

# Cultural and Geographical Overview of Traditional Diet in Croatia

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## ABSTRACT

*The paper presents overview of nutrition in rural areas in Croatia in the period from the middle of the 19th to the middle of 20th century collected from scientific papers, ethnographic collections of »Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena« and popular scientific papers. Paper offers critical overview of the published papers on this topic and description of everyday dishes and ingredients with local names used in each Croatian region. Paper focuses on everyday diet of peasants in Croatia in the past, concentrating on time, content and frequency of the meals during the day, differences in diet between seasons, differences in diet regarding the amount of physical labor of the peasant and differences in diet regarding economic possibilities of households.*

**Key words:** cultural and geographical overview, tradition, nutrition, diet, rural population, Croatia, 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century

## Introduction

Up to recently, little attention has been paid to Croatian traditional nutrition; the focus of Croatian ethnographic interest was placed on folk customs, art, crafts, oral tradition etc. but not on everyday life. Peasant's diet was regarded as unworthy of special scientific study. However, old monographs of places across Croatia and collections of »Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena« present almost every aspect of folk life including everyday life of ordinary people. Lately, this subject has attracted the attention of scientific ethnological and anthropological community.

The main characteristic of nutrition in rural areas is simplicity, although each region has its own features depending on geographical and economic conditions, dominant agriculture, regional customs and tradition. Nutrition, with its regional and local distinctions, can become identity marker of an area.

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of published research studies and cultural and geographical review of nutrition in Croatia, at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century. Diet described is the one consumed every day and meals prepared once or twice a year were left out, just like the meals prepared for special occasions. We tried to include differences in diet regarding seasons, differences in diet in families with different socioeconomic status and differences of diet of families in

poor and wealthy years, but this, of course, depended on the literature we were using – many authors neglected to record this important data.

This article presents overview of frequency of using particular ingredients in certain regions, the way they were prepared and combined and time of consumption, that is, dietary habits. We have recorded local names of ingredients and dishes, as well.

Nutrition is a socio-cultural category, so this paper could be starting point for further studies in cultural tourism<sup>1,2</sup>, in creating touristic gastronomic offer, and also in linguistics, because of the local names. Because it is a biological category as well, it could also be a starting point or aid to researchers in nutritional and anthropological fields of research<sup>3,4</sup>.

Old monographs, published papers from »Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena« (Annals of the Life of the People and Customs of Southern Slavs), and some more recent papers, were used as reference. Although data on diet could be found in some other works, we have relied only on papers concerning with diet as primarily scientific interest.

For the purpose of this paper, Croatian regions were categorized according to nutritional and cultural characteristics; we think that categorizations on Pannonian,

Adriatic and Dinaride region or on lowland, central, mountain region are inadequate. According to aforementioned categorization, these are the regions concerned in this work: Baranja, Slavonija, Central Croatia (Posavina, Moslavina, radovansko – bielski region, surroundings of Zagreb, Prigorje, Turopolje), Istria, Lika, Dalmatian hinterlands, Dalmatia and islands. Unfortunately, this paper doesn't cover the regions of Gorski Kotar, Podravina and Međimurje because this type of papers that would cover these regions do not exist.

To have complete overview of traditional diet, it is necessary to consider research methods used in papers referenced here and make a critical review of it.

Main source of information were old monographs and published papers from »Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena«<sup>5–17</sup>. Antun Radić compiled questionnaire in 1897 called »Osnova za sabiranje i proučavanje građe o narodnom životu«<sup>18</sup> (Basics of gathering and interpreting data about peasant's life) and relying on this questionnaire, persons of different professions, each on their own way recorded folk life. This resulted in incoherent study, because different people paid attention and focused on different things. Majority of papers included in Zbornik contain a lot of information on diet and dietary habits. However, in most cases, authors only enumerate dishes consumed in a particular region, very briefly informing on time of consumption, frequency of meals, ingredients used to prepare those dishes, difference in diet during the year which depends on the seasons, difference in diet in different households regarding socioeconomic status of the families etc. For example, in some papers, there is a great list of meat dishes and cakes, and one could easily assume that sugar and meat were ingredients consumed every day, every day different meat dishes and cake. However, diet in rural areas certainly did not contain so much sugar and meat and there are many economic and practical reasons for this: economic possibilities of peasants, lack of electricity and thus impossibility to preserve fresh meat for a long time, unavailability of sugar etc. This is why papers from Zbornik are insufficient enough to conclude on traditional diet of the rural areas in the past, although they contain some valuable information about rural diet and in the case of Milan Lang, who writes about town of Samobor, urban diet. Some authors of Zbornik papers neglect certain categories of ingredients, which makes it difficult to compare papers and diet in each region. For example, one author describes consumption of fruit and fruit dishes on several pages, while another author doesn't even mention fruit consumption, which doesn't necessary mean that diet did not contain fruit. And finally, we have had difficulties understanding some local words. It was instructed in Zbornik to use local dialect, so we have had some doubts about the meaning of words. Luckily, some authors offered explanation.

Scientific papers referenced here offer more systematic approach: Božica Somek–Machala<sup>19</sup> describes diet in rural areas in Baranja, by categorizing ingredients. Mirjana Randić Barlek<sup>20–22</sup> reports on diet in the surroundings of Zagreb, often comparing 'now and then', and

changes in diet, Jasmina Jurković<sup>23</sup> writes about traditional nutrition, but considering it as identity marker of the coastal group of Bunjevci, so the purpose of the paper is not to collect all data on nutrition but to point out some nutritional characteristics that distinguish Bunjevci from other neighbouring groups. Pavlo Ružić and Marinela Dropulić<sup>1</sup> and Ivona Orlić<sup>2</sup> report on rural diet in Istria, and its potential and role in touristic gastro-nomic offer. The following authors report on diet on Croatian islands: Aleksandra Muraj<sup>24</sup> writes about Cres, Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević<sup>25,26</sup> about Silba and Olib, Barbara Kolanović<sup>27</sup> about Pašman, by categorizing ingredients. Mirjana Randić Barlek<sup>28</sup> also writes on diet on Croatian islands, based on field work (Rab, Krk, Dugi Otok, Iž, Hvar, Vis) and based on literature (Zlarin, Cres, Silba, Olib, Pag, Brač, Korčula), also by categorizing ingredients and recording local names. Filip Đinđić<sup>29</sup> writes about traditional diet in Biograd, taking in consideration historical background, economic environment and diet here is also described by categorizing ingredients. Vedrana Vela Puharić<sup>30</sup> writes about Makarska and surrounding area, however, she has recorded only few recipes for dishes prepared in everyday cooking and on special occasions.

Popular scientific articles, written by enthusiasts, have been referenced in this paper too because there is a lack of scientific papers about certain regions of Croatia. Tomislav Đurić<sup>31</sup> is such enthusiast, who writes about traditional diet in today's world in the village of Cernik near Nova Gradiška; he describes the village, its history, surnames, and travellers, and says a few words on traditional diet and its role in today's representation of traditional customs and diet. He mentions only several dishes, characteristic for this region, which is not enough information to have complete overview of diet in this region. Božica Brkan is the author of the book »Oblizeki: Moslavina za stolom«<sup>32</sup>. Describing traditional diet of Moslavina, she relies primarily on personal memories; however this subjective approach does not exclude information and facts which were very valuable to us when writing this paper. In the first chapter that is called »Jokešinečki oblizeki«, unlike other similar papers usually starting with historical background and specific dishes, first lines are dedicated to everyday food in the past. Some old recipes are recorded too, with instructions how they were prepared, what were the ingredients and when and where they were eaten. Josip Habunek<sup>33</sup> described diet in radovansko-bielski region in the past. This region is situated in southwest of Varaždin, almost in the middle of imaginary triangle Varaždin – Ivanec – Novi Marof. His approach is systematic, based on categories of ingredients. The paper is written in standard language but some words are recorded in local dialect.

