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DEBATA O KUHINJI / KITCHEN DEBATE

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The collected volume of the symposium 19.–21. 10. 2017

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DEBATA O KUHNJI / KITCHEN DEBATE

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Mirjana Koren, PhD, Director of the Regional Museum Maribor

Welcome to the proceedings of the international **MUSEOEUROPE 2017** symposium, the fourth in the series, the main focus of which was the kitchen, food and eating habits, and which is connected with this year's central museum exhibition DEBATA O KUHINJI – KITCHEN DEBATE.

Since prehistory the kitchen has been a place where traditional values are confronted with the progress brought by inbuilt technical innovations, which made it the most progressive part of the home. The fireplace was raised from the floor to the level of the table and then lowered, enclosed and thus the stove was born. In smokehouses and "black kitchens", smoke could freely move around, threatening people's health, but with the invention of the chimney it was channelled into the open air. Electricity, gas and water appeared in homes for the first time in kitchens.

In recent history, the kitchen was also a space of political debate. At the time of the Cold War, in 1959, the two superpowers wished to thaw relations by preparing two guest exhibitions. In the USA the Soviet Union presented its space programme, while the Americans, in Sokolniki Park, Moscow, put on an exhibition where they presented the modern American way of life. This included four kitchens with the latest kitchen equipment. While Russian women waited in long queues to see the products that could make housework easier, party secretary Nikita Krushchev saw the capitalist aim of American propaganda as turning housewives into consumers without rights. The debate that developed at the opening of the exhibition between Krushchev and American vice-president Richard Nixon became known as the Kitchen Debate, hence the name of the exhibition and the theme of the symposium.

The symposium involved 27 researchers from eight countries: Austria, Croatia, Italy, Japan, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia and Switzerland. They come from different universities, museums and research institutes, but also include some independent researchers. The institutions involved are as follows. Austria: Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz. Croatia: Cres Museum; the Museum of Prigorje; the Public Institution "Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park"; the Ethnographic Museum of Istria; the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka. Italy: the University of Udine, Department of Languages and Literatures, Communication, Education and Society (DILL); the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe (ISEM); the Italian National Research Council (CNR). Japan: the University of Tokyo. Romania: the Romanian Peasant Museum. Slovenia: the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology; the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts; the Regional Museum Gorenjska; the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia; the University of Maribor, Faculty of Agriculture and Live Sciences; the University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Sociology Department; the Regional Museum Maribor; the Nutrition Institute; Piramida Education Centre Maribor; the Regional Museum Koper; the Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana; National Museum of Contemporary History; the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož; the Pomurje Museum; the Carinthian Regional Museum; the Museum of Recent History Celje; the Gornjesavski Museum Jesenice. Serbia: the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade; the Historical Institute, Belgrade; the Artis Center, Belgrade; the company Selerant. Switzerland: the Alimentarium.

The symposium was organised under the auspices of ICOM Europe by the Regional Museum Maribor. The papers in the proceedings were evaluated by an international team of reviewers, and prepared for publication by editors Mag Oskar Habjanič and Dr Katarina Šrmpf Vendramin, to whom I offer my sincere thanks.

I hope you enjoy reading the contributions.

KITCHEN DEBATE

Oskar Habjanič, MA, Regional Museum Maribor, Katarina Šrimpf Vendramin, PhD, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology

After the horrors of World War II, when Europe was rebuilding its foundations, the political situation once more began to threaten the world's very existence. Not only two extremely different political systems stood in opposition to each other, but also two completely different ways of life, which failed to find any common ground in the second half of the 20th century: on the one hand democracy and capitalism, on the other communism and the command economy. The emphasis in the former is on free will and the individual, who beneath the flag of democracy and capitalism ever more frequently face fundamental economic problems and alienating interpersonal relations. The latter, at least on the formal level, under the name of socialism, emphasised the doctrine of public ownership and equality. Never before had two different world views been so far apart in their understanding of form and content, and they clashed in many fields – not least in their understanding of the kitchen.

Different stances were expressed in the so-called 'kitchen debate', when at the opening of the American National Exhibition in Moscow on 24 June 1959, a meeting took place between Soviet premier Nikita Krushchev and United States vice-president Richard Nixon. The latter showed Krushchev an average American house, with a colour television and washing machine, which was also accessible to a worker in the steel industry, the pride of the rising USA in the Fifties and Sixties. There developed a debate between the two statesmen about quality of life, free trade and cooperation in the field of technological progress to the benefit of ordinary people, which quickly deviated into the arms race of the time.

Today, with the flood of cooking programmes, celebrity chefs, fashion diets, super foods and eating disorders, it seems that in everyday life, the kitchen debate has never really ended. And so in 2017 the Regional Museum Maribor joined the debate and, at an international symposium entitled *KITCHEN DEBATE*, looked at the kitchen, food and eating habits.

A special word of thanks goes to the following group of reviewers, who were generously involved in helping to create the collective volume *KITCHEN DEBATE*: Dr Špela Ledinek Lozej from the University of Udine, Italy, and the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr Maja Godina Golija from the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and from the University of Maribor, DDr Verena Perko from the Gorenjska Museum and the University of Ljubljana, Dr Blanka Vombergar from the Piramida Education Centre in Maribor, Dr Aleš Maver from the University of Maribor, Dr Mateja Kos from the National Museum of Slovenia, Dr Sonja Ifko from the University of Ljubljana, Dr Andrej Hozjan from the University of Maribor, Dr Nena Židov from the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, Dr Mateja Germ from the University of Ljubljana, Dr Marko Mele from the Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz, Dr Ljubodrag P. Ristić from the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Belgrade, Dr Jernej Mlekuž from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Dr Jelena Ivanisevic from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research Zagreb.

Twenty-seven authors from eight countries presented their research findings and analyses under five headings: *From the Fireplace to the Food Industry; The Kitchen, a Space of Innovations; Food Between Need, Pleasure, and Addiction; The Kitchen and Food in Art, Culture, and Politics; and The Kitchen and Food in Museum Exhibitions and Pedagogical Programmes*. The papers gathered in the collective volume of the **MUSEOEUROPE 2017** are presented in the same order in which they were delivered at the symposium.

The introductory lecture to the symposium was given by Dr Janez Bogataj, Emeritus Professor from the University of Ljubljana. With the intriguing title *Has the nose, above the mouth, been replaced by the eyes?* it emphasised the importance of culinary cultural heritage in relation to tourism, education and gastro-diplomacy.

The first group of lectures under the title *From the Fireplace to the Food Industry* focuses on the role and significance of food in different social contexts. A number of different issues are raised. How much is the individual, as well as society as a whole, responsible for a balanced diet? Does the distribution of food in the past offer a signpost to the future and does the “right” diet offer a way out from personal psychological problems?

DDr Verena Perko from the Gorenjska Museum of Gorenjska and the University of Ljubljana opened this section. In her contribution *The Roman dietary system and similarities with modern consumerism*, she describes the state supply system from the time of the Roman Empire. The author draws attention to the parallels between the accumulating and excessive consumerism of Roman society and today’s elite, whose desire for permissive excess threatens both the environment and public health.

A group of authors, Dr Matija Črešnar from the University of Ljubljana and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Sarah Kiszter MA and Dr Marko Mele, both from the Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz, Dr Andrej Paušič and Dr Andrej Šušek from the University of Maribor, and Anja Vintar from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, in their article *Taste of millennia – eaten, forgotten, revived*, discuss dietary habits in south-east Slovenia and southern Austrian Styria from pre-history to the discovery of the New World. The article brings together new research findings from archaeology, archaeobotanics and archaeozoology, with modern agriculture and tourism.

Dr Maja Godina Golija from the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the University of Maribor, in a contribution entitled *From nature to culture, the importance of cookbooks for the understanding of innovations in the kitchen*, looks at cookery books in Slovenia in the 19th and 20th centuries, which serve as an excellent source for researching foodstuffs, dishes, food preparation and innovations in cooking utensils and equipment.

Yuko Nishimura from the University of Tokyo, in her article *The savoury flavour of the 'egg': Washoku, traditional Japanese food, spirituality and healing*, describes the history of Japan’s dietary cultures, explains the relevance of *Washoku* in the context of the country’s present social challenges, and describes recent food-related initiatives in Japan.

The second part of the symposium, entitled *The Kitchen, a Space of Innovations* is dedicated to technical innovations in the kitchen which facilitated a higher quality living environment. It was opened by Dr Mirjana Koren, whose article *The design development of mass-produced kitchen furniture in Maribor between 1946 and 1990* presents the development of kitchens during the time of the main Marles designer, architect Biala Leben.

Dušan Ristić from the company Selerant, based in Serbia, in a paper entitled *On the significance of professional shared kitchens for innovation in the food sector* discusses the design and significance of shared kitchens as places of innovation and as food business incubators.

Dr Špela Ledinek Lozej from the University of Udine and the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenia Academy of Sciences and Arts, in her contribution *Secondary kitchens in the Vipava Valley*, looks at the phenomenon of secondary kitchens that may be used regularly or occasionally for the preparation of food, as well as other activities and social interaction.

Irena Porekar Kacafura from the Regional Museum Maribor, in the article *Progress in the kitchen of a Yugoslav housewife – the Tobi šporhert (cooker)*, looks at the Tobi factory in Bistrica ob Dravi, which was the first plant in Yugoslavia to produce cookers and refrigerators. These products made a significant contribution to the modernisation of Yugoslav homes after World War II.

This section is concluded by Dr Ion Blajan from the Romanian Peasant Museum, Bucharest, whose article *Traditional methods of the preservation of meat and the emergence of the canning industry in the 19th century in Romania* describes the processes involved in preserving food using salt that were used in Moldavia and Wallachia in the 19th century.

In the next thematic section *Food between Need, Pleasure, and Addiction* the authors present research findings on one basic foodstuff, which in different forms satisfies human needs. Dr Alessandra Cioppi from the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe (ISEM), Italian National Research Council (CNR), in the contribution entitled *Italian food. Pasta and pasta dishes. A historical path and gastronomic model*, describes the production of pasta on Sardinia in the 14th and 15th centuries, and their subsequent, perhaps unexpected spread in the Late Middle Ages around the Mediterranean.

A group of authors, Dr Ivan Kreft from the Nutrition Institute and Dr Blanka Vombergar, Marija Horvat in Stanko Vorih from the Piramida Education Centre in Maribor, in the article *Buckwheat in the kitchen and for people*, carry out a thorough analysis of the use of buckwheat in traditional and modern cooking.

Neva Malek from the Piramida Education Centre in Maribor presents the somewhat stigmatised plant hemp. The article *Hemp – almost lost from fields and plates* presents the diverse uses of hemp as an industrial plant and as a food, as well as its use in Slovenia and abroad.

Jelena Dunato from the Cres Museum, in the paper *The whole lamb: The forgotten art of eating nose to tail*, presents the traditional use of the whole animal, from nose to tail, from starters to dessert. The author notes that caterers on Cres are trying to popularise lamb dishes, even coming up with new recipes, but this does not solve the problem of throwing away unwanted parts nor does it add much to the local gastronomy.

The fourth thematic section *Kitchen and Food within Art, Culture, and Politics* looks at the influences of dietary habits in different cultures, political systems and ethnic groups.

The first paper, by Tina Novak Pucer from the Regional Museum Koper, entitled *Meeting between hunger and abundance: Mediterranean Troika and tales of the table*, looks at food in times of shortage and times of consumerism. The contribution draws upon field notes and museum materials.

Dr Irena Žmuc from Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, in her paper *Famine and abundance in the Province of Carniola in the Early Modern Age*, looks at culinary customs in the 17th century.

Dr Ljubodrag P. Ristić from the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade and Dr Bojana Miljković Katić from the Historical Institute in Belgrade, in their article *Ottoman-Serbian cuisine and West-European influences – an ambience of contacts and discord – first half of the 19th century*, discuss different ways of serving food and drink to foreigners and guests in the Belgrade area in the 19th century. The contribution draws upon a range of travel writings that also include descriptions of the contact between Serbian, Ottoman and West European cuisines.

Dr Monika Kokalj Kočever from the National Museum of Contemporary History in Ljubljana, in her article *Koroška ljudska zveza and Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft*, describes the workings of women's organisations in the Gorenjska region under the Nazi regime.

Zdenka Torkar Tahir and Nina Hribar from the Upper Sava Valley Museum in Jesenice, in their paper *How/When the culinary festival Multikulinarika in Jesenice is developing*, research memories of the role of the kitchen in workers' apartments in Jesenice, which in the 20th century was a destination for political migrants from Primorska, Austrian Carinthia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as workers from all over Yugoslavia, who in the steel industry found a chance of making a better living.

The fifth topic *Kitchen and Food within Museum Exhibitions and Pedagogical Programmes* attracted primarily museologists, who presented different exhibition practices and workshops on the theme of the kitchen.

The section began with Dr Ursula Zeller from Alimentarium, Vevey, Switzerland, who in her contribution *Digitalizing the Alimentarium Food Museum, Switzerland, a systematic approach*, describes the systematic collection and communication of digital content, which is supplemented by a physical learning platform.

Tamara Ognjević from the Artis Centre in Belgrade, in her contribution entitled *Museum and gastronomy – feeding the national hunger*, describes good practice of the promotion of food in both private and public museums.

Morena Želle from the Museum of Prigorje and Katarina Husnjak Malovec from the Public Institution “Nature Park Žumberak-Samoborsko Gorje” in Croatia, in the article “*Culinary millennia*” – workshops on prehistoric, Roman, medieval and traditional cuisine in the archaeological Park in Budinjak (Žumberak-Samoborsko Gorje Nature Park) describe the culinary workshops offered to visitors to the archaeological park in Budinjak.

Mojca Vomer Gojkovič from the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož in *Roman kitchen – a common project of Ptuj Museum and civil societies*, describes the exceptional contribution of the Association of Women and Girls in the municipality of Hajdina to the popularisation of Roman cooking in the wider Ptuj area.

Mateja Huber from Pomurje Museum in Murska Sobota, in her article *We also cook in the museum! Culinary pedagogical programmes in the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota*, describes how to involve and educate children in relation to culinary heritage. The programmes are based on the active involvement of children in museum workshops, where they cook dishes that were eaten in the Pomurje region in the first half of the 20th century.

Tanja Kocković Zaborski from the Ethnographic Museum of Istria and Ivana Šarić Žic from the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral in Rijeka, through their contribution *The marketplace – The belly of a city*, present the findings of the research they carried out for the needs of a travelling exhibition. The authors offer insights into the marketplace as a place to work, learn, communicate, exchange recipes or just hang out with friends.

Liljana Suhodolčan from the Carinthian Regional Museum in Slovenj Gradec, in her contribution *The old world charm of smokehouses and smoke kitchens*, describes an educational workshop entitled “We ate from the same bowl”, which took place in the reconstructed wooden smokehouse known as Vrhnjakove dimnice.

Urška Repar and Sebastjan Weber from the Museum of Recent History in Celje, in their paper *Chocolate at the ‘All Colours Of Chocolate’ museum exhibition*, present an exhibition that showed chocolate as a unique historical and social phenomenon, positioned in the local environment of Celje and challenged the visitor to see chocolate as a medium for artists.

The various contributions at the international **MUSEOEUROPE 2017** Symposium *KITCHEN DEBATE* emphasise the exceptional importance of culinary heritage, which although it is now very topical in museum exhibitions, still has massive potential when it comes to raising the profile of regions and countries. *KITCHEN DEBATE* draws attention to the great opportunity concealed within the design and furniture industry, which once more in the 21st century places the kitchen at the heart of the home. And when we talk about the kitchen, we also need to focus on its essence – food.

Today, food certainly represents a responsibility, it is a process involving growing, nurturing, sustaining, gathering, processing, shaping, serving and consuming. Food is a need that may lead to the edge of existence, of health and sickness, of the battle between life and death, of war and peace. Food is subject to idolatry, aesthetics, criticism, praise, treatises, pamphlets, columns, posters and ads. Food is a product that we worship, disdain or despise. Food is “in”, it is pop, trendy, glamorous, it is a mirror held up to the sick state of humanity. Food is survival, a game, a hunt, it is good and beautiful, but it is also a political construct or ideology, which deceives and causes rejection. Food helps us celebrate and grieve, it connects us and makes us happy, it calms and excites, or seduces us and takes us to distant lands. Food is refuge, comfort, warmth, home and, last but not least, food is love, which goes through the stomach.

HAS THE NOSE, ABOVE THE MOUTH, BEEN REPLACED BY THE EYES?*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

Big changes are occurring in modern attitudes to food, including the growing awareness of local populations about the importance of food heritage and creative searching. Food has become an important element of economic, social and spiritual endeavours, reflected particularly in tourism. For results to be achieved, several steps must be taken in various areas. Among the most important is education and, at the state level, gastrodiploacy, the effects of which greatly exceed the scope of traditional promotions.

KEYWORDS

Cuisine, gastronomy, food, culinary and gastronomic cultural heritage, culinary tourism, food design, gastrodiploacy, intangible cultural heritage

INTRODUCTION

The question in the title is connected with a thought expressed by Valentin Vodnik (1758-1819), the author of the first cookery book in Slovene – *Kuharske bukve*.¹ In the still relevant introduction, Vodnik wonders “why else would our nose be right above our mouth?”. Since the first publication of the book, which was reprinted twice, our discovering, learning about, comparing and accepting food and flavours have changed in many ways. The question in the title is thus more than justified.

Even a few years after World War Two, particularly in rural areas, the old (etiquette) rule still applied that during meals one was not allowed to talk. The only permitted talk in rural and urban Christian environments was prayer at the start and finish of the eating ritual, while during the consumption of food it was not permissible to talk or comment on the food. Of course, this did not apply everywhere, since this prohibition was not typical of, for example, the Mediterranean culture. In more distant periods of historical development, e.g. the Renaissance, it was common to make loud comments about the fancily decorated dishes, even hidden in stacks and other compositions in different colours, where the eaters had to guess what the cooks had prepared for them. Nowadays, our mouth is no longer only a physical recipient of food and drink but has also acquired the important role of a verbal communication transmitter. There are two receivers: the physical one is the mouth and the auditory one the ears. The most common conversation topics at the dinner table are no longer just the economy and business or even football, but mainly food and everything that is directly or indirectly connected with it. Diners comment on television series about cooking or culinary travel programmes, talk about the food they have had on a trip, exchange information about what they have had at a picnic or on their visits to other cultural-geographical locations, about the flavours of the new dishes they have encountered, etc. Food has even become the subject of political discourse and, according to research by the World Tourism Organisation, one of the main motives for tourist travel. In addition to the standardised global culinary fare, local and regional culinary cultures are becoming increasingly important and people discover new flavours on their travels and even try to combine them with the ones they already know. Alongside this and some other promising modern culinary phenomena, food increasingly draws the sharp dividing line between the world of abundance and the world of hunger. This situation has even greater dimensions if we think about how much food is thrown away, as was shown, for example, by the very engaged exhibition in the Italian Pavilion at the EXPO exhibition in Milan in 2015.

* Translation: David Limon

¹ Vodnik, V. 1799.

In spite of the numerous studies and findings, humankind today is often does not manage to create what is one of the fundamental messages of culinary heritage: closed technological and biological circles that did not produce any waste, but instead, people used to divide and preserve their foods in line with the seasons. For example, after slaughtering a pig they would use every last bit, nothing was thrown away. The utilisation of crops was also full and satisfied both economic and dietary needs. An example is the beetroot peel that was dried and slightly smoked in order to preserve it and then during lean times, put into a stew known as *aleluja*.

This article considers the significance of a number of fundamental characteristics, phenomena and current endeavours in cuisines and diets.

TRADITIONAL CUISINE OR CULINARY HERITAGE IN MODERN TIMES

One of the most recent books by Heston Blumenthal² is not only another excellent testimony to the creativity of the great culinary master, but also illustrates the best direction for understanding culinary heritage. This means, firstly, a thorough familiarity with dishes and diet within the context of periods, places and social conditions, and then a search, based on these findings, for new solutions and applications for modern eating. This creates a connection with heritage and ensures all the basic conditions that can serve as an alternative to global and industrial food. Many modern phenomena in food have led to extremes and, as in other areas, people began to increasingly turn to the more familiar dietary models, which have been “tested” countless times through the history. Amateur summarising has given birth to a mass of stereotypes, even fabricated stories about the origin and development of individual dishes or meals. This approach has been encouraged by the tourist industry, i.e. activity which is different from what we are trying to develop through sustainable tourism. For the appropriate approach to understanding the culinary heritage of different geographical, cultural and social environments through different historical periods we need, above all, a suitable level of expert research and knowledge. We also need thorough documentation, the storage of knowledge that the world community is giving a great deal of attention to, not only in the field of gastronomy. Only then there can be suitable applications that can be substantive, technological, and so on. Although the kitchen has lost its primary connection with the fireplace, the fireplace is returning in technologically altered forms in the latest living space designs. The kitchen is no longer a separate laboratory, but a centre of socialising and participation in the preparation of food. However, it seems that bigger problems occur mainly in the application of individual dishes and meals within the modern diet. In the public sphere, in restaurants, it can also be seen that this is the most important issue. How can a dish from the cultural heritage be “used” in an innovative way appropriate to modern cuisine? In 2012, Ljubljana and Central Slovenia drew up a culinary strategy with a culinary pyramid. Through selected dishes, mainly from the culinary heritage, we tried to establish a solid system of culinary awareness and the identity of the city. Something similar was done in 2016 in Maribor and before that, in 2006, for the whole of Slovenia. But in all these cases, things did not start moving where they should start moving first, i.e. in restaurants. The exceptions in both towns could be counted on the fingers of one hand and even in Slovenia as a whole, things are still not satisfactory. The selected dishes are not made and are not consistently offered to local and other guests. This is happening everywhere, particularly at the national level and in promotion in general. Although the state has financed these projects, it does not consistently include their basic results in the promotional material and at various receptions and banquets, while quality specialist and popular literature about the characteristics of the cuisine of the country and its regions is not financed. At the same time, some chefs are desperately trying to dismantle individual dishes, because this seems to them the highest achievement of their thinking. Of course, they are not aware that this is destroying the identity of individual dishes, for the application and supplementation of culinary heritage always has its limits.

At this year’s 3rd World Forum on Gastronomy Tourism, organised in May by the UNTWO in San Sebastian in Spain, culinary heritage issues were particularly focused on as a condition for the preservation of the recognisability of local and regional cultures and the development of the health-friendly and communicational function of eating. Moreover, in 2010 the British Nutrition Foundation (BNF) published a report about traditional European diets; this was a part of a project financed by the European Food Information Resource Network (EUROFIR). The study involved 13 countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Greece,

² Blumenthal, H. 2013.

Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Spain and Turkey). It is an important document about traditional cuisine, which can play a significant part in the preservation of the identity of individual European cultures. Another central issue is whether traditional foods can be healthier than modern ones. Traditional dishes are very numerous, because they use local products, which is very good for the environment. Of course, traditional dishes are not automatically healthier than modern ones, which is why it is necessary to always take into account the importance and characteristics of their nutritional properties. Traditional food, which includes fruit and vegetables, combinations of fish and meat (e.g. the Mediterranean diet), can offer more health benefits than a diet rich in meat and fat, and poor in fruit and vegetables.

The culinary heritage, particularly the part included in the intangible cultural heritage, i.e. all types of knowledge and culinary skills, means much more than the creation of “culinary museums”. Above all, it offers an opportunity for seeking and planning in an innovative way new forms and ways of preserving the recognisability and identity of local and regional cultures, and a sustainable symbiosis between man and the natural and cultural environment.

LOCAL, REGIONAL, GLOBAL

In 2006, the European Union began the project European Destination of Excellency (EDEN), which developed into a network of still completely unknown destinations. Their basic characteristic is that they are consistently developing forms of sustainable development in different areas, including the culinary one. People are tired of big and familiar destinations which are, due to mass tourism, experiencing all the consequences of the negative aspects of the tourist industry. This is why new, less known destinations are becoming established, which offer a series of impressive, fully green tourist opportunities and products. Another important network is the European Destination of Gastronomy. That is a movement, which includes local and regional gastronomy. In this way, the European Union is opening up insights into numerous cuisines which have until recently been off the map, but which can offer a range of everything that falls under the term “healthy food”.

Needless to say, the importance of gastronomy is being emphasised here only because of the unique features of local and regional flavours, ingredients and dishes, but also because this encourages the existence and development of the local economy, new jobs and income. However naïve it may sound, can you imagine the effect if sales assistants from shopping centres were to be employed in fields and meadows, stables and pastures, dairies and similar places, and shopping centres were fully turned into modern fairs, where former employees were selling their own local and regional products and the products from their fields, stables and beehives?

Modern local and regional gastronomy includes seasonal cuisines and consistently states the origin of food. With regard to seasonality, it seems that the world has been turned upside down. Cherries and strawberries are available throughout the year, anywhere in the world and in any quantity. This is a completely misguided way of providing local and regional cuisine. When a few years ago we were establishing a culinary trademark in one of the Slovene regions, one of the producers brought what was otherwise a delicious yogurt with pineapple. The expert committee for granting the certificate, of course, rejected the yogurt and the producer complained. We asked her: “Show us where in your environment you can find pineapple growing and bearing fruit, and we will immediately grant your yogurt a certificate.” Quite some time was needed for the producer to understand the message. She is still making the yogurt, but without a certificate which facilitates the use of a recognised trademark.

THE DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE KITCHEN

With regard to the division of labour in the kitchen, let us first recall a thought by Valentin Vodnik in his first cookery book in Slovene from the late 18th century. In an exceptionally interesting introduction, he says: “It is not only a matter of custom, but it is also a decent thing that women cook. They care more about cleanliness and anything coming from their pretty hands is more pleasant, women are quicker, they have a sharper sense of taste and smell and are able to differentiate what [is] better and healthier. – Let us leave men to the learned medicinal cooking in a pharmacy [...]” This quote reflects the period and the understanding of the cooking profession, which was gradually freeing itself from the former medicinal framework. Today, the division of labour in the kitchen often works in the very opposite way. In general, men outnumber women in the professional cooking world, even though this is gradually, but very slowly becoming more balanced.

Outside the professional sphere, the state of affairs is very different. Creativity in the kitchen is becoming a domain of cooperation between the sexes. In Slovenia, for example, this is proven by the numerous successful blogger couples, whose culinary ideas are often ahead of those offered by the professionals. This is proof that nowadays cooking is a great deal more than just a process of preparing food and meals – it is a complete creative activity, which is acquiring a certain artistic dimension, perhaps even to a much greater extent than in individual “traditional” arts and activities that are often accompanied by crises in creativity. The planning, preparation and styling of food has become a creative project activity, often more successful than artistic installations and other modern experiments and improvisations.

CHILDREN COOKING

A discussion about cooking cannot bypass the role of youngsters, particularly children. Not only because of the often excessive pedagogical emphasis on ties with the culinary heritage, which because of principled talk and romanticising does not produce the expected results, but because working with children is one of the fundamental components of a discussion about cooking. This is particularly relevant when through these discussions we try to inform children and educate them towards creativity and the search for new ideas. These can originate in the culinary heritage that offers children stories about various dishes, and even more in the numerous positive starting points for discovering new flavours. Since the school year 2013/14, Slovenia has taken a significant step in connection with this through the project *Kuhna pa to* (Kitchen and all that) which has finally been recognised as one of the most positive educational approaches in this field. Within the project, children discover the riches of the local and regional flavours of Slovenia. Its fundamental aim is to create motivation for primary school children to learn about local and regional food specialities and the characteristics of their cultural environments. The basics are thus directed towards the culinary heritage, not via some romantic, “museumological” method, but as an understanding of the causal connections between specific dishes and the general economic, social and spiritual endeavours within specific periods and social environments. The project aims to ensure that each year children enter these culinary worlds as independently as possible, i.e. in a way that is suitable for their knowledge, abilities and environment. Their mentors direct them in this, never crossing the line that would threaten the children’s understanding and cooking skills. Of course there are exceptions, but luckily not many. The project has also received international attention. Numerous European countries are trying to transfer their rich culinary experiences to the younger generations, which is also one of the best guarantees of preserving and, above all, creatively building upon the culinary specialities of individual local and regional environments or even culinary cultures.

The present-day global waves constantly toss up all kinds of stupidities, including in the culinary field. Food industry multinationals, with the help of the media, create new “slaves” of their products and most often the target are children. This is why all our other endeavours must be directed at them. We must enable them to present everything they learn about what is now described as positive in cuisine. This means respect for a natural sustainable diet, the use of seasonal foods and dishes, and the search for new dietary solutions with the help of the rich culinary heritage traditions.

BOOKS, TELEVISION, INTERNET

An important condition for a different understanding of culinary cultures and individual dishes, their origin and development is, of course, what literature is available. If we look at this issue in Slovenia, we find that we have a relatively modest amount of modern, original literature in this field and that there are many more translated works, which are chosen merely on the basis of the personal preference of individuals and editors in publishing houses, and are not based on expertise or expert argumentation. Publishers show little interest in original literature, but instead buy copyrights for works of very average value.

In one of his lectures Edouard Cointrea, the founder of the Gourmand International movement and the Gourmand World Cookbook Award, and one of the world’s leading experts in the field, said that on average today people have on their shelves over 30 cookery books, but they do not use most of them for cooking, only for leafing through and admiring them. These books thus serve to create a world of ideals which may never be realised. But this fact has another dimension that is connected with electronic cookery books, the number of which, in contrast to books connected with other areas, is not growing – it is, in fact, the number of traditional, printed cookery books that is going up. No one wants to leaf through a cookery book or read

it on a screen, instead you want to experience the prestigious photographs and beautifully laid out texts, the overall book design, documentation and illustrations of the steps in making the dishes, and these cannot be replaced by a video or digital technology, however good they may be.

A real obsession with culinary content is also shown by the numerous television programmes. Some of these are based on specific people, with a varying degree of fame in the field of cuisine, while some have a notably competitive character or even the characteristics of a reality show with participants who would like to cook. This is assisted particularly by the fame constructed by television, for as is the case with other content, new media celebrities are created through these programmes, often due to their personal characteristics and particularities rather than their cooking skills or culinary innovativeness. Television stations justify this with the viewing figures, which is obviously a very questionable argument that does not take into account the influence of these programmes on education. Thus cooks become kind of modern mythical personalities, both positive and negative heroes, like the personified content and characters in the multitude of advertisements.

Something very different is represented by the internet applications that are becoming an important tool and method of communication. They are not a replacement for recipes and the choice of foods, but mostly an opportunity for different forms of encountering them, for tasting local and regional flavours, for discovering the connection between various dishes and the everyday and festive endeavours of the local population. One such application began its successful mission in 2012.³ This is the website *Eatwith*,⁴ a response to the wishes of many individuals and groups for discovering typical local foods. Although you may expect that it would be tourists and other travellers who were most enthusiastic about this application, it has in fact become of most interest to local people, with individuals organising the first dinners and then lunches. Within a few years, over 200 towns around the world joined the network, among them Ljubljana. An addition to this application is *Feastly*,⁵ which uses a slightly more complex registration form, but still facilitates experiences for the more demanding eaters and connoisseurs. This is why chefs here are also world-class masters, as opposed to *Eatwith*, where it is just lay enthusiasts. This application is very developed in the USA. In addition to these two, there has since 2016 been *Foodfriends*,⁶ which also facilitates socialising with strangers over a meal, but this time not in the host's/cook's home, but in a chosen restaurant. This application involves an invitation to an individual or group for lunch or dinner. The main stress here is thus on socialising or discussing cuisine rather than on the food preparation. All three applications make an important contribution to the culinary field, which the existing tourist industry has not managed to cover satisfactorily. This is why these applications are referred to as the "culinary Airbnb".

CULINARY TOURISM

Food and drink have been a part of tourism from the very beginning. But initially as a different experience, as an occasional change of everyday and festive meals. Now, cuisine is becoming much more and it is important in tourism to the extent that it is often the key reason for a visit to a particular destination. People have become obsessed with food, they are increasingly interested in local and regional specialities and they want to experience different flavours. There are different reasons for this. These certainly do not only consist of visits to culinary masters of differing degrees of fame or the advertised quality of non-alcoholic or alcoholic drinks. Although in connection with this the media often have negative effects, we must also recognise positive influences. Television travel programmes about food and direct comments online and in blogs, created by a mass of people, have become the best guides to interest in local and regional cuisines. They are certainly more important than the media publications and advertisements that have still not shaken off the "modelling" approach and idealised or even misleading content. In the planning of various forms of culinary tourism, the most important role is played by the local population, which is why it is very important for any endeavours to be connected with them. If these strivings are good for the local population, they will also be good for tourists. In Slovenia, a few good examples can be mentioned: the local and regional culinary brands *Bohinjsko / From Bohinj*, *Dobrote Dolenjske* (Food Products of Dolenjska), *Srce Slovenije* (Heart of Slovenia) and *Okusi Rogle* (The Flavours of Mount Rogla). Among culinary events, we can add the *Open Kitchen* in

³ b.n.a., S popolnimi neznanci na odlično večerjo. Delo, 13. 5. 2017, year 59, No. 108, p. 16.

⁴ See: <https://www.eatwith.com/> (quoted 13. 4. 2017).

⁵ See: <https://eatfeastly.com/> (quoted 13. 4. 2017).

⁶ See: <http://www.foodfriends.net/en/> (quoted 13. 4. 2017).

Ljubljana, an example of a positive street food, which is well received primarily by local people and people from other parts of Slovenia, and from them, this positive communication is increasingly being transferred to tourists. The event *Sweet Istra* in Koper, the largest event involving desserts and patisserie in Slovenia, also has a very positive and high-quality orientation. I do not wish to comment here on the various imitations of these two events in some places around Slovenia, which is again one of our peculiarities and a confirmation of the saying that what is important is understanding, not imitating.

Cuisine has thus become a great propelling force of tourist development across the world. But this development is not directed by the tourist trade and the authorities, but mostly a large number of communities, creative entrepreneurs, academics and national, regional and local culinary organisations, etc. The modern tourist does not want only to experience local tastes, but also wants to be as close as possible to food origins. The main point of culinary tourism or gastronomy in tourism is in the fact that it is in constant harmony with nature. The Food Travel Association also pursues this goal.

Cuisine is also a key element in the organised trips that are increasingly based on a healthy lifestyle, including special forms of diets, such as organic, vegetarian, vegan and so on. For such tourists, the most important thing is to learn and taste the local food, prepared by the locals and not caterers in their hotel or other restaurants. Tourists and other users of the hospitality services can no longer be included in some solidly formed groups, determined by demographics or other characteristics. In addition to the content, stories and tastes, prices and various types of free degustation are also important. These are much easier to organise and implement in the local, completely original environment of specific foods, dishes and drinks. Perhaps the biggest step in all the culinary fields in tourism has been taken by wine tourism, where there is initially a degustation of various wines, which later leads to purchases.

Tourism development is no longer dependent so much on one kind of competition or another or the assignation of stars or some other symbols, but mainly on what is at the centre of the gathering in Maribor – discussions about cuisine. Modern tourists increasingly believe in direct experiences and evaluations. They obtain these on social networks and the internet, where people convey their findings and experiences. We are not interested in the number of “expert” evaluations, various Guinness records in cuisine and the rankings of various chefs, but in the range of different people’s opinions that originate in their own direct experiences. This, of course, applies not only to the flavours of specific regions, but also to the individual planning of the culinary elements of a holiday or a trip. With regard to the importance of the locals, the following rule that tourists are increasingly following, says everything: “I eat in the places which have the most locals in them!”

In recent years, a new culinary experience has established itself in international tourism, which is the complete opposite of fast food. In many countries and places, positive street food has been developed. Dishes and flavours are entering streets and squares, where tourists can observe their preparation first hand. But what is most important here is this: positive street food facilitates socialising and communication, while at the same time it provides information about the local and regional culinary culture. Food being offered on a street or a square has been known from at least the Middle Ages, but it is now gaining new dimensions. In Slovenia, this form of encountering food differences has been very well established in Ljubljana through the *Open Kitchen*, which is very successfully organised in the old town every Friday from spring to late autumn. The food that is on offer does not consist only of the local Ljubljana and other regional Slovene dishes, but also of a balanced range of various local, regional, European and international cuisines, facilitating comparisons and familiarisation with various flavours. The *Open Kitchen* event could thus be described as a modern, multicultural culinary fair or market. Markets in general are becoming increasingly attractive to tourists as they allow them to get an insight into the local foods and dishes and, indirectly, the culinary culture at the local level. For example, over the last five years in Florence, the most visited site has not been one of the world-famous galleries, but the Florence food market!

Another new activity is becoming established in tourism – food crawls. Tourists who decide for this form of experiencing and learning about local cuisine have food crawl breakfasts, lunches or dinners at various locations, from local bars or markets to restaurants of varying quality. At each location, tourists taste the local specialities, and even though the locations may be very average, they can be the best in terms of one specific

dish. At each location during a food crawl, tourists taste one plate and all the locations then add up to a full meal. Research has shown that the best results come from three or four stops and tastings, which is connected with the limited quantities the human stomach can cope with. Food crawls were first introduced in one of the best Asian cuisines, i.e. Malaysian, but they are becoming increasingly common in Europe. Ljubljana also offers examples of this form of experiencing the local cuisine and its flavours. A similar phenomenon is the wine crawl, where visitors travel from one wine cellar or bar to another for wine tastings.

CULINARY BRANDS AND DESIGNATIONS

Culinary brands and designations are not only important components of the marketing of food and dishes, but also provide certain quality, local and regional characteristics and identity, confirmed by geographical origin; they facilitate identity and familiarisation with the technological methods of food preparation and the skills necessary for this. Internationally, the best known is inclusion in the UNESCO lists connected with the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, which includes culinary knowledge and skills.

At the European Union level, there are various ways of protecting foods, dishes and drinks (or agricultural products and foodstuffs) with protected designation of origin, protected geographical indications and designations and guaranteed traditional speciality. In addition to these, some countries also have their own protection designation within the framework of their national quality schemes. What is most important here is that the products with these designations are consistently presented and offered.

Even more important is a detailed national gastronomic system or strategy. In Slovenia, such a strategy and a pyramid of the national culinary identity was set up in 2006 and supplemented over the following years. Twenty-four culinary regions were determined, which have no connection with the administrative and tourist regions. In fact, they are fully included in these. In these 24 culinary regions, 336 typical or principal recognisable dishes and drinks were chosen, which today form the foundations of the national culinary identity. Since 2006, following this methodology, detailed strategies have been established for individual cultural-geographic regions and some towns in Slovenia (e.g. Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Central Slovenia, Ljubljana, Maribor, etc.).

STYLING AND AESTHETICS ON THE PLATE AND IN THE ROOM WHERE PEOPLE EAT

In 1799, in his introduction to his book *Kuharske bukve*, Valentin Vodnik asked “why else would our nose be right above our mouth?” Today, the question would need to be changed into why are our eyes right above the mouth and nose? A special discipline has emerged from gastronomy and cuisine – food styling, for which in some parts of the world there are special educational programmes, even at the university level. Like fashion or interior design, cuisine now follows styling trends. Until not long ago, culinary minimalism was in fashion, which in Slovenia was adopted quite inappropriately even by a number of tourist farms.

Dishes have become the subject of aesthetic research and planning. The styling of food is not only the result of demand, but is particularly important in the publishing of culinary and gastronomic literature and manuals. Linking the styling of food and even the table or eating premises with modern times would be insufficient if we did not draw attention to the fact that the visual appearance of dishes and the decoration of the serving process had already in previous centuries been exceptionally important components and a basis for interpersonal communication and the ritual of enjoyment. Let us remember, for example, the Roman feasts, food serving in the Renaissance and the Baroque. As with regard to the previous centuries, we must also in relation to the present time take into account the different social levels, environments and intentions. The appearance and serving of street food follows different aesthetics, i.e. addressing the eyes, than at, for example, a farm or a superior formal dinner.

