrate some ancient nutritional practices of its inhabitants, the look of the table set in a traditional way, and of the old kitchen. The display is enriched with odours from the Korčula market-place and with sounds from the ancient fireplace, by the author Ivan Sardelić. The exhibition is therefore the result of the interdisciplinary approach to the problematic of revitalization and reinterpretation of a particular town site.”⁶⁵

The exhibition was co financed by the Croatian National Tourist Board. Because of a large number of individual visitors and organized visits of school children, the exhibition remained open for four instead of two months. Among other, it demonstrated how huge is the interest for such topics which interpret the history of everyday life, making it clearer and more understandable to us. Information panels explained the following topics:⁶⁶

From the site to the museum – an overview of archaeological research on the locality House of Marco Polo.

Fragments – typology and chronology of ceramic vessels excavated during the research.

Leftovers from the feasts – an overview of organic leftovers (bones, shells, egg shells ...) found during the research.

Spices – a display of basic spices which enriched the Korčula kitchen during the middle ages.

Market place – a display of articles which could be purchased at the medieval Korčula market place.

Statute – statutory regulations which deal with nutrition of people from the whole island and from the town Korčula respectively.

At the table – a display of the table set as a symbol of the rank.

Knife, spoon, fork – development and usage of cutlery.

Kitchen facilities – traditional equipment of the kitchen and introduction of modern kitchen utensils.

⁶⁵ Hančević, Sanda, and Jurjević, Valerija: *Gozbe u kući Marka Pola* (Feasts in the hous of Marco Polo), Godišnjak grada Korčule 14 (Almanach of the town Korčula 14) edited by Gradski muzej Korčula (in print). The quotation is published with the authors' permission.

⁶⁶ Hančević, Sanda, and Jurjević, Valerija: *Gozbe u kući Marka Pola* (Feasts in the hous of Marco Polo), Godišnjak grada Korčule 14 (Almanach of the town Korčula 14) edited by Gradski muzej Korčula (in print). The list is published with the authors' permission

Flavours from the new world – culinary novelties brought to Korčula by the great geographical discoveries.

The exhibition “Feasts in the House of Marco Polo” and the complexity of its display, together with quests of its presentation and communication of inheritance contents it opened, suggested a possible quality course based on expertly and scientific research. It would undoubtedly be advisable to continue building the “cultural tourism”, so much longed for, on these premises. Unfortunately, in spite of the applications to several biddings on all levels, from the local to the national ones, with the aim to assure a more enduring life of this exhibition as a permanent display, the more so as it would be contextualised by the archaeological locality *in situ*, as the *House of Marco Polo*, and a planned museum, its high economic potential has not been recognized, nor has the possibility of *branding* traditional island food products been taken into account.

Conclusion

Instead of the conclusion, I enclose a SWOT⁶⁷ analysis (app.1). Although subjective, and also liable to quick changes, this analytic method will clearly show the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to traditional nutritional habits and their economic revitalization, identified through this research. I hope that it will at least make some progress in creating general island economic-touristic strategy and improve the communication between the workers in the sectors of tradition and tourism. In the same time I emphasize that opportunities and threats represent the future based on the past and the present, while strengths and weaknesses speak for the present based on the past. Let us try to recognise them.

APPENDIX 1: SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
Rich and variegated traditional gastronomic heritage	Insufficient communication between the heritage and economy profession
Preserved natural resources	Unsatisfactory usage, but also preservation, of natural resources
The present touristic infrastructure	Fragmentation and poor use of ecological way of production
The present touristic-gastronomic manifestations	Absence of the strategy of recognition, preservation and presentation of traditional gastronomic potential
Human potential – interest and motivation of native population for the content	Human potential – absence of methodical and organised targeted education

⁶⁷ SWOT (Strength – Weakness – Opportunities – Threats) analysis.