In this paper, traditional diet is presented for each Croatian region, categorized by the type of ingredient, and time and frequency of meal is described in the last paragraph ((a) Cereals, bread, pasta, cakes; (b) Legumes, vegetables, mushrooms; (c) Meat, meat products, fish,

seashells, snails; (d) Milk and dairy products; (e) Fruit; (f) Beverages; (g) Meals.

## Baranja

Bread was made from wheat flour, and sometimes with potato dough. Bread was also made from corn flour, especially in years when crops were tight. Unleavened bread, lepine (pitas) and potato scones were also prepared, polenta or prova made from corn flour with milk or cracklings (čvarci) roasted in fat or bacon, meal eaten when performing hard physical labor. Porridge meals were made from millet, buckwheat, pumpkin seeds and barley porridge with beans (for lunch (užina), and during winter months with dry ribs). Pasta (rezanci, tarana, trganci and krpice) was made from wheat flour and was usually eaten in stews (čorba) or as sidedish. Rezanci were sprinkled with poppy seeds, cheese, or walnuts. This snack was especially popular in early summer months. Dumplings are made from wheat flour, eggs, salt and boiled potatoes and in some areas with plums, and then roasted in fat. Cakes were filled with walnuts, poppy seeds, cheese, apples, bread crumbs (gibanica, savijača, štrudla), and could be made sour or sweet (u kiselo i slatko) with or without leaven. These cakes were eaten on Sundays, for feasts and celebrations and when doing hard physical labor. Scones were also made from cracklings.

During the whole year, bean was eaten, prepared as stew by braising on fat and onion or bean prepared as salad. Stew (staraš) was made from seasonal vegetables: peas, cucumbers, pepper and tomato, fresh or sour cabbage was also prepared as stew, braised on fat or used for preparing sarma: dish made of minced meat wrapped in cabbage leaves. Pepper was stuffed with poultry, this dish was usually prepared in summer months. Onion and garlic were used as spices, onion was prepared as salad too. Soups were flavored with celery, carrot, parsley. Pumpkin was baked and sugared, and was sometimes eaten for dinner. Pumpkin and sunflower seeds were consumed too. Corn was boiled. Mushrooms were braised with eggs or prepared as a side dish.

Poultry was cooked on Sundays, for feasts and when doing hard physical labor. Meat was boiled so meat soups were eaten too. Fresh meat was eaten only after the slaughtering, otherwise meat was conserved by roasting and immersing into fat or smoke-dried. Dried meat was cooked in spring and summer months, with beans, cabbage and potatoes, for peasants working hard labor and for feasts. Sausages were also prepared from fresh meat: some were made of meat and spices (in some places were called bile); kašnjače or kašnjare were made from blood, corn flour and skins; krvavice from blood, liver and barley porridge; švargla from skins and meat stuffed in bladder. Bacon spiced with red pepper was dried and eaten with onion, bread, between the meals or roasted with corn porridge for dinner. When working, bacon was eaten as a snack, with bread, onion, tomato and cucumbers. Sausages were boiled in water; their fat incurred when

boiling was used to spread it on bread, and water used for boiling the krvavice was then used to spice potatoes. Aspic (hladetina) was also prepared from boiled skin, spices, bones. Snails were also eaten.

Milk was consumed every day in the morning, sometimes with a drop of coffee with polenta, bread or pasta, somewhere also with potatoes. Cakes were made from milk, and sour (ljuto) milk was eaten with polenta, bread or cucumbers. Milk products cream, butter, milk fat, cheese, fresh or dried, were also eaten. Cheese was eaten as a side dish or was used to prepare cakes and butter was spread on bread and used as fat.

Compots and jams were also prepared, and dried apples, pears and plums were often consumed in winter days.

To slake the thirst, there were used water, milk and linden tea, juices made from apples and pears, were also made. Grappa made from plums (mučenica) was usually drunk in the morning, and grappa called šećerka and višnjevača, made from cherries, was also prepared. Wine was made from both grafted and non-grafted vine. Alcohol was usually consumed on Sundays, for feasts and when doing hard physical labor.

In Baranja, three meals per day were usually eaten: ručak around 7 AM, užina at midday, and večera around 8 PM. In summer months, one more meal, paužina, was taken at 4 PM. Cereals and milk were basic foods, while meals made from meat and vegetables varied according to the season: meat was eaten on Sunday, in winter months and when doing hard work.

## Slavonija

Josip Lovrečić has recorded that in Otok pitas, bread and pogača, type of bread similar to focaccia, were prepared. Varnica has recorded that wheat flour was used, and when there was no wheat flour, bread was made from corn or barley flour. Lukić has recorded that in Varoš, wheat, (šenica, žito), corn, barley and rye flour (mela) were used. Bread (kruv) and pitas were made from wheat flour and were leavened. Proja was unleavened bread made from corn flour. Every family baked fifteen loaves of bread, which was enough for the following four days. On rare occasions, proja was baked, a dozen of loaves were prepared at the same time and this was enough for the following two or three days. Cakes, pies and other bakery products were both leavened and unleavened, some were made with eggs, some without. Other, often used ingredients were: sugar, fat, milk, water, pumpkin seeds, potatoes, cracklings, sausage mixture, wine, marmelade, poppy seeds, cheese, eggs, cream, walnuts, semolina, rice, almonds etc. (in Gradište these dishes were called: masnica u kiselo, slatka masnica, muškaconi kolački, kolači sa salikadom, varenice<sup>15</sup>; in Otok torte, u kiselo, mučeni, listarići, u slatko na prste, s modlicom, na suvo s jajima bez masti, kiflice u kiselo, škvarnjača, bukte, uvijače, makovače, simenjače, pita masnica<sup>10</sup>, in Cernik čvarenjaci or krampogačne, čuptete or pijanci<sup>30</sup>, in Varošu u kvas pita, sirna pita, pekmazara,

mutača, prgnača, paprenjaci, kolači s mandulama, pereci or drugovi, pletenice<sup>11</sup>). Cicvara and prova (provara, balzamača) were made from corn or wheat flour, or from both corn and wheat flour mixed together. Some pasta was cooked in beef soup, poultry soup, sometimes in pork soup, or milk or in water with pumpkin seeds. This pasta was then eaten in soup or as a sidedish. When served as a sidedish, pasta was sprinkled with bread crumbs roasted on fat, with egg. Sidedish pasta was sweetened with poppy seeds, walnuts, honey (lopčage, tačke, tarana, rezanci, valjušci, ljupka juvka, trganci, žganci; polenta from corn or barley flour). Porridges were made from corn flour, and bread porridges called krkljuš and moča in Otok<sup>10</sup>, and lukovar in Varoš<sup>11</sup>, were eaten too. Semoлина was cooked on milk.