Be it the mouth, nose or eyes, we often forget that everything is connected with processes in the brain. And in connection with them, let us mention a special cooking discipline, called “brain cooking” or “total cooking”. This was developed by the doctor, neurologist and chef Miguel Sánchez Romera.⁷ His culinary creativity is based on scientific findings about the processes in the human brain, which appear during the tasting,

⁷ Miguel Sánchez Romera, born in 1964 in Cordoba in Argentina, alongside his primary profession of a doctor at a clinic in Spain, increasingly became involved in his beloved hobby of cooking. The latter gradually prevailed and after only two years of the opening of his own restaurant, he was awarded a Michelin star. In 2008, he moved to New York where he continues his culinary work.

smelling and observing of food. Romera created a completely new system of food styling on the plate and its preparation for photos and the publication of cookery books based on his research. In food styling and ways of presenting food on the table, the following of certain fashion trends was established. This is not so pronounced in the design of restaurants, even though here the issue of the space and the furnishing of it are also a part of the general trends in contemporary architecture. In our cultural environment, certain concepts have appeared in recent decades. For example, the typical design during the socialist period, the even crazier decorations using various old objects, mostly from rural life in the past, then there was the flirting with the “Latino style” and minimalism. In the culinarily less developed countries, taking a number of realised designs from the rest of the world is common, which often corresponds to what foods are offered. Thus, not only in the food that is offered and the selection of food, but also in the styling of both the food and the premises the recognition has still not dawned that the modern guest wants to learn about the local and regional, including the space, the dishes and the flavours, i.e. the identity of the whole culinary experience.

GASTRODIPLOMACY

Gastrodiplomacy is a new way of promoting regional and local cuisines, i.e. culinary cultures, with state support. It can be seen as a programme of cultural exchange between countries or simply as communication between cultures and local identities “through” food. The term gastrodiplomacy was first used in G. W. Leibniz’s *Codex iuris gentium diplomaticus*, in 1693. Today, different expressions are in use: in English as “gastrodiplomacy”, “culinary diplomacy”, “food diplomacy”, “cuisine diplomacy”, “delicious diplomacy” or even “edible propaganda”. Food, ingredients, dishes, drinks and dietary customs are ways in which attention can be attracted. This is why promoting food, dishes and drinks is becoming a tactic used by countries that want to raise awareness and income (from tourism). Gastrodiplomacy is used effectively by the governments of many countries as a tool of nation branding. In 2010, the important gastrodiplomacy theoretician, Paul Rockower, wrote that “Gastrodiplomacy [...] is the act of winning hearts and minds through stomachs.”

In recent years, gastrodiplomacy’s initiatives have been growing around the world at national, regional and town level.⁸ Gastronomy is the bearer of a mixture of cultural and commercial elements; it contributes to understanding between cultures and is often found in commercial contexts, such as tourist campaigns or food trade; it can be carried out by either governmental or non-governmental actors, in both diplomatic and commercial settings.

The scope and reach of gastrodiplomacy are huge. It can be present in initiatives for (small) cultural exchanges, tourist propaganda, nation branding projects, or in the completely private hospitality business. The endeavours can be diplomatic, as tools of soft influence or cultural communication, or as endeavours for the development of food export trade. Many countries around the world have achieved excellent results in gastrodiplomacy, e.g. Thailand, France, and Poland.

The first gastrodiplomacy project appeared in 2002 in Thailand. The campaign was called *Global Thai*. The Thais are undoubtedly world pioneers in gastrodiplomacy. In 2002, there were 3500 Thai restaurants around the world. Through systematic work in gastrodiplomacy, by 2013 this number had grown to 10,000. Due to the systematic development of gastrodiplomacy, the number of tourists visiting Thailand is increasing. The central slogan is “Thai – Time to Eat”. The role of food and cuisine is very important in Thai films and television serials. In 2010, in London’s Trafalgar Square, a big Thai culinary festival was organised and the Thai president designated 20 million pounds for Thai gastrodiplomacy, which resulted in a great increase in visitors to the country.

The example of France is also interesting. The 2014 the *World’s Best Restaurants Award* competition placed the first French restaurant in 11th place, even though there was a prevalent opinion that France had the best restaurants and chefs in the world. This alarmed the French foreign minister, Laurent Fabius, who in his address to the public emphasised the French culinary tradition that had been recognised as an element of the intangible cultural heritage and confirmed by the UNESCO in 2010. He noted that this heritage should not be glorified, but at the same time people should be aware of its development. This led to the project *Goût de France*, which developed into an important celebration of French cuisine on all five continents. Over 1000 media reports, over 1300 restaurants in 150 countries and 1500 internationally recognised chefs promoted a

⁸ Slovenia is one of the exceptions.

French dinner, for example on 19 March 2015. The project involved embassies, restaurants and school hotels. At Versailles 650 guests, including all the foreign ambassadors in Paris, enjoyed a typical French dinner. The idea itself was connected with one of the biggest names in French and international cuisine, August Escoffier, who emphasised the importance of *Les diners d'Épiqueure*. In the French culinary tradition, it is important to combine heritage and innovation. France's towns and cities in particular are very popular tourist destinations, receiving over 30 million visitors a year. These spend between 31 and 34 American dollars per person a day on food. In addition to Barcelona in Spain, Paris is one of the leading cities for what is known as creative tourism. In 2010, the Association for the Development and Creation of Studies and Projects (ADCEP) created the Creative Paris website. Today, there are 8 product categories and 34,000 creative workshops. And among the most popular are those on typical French cuisine. Other countries, regions and towns also show the excellent results of gastrodipomatic endeavours.

One of the latest successful gastrodipomatic steps was the publication of the book *Polish Culinary Paths*,⁹ which has been translated into English, Chinese, Korean and Japanese. The Polish foreign ministry and the Polish embassy in Seoul were actively involved in the Chinese, Japanese and Korean translations, which is why the book is available for free in all these languages.

CONCLUSION

The famous French author Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755–1826), who established the scientific foundations of cuisine, said that the “main point of enjoying food is the slowing down of life and encouragement of a good mood!” Of course, we can only confirm this view, but for the present time, some other things are also important. We have learnt that food with stories connected to local and regional cultures can also be an excellent form of communication. It has even become part of politics, since the other successes of individual countries can no longer be achieved without the participation of food. Not only in tourism, but also within general economic, social and intellectual efforts, which have to involve both building upon and the application of heritage, as well as searching for new innovative creative solutions. Links with agriculture are very important, but not the only ones through which we are constantly trying to emphasise the importance of producing organic food. The whole of humankind will have to take a decisive step against the big food chains and industrially and globally prepared foods and dishes, which we often do not even realise are on our plates and which do not facilitate discussion or learning about local and regional specialities, do not lead us to pastures and fields, gardens, vineyards and orchards, where we would meet the producers and their healthy production methods. We will have to look away from television screens, where all kinds of culinary shows and series are appearing, some even rather clownish, a kind of a false culinary luxury supported by the big commercial systems. The competing chefs have a vast amount of foods at their disposal, but no one ever says where these have come from. Moreover, culinary competitions are based on speed and the competitors, often on the border of a nervous breakdown, are trying to catch the last seconds. Through our screens, we are invaded by fast food, i.e. not only a process of quick consumption, but also of fast cooking. Of course, we should not criticise all television programmes, since there is a minority that do build their message on the connection between foods and dishes with their local and regional cultures. These can have a notably educational character.

An old proverb says that we are what we eat. This message should not be understood only in the physical, dietary meaning. Be it in our personal cultural environment, during work obligations or when travelling and being on holiday, discussions about cuisine must be understood as our identification with different types. It is not only modern man who has become exceptionally mobile, but cuisines and dishes have also become mobile and communicative. Of course, we are not referring to one kind or another of aggressive global food chains and their products, which can be included in the concept of negative fast food. In the competition among the growing number of tourist destinations, the local cultures, including the culinary ones, are becoming a source of new dishes, food products and activities, events and stories that will enthuse, enrich and entertain guests and all those who on a personal level socialise at the table. And it is not only their noses and mouths, but also their eyes that are active while doing this.

⁹ See: Tomaszewska-Bolałek, M. 2016.

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ALI SO NOS NAD USTI ZAMENJALE OČI?

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1. 02)

IZVLEČEK

V sodobnih prehranskih kulturah prihaja do velikih sprememb, tudi do zavedanj lokalnega prebivalstva o pomenu prehranske kulturne dediščine ter ustvarjalnih iskanj. Hrana je postala pomemben motiv gospodarskega, družbenega in duhovnega prizadevanja, ki se še posebej odraža v turizmu. Za doseganje učinkov je treba vključiti številna področja. Med najbolj pomembnimi je izobraževanje, na državnih ravneh pa gastrodiplomacija, ki s svojimi učinki močno presega okvire klasičnih promocij.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kulinarika, gastronomija, prehrana, kulinarična in gastronomska kulturna dediščina, gastronomski turizem, oblikovanje jedi, gastrodiplomacija, nesnovna kulturna dediščina

POVZETEK

Poleg tipiziranega globalnega kulinaričnega avtomatizma postajajo vedno pomembnejše lokalne in regionalne prehranske kulture, ljudje na svojih potovanjih odkrivajo nove okuse in jih poskušajo celo združevati z že poznanimi. V prispevku je najprej govor o razumevanju in uporabi prehranske kulturne dediščine v sodobnosti, ki je ključno področje za ohranjanje ter razvoj prehranskih razpoznavnosti in istovetnosti. Vse sodobno prizadevanje na kulinaričnem in gastronomskem področju je usmerjeno k lokalnim in regionalnim prehranskim kulturam, ki nastopajo kot nasprotje globalni prehranski agresiji in poenotenju. Prehranjevanje doživlja spremembe. Te so vidne v delitvi dela med spoloma, pedagoško in širše pomembno je vključevanje otrok in mladine v spoznavanje prehranskih kultur. Posredovanje znanja poteka s knjigami, malo manj uspešno s televizijskimi oddajami, v zadnjem času nastajajo obetavne komunikacijske povezave na spletu. V vseh teh prizadevanjih se je kulinarična vsebina verjetno najbolj razvila v turistični kulturi. Sodobno življenje ljudem pogosto ne daje dovolj izkušenj in znanj za razpoznavanje živil in jedi. Zato se na nacionalni, evropski in svetovni ravni razvijajo prehranske znamke in znaki, ki ne omogočajo le razpoznavanja in ohranjanja, ampak pripovedujejo tudi zgodbe o živilih in jedeh. V nadaljevanju prispevka je govor o oblikovanju in estetiki na krožnikih ter v prostorih uživanja jedi. To je povezano tudi z vprašanjem v naslovu prispevka. Nov način promocije lokalnih, regionalnih kuhinj in prehranskih kultur s pomočjo države predstavlja gastrodiplomacija, ki lahko dosega odlične ekonomske in politične učinke tudi na drugih področjih.

THE ROMAN DIETARY SYSTEM AND SIMILARITIES WITH MODERN CONSUMERISM. IMPERIUM SINE FINE.*

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Original scientific article (1.01)

ABSTRACT

Roman cuisine that would be typical for the entire Roman Empire did not exist. An interlaced system of state food supply, *annona*, was developed. *Annona* was a complex organisational, economic and political system that enabled the operation of the state apparatus and the maintenance of an effective army. The system included the construction of ports, roads and warehouses, ship chartering and distribution of subsidised food, which consisted largely of agrarian crops from the latifundia of the Roman political elite.

Annona accelerated the processes of Romanization, and consequently the consumption of cereals, wine and oil. The phenomenon is reminiscent of modern globalisation.

KEY WORDS

Roman cuisine, *annona*, grain, olive oil, wine, Romanization, globalisation

Roman cuisine intended as a way of eating that would be typical for the entire Roman Empire did not exist. What is usually described as Roman cuisine is based on Apicius' book of recipes and is a metanarrative construct of the past age.¹ Apicius' descriptions of meal ingredients and food preparation refer to the bizarre habits of a handful of social climbers and their over-eating, which have little in common with the diet across the empire.² Recipes that by chance survived the ravages of time do not even refer to the nutritional habits of the Roman aristocracy in its entirety. Therefore, we can justly ask ourselves what the diet of the Roman age really was, when we take into account the fact the Roman state spanned over a millennium, and geographically encompassed the territoria all the way from Britain to Armenia, from the Rhine to the Atlas Mountains.

The basic diet of antiquity consisted of the so-called trinity; wheat, oil, and wine, but this was not intended for everybody. It was reserved for the privileged classes of Roman society, and those that were receiving state support or *annona* due to political reasons.³ The right to food supply primarily belonged to the inhabitants of Urbs and a lesser degree the inhabitants of other cities, the military and officials.⁴ The *annona* eventually transformed into a complex state system based on tax collection in goods, long-distance transportation organisation of large quantities of goods, and their distribution to the entitled.⁵ This article speaks more of the Roman political economy than of the actual "Roman cuisine" and diet. A regular food supply enabled Rome to preserve its mighty armies in top shape and successfully expand the Empire, for which the Roman claimed it was limitless (Latin: *imperium sine fine*).⁶

*Translation: Luka Hauptman

¹ The name Marcus Glavius Apicius was denounced by Svetlana Slapšak as a historical-literary myth which was used to connect Roman recipes and cooking theory, but in reality the authorship of *De re coquinaria* is all except clear. The book is a compilation of cooking recipes from an unknown author of 4th or 5th century AD. The main text likely refers to the works of Apicius (several authors carrying that name in the 1st century), and the rest is derived from Greek texts. See: SLAPŠAK, S. 1989, pp. 5–21.

² SLAPŠAK, S. 1989; DE MARTINO, F. 1993.

³ *Annona* originally means annual crops in Latin, but it was mostly used as a term for wheat. *Annona* was also the name of the good harvest deity. Later on, the expression denoted the system of state food supply to civilian cities, the so-called *annona civica*, and to military outposts, *annona militaris*.

⁴ *Urbs* denoted the city of Rome. All other cities, especially in the west of the Empire, were called *civitas* and were built in Rome's image. In the Roman Forum *umbilicus Urbis Romae*, the navel of the City of Rome was situated. It was the symbolic centre of the city from which, and to which, all distances in Roman Imperium were measured.

⁵ JONES, A. H. M. 1964, p. 486; JONGMAN, W. 2007, p. 606.

⁶ In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Jupiter ordered Aeneas to found a city (Rome) from which would come an everlasting, the endless (*sine fine*) empire.

A non-transparent supply system financially benefited a number of involved officials and enabled money making as never seen before by the Roman aristocracy. Even today, our lives are being regulated through similar political-economic “cuisines”, *mutatis mutandis*, by the ruling elites and multinational corporations. This “cuisines” always happens when the state interferes with the market that the state created itself through artificial needs.

Firstly to the Roman dietary habits! Written sources are rare. Not counting the half-mythical Apicius, what mostly remains are the first works on farming, by writers Cato, Columella, Varro, as well as Palladius’ and Plinius’ encyclopedical book on the nature of the “world” *Naturalis historia*.⁷ The latter offers us valuable information on viticulture, on new types of grapevines, on wine making, on olive trees and olive oil, etc.⁸ Roman frescoes depicting various types of fruits, such as grapes, apricots, figs, plums, dates and pomegranates, are also invaluable sources of Roman era diet information. For a long time, it was assumed that the antiquity did not know citrus fruits, but the frescoes of Pompeii clearly depict lemon trees.⁹ The dining halls of Roman urban or countryside villas were often decorated with realistic depictions of various sea animals, which are still an important part of our diet today. Especially eloquent are the mosaic floor depicting unique scenes of ostentation: a pompous, minutiose realistic depiction of unswept, post-banquet food-littered, “messy floor” was meant to astound the guest with the exquisite artistic taste of the lord of the manor, who in this way also showed his knowledge for gourmet delights. A frequent mosaic and fresco motif was a still life with fruit, vegetables, poultry, and fish waiting for its epilogue in the cooking pot.¹⁰ We can also deduct a lot from tombstones containing relief depictions of pastoral and rural scenes on sarcophagi, individual tools and even various contraptions, such as oil and wine press.¹¹ Up until the mid-20th century, when we witnessed an accelerated development of underwater archaeology due to the discoveries of shipwrecks and sunken ports, our perception of the Roman cuisine was based on written sources. With an accelerated development of a new archaeology and with the use of modern computer technology, archaeological sources have become the most important and most reliable sources of information on diets. The plurality of information referring to the analysis of bone and dental remnants and shell remains such as of snails, seashells, fruit pits, as well as food remains in ceramic dishes, is rising rapidly. They have become an irreplaceable source of information on diet and cuisine at every archaeological site. They are especially valuable to the areas where no written sources exist, such as native inhabitant settlements and rural environments where we can see noticeable differences compared to urban areas. Contrary to the general belief, archaeological surveys show the dominance of pork-based diet in cities, and not a “Mediterranean” fish and olive oil diet, etc. This perception is complemented by studies of various dishes, especially amphorae from sunken ships, which allow us a glimpse of the food trading over a long distance.¹² The trading business connected the most important areas with an intensive agriculture in northern Africa, Italy, Iberian Peninsula and the Near East, and supplemented them with less important agrarian centres (Images 1, 2). Transport dishes and amphorae analyses are relevant indicators



Image 1: Early Roman oil lamp from italic production with Silen depiction from Kranj (Photo A. Privšek, Regional Museum Kranj).

⁷ MARCONE, A. 2004, pp. 15–38; CURTIS, I. R. 2001, pp. 372–394.

⁸ MARCONE, A. 2004, p. 31; CUNJA, R. 1994; PERKO, V. 2004 and there quoted sources.

⁹ BRAGANTINI, I., SAMPAOLO, V. 2013, pp. 78–86.

¹⁰ VENTURA, P. 2013, p. 111, fig. 2.

¹¹ BERTACCHI, L. 1994, fig. 14.

¹² PERKO, V. 2004 and there quoted sources.



Image 2: Early Roman wine amphora from Rhodes, found on the site Ribnica na Dolenjskem (Photo M. Jovanović, Institute for Heritage Preservation Novo mesto).

of the extent and intensity of the wine, nectar, oil, fish sauces and dried fruit trade.¹³ Individual amphorae were equipped with inscriptions and manufacturer stamps, and sometimes with the quantity, type, and weight of the product. Some even bore the mark of customs control. What is perhaps most important, this information points to noticeable differences between urban and rural outskirts: between Italic immigrants and the native inhabitants, which were quickly being swept away by the rising “tsunami” of Romanization.

Having said that, the question, which now arises, is: Why, despite the large geographical, climatic and cultural differences, has the Roman Empire developed a unified system of food supply, and what role did this play on the political and economic level of the entire Empire. Moreover, especially, what are the similarities between Roman Empire with its currents of Romanization and the modern globalisation?

To draw the Roman Empire closer to the modern man, we first have to emphasise its temporal and geographic dimensions. The modern heritological view of the past is rejecting the cultural evolutionism paradigm.¹⁴ It explains the Roman Empire as a long-term process of growth, stagnation, and the decline of its economic, military, and political power. The essence of the Roman Empire was land ownership and military conquests of important economic territories and people, and their ruthless exploitation. Large estate owners were members of the Roman aristocracy, and later indigenous families as well.¹⁵ Modern historians estimate the population of the Empire to about 60 million. However, due to the way the census was performed and only counted free male citizens, omitting foreigners and slaves, we will likely never know the true number. It is well known that there were only a handful of aristocratic, senatorial families with the power of decision-making, roughly from about 1000 to 1500. A complex client system based on slave liberation enabled an efficient maintenance of distant aristocratic large estates. Furthermore, it enabled a discreet incorporation of commerce and crafts into the economic currents. Both of them, the commerce and crafts, were considered inferior to land ownership in Roman society.

The slavery estate model, typical of the late-republic and early-imperial age, was facilitated by many conquering wars and an influx of tens of thousands of slaves.¹⁶ Large estates in Italy soon re-specialised into

¹³ PERKO, V. 2000.

¹⁴ SMITH, L. 2006; T. ŠOLA, 2003.

¹⁵ LEVEAU, Ph. 2007, in: SCHEIDEL, W., MORRIS, I., SALLER, R., p. 655.

¹⁶ HARRIS, W. 2007, in: SCHEIDEL, W., MORRIS, I., SALLER, R., p. 527.

wheat production, olive tree growing, and mostly viticulture and wine production.¹⁷ The wine was especially desirable, highly sought product, particularly in the unconquered, from the Empire's view "barbaric", lands in the west, i.e. in Gaul. One amphora of wine, roughly 30 litres, was worth at least one slave.

Slaves were an almost free labour force. Romans used to call them *talking tools*. The great conquests in the Near East, the Balkans, the Iberian Peninsula and Gaul were followed by a steep increase of large estates across Italy at the expense of impoverished peasants. Individuals could own entire regions and could produce immense quantities of wine and olive oil. Consequently, this was followed by the downfall of the lowly peasant farmer. A landslide of emigration followed, by the impoverished peasants to the *urbs*, Rome. The number of Rome's inhabitants began increasing dangerously, especially of those without any income, the proletariat. Their only "assets" were their offspring, who also gave them their name.¹⁸ The distribution of state subsidised food became a reliable way to suppress the politically unreliable, rebellious plebs. The Urbs instituted lists of families and their members entitled to cheap or even free bread, and later on cheap wine, olive oil, or pork meat.

The food supply, also called *annona civica*, was already implemented by the Gracchus reforms at the end of the 2nd century BC.¹⁹ Adult males who had the right to 33 kg of free wheat monthly were called *frumentationes*. They were around 200.000. The distribution took place at 45 locations called ostia in *Minucia portico* built especially for this purpose. The subsidised food, wheat and bread system was implemented in its entirety during the reign of Emperor Augustus (27 BC to 14 AD). During the Early Imperial age, roughly 30 million of modii of wheat (equivalent to 200.000 tons) was distributed yearly. For the transportation of these enormous quantities of wheat and other foods, over 800 ships with 250 tons of tonnage each were required.²⁰ The cargo was transferred to smaller riverboats in Ostia, which transported it across the Tiber River to Rome's ports. The state had vast wheat granaries, *granaria*, built for this purpose. Later emperors added olive oil, wine, and pork meat to the list of free or subsidised foods. Rome imported around 7,5 million litres of olive oil each year.²¹

The number of Rome's inhabitants increased to over a million in the 1st century AD and with it the number of those entitled to subsidised food. In time the influx of slaves decreased, the number of conquest wars declined, Italy's economy was weakened because it was based on slave ownership and large estates. Rich provinces of Hispania, Gaul, and mostly Egypt that earned the name imperial granary quickly filled the deficit.²²

The Roman Empire was a complex and intertwined system of civilian and military administration. It was based on a network of roads, harbours, old and newly founded cities, which bound the Empire into an effective political and economic whole. The city of Rome, Urbs, was not only the political and administrative centre of the Early Imperial age but also the model for founding new cities. The process of spreading the Roman way of life along with the Latin language is called Romanization. In addition, the role of foods in this system played quite a significant part.²³

The regular supply of cities was necessary due to the nature of the Mediterranean agriculture and irregular harvests. It prevented famine, social unrest, and was the foundation of political support. All of the central, provincial and local politics were focused on supplying the people with food. The group of colonists, along with the language, clothing fashion, living culture and dietary habits, introduced the Roman way of life, most commonly found in urban centres. Colonies, newly founded cities, sprang to life with the arrival of groups of colonists from Italy. The colonists founded the city with the help of the army, and became the owners of the best land, as well as taking over leadership positions. The remnants of indige-

¹⁷ KELHOE, P. 2007, in: SCHEIDEL, W., MORRIS, I., SALLER, R., pp. 543–591.

¹⁸ *Proles*, Latin for children, offspring.

¹⁹ LO CASCIO, E. 2007, p. 639.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Approximate estimates of the olive oil consumption range from 20 to 50 litres per annum per inhabitant. Following this estimate even a simple calculation shows that at the height of its power the Roman state was producing and consuming 25 to 50 millions of litres of oil per annum, which represents a quarter if not half of today's production (PERKO, V. 2004 and quoted bibliography).

²² ALCOCK, S. E. 2007, p. 678; RATHBONE, D. W., 2007.

²³ CHERRY, D. 2007.

nous population's aristocracy, if they were not wiped out, quickly adopted Roman customs. The economic policies of the Empire contributed to this heavily and were based on the regular supply of the Roman army and the civilian city administration. Military garrisons stationed in every corner of the Empire looked after their own food supplies as well, but also, the state made sure well-supplied trading posts were available near military encampments.²⁴ Commerce penetrated every corner of the Empire: Greek wine, dried fruit from the Aegean islands and Asia Minor, bacon and meat products from southern and northern Italy, fish sauces from Gaul and Hispania, olive oil and cider-like grape juice, olives in malt, etc.²⁵ There were also other diverse goods, scented herbs and spices, jewellery, makeup, bottled perfume, etc. Cheap ceramic lamps and Roman-styled table dishes also found their place among the traded goods. Roman commerce would have never been so lively or would have included such massive imports of cheap products, such as oil lamps and pottery, without state concessions (Images 1, 3, 4). In addition, these were used in the transportation of food products to meet the needs of armies and cities.



Image 3: Early Roman ceramic skyphos of Greek or Asia Minor production, found on the site Bukovica in Vipavska Valley (Photo K. Brešan, Regional Museum Nova Gorica).

The Empire's primary military force was a paid, well-trained and well-equipped army with a world renown for incomparable discipline and excellent tactics. In the time of Emperor Augustus, there were 27 legions of roughly 125.000 men. To this, we must add around 250.000 soldiers in reserve with cavalry units and around 10.000 Praetorians of the imperial entourage based in Rome. Imperial naval forces were not to be brushed aside either; they numbered around 40.000 men. The joint number, as loose as it is, still astounds us. From 380.000 men in the Early Imperial age to roughly half a million men at the end of the 2nd century AD.²⁶ Apart from its numerosity and excellent tactics, one should also not forget a very important part of the army's conquests – a regular, reliable food supply.²⁷

What is more important on battlefields than a regular food supply that allows men to fight, lifts morale, and prevents all that which is inevitably brought on by an irregular, inappropriate diet: intestinal infections, diarrhoea, typhoid fever and internal parasites that can cripple even the best armies in critical moments. The Roman supply system from the 2nd century onwards, when the army was at its largest, was based on tax collections of foodstuffs. *Annona militaris*, the military grain supply, was a tax levied in foodstuffs, and paralleled in other commodities, for the benefit of the Roman Army.²⁸ Current evidence suggests that this began as early as the reign of Septimius

²⁴ CHERRY, D. 2007.

²⁵ LEVEAU, Ph. 2007, pp. 660–665, and Map 24.1.

²⁶ LO CASCIO, E. 2007, p. 633.

²⁷ CHERRY, D. 2007, p. 726; STALLIBRASS, S., THOMAS, R. 2008.

²⁸ CHERRY, D. 2007, pp. 726–734.

Severus, perhaps around 194–196 A.D.²⁹ It was in force universally where Roman troops were stationed, and was in many cases collected by detachments of troops themselves (a new official duty, and an opportunity for horrible abuses). Elsewhere, as a privilege, the actual demand for grain might be commuted into the payment of money.

Regularly supplying the army with food was an extraordinary task of excellent logistics and organisation at state, regional, and local level. Supplying units on the move and distant battlefields, such as in lands in the Near East or beyond the major European rivers, the Danube and the Rhine. However, it all began with the production planning, which needed to meet the demand. The intensive production is connected to vast estates with a large enough labour force, and warehouses. It was followed by collection organisation and local level transportation. The collection took place at the usual road stations and useful warehouses. Transportation from these warehouses was performed either by roads, or primarily by much cheaper rivers, river channels, and by the sea. The collection took place in the form of taxations (submitting certain crops), requisition, or a forced sell to pay off taxes. Egypt, known as the Empire's granary, paid taxes in wheat. The transportation was done through various mediators, who made sure the product arrived at its destination. Tradesmen (*negotiator*, *mercator*) were involved in a system of building warehouses and smaller harbours. Three of them or more hired ships from its owners, so they suffered less damage in case of an accident. Ship transporters, *navicularius*, joined organisations, so called *collegia*. They were hired by the state, which also systematically built large port complexes with lighthouses, assembly warehouses, and shipment quality control, customs office, and loading areas. The largest ports were found in Alexandria, Carthage, Massalia (today's Marseille), Ostia, Aquileia, and Salona, speaking only of the most important ones.³⁰ Carthage was only three sailing days away from Ostia, the main port of Rome on the river Tiber.

The regular food supply system was evolving only gradually and parallel to the complicated growth of the Empire and its needs. On the one hand, the Urbs, Rome, was always hungry for bread and games, and on the other hand, the army, which provided security and enabled the imperial policy, was conquering much needed economically important lands. In between, a vast, hidden system enabled the highest classes of the Roman society to become rich at the expense of the state. The annona system served to maintain political peace in cities and allowed for normal army operations.³¹ Long-time studies of import and estates currents, as well as individual kinds of (cheap) ceramic products, have revealed some less visible currents of the Roman political economy. For decades, experts on Roman ceramics wondered about the cause for cheap products trade at long distance. In the Early Imperial age, pottery and ceramic oil lamps from Italic workshops were transported to nearly every corner of the Empire (Image 4). Among the archaeological findings from every site, we can find millions of ceramic oil lamps, terra sigillata dishes, cups and pitchers. They are cheap products, and economic logics would dictate an "import" of cheap labour master artisans and the production of these items at the destination. However, one should not miss the fact they are products ornamented with depictions from the Graeco-Roman world, which undoubtedly aided in the spreading of Romanization.³² Ceramic wares, especially oil lamps, served as a medium for important imperial messages.³³



Image 4: Corinthian ceramic cup for ritual wine drinking from the graveyard Križišče near Ankaran (Photo S. Fišter, Regional Museum Koper).

²⁹ Latest research has shown that a regular supply of African oil was flowing to Rome most likely in the Hadrianian age (117–138), but definitely during the time of the Antoninian emperors (138–161, 161–180).

³⁰ MORLEY, N. 2007, p. 579.

³¹ LO CASCIO, E. 2007, p. 639.

³² PERKO, V., NESTOROVIC, A., ŽIŽEK, I. 2012.

³³ PERKO, V. 2013.

In addition, at the same time, the use of these products accelerated the Roman way of life and the spreading of Romanization. It accelerated the use of wheat, olive oil, wine, garum, and other products coming from distant large estates. Systematic archaeological research and brand studies on tableware have shown the ceramic pots production, especially the amphorae as a transport container, to be tightly linked to the manufacturers' estates of food production, such as wine or oil. It was usually performed in a client manner, but was still an important part of the estate's economy, despite being less obvious. The emperor Septimus Severus, African by birth, made a special edict that bound Roman senators to invest their profits into the purchase of huge plots of land in northern Africa. In the outskirts of the Roman cities of Caesarea, Sabratha, Leptis Magna, Carthage, counting only the largest economic and trade centres on African soil along the Mediterranean shore (today's Libya, Tunisia and Algeria), country estates began expanding rapidly. Vast wheat fields, vineyards and olive tree plantations with accompanying villas (*villae rusticae*) sprang to life. We need not especially emphasise the fact they belonged to the highest classes of Roman society. Moreover, just about the same people dictated the imperial policy. It was not hard for them to connect political advantage with economic ones and turn them to their favour. In addition, they did so in a way that displayed the most imperial benefit, in favour of security and peace, the so-called *pax Romana*. However, in truth, such politics fuelled imperial conquests, accelerated the spread of Romanization and the growth of the Roman army. Indirectly the use of "Roman" products increased, these were mostly produced in estates of the same political elite that was exporting these products with ample state support (so basically their own support) to all parts of the mighty Roman Empire. In Late Roman Empire, the system of military supply enforced a mandatory payment of military income in the form of food products, which undoubtedly increased, and above all guaranteed, the benefit of the elite.³⁴

Modernity owes a great deal to the antiquity – the imperialism and colonialism are drinking from the Roman Empire's fountains. As such, we should not be surprised at the developed West's economic policies, which is creating false, artificial needs in almost the same way. In the past, this was accomplished by oil lamps and ceramic ware with Graeco-Roman images of power. Today the media is bombarding us with much more aggressive commercial ads and images of a perfect (consumer) happiness based exclusively on infinite consumerism. As 2000 years ago as today consumerism is being served with artificially created needs. The main consumerism is hiding in tiny everyday habits and the adopted way of life. Cheap products are enabling gigantic profits, which flowed and still flow mostly to the bank accounts of political helmsmen. It should be enough to mention modern business with extremely harmful sugary drinks and fast food restaurant chains. Both of these lead to obesity, addiction and finally to disease.³⁵ Nevertheless, we should not worry about that too much! There are (expensive and new every single year) medication from pharmaceutical industry and (even more expensive) treatments for everything (but not for everybody).

Not even to mention that 70 years ago the prominent pharmaceutical industry Bayern produced also the Zyklon B gas, which was used in gas chambers in concentration camps. We just need to think of the millions of litres of Coca-Cola and other "waste" being daily consumed by kids, and enormous quantities of various dietary supplements for losing weight and healthy digestion, fashion accessories, completely redundant items of clothes, and of course, the list goes on and on. Similarly to the Roman Empire, our limitless consumerism has become a modern *imperium sine fine*, the Empire of Hedonism at all costs.

A well-known anecdote about Emperor Vespasian states that when his baffled son Titus was protesting about people paying for public toilet services, the Emperor put a coin under his nose and said: *pecunia non olet!* Money does not stink!

Does this sound familiar to us as well?

³⁴ GIARDINA, A. 2007, p. 764.

³⁵ LUSTIG, R. 2013.

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RIMSKI PREHRAMBNI SISTEM IN PODOBNOSTI S SODOBNO POTROŠNIŠKO DRUŽBO. IMPERIUM SINE FINE.

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Rimski imperij, ki je trajal več kot pol tisočletja in se raztezal na treh kontinentih, ni poznal enotnega načina prehrane. Razvit je bil sistem državne oskrbe s prehrano, t. i. *annona*, ki je obsegala predvsem žito, olje in vino. Anona je bila kompleksen organizacijski, ekonomsko-politični sistem, ki je omogočal delovanje državnega aparata in vzdrževanje učinkovite armade. Sistem je obsegal gradnjo pristanišč, cest in skladišč, najem ladij in razdeljevanje subvencionirane prehrane, ki so bili v veliki meri agrarni pridelki iz veleposesti rimske politične elite. Sistem je pospeševal romanizacijo, posledično je naraščala potrošnja žita, vina in olja – ter s tem bogatenje rimske elite. Pojav spominja na sodobno globalizacijo, vzbujanje umetnih potreb in brezmejnega potrošništva, ki omogoča na eni strani bogatenje elit, na drugi pa ogroža okolje in zdravje množic.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

rimska kuhinja, annona, žito, oljčno olje, vino, romanizacija, globalizacija

POVZETEK

Rimski imperij, ki je trajal več kot pol tisočletja in se raztezal na treh kontinentih, ni poznal enotnega načina prehrane. Razvit je bil enoten sistem državne oskrbe s prehrano, *annona civica* in *annona militaris*, ki je obsegal predvsem agrarne izdelke. Redna oskrba s prehrano v Rimu je omogočala politični mir in naklonjenost oblasti. Na območju celotnega imperija je oskrba s prehrano omogočala delovanje državnega aparata in vzdrževanje učinkovite armade. Anona je bil kompleksen organizacijski, ekonomsko-politični sistem, ki je obsegal gradnjo pristanišč, cest in skladišč, najem ladij in razdeljevanje žita, kasneje pa tudi vina in olja, ki so bili večidel pridelki iz veleposesti rimske politične elite. Sistem vezane trgovine in prevozov velikih količin blaga je vključeval tudi ceneno keramično posodje in oljenke. Raba predmetov z okrasom z grško-rimsko simboliko je pospeševala romanizacijo in ustvarjala umetne potrebe npr. po olivnem olju. Posledično je naraščala tudi potrošnja žita in vina. Oskrba s prehralnimi izdelki, ki je temeljila na pobiranju pridelka kot delu davčnih obveznosti, prisilni oddaji in odkupih, je posredno omogočala bogatenje rimske elite. Ta je tudi vodila ekonomsko politiko imperija. Pojav spominja na sodobno globalizacijo: načrtno ustvarjanje umetnih potreb vodi v brezmejno potrošništvo, ki omogoča na eni strani bogatenje sodobnih elit, na drugi pa ogroža okolje in zdravje množic. Slednje pa je, med drugim, voda na mlin vsemogočni farmacevtski industriji.

"TASTE OF MILLENNIA - EATEN, FORGOTTEN, REVIVED"*

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Short scientific article (1.03)

ABSTRACT

Natural conditions have influenced the evolution of agriculture in north-eastern Slovenia and Southern Austrian Styria for thousands of years, which had an impact on the development of the local peculiarities in the diet.

The project "Palaeolandscape of Styria and its biodiversity from prehistory to the discovery of the New World" (with the acronym PalaeoDiversiStyria), conducted by an Austrian-Slovenian team and led by the Universalmuseum Joanneum, is financed by the *Interreg programme SI-AT 2014-20*. It combines the latest scientific findings from archaeology, archaeobotany and archaeozoology with modern agriculture and tourism.

KEY WORDS

archaeology, archaeobotany, archaeozoology, palaeo-diets, touristic use of archaeology

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology in its broadest sense, from research, protection, promotion and its touristic use, is experiencing a shift from the traditional view on individual sites and archaeological finds to a broader understanding of historic landscapes as well as from invasive to non- or less-invasive research methods.¹ The approach is not in itself a new one,² but received fresh momentum with the adoption in archaeology of new technologies such as airborne laser scanning (ALS, also known as LiDAR), geophysics and by various innovative analytical tools provided by chemistry and physics (isotopes-, ¹⁴C-, metal-analysis...). With the help of remote sensing methods, the surface of the Earth is now ever more fully understood as a palimpsest abundant with natural and anthropogenic features from different periods.³ When the archaeological and environmental data is perceived as intensively intertwined,⁴ the research focuses change and landscapes become the primal object of investigations; we start looking for areas of resources, which people in the past exploited, or in the case of our project, fields for growing crops and pastureland for breeding animals.

*Translation: Y-Plus

¹ On Landscapes and their protection see: Council of Europe, European Landscape Convention. URL: <http://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape> (quoted 9. 6. 2017).

Council of Europe, European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage - La Valletta Convention, 1992. URL: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/143> (quoted 9. 6. 2017).

² For landscape research see: CHRISTALLER, W. 1935; HASELGROVE, C. 1986; SLAPŠAK, B. 1995 and NOVAKOVIČ, P. 1996.

³ Case study for the Slovenian and Styrian border: ČREŠNAR, M. et al 2015.

⁴ For environmental research and archaeology see: ANDRIČ, M. 2012 and ANDRIČ, M. et al. 2016.

IN THE COURSE OF TIME

Let us start with the chronological framework⁵ of our project. The time period we are dealing with begins with the oldest traces of farming in our area, dating from the Neolithic period or the New Stone Age.⁶ Archaeological sources for this period, between the mid-6th and mid-5th millenniums BC in Austrian Styria and north-eastern Slovenia, are very scarce. They are reduced to pottery fragments from sites such as those at Wildon-Schlossberg, Bad Gleichenberg, Moverna vas pri Semiču, etc., which can be defined as being a part of the Lengyel-culture (5. millennium BC). At that time the region was populated for the first time by people who were partly sedentary and were making use of basic agriculture and husbandry techniques.

The archaeological traces in our region intensified in the Copper-Age or Chalcolithic Period, beginning around 4.300 BC. We can identify the earliest copper smelters in the so-called Lasinja group. The nature of the impact this new material had on food production is almost impossible for us to comprehend today. The production of metal might have had an impact on the local natural environment since every substantial quantity of wood is consumed in the smelting process.