Opportunities	Threats
<p>Revitalization of traditional gastronomic heritage</p> <p>Rising the consciousness about the importance of protection of the island ecosystem</p> <p>Possibility of development of eco-production and direct placement of products</p> <p>Rising the level of quality of total touristic offer</p> <p>Human potential – presence of a large number of younger, high-educated inhabitants</p>	<p>Stress caused by disproportion between the possibilities of traditional production and touristic demand</p> <p>Insufficient exploration of traditional gastronomic economic potentials of the island</p> <p>Non-systematic and poorly branded ecological production</p> <p>Collapsing of quality under the pressure of the quantity of total contents</p> <p>Human potential – a restricted number of workplaces, poor external encouragement</p>

APPENDIX 2: Orders from the Statute of the Town and Island of Korčula

CH. XIX: of wine selling

We also order, if someone sells wine with no permission of the Duke or those who will be appointed, let him pay one *perper* (kind of money) and let him still be subject to the order of the previously mentioned and let him behave accordingly in the town and on the islands. And let him who reports this, get one half of the fine paid.

Ch. XX: of victuals

We also order that (regulations) about victuals which should be imported into the town at a defined time, as the majority of the Minor Council decided and ordered, be applied constantly.

Ch. XLIV: of the export of cereals out of the town

We also order that if anyone exports wheat, cereals or peas out of the town or the island, or sells them to foreigners so that they can take them outside into other regions or districts, loses all his wheat or cereals or peas, (if) he does so in any manner without the permission from the Duke, or through deceit. And let him who reports or catches (the offenders), get one quarter of the whole quantity of cereals.

Ch. XLVII: decree about salt

We also order concerning salt, that always this should be applied, what the Duke with the majority of the Minor Council determines.

Ch. XLIX: decree about wine

We also order concerning wine, that always this should be applied, what the Duke with the majority of the Minor Council determines.

Ch. LXXX: of the import of cereals to the island

We also order that everyone, a resident or foreigner alike, is allowed to import cereals of any kind to the town and if he likes, he can sell them immediately. The Commune is obliged to consign him a storage (and procure) porters at the expense of the Commune. And he who has cereals is obliged to sell them promptly to anyone who wants to buy them. And he is not allowed to re import cereals, nor is he allowed to raise the price at which he started to sell, under the threat of the fine of twenty five *perperi* for each seller. Let one half of this fine refer to the Commune, and the other (half) to the denunciator.

Ch. LXXXIII: of the price of all (kinds) of meat

We also order that in the future one *libra* (pound) of the meat of castrated male goat be sold for ten small *denari* (a kind of money), while beef, male and female goat meat for five small *denari*, male pork meat for fourteen small *denari*, and female pork meat for twelve. If anyone proceeds to the contrary, let him pay five *perperi* to the Commune, of which sum let one half be given to the denunciator, but only if can prove this with two reliable witnesses.

Ch. CI: of fishermen

We also order that every fisherman who has fish for sale is obliged to bring it to the fish-market and sell it to anyone who wants to buy it. But if he should sell the fish elsewhere and is reported to do so, let him pay two *perperi* every time. Let one half of the sum go to the Commune and the other half to the person who reports this.

Ch. CIII: of testing the exactness of measures

We also order that the Commune, or its Board, must appoint an official who will test the exactness of measures, scales, (two-pan) balances and all other measures every month, and correct them. If anyone is in possession of incorrect (measures and weights), let him every time and for every measuring device pay two *perperi*, while one third (of the paid fine) should go to the denunciator.

Ch. XXXVII: defence of selling cheese at large to foreigners

It is also determined that no one should dare or try to sell cheese at large to any foreigner, but just one piece to eat, under the threat of a fine of five *perperi*. Let the half of this sum go to the denunciator.

Ch. LXIV: let no one bid with the price while buying and selling in the fish-market

It is also determined in the mentioned Council that from now on if anyone during the purchase or selling of anything would bid with the price someone else, especially so in the fish-market, at the butcher's or anywhere else in any way, no matter what merchandise is

in question, to pay two *perperi* as a fine. One half of this sum should go to the Commune, and the half to the one to whom the injustice was done; let in this matter be credited the one who is damaged, under his oath and with one reliable witness.

Ch. LXXIV: of defence of keeping pigs in the town, but from day of st. Michael to Christmas

It is also determined that no one is allowed to keep pigs or sows in the town, under the threat of the fine of five *perperi* for every violator, of which sum let one third go to the denunciator, while two thirds should go to the Commune. Let it be allowed though, only from the Day of St. Michael till the Christmas time to any resident, but with no harm to anyone.