Stews called čorba were flavored with fat, flour, onion, sometimes paprika or with water where pumpkin seeds were cooked and than spiced with flour and/or vinegar. Stews were made from beans, potatoes, sour or sweet cabbage, sour or sweet whey (sirutka), brine cabbage (rasol). Pasta and bread were side dishes to čorba. In Otok, čorba was made from mushrooms too<sup>10</sup>. Unpeeled potato was baked in hot ember or oven, peeled potatoes were baked in oven flavored with flour diluted in water. Potatoes were also prepared by boiling and then roasting or were boiled unpeeled, and then mashed and roasted in oven. Dumplings, called trganci were made from potato dough. Beans were used to make čorba, but it could also be prepared in other ways: beans were roasted, mashed and flavored with garlic, or prepared as salad. Other legumes were prepared in the similar manners, sometimes sausages were added. Green beans were flavored with flour and water or vinegar, sometimes were eaten with eggs, milk or cream. Sour cabbage was spiced with salt and black pepper. It was also prepared by boiling and then roasting, and than flavored with flour and pumpkin seeds water. Sour cabbage was sometimes eaten with potato, beans or with pieces of dried meat. On the other hand, in Varoš, these ingredients were never mixed together<sup>11</sup>. Sarma was a dish prepared from fresh and dried meat cut in small pieces mixed with rice wrapped in cabbage leaves. Green cabbage was boiled and flavored with flour and whey or cream (kajmak) or it was flavored with eggs and vinegar. In Gradište, it was boiled in milk<sup>15</sup>. In Varoš, during summer months, sweet cabbage but little bit soured was prepared<sup>11</sup>. In Gradište, brine was cooked and flavored<sup>15</sup>. In Otok, onion was cut in small pieces, roasted on fat and then eggs were poured over onion<sup>10</sup>. In Gradište, green onion was flavored only with salt, and it was cut or mashed; turnips and pumpkins were boiled in milk<sup>15</sup> and in Varoš, radish, turnip and kohlrabi (koloraba) were eaten row<sup>11</sup>. Almost all vegetables were soup ingredients: parsley, carrot, kohlrabi, turnip, potatoes. Corns were roasted in hot ember. In some areas, mushrooms were prepared by boiling and frying on fat, but mostly they were roasted in ember and eaten with bread. Sometimes, they were flavored with eggs, flour, cream, vinegar and whey. Pumpkins were boiled in water or milk and than flavored with vinegar, flour, eggs and

cream. Pumpkins were roasted on fat and flour (roux) too. Salads were flavored with roasted bacon and cracklings with vinegar; with boiled or fried eggs and vinegar. Sour cabbage was roasted and fresh cabbage and lettuce were flavored with vinegar and oil. Fresh cucumbers were salted and eaten with cream, bread and/or with vinegar. Cucumbers, green tomatoes, red peppers and pumpkins were pickled.

While Lovretić mentions the slaughtering of pig, and beef soup and some poultry dishes<sup>10</sup>, Varnica mentions only sheep slaughtering<sup>15</sup>. Beef and lamb were prepared fresh, and pork was dried. Meat was roasted over hot ember, lamb, pork and poultry were spit-roasted. Dried meat was roasted in oven and fresh meat was first boiled and than roasted in oven. Đurić has also recorded that boiled pork meat was eaten with grated horseradish or with horseradish spiced with cream or vinegar. Aspic was made from pork meat and from pike meat. Meat was used to make sausages called krvenice divenice, smoked dried sausage called kulen and fat was melted. Sausages krvenice divenice and pork blood were roasted on a pan. In Gradište, pig's brain was first boiled and than roasted<sup>15</sup>. Meat stews (čorbe) were made from beef, fresh pork, dried meat, poultry, pig's liver, guts, veal stomachs (tripe), dried and fresh fish. All these stews were prepared on a fat and flour (roux) or flavored with flour and vinegar. Pasta or bread were side dishes to stews.

Carp was roasted, fried, barbecued, or was stretched on wooden fork and roasted on open fire. Catfish, with potatoes, was roasted in oven, and pike was spit-roasted. Other types of freshwater fish was roasted on fat, spit-roasted or boiled and flavored with fat or flour, or was boiled in cabbage brine. In Varoš, fish stews were flavored with vinegar<sup>11</sup>. Crabs were boiled, and snails fried on fat. Eggs were fried over hot ash or on a pan and scrambled.

Every household usually had cows and goats, and in Varoš some had sheeps so these animals provided milk, used for making chesse, cream (kajmak) and butterfat<sup>11</sup>. Butter (putar) was rarely made. Whey (sjerotka) was used for drinking.

In Varoš and Otok, jam was made only from plums. In other areas, it was made from quince, dog rose, elder (baza), apricot and strawberries. Apples, peaches (ruške), melons, watermelons, grapes, european cornel (drinak), blackthorn (kukinja), betony (bukvica) and hazelnut were also consumed.

Non-alcoholic beverage šira was made from apples and peaches; fruit was kept fermenting in barrel, covered with water. It was usually drunk in the winter period. Grappa was drunk in the morning and wine in the afternoon. Plums, apples, dried cherries, sour cherries, peaches were cooked and water in which they were cooked, was used for drinking. Sweet apple juice was also drunk.

The first meal of the day was called ručak, it was at 11 AM in summer months, and in winter period at 9 AM. Stews (čorba) and fried sour cabbage, potatoes or beans were eaten then. Lunch was called užina, in summer

months, lunch time was at 3 PM, stews, beans, pasta and bread were eaten then. Dinner time was after sunset or in winter period, at 7 PM, and lunch leftovers were eaten then. In Varoš, Sunday meals were called *froštuk* (breakfast), *ručak* (lunch) and *večera* (dinner)<sup>11</sup>. Meat was eaten only if there was some. In winter period, aspic was eaten. According to Lovretić, in winter period there were only two meals a day, one in the morning and one in the evening<sup>10</sup>. They had few pieces of bread and salt for snack. Food was brought to peasants working away from home, otherwise, they would have some dry meat or in time of fasting, some cheese.

## Central Croatia

In central Croatia, several types of flour (*mela*) were consumed: corn (*koruzna* or *kuruzna mela*, in the surroundings of Zagreb *koruza*, *kukuriza*), barley (*jačmena*), rye (*hrženo*), wheat (*šenično*) and buckwheat (*hajdeno*). Lang has recorded that in times of great hunger, in Samobor, flour was made even from corncobs (*štručki*), sorghum (*sirak*) and grape seeds and skins which were leftovers from making wine<sup>9</sup>. Bread and cakes were made from one type of flour or two types mixed. Cakes were stuffed with cheese, or with cheese and walnuts (in Moslavina called *joreji*<sup>32</sup>), or with cheese and eggs, or spinach (in Samobor *špinjača*<sup>9</sup>), mangold, mint, cream, poppy seeds, walnuts with honey, marmelade, apples, cherries, sour cherries, plums, carob (*rožičak*), almonds, pumpkin or turnip with fresh cheese, pumpkin with red onions, raisins, cracklings, fat and the poor with pumpkin seeds (*zelenača*, *bazlemača*, *bazamača*, *gibanica*, *štrukli*, *štrudlini*, *vankuši*, *bufti*, *kuglovi*, *kuruznača*, *zlevka*, *hajdin gibanik*, *palka*, *salovnici*). Cakes were mostly baked, but *štrukli* were prepared by both baking and cooking and then were poured with fat and onion or butterfat or butter, or only with sugar. Frite and *kraflji/kraflini* were deep fried, pancakes were pan fried, and bread was usually made without leaven. Porridge was made from barley, corn, wheat, buckwheat, millet, and were flavored with fat, butterfat and butter, with or without onion. This dish was the most delicious when cooked in water previously used for cooking pork. Sometimes pork was chopped in pieces and added to the porridge. Porridge could be boiled on milk. In *radovansko – bielski* region buckwheat porridge was eaten with penny buns<sup>33</sup>. Various types of pasta were prepared: *mlinci* (thin dried flatbread, easy to prepare by simply pouring boiled salted water or soup over), *rezanci* (vermicelli), *trenci*, *frličići*, *trganci*, *krpice*, *makaroni*, and *žličnjaci*. Polenta (*žganci*) was mostly made from corn and buckwheat flour, sometimes from wheat or barley flour. Polenta was poured with hot fat and onion, butter, cracklings (*ocvirki*), milk, soured cabbage, and rarely with milk with a drop of coffee (*bijela kava*). In *radovansko – bielski* region, *močak* was porridge similar to polenta, but not so dense<sup>33</sup>. Dish consumed almost every day was *prežgana juha* (*ajnprem*), prepared by baking flour on fat and slowly adding cold water, and then spices. In Hrelčić, soup called *košči-*

*čenka* was prepared, it was made from chopped pumpkin seeds boiled in water, and then pieces of bread were added<sup>20</sup>. Corn was boiled and roasted (*kuhaniki* and *pečeniki*).