Almost another 2000 years had passed before bronze started to be used in the project area in the middle of the 3rd millennium BC. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, enabled the production of harder metal, which was used for producing tools such as axes, sickles and knives, weapons such as swords and spears and a broad range of jewellery items. Many of these ended in bronze hoards, possibly as offerings to the gods. In the second half of the 9th century BC, iron came into use in Austrian Styria and north-eastern Slovenia. The new material might well have had an even greater impact on agriculture than bronze, since many activities, such as felling trees and clearing forest areas for example - as a means of gaining new space for fields or for erecting bigger buildings - became much easier and more efficient when using the new and far more effective iron tools. We can also observe changes in the social structure and the organisation of space as new technologies developed. These changes included the emergence of fortified hilltop settlements, defensive systems, extensive barrow cemeteries, wide communication corridors, etc. The changes that occurred in society brought new challenges for food production in their wake, and these intensified through the millennia.

The Roman period, which began in the 1st century BC, brought further changes for the inhabitants of Austrian Styria and north-eastern Slovenia.⁷ Roads and towns such as Flavia Solva, Poetovio and Celeia were established on the plains. The increasing population in urban centres made an increase in food production and more effective distribution systems essential. Roman villas and vici (non-urban communities) were the major food production centres in the Roman Empire. The organised land division (centurisation) changed the landscape and the slave system along with intensive trade, which brought olive oil, vine and grain far in the interior of the continent, supported the food supply. This complex system collapsed during the migration period, starting in late antiquity, in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The new system of feudalism, which emerged centuries later in the Middle Ages, once again established complex food supply systems, which in turn led to an increase in the population of Europe.⁸

The EU-Project "Palaeolandscape of Styria and its biodiversity from prehistory to the discovery of the New World" (PalaeoDiversiStyria), which is financed by the Cross-border cooperation programme Slovenia-Austria 2014-20, took up the task of combining the knowledge we have of food production and consumption in the past, with the needs of the way of life we have today. We are tackling today's challenges in biodiversity, by encouraging farmers to reintroduce long forgotten crops in their regular production, in health by developing new products with high nutritional value and in tourism by creating new products with a background history derived from the local archaeological heritage. We will use two approaches to the history of food: on the one hand the global context, which we approach by using the written sources from Antiquity and Middle Ages

⁵ Overview after BOŽIČ, D. et al. 1999 and HEBERT, B. 2016; for discussion on chronological divisions see HEBERT, B. 2016 for Styria and the articles by VELUŠČEK, A. 1999, pp. 59–79; DULAR, J. 1999, pp. 81–96; TERŽAN, B. 1999, pp. 97–143; GABROVEC, S. 1999, pp. 145–188; BOŽIČ, D. 1999, 189–213; HORVAT, J. 1999, pp. 215–257; CIGLENEČKI, S. 1999, pp. 287–309.

⁶ Research overview for the Neolithic period in Styria and eastern Slovenia see: GLEIRSCHER, P. 2006, pp. 10–20; TIEFENGRABER, G. 2015, pp. 189–275; TOMAŽ, A. 2006; VELUŠČEK, A. 1999, pp. 59–79.

⁷ Overview after STEINKLAUBER, U. 2015, pp. 685–780.

⁸ Overview after ANDERSON P. 1981 and HENNING, F.W. 1994.

and on the other hand the local/regional approach by trying to understand the food production methods and consumption patterns of the past in Styria and especially in the micro-regions of Großklein and Hoče-Slivnica. This can be achieved by archaeological, archaeobotanical, archaeozoological and palaeo-environmental research. The knowledge gathered in this process will be transformed into new products for tourism, and by doing this, we hope to raise awareness about the need to protect and foster the rich archaeological heritage in Austria and Slovenia.

ARCHAEOBOTANY AND ARCHAEOZOOLOGY

Within state-of-the-art archaeological research, archaeobotany and archaeozoology play important roles in exploring the food culture of different times.



Image 1: The remains of charred grain from a presumably prehistoric stockpile from Neudorf (Styria) (photograph: Sarah Kiszter).

Archaeobotany deals with the many varied questions for which plant remains are relevant. These include not only diet and food, but also medicine, cattle feed, textile processing and dyeing, weaving, wood processing, and much more.⁹ On the one hand, archaeobotanists analyse botanical macro-remains, including fruits and seeds, wood residues (also charcoal), mosses, fibres and in rare cases leaf remains.

These remains can be obtained from soil samples, which are extracted at archaeological excavations and then floated. The quantity of botanical remains that are conserved depends not only on the findings but also on the nature of the soil (moisture, salt content, etc.). These macro-remains can be seen with the naked eye, but need to be more precisely identified under the stereomicroscope. In addition to these readily visible macro-remains, the so-called micro-remains can also be analysed. These are spores and pollen that cannot be seen without the aid of technical equipment. These botanical remains help archaeobotanists to identify the plants, which formerly grew in the area being researched and which were important in the agricultural practices of a specific period in the past. Archaeozoology researches animal remains in different archaeological contexts.¹⁰ This scientific discipline seeks to answer numerous questions. These include not only the consumption of certain animal species, but also general issues such as their domestication, the methods of processing of animal products that were used, e.g. fur to clothes, bones to tools, and many others.¹¹

The project PalaeoDiversiStyria includes data from at least 70 excavated archaeological sites from different periods from the late Neolithic Period to the late Middle Ages, some of which are being archaeobotanically analysed for the first time. In order to gain at least a broad overview of the individual periods, a minimum of two to three sites in each country have been selected for each of them.

⁹ HEISS, A. G. 2015.

¹⁰ REITZ, E., WING, E. 2008, p. 1.

¹¹ LINARES MATÁS, G. 2014, p. 81.

The same applies to archaeozoological research. An attempt is currently being made to gain an overview of the animal species used for human consumption. In Austria 25 samples comprising numerous animal bones from 11 sites are currently being examined. In addition samples from at least 12 archaeological sites in Slovenia are under detailed review with the focus on animal bones from 5 previously unpublished sites.

All these samples come from archaeological excavations and can be assigned to individual archaeological contexts, e.g. specific environments from which they are derived. The samples mainly originate from settlements, where they were found in fireplaces, ovens, waste pits, etc. or from burial sites, where they came from graves or other ritual contexts and were intended as the “last supper” for the deceased or as an “offering to the gods”. The sites of interest, which are widely distributed through the project area, amongst others include medieval castles and farms, Roman towns and villas as well as prehistoric settlements and burial sites from various periods.

In addition to the results of our own archaeobotanical and archaeozoological analyses, existing and already published results are also integrated into our common database. Through this, a broad overview of the plants used and eaten as well as the animals kept or hunted for consumption at different times is being established.

TASTES OF MILLENNIA

Sources from the Roman era and the Middle Ages offer a variety of different ways of accessing the food culture. The results from archaeology and science are complemented by written sources or recipe collections, which give an insight into eating habits. It must be pointed out, however, that the written sources relate in most cases to the literate upper class. Also, it should always be kept in mind that the natural environment of each region has a strong influence on the type of food eaten. Climatic conditions also play an important role in the choice of plants for cultivation and on which animals could be kept for husbandry with the result that there can be significant variations between the regions.

During the Roman imperial period, numerous ancient authors wrote about eating habits, food preparation and agriculture and did so in many different ways.¹² Apicius’s “*De re coquinaria*” is a well-known example of a Roman recipe collection. In a total of ten books, the author presented 478 recipes, ranging from meat dishes and vegetables to seafood. The identity of the author, named Apicius has not been completely clarified. It is presumed that his full name was Marcus Gavinius Apicius. He was regarded as a Roman gourmet of the 1st century AD, and his collection includes numerous extravagant recipes,¹³ which is also reflected in his recipe ingredients, which include items such as a flamingo tongue.

In addition to this recipe collection, there are also numerous descriptions of Roman banquets, such as the satire “*Cena Trimalchionis*” by Petronius, giving an insight into such occasions and the various dishes served. Not to be forgotten are also the ancient texts on agriculture, which share important information about farming, animal husbandry or wine-growing in Roman times. Well known Latin authors and works are Cato, “*De agri cultura*”, Pliny the Elder in the “*Naturalis Historia*”, and Columella with the “*De re rustica*”.

During the Middle Ages, and especially during the later period, numerous surviving literary works on food and cookery books were written. These collections were predominantly used in monasteries, noble houses and subsequently also by the bourgeois families.¹⁴ However, the recipes in these books and also those from earlier periods usually lack technical details on quantities or cooking times, but they do give us an indication of ingredients used.

One of the most famous and oldest collections in the German-speaking region dates from the 14th century, more precisely from the year 1350. This is the so-called “*Das buch von guter spise*” authored by Michael de Leone. This work appears to have expanded continuously, however, down to the 16th century with contributions from other later authors who appear to have added their own recipes.¹⁵

¹² For a listing of the best known ancient authors, see: ANDRE, J. 1998, pp. 10–11.

¹³ ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, E. 1970, p. 5.

¹⁴ RUGE-SCHATZ, A. 1987, p. 217.

¹⁵ RUGE-SCHATZ, A. 1987, p. 218.

Different methods for accessing the diets and foods used in the Roman times and Middle Ages emerge by following the sources mentioned above. But how can the same questions be answered for periods without any written traditions?

In these cases, experimental archaeology¹⁶ is an important help amongst others. On the one hand, it is based on the results and interpretations of archaeological excavations, but on the other hand also uses data obtained from scientific investigations, such as archaeobotany, archaeozoology and other laboratory analyses (e.g. organic residue analysis of excavated vessels).¹⁷ The preparation of food and also its acquisition or production during prehistoric times can be reconstructed partly by finds of agricultural tools and implements as well as the traces that have been found of hunting weapons or cooking utensils. These finds, together with the archaeological remains of plants and/or animal bones, sometimes with visible cut marks, make it possible to reconstruct the diet and the food processing methods of earlier populations.¹⁸ With these findings and information as firm foundations, experimental archaeology can achieve a fuller understanding of each of the steps taken during the preparation and cooking of individual dishes and this knowledge can put it into practice under precisely defined conditions. In this way it was possible to reconstruct the food and the ingredients used in several cases,¹⁹ such as the famous Hallstatt ricet, a slow-cooked stew of beans, cereals and smoked meat, found in Bronze Age cooking pots at the ancient salt mine – a dish which is still common in the Alps today as *ritschert*.

Dozens of cookery books are available today offering so-called Celtic recipes,²⁰ Palaeo-diets and Roman menu²¹ suggestions. Some of these are based on the results of research,²² but there are also examples where no serious approach was used. These recipes are of course adapted to modern tastes.²³ Many of the ingredients, condiments and spices used in Roman times, such as Garum, a fish sauce used in numerous piquant but also sweet dishes, no longer corresponds to the taste of average Europeans today and are thus not suitable ingredients for our “Roman” recipes.

ARCHAEOLOGY MEETS BOTANY

The Poštela hillfort occupies a dominant position on a sloping plateau at the south-eastern fringes of the Pohorje mountain range in Slovenia. It overlooks the whole north-eastern Drava river plain between Maribor and Ptuj. Together with its burial grounds, it represents one of the most important Early Iron Age complexes in the Styrian region, but it can also be ranked among the most significant sites between the Eastern Alps and the Pannonian Plain in this period. The site with its surroundings has thus been widely studied since the 19th century.²⁴ In recent years, however, the use of modern techniques and methods, such as LiDAR-scanning and geophysics has already shed a new light onto the site and its surrounding landscape with the very first visible results.

The recent upswing of research was initiated by the project *Tradition and Innovation in Prehistory* at the University of Ljubljana, in collaboration with the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. The research was carried out in the framework of the HERA funded ENTRANS (*Encounters and Transformations in Iron Age Europe*) project, focusing mainly on the topics of the Iron Age landscape and bodily treatment. The studies revealed a far more complex landscape than we thought possible only a few years ago and discovered several cemeteries associated with the Poštela hillfort. The landscapes, which we can now approach with modern techniques and

¹⁶ A scientific approach to testing theories based on archeological evidence such as artifacts and structures (after <http://exarc.net/>). As an archaeological method, the experimental archaeology dedicates itself above all to the study of technological questions and examines practical aspects of ancient ways of life. Exactly defined scientific questions form the basis for experimental archaeological attempts. Besides the results from the attempts must be measurable and comprehensible as well as documented in detail and published in the last step. Thus it is ensured that the results under the defined conditions can be examined at any time by other experimenters (<http://www.exar.org/?lang=en>). See also: CUNNINGHAM, P. et al. 2008; REEVES FLORES, J. - PAARDEKOOPER, R. 2014.

¹⁷ E.g.: PLETESKI, A. 2008.

¹⁸ E.g.: WOOD, J. 2000, pp. 89–111.

¹⁹ Aspects of experimental archaeology were used also in popular re-creation farm series, like Tudor Monastery Farm (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03pmlbm>), Tales from the Green Valley (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00mrtbv>), Victorian Farm (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00grv47>), Edwardian Farm (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00w15jc>) and Wartime Farm (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01mmt8t>) produced by the BBC.

²⁰ SMITH-TWEDDY, H. 1998.

²¹ SCHAREIKA, H. 2007 and SLAPŠAK, S. 1996.

²² SLAPŠAK, S. 2016.

²³ OŽANIČ-ROGULJIČ, I. 2008.

²⁴ TERŽAN, B. 1990, pp. 256–338 with further literature.

refined methodological approaches, showed that the landscape is rich in archaeological remains and many other different features, which will need to be examined using many different and sophisticated methods.²⁵

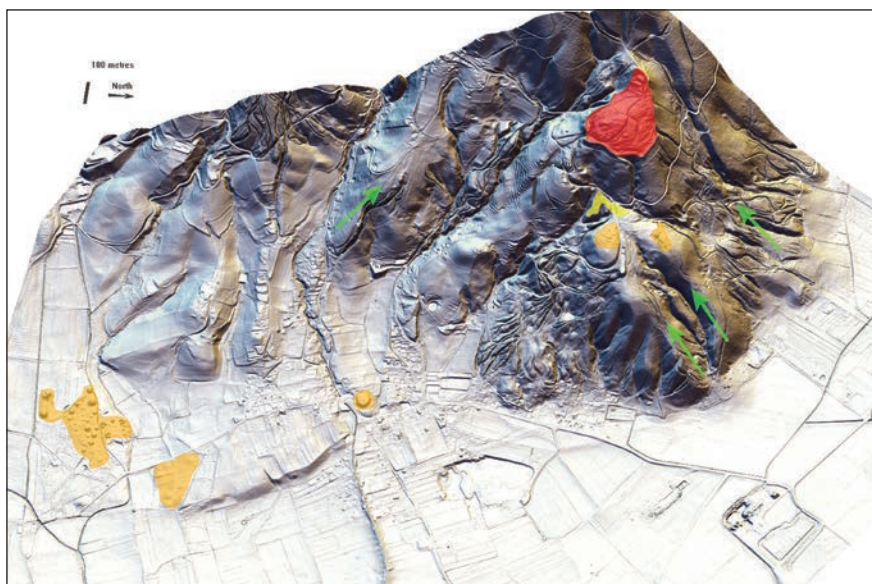


Image 2: Poštela hillfort (red) and its surroundings, comprised of barrow groups and individual barrows (orange), a flat cremation cemetery (yellow) and corridors of holloways (green arrows).
(Prepared by Dimitrij Mlekuž and Matija Črešnar).

Besides the more visible remains, there are also the ancient “corridors of movement”, marked by what are known as holloways, the remains of ancient paths, which interconnect the various locations and bind them into an integral archaeological landscape. These important data in the holistic landscape approach will be gathered and the botanical and zoological remains excavated during the recent field campaigns will be analysed.

The University of Maribor Botanical Gardens (UMBG) not only preserves endangered, rare and protected plant species but also protects endangered varieties of economically important plant species, also covering the plant coverage for the largest barrow group belonging to the Poštela hillfort.

At this location, a collection field with the appropriate surfaces will be designed to meet the demands of farm production and the maintaining of seed viability for the stored plant material. The crucial role will be to propagate and preserve selected paleo-plants and will have an educational function since it will be constructed in the Botanical Gardens. The field will thus be accessible for all visitors. Parts of the paleo-plant collection field will be constructed as a learning path equipped with information boards. Every visitor will have access here to find out everything about the diversity of food and other useful plants grown from the Neolithic onwards, as well as about the Poštela hillfort.

All the information about paleo-plants and plant taxa native to the project area (information about their number, ecology, physiology, distribution habitat, etc.) will be stored in a digital plant database. It will play an important role in upgrading the plant gene bank and will facilitate scientific investigations associated with paleo-plants. The database itself will be a transparent and accessible tool to other scientific institutions and the broader, general public.

The genetic material will be stored either in the gene bank (long-term storage of seeds will be conducted in the deep freeze chambers) or in the form of permanent plantations. Trees and shrubs, which are known scientifically as phanerophytes, will be preserved either as a growing plantation or in the form of tissue culture-cloned material.

Since the UMBG also organises courses and trainings in botany and related sciences, intended for schools and the general public it will also host most of the training sessions provided for our partners who are participating in the planting, processing and further use of re-cultivated ancient plants from our project.

This knowledge, gained by archaeologists and enriched with archaeobotanical and archaeozoological findings will be transferred into various types of participating and unique experience.²⁶ Therewith it will become

²⁵ ČREŠNAR, M. - MLEKUŽ, D. 2014; MLEKUŽ, D., ČREŠNAR, M. 2014; MUŠIČ, B. et al. 2014; MUŠIČ, B. et al 2016; TERŽAN, B. et al. 2015.

²⁶ CUNNINGHAM, P. et al. 2008; PERKO, V. 2014.

promptly accessible to direct users and other consumers, be it in local environments or the context of broader tourism developments.

SUMMARY

The PalaeoDiversiStyria project consists of four phases. In the initial phase, we use archaeological methods to gather knowledge about the use of plants and animals in prehistoric and historic periods in Austrian Styria and north-eastern Slovenia. The second step is the botanical and zoological study of all the remains from archaeological investigations in the project areas. In the third phase, this knowledge will be transferred to new products and combined in relevant narratives which will interweave the scientific results with contemporary catering practice. The fourth cornerstone of the project is to transfer this new enriched knowledge about the archaeological heritage of the region for active and innovative use in tourism.

Following the kick-off, in October 2016 we are now approaching the end of stage one in the project. An examination of the preliminary results clearly shows that we can be very satisfied with the enormous amount of new data now available to us about the ways people lived in the past.

The next step we are moving towards is to bridge the gap between the knowledge about the past and current needs in nutrition and tourism. It is a task that requires intensive communication and collaboration between local producers, tourism workers and the catering sector.

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Kratek znanstveni članek (1.03)

IZVLEČEK

Naravne danosti so tisočletja vplivale na razvoj kmetijstva v severovzhodni Sloveniji in na južnem avstrijskem Štajerskem, to pa je vplivalo tudi na razvoj lokalnih posebnosti v prehrani.

Projekt »Paleokrajina Štajerske in njena biodiverziteta od prazgodovine do odkritja novega sveta« (z akronimom PalaeoDiversiStyria), ki ga izvaja avstrijsko-slovenska ekipa in ga vodi Univerzalni muzej Joanneum, je sofinanciran iz programa Interreg SI-AT 2014-20. Projekt združuje najnovejša znanstvena spoznanja iz arheologije, arheobotanike in arheozoologije s sodobnim kmetijstvom in turizmom.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

arheologija, arheobotanika, arheozoologija, paleoprehrana, turistična raba arheologije

POVZETEK

Projekt PalaeoDiversiStyria je sestavljen iz štirih faz. V začetni fazi bomo uporabili arheološke metode za zbiranje znanja o uporabi rastlin in živali v prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih dobah na avstrijskem Štajerskem in v severovzhodni Sloveniji. Drugi korak je botanična in zoološka študija vseh ostankov iz arheoloških raziskav na projektnih območjih. V tretji fazi bo to znanje preneseno v razvoj novih izdelkov in združeno v zanimive zgodbe, ki bodo prepletale znanstvene rezultate s sodobno gostinsko prakso. Četrta temelj projekta je prenos tega novega, obogatenegega znanja o arheološki dediščini regije v aktivno in inovativno rabo v turizmu.

Po uvodni prireditvi (kick-off event) oktobra 2016 se zdaj približujemo koncu prve faze projekta. Predhodni rezultati kažejo, da smo lahko zelo zadovoljni z ogromno količino novih podatkov o življenju ljudi v preteklosti, ki jih imamo na voljo za naslednje faze projekta. Naslednji korak bo služil premostitvi vrzeli med znanjem o preteklosti in sodobnimi potrebami v prehrani in turizmu. To je naloga, ki zahteva intenzivno komunikacijo in sodelovanje med lokalnimi proizvajalci, turističnimi delavci in gostinskim sektorjem.

FROM NATURE TO CULTURE. THE IMPORTANCE OF COOK-BOOKS FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF INNOVATIONS IN THE KITCHEN*

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ABSTRACT

In his work entitled *Mythologiques*, French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that the hearth and the home are places where nature is moulded into the culture. This statement summarises what is believed in many cultures worldwide, namely that the “real” food is only that which has been prepared with culturally determined practices. Cookbooks from the 19th and the early 20th century represent a treasure trove of information on these practices. This is also true of the Slovenian cookbooks, which are a reliable source of foodstuffs, meals and innovations that have been introduced in the kitchen and its equipment.

KEY WORDS

Cookbooks, Slovenia, kitchen, innovations, culinary knowledge and skills

INTRODUCTION

Cookbooks have been known since the antiquity, and their transcripts circulated among people also in the Middle Ages. They are among the oldest written sources on the daily and festive lifestyle of the European population. With the invention of printing, they have become, besides the Bible, the most popular and widespread type of literature among the majority population. By the middle of the 16th century, they had been printed in almost all the major European languages.¹ Frequently treated as inferior or even trivial literature by scientific texts, cookbooks have not yet been adequately considered and examined in historic research.

For the ethnologists, cookbooks represent a source of information on everyday and festive dishes and food preparation. Based on studies of food culture that have been done so far it is possible to say that cookbooks can be used primarily in the research of Sunday and festive meals. Such material also contains notes on the preparation of many new, hitherto unknown dishes, or mentions the use of new kitchen utensils. It makes it fairly easy to date the introduction of novelties in kitchen appliances or furniture (for instance gas and electric stoves), in meal structure, or in the manner of food preparation such as canning with the help of pasteurisation or freezing.²

COOKBOOKS IN THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE

Slovenes acquired their first printed cookbook relatively late. In 1799, Valentin Vodnik translated an unknown German cookbook into Slovene, titling it *Kuharske bukve* (Cookbook).³ Since the original has remained unknown, it is difficult to say whether Vodnik stuck to the original, or adapted it to Slovene circumstances. If latter had been the case, the cuisine in question was doubtlessly that of the more affluent, urban population. Like many cookbooks afterwards, the cookbook abounds in meat dishes, sauces, fish, cakes and other kinds of pastry; recipes on simpler, filling dishes, which were daily served on the tables of the majority of Slovene population in the countryside, were rare.

*Translation: Nives Sulič Dular

¹ MENELL, S. 1985, p. 97.

² GODINA GOLIJ, M. 2009, p. 10.

³ VODNIK, V. 1799.

In his cookbook, Vodnik meticulously used Slovene terms for different dishes and utensils. Since the Slovene cooking terminology was not yet well developed and certain ingredients were still completely unknown, this was not an easy task. Obviously very popular, the cookbook was reprinted after Vodnik's death, first in 1834, then in 1842. It must have strongly influenced the preparation of dishes at the time.⁴



Image 1: The kitchen – a picture in Vodnik's *Kuharske bukve*, 1799.

The first cookbook by a Slovene author was *Slovenska kuharica ali navod okusno kuhati navadna in imenitna jedila* (Slovene Cookbook, or How to Tastefully Prepare Ordinary and Elegant Dishes).⁵ It was published in Ljubljana in 1868. The recipes were the work of Magdalena Pleiweiss. Born in Carinthia as a daughter of a wealthy farmer, she worked as a cook with a noble family. There she acquired experience and a considerable cooking knowledge. In a simple, easily understandable manner she wished to transmit this knowledge to unskilled cooks. In the preface she says that she is well aware that Slovene writers write their books in a far better language; but since a cookbook author should primarily know how to cook, merely clear language is

⁴ MAKAROVIC, G. 1991, p. 146.

⁵ PLEIWEISS, M. 1868.

not enough. This was a critical reference to Vodnik, whose book was indeed written in excellent Slovene, but was at times inadequately specific on the preparation of certain dishes. Pleiweiss's cookbook, therefore, illustrates the actual cooking practice in wealthy households and describes the dishes prepared on different occasions in 19th century Slovenia.⁶ Aside from numerous recipes the book also contains a list of kitchen utensils that should not be missing from any kitchen. The extensive list contains different pots and pans, knives, cleavers, forks, a mortar, wooden spoons, ladles, skimmers, sieves, etc. Each recipe also advises on the best time to prepare animals for cooking. Some of the animals used in the preparation of certain recipes have completely vanished from Slovene dining tables a long time ago: capon, snipe, partridge, fieldfare, river crayfish, and river turtle.

In its original form, the book was reprinted in 1905. Thoroughly rewritten and renamed *Slovenska kuharica* (Slovene Cookbook), it was again published in 1912; its author was Felicita Kalinšek.⁷ She prepared six editions of the revised cookbook that was originally written by Magdalena Pleiweiss. By far the most popular cookbook in the Slovene language, the book was reprinted more than twenty-six times.

Several other cookbooks in Slovene were published in the period between World War I and World War II. During the World War I, Marija Remec wrote a cookbook titled *Varčna kuharica* (Frugal Cookbook). This was the first Slovene cookbook written for the time of want.⁸ It contained mostly recipes for filling dishes that did not require any expensive ingredients. Due to its popularity and useful hints, the book was reprinted in 1920.⁹ In her next cookbook, which she named *Kuharica v kmečki, delavski in preprosti meščanski hiši* (Cookbook in Farming, Working-class and Simple Middle-Class Households), Remec collected recipes for everyday and festive dishes that contained no expensive ingredients and required simple preparations.¹⁰

Recipes for the more sophisticated cuisine of the middle class have been collected in two extensive household manuals: *Gospodinjstvo in sodobna meščanska kuhinja* (Housekeeping and Contemporary Middle-Class Cuisine) and *Za vsak dan* (For Daily Use), both of which were published in Maribor at the end of the 1930's.¹¹ Widely used and popular, both manuals can still be found in many a household.

The cookbooks that were published after the World War I contained mostly sophisticated recipes for elegant dishes that are a characteristic of the so-called Viennese cuisine. There were numerous recipes for the preparation of different meat dishes and game (guinea fowl, snipe, and hazel grouse, to name a few) that were no longer consumed after the World War II. Equally numerous were also the recipes for different pastries and sweets, so very typical of the Viennese cuisine. Some of the most popular sweets from this period were the soufflés and omelettes. Urban housewives also liked to prepare sweets made of leavened dough, short pastry, strudels, dumplings, and cakes. The recipes for the preparation of soups, vegetable dishes and side dishes, which were of no special importance in the food culture of the middle classes at the time, were few in number.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FELICITA KALINŠEK'S SLOVENE COOKBOOK FOR INNOVATIONS IN SLOVENE FOOD CULTURE

Felicita Kalinšek, the most prominent Slovene cookbook author of the 20th century, was born in Podgorje by Kamnik on 5 September 1865, and died on 21 September 1937, in Ljubljana.¹² In 1892 she entered the congregation of school sisters in Maribor. In 1898, when the new home economics school opened in Marijanišče in Ljubljana,¹³ she joined the school staff. From the very beginning, sister Felicita took over the teaching of practical home economics and cookery. Since the school itself, but also readers, in general, needed a new cookbook in 1912 Kalinšek completely revised, corrected and expanded the cookbook of Magdalena Pleiweiss entitled *Slovenska kuharica* (Slovene Cookbook).

⁶ GODINA GOLIJ, M. 1996, p. 138.

⁷ KALINŠEK, F. 1912.

⁸ REMEC, M. 1915, p. 3.

⁹ REMEC, M. 1920.

¹⁰ REMEC, M. 1931.

¹¹ *Gospodinjstvo in sodobna meščanska kuhinja*, 1938; *Za vsak dan*, Maribor, 1938.

¹² *Slovenec*, 23. 9. 1928, LXVI, No. 218, p. 4. /without indicating the author/.

¹³ *Slovenec*, 26. 1. 1918, LVI, No. 21, 1928, S. T., *Posvetna ognjišča našega kmetskega ženstva*, p. 3.

In the preface to the first revised edition, Felicita Kalinšek wrote the following: "Cookery is an art that has to be learned. It is certainly one of the most important parts of household chores. However pleasant, kind, obliging or patient the housewife may be, her family cannot like her and be satisfied with her if she cannot cook well, if she serves the same dishes day to day, if these dishes are tasteless, unsalted or oversalted, burned or half-cooked, too thin or too thick, etc. It is especially bad if she is unskilled at baking."¹⁴

Kalinšek emphasises that cooking skills are especially important for farming women who have to cook for hired hands and other servants. Since the cookbook contained an abundance of interesting tips and new methods of food preparation that had undergone rapid development, experienced cooks could find the book equally helpful. Especially interesting were new ways of preserving food, for instance, vegetables and meat.¹⁵



Image 2: School sister Felicita Kalinšek, Ljubljana 1927, Inštitut za kulturno zgodovino, ZRC SAZU.

The cookbook is divided into extensive introductory explanations, followed by thirty-one chapters containing detailed descriptions of different dishes, for instance, Lenten soups, noodles, egg dishes, pâtés, etc. Introductions open with »the most common cookery expressions« such as frying, whisking, pressing, pickling glazing, etc. The chapters describe the preparation of different kinds of meat and fish, the making of butter, cheese and cream, various kinds of dough, fillings, frostings and whipped egg desserts.¹⁶

The following chapters are dedicated to the preparation of soups and main courses. These consisted of different meat dishes, fish, egg dishes, side dishes and vegetables. There is a large section on stews, the so-called *ajmohti*, numbering 167 recipes for their preparation, which illustrates their great popularity. A special

¹⁴ KALINŠEK F. 1912, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶ KALINŠEK F., 1912, pp. 27–43.

emphasis has been given to main dishes prepared from game. Like the cookbook written by Magdalena Pleiweiss,¹⁷ Kalinšek's book also contains numerous recipes for main dishes consumed during Lent, for instance, Lenten fish dishes, stews and roasts.

Next are the recipes for desserts. Like in Central Europe, these were very popular in Slovene homes and restaurants alike, especially in the so-called Viennese cuisine. Especially numerous are the recipes for the preparation of noodles, dumplings, grits or cornmeal desserts baked in the oven, omelettes, crêpes, soufflés, puddings, etc. Over 400 recipes are devoted to the preparation of cakes, bread and pastries. There are also recipes for the preparation of candy, beaten egg desserts, fillings, jellies and ice-cream.

The chapters on the preparation of hot and cold beverages are followed by those on different ways of preserving fruit, vegetables, meat and eggs. Since this was a demanding work that required a great amount of skill and exactness as well as special equipment such as glass jars with caps, which were too expensive and therefore inaccessible for many households, at the time when the Cookbook was first printed these methods only gradually started to gain access to Slovene homes.¹⁸

The Cookbook describes some innovations related to kitchen equipment and kitchenware which up to then had not been discussed in the kitchen literature of Slovenia. In this edition, its author Felicita Kalinšek recommends the use of the steam digester invented by Denis Papin. This was the precursor of the modern pressure cooker, which shortened the preparation of some meat and legume dishes. Kalinšek also highly recommended the use of the self-cooker, a device that significantly saved on fuel costs. This was a simple wooden box whose sides, bottom, and lid were well insulated and had a porcelain well with two recesses for the insertion of food containers. The food was placed in a pan, boiled on the stove, and further cooked for approximately 15-20 minutes. Then it was placed in the recesses and tightly shut first with a lid and then with the top of the box, and let to simmer for another five to six hours, with the heat trapped to finish the cooking process.

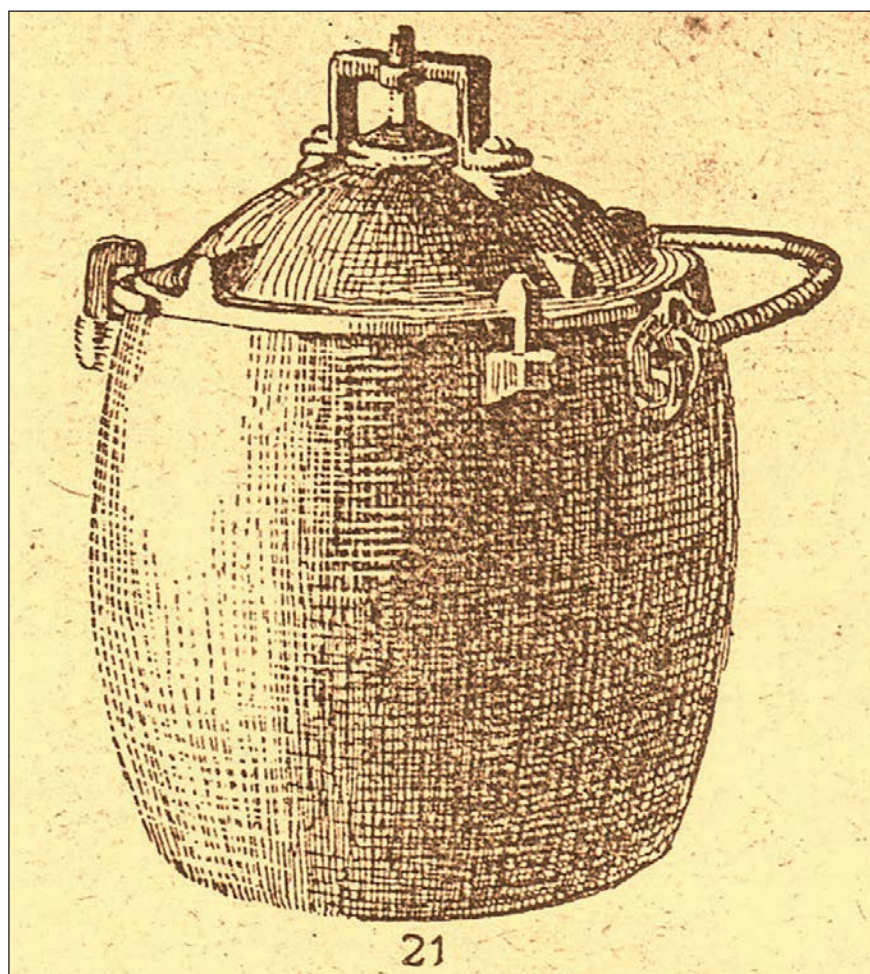


Image 3: Papin's steam digester, picture from *Slovene Cookbook*, 1912.

¹⁷ PLEIWEISS, M. 1868.

¹⁸ GODINA GOLJA, M. 1996, p. 18.

Among the devices that in the early 20th century represented an important innovation in kitchen equipment, the *Slovenian Cookbook* mentions another three: the Weck system for sealing glass jars and bottles, which was used in canning to preserve vegetables and fruits; the ice-cream maker; and the puree machine for pureeing vegetables and fruits.

The *Slovenska kuharica* (Slovene Cookbook) contains numerous illustrations. Black-and-white as well as colour drawings illustrate kitchen utensils and some kitchen innovations, different kinds of meat, more rare kinds of fruit and legumes. Very instructive are also illustrations on how to serve and decorate different dishes, which the book quotes: "These illustrations will help the housewife to properly prepare the table, in what order to place the dishes upon it, how to serve them, etc."¹⁹

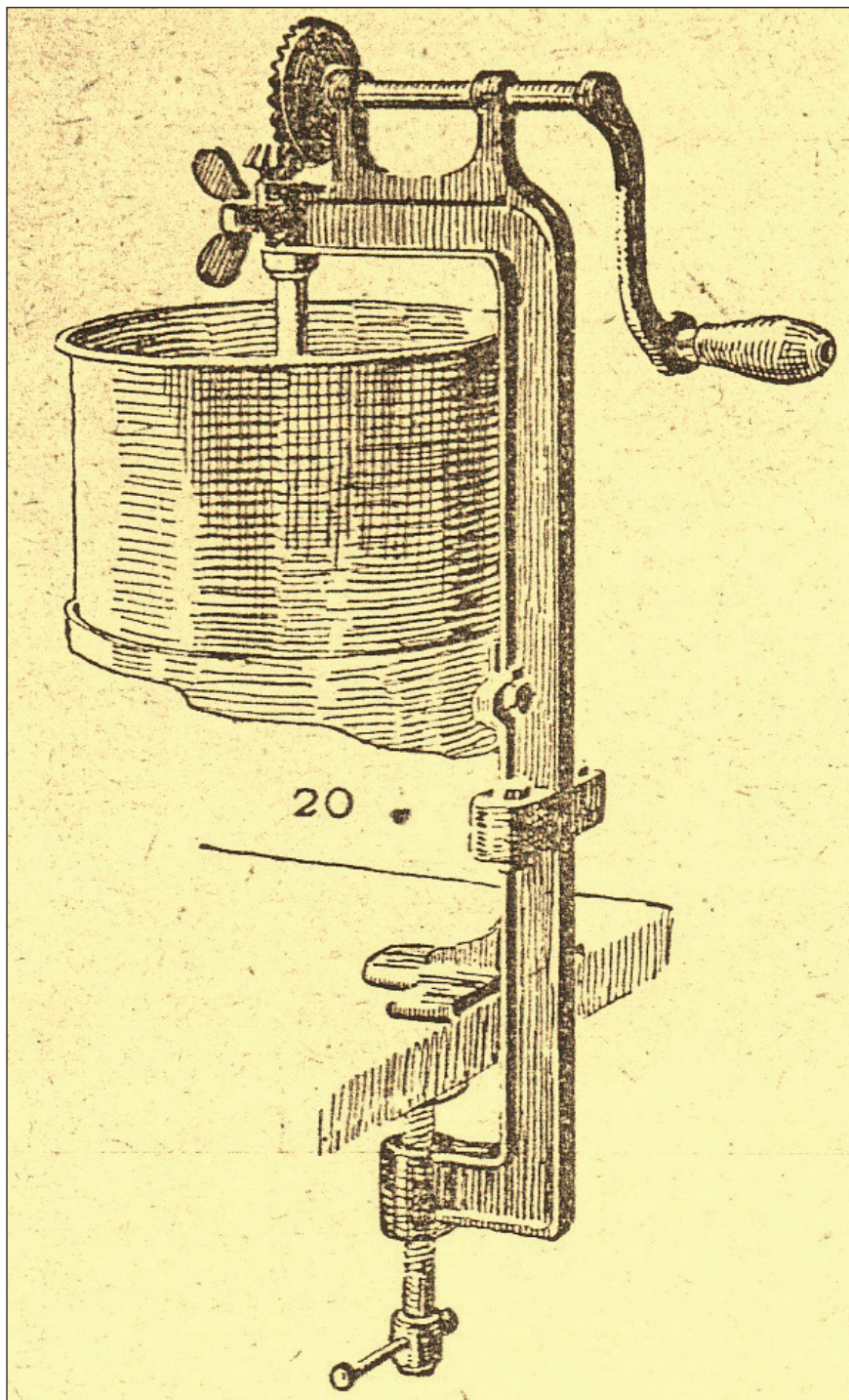


Image 4: The puree machine for pureeing vegetables and fruits, picture from *Slovene Cookbook*, 1912.