Ch. LXXXVII: of regulating wine measures

It is also determined that one single measure be used on the whole island for measuring wine, namely the Venetian quarter; from the grape harvest till the Day of St. Michael let the measure be thirty-two small bottles.

Ch. LXXVII: limitation of the bakers' profit

It is also determined that women bakers get only one of 30 breads baked, under the threat of the fine of six *groši* (a kind of money) for every breach of this decree.

Ch. LXXIX: limitation of millers' profit

It is also determined that women millers may charge no more than 10 small *denari* for one quart, under the threat of the previously stated fine.

Ch. CIX: of testing the exactness of measures for cereals

It is also determined that all the measures for cereals should be calibrated after the stone measure and after the quantity which can fit into the stone measure. Let this measure forever be used on the whole island and let no other measure be used, under the threat of the fine defined in the Statute.

Translated by: Mirjana Randić



3.01 Mišanca, gruda, parapač

Samoniklo jestivo bilje, omiljena tradicijska hrana izravno iz prirode

Wild edible plants, favourite traditional food straight from the nature



3.03. Žrna

Etnografska zbirka u privatnom vlasništvu Pavla Šaina, Žrnovo, Postrana. Kućna, ručno pokretana žrna svakodnevno su mljela pšenicu i kukuruz (frmentun). Bio je to vrlo zahtijevan posao domaćica, a rano jutro bilo je ispunjeno specifičnim zvukom koja su proizvodila brojna žrna, obećavajući kako neće biti gladi...

Hand-mill

The hand mill belongs to the ethnographic collection in private possession by Pavle Šain, Žrnovo, Postrana. The house hand-mill used to grind wheat and maize daily. This was a very demanding housewife's job in early morning hours. The air was full of characteristic sound made by numerous hand-mills, promising that there will be no hunger...



3.02 Sočivo – vara

Receta kako va jist varu*

Iskud počet? Gledat? Činit kuco? Hvastat? Žudnja? Kad malo boje protreseš pijat pjusnut će te prvo vonj uja. Nagni se, povonjaj, što te je strah? Jesi vidi, an? Ma što san ti reka? E, sadar promišaj. Ala, još jedan put. E sadar možeš prisegnut.

Vazmi, ne jadno vele, iz pijata, zlicon, i prinesi justima pa pusti da ti sve leže na jezik. Priverni, dva tri puta, a možeš i više, i jezikon pritiskaj prema nepcu, a ondar kada si sve dobro odonidi, pusti da se kontuba, bez kontrole, po justma. Uvike moraš pazit kako i kolikon snagon sve to skupa vonja. Obrati pažnju na slanutak koji svojom neutralnošću spaja, kao bariton u klapama, sve glasove i ukuse šenice (sv. Jelene), leče pa sve do čvrstih i snažnih, basnih, dionica boba. Usplast! (I. Cetinić)

Sočivo – vara, a dish consisting of a mixture of various beans and cereals

A recipe how to eat vara

Where to begin? To look at? To be quiet? To praise? To yearn? When you stir the plate a little better, the scent of oil will strike you first. Bend over; smell it, why are you scared? Have you seen? What did I tell you? Well, give it a stir now. Do it once more. Now you can taste it. Take a good spoonful from the plate and let everything lie on your tongue. Turn it over two or three times, or more if you will, and toss it with your tongue towards the palate, and then, when you have done it well, let the food tumble in your mouth without control. You must always watch how well and how strong it all smells. Draw attention to chick peas which, like a baritone in a harmony-singing group blends all the voices, blend with their neutrality all tastes of the wheat (of St. Helen's), and lentils, up to the firm and strong bass passages of broad beans. Enjoy your meal! (I. Cetinić)



3.04. Gere na gradele

Uz sardele, najčešće korištena mala riba.