Stews (*čušpajz*) were made from various types of vegetables: sweet and sour cabbage, sweet and sour turnip, potatoes (*krumper*), leek (*pori luk*), kohlrabi, kale (*kel*), tomato (*paradajz*), squash, pumpkin (called *bundare* in the surroundings of Zagreb<sup>20</sup>), carrot (called *korejne*, *merun* in Kupčina, and in other villages near Pisarovina called *merlin* or *merljin*<sup>21</sup>), cucumbers (*vugorke*), peas (*grah*), green beans, beans (in Samobor called *pasulj*<sup>9</sup>, in Moslavina *gra*<sup>32</sup>), in Samobor, brussel sprouts, broad bean, chickpeas (*kihra*) and lentil<sup>9</sup>. Stews were made from two to three types of vegetables mixed together: sour cabbage with beans or potatoes; beans with sour turnip, potatoes or carrot; peas, lentil, chickpeas, or broad bean with rice; cucumbers, leek, kale with potato. *Ričet* was stew made from beans with barley porridge. In *Turopolje*, dish made from beans with cabbage was called *forguš*<sup>21</sup>. Stews were cooked on fat and flour, flavored with flour, vinegar or cream. Soups were made from potatoes, beans and leek, sometimes salt meat was added. Beans and cabbage were eaten with polenta too. Potatoes were prepared in several different ways: unpeeled potatoes were roasted, and then salted and were eaten prepared in this simple manner, potatoes were roasted on fat too. Potatoes were also used to make clear soups and thick soup, or were mashed or boiled and spiced with onion fried on oil. Beans were *pošrekan* – sprinkled with bread crumbs and poured with fat and onions, *zdrugani* – mashed and flavored with fat and cracklings, *zatepeni* – prepared with corn flour, vinegar, cream; roasted with fat and onion; and beans were also boiled, then cooled and eaten with onions, as salads. Other vegetables were planted too: parsley, (in Radovan *petrožen*<sup>33</sup>, in Moslavina *peršun*<sup>32</sup>), celery, endive, black radish, cauliflower (*karfiol*), garlic, onion (*crlenec*), pepper, beetroot (in Pisarovina *ciklja*<sup>21</sup>). Pickled vegetables were prepared for winter months: cucumbers, beans, green pepper, and tomatoes were cooked and then stored. Chicory, dandelion (*regrad* in Samobor<sup>9</sup>, *regica* and *regač* in Radovan<sup>33</sup>), lamb's lettuce (*belčica* in Radovan<sup>33</sup>) and *bobovnak* were prepared as salads, with meat or eggs. In Moslavina, sorrel and young nettle were also harvested<sup>32</sup>. Beans, potatoes, celery, lamb's lettuce, lettuce, cucumbers were prepared as salads, flavored with vinegar and oil, sometimes with onions, garlic and black pepper. Mushrooms were roasted, fried with eggs on fat and penny buns (*vrgajne*) were dried. Soup flavored with vinegar was made from mushrooms too.

Pumpkin oil (*crno*) was used for cooking in Radovan<sup>33</sup> and Moslavina and in Moslavina it is recorded that it was a sign of poverty<sup>32</sup>.

*Bele* or white and *crne* or black (*krvavice*) were sausages made from pork meat (in Trebarjevo were called *bele* and *crne devenice*<sup>13</sup>). Sausages called *češnjovke* were also made from pork meat. White sausages were dried or cooked and they were made from intestines, garlic, fat,

paprika, spices, corn or millet porridge, in Samobor area from inner part of bread and rice<sup>9</sup>. Krvavice were made from dark meat, barley porridge, buckwheat porridge, onion, crust of bread, salt, black pepper, clove, spices, including cinnamon, and blood. They were cooked and the water used for cooking was called gudla in Samobor, and it was eaten with bread<sup>9</sup>. Sausages were also boiled and roasted. Češnjovke were made from salted raw meat, water, wine, garlic and they were smoked. Pork stomachs were stuffed with white bread, buckwheat flour and flavored with black pepper, eggs, and cracklings. It was roasted and in Samobor this meal was called čmar<sup>9</sup>. Head cheese called tlačenica or presvuršt was made from the head of a pig, pig skin, tongue, heart, some meat, garlic, and spices, stuffed into pig's stomach. Aspic was made from boiled pork legs and skin, flavored with spices and laurel leaves. Aspic was also made from beef and pork meat or from both beef and pork, and it was cooked with parsley and carrot. Sometimes it was flavored with vinegar, oil and garlic. Dried pork meat, ham, shoulder blade, ribs were cooked in water and in Samobor were eaten with horseradish<sup>9</sup>. Poultry was eaten with pasta called mlinci or with rezanci, and piglet was eaten with salads. Chicken and veal breasts were stuffed. In radovansko-bielski area, beef, veal and piglets were not consumed at all<sup>33</sup>, and in Moslavina rarely<sup>32</sup>. In Samobor, lamb, piglet, goose meat, and salt meat were spit-roasted<sup>9</sup>. Veal, pork and poultry intestines and beef and poultry were simmered. Dish called kolač z rajžleca is prepared by cutting and boiling veal guts, roasting on fat with cream, eggs, onion, parsley and bread crumbs, spiced with salt and black pepper. Stews and fricassees (paprikaš) were made from meat also. Venison was also consumed, and in Radovan meat of domestic pigeons and helmeted guinea fowl were consumed<sup>33</sup>. Lard was used for preparing meals and in Samobor goose fat was used too<sup>9</sup>. Lard was smeared on bread and flavored with red pepper or sugar (cukar). Beef was eaten with sauce (zos) made from grated horseradish with vinegar, oil, onions, garlic, tomato and sheep's sorrel or with pickled cucumbers and mustard (muštarda). Beef was also prepared by boiling and then was salted. It was eaten prepared in this simple manner. Beef soup was brewed with porridge, pasta, rice, barley porridge, semolina, potato, bread. Chicken soup was given to the ill ones and pregnant women. Pork soup (slaninska) was eaten with pasta, rice, buckwheat porridge. Soups were made from intestines of poultry or veal, fish, with vinegar, or from leftovers of roasted meat.

Fish was coated with corn flour and roasted on fat, or fried and flavored with garlic and parsley. In villages near river, fishermen spit-roasted fish. Some fish was sold, and some was smoke-dried. In Samobor, fried eggs were called cvrtje<sup>9</sup>, eggs were also fried on ember, or they were boiled and then eaten with lettuce, lamb's lettuce, dandelion and bobovnak. Eggs were used to prepare pasta, roux soup, cakes etc.

Milk was eaten with bread cut in pieces, polenta, coffee and it was used to make cakes. Cheese was made from skimmed milk, buttermilk and soured milk. Cheese was

usually eaten with cream, onions, salt, and paprika. In Radovan and Moslavina, so called špičasti sušeni sir; cone shaped dried cheese was eaten with paprika<sup>32,33</sup>. In Pisarovina, there were several types of cheese: fresh cheese (friški), soured cheese, dried cheese (suvi sir), boiled cheese (kuvani sir), and drobljenec<sup>21</sup>. Whey was drunk and bread pieces were soaked in it. Cream (vrjne), buttermilk (mlačenica), butter (puter) and butterfat were all homemade. Soups were made from fresh or soured milk with cream, buttermilk, salt and corn flour. Bread pieces were usually soaked in soup.