After Kalinšek's death, *Slovenska kuharica* was once again revised and modernised by the sisters Izabela Gosak and Vendelina Ilc; the latter still watches over it. She has replaced outdated recipes with new ones and added to the selection of dishes from the Viennese cuisine those from other European countries, especially

¹⁹ Ibid.

from Italy, France, Hungary and Serbia. Many recipes have been simplified and made more frugal, equally modernised instructions on the use of kitchen utensils, tableware, food preparation, serving and decorating the table for different occasions.²⁰

The 1991 edition of the *Slovenian Cookbook* still discusses in great detail the pasteurisation of fruit juices, the making of jams and jellies, and the pasteurisation and the making of compotes. The following chapter discusses the pasteurisation and the cooking of vegetables as well as meat pasteurisation. The author also describes the pickling of vegetables and eggs and gives advice on how to dry vegetables and mushrooms. This edition omits some dated recipes, for example, those on the preparation of animals such as otters, beavers, and snipe, all of which have no longer been included in Slovene menus. The chapter on place settings and table decoration for different occasions has been updated as well.

The cookbook *Slovenska kuharica* is a rich source of information in the research of Sunday and festive meals in 20th century Slovenia. It was less often used for the preparation of everyday meals. The book also contains numerous recipes for hitherto unknown dishes or explains the use of novelties in kitchenware. It enables the researcher to accurately pinpoint the introduction of novelties in kitchen furniture such as gas or electric stoves, or food preservation by pasteurisation or freezing. It also tells us about the popularity or widespread use of food ingredients or spices that were differently used from one national cuisine to another. The Cookbook demonstrates different manners of food preparation and cooking techniques in Slovenia, and in several time periods. Different reprints of this book illustrate the value of food, people's notions of the relation between nutrition and health, and sanitary practices of Slovenes in the 20th century.



Image 5: Homemakers' schools in Maribor before World War Second (collection of the author).

INNOVATIONS OF FOOD CONSERVATION IN SLOVENE COOKBOOKS

In Slovenia, fruit and vegetable preservation became particularly widespread in urban households in the second half of the 19th century. Since it required a particular type of knowledge and various implements, it was still too expensive for rural house makers. The cookbook *Slovenska kuharica ali Navod kuhati navadna in imenitna jedila* (The Slovene Cookbook, or How to Tastefully Prepare Ordinary and Elegant Dishes), 1868, written by Magdalena Pleiweiss, already includes instructions for the preservation of fruit and vegetables by steaming.

The book includes recipes for the preservation of fruit juices and jams. Fruits intended for the preparation of juice were first boiled, then put in glass bottles and completely sealed. The fruits most suitable for juice were the currant, raspberries, strawberries, sour cherries, and quince.²¹ Let us mention as a curiosity that the author published on page 285 a recipe for preserving tomatoes, a vegetable that was still rare in Slovenian diet at that time.²²

²⁰ KALINŠEK, F. 1912, p. 8.

²¹ PLEIWEISS, M. 1868, p. 283.

²² Ibid., p. 285.

The Slovene Cookbook (*Slovenska kuharica*, 1912) includes detailed instructions for different ways of preserving fruit, vegetables, the fruit of the forest, and meat. Felicita Kalinšek writes about the drying process of fruit and vegetables; how to preserve fruit juice, gravy, and jams by boiling; about the sterilisation of fruit, vegetables, fish, and pates; and about preserving vegetables in vinegar or salt water.

Kalinšek highly recommends the use of Weck's fruit preserver that ensured that canning jars were completely vacuum sealed. But this equipment was too expensive for the majority of Slovene households. Widely used were cheaper glass jars sealed with a metal hinge leveraging down a glass lid and a rubber seal. In Slovenia, such jars were popularly called Rex jars, and the canning method was dubbed "rexing".²³ However, this type of canning of fruit and vegetables still required a large quantity of sugar, special jars, and other kitchen utensils, which is why it was practised mainly in wealthier urban households.

Preserved fruit, vegetables, jams, and home-made fruit juices were a source of pride for every house maker. Since home canning required a certain amount of specialised knowledge, exactness, and dexterity, her canning skills were often paraded in front of relatives and friends.²⁴ The preparation of stores for the winter, particularly large quantities of preserved vegetables and fruit, was heavily popularised in women's magazines, books on home economics, and cookbooks, both before the World War Second and afterwards.²⁵



Image 6: Advertisement for the gelling agent, 1930's (collection of the author).

²³ GODINA GOLIJA, M. 1996, p. 46.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ MENNELL, S. 1988, p. 314.

Meat and meat products were, for many years, preserved by smoking or drying. These preservation methods were replaced by freezing in the mid-1970's when deep freezers became widely available in the Slovenian market. Meat, vegetables and fruit were frozen, and deep-freezing has remained the most popular method of preservation to the present day.

The first detailed descriptions on freezing food were included in cookbooks and cooking manuals decades earlier. The *Slovenian Cookbook* edition of 1963 contains a short text on how to freeze, defrost, and prepare frozen foods.²⁶ Five years later, in 1968, an entire manual was published on freezing foods and their use in the family diet.²⁷ The manual claims that freezing as a means of preservation was widespread in Slovenia as early as the 1940's. First used mainly in hospitals and restaurants, this method of food preservation has only gradually entered Slovene households. It was first adopted by farmers, particularly those who were major producers of meat and were very much in favour of constructing large joint freezers in the countryside. Presented is the joint freezer erected in Videm by Ščavnica in the region of Styria.²⁸ The large common hall contained a number of smaller freezers that could be hired by farmers. The second half of the 1960's marked in the Slovene market the advent of chest freezers. Manufactured mostly in Slovenia, they became hugely popular in the 1970's, both in urban and rural households. They soon displaced other forms of food preservation, particularly in the case of fresh meat and meat products, which were traditionally preserved by drying and smoking.²⁹

CONCLUSION

Cookbooks written in the Slovene language have so far not been the object of an in-depth study. Even though they may be ranked among the most popular types of literature in Slovenia, their use and impact have not yet been thoroughly examined. It is possible to argue, based on the case studies used for the purpose of this paper, that they represent an extremely valuable written source for the understanding of the Slovene food culture, culinary knowledge and skills, and innovations introduced in the preparation of meals. Their analysis enables us to determine the changing impact of the Viennese cuisine on meals in Slovenia as well as the familiarity with and implementation of certain dishes and recipes from the cultures of other Balkan nations and Italy. These cookbooks provide an insight into kitchen equipment and utensils in the mid-19th century and show how they have been changing and evolving to the present. They speak of innovations in the composition of menus, for example of abandoning the preparation of certain wild animals or a large number of courses for every meal, and the introduction of new ways of food preparation and preservation, for example of cooking food in the pressure cooker or freezing it in the freezer. Cookbooks give an insight into economic and social circumstances in Slovenia as well as the status of women in the 19th and the 20th centuries.³⁰ The books also reveal hygienic conditions in kitchens in different historical periods and show the degree of general awareness of the importance of food for health and human development. In their own way, cookbooks reflect people's evaluation of food and certain dishes and their symbolic meaning in the culture of Slovenia.

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²⁶ KALINŠEK, F. 1963, p. 39.

²⁷ KOVAČIČ, E., OBERŠNU, T. 1968.

²⁸ KOVAČIČ, E., OBERŠNU, T. 1968, p. 15.

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OD NARAVE H KULTURI. POMEN KUHARSKIH KNJIG ZA RAZUMEVANJE INOVACIJ V KUHINJI

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Francoski antropolog Claude Lévi-Strauss je v svojem delu Mitologike zapisal, da so domača ognjišča in kuhinje prostori, kjer se natura predeluje v kulturo. Njegova misel povzema v številnih kulturnih okoljih razširjeno pojmovanje, da je »prava« oziroma boljša hrana le predelana – z določenimi kulturnimi praksami pripravljena hrana. Kuharske knjige iz 19. in začetka 20. stoletja so za njihovo raziskovanje odlično gradivo. Z njimi imamo tudi na Slovenskem zanesljiv vir o živilih, jedeh in njihovi pripravi, pa tudi o inovacijah, ki so bile uvedene v kuhinjsko opremo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kuharske knjige, Slovenija, kuhinja, inovacije, kuharsko znanje

POVZETEK

Kuharske knjige sodijo k najstarejši in najbolj razširjeni zvrsti literature. Znane in razširjene so bile že v antiki kot rokopisni zvezki receptov in navodil za opravila v gospodinjstvu, po iznajdbi tiska so postale še bolj razširjene. Tedaj so izšle kuharske knjige v latinščini in vseh večjih evropskih jezikih. Slovenci smo dobili prvo slovensko kuharsko knjigo mnogo kasneje, šele leta 1799, kar govori o uporabi kuharskih knjig v nemškem, italijanskem in latinskem jeziku na našem ozemlju. Te knjige so dober vir za razumevanje gospodinjstev na Slovenskem in njihove kulture prehrane.

Kuharske knjige v slovenskem jeziku so redko predmet poglobljene znanstvene obravnave. Kljub temu da spadajo k najbolj razširjeni literaturi med Slovenci, njihova uporaba in vpliv še nista ugotovljena. Na osnovi analiziranih primerov slovenskih kuharskih knjig lahko zapišemo, da so izjemno dragocen pisni vir za razumevanje prehrane, kuharskega znanja in inovacij v jedilnih obrokih. Z njihovo pomočjo lahko ugotovimo spremenjen vpliv dunajske kuhinje na slovenske jedilne obroke ter poznavanje in uvajanje nekaterih jedi in receptur iz kuhinje drugih balkanskih narodov in iz italijanskega prostora. Z analizo kuharskih knjig lahko spoznamo kuhinjsko opremo in pripomočke od srede 19. stoletja do danes na Slovenskem in njihovo spreminjanje. Predstavijo nam tudi inovacije v sestavi jedilnikov, na primer opuščanje priprave nekaterih divjih živali in ptic ter velikega števila jedi za posamezne dnevne obroke, dobro nam predstavijo uvajanje nekaterih novih načinov priprave in konzerviranja živil, na primer kuhanje živil v loncih na pritisk in zamrzovanje živil v zamrzovalnikih. Govore nam tudi o položaju žensk in vrednotenju ženskega dela ter njihovem izobraževanju. S pomočjo kuharskih knjig lahko dobro spoznamo tudi higienske razmere v kuhinjah v posameznih zgodovinskih obdobjih, pa tudi poznavanje pomena hrane za zdravje in razvoj človeka. Kuharske knjige na svojstven način odražajo tudi vrednotenje hrane in nekaterih jedi ter njihov simbolni pomen v slovenski kulturi.

THE SAVOURY FLAVOUR OF THE “EGG”: *WASHOKU*, TRADITIONAL JAPANESE FOOD, SPIRITUALITY, AND HEALING*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

This paper considers how *washoku*, or traditional Japanese food and culture, embodies aspects of spirituality and other elements similar to those in European mythology. Firstly, I will explore the history of Japan's dietary cultures, and then discuss why this knowledge is needed now, in the context of Japan's societal challenges, and particularly in relation to its high suicide rate. Finally, I will describe recent food-related initiatives in the country. I will also propose a possible new societal paradigm, by sharing the essence of *washoku*, namely, the belief that we are all an equally precious part of the whole.

KEY WORDS

Japanese, *washoku*, traditional dietary cultures

INTRODUCTION

In European mythology, the initial form of the universe was perceived as being an egg-like entity that split into two parts: Father Heaven and Mother Nature.¹ Regardless of the period or place, we are all alike, in that we were born from an “egg”, as a child of Father Heaven and Mother Nature, as well as our parents.

Japan has fostered unique dietary cultures for more than two thousand years. In 2013, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) inscribed “WASHOKU, Traditional Dietary Cultures of the Japanese—notably for the celebration of New Year— on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This decision recognises that *washoku* has long been the foundation of peace and good health for the Japanese.

This paper considers how *washoku*, or traditional Japanese food and culture, embodies aspects of spirituality and other elements similar to those in European mythology. It first describes the history of Japan's dietary cultures, then explains the relevance of *washoku* in the context of Japan's present social challenges, and finally describes recent food-related initiatives in Japan.

WHAT IS WASHOKU?

Washoku encompasses both Japanese cuisine and the dietary cultures that have developed in Japan over thousands of years. The Japanese *kanji* character *wa* is composed of a left part meaning grains, such as rice, and a right part meaning mouth. It literally means being peaceful, while *shoku* means a meal or eating. A rice-based diet has been the basis of *washoku*, and has promoted peace and good health among the people. Recent scientific findings show that brown rice has various functional food components that include the following: (1) γ-oryzanol (adjusts autonomic nerve functions), (2) phytic acid (an anti-oxidant), and (3) ferulic acid (prevents or treats dementia).² It is admirable that the ancient Japanese adopted rice as their principal food.

Before moving on to the history of Japanese dietary cultures, I will further explain the definition of *washoku*, while focusing on its significance to Japanese traditions. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF), *washoku* has the following four features: (1) the utilisation of various fresh ingredients and their natural flavours, (2) a well-balanced and healthy diet, (3) an emphasis on the beauty of nature in the presentation, and (4) a connection to annual events, such as traditional celebrations on New Year's Day.³

*Translation: Yuko Nishimura

¹ ETO, H. 2002, p. 97.

² WATANABE, S. 2015, pp. 108, 189–191.

³ MAFF. 2016, URL:<http://www.maff.go.jp/j/keikaku/syokubunka/ich/> (quoted 27. 11. 2016).



Image 1: The Japanese *kanji* character *wa* (photograph: Yuko Nishimura).

Regarding point (4), the Japanese start the year on the 1st of January by appreciating the good harvest and peace enjoyed in the previous year, and then making a New Year's resolution and praying for a blessing for the coming year. They have traditionally offered round rice cakes called *kagami mochi* (literally "mirror rice cake") to the year's deities during New Year's celebrations.⁴ Japanese shrines have long used round mirrors for rituals; they are thought to have divine powers. Because it is said that a mirror reflects the state of the spirit, *kagami mochi* represents the souls of those who look at it.⁵ When the series of New Year's celebrations are over, the Japanese usually eat a piece of *kagami mochi* to receive a blessing from the deities contained within. This custom is called *kagami biraki* ("opening the mirror"), and usually takes place on the 11th of January. The deities of the year dislike steel knives, as they are often used in war, so the rice cakes are cracked into pieces with a wooden hammer instead. People eat pieces of *mochi* in a sweet red-bean soup, *o-shiruko*, which is one of the most popular traditional Japanese foods in winter. Although it is impossible to identify exactly when the *kagami biraki* custom started, it is believed to have existed in the Heian Period (794–1185).⁶

I will now explore the history of Japan's dietary cultures. In response to cultural influxes from neighbouring countries such as China and Korea, Japan combined these countries' traditions with those of its indigenous base and fostered rich and unique cultures. Emperor Tenmu banned meat-eating in 675, after which the people officially began eating a rice- and plant-based diet.⁷ Though the general public ate meat occasionally, luxurious meat dishes were regarded as meals to be shared at celebratory events.

Buddhism was officially introduced to Japan in the middle of the 6th century. Buddhist temples served a simple vegetarian cuisine called *shojin ryori* ("striving for enlightenment cuisine"), and this was the prototype for *washoku*. *Shojin ryori* involves: (1) using locally available plant-based ingredients in season, (2) using them to the maximum extent, and (3) using moderate quantities of condiments and drawing out each ingredient's natural flavours. This temple cuisine existed in the Heian Period but developed technologically and philosophically in the following Kamakura Period (1185–1336).⁸

During the Kamakura Period, cooking techniques became more sophisticated. As Buddhism and its belief in not taking another's life developed in Japan, meat-eating was abandoned and plant-based ingredients were

⁴ Japan has historically put a high value on the balance between yin and yang. *Kagami mochi* also follows this tradition: the small *mochi* symbolises the moon (yin) and the big one symbolises the sun (yang).

⁵ JAPAN KAGAMIMOCCHI ASSOCIATION. 2016, URL: <http://www.kagamimochi.jp/index.html> (quoted 27. 11. 2016).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ KUMAKURA, I. 2007, p. 44.

⁸ KUMAKURA, I. 2007, pp. 47–51, 59–65.



Image 2: *Kagami mochi*, Hotel Okura Tokyo (photograph: Yuko Nishimura).

prepared to look and taste like meat and poultry.⁹ *Shojin ryori* is prepared using “five flavours, five colours, and five methods”, an idea based on the five elements theory of ancient Chinese cosmology.¹⁰ With regard to the philosophical development of *shojin ryori*, Dogen, the Zen master (1200–1253), went to China to learn Zen Buddhism and, after his return, wrote *Tenzo Kyokun* (“Teachings of Preparing Meals”) to teach trainee monks about the importance of food, and help them reach enlightenment. He advised them to cook with these three mindsets: (1) “preparing meals with pleasure”, (2) “cooking with the heart just like parents care for their children”, and (3) “staying motivated all the time and keeping bias and obsession out of your mind”. Dogen also described *Fushoku Hampo* (“Teachings of Eating Meals”), in which he advised trainees to make the following five self-contemplations before eating: (1) “all the efforts that brought me this meal”, (2) “my imperfections as I receive this meal”, (3) “the mindfulness to be free from imperfections”, (4) “having this meal to sustain good health”, and (5) “the fulfilment of my obligations for the highest good”.¹¹

During the Muromachi and Azuchi Momoyama Periods (1338–1603), the warrior and merchant classes came to enjoy tea rituals or *chanoyu*, which were designed to serve and drink *matcha* green tea. Sen no Rikyu

⁹ HARADA, N. 2012, pp. 18–19.

¹⁰ The five flavours are sweetness, saltiness, sourness, acridness, and bitterness. The five colours are red, yellow, white, black, and green. The five cooking methods are uncooked, grilling, boiling, steaming, and frying (Oral Source: Fujii Mari, Kamakura, 14. 5. 2016).

¹¹ DOGEN, 1991, pp. 193–196, Oral Source: Fujii Mari, Kamakura, 14. 5. 2016.

(1522–1591), a master of the tea ceremony, received Zen training at Daitokuji Tempel, and tried to elevate the tea practice to a new and higher level of art by associating it with the Zen philosophy, emphasising the importance of feeling richness in poverty, and authentic beauty in simplicity. Thus, Rikyu established the *wabi cha* tradition of the tea ceremony. In that same period, *kaiseki ryori* (“holding a stone in your arms cuisine”), a tea meal that hosts served to their guests during rituals, was established. *Kaiseki ryori* dishes are served in an easy-to-eat presentation style; when one dish is finished, the next is served warm. This is partly rooted in host hospitality customs, which ensure that guests do not feel embarrassed when eating in the small room of a teahouse. In the case of the *kaiseki ryori* produced by Rikyu, sensitivity to the changing seasons and a spirit of hearty hospitality were presented with an authentic sense of *wabi*.¹² Taking into account the sense of *wabi* and sensitivity to the changing seasons presented in the tea meals, it seems that one of the *washoku*’s features, an emphasis on the beauty of nature in the presentation, can be traced back to Rikyu.



Image 3: *Shojin ryori Sankou* in Temple (photograph: Yuko Nishimura).

Whereas Japan imported a variety of cultures and technologies from China and Korea, treatments such as acupuncture and moxibustion did not gain much popularity. Instead, Japan developed another tradition, namely a medical dietary approach based on a natural-hygiene diet that helped one stay fit by acquiring correct dietary habits. Tamba no Yasuyori (912–995), who served in the Imperial Court as a medical doctor, compiled *Ishimboh* (“Theory and Techniques of Medicine”), Japan’s oldest medical books. They were the first to refer to the natural-hygiene diet. During the Edo Period (1603–1868), the medical dietary culture flourished, and more than a hundred books were published.¹³ Notably, the medical herbalist and philosopher Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714) wrote *Yojo Kun* (“Regimen Advice”) at the age of 84. He believed that peace of mind was the basis of good health, and would enable us to appreciate Father Heaven and Mother Nature, as well as our real parents, for giving us life and encouraging us to take good care of them; consequently, we could enjoy ourselves and live up to our true potential.¹⁴

However, *washoku* changed in the latter half of the 19th century, when the Edo government established unequal treaties with the United States and Western European countries, and foreign dietary cultures began arriving in Japan. Furthermore, after he restored authoritative power and ushered in the Meiji Period (1868–1912), the Emperor lifted the ban on meat-eating, to catch up to the West.¹⁵ This brought about the westernisation of Japan’s dietary cultures. Education also accelerated this trend. For example, at the Japan

¹² KUMAKURA, I. 2007, pp. 118–127.

¹³ Oral Source: The George Ohsawa Library, Tokyo, 9. 7. 2016.

¹⁴ KAIBARA, E. 1982, pp. 94–95.

¹⁵ HARADA, N. 2012, pp. 18–19.

Women's University, students learned about Japanese and French cuisine, under the school's policy of promoting "international education".¹⁶

Under these circumstances, Ishizuka Sagen (1851–1909), a medical doctor, initiated a move to restore the traditional natural-hygiene dietary culture. His ideas can be summarised as follows: (1) one's health condition depends on daily meals, (2) grain is a staple human food, (3) local fresh ingredients are the best food, (4) a whole-food diet is advisable, and (5) the balance between yin and yang must be kept in daily meals.¹⁷

George Ohsawa (1896–1966), founder of the macrobiotic¹⁸ movement, further developed Ishizuka's concept of the natural-hygiene diet and came to advocate the "unique principle", which was the underlying perspective of oriental philosophy and religion. This was the belief that everything in the universe started from the supreme One and that we live in the order developed by the supreme being.¹⁹ It seems that Ohsawa's ideas were similar to European mythological conceptions of the initial form of the universe being an egg-like entity. In another Western context, Marcus Aurelius, a Roman emperor (121–180), wrote in his *Meditations* that "the world is a living being—one nature, one soul. Keep that in mind".²⁰ Ohsawa assumed that if he expressed his thoughts metaphysically, his attempts would be seen as having been influenced by symbolism or mysticism, which he had encountered in Paris in his younger days. Instead, he decided to teach others about the unique principle by promoting the traditional Japanese natural-hygiene dietary culture, because he supposed that the principle's base was the same as that of the Japanese dietary tradition. This is how the macrobiotic movement started.

After World War II, Ohsawa became active at an international level. According to sources at the George Ohsawa Library, this occurred for the following reasons:

- (1) Ohsawa assumed that excessive meat-eating must have caused the war. This prompted him to risk his life to stop warfare, by spreading the idea of peace embedded in the traditional plant-based Japanese dietary cultures.
- (2) Ohsawa also thought that Japan's defeat would further accelerate the westernisation of Japanese dietary cultures. He contemplated the counteraction of having Japanese citizens revalue their own culture. Initially, he intended to have Japanese dietary cultures appreciated by international society, just as people in Europe—particularly Impressionistic artists and composers such as Vincent Willem van Gogh (1853–1890) and Claude Achille Debussy (1862–1918)—placed a high value on Japanese woodblock prints called *ukiyo-e* from the latter half of the 19th century to the early 20th century. In fact, this European appreciation helped the Japanese realise the value of *ukiyo-e* art, which was a popular culture enjoyed in the Edo Period that had arisen from ordinary people's daily lives.

As Ohsawa anticipated, the Japanese dietary culture became more westernised after the war. During the post-war economic growth period (from the mid-1950's to the first half of the 1970's), supplies of meat, fish, eggs, and dairy products increased, and the consumption of rice, tubers, and roots decreased to half that of the 1910's.²¹ As a result, lifestyle-related diseases such as cancer, heart disease, and cerebrovascular disease have become widespread in Japan since the latter half of the 20th century.²²

There are arguments for and against the consumption of animal-based foods. While some insist that increasing consumption of animal products by Japanese contributed to an increase in their life expectancy,²³ other research

¹⁶ Visual Source: Japan Women's University, Naruse Memorial Hall's Exhibition Series No. 3: Traditional Cooking Programme for International Education, Tokyo, 27. 10. 2016.

¹⁷ WATANABE, S. 2015, p. 23.

¹⁸ "Macrobiotic" generally means a healthy diet in Japan. It derives from the word *macrobios*, which Hippocrates, the father of medicine, mentioned.

¹⁹ OHSAWA, G. 1973, pp. 52–53, 79–85.

²⁰ AURELIUS, M. 2002, p. 46.

²¹ YASUMOTO, K. 2012, p. 68.

²² YASUMOTO, K. 2012, p. 62.

²³ FUJIWARA, Y. 2009, p. 133.

suggests that a wholefood, plant-based diet will prevent a variety of diseases.²⁴ I will not discuss what and how to eat because it is outside the scope of this paper; however, it is worth mentioning that research has proven the effectiveness of a brown rice, plant-based, traditional Japanese diet.²⁵ Indeed, as defined by MAFF, *washoku* is a well-balanced and healthy diet. It consists of domestically produced rice as the staple food, a cup of *miso* soup, and side dishes prepared using a variety of locally available fresh beans, fruits, vegetables, and seaweeds.

Because the Meiji government adopted European medicine as part of the state's modernisation policies, the traditional natural-hygiene diet came to be seen as a kind of superstition. Consequently, both the natural-hygiene diet and the traditional dietary culture itself have been unpopular ever since.²⁶

Not everyone felt that this was the correct approach. Erwin von Bälz (1849–1913), a German medical doctor who was invited by the Meiji government to serve at the Imperial House and Tokyo Imperial University (the present University of Tokyo), became alarmed at the erosion of Japanese culture, saying that it would be undesirable to import European cultures holus-bolus; instead, it would be preferable for the Japanese to evaluate their own culture, and then adapt it gradually and prudently over time, as their needs changed.²⁷ Japan lost World War II, and afterwards, the Japanese people lost their good health. The time had finally arrived to restore good health, by valuing traditional Japanese cultures, and, inter alia, the dietary cultures that were enjoyed before the Meiji Restoration occurred. Since *washoku* was inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, MAFF has taken measures to disseminate information on the traditional dietary cultures, and thereby promote good health amongst the people. These efforts include educational food projects led by private organisations that cost about JPY 200 million (EUR 1,627,000).²⁸ It is expected that these initiatives will lead to the restoration of *washoku* in Japan.

WHY DO WE NEED WASHOKU?

According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW), there were 24,025 suicides in Japan in 2015, and these deaths were mostly motivated by health concerns across all age brackets.²⁹ This number has not dropped below 20,000 since 1970. Japan is one of the largest economic powers in the world; however, “material wealth” does not necessarily ensure good health.

Rene Duignan, an Irish economist with the Delegation of the European Union to Japan, attempted to raise awareness of this issue in Japanese society by producing the documentary film called *Saving 10,000—Winning a War on Suicide in Japan* (2012). He made this film assuming that the Japanese health care field was political and that there was no other way for a non-Japanese citizen to alleviate the situation.

Duignan found that the suicides were motivated not by health problems, but by societal issues such as alcohol dependence, disabilities, poverty, and the sex industry. This reveals certain defects in the conventional social paradigm: some people suffer from solitude, and others are indifferent to or unconcerned about what is happening around them. It is necessary for us to define a new paradigm for society. A MHLW survey showed that 69.9 per cent of Japanese people said, “I will help,” in response to a question asking whether or not they would provide assistance to someone in trouble in the local community.³⁰ This indicates that they are not necessarily uninterested in a possible new societal paradigm.

Japan's Basic Law on Suicide Countermeasures was amended in 2016. Article 2 (ii) states that suicide countermeasures must be implemented as a society-wide effort, based on the fact that suicide should not be viewed merely as a personal problem, but rather as one involving various social factors.³¹ In this sense, I attempt in this paper to approach “life” from the perspective of the country's traditional dietary cultures. A Japanese

²⁴ CAMPBELL, T. C. 2016, pp. 217–218.

²⁵ YASUMOTO, K. 2012, p. 63.

²⁶ Oral Source: The George Ohsawa Library, Tokyo, 9. 7. 2016.

²⁷ BÄLZ, T. 1979, p. 47.

²⁸ MAFF. 2017, URL: <http://www.maff.go.jp/j/keikaku/syokubunka/> (quoted 29. 1. 2017).

²⁹ MHLW White Paper on Annual Report 2016, pp. 2–3, 25.

³⁰ MHLW White Paper on Suicide Countermeasures 2016, p. 61.

³¹ MHLW White Paper on Annual Report 2016, p. 138.

aphorism observes that food feeds not only the body but also the mind and spirit. As Duignan showed, Japanese suicides are triggered not only by physical concerns but also by deeply rooted psychological concerns.

Japanese people have historically regarded food as a gift from nature: Father Heaven and Mother Nature produce food, which is brought to us by the many people engaged in producing, processing, distributing, and preparing it. We are in this circle. Everything in the universe is connected to the “whole” that existed before the initial form of the universe split into the two parts of Father Heaven and Mother Nature;³² we are here and now a precious part of this wholeness. If this old—but new—idea were fully appreciated, the new social paradigm would be apparent. Also, as inferred in the old Japanese saying mentioned earlier, what we eat affects how we think and feel, as well as our physical functioning. Consequently, it seems that the suicide issue could be solved by understanding and applying the essence of the dietary cultures, and thereby alleviating the solitude, indifference, and apathy in our minds.

RECENT FOOD INITIATIVES IN JAPAN

In this section, I will deal with two cases of recent food-related activities in Japan, to make this metaphysical paper more convincing.

The first case is the 2011 documentary film called *Reviving Recipe* produced by a young Japanese director, Satoshi Watanabe. It depicts “heirloom crops” that have been grown from native seed species in certain local communities for generations. Mass-production crops are usually grown from F1 hybrid seeds and are often raised using pesticides and chemical fertilisers. Compared with these crops, the marketability of heirloom crops is not high, due to their small yields, vulnerability to insect damage, and, notably, the lack of successors to replace ageing food producers. However, because they are endangered species, native crops have been drawing attention recently, as “living cultural assets”. Watanabe believes that this renewed level of interest is being instigated by Japanese spirituality.

Watanabe moved his base of activity from Tokyo to his hometown in Yamagata Prefecture, in the north-eastern part of Japan, and began making the film. There is quite a mature civil society in this prefecture. Local citizens who sympathised with what Watanabe was trying to say supported the film financially, and also Yamagata has been working hard to implement renewable energy sources such as hydroelectric, wind, and solar power.³³ These efforts demonstrate the prefecture’s high level of civic maturity.

Regarding the title, the word “recipe” seems to indicate a future direction and expectation for creating a new societal paradigm that extends beyond just enjoying locally produced crops. Regarding the word “reviving”, the director said that dishes prepared using heirloom crops remind us of something we lost during the urbanisation process, such as social cohesion in a local community. He also said that each local community could be recreated by growing native plants, and sharing the underlying concept.³⁴ In the film, the following three main characters express their views on heirloom crops: (1) Professor Hiroaki Egashira, Faculty of Agriculture, Yamagata University;³⁵ (2) Masayuki Okuda, owner and chef of a local Italian restaurant, *Al Chécciano*; and (3) those who engage in producing and processing heirloom crops and passing them down to the younger generation for purposes of local food education.

Firstly, Hiroaki Egashira, who chairs workshops on preserving the prefecture’s native plants, strongly believes that the uniqueness of native plants is a valuable resource for revitalising a local community. A number of small and mid-sized local companies have applied to initiate a local community revitalisation support programme offered by the Small and Medium Enterprises Agency of the central government, hoping that their local resources would help establish a business brand.³⁶ Each resource might represent a precious “seed”, which would ultimately produce abundant crops in a local community.

³² ETO, H. 2002, p. 96.

³³ Yamagata Prefecture. 2016, URL: <http://www.pref.yamagata.jp/ou/kigyo/500015/saiene/saiseidounyu.html> (quoted 27. 11. 2016).

³⁴ *Reviving Recipe* (Documentary film). 2011, URL: <http://y-recipe.net/> (quoted 20. 11. 2016).

³⁵ He was an associate professor when the film was produced.

³⁶ FURUPURO.NET. 2016, URL: <http://furupuro.net/> (quoted 26. 11. 2016).

Secondly, Masayuki Okuda serves the locals hearty dishes prepared with locally grown ingredients, and a sharpened sense of cooking using his own original methods. Yamagata is a nature-rich region; there are both coastal and mountainous areas in the prefecture. Therefore, it produces an abundance of foods. Okuda's cooking style is Italian. However, each dish is prepared with one *washoku* feature: the use of various fresh ingredients and their natural flavours. His philosophy of "local production for local consumption" seems to help realise social cohesion, by connecting the people with not only the local community but also with nature. It seems that Okuda's cooking embodies the Japanese spirit and that he revitalises traditional Japanese dietary cultures in the presentation of his Italian cuisine.

Finally, an elderly agricultural producer's words are notable: she says, "I feel most delighted when people tell me "Your vegetables are delicious". Her simple words depict a fundamental human attitude: rejoicing in sharing with others, which brings about a heartwarming feeling and further rejoicing. In the film, when Egashira and those who are engaged in farming visited Okuda's restaurant to enjoy heirloom crop dishes, they might have shared the savoury flavour of heirloom crops delicately added to the dishes, in other words, the whole of all concerned, together with the preservation of the seeds and the community's revitalisation.

The other case is an entrepreneurial food business. Employment has diversified since Japan experienced a decade-long recession after the burst of the so-called bubble economy (1986–1991). Some individuals in their 20's and 30's have attempted self-realisation by starting their own businesses, instead of finding employment at a company. Masaki Uemura, the CEO of Kikitori, Inc., is one of these individuals. He left one of the largest trading companies in Japan to launch his own business. During this time of uncertainty, he decided to follow his heart. Indeed, this was his certainty. While agricultural crops and producers were art to Watanabe, Uemura tried to establish a new food distribution system that focused not on agricultural "goods", but on the producers themselves, since every producer has different policies, techniques, kinds of plants, and personalities.

Regarding the motivation for his decision, Uemura makes the following observations:

"After I resigned from the trading company, I spent about a year finding business opportunities in South-east Asia. Local people were not as financially well off as those in developed countries, but they looked happier and enjoyed spending time with their family and friends. Then, I came to the conclusion that regardless of financial background, unless we had belief, we would not be happy. I remembered the agricultural producers in Japan. They lived happily. I have been interested in agriculture since I was a secondary school student, and even when I was busy working for the company, I managed to find time to cultivate a small field and offer my hands to help others engaged in farming on weekends. They had a sincere attitude toward life; they appreciated blessings from nature and love from those around them. I was touched. I thought that respect for nature was one of the most beautiful traits that Japan had fostered. Besides agriculture, I have been interested in starting my own business, so I made up my mind to establish a food distribution platform to share their values, particularly with urban dwellers in Japan".³⁷

Through the newly launched platform, Uemura and his colleagues offer a direct delivery service for agricultural goods from nationwide producers to urban consumers, hoping that they will enjoy discovering new ideas about food.

Both Watanabe and Uemura were children during the time Japan had experienced material wealth, but it had sacrificed something important in exchange for wealth. Nowadays, these young people, who have a sense of discomfort with this kind of society, are returning to the basics of traditional Japanese cultures, standing up to say "something is wrong", and confronting the challenge with their skills and talents. It is a welcome movement in which they plant the seeds of their spirits so that future generations will receive the fruits of their efforts.

CONCLUSION

Washoku has been the foundation of peace and good health for the Japanese people throughout history. This

³⁷ Oral Source: Uemura Masaki, Tokyo, 18. 9. 2016.

is due to excellence not only in functionality but also in philosophy. Japanese indigenous beliefs include a reverence for nature. The worship of nature, together with the Buddhist teachings subsequently introduced, formed elegant and refined cultures in Japan. In Japanese society's new paradigm, we will be conscious of how each of us is an equally precious part of the whole, which I suppose could be realised through perceiving the essence of *washoku*. If it were shared in the heart—if the savoury flavour of the whole were appreciated—we would remain peaceful and free from solitude, indifference, and apathy, states that are often found in the conventional societal paradigm. Nowadays, some people in Japan have come to engage in dietary and/or other activities based on this consciousness. It seems that the integrity, passions, and beliefs that characterise their endeavours will validate the significant value of *washoku*. I believe that under the new paradigm, our hearts will be filled with peace, and we will enjoy good health. By making these choices, we will contribute to the ongoing process of evolving within the whole, guided by Father Heaven and Mother Nature.

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SLASTEN OKUS »JAJCA«: WASHOKU, TRADICIONALNA JAPONSKA HRANA, DUHOVNOST IN ZDRAVILNOST

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Pričujoč prispevek nudi razmislek o tem na kakšen način *washoku* ali tradicionalna japonska hrana in kultura poosebljata vidike duhovnosti in druge elemente, ki so podobni evropski mitologiji. Avtorica bo najprej raziskala zgodovino japonskih prehranjevalnih kultur. Nato bo spregovorila o razlogih zaradi katerih je to znanje pomembno prav zdaj - v kontekstu družbenih izzivov s katerimi se sooča Japonska, predvsem v navezavi na visoko stopnjo samomorov. Na koncu pa bo avtorica opisala pred kratkim na Japonskem nastale iniciative, ki so povezane s hrano. Avtorica bo prav tako predlagala možne nove družbene paradigme, s tem ko bo delila bistvo *washoka*, nameč prepričanje, da smo vsi enakovredno dragoceni deli celote.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Japonsko, *washoku*, tradicionalne prehranjevalne kulture

POVZETEK

Washoku, kar pomeni tradicionalno japonsko hrano in kulturo, je dolgo predstavljal temelj miru in dobrega zdravja na Japonskem. Leta 2013 je UNESCO *washoku* dodal na Reprezentativni seznam nesnovne kulturne dediščine človeštva. Po navedbah Ministrstva za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in ribolov, se *washoku* odlikuje po sledečih lastnostih: (1) uporaba različnih svežih sestavin in njihovih naravnih okusov, (2) gre za dobro uravnoteženo in zdravo prehrano, (3) poudarja lepoto narave pri prezentaciji, in (4) tvori povezavo z letnimi dogodki, kot na primer tradicionalnimi proslavami novoletnega dne.

Japonsko čaščenje narave je skupaj z budističnimi nauki privedlo do razvoja vegetarijanske kuhinje značilne za zen budistične templje, *shojin ryori*, in predstavitve smisla za *wabi* v okviru čajnih obedov *kaiseki ryori*. Poleg tega je Japonska, namesto da bi razvila postopke za zdravljenje zdravstvenih simptomov, gojila prehrabni pristop oz. prehrano naravne higiene, ki je v poznejših letih vodila v makrobiotsko gibanje.

Na Japonskem je med letoma 1970 in 2015 več kot 20.000 ljudi storilo samomor. Leta 2016 dopolnjen Osnovni zakon o protiukrepih na samomore veleva, da je to "težavo s samomori" potrebno obravnavati kot osebno težavo, ki vključuje različne družbene dejavnike. Eden izmed japonskih aforizmov ugotavlja, da hrana hrani razum in dušo, kot tudi telo. Na osnovi te premise bi lahko koncept osnovan na *washoku* pripomogel pri odpravi težave s samomori na Japonskem.

Tradicionalne prehrabne kulture so tekom druge polovice 19. stoletja izgubile na popularnosti; vendar se gre zahvaliti vladi in naporom lokalnih skupin, da so jih pred kratkim ponovno oživili.

Pričujoč prispevek obravnava *washoku* - japonske tradicionalne prehrabne kulture – in pretresa njegove vidike duhovnosti in podobnosti z elementi evropske mitologije.

THE DESIGN DEVELOPMENT OF MASS-PRODUCED KITCHEN FURNITURE IN MARIBOR BETWEEN 1946 AND 1990

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ABSTRACT

The article presents the wood-processing plants that were merged in 1960 to form the company *Marles*, steering the company's future development into the production of kitchen furniture. With the construction of a factory in 1965, the company became the leading Yugoslav kitchen manufacturer. The process of the development of mass-produced kitchens by *Marles* is described. The focus is on kitchens involving distinct developmental and design advances. The systematically collected written, pictorial and oral sources are critically compared with the data published for the first time and acquired specially for this study from the leading *Marles* designer Biala Leban.

KEY WORDS

Marles, mass-produced kitchen furniture, design, Biala Leban

The kitchen furniture industry which rapidly began to develop in Maribor with the construction of the *Marles* factory was influenced particularly by the three wood-processing industrial plants mentioned below. The whole legacy of knowledge from the numerous wood-processing plants beneath the mountain range of Pohorje was funnelled into these three plants.

