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## **KRATKA PRIČA O HRVATSKOM VINOGRADARSTVU I VINARSTVU**

### **A SHORT HISTORY OF CROATIAN VITICULTURE AND WINEMAKING**

**SAŽETAK:** Proizvodi hrvatskog vinarstva i vinogradarstva postali su vremenom perjanice hrvatskog turizma, neizostavni dio turističke ponude. Jedan od najpoznatijih i najboljih poznavatelja hrvatskog vinarstva i vinogradarstva, g. Ivan Sokolić piše o mogućnostima Hrvatske da njezini proizvodi iz područja vinogradarstva i vinarstva dostignu viši stupanj europske kvalitete, pa i šire od toga, kako bi u budućnosti postali i trajno ostali nezaobilazni dio hrvatske turističke ponude. Osim kraćeg povijesnog uvoda, g. Sokolić jasnim ali stručnim jezikom izlaže svoja stajališta, informira, objašnjava, podučava. Redakcija ATN-a zahvaljuje cijenjenom g. Sokoliću na ovom prilogu, spremnosti s kojom je odlučio pozitivno odgovoriti na našu molbu, čime je nesumnjivo obogatio naš časopis.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** hrvatsko vinogradarstvo, hrvatsko vinarstvo

**ABSTRACT:** Croatian viticulture and winemaking products have over time become an important and indispensable part of what Croatian tourism can offer. One of the most eminent and knowledgeable experts on Croatian wine-growing and winemaking, Ivan Sokolić, writes how Croatia and its wine-growing and winemaking products can reach even higher quality at the European level, so that they become and remain a key part of what Croatia can provide in the tourism domain in the future. In addition to a short historical introduction, Ivan Sokolić expresses his views in plain, although sector-specific language, while at the same time informing, explaining and teaching. The ATN editorial board would like to thank Mr. Sokolić for the contribution he has made in response to our request, which has certainly made our journal all the richer.

**KEY WORDS:** Croatian viticulture, Croatian winemaking

Mnogi krajevi Republike Hrvatske, s obzirom na agroekološke uvjete (tlo, klimu, ali i autohtoni sortiment) od davnina se svrstavaju među optimalna i naročito za prijatelje loze i vina izuzetno zanimljiva vinogradarska područja europskog kontinenta.

Osim fosilnih ostataka koji govore o prisustvu preteča vinove loze na ovim prostorima, spomenimo da najstariji spomen o prastanovnicima ovih područja, točnije o indoeuropejcima koje Grci i Rimljani nazivaju Ilirima, seže u daleku prošlost. Po njima (i njihovim brojnim plemenima, Histrima, Liburnima, Delmatima...) krajevi Primorske Hrvatske i danas nose ta imena. Zanimljivo je istaći i tvrdnju eminentnih arheologa i povjesničara prema kojoj znanja o uzgoju vinove loze i proizvodnji vina te starosjedioce nisu naučili ni Grci, koji su kolonizirali obalne i otočne krajeve današnje Republike Hrvatske, kao ni kasnije pristigli Rimljani, već je to zacijelo bio dio njihove uljudbe. Na to ukazuje u svjetskim razmjerima najstariji pisani spomen o drvenoj bačvi, o čemu je podatke ostavio rimski pjesnik Marko Anej Lukan (I. st. poslije Krista) u nedovršenom epu *Pharsalia*, opisujući rat između Cezara i Pompeja i upućujući na vjerojatnu specijalnost vinarске prakse Ilira.

O drevnoj kulturi vinove loze i vina, o čemu se zainteresirani mogu obavijestiti u brojnim hrvatskim zavičajnim muzejima kao i putem literature i globalne internetske mreže (npr. na stranicama <http://vinopedia.hr>), poglavito na jadranskom obalnom području, ali i na položajima u kontinentalnom dijelu Hrvatske, prostorno male, ali vinogradarski zanimljive zemlje, svjedoče brojni sačuvani tvarni (materijalni) dokazi iz doba kada su ove prostore naseljavali Grci i kolonizirali Rimljani. Riječ je o nađenim vinskim posudama (vrčevima, kupama, pliticama, zdjelicama, amforama) i drugim dokumentima (kovanom novcu, alatima, reljefima u kamenu itd.), te pisanim dokumentima (koje su nam ostavili Strabon, Skilaks, Agatarhid,<sup>1</sup> Athenai, Plinije, Ptolomej i mnogi drugi).