Compote was made from different types of fruit: peaches, quince (tunje), cherries, plums, pears. Pears, sweet apples, plums and peaches were dried and plums and dog rose were used to make marmelade. Fruit was used for preparing cakes. Wild fruits were harvested too: wild strawberries, blackberries, cornel (drenek), dog rose, wild cherries, apples, pears, hazelnut, cranberries, blueberries, hawthorn, blackthorn. In some areas, carob, mulberry (dud), rowan, and common medlar (nešpaj) were harvested. Chestnuts were roasted in embers.

Wine and water were usually drunk. Grappa was made from plums (slivovica), and grapes (tropica and droždenka), in some areas from cherries and pears (ruškovica). Cherries, green walnut and wormwood were soaked in grappa. Wine was usually drunk with mineral water (kisela voda), and in winter months was cooked with cinnamon and clove. Both alcohol and alcohol free beverages were made from apples. Tea (herbal tea, linden tea, elder tea, liquorice, chamomile, leaves of blackthorn) were sweetened with sugar and rum or grappa were added in it. In Samobor, beverage called bermet was made from black grapes<sup>9</sup>. Beer was drunk in inns. Habunek has recorded that beverages were made from honey: gvierc and medica<sup>33</sup>, however honey was rarely used in Moslavina<sup>32</sup>. Coffee was drunk with milk and sugar and common chicory. Coffee was made from barley and the poor ones would make it even from oak nut.

In winter months, three meals (fruštik, obed, večera) per day were eaten and in summer four (južina in the afternoon). In Pisarovina, first morning meal called otešček, oteščajec was around 6 AM in summer period, and in winter months around 7 AM<sup>21</sup>. This meal was modest: a piece of bread, cheese and grappa. Breakfast was at 8 AM and coffee, roux soup and polenta were eaten. Meal called obed was at noon, and then stews, potatoes, beans, polenta, porridge, roux soup, polenta with milk or coffee, and meat and cakes were prepared. Dinner was usually at seven o'clock or, in summer months after sunset. Stew leftovers from obed, or potatoes, polenta, porridge and trenci were usually eaten then. Meat was consumed rarely, usually on Sundays or during festivals and celebrations. Hard physical labour peasants always had more food, with more meat: polenta, roasted potatoes, macaroni made from black flour flavored with fat or vankuši, krvavice with soured cabbage and temfani potatoes, pickled cucumbers, bread, dried or fresh cheese, onion, garlic, tomato, cracklings and grappa. In summer months, cold

food (salads, cream and cheese, zlevka or štrudlin, pieces of bread soaked in milk, fruit) was usually consumed.

## Lika

In Krivi Put, people used barley and wheat<sup>23</sup> and in Ivčević Kosa, millet and corn flour were used too<sup>7</sup>. Dish called ufunjak was roasted unleavened dough made from barley flour. Coffee was also made from barley. Bread was roasted under baking bell or later, in the oven. Oat and millet porridge (prga), corn polenta and soup dishes were prepared. Polenta was eaten with milk (varenika) or soured milk (kiselina) and cabbage, and was flavored with butterfat. Scones were eaten with milk. Pieces of bread were salted, covered with butterfat and garlic; this dish was called popara. Type of pasta called krpice was prepared.

Potatoes were basic food during the whole year (polenta was made from potatoes (krumpirica) and was eaten with soured milk, potato halves (pole or police) were eaten with bacon and garlic and potatoes could simply be boiled). There were several types of potatoes. Soured cabbage was also a basic food, usually horseradish (ren), grains of raw corn and grains of black pepper were added in it. Mangold, cabbage and turnip were pickled. Mangold, turnip, wild nettle, dill, and wild chicory were used to prepare stews. Other vegetables were consumed too: carrot (merlin), parsley, kohlrabi, beans and other legumes. Meadow mushrooms were harvested.

Meat was eaten twice a week, lamb, mutton, goat were prepared fresh in summer months and in winter months meat was first dried. Meat sausages were prepared: krvavice were made from corn flour, salt, black pepper, garlic, pork and blood. These ingredients were stuffed into guts or linen bag. Stuffed pork stomachs (danke, mure) were usually eaten for Christmas. Sausages were boiled and then dried and smoked. Nothing was to be thrown away: skin, fat, ears and legs were boiled to make meat aspic (in Krivi Put it was called čeladija<sup>23</sup> and dželadija in Ivčević Kosa<sup>7</sup>). Pork meat with sour cabbage was called zelje meso and it was eaten several times a week. When there was no meat, sour cabbage was eaten with beans and pasta (this dish was called zelje gra). In Ivčević Kosa, dried meat of dormouse was also consumed<sup>7</sup>. Hećimović-Seselja and Jurković state that fish and seafood were not traditional ingredients in Lika<sup>7,23</sup>, however Grčević, when writing about village in Lika, Kopolje, explains how fish was caught and prepared, and states that crabs were harvested<sup>6</sup>. Yet, this author states nothing on frequency of consumption of fish.

This diet contained a lot of dairy products: butter (putar); cheese called škripavac; dried and smoked cheese was usually eaten with pasta or stews; soured milk was eaten with polenta. Salted sheep milk was called basa. Dairy products and salt purchased from the island of Pag were traded for coffee, sugar and cereals in the town of Senj, in Slavonia or Lika.

The most consumed fruit were apples and pears. Pears were also dried and used to make juice (turšija) –

pears were kept in cold water for three weeks and then were eaten and water were they were kept was drunk. Wild plants were also harvested: common sorrel, wild raspberries, wild dog rose, wild strawberries, hazelnuts, brekinje and rowans, and other types of berries: merale, trnjule or drinjule).

The most consumed beverage was water, vine was bought and stored for special occasions when it was drunk diluted with water (bevanda). Grappa made from plums (in Ivčević Kosi called mučenica<sup>7</sup>) and dropovica (from grapes) were also bought, but every home had it. In Krivi put, malinovac and trambuva were made from raspberries<sup>23</sup>, in Ivčević Kosa they drunk aforementioned pears juice called turšija, especially in summer months, beverage made from boiled plums (ošep), honey beverage (šerbet), soured milk, whey (surutka) and maple juice (musa)<sup>7</sup>. During the whole year, in Ivčević Kosa, cabbage brine, linden tea, elder tea (zobika), strawberry leaves tea, hazel tea and yarrow tea (raman) were drunk<sup>7</sup>.

During the winter, three meals were eaten a day (ručak, užina, večera), and in summer months, five meals a day (in Krivi Put ručak, doručak/marenda/veliki ručak, užina, mala užina, večera<sup>23</sup>) because there was more work to be done, people were getting up earlier etc. In general, peasants that worked harder ate more abundant food: more meat, more grappa.

## Dalmatian Hinterland

In Dalmatian hinterland, flour (muka) was made from several types of cereals: wheat (in Poljica it was called šenica<sup>8</sup>, in Imotski region it was called šeničeno<sup>17</sup>), corn (kuruzovo), barley (ječimeno), rye (ozimica), millet, sorghum (sirčena). In Poljica, bread was made from mixed cereals, but not from millet and corn and scone was made from wheat flour. In Imotski region, scone was regarded as the finest bread and was also made from wheat flour<sup>17</sup>. Other types of bread were made from all types of flour. Dish for the poorest was barley porridge (prga, in Imotski region puša<sup>17</sup>). In Imotski region, it was also made from rye or corn flour, and was flavored with oil or fat<sup>17</sup>. Ivanišević has recorded that in Poljica, at times of great hunger, bark was grinded and mixed with flour<sup>8</sup>. Polenta from corn flour (in Poljica it was called pura or pulinta<sup>8</sup>) was usually flavored with salt, butter or milk. In Imotski region, for polenta was said that it nurtured many families, and it was regularly consumed for lunch<sup>17</sup>. In winter months, polenta was eaten with meat or eggs. Polenta was also consumed with soured milk (diluted) or onion (kapula). In Poljica, Ivanišević has also recorded that both salty and sweet pasta was prepared: with raisins, mangold, sugar, cinnamon, cheese (kolači, ušcipci, pršurati or vritule; ulivak, drpa or šlukača; zelenik, soparnik or ulenak; prisnac or tituš<sup>8</sup>). Other types of pasta were lazanje with or without eggs, and makaruni. Var was dish prepared from wheat boiled on greasy meat soup, and was made for people doing hard physical labor. Pasta was usually homemade and was rarely bought.