The first plant was the *Lesno industrijsko podjetje (LIP) Maribor*, which was involved in the sawing of wood. In 1947, it separated from the *Dravsko gozdno gospodarstvo* forest management organisation. There followed a period when other related plants were rapidly merged with it, so that in 1951, it consisted of as many as 51 units. In Maribor, the headquarters were situated at the address Ulica talcev 7 and a larger plant at Meljska cesta 91, while the smaller plants were in the towns of Gornja Radgona, Ljutomer, Ruše, Podvelka, Lovrenc na Pohorju and in Ptuj.¹

The second plant was the factory *Oprema, industrija lesnih proizvodov*, founded at Partizanska cesta 15, Maribor in 1949. This company also included a number of smaller plants and after numerous reorganisations the two carpeting plants at Cankarjeva ulica 2 and Vinarska ulica 29, the assembly and transportation plant at Meljska cesta 25, the upholstery plant at Jaskova ulica 44 and a shop at Partizanska cesta 15 were left within the company.² It made mainly traditional living room furniture to order and later, smaller series of veneer and solid wood furniture with a modern design for living rooms and bedrooms, as well as seating furniture.³ In 1953, it began exporting to Britain and until 1959 the company also supplied furniture to the American Army stationed in Europe. Exports, which in 1953 were worth only 3,800 US dollars, increased by 1959 to approximately 245,000 US dollars.⁴

The third plant was *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, which was founded in 1946 at Zrkovska cesta 24. It originated in the company *Utensilija*, to which smaller nationalised carpenters' workshops were joined. These workshops were gradually wound down, but the plant in Zrkovska cesta, where kitchens were made, expanded. Production was organised according to the conveyor belt principle, with each carpenter contributing his own phase of the technological procedure so that with regard to this factory, we can already talk about industrial production.

¹ RAKUŠA, F. 1997 (1).

² Ibid.

³ Oral source: Biala Leban (born 1929), a designer at *Oprema* and later at *Marles*, Maribor, 2017.

⁴ GRAŠIČ, M. 2012, pp. 122–123.

Initially, only traditional kitchen furniture was made. Around 250 workers in two shifts produced between 1,000 and 1,500 kitchen suites a year, which consisted of a kitchen cupboard, a chest for storing fuel, a table, two chairs and two stools. The whole suite was coordinated in a modular fashion for easier transport.⁵ New models were regularly produced and shown once a year at a “commercial conference”. Since the production responded to market demands, all the planned products were sold at these events. In 1959, 13,743 different suites were made and 800 additional kitchen cupboards. In the same year, around 1 % of the annual production was exported to West Germany and Hungary, but most was sold on the Yugoslav market. There, the highest sales were in Croatia (35 %), followed by Slovenia (32 %), Bosnia and Herzegovina (15 %) and Serbia (14 %). Selling to the more remote parts of the Yugoslav market was avoided as the price had to be the same throughout the country. This is why in Montenegro and Macedonia, only 2 % of the annual production was sold.⁶ Production of traditional kitchen furniture ceased in 1965.

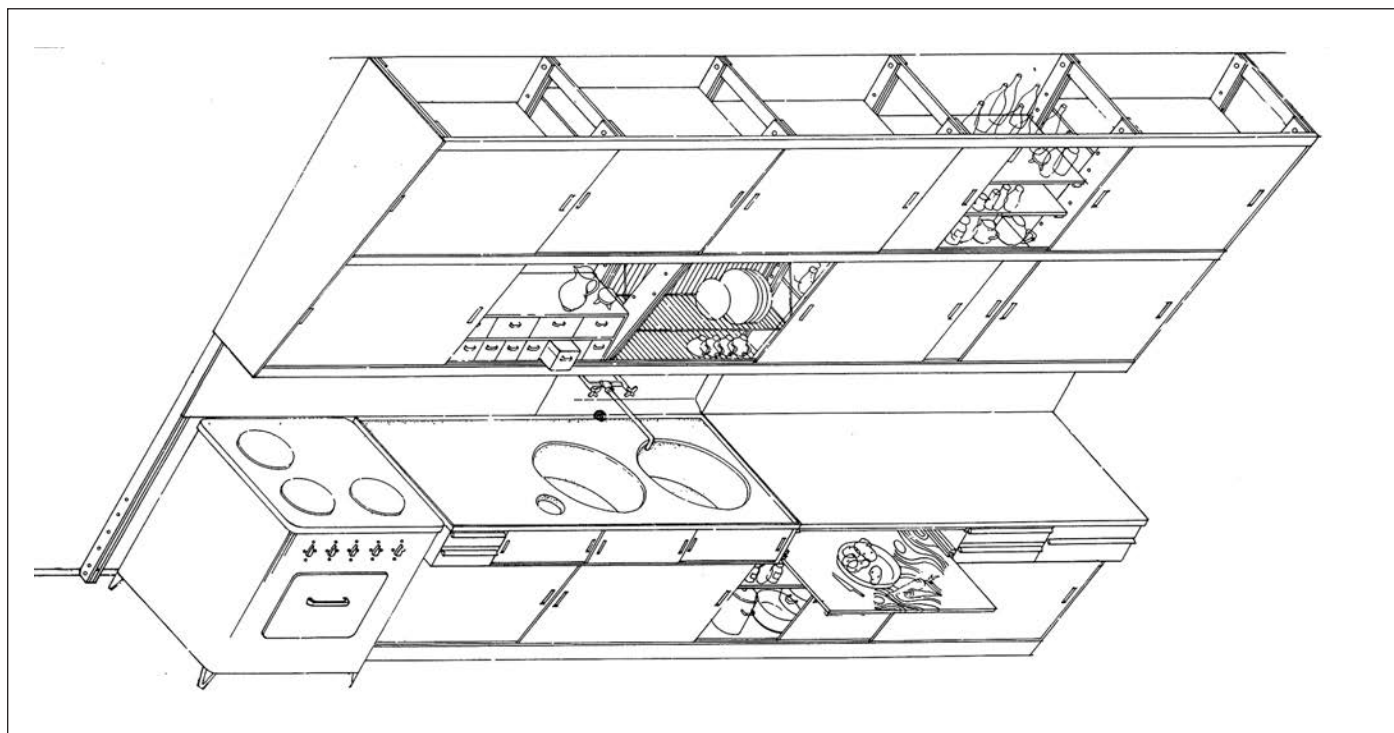


Image 1: A sketch of a Swedish kitchen designed by Branka Tancig, made by *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, 1954, in: Branka Tancig: *Sodobna kuhinja*, *Arhitekt*, No. 9, June 1953, p. 15.

In 1954, utilising plans by the architect Branka Tancig at the Central Institute for the Progress of Households of the People's Republic of Slovenia, *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* made a prototype of a *Swedish kitchen*⁷ (Image 1) and in 1954 presented it at the XIth Maribor Week trade fair.⁸ The kitchen consisted of a system of module-coordinated elements that could be assembled to suit the user. The floor units consisted of 60 cm deep cupboards with sliding doors. The wall cupboards were 105 cm high, two-storey units, also with sliding doors, which were shallower at the bottom (25 cm) than at the top (35 cm). The system also included a stand-alone tall cupboard, a sink, an electric cooker with an oven and a solid fuel furnace. The frame of the furniture was made of solid wood and the fronts of hardboard. All the furniture was painted with oil paint. This kitchen was not well-received on the market. It had many technical faults and buyers also avoided it be-

⁵ KOREN, M. 2017, p. 21.

⁶ *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, Zaključni račun za leto 1959 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

⁷ Like a few other regarded Yugoslav architects, Branka Tancig (1927–2013) supplemented her knowledge in Sweden. The high level of the development of standardisation in that country was the result of its neutral stance during the two world wars, when Swedish architects dedicated their time to study and preparation for a style of living dictated by the ravages of war. Within the development of the standards for the construction of future homes, the central focus was on the kitchen, since this is where all the water, gas and electricity infrastructure is centred and therefore the most expensive part of a home. In written sources, Branka Tancig called her version of the kitchen *modern*, while according to the statements of witnesses, *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, due to the architect's strict demands for adherence to the Swedish norms, called it Swedish. Since the invention of the *Frankfurt*, i.e. fitted kitchen in 1926, the word kitchen began to be used not only for the actual room but also for the kitchen furniture.

⁸ TANCIG, B. 1953, p. 15.

cause they did not know how to assemble it.⁹ The first mass-produced *Swedish kitchens* were ordered by the Yugoslav Army for the homes of retired officers. Building companies began to build them into new homes, thus avoiding sales tax. The state agreed to this since it encouraged the planning and furnishing of smaller, more rational kitchens.¹⁰ *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* soon bought the licence for the manufacture of *Swedish kitchens* and kept improving the design until a model of a *modern kitchen*¹¹ was arrived at, which was presented as a special attraction in 1962 at the IVth International Wood Products Fair in Ljubljana.

THE FOUNDATION OF MARLES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FACTORY

In 1960, Maribor politicians decided to merge the *Lesno industrijsko podjetje Maribor*, *Oprema* and *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*. The company *Marles* was founded, which was an abbreviation for “*Maribor les*” (Slovene for “*Maribor wood*”). Although veneer furniture made by *Oprema* offered many opportunities for development, *Marles* decided to specialise in kitchen production. This decision was mainly the result of the great success achieved by the *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* with its *modern kitchen* at the 1962 fair, while its well-developed sales network and good management on the Yugoslav market was also a factor.¹² Informal talks took place among the directors of the Slovene timber industry about the coordination of their production programmes, in line with which the factory *Meblo* was to specialise in the manufacture of bedroom furniture, *Brest* of living rooms, *Stol* of office and school furniture and *Marles* of kitchens.¹³

In 1965, in Limbuš near Maribor, *Marles* completed the construction of a new factory, specialising in the production of modern, mass-produced kitchens.¹⁴ Initially, the factory measured 12,000 m², but was later enlarged by another 14,000 m². The direction of the future development of the Slovene furniture industry was drawn there, while their kitchens changed the planning of and living in new Yugoslav homes. *Marles* generated technical development and the related technical education in the Štajerska region.¹⁵ In 1979, approximately 900 workers made over 554,000 kitchen units.¹⁶ *Marles* was selling kitchens around the whole of Yugoslavia and, via its agents, also testing the ground in markets abroad.

THE KITCHEN DESIGN PROCESS IN MARLES AND SALES EFFORTS

The development of the mass-produced kitchen in *Marles* was a team effort that required the cooperation of the designer with the appropriate technical services. All the technical, construction and material problems were resolved within the team. The design of a new product did not consist only of coming up with an attractive appearance of the fronts and other details. The designer was also faced with the need to make the whole kitchen suite as usable and adaptable as possible, while its constituent elements had to be modular and their volume optimally utilised. The designers were limited by the technological procedure and financial considerations, which always demanded from them that new products should be successful on the market. This is why the design solutions always had to be directed at the buyer, taking into account the market laws of supply and demand.¹⁷ Designers had to choose the materials used by taking into account the production technology. The design process also included production preparation.

The organisation of the working procedures connected with the design of industrially made kitchens in *Marles* was conceived on the basis of six mutually dependent phases. The first phase took place in the design studio. It consisted of the articulation of the concept and the production of sketches. This was followed by the drawing of the basic plans and details together with the measurements, the choice of materials and the surface finish.

⁹ Oral source: Stane Romih (born 1930), designer at *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* and later at *Marles*, Maribor, 2016.

¹⁰ Oral source: Ivan Gabrovec (born 1933), employed at *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* and later as the head of sales at *Marles*, Maribor, 2014–2017.

¹¹ *Marles* called its product a *modern kitchen*.

¹² Oral source: Maks Viher (born 1930), a designer at the *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, later a salesman at *Marles*, Maribor, 2016; see also oral source: Stane Romih, Maribor, 2016; see also oral source: Ivan Gabrovec, Maribor, 2014–2017.

¹³ Oral source: Vlado Jurančič (born 1927), Director of *Marles* between 1965 and 1977, Maribor, 2017.

¹⁴ By 1970, *Marles* also built factories for the production of prefabricated houses in Lovrenc na Pohorju and in Podvelka. See: RAKUŠA, F. 1997 (2).

¹⁵ ČEBULJ, M. 1988, pp. 275–283.

¹⁶ RAKUŠA, F. 1997 (2).

¹⁷ Oral source: Biala Leban, Maribor, 2017.

The second phase took place in the sample workshop.¹⁸ The designer discussed with the workshop supervisor the technical solutions that were to lead to the best ways of realising the design ideas. Most attention had to be given to thinking about the new production tools required or about the possibilities of adapting existing tools. A carpenter from the mass production plant also took part in these discussions. The third phase consisted of the evaluation of the sample, carried out by the purchasing and sales departments. Approval of the sample came from the factory director and this signified that the sample could now be submitted for public evaluation. The fourth phase could now begin. A prototype of the whole kitchen suite was made and exhibited for the first time at a fair, thus testing the market. If the response was positive, the fifth phase followed, in which the designer was no longer included since it took place in the construction department. It consisted of the procedures necessary for sending the new kitchen into mass production, including the drawing of all the technical documentation (assembly drawings, installation drawings and detail drawings) and the creation of the descriptions. In the construction department, the technological analysis of the future production line was also carried out (primarily the demands for new tools, the ways of installing them into the production machines, and new work tools and machines). Phase six involved the production of a trial run kitchen, in which the course of the industrial production process was assessed. Due to its specifics, the product could at this stage still be changed or simplified, which usually happened at the expense of the appearance.¹⁹

This was followed by regular production and the placing of the furniture on the market. In connection with the marketing of the kitchens, it should be noted that *Marles* inherited from *Tovarna pohištva Maribor* a network of around 50 salesmen, who came from all the Yugoslav republics. With the help of printed material (photographs, brochures, instructions) they advertised the product among the public. *Marles* salesmen also collected customers' wishes and comments, and passed them onto the marketing people so that the design and production could respond to market demands.²⁰ The *Marles* designers made suggestions for the set-up of stands at fairs, arranged the kitchens for photography and created the promotional material.²¹

Marles had large distribution centres in Zemun, Sarajevo and Skopje; representative offices and/or its own shops in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade; and its kitchens were on show in the salons of more or less all the large Yugoslav retail companies. The designers proposed the arrangement of the exhibited kitchen suites and checked their condition on site.²²

THE MARLES MODERN KITCHEN

*Modern kitchen, 1962*²³

The *modern kitchen* (Image 2) was designed by Maks Viher (born 1939). The furniture had a solid spruce wood frame, while the back panels and the drawer bottoms were made of hardboard and finished with enamel varnish. The worktops consisted of solid wood boards. All the units came in modules measuring 40, 60 or 80 cm in width. The kitchen was comprised of a tall cupboard, a set of floor units that finished in a corner cupboard, and a set of wall cupboards. The oven was built into the tall cupboard. The floor units consisted of cupboards with side-opening doors and drawers at the top. This suite also included a built-in hob and two sinks. Between the hob and one of the sinks, there was a pull-out working surface, and at the end of the floor units a cupboard on wheels. The built-in oven and hob were separated and placed at working height,

¹⁸ One of the main advantages that the *Marles* factory had over the competition was the sample workshop. In carpentry, the knowledge acquired through imitation learned during the formal educational process and solidified through repetition was used. These skills are embodied and transferred from generation to generation. *Marles's* sample workshop initially employed around ten carpenters from *Oprema* and *Tovarna pohištva Maribor*, to whom during their apprenticeship the embodied and verbally unarticulated skills had been transferred, which include the transfer of suitable conduct and hierarchical relationships. Michael Herzfeld calls this learning "situated peripheral learning". He states that individuals learn not only specific techniques, but also social processes in general. (See: HERZFELD, M. 2004, p. 51. Summarised from VODOPIVEC, N. 2007, p. 126.) Later, too, a great deal of care went into recruiting workers for the sample workshop, and their number remained more or less constant.

¹⁹ Oral source: Biala Leban, Maribor, 2017.

²⁰ Oral source: Ivan Gabrovec, Maribor, 2014–2017.

²¹ Oral source: Irena Kajnič (born 1954), architect, employed at *Marles* between 1982 and 1990, where she was responsible for kitchen development. Maribor, 2014–2017; see also oral source: Biala Leban, Maribor, 2017.

²² Oral source: Ivan Gabrovec, Maribor, 2017.

²³ A photograph of the *modern kitchen* at the Ljubljana Fair, 1962 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

which was at the time an exceptional novelty.²⁴ The two appliances were made at the factory *Tobi* in Bistrica near Limbuš, with which *Marles* began to cooperate in 1962.²⁵



Image 2: A photograph of the *modern kitchen* designed by Maks Viher, made by *Tovarna pohištva Maribor – Marles*, 1962 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

With its *modern kitchen*, which was exhibited at the 1962 Ljubljana Fair, the *Marles* team²⁶ demonstrated its ambitions to the Yugoslav market. These ambitions also led the company to buy licences from the Central Institute for the Progress of Households, to develop the basic design and then, applying its craft skills and industrial capacities, to transform the Swedish kitchen into the Slovene modern kitchen. This kitchen represented the wealth of knowledge about the making of kitchen furniture and the cooperation within the Maribor industry. The *modern kitchen* was not sold in its exhibited form as it was too expensive for the then conditions. It was followed by the models S-63,²⁷ S-64²⁸ and S-65.

SELECTED MARLES KITCHENS DESIGNED BY BIALA LEBAN

Biala Leban (born 1929) studied at the Faculty of Architecture and Geodesy in Ljubljana under Professor Jože Plečnik. In 1954, she was the first employee of the company *Lesnina furniture design studio* in Ljubljana. For making individual orders, *Lesnina* hired Šentvid carpenters, where Biala Leban familiarised herself with the craft of creating individual products. In 1956, she moved to the factory *Oprema*, in which she became acquainted with industrial production and, after the founding of *Marles*, where she was transferred in 1965, also with mass production. At *Marles*, she was responsible for the development and design of kitchens.²⁹ She came up with new ideas during visits to furniture fairs, where the European kitchen industry showed its products, since at that time there was not much printed material on the subject. Numerous solutions were the fruit of her own study. The implementation of all the proposed innovations was hindered by the limited production technology and, above all, the weak purchasing power of the population of the socialist Yugoslavia.

Biala Leban dictated the design of Yugoslav mass-produced kitchen furniture. Among the different kitchen suites assessed between 1968 and 1988 at the central national International Furniture, Furnishings and Interior Design Fair in Belgrade (hereafter Belgrade Fair), hers were the only kitchens to receive awards on a regular basis.³⁰ The panels of judges, which consisted of top designers, university lecturers, retailers and journalists,

²⁴ Oral source: Maks Viher, Maribor, 2016.

²⁵ Večer, 31. 5. 1962, p. 4.

²⁶ Although the kitchen was made on the premises of the Tovarna pohištva Maribor, at the fair it bore the Marles logo.

²⁷ The brochure *Sodobna kuhinja S-63*, Marles, Maribor, 1963.

²⁸ The brochure *Program kuhinj S-64*, Marles, Maribor, 1964.

²⁹ In addition to kitchen furniture, *Marles* also made seating furniture and tables to go with it. These were initially designed by Anton Šegula and later Aleksander Šerer, while between 1972 and 1987 production took place at the *Tovarna pohištva Ljutomer*. Between 1972 and 1986, in addition to kitchens, children's and bathroom furniture was also made at the *Tovarna pohištva Lenart*, the architect responsible for the design of these was Irena Kranjc.

³⁰ *Beograjski sejem pohištva in notranje dekoracije 1988*, in: *Naš dom*, XXII/262 (February 1989), pp. 20–31.

evaluated the design, functionality, modernity, comfort, economy, ease of maintaining hygiene, the adaptability to Yugoslav conditions with regard to home standards, and the suitability for mass production.³¹ The fourteen awarded kitchens designed by Biala Leban were exceptional within the Yugoslav space, although the magazine *Naš dom* in 1970 labelled *Marles's* kitchen suites a concept of high quality both at home and abroad.³²

Six awarded kitchens designed for *Marles* by Biala Leban will now be dealt with in chronological order. The focus will be on their exceptional developmental and design features. The design standards established in the previous kitchen suites are not repeated in the descriptions.

Super-67,³³ 1967

In 1967, Biala Leban developed at the new *Marles* factory the kitchen *Super-67* (Image 3), which was the first to be mass-produced. The entire frame of the units was made of sandwich panels. These consisted of two hardboard peripheral boards, between which there was a honeycomb made of impregnated cardboard. They were finished with white varnish. The worktops consisted of three-layered hardboard, coated with Melapan in an imitation of canvas. The fronts were covered in Melapan on both sides, the cupboard doors in white, while the fronts of the top drawers in the floor units and the pedestals appeared in imitation walnut. The doors opened with metal pull handles. For the first time, the whole kitchen was designed in line with the Yugoslav standard JUS,³⁴ consisting of a set of standardised units and suitable for use with most of the thermoelectric appliances made in Yugoslavia. Cupboard widths were 40, 50, 80, 100, 120, 150 and 160 cm. The uniform height of the floor cupboards was 85 cm and the depth 55 cm. Each cupboard had its own worktop, which meant that the set could be added to. The wall cupboards were also of a uniform height of 59 cm and a depth of 30 cm. The maximum height of the wall units was 194 cm and was determined by the tall cupboard with a side-opening, triple door.



Image 3: Brochure for the *Marles* kitchen *Super – 67/1*, *Marles*, Maribor, 1968.

The kitchen consisted of numerous elements that were a new feature within the *Marles* programme and most of them were not implemented in any other mass production programme of other Yugoslav kitchen manufacturers. For the first time, a floor cupboard consisted of drawers. It is worth mentioning the design of the bottom drawer, which had double depth. It stored a foldable stool, with the help of which the highest shelf in the wall cupboards could be reached. Floor cupboards had different accessories: pull-out rails for drying kitchen towels; a pull-out board on which food could be prepared either sitting down or standing; a retracting shelf for carrying out household tasks or the placement of kitchen appliances; a retracting knife for cutting bread. A floor corner unit was designed, which opened with a rotary shelf. Following the then hygiene

³¹ Letni natečaj Jugoslovansko pohoštvo '82, in: *Naš dom*, XVI/182, No. 6 (June 1982), p. 20.

³² Nekaj problematike industrijskega oblikovanja v naši državi, in: *Naš dom*, 2/1970 (February 1970), p. 4.

³³ Brochure for the *Marles* kitchen *Super – 67/1*, *Marles*, Maribor, 1968.

³⁴ Standards were determined by the Yugoslav Standards JUS Act, published in 1960 and in 1964 supplemented by the Federal Institute of Standardisation with the Catalogue of Yugoslav Standards JUS. In connection with the design of kitchen surfaces and furniture, the Catalogue summarised Swedish norms.

advice that dishes should not be dried with a cloth, Biala Leban designed a wall cupboard with doors opening in the middle, which had no bottom and two plastic-coated drainers. This cupboard was part of the kitchen's "water centre" and was supposed to be placed above the sink. For the first time, a mass-produced holder with a fluorescent light and a shade was offered, which could be installed beneath the wall cupboards. The wall of the shade included a built-in kitchen clock.

In 1967, Biala Leban received an award at the Furniture Fair in Ljubljana for the design of the *Super-67* kitchen.³⁵

It is interesting that in the same year the kitchen *Elegant*³⁶ was also launched and was the cheapest kitchen on the Yugoslav market. Biala Leban stripped down the *Super-67* model in such a way that of all the accessories, there remained only the drawer cupboard, pull-out board for food preparation while sitting or standing and the light with all its parts. She achieved a visible change by altering the colour strip (the fronts of the top drawers in floor cupboards) from imitation walnut to blue and through the introduction of built-in plastic profiles that were placed along the whole width of the fronts and served as handles.

Cocktail 68,³⁷ 1968

The frame of the cupboards in the *Cocktail 68* kitchen was made of hardboard, which was a better-quality replacement for sandwich panels. The hardboard was covered on both sides with Melapan. The fronts were made of sandwich panels that were also covered on both sides with Melapan. All the edges were finished with PVC strip, adhered to the base at high temperature, which prevented water entering the contact points. While designing the *Cocktail 68* kitchen, Biala Leban paid close attention to colours, as well as shape.³⁸ The elegant mass-produced colour combination consisted of black pedestals, the doors of the wall cupboards and the fronts of the top drawers in the floor cupboards were white, while the doors and other drawer fronts on the floor cupboards were in the colour of the Japanese ash tree. The series included worktops in a grey mesh pattern, but could also be ordered in beige, yellow, red or green or in the colour of the Japanese ash.

To the already established cupboard widths of 40, 50, 80, 100, 120, 150 and 160 cm, the widths of 30 and 60 cm were added. This enabled the kitchen suite to be wider by another 10 cm. The unified depth of the floor cupboards was increased by 5 cm, which altogether now came to 60 cm. This measurement was demanded by the cooker, oven and refrigerator. Biala Leban designed the type of units that enabled these appliances to be built in and from the kitchen *Cocktail 68* onwards, this was standard in *Marles* kitchen design. For the first time, a one piece worktop was planned, with a maximum length of 270 cm, which required that all the floor units were firmly fastened to each other, for which *Marles* for the first time used double plastic screws.

Another new feature were the accessories in the floor units, such as a pull-out dining table measuring 95 x 95 cm (Image 4) and rotary shelves fastened to the doors of the sink cupboard for storing bottles of cleaning fluids and for a rubbish bin. The retractable shelf with the attached rotary knife for cutting bread could be made as a liftable shelf and after use rotated back into the cupboard, while the worktop remained free. Another new feature was the "silent kitchen helper", which consisted of a pull-out trolley built into a 50 cm wide standing cupboard, with a wooden worktop, drawers for storing utensils and foods and a perforated wall with hooks for hanging small utensils.

The kitchen *Cocktail 68* also came in two other versions: *Cocktail variant* and *Cocktail variant de luxe*, which differed from the basic version in the colour. The former (Image 5) had pedestals, the fronts of the top drawers in the floor units and the worktop in the colour of rosewood, and the doors of all the cupboards and the fronts of all the other drawers in the floor units in orange. The latter variant had white, decorative slats on the orange cupboard doors. The colour orange continued to represent a *Marles* trademark.³⁹ This was contrib-

³⁵ Uporabna umetnost – 17, Biala Leban, in: Naš dom, XVI/186, No. 10 (October 1982), pp. 23–24.

³⁶ Brochure for the Marles kitchen *Elegant III*, Marles, Maribor, 1971.

³⁷ Brochure for the Marles kitchen *Cocktail* – 68/1, Marles, Maribor, 1968. See also: Naš dom, III/2/ (February 1970), p. 3.

³⁸ Kuhinja mora biti več kot delovni prostor, in: Naš dom, IV/5 (May 1971), pp. 3–18.

³⁹ Other Yugoslav kitchen manufacturers also imitated the orange colour concept, but much less successfully. The production of large orange surfaces that had to last a long time posed a big problem for the Yugoslav timber industry at the time. The selection of the highest quality materials was crucial for *Marles*'s success in this.

uted to by nine-minute promotional film entitled *Love Goes Through the Kitchen* (a wordplay on the Slovene saying that love goes through the stomach), recorded for *Marles* by a team from the company Viba Film,⁴⁰ and featuring one of the most popular Slovene comedians, Janez Škof (1924–2009).



Image 4: A pull-out dining table, in: brochure for the *Marles* kitchen-*Cocktail* – 68/1, *Marles*, Maribor, 1968.



Image 5: The *kitchen Cocktail* variant designed by Biala Leban, made by *Marles*, Maribor, 1968, in: *Manj truda in več prostega časa v Marlesovih kuhinjah*, brochure, *Marles*, Maribor.

At the 1968 Belgrade Fair, the kitchen *Cocktail* 68 received the highest award (Golden Key), while its designer Biala Leban personally received a Special Diploma. At the 1969 Ljubljana Furniture Fair, the Yugoslav award went to the *Cocktail* variant of this kitchen.

Venera,⁴¹ 1971

The construction foundations and the finish of the kitchen *Venera* remained at the level of the previous models, but wooden drawers and better-quality metalwork was newly introduced. In addition, for the first time Biala Leban designed groove handles (Image 6), which she spent years developing and turned it into a

⁴⁰ Director: Jože Bevc, cameraman: Jure Pervanje.

⁴¹ Brochure for the *Marles* kitchen *Venera* I/71, *Marles*, Maribor, 1971.

recognisable *Marles* detail. This involved a solid oak wood edge to the cupboard doors, made in such a way that with a careful removal of a bit of wood, an indentation appeared and with it, room for the fingers.

The wall cupboards grew from 59 cm in height to 66 cm, and the free-standing kitchen units from 194 to 206 cm. The kitchen also introduced wall cupboards 30 cm high, which were offered as a way of raising the height of the wall units. With the new combined height of 236 cm, this kitchen furniture was for the first time adapted to the planning standards for the ceiling height in blocks of flats, which also made it possible to build a whole partition wall using the kitchen units.



Image 6: A photograph of the groove handles on the *Venera* kitchen designed by Biala Leban, made by *Marles*, Maribor, 1971 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

This kitchen consisted of as many as fifty-seven different units. For the first time, a unit for a built-in dishwasher was mass-produced. The kitchen and the dining corner could be connected via a bar counter unit (Image 7), and a dividing wall between the kitchen and the dining room or living room, as mentioned above, could be constructed from the kitchen units, which also included a carefully designed serving hatch. The then public debate about the role of modern women in society included women's need to be informed, educated and able to communicate. The designer responded by designing kitchen units that could be used to assemble a handy administrative corner (Image 7). Among other elements, it encompassed open shelves which, after this kitchen model, became anchored in *Marles* standards, becoming an indispensable element of its kitchens.



Image 7: Brochure for the *Marles* kitchen *Venera* I/71, *Marles*, Maribor, 1971.

The *Venera* kitchen introduced significant new features to the Yugoslav kitchen furniture, thanks to which at the 1973 International Zagreb Autumn Trade Fair *Marles* received the Yu Design Award '73.⁴²

Pamela variant,⁴³ 1981

In 1981, Biala Leban adapted the mass-produced kitchen *Pamela* for the movement-impaired (Image 8). The biggest challenge in designing an adapted variant of a standard kitchen was how to fit all the necessary kitchen equipment into the limited space of an average flat and at the same time leave enough space for manoeuvring a wheelchair. The functional requirements also had to be met and the kitchen had to be organised in such a way that the work in it could be completed within the shortest possible time. The floor kitchen units were lowered and opened up beneath the food preparation counter. On one side of the worktop the designer placed a low sink and on the other side a ceramic glass hob. She adjusted the heights of the units in such a way that wheelchair approach was possible beneath the whole worktop, including the hob and the sink. The set of wall units was installed lower, but otherwise its height remained the same as in the mass-produced model of the same kitchen. Following the example of the aluminium drawers for storing the frequently used food ingredients she saw in the Frankfurt kitchen, Biala Leban placed a plastic pull-out drawer under the wall cupboards. A wheelchair bound person thus had everything within the reach of her hands.

During the design of the adapted kitchen, Biala Leban consulted organisations for the disabled. Although there was demand on the market, it was not high enough for *Marles* to mass-produce this kitchen model and it was made only as a sample. But it was the first Yugoslav attempt of industrial kitchen design for the movement-impaired, which was also recognised by the judging panel, which in 1981 awarded it a Diploma for Yugoslav Furniture of the Year and a certificate of recognition for good design.⁴⁴



Image 8: Photograph from the Belgrade Fair of the kitchen *Pamela variant* designed by Biala Leban, made by *Marles*, Belgrade, 1981 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

Angara,⁴⁵ 1987

When designing the *Angara* kitchen, Biala Leban returned to the concept that the kitchen is the central family living space, which has to be harmless to health, attractive and practical. In order to satisfy these demands, she decided to make the whole kitchen out of solid wood. She chose alder wood, since there are no indications that alder wood dust is carcinogenic, unlike the dust of some other wood types. For sticking together, an adhesive made on the basis of a special polyvinyl acetate emulsion was used, which does not release toxins into the environment after hardening. All the wooden parts of the kitchen were coated with linseed oil and wax bearing the Blue Angel German environmental protection label.⁴⁶

⁴² Brochure *Manj truda in več prostega časa v Marlesovih kuhinjah*, Marles, Maribor, 1973.

⁴³ Photograph of the kitchen *Pamela variant* from the Belgrade Fair, 1981 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

⁴⁴ XIX. Mednarodni sejem pohištva, opreme in notranje dekoracije, in: *Naš dom*, XV/179 (February 1982), pp. 19–20.

⁴⁵ Brochure for the Marles kitchen *Angara*, Marles, Maribor, 1988.

⁴⁶ Dodatek in obrazložitev iz kemično biološkega stališča k *Angara* bio programu, *Marles*, 1987 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

The design of the *Angara* kitchen was superior. Biala Leban adapted its shape to the beauty of the material itself and intervened with seemingly minimalist, but carefully thought out interventions. All the edges were rounded, the groove handles (Image 9) were made in an extremely refined way, for which the factory had to acquire new tools. In addition to perfect harmony of form, the kitchen was also functional. A new design feature was a high number of open shelves in the wall and floor kitchen units. They were placed at different levels and added a dynamic note to the otherwise unified appearance of the kitchen with regard to its colour.

With the *Angara*, *Marles* reached for the very summit of the European kitchen furniture design. The designer raised a number of issues about the ecological awareness of designers and the whole furniture industry, encouraging *Marles* to include these factors among the goals of its business policy. As with many *Marles* products, in this regard these were way ahead of their time.

At the 1987 XXVth Belgrade Fair, *Marles* received the highest award (Golden Key) for the *Angara* kitchen, while Biala Leban personally received a Special Diploma. Her “organic kitchen” was the first in Yugoslavia, while at the Cologne and Ulm furniture fairs it received a great deal of attention from European kitchen manufacturers and retailers.⁴⁷



Image 9: Photograph of groove handles on the kitchen *Angara* designed by Biala Leban, made by *Marles*, Maribor, 1987 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

Irida,⁴⁸ 1988

The kitchen model *Irida* (Image 10) was the last of Biala Leban's designs to receive the highest award. In addition to its functionality, the kitchen was aesthetically exceptional. That year, *Marles* acquired a new machine for subsequent post-forming of laminate, which meant that the edges of the fronts could be rounded. The designer used this to its full advantage and emphasised it with a refined choice of a metallised laminate, consisting of thin lines in burgundy and grey, which together created the impression of colour depth. The horizontal edges of the fronts were made in silver metal, as were the pull handles. The selection of the materials and the manner of the finish, as well as all the details, made a crucial contribution to the impression of a modern, technologically perfected product.

⁴⁷ Oral source: Biala Leban, Maribor, 2017; see also oral source: Irena Kajnič, Maribor, 2014–2017.

⁴⁸ Photograph of the kitchen *Irida* from the Belgrade Fair, 1987 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).



Image 10: Photograph from the Belgrade Fair of the kitchen *Irida* designed by Biala Leban, made by *Marles*, Belgrade, 1987 (Mirjana Koren's personal archive).

At the 1988 XXVIth Belgrade Fair, *Marles* again received the top award (Golden Key) for this kitchen and Biala Leban a Special Diploma.

The *Irida* kitchen was chosen by the federal government to show off the high quality of industrial design in Yugoslavia. The kitchen was selected to be installed in the fifty kitchens that were in 1989 fitted in the skyscraper housing the delegates of the IXth Non-Aligned Movement conference in Belgrade.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

In 1960, the Maribor authorities founded the company *Marles*, in which the already achieved high level of knowledge about wood design from around the Štajerska region was pooled. Through the decision that the new factory should specialise in the mass production of kitchen furniture, the ambitions of *Marles* employees came to the forefront, shown for the first time in the development of the prototype of the *Swedish kitchen* into the Slovene *modern kitchen*. In 1965, the designer Biala Leban joined the *Marles* team and stayed there until the company's bankruptcy. She was in charge of the development and design of kitchens. From the first attempts at the organisation of the production phases for the mass production of kitchens to the end of her career, Biala Leban saw design as a team effort of different factory services.

Biala Leban's kitchens received professional recognition and regular awards. Through her designs, it is possible to follow the development of industrial design in Yugoslavia, which strongly influenced the development of the aesthetic standards in society. We can trace the development of ergonomics, the findings of which, after some delay, were used in the creation of the standards for the planning of kitchens, including all their furniture and equipment. Last but not least, we can learn about the development of technology in the Yugoslav furniture industry. Biala Leban's adaptability to the changing realities of the Yugoslav market can be counted as one of her great contributions to *Marles* and to Yugoslavia. During times of hardship, she sought favourably priced design solutions, which enabled even poorer households to purchase functional and aesthetic kitchens, and then when the economy picked up, she designed financially more demanding kitchens. These received a great deal of attention at prestigious European kitchen furniture fairs.

⁴⁹ Oral source: Janko Kebler (born 1954), development engineer at *Marles*, Maribor, 2014–2017; see also oral source: Biala Leban, Maribor, 2017; see also oral source: Irena Kajnč, Maribor, 2014–2017.

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RAZVOJ OBLIKOVANJA SERIJSKEGA KUHINJSKEGA POHIŠTVA V MARIBORU V OBDOBJU MED LETOMA 1946 IN 1990

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni lesni obrati, ki so bili leta 1960 združeni v podjetje Marles in so pogojevali njegovo nadaljnjo usmeritev v proizvodnjo kuhinjskega pohištva. Z izgradnjo tovarne leta 1965 se je podjetje razvilo v vodilnega jugoslovanskega proizvajalca kuhinj. Prikazan je proces razvoja serijske kuhinje v Marlesu. Obdelane so tiste izbrane Marlesove kuhinje, iz katerih se odčitavajo razvojne oziroma oblikovalske spremembe. Sistematično zbrani pisni, slikovni in ustni viri so kritično soočeni s prvič objavljenimi podatki, ki so bili za potrebe te raziskave pridobljeni od vodilne Marlesove oblikovalke Biale Leban.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Marles, serijsko kuhinjsko pohištvo, oblikovanje, Biala Leban

POVZETEK

V Tovarni pohištva Maribor je bila v proizvodnjo kuhinj že v 50. letih 20. stoletja uvedena serijska proizvodnja. Leta 1954 so po načrtih arhitektke Centralnega zavoda za napredek gospodinjstva LRS Branke Tancig izdelali prototip švedske kuhinje, odkupili licence za njeno izdelavo in načrte izboljševali do modela *moderne kuhinje*. Leta 1965 je podjetje Marles zgradilo tovarno za proizvodnjo serijskega kuhinjskega pohištva in v njej zaposlilo oblikovalko Bialo Leban, ki je do 90. let 20. stoletja diktirala oblikovanje jugoslovanskih kuhinj. Med različnimi pohištvenimi sestavi, ki so bili med letoma 1968 in 1988 ocenjevani na osrednjem državnem Mednarodnem sejmu pohištva, opreme in notranje dekoracije v Beogradu, so kontinuirano prejemale nagrade edino njene kuhinje.

Model *Super-67* je bila prva kuhinja, projektirana po jugoslovanskem merskem standardu JUS. Sestavljena je bila iz številnih elementov, ki so bili v Marlesovem programu noviteta, večina med njimi pa ni bila implementirana v noben serijski program drugih jugoslovanskih kuhinjskih proizvajalcev. Pri oblikovanju kuhinje *Cocktail 68* se je Biala Leban posebej pazljivo lotila barvne zasnove modela. V modela *Cocktail variant* in *Cocktail variant de luxe* je uvedla oranžno barvo, ki je potem postala Marlesov prepoznavni znak. V kuhinji *Venera* je prvič implementirala oblikovalsko rešitev utopnega ročaja, ki ga je z leti razvijala in izoblikovala v prepoznaven Marlesov detajl. Kuhinjsko pohištvo se je z višino prvič prilagodilo projektantskemu standardu za višino blokovskega stanovanja. Ko je serijsko kuhinjo *Pamela* prilagodila za gibalno ovirane osebe, je v omejen kuhinjski prostor povprečnega blokovskega stanovanja namestila vso potrebno kuhinjsko opremo in pri tem omogočila dovolj prostora za manevriranje z invalidskim vozičkom. Poleg izjemne oblikovne skladnosti in funkcionalnosti sta kuhinjo *Angara* odlikovala tudi izbor masivnega lesa in finalna obdelava ter ji prinesla znak prve »bio kuhinje« v Jugoslaviji. Kuhinja *Irida* je bila zadnji najvišje nagrajeni model Biale Leban. Izjemen ni bil samo po funkcionalnosti, pač pa predvsem po svoji estetski funkciji, h kateri so odločilno prispevali z obliko usklajeni izbor materialov, način finalne obdelave in rešitve detajlov.