Do sada registrirani takvi dokazi vjerojatno su samo manji dio onih koje tek valja otkriti i

Many parts of the Republic of Croatia, given their agro-ecological conditions (soil, climate, and autochthonous assortments), have, since ancient times, been placed by vine and wine enthusiasts among the ideal and exceptionally interesting wine-growing areas of the European continent.

Besides fossil evidence which proves the existence of grapevine in these areas, it must be mentioned that the oldest monument to the indigenous population of these lands, that is, the Indo-Europeans who were called the Illyrians by the Greek and the Romans, dates from early history. There are parts of coastal Croatia which still bear their names (and the names of their numerous tribes: the Histrians, Liburnians, Delmats). Interestingly, well-known archaeologists claim that these indigenous nations did not learn about viticulture and winemaking from the Greeks who colonised the coastal areas and the islands of today's Republic of Croatia, or the Romans who inhabited these areas later on, but it formed part of their own heritage, which is illustrated by the oldest international written testimony about a wooden barrel (the information about which was left by the Roman poet Lucan (1st century A.D.) in his unfinished epic poem *Pharsalia*, where he described the war between Caesar and Pompey and talked about the Illyrians' incredible expertise in winemaking.

Significant material evidence from the time when this territory was inhabited by the Greeks and colonised by the Roman bears witness to an ancient culture of vine-growing and winemaking, in particular on the Adriatic coast, but also in some areas of continental Croatia, a small but interesting country from the point of view of wine-growing. Those who are interested may learn about this in numerous Croatian museums, in literature and on the web (for example on the website <http://vinopedia.hr>). The evidence includes wine vessels (jugs, pots, pitchers, bowls, amphorae) and other artefacts (coins, tools, stone reliefs, etc.) and written documents (left by Strabo, Skilakes, Agatharchides,<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus, Pliny, Ptolemy and many others).

stručno obraditi, na što upućuje i činjenica da je u hrvatskom jadranskom podmorju registrirano oko 600 lokaliteta na kojima su nađene ili se još uvijek pronalaze amfore i ostaci galija. Velik broj takvih dokaza vjerojatno je već trajno izgubljen ili zbog neznanja nalaznika uništen, a isto tako velik broj najvjerojatnije nikad neće biti ni otkriven.

Kao dokaz kako su u antičko doba bila cijenjena vina s područja današnje Republike Hrvatske neka nam posluži zapis grčkog povjesnika i zemljopisca Agatarhida iz Knida (II. stoljeće prije Krista), autora opsežnog djela u 49 knjiga *Geografija i povijest Europe*, te mnogih drugih, iz tog razdoblja poslije Aleksandra Velikoga, koji je tvrdio (kao što je pet stoljeća kasnije zabilježio grčki pisac Atenej /Athenaios u djelu *Gozba učenjaka* citirajući ga) “da se na Visu, otoku na Jadranu, proizvodi vino, koje se, u usporedbi sa svim drugim vinima, pokazuje najboljim”.<sup>2</sup>

Najviše dokumenata o vinogradarsko-vinarskim prilikama na našem području potječe iz rimskog doba.<sup>3</sup>

Jedna od neriješenih zagonetaka antike (julijevske epohe u Istri) zacijelo je *Vinum Pucinum* (ili pucinsko vino). Do sada nemamo odgovora ni na pitanje je li *pucinum* ime sorte<sup>4</sup> grožđa, vrste bijelog ili crnog vina ili, kako se to danas kaže, oznaka zemljopisnog podrijetla<sup>5</sup> gdje je rasla loza i nastajalo to vino što u sebi istovremeno sadrži i miris gore i mora.

Sačuvanih podataka kojima se opisuje i veliča to piće premalo je u zapisima Plinija i Ptolomeja, a i kontradiktorni su. Osim toga, nedostaju i drugi arheološki dokazi na kojima bi se temeljili zaključci i odgovori na već postavljena i druga zanimljiva pitanja. Plinije (antički pisac C. Plinius Secundus, od 23. do 79. g.) ovo vino obasipa pohvalama (Plin. n. h. XIV, 60), zapisujući da ga je pila Augustova žena Livija, u definitivnoj titulaturi Julija Augusta i tvrdeći: “Julija Augusta svojih 86 godina života pucinskom vinu mogla je pripisati, jedino ovo i ni jedno drugo ne okusivši. Raste u zaljevu Jadranskog mora nedaleko od

The evidence that has been recorded so far probably makes up only a smaller part of data that still remain to be discovered and processed. This assumption is based on the fact that there are 600 registered sites in the Croatian Adriatic Sea where amphorae or remains of galleys were found or are still being discovered. Large amounts of such evidence have already probably been permanently lost or destroyed due to ignorance, and many such items will probably never be discovered.