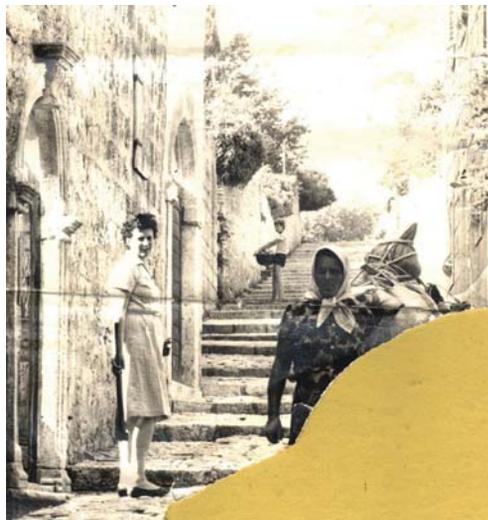
Picarels on a grid Together with pilchards, picarels are the most often consumed small fish.



3.05 Stari komin, gradele i komostre

Uobičajeni pribor za pripremu hrane.

An ancient fireplace, a grid and a kettle chain This is usual equipment for food preparation.



3.06 Dolazak u grad s tovarom

Kuhanje na otvorenom ognjištu ili štednjacima na drva iziskivalo je svakodnevno opskrbljivanje gradskih kućanstava granjem za potpalu i drvima. Fotografija prikazuje ulaz u grad Korčulu ulicom "Pelavi mir", najčešći put kojim su seoske žene dopremale sve namirnice iz sela u grad. *Arriving to town with a burden of sprigs* Cooking on an open fireplace or using wood-burning stoves demanded for the daily providing of urban homes with sprigs for kindling fire and firewood. The photograph presents the entrance into the town Korčula along the street "Pelavi mir", the usual path which village women used to bring all the victuals from the village to the town.



3.07 Priprema tripe i kulina

Preparation of tripe and kulin



3.08 Janje – kalup za uskrсни kolač

Muzejski predmet iz Etnografske zbirke Gradskog muzeja Korčula.

Lamb – a mold for the Easter cake

This is a museum item from the ethnographic collection of the Town museum of Korčula.



3.09 Frižu se prikle
Prikle (a kind of doughnuts) are being fried.



3.10 Prikle su gotove

Prikle boje uskisnu na toplo. Pa prsuru na tri-pije i po komodu. Brže se izidu nego se isfrižu. Ma ne va da je veli oganj, nego pomalo.

Prikle are ready to eat.

“Prikle will rise more quickly in a warm place. Then you put a pan on a tripod and start frying slowly. They are eaten up more quickly than fried. But you should not make a strong fire, better keep a low one”.



3.11 Makarunada

Posjetitelji izrađuju makarune na radionici
“Učini sam svoj pijat makarunih”

Makarunada (A Feast of Macaroni)

Visitors make macaroni in a workshop named “Make yourself your plate of macaroni”.



3.12 Makarunada

Kako se misu makaruni? Najvažnije je dobro umisit. Kilo muke, jedno jaje, malo duhate vode i malo uja, pa zamisi i dobro natiraj. Va da su glatki i dobro natrti. Onda učini guje, pa riži na male bokune i pa čini makarune, na drveni prut. Ne puno stiskat, nego flako, da spznu iz igle lako. I tako dokle ne učiniš svo tisto...

Makarunada (A Feast of Macaroni)

How do we make macaroni? The most important thing is to knead them well. You take one kilogram of flour, one egg, some spring water and some oil, knead all the ingredients and rub well. They should be smooth and well rubbed. Then you make snakes from the dough, cut them into small pieces and make macaroni using a wooden stick. Do not squeeze firmly, but let the dough stay loose, so that macaroni can easily slide down the stick. You should continue to do so till you use up the whole amount of the dough...



3.14 Postav izložbe "Gozbe u kući Marka Pola" u Gradskom muzeju Korčula

The exhibition display "Feasts in the house of Marco Polo" in the Town museum of Korčula



3.13 Makaruni u šugu od malih pamidorih i govedine

Činu zubi vodu! A što reć nego: U slast! Ali ne u mast!

Macaroni in a sauce of small tomatoes and beef

It makes your mouth water! What else to say but: Enjoy the meal! But do not fill out!



3.15 Ulomak graffito keramike s motivom ptičice, arheološki lokalitet "Kuća Marka Pola" u Korčuli

A fragment of a graffito ceramics with a motive of a small bird, archaeological site "House of Marco Polo" in Korčula