Kot enega večjih prispevkov Biale Leban v celotnem jugoslovanskem prostoru lahko štejemo oblikovalkino prilagojenost na spremenljive zmožnosti jugoslovanskega trga. V času pomanjkanja je projektirala cenovno ugodne rešitve, s katerimi je tudi ekonomsko šibkejšim gospodinjam omogočila nabavo funkcionalnih in estetskih kuhinj, v času večjih ekonomskih zmožnosti pa je oblikovala finančno zahtevne kuhinje.

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PROFESSIONAL SHARED KITCHENS FOR INNOVATION IN THE FOOD SECTOR*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

Professional shared kitchens are an emerging phenomenon in the food sector. The paper gives a short overview of different organisations of shared kitchens. Available information on innovation in small and medium enterprises (SMEs) is considered, with the particular focus on food SMEs. Further, Newmarket Kitchen from Bray, Co. Wicklow, Ireland is used as a showcase for better explanation of organisation of a food business incubator. Based on the literature available, as well as on the author's personal, professional experience, two major reasons to regard shared kitchens as places of innovation are given and explained. Some final considerations and importance of further research are indicated.

KEYWORDS

Shared-use Kitchen, Kitchen Incubator, Kitchen Accelerator, Innovation, Food, SMEs

INTRODUCTION

The food sector is the largest producing sector within the European Union (EU). It plays an important role in EU economic output and employment.¹ Therefore, the importance of innovation in food sector seems obvious. Even within a fragmented and relatively low technology sector, innovativeness brings significant competitive advantages and beneficial commercial outcomes.² Food firms generally do regard innovation as essential and are, in fact, continuously forced to innovate in order to keep up with the regulations.³ Yet, innovation in the food sector is typically a very complex process, highly challenging to manage.⁴ Innovation in the food sector can include introduction of a variety of changes, depending on the case. As food businesses differ significantly among themselves, so does their motive to innovate, the way they manage innovation and consequently, the innovations themselves. This diversity is one of the reasons why measuring innovation is so hard and why there is no generally accepted way of measuring innovation.⁵ There is no guidance on factors among small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in a specific industry (such as the food industry) that contribute to successful innovation and innovation management.⁶ There are a number of papers tackling innovation in the food sector, but not so many in SMEs within the sector,⁷ even though the agri-food industry, particularly in Europe, is dominated by SMEs.⁸

Even within the limited available literature, there are some rather interesting findings and implications of the food SMEs activity in general and, more specifically, innovativeness. Per example, findings of two different studies suggest that small and medium enterprises in the food sector are of particular importance in rural economies, where the food sector plays a significant role.⁹ Or somewhat unexpectedly, that regions with better economic performance have less innovative firms.¹⁰

Different authors give different definitions of innovation, including those questioning the existence of one, stan-

* Translation: Dušan Ristić

¹ BAREGHEH, A. et al. 2012a, p. 1640.

² BHASKARAN, S. 2006, p. 76.

³ AVERMAETE, T. et al. 2003, p. 8.

⁴ SARKAR, S. and COSTA, A.I.A. 2008, p. 575.

⁵ AVERMAETE, T. et al. 2003, p. 9.

⁶ LAFORET, S. and TANN, J. 2006, p. 367.

⁷ BAREGHEH, A. et al. 2012a, p. 1640.

⁸ MATOPOULOS, et al., 2007, p. 2; MUSCIO, et al. 2010, p. 36.

⁹ BAREGHEH, A. et al., 2012a, p. 1641, DE NORONHA VAZ, M.T. et al. 2006, p. 95.

¹⁰ AVERMAETE, T. et al. 2003, p. 15.

dard definition of innovation.¹¹ Authors also propose different types of innovation and reasons for innovation. Thus, some find SMEs are doing “the economic-oriented, organization-oriented and the project-oriented” research,¹² while others state SMEs innovate in order to “add to their product range (product innovation); expand their business (paradigm innovation); improve (product or process innovation); or explore and expand into new markets (position or paradigm innovation).¹³ In any case, different types of innovation in SMEs in the food sector are tightly inter-related.¹⁴ In general, due to lack of resources, SMEs in the sector are considered to have low research and development capacity.¹⁵ On the other hand, it is shown that almost 90% of small food companies introduced some kind of innovation recently, even though it is usually a novelty from the firm’s point of view rather than introduction of a change never seen before.¹⁶ Baregheh and others agree that SMEs are focused more on incremental than on radical innovation.¹⁷ Importantly and despite the lack of resources, SMEs do invest into innovation.¹⁸ For understanding this paper, the following (rather broad) definition can be used: “Innovation activities consist of developing new ways of working and incremental product innovations.”¹⁹

Professional shared-use kitchen is defined as a legally licensed professional kitchen space certified for the production of value-added food products.²⁰ The fact that the kitchen is licensed implies that the authorities confirmed it provides conditions for the production of safe food. Generally, the increasing popularity of shared-use kitchens may be regarded as a reaction to increasing complexity of legal requirements being introduced and implemented in the food sector. There are several kinds of professional shared kitchens. A “Professional shared-use kitchen” or simply “Shared Kitchen” provides equipped kitchen space, but not supportive resources or training. A “(Shared-use) Kitchen incubator” or “Food business incubator”, apart from the kitchen itself, provides additional expertise and support and is focused on new or very early stage businesses. A “Kitchen accelerator” is focused on already established businesses looking for further growth. Some kitchens operate on the fine line between the “Shared kitchen” and “Kitchen incubator” or between the “Kitchen incubator” and “Kitchen Accelerator”, which makes the differentiation difficult.²¹ The relationship between the kitchen and companies operating from it may vary. The same kitchen may simultaneously act as a shared-use kitchen if a business does not use additional support, and as an incubator, if another business does use additional available resources. Therefore, the value businesses operating from such a kitchen obtain may vary from case to case.

Grouping shared-use kitchens into kitchens, incubators and accelerators is only one way of making distinction between different businesses, depending on the food companies they focus on and additional services they are able to offer. Yet, the variety of business models used in shared-use kitchens is much wider. One important factor is the source of their income. While some are fully commercial, others rely on different grants or other sources. Further, some kitchens are for-profit, while others are not-for-profit organisations. “Community Kitchens” per example are a particular type of shared kitchens, focused on community development and help to people in need (low-income, minority, immigrant- and similar communities). Their goal is a positive social impact rather than business development. Some incubators are affiliated to universities. Some kitchens are product-specific, such as those focusing only on beer brewing.²²

CASE STUDY

A food business incubator Newmarket Kitchen from Bray, Co. Wicklow, Ireland, will be used as a case study in this paper in order to provide a clearer picture of the business model. Having spent four months as a Food Science Advisory Intern in the company, and with a permission of the owner and the director of the Newmarket Kitchen, the author feels free to share some of the relevant information about the way the Newmarket Kitchen operates.

¹¹ LAFORET, S. and TANN J. 2006, p. 367.

¹² LAFORET, S. and TANN J. 2006, p. 364.

¹³ BAREGHEH, A. et al. 2012a, pp. 1650, 1651.

¹⁴ BAREGHEH, A. et al. 2012a, p. 1649.

¹⁵ MUSCIO, A. et al. 2010, p. 36.

¹⁶ AVERMAETE, T. et al. 2003, p. 15.

¹⁷ BAREGHEH, A. et al. 2012b, p. 300.

¹⁸ KUMI-AMPOFO, F. and BROOKS, C.M. 2009, p. 530.

¹⁹ LAFORET, S. and TANN, J. 2006, p. 374.

²⁰ CONOVER, E. et al. 2015, p. 3.

²¹ ECONSULT SOLUTIONS, 2013, p. 4

²² ECONSULT SOLUTIONS, 2013, p. 5.

The Newmarket Kitchen is fully equipped commercial shared kitchen which, being also an incubator, offers additional services such as marketing, branding and public relations services, trainings in food safety and other relevant topics, utilisation of kitchen's established partnerships with third companies (licensed food laboratory, packaging providers, etc.), consulting. Having a food science advisory provided the companies operating from the kitchen with the help in different fields, such as new product development, labelling, food safety management, ingredient sourcing. As a food business incubator, Newmarket Kitchen is typically dedicated to small, new, innovative food start-ups.

The Newmarket Kitchen perceives the companies operating from it as partners rather than customers, and refers to them as "members". All members have keys and free access to the kitchen. The weekly schedule is made for each new week, making sure that everybody has enough time and space to run their business. More than one (going up to five) members use the kitchen simultaneously. The fee is paid monthly and allows 24/7 utilisation of the kitchen or, as another option, only after work hours and during weekends. These usage options are particularly useful for people who still keep their full-time jobs and grow their food businesses aside, slowly, until they can commit to them full-time. There is a variety of different companies operating from the Newmarket Kitchen: caterers, bakers, companies producing breakfast cereals, bean-to-bar chocolates, raw-food deserts, fizzy drinks, sauces, company importing oils and packaging them in the kitchen as well as many others.

Already from the list of products that are being made in the Newmarket Kitchen it can be seen that the companies operating from the kitchen are rather innovative. What is more, it is obvious they operate within different segments of the food sector which, even if it sometimes may seem as a problem, can also be an advantage. As the members interact, they learn from each other, which seems to induce innovativeness. Being SMEs that are operating from the same space, they also team up trying to overcome the problems of being small. These collaborations also seem to initiate innovation.

SHARED KITCHENS AS INNOVATION HUBS

It has already been shown that shared kitchens can have positive economic, social, environmental and even health impact on communities.²³ However, this paper will focus on their impact on innovativeness. From the author's experience, at least two important factors make professional shared kitchens worth being regarded as innovation hubs in the food sector.

One is the fact that they democratise food production, which allows testing different and innovative ideas on the market. Professional shared-use kitchens offer equipped, licensed kitchen space, cleaning and sometimes other additional services at one, often competitive, price. In this way, the kitchens provide a package of much-needed services to existing or launching food businesses. The investment in a production facility that is needed in order to assure it is compliant with all the regulations is a major limiting factor to many small businesses. On the top of that, due to the complexity of the regulations but also due to the conditions on the market, an entrepreneur needs expertise in various fields to be able to run the business and compete on the market. These are highly prohibitive factors for an early-stage food company, and they discourage people willing to start their own business even before making the first steps. The idea behind shared-use kitchens, particularly behind kitchen incubators and accelerators, is to help food businesses overcome these problems, to share resources and costs, lower the barriers and in this way allow a larger number of people to engage in the food sector, try out their ideas and enter the market.

It does not mean that a kitchen itself is in any way legally privileged. It needs to comply with all the rules and regulations just like any other space intended for food production. What is more, from legal the point of view, a number of complications may arise in the case of shared-use kitchens. Firstly, depending on the legal system, it may be difficult to register multiple companies operating from the same premises. Further, from the safety point of view when several businesses are operating at the same time, it may be challenging to organise the kitchen space in such a way as to avoid any cross-contamination. The responsibility for safety of the food remains shared: the kitchen must provide a business with the space and equipment it needs for the safe food production and storage, and only then the food itself can be the responsibility of the business.

²³ CONOVER, E. et al. 2015, p. 3.

The second factor is the fact that collaboration between many people from different small companies that is happening in shared kitchens introduces new ideas and further improves the agility of these companies. There is a number of ways collaboration between companies operating from one kitchen can be beneficial to them. It has been shown that having an appropriate alliance network may enable a young company to enjoy relationships and resources typical for established companies thus at least partially overcoming the shortcomings of being new and small. Therefore, alliances are of particular benefit for young, resource-constrained companies.²⁴ What is more, community networking can be considered as one of the indicators of success of a shared kitchen.²⁵ Finally, and particularly important for this paper, it is shown that SMEs were able to innovate better when part of clusters.²⁶

In cases of food incubators and accelerators, there can be a third factor as well. It can be found in literature that SMEs with more competent workers show a higher level of innovativeness, but also that SMEs often lack skills and training.²⁷ Therefore, the expertise provided and shared by the kitchen incubator or accelerator may play an important role in innovativeness of the companies operating from the kitchen. What is more, some kitchens, due to their organisation, can be classified as primarily learning organisations.²⁸ In cases of some kitchen incubators and even more, kitchen accelerators, financial resources provided as support of innovation can also be a very important factor. Interestingly, there are indications that shared kitchens themselves need to be innovative in order to be successful.²⁹

Even though it cannot be said that shared kitchens are a new phenomenon, there is no doubt that only several years ago they were not as present as they are now. This may be a reason why the research in the area is very limited. Any potential research specifically tackling innovativeness in shared kitchens remained unknown to the author of this paper. Therefore, diverse literature was used for the extraction of relevant information. Consequently, this work, based mainly on observation, aims to draw attention of the scientific community to an interesting kind of innovation hubs, as their importance for the food sector may rise in the coming years. Having in mind the challenges of food supply, food safety and, finally, improvement of food quality we face today, the potential of shared kitchens to contribute to the solutions should not be overlooked.

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²⁴ BAUM, J.A.C. et al. 2000, p. 267.

²⁵ CONOVER, E. et al. 2015, p. 3.

²⁶ LAFORET, S. and TANN, J. 2006, p. 367.

²⁷ LAFORET, S. and TANN, J. 2006, p. 374.

²⁸ AMELI, P. and KAYES, C.D. 2011, p. 184.

²⁹ LOUIE, D. 2016, p. 1.

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O POMENU PROFESIONALNO OPREMLJENIH SKUPNIH KUHINJ ZA INOVATIVNOST ZNOTRAJ PREHRAMBNEGA SEKTORJA

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Profesionalno opremljene skupne kuhinje, tj. kuhinje ki si jih deli več ljudi oz. organizacij, predstavljajo nov fenomen v prehrambnem sektorju. Pričujoči prispevek ponuja kratek pregled različnih načinov organizacije znotraj skupnih kuhinj. Prispevek upošteva razpoložljive informacije glede inovacij v sklopu majhnih in srednje velikih podjetij s posebnim poudarkom na tistih, ki se ukvarjajo s pripravo živil. Razen tega bo za boljši prikaz organizacije znotraj inkubatorja živilske dejavnosti služil primer Newmarket Kitchen iz podjetja Bray, Co. Wicklow na Irskem. Na podlagi dosegljive literature in avtorjevih osebnih strokovnih izkušenj, bosta podana in razložena dva razloga zaradi katerih je skupne kuhinje potrebno dojemati kot prostor inovacij. Članek navaja tudi nekaj končnih razmislekov in poudari pomen nadaljnjih raziskav.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

skupne kuhinje, kuhinjski inkubator, kuhinjski pospeševalec, inovacija, hrana, majhna in srednje velika podjetja

POVZETEK

Profesionalno opremljene skupne kuhinje so profesionalni kuhinjski prostori, ki imajo potrebna dovoljenja in so namenjeni za predelavo hrane. Skupne kuhinje uporablja veliko podjetij, ki se ukvarjajo s prehrabno dejavnostjo, s čimer si le ta zmanjšujejo stroške in poenostavljajo poslovne procese. Glede na ciljno prehrabno dejavnost in obseg ponujenih storitev, so skupne kuhinje po navadi razdeljene na skupne kuhinje v ožjem pomenu, kuhinjske inkubatorje in kuhinjske pospeševalnike. Skupne kuhinje v ožjem pomenu nudijo zgolj prostor za pripravo hrane. Kuhinjski inkubatorji, ob sami kuhinji, nudijo tudi dodatne storitve, kot na primer strokovno znanje in nasvete. Kuhinjski pospeševalniki pa se osredotočajo na ustanovitev podjetji, ki imajo namen rasti.

V literaturi najdemo različne načine na katere je mogoče spodbujati in izboljšati kreativnost v majhnih in srednje velikih podjetjih. Prispevek predloča dva razloga zaradi katerih lahko skupne kuhinje prispevajo k inovativnosti znotraj majhnih in srednje velikih podjetij ki se ukvarjajo s pripravo živil. Prvega predstavlja interakcija med podjetji, ki delujejo znotraj iste kuhinje, s čimer bi lahko spodbudili inovativnost. Drugi razlog predstavlja možnost večjega števila ljudi, ki lahko svoje ideje preizkusijo na tržišču. V primeru kuhinjskih inkubatorjev in pospeševalnikov lahko govorimo o možnosti tretjega razloga, ki je zagotovo ponujena strokovna pomoč.

SECONDARY KITCHENS IN THE VIPAVA VALLEY*

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ABSTRACT

The paper engages the phenomenon of a secondary kitchen – a setting equipped with kitchen utensils and intended as a space of dwelling for regular or occasional food processing, as well as other activities and social interactions – by looking at the conditions, reasons, types and purposes of secondary kitchens in the context of the general changes of the Vipava Valley's kitchens during the 20th century.

KEYWORDS

kitchen, the Vipava Valley, dwelling culture, secondary kitchen

INTRODUCTION

The article on the secondary kitchens in the Vipava Valley will first outline general changes of the kitchen in the Vipava Valley's rural architecture during the 20th century by emphasising the fact that modernisation entered dwellings through the kitchen doors. After that, it will present the phenomenon of a secondary kitchen. It is based on the ethnography (observation, description, semi-structured interviews, and photographic documentation) undertaken between 2003 and 2010, alongside critically reviewing periodical sources and specialist literature.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE KITCHEN IN THE VIPAVA VALLEY

The Vipava Valley lies in the southwestern Mediterranean part of Slovenia, between two high plateaus, the Karst and the Trnovo Forest, on the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Alpine, and Central European culture. Up until the second half of the 20th century, the majority of the population worked in agriculture and crafts – as either medium and small landowners, tenant farmers or landless labourers. The agricultural activity was also reflected in the Vipava Valley's architecture, dwelling culture and kitchens.

At the threshold of the 20th century, a kitchen in the Vipava Valley was a central multifunctional space, accommodating cooking, eating and everyday social interactions among the members of the household. A large area of the room was occupied by a huge tall fireplace, equipped with benches and footstools for sitting and with a chimney hood above used for ventilation, smoking meat, and the shelving of pots and kitchenware. Among other furniture, there might be a bread-kneading trough, a smaller cupboard for foodstuffs and a shelf or a bench for depositing water pails.¹ The most apparent difference between the rural kitchens of the Vipava Valley and the kitchens of the continental and Alpine areas of Slovenia (the so called *črne kuhinje*, "black kitchens") was that the former were used not just for preparing food, but, also for other purposes. As it was the only warm place in the house (and sometimes the only one provided with lighting), it was used – especially during winter – also for eating, socialising, gathering, resting, working, even sleeping, alongside other housework and economic activities. Actually, there was no other warm and lit room in the house – such as a "stove room" (called *hiša* or *izba* in other Slovenian regions and *Stube*² in German-speaking regions).

* Translation: Špela Ledinek Lozej, Ana Jelnikar

¹ LEDINEK LOZEJ, Š. 2012a, pp. 143–155; *ibid.* 2012b, pp. 83–103; *ibid.* 2015a, p. 39–43; *ibid.* 2015b, pp. 27–39.

² The German expression *Stube* is hypothetically derived from the Latin expression *extufa*, cf. WEISS, R. 1959, p. 340. According to various written sources in the early Middle Ages, the term *Stube* should primarily mean a steam bath or a bathroom in a heated room, only later, from 1200 onward, the term acquired other meanings, among others also a room with a stove designed for living, cf. BANCALARI, G. 1896, p. 109; HÄHNEL, J. 1975, p. 145; SCHIER, B. 1966, pp. 238–258, 382. From the German expression *Stube* the Slovenian term *pajštva* was derived, cf. MURKO, M. 1962, pp. 255–274; VILFAN, S. 1970, p. 574.

Whereas in the modern rural architecture³ in the Alpine, Central and Eastern Slovenian regions (as well as in the other Central and Eastern European regions)⁴ the kitchen space (“black kitchen”) separated from the main living space (“stove room”), in the Vipava Valley (and in other Mediterranean and Western European areas) fireplaces remain in the main, central room of the dwelling. Therefore, they literally remained the heart(h) of the house. The latter is also confirmed by the meaning of the term *hiša* (“house”) in the Vipava Valley and other Mediterranean areas: the term *hiša* did not mean the stove room, but was tied to the main living space with fireplace and lately with the kitchen range.⁵

In the 1920’s and 1930’s, the first wave of modernization was noticeable especially in the western part of the Vipava Valley, where some villages were almost completely destroyed or at least badly damaged due to the fighting along the nearby Soča/Isonzo Front during World War I. Post-war renovation coincided with the Italian occupation of the territory and the first wave of modernisation of kitchens. The most prominent change was the replacement of the huge stone fireplaces with kitchen ranges, which economised the consumption of wood, enabled the preparation of cooked and baked dishes at the same time, and took up less space. As a result of the additional space, a cupboard for storing food, kitchenware and tableware, and a kitchen or dining table with chairs and stools, all became part of the standard kitchen equipment, as did in some cases a sink for washing.⁶

After the World War II, the modernisation of the kitchen was facilitated by technological advances (e.g. electrification, piped water, etc.), as well as by ideological changes which accompanied social changes (e.g. the employment of women, an increase in households consisting of just the nuclear family rather than extended family) and cultural changes (e.g. the priority of working class culture over rural peasant culture). There were also some micro-local factors, which supported or countered the modernization process, depending on the vicinity of new urban and industrial centres and the Italian border. In the kitchens, the built-in kitchen stoves and hearths were mostly replaced by self-standing kitchen ranges, while the first electric and gas cookers and refrigerators were also introduced. At the end of the 1960’s a dividing wall usually separated the part of the kitchen used for preparing food from the dining area. In this way, kitchen niches were introduced, which reduced the function of the kitchen to a laboratory-like place for food preparation with very scarce working space.⁷

The introduction of kitchen niches was followed by the setting of the built-in kitchen cabinets in the 1970’s. Those built-in kitchen cabinets were usually incorporated into the mass-produced single-family dwellings of the 1970’s, which were based on a standard architectural plan and were situated at the outskirts of former rural settlements. More recently, in the 1980’s, single-family dwellings introduced new trends, as there was a tendency to directly (re)connect the kitchen, the dining area and the living room – first by opening and widening the doors, then with open shelves and bars, and then finally, in the 1990’s, with the direct pooling of the kitchen elements, dining-table, and elements of the living-room in a so-called open plan. The open plan was a product of global design trends, and yet at the same time its function, structure and meaning recall the rural living kitchens of the Vipava Valley from the 19th and early 20th centuries.⁸

³ While in the noble and bourgeois houses in Upper Germany the stove room (*Stube*) was known already around 1200 (cf. HÄHNEL, J. 1975, p. 145), it was adopted in the farm houses in Upper Germany only around 1300 (cf. BENKER, G. 1987, p. 13; SCHIER, B. 1966, p. 237), in South Tyrol from the 14th century on (cf. MOSER, O. 1985, p. 58) and in the Eastern Alps from the 15th century on (cf. GERAMB, V. 1925, p. 328).

⁴ The area of “black kitchens” expanded in the form of the crescent from Sweden to the north, through Latvia, Poland, Prussia, Brandenburg, Czech, Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Lower Austria and Croatia, to the regions of Eastern and Central Alps in Slovenia, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, Tyrol and Eastern Switzerland, cf. MURKO, M. 1962, p. 274; SCHIER, B. 1966, pp. 227–229.

⁵ The demarcation between the Mediterranean and Central European dwelling culture of the rural population in the immediate hinterland of the Vipava Valley, evident on the position and shape of the firebox, was pointed out also by other researchers, cf. MERINGER, R. 1896, p. 260; BANCALARI, G. 1905; MURKO, M. 1962 [1906], p. 256, 379; TERČELJ, F. 1927, p. 49; CUMIN, G. 1929; VURNIK, S. 1930; MELIK, A. 1933; NICE, B. 1940; LOŽAR, R. 1944; NOVAK, V. 1960; ŠARF, F. 1964, pp. 359–376; VILFAN, S. 1970, pp. 561–564; BAŠ, F. 1984; KERŠIČ, I. 1990; GODINA GOLIIJA, M. 1998. However, they mentioned also other transient areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina (cf. MURKO, M. 1905, p. 313), Serbia (cf. CVIJIČ, J. 1922; SCHIER, B. 1966, p. 175), in Switzerland (cf. WEISS, R. 1959) and northern Italy (cf. BANCALARI, G. 1896, pp. 93–128; *ibid.* 1897, pp. 191–209).

⁶ LEDINEK LOZEJ, Š. 2015a, pp. 65–76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 88–91.

Another phenomenon is connected with the opening up of the kitchen: The fully equipped kitchens sometimes became a representative setting of the household, that is to say, a formal space used to present a self-consciously constructed image of the family, a role which in the past was reserved for the *mezad* (a kind of parlour or salon). Such a kitchen served predominantly to present stylish if not used kitchen equipment and utensils. Therefore, cooking and eating took place in a secondary kitchen – situated in a garage, pantry or basement.

SECONDARY KITCHENS

The secondary kitchen is a setting, equipped with kitchen utensils and intended for regular or occasional food processing, that may also be used for other purposes – dining, socialising, communication and other social interactions, leisure activities, and escape. In the case of dwellings with several kitchens, we have to differentiate between multi-household dwellings and multi-kitchen households. In the case of multi-household dwellings, a son or a daughter established a new household for their nuclear family by arranging their own kitchen. While there might be some common spaces (e.g. entrance, hall and even bathroom), the kitchens will be separate. On the other hand, in the case of the multi-kitchen household, a garage, a basement, a hallway or a shed outdoors is usually equipped with kitchen utensils and intended for food processing besides the primary kitchen. Thus, equipped secondary kitchen has nothing to do with establishing a new household. Although the majority of food preparation and consumption might take place in the secondary kitchen, it is never in fact referred to as a kitchen, but always named after its primary purpose – a basement, hallway, pantry, shed, etc. It *is not* a kitchen – there are just some kitchen utensils and appliances there. The denomination *kitchen* is reserved exclusively for the formal or primary kitchen.⁹

There are several differences regarding the level of furnishing and equipment, the frequency and main scope of usage of the secondary kitchens. Some are fully equipped with new or used furniture, domestic appliances and kitchen utensils; others are provisional, with temporary set kitchen utensils. Generally – but not necessary – primary kitchens possess newer and more stylish versions of household appliances and furnishing, whereas the secondary kitchens are usually the depository of older and used equipment. However it does not mean they are not functionally equipped – also because the kitchen utensils do not have to be cleared away after usage, but can at all the times be available on the working surface. Usually, freezers tend to be located in secondary kitchens, whereas small household appliances are used more arbitrarily between the primary and secondary kitchens, while some are even doubled.



Image 1: Fully equipped secondary kitchen, Renče, 2006 (photograph by Špela Ledinek Lozej).

⁹ Ibid., pp. 93–100.

In general, but not necessarily, the level of equipment is proportional to the frequency and main scope of usage of the secondary kitchen. Some are used occasionally or during the summer season, while others are used on a daily basis. Secondary kitchens also tend to be used for cooking those foodstuffs and dishes that require either an extended work process (e.g. cooking of jam), a lot of space (e.g. preparation of provisions for the winter) or for preparation of foodstuffs and dishes that have an unpleasant odour (e.g. the cooking of tripe, frying fish, etc.). Usually, their existence is a consequence of the primary kitchen being situated in an open plan or of too small and unhandy primary kitchen. On the other hand, the daily use of the secondary kitchen is, as a rule, the result of an unused – either inconvenient or, as in most cases, representative – primary kitchen. Actually, in some households, primary kitchens are never used or are used just for simple task and procedures (e.g. for preparation and consummation of breakfast or coffee). In some households – despite the cooking of all meals in the secondary kitchen – family gathers for the formal Sunday and Holiday meal at the table in the formal primary kitchen, and they bring all the food, prepared in the secondary kitchen, dish by dish, upstairs to the primary kitchen. However, for the celebration of anniversaries and birthdays, when a bigger number of friends and relatives are invited, they use the facilities of the secondary kitchen. Besides the occasional and daily use of secondary kitchens, there is also a third type of the secondary kitchen – the summer kitchen. Its use is connected with the hot period of the year, and it is usually situated outdoors or directly connected with the outside (e.g. in open-air, half-open or closed rooms on the ground floor in the immediate vicinity of the courtyard, garden and living settings outside). It is common when the primary kitchen is on the first floor, therefore not directly connected with the outdoors.

With regard to the scope – working, social, personal, or a combination thereof – the types of secondary kitchens differ. Working secondary kitchens serve predominately for processing of foodstuff, whereas social secondary kitchens are also intended for regular or occasional dining, bringing together members of the family, socialising with relatives, friends, neighbours, and acquaintances, and celebrating anniversaries. The social role is also evident in the equipment: in addition to kitchen cabinets and utensils there is usually a dining table, benches, chairs, sofas, armchairs; there can also be a TV, audio equipment, a DVD player, musical instruments and even gym equipment. Part of the space can also be dedicated to pets. Such secondary kitchens are usually connected with a small mono-functional primary kitchen. By being the centre of the (informal) social life of the household, they assume a social role of the chimney and living kitchens from the past, which too were the central place of the house. Personal kitchens are intended for the retreat of the individual(s). In some cases of an open plan, the secondary kitchen serves as a retreat room, where an individual can withdraw from other family members. In some documented cases, we have evidenced more or less a sharp division between gender and generational use of secondary kitchen (in the case of extended family). For example, the secondary kitchen can be a retreat room for the woman who married into the family (where she can withdraw from the mother-in-law and children). On the other hand, it can be a room, where only men are allowed – alone or in the company of their friends – to perform cooking activities (because otherwise “they would spoil the kitchen”).¹⁰

What is the prehistory of secondary kitchens in the Vipava Valley and the neighbouring regions before the general diffusion at the turn of the 20th century? Early documented examples of secondary kitchens are connected with kitchens dedicated primarily to the preparation of pig fodder. The so-called summer kitchens (*fogoni*), which during the summer season also served for cooking, were documented in the rural architecture of the neighbouring Istria in the 19th century.¹¹ In the Vipava Valley, there is record of the so-called *svinj-ske kuhinje* (“kitchens for pigs”) in the first half of the 20th century. They were situated either in the open-air or an outbuilding near the pigsty and equipped with cauldrons. The cauldrons were also used for heating water for when a pig was slaughtered.¹² An oral source mentions two kitchens – a bigger winter kitchen with a fireplace and a smaller summer kitchen with a small stove – at the middle-sized farm in Duplje in the Upper Vipava Valley in the first half of the 20th century.¹³ That is the earliest evidenced secondary kitchen that was not primarily used for the preparation of animal fodder. The rise of the number of secondary kitchens can be

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 93–99.

¹¹ RAVNIK, M. 1988, p. 127; KERŠIČ, I. 1990, p. 345.

¹² ASGO 104, Giudizio Distrettuale di Gorizia (1898–1922), b. 810, 824, 831, 833, 839, 840; PANG 1, Državno tehnični urad, t. e. 103, 104.

¹³ RODMAN, M. & MAKAROVIČ, M. 2000, p. 82.



Image 2: Cooking in the secondary kitchen, Renče, 2006 (photograph by Špela Ledinek Lozej).

recorded in the second half of the 20th century. The summer kitchens, open-air kitchens, as well as kitchens set in former garages, boiler-rooms, and basements, came into – as evidenced in the popular periodicals – full bloom from the 1980's, and especially from the 1990's onwards.¹⁴

There is also evidence of several comparable secondary kitchens in nearby Friuli and Italy as well as across other Mediterranean and European regions. Two-kitchen households were documented in the traditional architecture of the richer landowning peasants in the agro-towns of Sicily. One kitchen was on the ground floor and used for daily cooking and feeding the harvest labourers and the second one was upstairs reserved for family use and special occasions. After the earthquake in 1968 and the public reconstruction of highly uniform housing units for poor labourers with small kitchens at the back of the apartment, women transformed street level garages into secondary kitchens for everyday use, storage and seasonal home-production activities.¹⁵ The so-called "houses for pig killing", located in the provisional structures near new-built houses were documented from the 1970's onwards in suburban settlements in southern Portugal. The ostensible reason given for their construction was to house activities for the annual pig killing and to smoke the sausages and ham in the chimney, but many families used the outdoor kitchen throughout the whole year.¹⁶ Very similar summer kitchens – located in auxiliary buildings near the newly built suburban homes – were documented in Žumberak in Croatia in the 1980's.¹⁷ Secondary kitchens, located in cellars, lumber-rooms and pantries – in connection with fully equipped representative formal kitchens – were also documented in German middle-class houses from the 1970's onwards.¹⁸

¹⁴ Naša žena, 1981, 41/7–8, B. n. a., pp. 42–44. Cf. also HAZLER, V. 1995, p. 10.

¹⁵ BOOTH, S. 1999, pp. 137, 149.

¹⁶ LAWRENCE-ZÚÑIGA, D. 1999, p. 166.

¹⁷ MURAJ, A. 1989, p. 181.

¹⁸ KRAUCH, H. 1992, p. 134.

Three conditions that enabled setting secondary kitchens were evidenced in the Vipava Valley: ownership of the building, available room, and economic capacities. And there was a number of different and interconnected reasons to do with primary kitchens being too small, inconvenient or mono-functional, being situated either on the first floor or in the background of the building and therefore not connected to the outside, to which another important factor can be added – the tendency towards the representative function of primary kitchen settings. Kitchens in the standard and pre-accessible architecture plans – the most common way of having a low-budget blueprint in the 1970's and 1980's and which followed a modest and simplified version of the North-European bourgeois villa – were located on the first floor or in the background of the house. They were not connected with the courtyard and garden – a distinctive feature of the Vipava Valley and the Mediterranean rural dwellings in general – and enabled the flow of housework between indoors and outdoors and interactions with the external community. In addition to the inconvenient location, formal kitchens were usually too small. According to the interlocutors, there was not enough work surface space for the time-consuming preparation of winter provisions, such as the pickling and blanching of vegetables for freezing, the preserving of fruits, jam cooking, preparation of pork and sausage at slaughter, etc. We see that the new-built kitchens were not in line with the habitual cooking and living practices, expectations and needs of the residents. Therefore, provided there were sufficient spatial and economic resources, the residents adapted dwellings according to their practices and needs. Instrumental kitchen services (e.g. preparation of food), as well as some social kitchen services (e.g. everyday interactions among family members), were allocated in adjacent rooms. The primary kitchen preserved its formal symbolic role, being used for formal Sunday and Holiday meals, as well as its formal denomination as a kitchen. At the same time, it was delivered from instrumental services and instead invested with a more representative meaning.

CONCLUSIONS

We can agree with findings of Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga on the housing in Europe: "If there are any domestic spaces introduced from exogenous sources to which people seem particularly sensitive in their reception or rejection, these are the parlour and the modern kitchen."¹⁹ And further that "people selectively appropriate or subversively modify elements of the modern house".²⁰ Inhabitants of the Vipava Valley had no difficulties in appropriating some technological innovations (e.g. the convenience of electricity, indoor plumbing, household appliances, etc.) and also some practices (e.g. changes in preparation of foodstuffs and dishwashing). However, they did have more substantial difficulties in appropriating small working kitchens, not linked with outdoors. Hence, in instances of sufficient spatial and economic resources secondary kitchens were established. Secondary kitchens can, therefore, be said to be an objectified agency of residents' traditional lifestyle and practices. While some residents consciously preserved and renovated the material remnants of past dwelling culture (in the case of kitchens, for example, these were open fireplaces, cupboards, kitchenware, etc.), others more or less (un)consciously preserved past practices by establishing new building forms of secondary kitchens. Alternatively, as Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga wrote for secondary kitchens in Portugal: "New lifestyles, old forms – old lifestyles, new forms!"²¹

In the case of multi-kitchen dwellings, we can say that formal representative primary kitchens are socially constructed, whereas secondary kitchens are socially produced through different everyday kitchen practices. Maintaining the two kitchens – one formal and representative and the other intended for more or less frequent cooking and eventual living – should by no means be delineated as an anomaly, as some researchers²² and architects have done. Following Lefebvre's conceptual triad of social space,²³ we would rather delineate it as a discrepancy among the representations of kitchens (by architects, constructors, builders) and living practices of residents. A discrepancy which has been – following Ingold's dwelling perspective – overcome by dwelling itself, by which "the forms that people build [...] arise within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relation contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings."²⁴ People constantly keep houses in

¹⁹ BIRDWELL-PHEASANT, D. & LAWRENCE-ZUNIGA, D. 1999, pp. 22–23.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 11.

²¹ LAWRENCE-ZUNIGA, D. 1999, p. 166.

²² Ibid. p. 172.

²³ LEFEBVRE, H. 2013 [1974].

²⁴ INGOLD, T. 2000, pp. 186–187.

the state of repair, they decorate them or make structural alterations in response to changing circumstances.²⁵

To conclude: The diffusion of secondary kitchens in the Vipava Valley is connected with non-functional – too small and badly located primary kitchens, as well as the tendency towards a mere representative role of the primary kitchens. Instrumental service that is a setting for food preparation and consumption, as well as some social services, for example being a central setting for social interactions were allocated to adjacent rooms, more or less equipped with kitchen utensils.

Secondary kitchens reflect residents' needs and aspirations; they are an objectified agency of residents' dwelling. Therefore – their recognition has not only theoretical but also practical value, holding implications for policy relevant to planned housing projects in general. Although, as we already know, every architecture plan will actually be consumed only through the dwelling – that is – following Heidegger essay *Building, Dwelling, Thinking*²⁶ – constant re-building.

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²⁵ Here we can turn to Heidegger essay »Building, Dwelling, Thinking« [in original Bauen, Wohnen, Denken], in which he tackles the issue of the relation between building and dwelling through etymology, by which current German word for the verb "to build" – *bauen*, comes from the Old English and High German *buan*, meaning "to dwell". Therefore "we do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is because we are dwellers," cf. HEIDEGGER, M. 1998 [1971], p. 148.

²⁶ HEIDEGGER, M. 1998 [1971], pp. 78–83.

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je predstavljen fenomen sekundarnih kuhinj – stanovanjskega prizorišča, opremljenega s kuhinjskimi pripomočki in namenjenega redni ali občasni pripravi in toplotni obdelavi živil, lahko pa tudi drugim aktivnostim in družbenim interakcijam. Pogoji, razlogi, vrste in namembnost sekundarnih kuhinj so obravnavani v okviru splošnih sprememb kuhinj v Vipavski dolini v 20. stoletju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kuhinja, Vipavska dolina, stanovanjska kultura, sekundarna kuhinja

POVZETEK

V prispevku je predstavljen fenomen sekundarnih kuhinj, tj. prizorišč, namenjenih za pripravo in toplotno obdelavo živil, lahko pa tudi za druge aktivnosti in družbene interakcije, v okviru splošnih sprememb kuhinj v Vipavski dolini v 20. stoletju. V primeru večkuhinjskih gospodinjstev so stanovalci garažo, klet, shrambo, hodnik ali prostor pod lopo ali nadstreškom na prostem opremili s kuhinjsko opremo in potrebščinami. Ločimo redno ali občasno rabljene sekundarne kuhinje, glede na namen pa delovne, družabne in osebne sekundarne kuhinje. Pogoj za ureditev sekundarne kuhinje so bile zadostne prostorske in ekonomske zmožnosti, razlogi pa številni in povezani z nefunkcionalno umeščeno in opremljeno, premajhno in/ali reprezentativno primarno kuhinjo. Ker kuhinje iz druge polovice 20. stoletja niso omogočale ustaljene povezanosti kuhinje z zunanjsčino in dovolj prostora za dolgotrajne postopke obdelave živil ter delo več kot ene osebe, so stanovalci določene instrumentalne in tudi družbeno-interakcijske aktivnosti prenesli v sekundarne kuhinje ter tako – če so jim dopuščale okoliščine – prikojili bivališča svojim potrebam in utečenim stanovanjskim praksam.