Vegetables that were usually consumed are: cabbage, potatoes (kumpir, klumpir, kumplir), mangold, collard, white-headed cabbage (vrzet), chickpeas (slani graj in Poljica<sup>8</sup>, slani gra in Imotski region<sup>17</sup>), broad bean, beans, peas, green beans (važol), lentil (sočivica or šoška in Poljica<sup>8</sup>, in Imotski region *ćicerka*<sup>17</sup>), turnip (ripa), radish (rodakve), corn, onion and garlic. In Poljica, red sweet pumpkin with potatoes or rice was prepared for children<sup>8</sup>. Cabbage, collard, mangold and soured cabbage were sometimes eaten with potatoes, salty meat, and beef. When there was no meat, fat and tallow were added instead. Only some families used oil and onion, although oil was expensive. Stew was made from lentil, sometimes potatoes or onion were added. Fish stew was also prepared. Peas were often eaten alone or they were mixed with wheat and potato, broad bean was boiled in meat soup and then mixed with wheat, potatoes and mangold. Beans was also boiled with potato, or was boiled in stews, and could also be prepared by roasting in ashes and then salted and mashed. Potatoes roasted in ashes were eaten with buttermilk, or prepared as a salad, flavored with oil, vinegar, black pepper and onion. Rice (pirinč, angriz) was boiled in meat soup or water and then flavored with butterfat and oil, but it was also prepared by boiling with tomato (pomidor), or boiled in milk with potatoes, celery (selen) and parsley (petrusimul). Prepared in this way, it was delicious side dish to fish stew. In Imotski region rice was not often consumed. Lettuce and cucumbers (kukumari) were prepared as salad, with vinegar and oil. Typical dish in Imotski region, usually prepared for the poor, was *pribič*, porridge made by boiling chickpeas, corn and lentil. Wild vegetables were eaten too, such as asparagus, nettle, black bryony (bljušt), spinach (sponjak), and *ljutika*, plant similar to green onions (mladi luk). Mushrooms were harvested but for sale.

In Imotski region *divenice* were sausages made from meat, fat, corn flour and sometimes raisins were added<sup>17</sup>. In Poljica *divenice* were also prepared, but were made from wheat flour, raisins and cinnamon (kanela)<sup>8</sup>. In Poljica, different types of meat were eaten: mutton, lamb, goat meat, beef and pork, meat was dried and other types of sausages were made: with onion, black pepper and rosemary<sup>8</sup>. In Imotski region, favourite meat was pork, but goat meat and lamb were consumed too, but not veal nor beef<sup>17</sup>. Meat was boiled, water used for boiling meat was then used for cooking pasta or cabbage. Eggs, cheese, liver (*džigarica*) and prosciutto were fried on fat or bacon. In Imotski region, children would roast (na ugljenu) kidneys (*bubrige*), spleen, pieces of liver<sup>17</sup>. Intestines, skewers of intestines, sausages and *divenice*, lamb's head were grilled, and baked in baking bell. In Poljica, sheep or goat guts were flavored with bacon, onion, tomato, parsley and cheese<sup>8</sup>. In Imotski region, lamb and chicken were spit-roasted, fish and frogs were grilled<sup>17</sup>. Duck meat, goose meat, venison, rabbit meat, partridge meat were sometimes prepared, mostly by boiling. In Poljica, stews (*žguacet*) were made from mutton, simmered on browned fat, with potatoes, tomato, sometimes it was simmered on white wine or *prošek*, sweet dessert wine<sup>8</sup>.

Eggs were boiled or fried on fat, and were usually eaten with prosciutto or bacon. Some had egg yolk mixed with sugar, and a cup of coffee in the morning, instead of milk. In Poljica, fish was boiled, fish stew was prepared flavored with oil, onion, salt, vinegar, tomato, black pepper, and was eaten with bread<sup>8</sup>. Codfish stew was prepared only in winter, and was flavored with raisins and dried sour cherries. Pilchards and trout were roasted on open fire. Snails were boiled and consumed with spices and *ljutika*, plant similar to green onions, or they were ember-roasted and then boiled again. On the other hand, in Imotski region, there was no fish in plenty, and if caught, it was usually for sale.

Homemade dairy products were: cheese (in Imotski region called *trveni sir*), butterfat, whey (*suotka*) and buttermilk (*metenicu*), boiled milk was called *varenika*.

In Poljica, the following fruit was consumed: melon, figs, rowan, walnuts, almonds, dog rose, blackberries, mulberries (*murva*) and berries *koste*<sup>8</sup>.

There was always enough wine, and it was usually diluted with water or milk. Grappa was made from grapes or herbs. Cherry beverage *rožulin* (*maraskino*) was industrially produced in Split and Zadar. Wine is often drunk at dinner and if there was enough wine, it was drunk several times per day. Sour milk diluted with water called *mlačenica* was popular beverage.

In Poljica, meal called *ručak* was eaten at 8 or 9 AM, *obid* at midday, *marenda* at 4 PM and dinner at 7 or 8 PM<sup>8</sup>. Meals were bountiful only when doing hard physical labor, five meals a day were eaten: a glass of grappa, figs, wine; codfish, vegetables, bread, wine; pasta, codfish, cheese; codfish or salted pilchards; vegetables, wine. In summer, meals were not so abundant: bread, onions, fruit and wine were usually consumed. Only every now and then dinner would be prepared.

Time of the first meal called *ručak* is not recorded for the Imotski region<sup>17</sup>. Polenta was usually prepared for *ručak*. Meal called *užina* was usually consumed little after midday, in summer every day, especially when doing hard physical labor. This meal was not consumed in winter. It is also recorded that food choice varied according to physique: the strong ones (*jači*) ate stew (*manistra*) and meat, the ones with normal physique (*sridnji*) ate eggs fried on fat and soured milk with bread soaked in it, or polenta. The thinnest (*najtanji*) had polenta (*pura*), onions (*kapule*) and water. Dinner time was at 6 PM, and this meal was the most abundant, stews with meat were usually eaten.

## Istra

Polenta with milk or polenta soup (spiced water in which polenta was cooked, this water was separated at the beginning of cooking polenta) was basic food. Hard working peasants ate polenta with roasted sausages or *fritaja* (scrambled eggs with prosciutto). The poor ate corn bread every day. Cakes were prepared only on special occasions.



Maneštra (stew) was everyday food, whose main ingredients were beans and potatoes, sometimes pork bones or prosciutto bones were added. Maneštra could be made from different types of vegetables, varying according to season; fennel, young corn (bobić), type of cabbage called broskva, yellow carrot (merlin), which could also be prepared in the way called ispod peke – a cooking technique where the food is put in metal baking bell and covered with hot ember. Maneštra made from sour cabbage was called jota. Maneštra was flavored with chopped bacon and roasted garlic (pešto). Orlić mentions that maneštra could be made from barley (maneštra od fara, šena, orza, jačmika), and from chickpeas (slanac)<sup>2</sup>. Chicory leaves were often used in the preparation of salads, and were consumed with beans and potatoes. Wealthy families used to prepare chicory leaves with boiled eggs or with ombola, wind-dried pork. Salads were flavored with fat made from melted cracklings, sea salt, homemade wine vinegar, and very rarely with olive oil. Salads were made from arugula and potatoes too.