The proof that wines from the territory of today’s Republic of Croatia were highly appreciated in Ancient times is provided in the writings of a Greek historian and geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus (2nd century BC), who was the author of a work in 49 volumes entitled *Geography and History of Europe* and of many others from the period following Alexander the Great. Agatharchides claimed (and this was quoted five centuries later by the Greek writer Athenaios in his work *Sophists at Dinner*) that “wine is made on the island of Vis, in the Adriatic Sea, which has been proven to be the best wine compared to all others”.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of documents about wine-growing and winemaking in this country originate from the Roman era.<sup>3</sup>

One of the unsolved Antique riddles (from the Julian era in Istria) refers to *Vinum Pucinum* (or the wines of Pucinia). So far we have not been able to answer whether *pucinum* is the name of a variety<sup>4</sup> of grape, a sort of white or red wine or, in today’s terms, a designation of geographic origin<sup>5</sup> where the vines grew and where the wine was made thanks to which it simultaneously contains the smell of the mountains and of the sea.

The writings of Pliny and Ptolemy are scarce, and data describing and glorifying this drink are contradictory. Another problem is the lack of other archaeological evidence on which conclusions and answers to existing and other interesting questions might be based. Pliny (the Roman writer C. Pliny Secundus, from AD 23 to 79) praises this wine (Plin. n. h. XIV, 60) saying that it was drunk by Augustus’s

izvora Timava na hridi brijega kamo dopire morska struja, a priređuje se za mali broj amfora; i misli se da za lijekove ni jedno drugo nije bolje.” I dalje (Plin. n. h. XVII, 31), “Pucinska vina na hridi se prže.” Da nema i drugih vijesti o ovome, npr. od samog Plinija da se Pucinum nalazi iza granice Karna i Japoda, odnosno od Ptolomeja, koji Pucinum smješta u kopneni dio Istre (Piquentum-Buzet i Albonu-Labin, itd.), bio bi manji broj nepoznanica. Ovako ostaje pitanje dolazi li za lokaciju Pucinuma zaista u obzir samo Kvarnerski zaljev, kako to izričito u svom radu tvrdi hrvatski arheolog Ivica Degmedžić<sup>6</sup> (*Dometi* br. 12/III 1970, Matica hrvatska u Rijeci), ili su to osunčani obronci Motovuna, ili su to neka druga mjesta. Samo su to neka od mnogih pitanja na koje se čeka odgovor.

Od brojnih zanimljivosti iz tih vremena spomenimo samo djelić povijesti moslavačkog vinogradarstva, gdje se od davnina uzgajala loza i proizvodilo vino na krčevinama šuma i na jugoistočnim, odnosno jugozapadnim obroncima te vrlo stare gore, koju grčki geografi (Strabon, 63-19. g. i Ptolomej, II. st.) te rimski pisci (poput Plinija Starijeg) spominju pod imenom rimskog cara Klaudija (10-54. g.) kao Mons Claudius.

Nađene okamine preteča vinove loze u nedalekom Radoboju kod Krapine i fosilnih ostataka plemenite vinove loze<sup>7</sup> u Ripaču na Savi upućuju da se na ovim prostorima loza uzgajala i prije dolaska Rimljana (koji su ovamo stigli u I. stoljeću n. e.), pa se pretpostavlja da su već Tračani, a kasnije i Iliri i Kelti koristili slatke plodove te plemenite biljke, a vjerojatno i proizvodili pojno piće vino.

Poznati su podaci i o zaslugama rimskog vojskovođe i cara Marka Aurelija Proba (232-282. g.), koji se, uz ostale javne radove, zauzimao i za podizanje vinograda u Srijemu<sup>8</sup> (i, kao što je poznato, uz rijeku Rajnu). S obzirom na to da je na taj posao prisiljavao i vlastite legije (koje su ga izvikale za cara), one mu se osvećuju i ubijaju ga. Na tim prostorima (u koje se uvrstavaju i hrvatski