PROGRESS IN THE KITCHEN OF A YUGOSLAV HOUSEWIFE – THE *TOBI ŠPORHERT* (COOKER)

conservation-restoration interventions on an example of a museum object

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Original scientific article (1.01)

ABSTRACT

TOBI from Bistrica ob Dravi was the first company in Yugoslavia to master the production of cookers and refrigerators. Their *TOBI šporherť*¹ made a key contribution towards the modernisation of households after World War Two. In 1948 production began of enamelled solid fuel cookers, in 1954 of enamelled electric cookers and a year later of refrigerators. But because of the unequal conditions on the domestic market, *TOBI*'s production could not compete with the mass production of other makers and slowly fizzled out. Their innovative and what were for their time functional and aesthetically very well-designed products have to be preserved by museums in the form of material sources.

KEY WORDS

TOBI, solid fuel cookers, museum object, conservation, restoration

INTRODUCTION

When in 18th century towns kitchens replaced open fireplaces, households began to be modernised and as a result housewives were relieved of some of their workload.² Initially, kitchens acquired built-in cookers and, from the second half of the 19th century, cast iron or lighter sheet metal cookers.³ Even though the use of solid fuel cookers quickly spread to rural areas, after World War Two many open fireplaces could still be found around Yugoslavia.⁴ Entrepreneurial merchants and producers were well aware that cookers needed to be technologically developed since the demand for these products was growing.

After World War Two, when the new Yugoslavia was being created, companies did not develop household appliances and gadgets, and there was a great shortage. Since the living standard soon began to grow, people wanted to modernise their households. The *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov TOBI* (Thermo-Electrical Products Factory) from Bistrica ob Dravi⁵ was among the first in Yugoslavia, which in the 1940s began selling enamelled solid-fuel cookers and soon after also electric cookers, small cookers and refrigerators. In the mid-60s, a number of companies on the Yugoslav market were developing similar products simultaneously.⁶ Badly coordinated development, excessively interfered in by the state, soon led to the slow demise of the first manufacturer of cookers – *TOBI*.

¹ Šporherť, following the German example of *Sparrherd*, cooking stove; a compound from the German word *sparren*, save, and *Herd*, fireplace. Solid fuel cookers, in comparison to simple fireplaces in a black kitchen, were much safer and more efficient. Source: SNOJ, M. 1997, p. 645.

² HERNJA MASTEN, M. 2006, p. 30.

³ FERLEŽ, J. 2009, p. 210.

⁴ According to the *Bulletin of the Federal Planning Institute* from 1953, there were 585,000 open fireplaces in houses, 229,000 outside houses and 424,000 wood-fired ovens. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 4.

⁵ The company experienced exceptional growth particularly between 1952–1958, when it was led by the entrepreneurially oriented director Ivan Živko. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 2, document 14.

⁶ Refrigerators were made by five factories, vacuum cleaner by three and mixers by four. *TOBI*'s direct competitors were *Gorenje Velenje*, *Obod Cetinje*, *Goran Zagreb*, *Milan Blagojević Smederevo*, *Georgi Naumov Bitola*. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 2, Zapisnik o predaji poslov, 1966.

THE RISES AND FALLS OF THE *TOBI* FACTORY

The company *Željezo-prometno d.d.* (Iron Goods Trading Co. Ltd.), based in Zagreb, was founded in 1923.⁷ In 1928,⁸ using capital from the Austrian company *Lapp-Finze*⁹ from Kalsdorf near Graz, *Željezo-prometno* began the production of building hardware and sheet metal products, in the former *Scherbaum Mill* in Bistrica near Limbuš. After 1933, they started making solid fuel cookers under the name *Evag*.¹⁰ The production followed the market demands and, when necessary, production was halted for several months and all the workers laid off. No investments were made in production since most of the machinery and semi-finished products came from the parent company. There was only small investment in the products that brought immediate profits.¹¹

The company carried on with production during World War Two, but at the end of the war, the management took away all the lockmaking tools, all the products and materials.¹² In 1945, the company was nationalised, while the workers began renovations. During the time of the restoration of the destroyed country, there was a high demand for building hardware, which is why in the autumn of that year, when the first materials from the national foundries came in,¹³ 40 different *TOBI* products were put on the market.¹⁴ In 1946,¹⁵ the name of the factory changed to *Tovarna okovja in pločevinastih izdelkov Bistrica* (Factory of Hardware and Sheet Metal Products Bistrica), shortened to *TOBI*. Numerous new products were developed, among them enamelled cookers, swing hinges of all kinds and window fasteners, while the production itself was modernised with new machines.¹⁶ The factory's rapid growth can be explained by the well-chosen range of products when living standards were growing and households being modernised. In 1948, the production of the first enamelled solid fuel cookers began, which were modernised in the second series in 1951 and then in the third in 1954. That same year also saw the production of enamelled electric cookers with three hotplates and an oven, as well as cookers with two hotplates.¹⁷ In 1952, the company also mastered the production of enamelled room stoves.¹⁸ In 1955, due to a shortage of refrigerators on the domestic market, the factory, together with the Austrian company *Elektra Bregenz* from Vienna, began to make 55-litre absorption refrigerators.¹⁹

The factory was the first on the Yugoslav market to make such products.²⁰ In 1954, *TOBI*'s first products were exported to Western Europe.²¹ In 1955, in line with the new direction, the factory was renamed again, this time to *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov – TOBI* (Factory of Thermo-Electrical Products).²² During this period (1954–1956),²³ it was forced to abandon the production of building hardware, while in 1958 the production of *TOBI* solid fuel cookers was taken over by the company *Proizvodno kovinsko podjetje Gorenje ob Paki*.²⁴

⁷ PAM, archival fond Maribor District Court, *Željezo prometno d.d.*, Bistrica near Limbuš branch, 1898–1941, Register XI. Društveni, p. 222.

⁸ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 2, Obrtni list, 1928.

⁹ PAM, archival fond Maribor Regional Court, box 1043/B III 7, trgovinski register.

¹⁰ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, SI_PAM/1104, box 2, document 6. See also: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 6, "Evag" štednjaci, neizvidani, br. Poz. 81, 1940.

¹¹ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 3.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ After the war, when the planned economy was introduced, the factory's needs for raw materials were at least partially met, the company also obtained a number of machines from companies that had been closed down or no longer needed them. In this way, the gaps in the required machinery were at least partly filled, but the machines were old. Source: *Emajlirec*, 31. 7. 1978, No. 13, XXVIII, Brglez Alojz, Petdeset let *TOBI*, p. 2.

¹⁴ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 3.

¹⁵ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 2, Odločba 1946.

¹⁶ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 3.

¹⁷ Večer, 19. 2. 1957, No. 41, XIII, A., Industrija – trgovina - potrošnik, p. 3.

¹⁸ Večer, 29. 8. 1960, No. 201, XVI, Jesenšek Gabrijel, Končno rekonstrukcija podjetja, p. 4.

¹⁹ In 1953, two refrigerator models were ordered from Germany, which served as a model for the creation of *TOBI*'s own prototype. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 3. See also: *Emajlirec*, 31. 7. 1978, No. 13, XXVIII, Brglez Alojz, Petdeset let *TOBI*, No. 2.

²⁰ The company began mastering prototypes of washing machines and dishwashers. There were long-term plans for the production of vacuum cleaners, sterilisation equipment, kitchen boilers and so on. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 4.

²¹ Odmev TVT, April 1988, No. 9, XXVII, Marksl Radislav, 60-letnica obstoja kolektiva *TOBI*, pp. 11–12.

²² UKM, Elektroindustrija, *TOBI*, UKM Dt XI-1 Mb dt 3916; PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 2, document 20.

²³ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – *Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 4.

²⁴ The popularity and recognisability of *TOBI* cookers were not given up by the new company, since the first Gorenje logo also carried the name *TOBI*. Source: Gorenje, Razstava blagovnih znamk, Društvo za marketing Slovenije, Ljubljana, 2012. URL: http://www.dmslo.si/events/razstava-blagovnih-znamk/index.php?em_path=8491,8612 (quoted 2. 4. 2017).

TOBI took on more employees, the products were not only technologically improved, but also had a likeable design and were comparable with those made in the rest of Europe.²⁵ Thus in 1957, 12 new products were placed on the market.²⁶ In 1959, under licence from the company *Linde*, *TOBI* began making 120-litre compressor refrigerators,²⁷ and in the early 1960s, cooperation with *Marles*, the manufacture of kitchen equipment.²⁸ In the middle of 1962, the Business Department of the Maribor-Tabor People's Municipal Committee asked for the enlargement of the company with the production of gas cookers and combined, gas and electric cookers.²⁹

In 1963,³⁰ *TOBI* began working with the company *Hidromontaža Maribor (HIMO)* in a combined company *EM - Elektroindustrija in splošna montaža Maribor*, as *TOBI* – Household Appliances Plant. During this time, no investments were made, part of the production line and workers were moved to *HIMO* and the production was reduced.³¹ *TOBI* was left with practically no skilled employees and without the refrigerator line, since only cookers were supposed to be made within *EM*, which were exported by the management of the combined company, earning the much-needed foreign currency for the functioning of the business. Later, even the cooker production line was first reduced and eventually abandoned,³² since the company Gorenje had introduced mass production of these products.³³ Due to this situation, *TOBI* decided to leave the combined company and in 1968 joined *EMO Celje* as Plant VII, later (in 1973) the *TOBI Basic Organisation of Combined Labour*, since the company had for a while cooperated with *EMO* on enamelling.³⁴

Within the new company, *TOBI* began to restore its production programme and develop new products. In 1973, it was the first to start making solid fuel boilers for multi-storey heating and in 1974, the production of air conditioning appliances was introduced. Even during this time of cooperation with *EMO Celje*, *TOBI* often made a loss, while changing the production programme did not work. In 1981,³⁵ with the support of the wider community, the company merged with the company *ZIV TAM Tovarna vozil in toplotne tehnike Boris Kidrič Maribor*, which manufactured vehicles, as a unit making heating and air conditioning appliances, but even this merger did not bring the right developmental future for the company. In 1992, after the breakdown of the Maribor economy following Slovenia's independence, *TOBI* became the independent company *TVT Termex*, and in 2000 after a bankruptcy procedure, it was removed from the register of companies.

SOLID FUEL COOKER – *TOBI* “ŠPORHERT”

Between 1948 and 1953, *TOBI* developed and created three series of enamelled solid fuel cookers for the “modern housewife”.³⁶ The first series was enamelled in light green with characteristic black enamelled legs and door trimmings, but later they were made only in white.³⁷ Although in 1954, the first electric cooker was put on the market, and the same year *TOBI* also made a new series of enamelled solid fuel cookers, since analysis showed that in the then Yugoslavia there were still 50,000 open fireplaces, where this type of cooker would be needed.³⁸ As can be seen from the 1952 product catalogue³⁹ two types of cookers were made: a

²⁵ The company trained apprentices, with whom learning contracts were concluded; there were also grants. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 36. In 1949, a new building was constructed for the industrial metal school, which moved elsewhere after two years. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 4.

²⁶ Večer, 29. 8. 1960, No. 201, XVI, Jesenšek Gabrijel, Končno rekonstrukcija podjetja, p. 4.

²⁷ Večer, 1. 10. 1959, No. 227, XV, Marin Darko, »Marisovih« šest licenc, p. 3.

²⁸ In 1962, *TOBI* had 107 services around Yugoslavia. Source: Večer, 24. 10. 1962, No. 250, XVIII, Forstnerič Franc, Ne vsota dveh tovarn, temveč nova tovarna, p. 2. See also: Večer, 31. 5. 1962, No. 126, XVIII, A., Kooperacija »Marles« - »*TOBI*«, p. 4.

²⁹ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 2, document 46.

³⁰ UKM, University of Maribor Library, Elektroindustrija, EM (Obveščamo...), UKM Dt XI-1 Mb dt 2797.

³¹ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 2, Zapisnik, 1963.

³² Emajlirc, 6. 12. 1968, No. 22, XII, Robnik Milan, 40-letnica obrata *TOBI*, p. 1.

³³ Večer, 7. 7. 1967, No. 156, XXIII, Pučko Stane, Tobi na novi poti, p. 9.

³⁴ Emajlirc, 25. 12. 1980, No. 24, XXX, Kuhta Franjo, *TOBI* odhaja iz družine EMO, p. 4. See also: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 2, Sklep, Občinsko sodišče, 30. 4. 1970.

³⁵ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 3, dokument 20.

³⁶ In 1948 the first model, in 1951 the second model and in 1954 the third. Source: PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 4.

³⁷ One series for Vojvodina is said to have been made in yellow. Oral source: Stanko Frank, Selnica ob Dravi, 17. 3. 2017.

³⁸ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 4.

³⁹ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 2.

larger one with a hot water cauldron (model 201) and a smaller one without a cauldron (model 202). If we compare the cookers from this sales catalogue and the later, modernised variant (models 203 and 204),⁴⁰ the latter already had a door frame that was made of cast silumin and nickelled, while the cooker without the cauldron had a larger oven. The legs became wider and more stable, a few pull-out drawers were added and a towel rail was put on the frame of the cast iron plate, on which the housewives could dry their tea towels.⁴¹

In spite of the fact that the company planned for the production of enamelled solid fuel cookers to keep increasing until 1960,⁴² it in fact finished in 1958 when, following a “political directive”, the production of these cookers was transferred to the newly developing company *Gorenje* from *Velenje*.⁴³

MUSEUM OBJECT

In 2015, the Maribor Regional Museum bought one of the green enamelled solid fuel cookers, made in the first series (between 1948 and 1950), model 201, with a hot water cauldron. The worn interior, the corrosion of the material and the damaged and partly changed exterior dictated a complex approach to the stabilisation of the whole.



Image 1: Solid fuel cooker, made by *TOBI*, 1948-1950, Regional museum Maribor (photograph: Irena Porekar Kacafura)

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECT

The cooker, measuring 1010 mm x 595 mm, height 750 mm,⁴⁴ is of a simple, boxy shape, made mostly from enamelled sheet metal. It has four legs with a hexagonal sheet metal profile and is raised from the floor.⁴⁵ The cooking surface is made from a three-part cast iron hotplate, whereby the left hotplate has one large opening with two concentric rings and a cap in the middle, and the middle hotplate has two such openings. The rings can be removed as required and the opening adjusted to the size of the pan or pot. The part of the cast iron hotplate on the right has an outlet for flue gas, and at the front there is an opening with a sheet metal cover, where there is a hot water cauldron.⁴⁶ The three-part cast iron hotplate is inserted into the circumferential frame, which is screwed to the cooker's legs. The firebox, lined with fireclay bricks, leans against the metal frame with a grid through which the ash falls into a drawer with a door. The firebox is closed by a heavy, reinforced door with profiled handles. The same handles appear on the oven door and the ash drawer. The firebox combustion and temperature can be regulated by opening and closing a side hatch, which is done by pulling a spigot on the front of the cooker. The central part of the cooker is the oven, which is separated from the hot water cauldron and the firebox by two walls, while the top is lined with fireclay bricks, which continue into the firebox.

⁴⁰ Katalog emajlirani štednjaci, okovi za gradjevinarstvo, električni aparati, *TOBI*, Bistrica – Maribor – FNRI, 1956, p 10. Catalogue owner: Franjo Šaupert, Pekre.

⁴¹ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 3.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ In 1958, when *Gorenje* already had 135 employees, it accepted *TOBI*'s offer for the production of solid fuel cookers. Production began the same year. Source: PRINČIČ, J. 2008, p. 226. After about two years, the company moved from *Gorenje* by the River Paka to Velenje. The initiative was given by Franc Leskovšek-Luka, a high-ranking Partisan and post-war Communist Party official. He became a kind of a patron of Velenje with the republic's authorities in Ljubljana and is certain to have often helped *Gorenje*. Source: PRISTOVŠEK, F. 2008, p. 52.

⁴⁴ In the 1952 catalogue, the description of the enamelled cooker with a hot water cauldron, model 201, says that its size is 445 mm x 860 mm. It is interesting that the catalogue offers the measurements of the cooking surface rather than the maximum measurements of the cooker, which could lead us to assume that the only thing that mattered to buyers then was the size of the hotplate.

⁴⁵ Housewives used the space between the cooker's legs for storing fire wood. Oral source: Milan Robnik, Limbuš, 4. 3. 2017.

⁴⁶ Water was poured in to the hot water cauldron to be heated by the flue gas and used for making soups, washing up or for personal hygiene.

DAMAGE

The cooker, that had been used for many years, had sadly not been cleaned after it was abandoned. On the hotplate, sides, and particularly in the oven there were thick layers of dirt and hard, burnt-on fat. The fat had also run behind the black enamelled door rims. The hotplate was covered with layers of corrosion in differing thicknesses. The left cast iron hotplate was broken in the middle of the ring opening. Particularly the right part of the hotplate, where there is an opening for the hot water cauldron and an attachment for the chimney, was covered with an uneven layer of silvery coloured coating, which was peeling in large flakes. The circumferential frame, i.e. the bearer of the cast iron hotplates, made from thinner sheet metal, was bent, in several places there was extensive corrosion, which was peeling. A part of the bearing edge on the front part of the frame was lost to decay, while the other edges were broken in many places and their metal core was weakened. The enamelled surfaces on the exterior of the cooker were relatively well preserved with the enamel damaged only in individual spots and chipped in the folds. It was fully absent only above the firebox door, where the fire had probably additionally heated the surface whenever firewood was added. Since the sheet metal was unprotected here, someone later painted it over. On the right side of the cooker, the casing had two parallel cuts (10 cm) and was bent. The back of the cooker that reaches to the ground and gives additional stability was not enamelled, but covered with a layer of silver paint. The paint layer was thin as corrosion was coming through, particularly in the lower part, which was, due to the cooker being placed against the wall, probably often exposed to humidity. The cooker base, which was spot welded to the walls, was loose and detached from the back, and due to corrosion, there was one larger and a few smaller punctures in the material. The cooker door was well preserved, including the handles, where only one round turned metal end was missing. The mechanism for opening the door was also still working, but was covered in a layer of fat which, however, protected the metal. The screws and their surroundings were corroded.

Inside, there was quite a lot of ash, while practically all the surfaces were covered with thick layers of soot. Before examining the damage in detail, it was necessary to vacuum clean the cooker and, in agreement with the curator, the fragmented and destroyed fireclay from the firebox and the oven ceiling, and the terracotta roof tile, inserted beneath the oven, were removed. The metal surfaces were severely corroded and in several places completely destroyed, which reduced the original function of individual elements (bearing). The worst damage was on the partition wall made of thin sheet metal between the hot water cauldron and the oven, and the metal bearing frame of the firebox, which had over the years corroded so much that it had completely collapsed and the cast iron grid had fallen into the ash drawer. The water heating cauldron, since someone had clearly removed it. The constituent parts inside were mostly connected by screws, while a number of them were rivetted. In order to make the conservation-restoration procedures easier, the screwed parts were taken apart, while the original rivetted joints were preserved. A conscious decision was made to replace the screws, which were unusable due to extensive corrosion.

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS

TOBI obtained the materials for making cookers from various suppliers: the rolled and stretched sheet metal (HTV) and profile mostly from *Železarna Jesenice*, the semi-finished cast iron products from *Livarna Muta*, the rivets and screws from *Tovarna verig Lesce*, the fireclay bricks from *Zagorka Bedekovčina*, the packaging wood from *LIP Konjice*. The sheet metal semi-finished products were enamelled by *Tovarna emajlirane posode Celje (TEMPO Celje)* and some nickelled in *Mariborska livarna*.⁴⁷

Since the museum object consists of different materials, it was necessary to determine the composition of the individual materials and on the basis of the analyses decide on a suitable conservation-restoration procedure. The analyses were carried out by Dr. Rebeka Rudolf and Peter Majerič, a researcher from the *University of Maribor, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Institute of Technology Materials*. Examinations were done

⁴⁷ Semi-finished products were transported to Celje by lorry, during which 10% of the parts were damaged due to the bad condition of the roads; supplies were also late and caused interruptions to production. The same happened with nickelling at the *Mariborska livarna* and the supply of the semi-finished products from *Livarna Muta*. It is interesting that the damaged parts were built into the final products in spite of this and sold at lower prices. Oral source: Fokter Karel, Maribor, 24. 3. 2017. See also: PAM, archival fond *TOBI – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi*, box 1, document 4.

using a Sirion 400 NC HD field emission microscope, which facilitates exceptionally high enlargements and high resolution. It is equipped with INCA 350 energy dispersive system (EDS) for microchemical analyses.⁴⁸ The analyses were carried out with the detection of the secondary and reflective electrons (SE and BSE method), at high vacuum (3.0×10^{-6} mBar), with an accelerated electron tension of 15 kV. This method gives the quantitative elementary composition of a metal on the basis of characteristic energies of x-rays, which are emitted by elements radiated with an electronic beam. The quantitative results are only approximate and help assess the quantity of the elements present on the marked parts of samples.

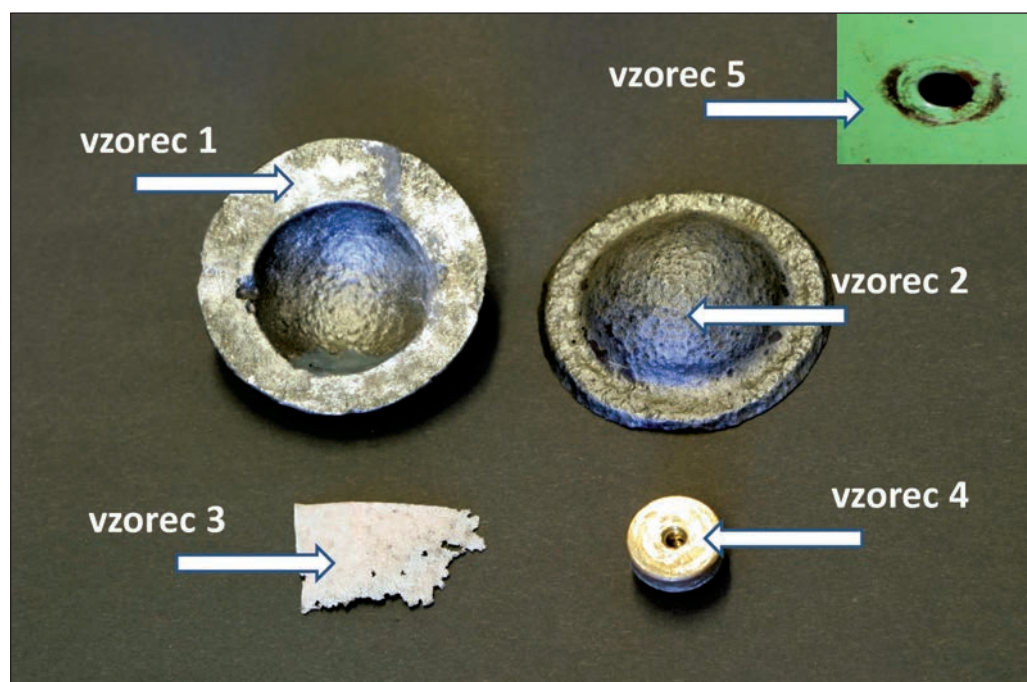


Image 2: Places on which analyses were carried out (photograph: Irena Porekar Kacafura)

Sample	Fe	C	O	Si	Al	S	P	Cl	K	Ca	Na	Mg
1	6.63	8.81	28.36	2.55	47.00	0.40	1.20	0.32	0.51	2.59	1.00	0.63

Table 1: Analysis of the coating on the upper side of the cooker cap

The cooker cap and the other elements of the hotplate were covered with a coating with a shiny metallic silver appearance. The analysis showed that the coating was made on the basis of aluminium. We can assume that this served as a protective layer on the cast iron hotplate, and particularly as an improvement of its appearance. The coating was applied during the cooker's use since the manufacturer did not apply it as part of its surface protection procedures.

Sample	Fe	C	O	Si	Al	Mn
2	75.36	9.98	9.72	1.98	2.04	0.92

Table 2: Analysis of the metal composition on the bottom side of the cooker cap

The hotplate material was analysed on the bottom side of the cleaned cooker cap. The analysis showed that it was made of grey cast (Mn-Si steel; carbon excreted in the form of graphite).

Sample	Fe	C	O	Al
3	78.61	2.33	11.65	7.41

Table 3: Analysis of the sheet metal composition

⁴⁸ Sirion 400 NC electronic microscope, Univerzitetni center za elektronsko mikroskopijo, University Centre for Electronic Microscopy, University of Maribor. URL: <http://www.fs.um.si/univerzitetni-center-za-elektronsko-mikroskopijo/vrsticna-elektronska-mikroskopija-sem/fei-sirion-400-nc/> (quoted 9. 7. 2017).

The sheet metal represents the base of the cooker casing. Analysis showed that in addition to iron, carbon and oxygen, it also contains a little aluminium.⁴⁹

Sample	C	O	Si	Cu	Zn	Pb	Ni
4	3.83	4.72	0.43	39.18	26.28	6.80	18.76

Table 4: Analysis of the galvanic coating on the metal end of the handle

The handles and their metal ends are made from brass (Cu-Zn) with a nickelled surface.

Sample	C	O	Si	Al	F	K	Ca	Na
5	6.18	48.04	19.68	3.86	9.64	1.33	1.60	9.66

Table 5: Analysis of the protective coating on the sheet metal

The analysis of the protective coating on the sheet metal confirmed that it is enamel.⁵⁰ During production the metal was first treated with a base enamel, which bound well with the sheet metal, and then also with cover enamel.⁵¹

On the basis of the analyses, we can conclude that the materials do correspond to the inventory of *TOBI*s purchases from the archived sources. The cooker is made of cold rolled and stretched sheet metal, which is enamelled in green, cast iron semi-finished products (grey cast), while nickelled brass handles and iron screws, nuts and rivets were added. The fireclay bricks from the firebox were not analysed.

PRODUCTION

For the production of solid fuel cookers, *TOBI* used the machines and tools remaining at the factory from before World War Two.⁵² With regard to the function and design, certain elements were improved and surface protection of the metal with enamelling and nickelling was introduced. The basic production technology of enamelled solid fuel cookers did not differ considerably from the pre-war version. Some handwritten norm sheets⁵³ have been preserved, which show what operations needed to be carried out for the production of individual semi-finished products, such as:⁵⁴

- Legs: cut, punch holes, punch holes for the ornaments, bend out.
- Ovens: cut sheet metal, draw, notch the metal, cut out, indent the edge.
- Attachments for cookers: cut sheet metal, bend and squeeze at the bottom (manually), round, squeezing the connector, straighten – round, pull the edge, bend and straighten.

In the 1952 product catalogue,⁵⁵ there was a manual inventory of the semi-finished products, i.e. the components needed for making a cooker without the hot water cauldron, since the plans⁵⁶ and bills of goods of materials have not been preserved. The inventories were compared to the museum object and we found that the inventory corresponds with the actual cooker, with only a few minor differences (the handles for the door and the ash drawer were missing).

⁴⁹ Cold rolled sheet metal was used, obtained from *Železarna Jesenice*, the same as *EMO* used for its pots (*EMO* enamelled cookers semi-finished products for *TOBI*). Source: Emjilrec, 31. 1. 1951, not. 3, I, Erhartič Ivo, O železu, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Enamel is a glass-type substance, mainly consisting of oxide, which is smelted onto a metal base for anti-corrosion protection, the improvement of the chemical resistance, appearance and functionality of the products. Source: Uporabnost proizvodov, EMO FRITE, Celje.URL: <http://www.emo-frite.si/uporabnost-proizvodov/> (quoted 21. 3. 2017).

⁵¹ Emajlrec, 29. 11. 1950, No. 1, I, Ankerst Hubert, Kaj je emajl, p. 5.

⁵² Even in 1954, the toolroom still only had an old plane and milling machine, a band saw and a surface grinder. Oral source: Franjo Šauperl, Pekre, 30. 3. 2017.

⁵³ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 10, Odpremnice, 1943.

⁵⁴ We can assume that, to save paper, the empty backs of dispatch notes were used after the war.

⁵⁵ PAM, archival fond *TOBI* – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov Bistrica ob Dravi, box 1, document 2.

⁵⁶ Even after WW2, the tools for producing cookers were made mostly without any plans. Oral source: Srečko Klemenc, Bistrica ob Dravi, 21. 3. 2017.

During the conservation-restoration interventions, the description of the technology of making the semi-finished products and the parts of the museum object were compared and it was found that the production was actually carried out in the above way, since all the production operations can be observed on the individual semi-finished products of the cooker. After surface protection, the semi-finished products were assembled in three ways: the cooker base, casing and the oven and firebox bases were spot-welded; the partition walls between the hot water cauldron and the oven and between the oven and the firebox were rivetted; while the other elements were screwed.

CARRYING OUT THE CONSERVATION-RESTORATION INTERVENTIONS

After it was dismantled, the cooker needed a thorough clean, both inside and out. The inside surfaces, on which thicker layers of soot had gathered, were first brushed with soft rotational steel brushes, and then all the surfaces, included those on the outside, were cleaned several times with nitro thinner. The fireclay bricks from the firebox were removed due to damage, while two sample pieces have been kept as material documentation. The corroded metal parts that were removed from inside the cooker (a side hatch for air regulation, a cast iron grid from the firebox, the ash drawer and its carrier, and the internal reinforcement of the firebox door) were sanded with 150 µm corundum (Al_2O_3) at a pressure of 2-4 bars. The sanded parts and the other removed parts, the surface of which was less corroded (the oven, the protective sheet metal of the oven), were brushed with small, steel brushes of different hardness, which removed the thinner corrosive layers or polished the surface. All the brushed surfaces were passivated with a coating consisting of a 10% solution of tannin with an addition of ethanol. The most destabilised parts (the air regulation hatch, cooker base, partition wall between the water cauldron compartment and the oven, the front edge of the circumferential frame, the notches on the right side wall, smaller perforations on the cooker back) were consolidated with glass fibre of different thicknesses ($48 \text{ g/m}^2 - 166 \text{ g/m}^2$), attached to the metal with epoxy resin intended for iron reinforcements, and then the missing metal was replaced with polyester resin and the surroundings additionally consolidated. The paint on the back of the cooker was gently grinded with sandpaper (granulation 500) and dry dusted, while the spot corrosion was removed with a diamond grinder. The coating was locally restored with an alloy of zinc and aluminium with a spray used for cold galvanisation and protection of metal objects. The doors of the firebox and ash drawer were additionally taken apart, and the oven door partly dismantled since the mechanism was not removed. Both the external and internal surfaces of the doors and the trimmings are enamelled. The spot corrosion on these surfaces was removed with 50 µm corundum at low pressure (0.7 to 1.0 bar), using the finest nozzles (0.2 mm to 0.6 mm). The enamelled surface was suitably protected since the sanding substance would otherwise damage it. The spot corrosion on the enamelled surfaces on the sides and legs was removed with dry ultrasonic scaler and differently shaped diamond grinders. A larger damaged area on the enamelled surface above the firebox door, which was painted in an unsuitable greyish tone, was cleaned with a mixture of toluene and acetone and the thin layer of corrosion was removed. All the damage on the enamelled surface was retouched with alkyds-based paint in the suitable colour (green, black), since these were in terms of appearance closest to the original enamelled surface. The brass and nickelled handles and the decorative round ends from the doors were cleaned with a mild gel of a mixture of organic weak acids. After the reaction, the surface was suitably neutralised, polished with felt wheels and vacuum varnished with a 5% solution of *Paraloid B72*⁵⁷ in acetone. Following the original design, the missing end was created from steel and suitably retouched in order to achieve an appearance that was close to the original. The oven door opening mechanism and the oven interior were degreased using various solvents. The metal was cleaned of corrosion by brushing and using fibreglass pencils and the surface was coated with a tannin solution. All the tannin treated metal surfaces were after drying additionally protected with a 10% solution of *Bedacryl 122X* in toluene.⁵⁸

Since the bearing frame of the firebox was fully corroded and the material fragile and unsupportive, we decided to make a slightly adapted new frame from stainless steel, which would be capable of bearing the cast iron grate and suitably illustrate the firebox. Due to the damage to the surrounding walls, the new firebox frame was leant

⁵⁷ Paraloid B72, Technical Data Sheet, Preservation equipment Ltd., England. URL: <http://www.preservationequipment.com/files/4ba8f3dc-85c1-44e4-9237-a3db00db1ef4/Paraloid%20B72%20Use.pdf> (quoted 2. 4. 2017).

⁵⁸ Bedacryl 122X, Conservation Resources UK- On Line Catalog, England. URL: http://www.conservationresources.com/Main/uk_section_019/019_040.htm (quoted 2. 4. 2017).

on the preserved part of the bearer on the back and by screwing to the decorative frame of the ash drawer it was connected to the front side of the cooker. In addition, a bed for the cast iron grate was made.

The removal of corrosion from the cast iron hotplates was carried out using a combination of different methods: rough and fine spot sanding (100-150 µm corundum), the use ultrasonic scaler, diamond grinders and steel brushes. Special attention was paid to the preservation of the surface coating on the hotplates which, although it had not been applied during the making of the cooker, reflects the condition at a certain time. During the rest of the work, the coating was protected, consolidated and, simultaneously with the cast iron hotplates, surface-protected using *Bedacryl 122X*. The broken cast iron hotplate was glued with epoxy resin and fibreglass material, while the joint was later treated with polyester putty and painted with acrylic paints in a suitable tone. The punctures on the cast iron caps were also treated in the same way.



Image 3: The restored interior and exterior of the solid fuel cooker (photograph: Irena Porekar Kacafura)

In spite of the addition of the bearing edge of the cooker casting, the front of the circumferential frame had to be reinforced with sheet metal, which was spot welded onto the solid and well-preserved corners. The strongly corroded nickelled surface of the circumferential frame was spot cleaned with 50 µm corundum at low pressure with fine nozzles. The surface was polished, degreased and protected with a 10% solution of *Paraloidom B72* in acetone. The preserved screws and nuts were suitably conserved, while a number of them had to be replaced with new ones.

When assembling the elements, special attention was given to the stabilisation and discharging of the individual parts. A wooden support was made and placed between the oven and the base of the cooker, thus reducing the tension in the material that would arise if the oven was attached only onto the front of the cooker. The fragile partition walls were not forced into the original position, instead their position was adjusted to the damage (position deviations up to 2 cm).

CONCLUSION

The company *TOBI* was a pioneer in the production of various types of household appliances in Yugoslavia. After 1950, it increased its production capacities. Its development, however, lagged behind in comparison to the other manufacturers, since at that time the state was investing considerably in the operating current assets and fixed assets of its direct competitors. *TOBI* never managed to get the suitable funds that would enable it to develop mass production. In 1963, the construction of a production line for cookers in Velenje was started, with which *TOBI* could not compete long-term in spite of its developmental advantage and the fact that *Gorenje* in Velenje started up on the basis of *TOBI*'s products. *TOBI*'s situation remained unchanged and this made its logical further development completely impossible. This is why its progressive, innovative and what were at that time functionally and aesthetically exceptionally perfected products are now kept in museums. Among the products, those which were "popular" with the general public, such as our solid fuel cooker, stand out particularly.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ I wish to thank Karl Fokter, Stanko Frank, Srečko Klemenc, Milan Robnik and Franjo Šaupel for useful information, help and support.

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NAPREDEK V KUHINJI JUGOSLOVANSKE GOSPODINJE – »ŠPORHERT« *TOBI*

konservatorsko-restavratorski posegi na primeru muzejskega predmeta

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

TOBI iz Bistrice ob Dravi je bilo prvo podjetje v Jugoslaviji, ki je usvojilo proizvodnjo štedilnikov in hladilnikov. Njihov »šporhert« *TOBI* je ključno prispeval k modernizaciji gospodinjstev po drugi svetovni vojni.

Že leta 1948 je stekla proizvodnja emajliranih štedilnikov na trdo gorivo, leta 1954 emajliranih električnih štedilnikov in leto za tem še proizvodnja hladilnikov. Toda zaradi neenakopravnih pogojev za proizvodnjo na domačem tržišču njihova proizvodnja ni mogla konkurirati velikoserijski proizvodnji drugih proizvajalcev in je počasi ugasnila. Njihove inovativne in za tisti čas funkcionalno in estetsko domišljene proizvode moramo kot materialne vire ohraniti muzeji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

TOBI, štedilnik, muzejski predmet, konserviranje, restavriranje

POVZETEK

Od druge polovice 19. stoletja dalje se je uporaba štedilnikov v gospodinjstvih v mestih in na podeželju hitro širila. Nastalo je precej manjših podjetij, ki so se ukvarjala z izdelavo različnih tipov štedilnikov (zidanih, litoželeznih in pločevinastih). Šele po drugi svetovni vojni se je na območju tedanje Jugoslavije proizvodnja gospodinskih izdelkov tako zelo razmahnila, da so si podjetja medsebojno nelojalno konkurirala.

Podjetje kovinske stroke *Željezo-prometno d.d.* s sedežem v Zagrebu je konec dvajsetih let 20. stoletja začelo v Bistrici ob Dravi proizvajati stavbno okovje, nekaj let za tem pa izdelovati še preproste »graške« pločevinaste štedilnike. Proizvodnja, ki ni bila prekinjena niti v času okupacije, se je po nacionalizaciji po drugi svetovni vojni nadaljevala s predvojnimi proizvodnimi programi. Že leta 1945 so izdelali prve pločevinaste štedilnike in se leta 1946 preimenovali v *Tovarno okovja in pločevinastih izdelkov Bistrica*. Zaradi dviga osebnega standarda prebivalstva, izboljšanih bivanjskih razmer in modernizacije gospodinjstva so uporabnikom že leta 1948 ponujali tudi emajlirane štedilnike na trda goriva, kasneje elektriko, k temu pa so dodali še hladilnike. Tovarna se je takrat preimenovala v *TOBI – Tovarna termo-električnih proizvodov*. *TOBI* je bilo prvo podjetje v Jugoslaviji, ki je usvojilo proizvodnjo štedilnikov in hladilnikov. Njihov *šporhert TOBI* na trda goriva je bil še dolga leta nepogrešljiv element v kuhinji jugoslovanske gospodinje. Kljub temu podjetje svoje prednosti ni moglo izkoristiti, vzrok za to pa so bili neenakopravni pogoji za proizvodnjo na domačem tržišču in proizvodnja ni sledila logičnemu razvojnemu planu.

V Pokrajinskem muzeju Maribor smo leta 2015 odkupili enega izmed v prvi seriji izdelanih zeleno emajliranih pločevinastih miznih štedilnikov proizvajalca *TOBI*, ki pa je bil zaradi dolgoletne uporabe v zelo slabem stanju. Dotrajana notranjost, pregorelost elementov, korozijski propad materiala, poškodovana in delno preurejena zunanost so narekovali kompleksen pristop k stabilizaciji celote. Na osnovi analiz materiala in premazov smo določili postopek konserviranja in restavriranja. Postopki so obsegali tako mehanske kot kemijske metode obdelave, uporabili pa smo tudi izviren pristop pri rekonstrukciji kurišča.