Very popular meal was fritaja, fried eggs with wild chicory leaves, wild asparagus or with black bryony (bljušt). Bacon, sausages or prosciutto were rarerly added. Aromatic herbs and spices most often used in traditional diet were: fennel, sage, rosemary, marjoram, basil (bašetak), celery leaves (šeljin, šelen), parsley and laurel.

The meat was usually reserved for festive days, weddings and other special occasions, and for peasants working hard physical labor and persons working in factories (they were the ones who made money). Respectable persons, doctors, teachers, were given prosciutto as a gift, so it was not a kind of food one would consume regularly.

Ružić and Dropulić state that fish and seafood were consumed only on the coast, but nothing is said on the frequency of consumption<sup>1</sup>. Only holiday eating habits are described. However, Orlić mentions brodet, stew made from several different types of fish<sup>2</sup>. The more different types of fish, the better the stew, says one of the interviewed women. This dish was most probably consumed on the coast, the frequency of consumption remains unknown. Orlić says about brodet: 'The story goes that fish stew can even be cooked from a skillfully chosen sea rock covered with some sea grass and shells', which implies that stew was meal for the poor and it must have been consumed from time to time<sup>2</sup>. Orlić mentions another dish – snail sauce usually served with polenta, and notices that she found no record about this dish. In her opinion it might be due to the general opinion that snails were consumed by Italian citizens of Istria<sup>2</sup>.

Supa is interesting mixture of food and beverage consumed together: stale bread was flavored with olive oil and poured over with warmed red wine and sprinkled with sugar.

Authors are referring to one of Kocković's paper when mentioning some Istrian wines and grappas, again, it is difficult to conclude on the frequency of consumption, but they were surely part of traditional nutrition<sup>1</sup>.

## Dalmatia and Islands

All types of flour (muka) were used in Dalmatia and on eastern Adriatic islands. On the island of Krk, wheat (šenično, belno), millet, sorghum (sirčeno), barley (jarčeno), corn (fermentunovo), rye (reženo), buckwheat (hajdi) and spelt flour were used<sup>16</sup>, on the islands of Cres, Silba, Olib and Pašman, barley (on the island of Cresu jašnik, jačmik), corn (on the island of Cres was called farman-tun, fermentum<sup>24</sup>) and wheat<sup>24–27</sup>; in Biograd barley, oat, wheat and corn<sup>29</sup>. The most important basic food was bread, which was kneaded from several types of cereals. In Biograd, bread was called škuri kruh, bread covered with olive oil was called nabadani kruh and was prepared two to three times a week<sup>29</sup>. In Biograd and on the islands of Silba and Olib, leftover bread was used to make very dry, crisp and thinly sliced bread (in Biograd called baškot)<sup>25,26,29</sup>, and stale bread was poured with salty boiled water (on the island of Krk, this simple meal was called parelina and panada<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Pašman popara<sup>27</sup>). Roux soup was prepared for the ill ones. All sorts of bread and cakes were baked: with cheese, black pepper, cinnamon, cloves, honey, fat, eggs, sugar; raisins, boiled dried figs, sheep fat; they were made in different shapes (on the island of Krk prasnec, honey cakes, žurenica, curunda, bubica<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Cres kolubica<sup>24</sup>). On the island of Krk, in fritule were added dried fruit and grappa<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Olib only raisins were added, and on the island of Silba pine nuts were added<sup>25,26</sup>. On the island of Pašman, the ill ones soaked dry cakes in camomile; this meal was called panjada<sup>27</sup>. Polenta was made from corn flour (on the island of Pašmanu it was called pulenta/pura/pula<sup>27</sup>). On the island of Krk, hard polenta was prepared (palenta po gorinsku, tvrda or palenta na hljib) and gujenica made from barley flour<sup>16</sup>. Porridges were made from various cereals, and porridge and polenta were eaten with vegetables, potatoes, pasta. Pasta was both bought and homemade (on the island of Krk it was called lezanje, bečići, makaruni, prašćići, šurlice<sup>16</sup>; on the island of Cres lazani i fuži<sup>24</sup>; on the island of Silba njoke, type of pasta was made from potato dough; on the island of Olib lazanje<sup>25,26</sup>; on the island of Pašman makaruni, šubioti, špageti, lazanje, tarce<sup>27</sup>; in Biograd makaruni<sup>29</sup>). Pasta was eaten with stews, salads, cheese, fish stews, potatoes, with sugar etc.

The most popular vegetables were: cabbage (on the island of Krk kapuz, zeli<sup>16</sup>), collard (on the island of Krk broski<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Pašman broskva<sup>27</sup>), turnip (on the island of Krk ripa<sup>16</sup>) and mangold, usually eaten with potatoes (on the island of Krk kunpir<sup>16</sup>) and beans (fažol) and/or with meat or polenta. Peas (on the island of Krk biža<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Cresu biži<sup>24</sup>), wild peas (on the island of Pašman bižaljka<sup>27</sup>), chickpeas (on the island of Krk cicerica<sup>16</sup>, in Biograd and on the island of Pašmanu čičvarda<sup>27,29</sup>), lentil, broad bean, boiled corn, boiled rice, tomato (pomidori), carrot (on the island of Cresu merlin<sup>24</sup>), pumpkin, zucchini, red onion (kapula), garlic, lettuce, cucumbers, parsley (in Biograd petrusimen<sup>29</sup>, on the island of Pašman petrosimul<sup>27</sup>), celery, wild uncultivated plants (fennel, asparagus, black bryony (bljušt)

(divljač in Biograd<sup>29</sup>), chicory (in Biograd and on the island of Pašmanu žutenica<sup>27,29</sup>), berberuša (on the island of Pašman<sup>27</sup>), rucola (on the island of Pašman riga<sup>27</sup>). They pickled vegetables and prepared stews, but mostly, different types of vegetables were boiled together na lešo, (peas with rice, potatoes or corn, cabbage with potatoes, broad bean, peas, lentil, wild peas, chickpeas) or with meat. On the island of Pašman, hard cabbage root and turnip were boiled or roasted in ember, and raw turnip was also eaten<sup>27</sup>. Potato was eaten boiled with oil and salt, with fish, or it was ingredient used to prepare stew. Potatoes were also eaten with tomatoes, seawater, or potatoes halves were ash-roasted (pole or polovice). Leafy vegetable, beans, peas, tomato with boiled potatoes were prepared as salad with olive oil and vinegar. Soups were made from vegetables too (chickpeas and lentil soup). Sauce (salsa) was made from tomatoes. Wild plants were prepared as salad and they were also used as spices. Asparagus and black bryony (bljušt) were fried with eggs.

The following kinds of meat were consumed: oxen meat, pork, lamb meat, mutton, goat meat, poultry, ostrich meat and venison on the island of Krk<sup>9</sup>; pork, goat meat, mutton on the islands of Cres and Pašman<sup>24,27</sup>; lamb, mutton and beef on the island of Silba and Olib<sup>25,26</sup>; pork in Biograd<sup>29</sup>. However, meat was rarely consumed, usually during festivals and feasts. Domestic animals were raised and kept for sale, and for gaining milk, eggs and wool. Sausages were made from pork, dried and then fried. Prosciutto was also made from pork (on the island of Krk prosciutto was called peršut<sup>16</sup>). On the islands of Krk and Pašman, pig guts were stuffed with the mixture of fat, pig's blood and flour, on the island of Krk this mixture was made without blood also, with wheat flour, grated cheese, clove, cinnamon, black pepper, sugar and rosemary (lusmarin). Stews were added dried pork. Meat was prepared by boiling, roasting, grilling on open fire, or frying. Dish called žvacet (stew) is meat braised in fat, with tomatoes, spices, vine and usually potatoes. On the islands of Silba and Olib, meat was eaten in soup with pasta lazanje<sup>25,26</sup>, on the island of Krk meat soups were prepared only for ill ones<sup>16</sup>. Poultry was kept only in some places so chicken soup or eggs were rarely consumed. Fish was far more often consumed, it was coated with wheat or corn flour and then fried, fish was also grilled, boiled, or was salted and eaten raw, it was used to prepare stew (brudet; on the island of Krk this dish was called brodit<sup>16</sup>), or were fried with eggs and onions. Sea-shells were boiled, roasted or prepared as salads. On the island of Krk, fish coated with flour was prepared with scrambled eggs, sausages and prosciutto<sup>16</sup>. Cuttlefish and octopus were boiled, dried, and on the island of Cres they were conserved by salting and then prepared as salad<sup>24</sup>.