wife Livia and claiming: “Livia, wife of Augustus, lived 86 years because of the wines of Pucinia, and she drank only that wine and never tasted any other. It grows in coves of the Adriatic Sea, near the source of the Timava, on a ridged of a hill bathed in sea currents and it is prepared for a small number of amphorae; and it is believed that for medicine no other wine is better”. Further, (Plin. n. h. XVII. 31) “The wines of Pucinia are scorched on a craggy terrain.” If no other news about this existed, e.g. from Pliny himself that Pucinia is beyond the border of the Karna and Japodes, and from Ptolemy, who places Pucinia in the continental part of Istria (Piquentum and Albona, etc.), there would not be so many unsolved questions. In this way, the question whether the location of Pucinum really refers only to the Kvarner Gulf, as a Croatian archaeologist, Ivica Degmedžić,<sup>6</sup> claims in her work (*Dometi* No. 12/III 1970, Matica hrvatska in Rijeka) or it refers to the sunny hills of Motovun, or some other locations, is only one of many other questions waiting to be answered.

What should be mentioned among many interesting facts from this time is part of the history of wine-growing in Moslavina, where vine has been cultivated and wine made since Ancient times in wood clearings and on the south-eastern and south-western hills of an old mountain mentioned by Greek geographers (Strabo 63-19 and Ptolemy 2nd century) and Roman writers (such as Pliny the Elder) and named after the Roman Emperor Claudius (10-54), Mons Claudius.

The petrified remains of noble vine in Radoboj near Krapina, and the fossils of noble vine<sup>7</sup> in Ripač on the River Sava prove that grapevine was grown in this country even before the Romans (who arrived in the 1st century AD), which is why it is assumed that the Thracians, and later the Illyrians and Celts, used the sweet fruits and noble plants, and probably produced wine.

It is also well-known that a Roman soldier and emperor, Marcus Aurelius (232-282), besides encouraging other public works, also advocated

obronci Fruške Gore) i danas se uzgaja loza i proizvode vrhunska vina.

Hrvati, koji su na ovo područje i do Jadranskog mora stigli početkom VII. stoljeća (ne odričući se svojeg jezika), prihvatili su od romaniziranih starosjedilaca kulturu vinove loze (i svetog drva masline, iz čijeg su ploda, kako reče hrvatski pjesnik Vladimir Nazor, cijedili začini hrani i brali plamičak svjetla za dane zimskog mraka), a te su ih kulturne biljke vezale uz ovo tlo i tako postale čuvaricom njihove nove domovine i hraniteljicom tamo gdje druge kulture nisu mogle opstati.

U tijeku duge povijesti hrvatskog vinogradarstva i vinarstva bilo je uspona i padova (poglavito u doba osmanlijskih ratova), da bi nakon otkrića Amerike (1493. g.) i pojave opasnih bolesti vinove loze pepelnice (ili oidija) i plamenjače (ili peronospore) te opasnog štetnika (trsne uši, u Hrvatskoj znane i pod imenom filoksera), nastupilo razdoblje u kojem je ta djelatnost bila zaustavljena, što je prouzročilo iseljavanje pučanstva (najviše na američki kontinent) i napuštanje sela odlaskom radno najaktivnijeg stanovništva u gradove.

Okolnosti koje su omogućile dijelu stanovnika da se bave vinogradarstvom i vinarstvom u domovini (i to naročito na jadranskom području gdje druge kulture nisu mogle opstati) bile su: razvoj brodogradnje i za te poslove odgovarajuće industrije, brodarstva i željezničkog prometa, te jedne do tada nepoznate djelatnosti koja se i danas snažno razvija, a to je turizam.

S obzirom na to da je vinogradarstvo radno i kapitalno intenzivna grana poljoprivredne proizvodnje i da je nov način proizvodnje i prerade iziskivao djelomično napuštanje tradicionalnog načina rada i obrazovanje potrebnih stručnih kadrova, to je potaklo razvoj vinogradarsko-vinarskog i drugih oblika školstva. Zaslugom brojnih djelatnika otpočela je obnova vinogradarstva, ali je pritom sačuvan samo dio autohtonih kultivara plemenite vinove loze, dok je dio novih uvezen.

the planting of a vineyard in Srijem<sup>8</sup> (and by the River Rhine). Since he forced his own soldiers (who had proclaimed him emperor) to plant the vineyards, they killed him in revenge. Nowadays, vine is still grown and high-quality wines are still made in these locations (which include the Croatian hills of Fruška Gora.

The Croats, who arrived in this area and as far as the Adriatic Sea in the early 7th century (and never gave up their language), accepted the culture of viticulture from the Romanised indigenous population (and of the holy olive tree from the fruit of which, in the words of the Croatian poet, Vladimir Nazor, they squeezed condiment for food and picked a flame of light for the days of winter darkness). These plants bound them to this soil and thus became the guardians of their new homeland and nurtured them where other cultures could not survive.