On the island of Krk, the primary source of milk were sheep, rarely cows<sup>16</sup>. Milk was used to produce cheese and butterfat. On the island of Cres, the primary source of milk were goats, while goat and sheep milk was used to produce cheese and butterfat<sup>24</sup>. On the islands of Silba and Olib, and in Biograd, goats' and cows' milk was

drunk, and cheese was made from sheep milk<sup>25,26,29</sup>. On the island of Pašman, it has been recorded that cheese was made from goats' or sheeps' milk<sup>27</sup>.

On the island of Cres, figs were eaten fresh and more often dried, and were important ingredient of winter menu<sup>24</sup>. On the islands of Krk and Pašman, and in Biograd, not only figs were consumed but grapes, walnuts and almonds (menduli) too (on the island of Krk and Pašman, walnuts were called orihi, in Biograd orifi)<sup>16,27,29</sup>. In Biograd, peaches (praske), mamule, watermelons (angurije), were also consumed<sup>29</sup>, and on the island of Pašman, carob (koruba), cherries (trišnja), jujube (čičindra), apricots (armelin, barakokuli), plums (sliva), amite (plant similar to fennel), mulberries (murva), rowans (skoruška)<sup>27</sup>. There weren't many apples, pears or chestnuts (maruna). Wild fruit is also harvested: blackberries on the island of Krk (called jagodi od ostrugi<sup>16</sup>), mulberries (murvi), hawthorns, planičice, drenulvice and poprivice). On the island of Silba, jam was made from plums and peaches, and on the island of Olib from figs<sup>25,26</sup>. Olives are grown in all Eastern Adriatic region, for the preparation of oil. On the island of Krk, olives (ulikve) were scalded, salted and then eaten<sup>16</sup>, and on the islands of Silba and Olib olives were pickled and stored for winter<sup>25,26</sup>.

Most consumed beverages were: water, wine and grappa. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, on the islands of Silba and Olib, vineyards perish and the consumption of wine was reduced<sup>25,26</sup>. Wine was usually diluted with water (bevanda), and in Makarska, wine was diluted with milk and was called bikla<sup>30</sup>. On the island of Cres, grappa was made from figs<sup>24</sup>. Coffee was made from various types of grinded cereals, mostly from barley (on the island of Krk it was called kafe<sup>16</sup>, on the island of Cres kafa<sup>24</sup>). On the island of Cres and in Biograd, camomile tea (in Biograd called kamumila) and mallow tea (u Biogradu sliz) were drunk, and in Biograd sage tea was also prepared<sup>24,29</sup>. Alcohol-free drinks were made from spruce on the island of Cres<sup>24</sup> and from cherries in Biograd<sup>29</sup>. Water flavoured with vinegar (kvasina) was used to slake the thirst, this beverage was called slavo in Makarska<sup>30</sup>.

On the island of Krk, main meals were called ruček, obed and vičera, first snack in the day was called marena and the second one, ovičerna/južina<sup>16</sup>. First morning meal was called ručak or ruček, sometimes kafe or kafa, name derived from the main ingredient of the meal, coffee. Breakfast time was between 6 and 8 AM, women and children ate coffee with bread or polenta and milk, rous soup, men ate polenta with cheese, figs and grappa and drank bevanda. Porridge and leftovers from day before were also eaten. If breakfast consisted only from figs and grappas, snack meal called marena would have been consumed between 9 and 10 AM: fried egg, piece of dried meat or fish, or roasted bread soaked in wine and dried cheese. Lunch (obed, obet, obid) consisted from porridge, polenta with fish stew, salty pilchards. During summer, broad beans stews or peas stews with boiled pasta, or potatoes and salads were prepared for lunch. During winter, sour cabbage stews were prepared, and wealthy fami-

lies could afford to add meat in it. Dinner ingredients did not differ much from lunch ingredients: cabbage, turnip, potato, pasta, pilchards, polenta with beans and similar and wine. In summer, pasta was usually consumed, and in winter porridge. There were always enough polenta, cabbage, potatoes and bread. Snacks, eaten between main meals, consisted from egg, some pork or fish, and roasted bread soaked with wine, some figs, cheese or curd. Lunchtime and the amount of food varied according to hardness of work being done, sometimes that was bountiful, and sometimes workers would take just a little bread for lunch. Although there was no meat in plenty, they always tried to have some meat or meat soup for every Sunday lunch.

## Conclusion

We conclude this overview with main characteristics of Croatian regions: for Slavonija and Baranja, these are pork meat products, like sausages, kulen, cracklings, aspic, stews called čorbe, and various cakes with poppy seeds, walnuts, cheese, plum marmelade, etc. Everyday food was stew – from beans, carrots, sour cabbage or turnip, sometimes dried meat or pasta were added, and was usually spiced with paprika.

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Nutrition in central Croatia is similar to the one in Slavonia and Baranja; polenta, sour cabbage, roux soup were usually eaten for breakfast, pork and poultry meat were eaten and various stews – from kohlrabi, carrot, potatoes, green beans, sweet turnip, sour cabbage etc. Peasants always ate more abundant food: cheese, wine, grappa, more meat. In villages near river, fish was often consumed too.

In Istria, typical dishes were polenta with coffee, fried eggs – fritaja, and various stews (maneštre). Meat was eaten only on holidays, festivals and by hard workers.

In Lika, dairy products were often consumed, and the most important ingredients were potatoes, beans and cabbage.

Dairy products, unleavened scones, soups from legumes, cabbage, wild plants, goat meat and mutton were characteristic for both Dalmatian hinterlands and Lika.

In Dalmatia and Eastern Adriatic islands, polenta was eaten with coffee, a lot of fish was eaten, salted or roasted or in stews. Roasted bread called baškot is characteristic for this area. Everyday diet contained a lot of vegetables, like mangold, cabbage, collard and olive oil.

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## **KULTURNOGEOGRAFSKI PREGLED TRADICIJSKE PREHRANE U HRVATSKOJ**

### **S A Ž E T A K**

Rad predstavlja pregled prehrane u ruralnim dijelovima Hrvatske u razdoblju od sredine 19. stoljeća do sredine 20. stoljeća. Podaci su prikupljeni iz znanstvenih radova, etnografskih zbirka Zbornika za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena i popularno-znanstvenih radova. Rad daje i kritički osvrt na objavljene radove na ovu temu te donosi opise svakodnevnih jela i sastojaka s lokalnim nazivima koji su korišteni u svakoj Hrvatskoj regiji. Rad se fokusira na svakodnevnoj prehrani hrvatskih seljaka u prošlosti, s posebnim naglaskom na vrijeme, sadržaj i učestalost obroka tijekom dana, razlike u prehrani obzirom na godišnja doba, razlike u prehrani obzirom na fizički rad seljaka te razlike u prehrani obzirom na ekonomski mogućnosti kućanstava.