There were many ups and down in the history of Croatian viticulture and wine-growing (in particular during the Ottoman Wars). After the discovery of America (1493) and the appearance of dangerous grape diseases such as *uncinula* and *plasmopara viticola* and a dangerous pest (*Viteus vitifoliae*) (familiar in Croatia under the name of filoksera), the activity was suspended, resulting in emigration (in the first place to the American continent), and in the relocation of the working-age population into towns.

There were some favourable circumstances for the part of the population engaged in wine-growing and winemaking in their homeland (in particular on the Adriatic coast where other cultures could not survive). These circumstances included the development of shipbuilding, railway traffic, and of one activity which was new at that time, but is strongly developed today, tourism.

Since wine-growing is a labour- and capital-intensive branch of agricultural production and since a new manner of production and processing required abandoning traditional methods and educating the necessary experts, this resulted in the development of education in wine-growing

O značenju vinogradarstva u gospodarstvu Hrvatske, kako u prošlosti, tako naročito u novim uvjetima, govori i podatak o broju zaposlenih u neposrednoj proizvodnji, i još više o broju onih koji posredno ostvaruju egzistenciju iz ove djelatnosti (baveći se vinarstvom, ugostiteljstvom, transportom, trgovinom, izradom alata i suđa, zaštitnih sredstava i ambalaže te brojnim drugim poslovima), a njihov je broj višestruko veći.

O svemu tome i o mnogim drugim zanimljivostima podatke ćemo iznijeti u nastavku, koji slijedi u idućem broju *Acte turisticae nove*.

## BILJEŠKE

<sup>1</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Agatarhid>

<sup>2</sup> Poznato je kako Grci nisu nikad pili vino uz jelo, već su ga čuvali za kasni večernji ritual, koji su zvali symposion. Pili su ga i ujutro za vrijeme jutarnjeg obroka, kada su močili kruh u čisto vino! Vina u to doba bila su izrazito jaka, teška i gusta i po nekim procjenama imala uglavnom 17-18% alkohola. Stoga su ga miješali s vodom. Tek su Rimljani započeli piti vino uz obroke.

<sup>3</sup> Matijašić, R. (1999), Plinijev Castellum nobile vinum Pucinum (Plin. Nat. hist. 3, 18, 127) i antički zemljopis sjeverozapadne Istre. // *Tabula, Časopis Filozofskog fakulteta u Puli*, 1 (1999): 143-163

<sup>4</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=sorta>

<sup>5</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=k.z.p>

<sup>6</sup> [http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Degmedžić,\\_Ivica](http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Degmedžić,_Ivica)

<sup>7</sup> [http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=plemenita\\_vinova\\_loza](http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=plemenita_vinova_loza)

<sup>8</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Podunavlje>

and winemaking and of other educational fields. The revival of wine-growing began, but only one part of indigenous sorts of noble vine were preserved, and some new sorts were imported.

The importance of viticulture in the Croatian economy is illustrated by the number of employees in winemaking in the past and today. There is also an even greater number of those who make their living indirectly on the basis of this activity (those who work in wine-growing, hospitality, transportation or the trade sectors, as well as those who produce tools and kitchen utensils, pesticides and packaging, and many other activities).

This and many other fascinating facts will be described in the next part of this article in the following issue of *Acta Turistica Nova*.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Agatarhid>

<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the Greeks never drank wine while they ate but they saved it for a late evening ritual called the "symposium". They drank it, too, in the mornings during their morning meal when they would dip their bread in pure wine! Wines were very strong at that time, heavy and thick and, according to some estimates, contained 17-18 % alcohol! For that reason they mixed it with water. Romans were the first to start drinking wine with their meal.

<sup>3</sup> Matijašić, R. (1999), Pliny's Castellum nobile vinum Pucinum (Plin. Nat. hist. 3, 18, 127) and the Roman geography of the north-western Istria. // *Tabula, Journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Pula* 1 (1999): 143-163

<sup>4</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=sorta>

<sup>5</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=k.z.p>

<sup>6</sup> [http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Degmedžić,\\_Ivica](http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Degmedžić,_Ivica)

<sup>7</sup> [http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=plemenita\\_vinova\\_loza](http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=plemenita_vinova_loza)

<sup>8</sup> <http://vinopedia.hr/wiki/index.php?title=Podunavlje>