TRADITIONAL METHODS OF PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND THE EMERGENCE OF CANNING INDUSTRY IN THE 19TH CENTURY IN ROMANIA*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

The discovery of preservation capabilities by using high or low temperatures, salt, sugar, spices, vinegar or alcohol, turned the diet of humanity and changed the way of life for generations. Most conservation techniques used in the nineteenth century on the territory of Moldovia and Wallachia involved the use of salt as the main agent.

KEYWORDS

salt, *pastrami*, *cervis*, canned meat

Preserved foods have played a key role in the social and cultural history of humanity, in various forms, they have ensured survival during the long winters, and encouraged the development of technology. Without them, wars and great geographical discoveries would have been virtually inconceivable; there would be no new trade routes or cultural exchanges.

The discovery of preservation capabilities by using high or low temperatures, salt, sugar, spices, vinegar or alcohol, turned the diet of humanity and changed the way of life for generations. Food preservation did not mean only an extension of their lives, but led to changes in texture and taste, the use of particular ways by certain communities helped to form food preferences and the foundation of national cuisine.

The most preservation techniques of the pre-industrial era have been based on the use of salt as the main agent. Salted meat was extremely important in food strategies of the Balkans, especially the mutton so much appreciated by Muslims, but also by Greeks and the inhabitants of mountains. As in the West, the fall, starting with September, the slaughtering of sheep began in some parts of Turkey and Bulgaria. The meat was deboned, cut into pieces, salted and after that left in storage, in a cool place, for several days.

The meat was covered with a layer of salt, then put in wooden boxes or baskets being kept inside for a long time to be used at a later time in a wide variety of dishes. Mutton, chevon use, and especially beef preserved in this manner has been known as *pasterma* (Albania), *pastrma* (Bosnia, Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia), *pasturma* (Bulgaria), *pastourma* (Greece), or *pastramă* (Romania and Armenia). The *pastrami* was prepared in Istanbul, every year, in autumn, for the requirements of the Sultan's kitchen. The highest quality for the *pastrami* was obtained from pregnant cows and beef, considered to be soft and tasty.

Noteworthy is that *pastrama* arrived at the New World, where today it is known as the *pastrami*, through Hebrew immigrants from Romania.¹ Apparently, in the Romanian Countries, before the 19th century, there was a whole industry of cooking beef. This meat was mainly used to produce *pastrami* and other products - *cervis*² - the *suet*, which was boiled with a part of the meat, then stored in bellows and exported south of the Danube River, where it was used by the people of Istanbul as fat for cooking. A special dish that was prepared from beef and was consumed by poor people was *furda*. This dish consisted of mixed offal and cervis. "Oxen

* Translation: Ion Blajan

¹ SHEPHARD, S. 2000, p. 72.

² *Cervis* it is a name of the product, comes from a turkish word means suet boiled with some leftovers of meat.

meat which is cut,” said Dr Constantin Caracaș, at abattoirs is conserved making pastrami and sausages that people, after drying, eat this raw or slightly fried. Bones and tallow are boiled, melt in large boilers, then put in large bellows, also on oxen, and sent to Turkey.³

Cervis, said Ivan Batinov, a foreign traveler, “is the fat on skeleton and marrow boiled, generally used to Constantinople for cooking. Suet and lower fat extracted from intestines, legs, etc., are items sold on the market in Constantinople in a mixture that consists of 2/3 cervis and 1/3 fat. The cervis is valued 10 times more than tallow, but on the European markets tallow is valued more than cervis. Goat and sheep suet arrive in goatskin bellows and have to be put in barrels before boarding. The suet from the Romanian Country and Moldovia, in terms of quality and how to be prepared, is equal to the suets in other countries.

The amount of fat produced annually in Romanian Country, in some years, can be considered to 3 million of cervis ocale [one “oca” is equal with approx. 1.250 gr.] and one million of tallow of goats and sheep. Out of this quantity, 1.5 million ocale is consumed mainly in Romanian Principalities or go to Austria by land, one million goes to Turkey by land or by the Danube River and, finally, one million ocale are exported via Braila town to other countries.”⁴

For *pastrami* preparation the cows, sheep or goats meat was used. The most important preparing center for this product was in Brăila town, on an island of the Danube River, Prundu, known in the writings of the epoch, and on the older maps, as the island of butchers or pastrami makers. Two other Danube islands, located in front of Silistra town, Pastramagiul Mare [Great Pastrami Maker] and Pastramagiul Mic [Small Pastrami Maker] were also used as centers for preparing *pastrami*. The favourite season slaughter of cattle was autumn because cattle were fat and the weather becoming cooler, there was no danger the meat tainted.

In 1830, 50 shambles were registered in the 14 counties of the Romanian Country; their number would reach 78 in two countries united in 1863, they were producing tallow and cervis so required in Turkey.

In Moldovia, in 1860, existed three great shambles, the greater one operated in Huși town, the owners being Glodeanu & Stere, and was mentioned by the documents still from 1848; at that time being probably a small manufacture which developed later.

The shambles prepared a various range of products (except the classical *pastrami*), some of them being mentioned in the testimonies of that time, being considered as first use products. The *Nart* [amount of money fixed by authorities as maximum limit of tax on products] of February 22, 1807 mentioned the prices of foodstuffs sold on the Bucharest market among which were: *pastrami* and *ghiudem* [dried beef sausage] made here at the cost of a *taller* [Austrian silver coin circulated in the past in Romanian Countries] and 25 *parale* per one *oca* [para/parale(plural) = small brass or silver coins circulated within the Romanian Countries in 18th – 19th centuries], the leg of goat pastrami – six *parale*; cow pastrami and shamble sausages cost 12 *parale*.⁵

Many meat specialties, made in shamble, were exported south of the Danube, according to the documents: *ghiudem*, Kaiser beef, salami, muscles and sausages, smoked bacon, ham, beef and goat tongues, last two articles only occasionally.

In 1850, in Bucharest, would open the famous *Pațac’s* sausage factory, it was probably a small manufacture. About the same time, in Iassy town, Lăpușneanu street, works “Fotachi’s famous sausage maker booth (that time it was not called as shop of canned products).”⁶

Around the year 1880, the habit of raising weak cattle, on spring, in the markets, to fatten them in summer time, and sacrificing them in autumn, begun disappear, like the shamble threatened by technical progress.

³ CARACAȘ, C. 1937, p. 31.

⁴ BUȘĂ, D. 2007, IV, pp. 491–492.

⁵ DICULESCU, V. 1970, p. 138.

⁶ ȘUȚU, R. 1928, II, p. 331.

“Since the transport means have become more developed, observed P.S. Aurelian, the shamble began to disappear because the farmers find more profitable to send the fat cattle in Vienna or elsewhere than to cut them.”⁷

In the food industry field, there were premises of meat industrial processing, especially that of beef, but they needed to use a modern technology, that one of tinned meat invented by the French Nicolas Appert, a talented and intelligent cook, who has taken over time, after many years of experiments, a technician of canned foods.

The first tests consisted in filling in some glass containers with fruits, vegetables or meat, after having been tightly sealed, were placed in a hot water bath. The preserves obtained: soup, boiled beef in sauce, beans and peas were stored for three months, after which they were offered for consumption to French fleet under the blockade in 1803, and were particularly appreciated. In 1804, Appert was under the patronage of Grimod de la Reynière, a lawyer, journalist and above all a gourmet, described by his contemporaries as a parasite well organized, he published the *Almanach des Gourmands*, ancestor, if we may say so, of *Michelin Guide*. Appert will present to this acid critical person his products that have been fully appreciated.

In 1809, a special commission sent a report on Appert's tinned foods (fruits, vegetables, juices, milk, whey, soups and stew) to the Company Board of Directors to encourage the national industry.

Appert's demonstration was a success and was rewarded with a prize of 12,000 francs, but he had to submit 200 copies, description and details of his invention, which Appert did, in 1810, in a book entitled *L'art de conserver pendant plusieurs années toutes les substances animales et végétales*, translated into several languages and published in four editions later.

Three months after the appearance of Appert's work, an English merchant, Peter Durand, obtained a patent for food preservation in England (identical with the French's method), which he sold quickly to an engineer, Brian Donkin.

Brian Donkin was associated with John Hall and John Gamble, from Dartford Iron Works and set, in 1812, the bases of a cannery; after six years of experiments they concluded that some tin containers would be more appropriate instead of glass containers, which break easily. The way to the cannery industry was open.

Technology raised serious problems, the production process was not sufficiently mastered, there were accidents caused by the explosion of metal canisters during boiling and numerous waste products due to the insufficient boiling. Opening cans was also a challenge, it was good to have on hand a chisel and a hammer; the tin provided with wrench for opening, replacing blacksmith's specific tools, appeared only in 1866.

The methods for preparing industrial canned food were a mystery to the public, so one explains the theory that Skeen circulated when he speaks on Samuel Goldner's factory in Moldavia: “The manufacturing process of preserves was discovered in a singular manner, a house where had prepared the meal was the victim of a fire; when the ruins were excavated, one year after the event, in the aim of the reconstruction of the building, a souce boat with some meat, in perfect condition, was discovered in the rubble; by repeated experiments an English entrepreneur determined which was the required degree of boiling to produce this result.”⁸

At Tiglina, Galați town, began operating the first plant of beef meet preservation in the Principalities, owned by a Jew from Hungary, Samuel Goldner, who would improve production technology of preserves, using for this purpose, since 1841, sodium nitrate which was added to the sterile bath where the tins were boiled to raise the temperature of the liquid and to reduce the processing time.⁹

In 1844, Samuel Goldner urged the approval for the opening of cannery factory in Moldavia. He asked the Ruler for the monopoly right, demanded that the docks of Galati harbour be transfered to him free of charge,

⁷ AURELIAN, P. S. 1880, p. 136.

⁸ SKEENE, J. H. 1853, p. 402.

⁹ SHEPHARD, S. 2000, p. 244.

the privilege to import beef without payment of other charges, excluding those due to chief magistrate, the exported products to be exempt of customs, and the ships that transported them to be also exempt of taxes.

Factory works near Galați town, at Tiglina, in the former quarantine of the city, said, in 1850, Skeene, and “is in possession of a Hungarian Jew who buys cattle at a low price in Danubian provinces and processed their meat in metal cans for use of our sailors according to the contract that he signed with the Admiralty.”¹⁰

In all likelihood, the first preserves were produced in 1844 and exported to the market of England, about 500 tons of meat, the production was destined to export addressed generally to British and French Navy.

In 1846, British Admiralty considered that the price of canned meat was good enough to add corned in the daily ration of each sailor. To reduce costs, it was decided to purchase large boxes of canned food weighing up to 6 kg. The production of these cans created great difficulties for proper sterilization of products, while the manufacturing process was not fully understood and mastered.

In 1852, the Great Universal Exhibition took place in London, at Crystal Palace, built especially for this event. Their was presented to the public a wide variety of canned meat, fish, vegetables and was even exposed a can produced by Donkin, Hall and Gamble in 1813. All these have attracted public attention and in the popular imaginary canned foods were already considered as a miracle food.

A few months after this event a huge scandal broke, the newspaper *The Times* mentioned the existence, in British Admiralty, of deposits of numerous canned rotten meat. According to the newspaper, the whole batch, of which only a small number of cans was proper for human consumption was sent by Samuel Goldner factory from Moldavia. Terrible descriptions on the content of these canned products appeared in the newspapers were of nature to shake the frail confidence of consumers in canned meat. Besides the tainted meat, which was sold to the Navy, Goldner has been accused that he supplied, in 1847, with tainted meat John Franklin's Arctic expedition, contributing directly to its failure. In 1852, the case was discussed in the House of Commons debate.

The problem was due to the fact that, given the size of the preserves, their central part was not submitted to a sufficiently high temperature to ensure proper sterilization of the product, leaving a lot of active bacteria inside the container. After the scandal broke, Goldner was retired from business, and cannery factory was taken over by Ritchie and Powell Company, which undertook in turn by contract to deliver cannery to British fleet. The factory had to complete its activity in Galați, in 1868.¹¹

Further information about the fate of Goldner's factory, after scandal, come from the Irish O'Brien: “Before entering in Galați town, we visited a factory which preserved meat that previously belonged to the famous Mr. Goldner, but now is in the hands of Mr. Powell. There are twenty British butchers in this factory, the rest are domestic workers. The great demand for canned meat prepared in this factory is itself a proof for the excellent quality of these products. I believe I ought to say that the issue of these preserves was much brought to public attention that, I learned as result of some researches that the new owners buy for their factory the best pigs and best cattle and sheep which can be found in this country.”¹²

“The rich plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, the same traveler continues to say, still allow the growth of numerous herds of sheep and cattle, while into the forests are huge herd of pigs. On this abundance of meat of all kinds have bet Goldner's successors who settled around Galați, but also the owners of another English establishment which is largely engaged in the trade with pork meat, in Calafat town. The owners of these two factories found out that, despite the high wages, they are forced to offer to the English workers also the transportation costs. They can sell their products cheaper in England, than if they had bought meat for their business in the UK or Ireland.”¹³

¹⁰ SKEENE, J. H. 1853, p. 402.

¹¹ CERNOVODEANU, P. 1986, p. 145.

¹² O'BRIEN, P. 1854, p. 22.

¹³ Ibid., p. 53.

Indeed, in Calafat town, operated a cannery house belonging to Anglo-German Trade Chamber - *Koopman and Bridgman*, who signed a contract with an owner from Oltenia to purchase pork meat to be preserved and sold on the British market.¹⁴

Cannery meat industry was targeted in the first years of operation of these factories to the export and until the end of the century to the domestic market, for several social groups "this is not consumed then only by those who are forced to eat, by the army, by the explorers and the ships that do not reach much the land" noted Grigore Antipa.¹⁵ „Cannery factory, said Theodoraky, was almost unknown in the past century. Housewives used to fill the pantry, in due course, with pickles in vinegar and brine, lined with thousands of okras on cords, dried tomato cakes etc., as for peas, beans, zucchini, peppers, they wait for the next harvest, and for those who have money, the groceries were supplied with tins, brought especially from France.”¹⁶

First Romanian initiative in this field belonged to the merchant Tache Staicovici who, in 1874, “began to make experiments with tinned food manufacturing, and after quite heavy outsets, he succeeded to manufacture from them preserves, improving, year by year, the manufacturing system, and later, one of his sons, visiting cannery factories abroad. bought improved machines and installs a factory on Filaret hill, which was the first in this manufacturing activity.”¹⁷

The business prospered and Staicovici's followers built a new factory equipped with new machines which produced canned vegetables, meat, fish and mustard that could compete with those produced abroad.

The article published, in 1893, in the National Economy, entitled Canned Food Industry praised Staicovici's cannery factory “Today we do not see foreign canned products in grocery stores, we consum local canned food, more than it, Mr. Staicovici made school and was imitated by others.”¹⁸ Preserves' quality produced by his factory has been recognized in several international exhibitions being rewarded with numerous awards. Among these honors, gold and silver medals, even at the Universal Exhibition, in Paris, in 1889.

The article emphasized that these preseves “have become an object of daily consumption; every year this item tends to become cheaper and become gradually a food even for the most poor people.”¹⁹

In Romania, there was a particular interest from military responsables to supply army with preserved meat. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a cannery which should help Romania's export of meat under another form (given that Romanian cattle did not have a high quality) and meet the supply needs of the army in case of war. The initiative was supported by the King Carol I, the engineer Lupulescu being designated to make a report on this issue, in 1887. He has traveled abroad, where he visited several cannery factories to become familiar with the matter.

In 1892, general Lahovary proposed a law in Parliament that would permit to establish a new factory for meat, which must supply the army during a period of 10 years with one million rations annually, each ration weighing 400 grams. Of the total of these preserves, 80% had to be boiled meat with tomato sauce, 15% boiled meat with tomato sauce and vegetable, and only 5% meat extract.²⁰

A French company, with experience in this area, has been designated to set up this factory and although lodged the security required, the poor choice of location, Bucharest or Turnu Severin, as other factors have made that this project did not materialize. Ministry of War had to address to the domestic producers, given that product's prices abroad were extremely high.

¹⁴ CERNOVODEANU, P. 1986, p. 146.

¹⁵ ANTIPA, GR. 1998, p. 78.

¹⁶ THEODORAKY, D. H. 2005, p. 72.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁸ Industria conservelor alimentare,[Industry of food canneries], 1893, p. 647.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ ANTIPA, GR. 1898, p. 47.

Production capacities of the four Romanian manufacturers at the time: Barras, Economu, Staicovici in Bucharest, and Oroveanu brothers in Râmnicu Sărat were rather limited, as well as their technical endowment, except Economu, who uses the steam for boiling the products. Army ordered these manufacturers annually by 20-30 000 rations, but their maximum capacity could not exceed 150,000 rations per year in case of war. The competent ministry began a series of experiments, introduced three types of canned food in troops menu: stew meat, Romanian stew (goulash) and boiled meat in tomato sauce, they follow to choose the most suitable type. The results were good, soldiers have not complained about their taste, and the lot fell upon canned boiled meat in tomato sauce - preserve type letter F, Economu's factory - which contained 300 grams of beef meat and 100 grams tomato sauce (own juice) which could be consumed without any preheating.

But complaints have come from another direction. They were due to food habits of those enrolled in the army: "Our peasant is accustomed to eat a piece of cheese and a pussy full polenta and only when the stomach is full then he feels satiated; giving him food, although complete, but concentrated in a small volume, he always feels hungry and this apparent feeling of hunger can take enormous proportions and can have a very bad effect on the soldier's moral. Experience was made enough for, although were given soldiers double large canned portions compared with those of other countries, 400 grams instead of 200, almost all reports that came from the commanders of regiments told that soldiers like preserved food, but the portions are too small."²¹

In 1897, Dimitrie Sturdza returns to the issue to supply Romanian army with canned meat and instructs Antipa to go to Germany, Austria-Hungary, France and other European countries to prepare a new detailed report on this problem.

A study drawn up by Eduard Ghica concluded that it was necessary "the foundation of a new cannery factory which should provide sufficient quantities of products with minimal expenses, to bring economic profit and to value also, on peace time, the raw material of the country."²² To provide 40 grams daily corned meat for each Romanian army soldier. The factory had to produce four tons of canned meat daily.

Cans had to have a weight of one kilogram with a content of 800 grams and 200 grams meat soup (to obtain a canned meat was estimated that was required an amount of two kg of fresh meat).

On September 12, 1900, a contract that allowed the opening of a factory in Iassy town was signed. According to this contract, the factory would produce 5000 kg canned meat per day for 20 years. The contract provides to the owner the ability to produce other kinds of canned products too, except those of meat.

In Nicolae Păianu's study of 1906 is mentioned the existence of other factories producing preserved food, besides that of Staicovici that worked from 1874, is mentioned the famous factory of Leopold Pațac, that one in Ploiești founded in 1898 - Nissim Brache and Co, in Iassy the factory of E. Nouac (1890), and in Azuga, Weller's factory (1898).²³

This industry which is in an early stage, without state encouragement and customs protectionism, had to face the competition from foreign products, which conquered international markets.

Despite the progress made, in 1901, in Romania, preserved food and sausage industry was represented by 11 factories where worked 376 workers,²⁴ their production aggregate amounts to tiny quantity of 364 tons of canned vegetables, 76 tons canned meat and two tons of canned fish.²⁵

²¹ Ibid., p. 60.

²² GHICA, E. 1901, p. 15.

²³ PĂIANU, N. I. 1906, p. 89

²⁴ AXINCIUC, V. 1992, I, p. 157

²⁵ Ibid., p. 27

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TRADICIONALNE METODE KONZERVIRANJA MESA IN NASTANEK TOVARN KONZERV V 19. STOLETJU V ROMUNIJ

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1. 02)

IZVLEČEK

Odkritje možnosti konzerviranja z uporabo visokih ali nizkih temperatur, soli, sladkorja, začimb, kisa ali alkohola je spremenilo prehrano ljudi in način življenja celih generacij. Večina tehnik konzerviranja, ki so jih na področju Moldavije in Vlaške uporabljali v 19. stoletju, je kot ključno sredstvo vključevala sol.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

sol, *pastrami*, *cervis*, konzervirano meso

POVZETEK

Večina tehnik konzerviranja, ki so jih na področju Moldavije in Vlaške uporabljali v 19. stoletju, so kot ključno sredstvo vključevale sol. Soljeno meso je bilo nadvse pomembno za balkanske prehranske strategije, saj so bile jedi, kot je *pastrami*, v tej regiji pogosto na krožniku. Kneževine so v Istanbul, veliko prestolnico Osmanskega cesarstva, izvažale velike količine masti ter jedi *pastrami* in *cervis*. Ti mesni izdelki so bili narejeni iz mesa živali, ki so bile zaklane pozno jeseni, ko se je zaradi nizkih temperatur zmanjšalo tveganje, da bi se meso pokvarilo.

Nizke cene mesa in goveda so Samuela Goldnerja spodbudili, da je leta 1844 v mestu Galați odprl tovarno konzerv. Vse konzervirane izdelke so izvažali v Anglijo, tam pa je leta 1852 izbruhnil velik škandal. Veliko konzerv, proizvedenih v Moldaviji, je bilo poškodovanih, tako da so ogrožale zdravje britanskih mornarjev. Samuel Goldner je po škandalu bankrotiral, tovarno pa je bil prisiljen prodati podjetju Ritchie & Powell Co.

Prve romunske konzerve je leta 1874 proizvedel trgovec Tache Staicovici, vendar je bilo povpraševanje majhno. Vojska je bila z uvajanjem konzervirane vojaške hrane preveč zaposlena, zlasti v vojnem času, zato jo je naročala samo pri nekaj romunskih proizvajalcih, ti pa je žal niso bili sposobni dostaviti. Tuja konkurenca in pomanjkanje denarja pa sta povzročila, da se je proizvodnja konzerviranih živil zelo zmanjšala. Na začetku 20. stoletja je delovalo le 11 tovarn s 376 delavci, proizvedli pa so samo 364 ton konzervirane zelenjave, 76 ton konzerviranega mesa in 2 toni konzerviranih rib.

ITALIAN FOOD. PASTA AND PASTA DISHES. A HISTORICAL PATH AND GASTRONOMIC MODEL*

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ABSTRACT

Among food, pasta has always been one of the basic foods of the “Mediterranean diet”, and it is so substantial to be a real indicator of “civilisation” as only a few other products can boast, which are the fruit of men’s labour and intelligence. It is a food that since the old age has shown major cultural and technical-productive implications. Some customs registers of the port of Cagliari of the 14th century, preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, show how there was already, in the second half of that century, an outstanding production of pasta. It was made with prestigious durum wheat, which established an important trade towards the most illustrious marketplaces of the Medieval Mediterranean basin.

KEYWORDS

“Mediterranean diet”, “Italian food”, pasta, production, Sardinia, Mediterranean Sea, XIV-XV centuries

THE ITALIAN FOOD, A GASTRONOMIC MODEL

The French semiotician Roland Barthes argues that “... nutrition is not just a collection of products subjected to statistical studies or dietary but, at the same time, it is a sign, a body of images, a communication system, a record of uses, of situations and behaviours ...”.¹

The Italian cuisine represents all of this. It uses a protocol of behaviour and a communication system that generated the Italian cultural identity: the famous “Italian food”. The Italian cuisine was born to the use of various foods and their combinations, through the share of countless regional recipes, and the application of techniques, from different and complex gastronomic traditions, that merged into such a valuable model, to overcome national and continental boundaries.²

The history of the Italian cuisine is an inseparable part of the overall Italian history;³ however, especially nowadays, it could be identified as a global model of cuisine, considering how the “Mediterranean diet”, mainly represented by pasta, has become a source of inspiration for chefs at an international level, and how it is strongly part of the web and the mass-media world.⁴ Through several portals and the world of bloggers, the “Italian food” is now presented to the entire world.⁵

The Italian cuisine has ancient roots: it is simple, but on the other hand, it is thought and incisive in its ability to strengthen identity.⁶

Regarding this, it is impossible not to think especially about pasta which, at the same time, represents a simple but prestigious dish; appreciated since the ancient times in the royal and papal courts, but also, in banquets in the Renaissance, in the rich tables of merchants and Jews, up to the tables of monks and farmers. Even some

* Translation: Vittoria and Virginia Lombardo

¹ BARTHES, R. 2012, p. 49 and BARTHES, R. 1966, pp. 120–128.

² The model of a circuit that integrates local cuisines is the central element of the reflection by Montanari about this topic: MONTANARI, M. 2010, p. 7; LEVENSTEIN, H. 1985, pp. 75–90.

³ ALBERINI, M. 1966; MONTANARI, M. 1992; DICKIE, J. 2007; CAPATTI, A. 2015, pp. 409–426.

⁴ FACCIOLO, E. 1997 (ed.), pp. 19–125; CARRARA, L. 2013; PORTINCASA, A. 2016, pp. 26–32, 45–48.

⁵ CAPATTI, A., MONTANARI, M. 1999, pp. 51–74; CAPUZZO, P. 2006, p. 176; BALDOLI, C., MORRIS, J. 2006, pp. 5–16; DAVOLIO, F. 2007, pp. 201–232; MARZO MAGNO A. 2015.

⁶ BENPORAT, C. 1990; MONTANARI, M. 2004, pp. VII–VIII; MONTANARI, M. 2015.

treatises of medicine mention the use of pasta due to, not only, its nutritional properties, but also, curative.⁷

PASTA. IDENTITY MARKER OF ITALIAN CUISINE

Food, therefore, is a marker of cultural and social identity; It is an important point in the construction of personal, gender, class and ethnic identity. It is a sign of their own history and culture.⁸

Pasta, among all food, is certainly the marker of cultural and social identity par excellence for the Italian cuisine, alongside with many other main dishes – like soups – made with pasta. Created by a simple mixture of water and flour, pasta is, still today, the most widespread stereotype of Italianness connected to the kitchen table. Each pasta preparation is strongly related to a local, regional and domestic tradition, since its essential characteristic is being the typical product of a place, a product that initially was domestic and home-made, and afterwards, it significantly spread, even before its emergence as semi-industrial and then industrial food product.⁹

Pasta is the main theme of Italian recipes from the Middle Ages to the present. For this reason, studying pasta gives quality to the historical research if applied, not with the intention of providing the first name and period of a type of pasta, but, in order to rebuild a culture that, not only we preserve from ancient times, but also that currently qualifies ourselves as a worldwide excellence.

The history of Italian pasta, thus, is the story of a symbol of the “Mediterranean diet”. It is the story of its spread and its success as a global food, and also, to quote Barthes' words again, it is, above all, the story of a record of customs, situations, behaviours and a system of communication that has deep roots into the past.

Taking into account what mentioned above, to better understand the historical value of the path of pasta, my attention will focus particularly on an era that concerns me from the research point of view, namely the Middle Ages, in order to provide an analysis of the production of pasta in Sardinia, during the 14th–15th centuries, and its wide, and perhaps unexpected, spread in the late Middle Ages Mediterranean Sea.

In the late 50's of the last century, Emilio Sereni, an agriculture scholar, as well as historian and writer, composed an essay about the history of the production of pasta in Naples where he explained why the citizens of Naples were given the nickname of *mangia-maccheroni* (pasta-eaters) instead of *mangia-foglia* (leaf-eaters).¹⁰

Sereni, whilst using heterogeneous and not archival sources (such as linguistic data, literary compositions, laws, oral traditions), was among the first scholars to study thoroughly the history of pasta and its spread in particular in Naples, which is a synonym of excellence of the Italian tradition.

The historian identifies the first period of macaroni consumption in Naples as the late fifteenth century and says that it was exclusively an imported product. However, he attributes to the early 16th century to be the beginning of the actual local production and distribution of the product, while specifying that, throughout that century, despite the city becoming a rich and thriving capital, macaroni were not yet a primary-eat food such as bread, but they were considered a luxury food along with sweets.¹¹

It was not until the 17th century that a real change of nutrition was made. Indeed, in response to a high rate of taxes imposed by the Spanish Crown to the city of Naples, already weakened by the plague, Neapolitans citizens increased the use of pasta, since they could no longer support themselves with only vegetables and meat. Born out of necessity, the production of pasta had initially a strong family and domestic nature, which gradually became excellent home-made quality, and finally almost industrial production, which assigned to

⁷ BANTI A.M. 1996; CAVACIOCCHI, S. 1997; BARBERIS, C. 2010; CAPATTI, A. 1998, pp. 755–801; DE BERNARDI A. 2015, pp. 123–136; CARRARA L., SALVINI E. 2015.

⁸ SCHOLLIERS, P. 2001.

⁹ PREZZOLINI, G. 1955 and PREZZOLINI, G. 1957; PORTESI, G. 1957; ALBERINI, M. 1994; LA CECLA, F. 2002, pp. 15–28, 54–57, 106–107; SERVENTI, S., SABBAN, F. 2004, p. 207; PARASECOLI, F. 2014; PORTINCASA, A. 2016, pp. 37–45, 151–158.

¹⁰ SERENI, E. 1981, pp. 292–371. In those years other works have also been published regarding the subject: PREZZOLINI, G. 1957; CONSIGLIO, A. 1957 and CONSIGLIO, A. 1963.

¹¹ SERENI, E. 1981, pp. 315–321.

the Neapolitans the new attribute of *mangia-maccheroni*.¹² Wheat from Puglia and Sicily became the raw material for the production of pasta, and so, early corporations pasta artisans started – the so-called “vermicellai” and then also “maccaronai” – which were different from the bakers’ ones.¹³

The art of making pasta, also known as “the white art”, made such a success that, soon enough, it is possible to read in the news about new techniques regarding the production of pasta and several mechanical tools.

The early *ingegni* – as they were called – allowed to shorten processing times. They helped to grind and knead the pasta which needed to be shaped in various forms, up to the exsiccation stage, and also, as Sereni writes, “the first pasta made by machines in Naples was later called *pasta d’ingegno*, in order to distinguish them from the hand-made pasta, which, in any case, was still produced, and not only for domestic use”.¹⁴ In this regard, in 1596 there is proof, for example, of a first *ingegno*, or a “macaroni machine, provided with four wire-drawing, a sieve, a scale and various other tools’ being purchased by a certain Peter Paul Stubo for 45 ducats.¹⁵

In his study, Sereni also hints at an import trade of pasta during the 16th and 17th centuries, coming from the ports of Genoa, a well-known city for its outstanding production and export of pasta, and from Cagliari. Supporting the thesis/theory about the trade from the Sardinian port, there are two testimonies/documents: the first one is the work by Tommaso Garzoni where, in 1581, he mentioned the type of pasta, called “vermicelli”, produced in Sardinia; and the second one being a decree published in Naples in 1626, which authorized the sale of pasta only coming from Cagliari and not from any other territories of the Kingdom since it was better quality.¹⁶

PASTA. A STEADY GROWTH IN THE SARDINIA OF THE 14th CENTURY

If we compare what Sereni wrote about the import of pasta from Sardinia in the 16th–17th centuries, with the data of some 14th-century records, preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, we find an interesting result.

By reading these archival documents, indeed, the presence of an artisan production of pasta in the Catalan-Aragonese Sardinia is evident, as early as the 14th century, alongside with the traditionally-known centres of production during the Middle Ages, namely Sicily and Liguria, and later on, Puglia,¹⁷ as well as a significant trade from the port of Cagliari to the markets of the early Medieval Mediterranean. The records, written in *letra bastarda catalana*, are the customs registers of the port of Cagliari. They are also known as books of *Aduanas Sardas*, and they are dated from 1351 to 1397, plus a 15th-century volume of the years 1427 to 1429. Analyzing them, it is clear that a production and export of pasta from Sardinia had existed for two hundred years before the date proposed by Sereni.¹⁸

Therefore, it is not important looking for the paternity of pasta, attributing its invention to a community or to a particular region, as much as it is pointing out that its diffusion was due to the natural use of a widespread raw material, deeply connected to each region of the Mediterranean basin and therefore innate in the same Mediterranean culture.

Shall we not forget, indeed, that the great granaries of the time were, without any doubts, some areas of the Iberian Peninsula – especially the Castilla – and the regions of Provence, Tunisia, Egypt, Crete, the land of Puglia and Sicily – that Braudel defined the grain island par excellence –¹⁹ as well as Sardinia, even though its production was always influenced by long periods of war.²⁰ All this happened due to the cultivation in the

¹² Ibid, pp. 339, 362–363; REDON, O., LAURIOUX, B. 1997, pp. 101–108.

¹³ AYMARD, M. 1998, pp. 755–787. For a long time, the term “macaroni” generally defined different sizes of pasta. About the terminology of pasta CAPATTI, A., MONTANARI, M. 1999, pp. 51–74.

¹⁴ SERENI, E. 1981, pp. 351–356.

¹⁵ FRANCO, V., LANCONELLI, A., QUESADA, M.A. (eds.) 1991, pp. 56, 185–186.

¹⁶ GARZONI, T. 1599, p. 544.

¹⁷ MONTANARI, M. 1989, p. 63.

¹⁸ ACA, R.P., AS, regg. 2127–2143 (1351–1397); reg. 2144 (1427–1429).

¹⁹ BRAUDEL, F. 1976, I, pp. 152–153.

²⁰ DEL TREPPO, M. 1959, pp. 144–202 and DEL TREPPO, M. 1968; MANCA, C. 1966; TANGHERONI, M. 1981; MELIS, F. 1990, pp. 215–231.

Sardinian lands of a very fine grain quality, for which the island was defined by Valerius Maximus in the first century. B.C. “The breadbasket of Rome’s happiness”; the island became point of contention between the Genoese and the Pisani, with the latter defining it “caput et sustentacio Pisae”,²¹ afterwards it was torn off from Pisa by the Crown of Aragon with the conquest in 1323 by king James II, who, according to the testimonies and reports of the Pisan and Genoese merchants who frequented the port of Cagliari, was well-aware of the island’s potential to solve the scarcity of grain in the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation.²²

The books of *Aduanas* indicate that in the second half of the 14th century, in the middle of the Catalan-Aragonese period, Sardinia was one of the most important centres of pasta production in the Mediterranean Sea during the Late Middle Ages, as well as *Castell de Càller* (Cagliari), capital of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*, was one of the most significant centres for the export of pasta to such an extent that the market demand was subjected to a restrictive traffic control in cases of cereal shortage.

From daily records of the customs of *Castell de Caller* – considering the physiological lacunas (such as blank or deteriorated sheets and invalid registrations for those workers exempted from customs duties) – we discover that, in the second half of the fourteenth century, 350 *quintars* of pasta were exported, and about 493 *quintars* in just two years between 1427 and 1429.²³ Since the *quintar* of Cagliari was equivalent to the one of Barcelona, corresponding with today’s 41.6 kg,²⁴ therefore, about 15,000 kg (33,000 pounds) of pasta were exported from the port of Cagliari in the second half of the 14th century, and almost 25,000 kg (55,000 pounds) in just two years in the first three decades of the 15th century.²⁵

In addition to the quantities of pasta exported, books of customs also show the different types of *obra de pasta* (pasta products) produced: the *vermicells*, the *fideus*, the famous *macarrons* (macaroni),²⁶ combined with the export of *bescuytelles*, biscuits, which are cited in the 15th century as a food product packaged for the Jews,²⁷ alongside with the export of *tria/itryya* or *alatria*, Catalan word that refers to the Arabic etymology (*al-itrija*), and indicates large shaped spaghetti,²⁸ and finally with the export of *sèmola* (semolina).²⁹

Some of these names recur in many recipes of the time. For example, the *Llibre de Sent Soví*³⁰ of the 14th century talks about how *fideus* or *filindeus* (hair of God, then today known as angel hair) were used for broth or milk soups with fresh cheese and a sprinkling of sugar and cinnamon. Furthermore, it describes *macarrons* or *macharrons* as a kind of short noodles, processed by twisting the pasta around a metal wire, cooked in chicken or lamb broth with a piece of sugar, placed to rest for two hours and then served with cheese on top, fresh butter and spices.³¹ The *vermicells*, by contrast, were thick spaghetti from Pisa, whose production grew in Sardinia during the period of the Tuscan supremacy. In Pisa, in fact, pasta was already produced in the 13th century: a contract in 1284, between a baker and a new shop assistant, specifies that the aide was not only responsible of baking bread but also of making and selling vermicelli.³² The *sèmola* (semolina) was generally very fine and was used to be served with the meat, cooked in broth and topped with raisins and oil.

A good merchant of pasta had to be able to identify its quality and therefore the value of what he was buying, based on his own experience, but also on the parameters established in the markets and reported in

²¹ “font and maintenance of Pisa”.

²² The positive opinion regarding the island's wealth is included in a memoir written by Leopardo of Morrona in 1313 and presented to the emperor Henry VII (1275–1313): SALAVERT Y ROCA, V. 1956, II, doc. 335, pp. 416–420. The bibliography of Sardinia’s history during the Catalan-Aragonese period is very broad. Here, we cite only a few useful titles: DAY, J., ANATRA B., SCARAFFIA, L. 1984; URBAN, M.B. 2000.

²³ The data are gathered from the only surviving record of that period.

²⁴ MANCA, C. 1966, p. 345, footnote 12.

²⁵ GALOPPINI, L., HORDYNSKY-CAILLAT, L., REDON, O. 1999, pp. 111–127.

²⁶ ACA, R.P., AS, reg. 2128, f. 69v; reg. 2129, ff. 48v, 50r, 121r; reg. 2130, f. 41v; reg. 2141, ff. 74v, 76r, 108 r.

²⁷ ALCOVER, A.M. and DE BORJA MOLL, F. 1985, ad vocem: “obra de pasta ço es”, 8, pp. 307–308; Ibid., ad vocem: “bescuitella”, 2, p. 455; TASCA, C. 1992, p. 615; ACA, R.P., AS, reg. 2142, f. 112r.

²⁸ Ibid., ad vocem: “aletria”, 1, p. 482; COROMINES, J. 1936, pp. 19–54.

²⁹ TASCA, C. 1992, p. 334, ACA, R.P., reg. 2078, f. 7v.

³⁰ *Book of Saint Soví*.

³¹ FARAUDO DE SAINT-GERMAIN, L. 1952–1953.

³² HERLIHY, D. 1973, p. 71 n.15; CASINI, B. 1964.

guides. For example, in the *Libre de conexenses de spieces e de drogues e de avissaments de pessos, canes e massures de diverses terres de 1455*,³³ copied or written by a merchant, there was an accurate description of how the best *fideus* to buy looked like. The merchant's responsibility was to make sure that *fideus* were well made, produced with white flour, the most prestigious one, and also that they were not damaged by pests and finally that they were wide and especially thin. The thinness was a fundamental feature for the quality, to such an extent as to give rise to the Catalan saying "*prim com un fideu*" (as thin as a *fideu*). Finally, the merchant perfected the purchase with the packaging of the pasta, which after being well packed into barrels was boarded in galleys and various types of boats and sent to the markets in the Mediterranean Sea.³⁴

THE OBRA DE PASTA AND THE CONSUMPTION PATH

The books of *Aduanas* also reveal the trade routes and suggest the main ports of destination. The most significant ones were Catalonia, of course, and especially Barcelona and Valencia, followed by the island of Mallorca. The next most important destinations for frequency were, in the Italian peninsula, in first place Napoli, followed by Gaeta, Tropea, Amalfi, and then Pisa. Minor direct exports were the ones to Sicily and towards the islands of Malta and Cyprus.³⁵

The demand for produced pasta in the Catalan-Aragonese Sardinia, thus, was so substantial and growing that in those years, during which wheat was scarce, its export from the island was subjected to a strict directive. In the Ordinances of Cagliari's counselors, it was established that "royal *mesuradors* (weighers) could not sell or buy *fideus* nor cheese – always considered the most valuable food to export, as well as the most typical of the island – which had not been weighted by them or for them by a trusted person". However, we believe that the transgressions were many since the marketing of pasta had to be particularly lucrative in Sardinia.³⁶

Who were the consumers of this pasta produced in the 14th century? At the time, it certainly was an expensive and precious food because, despite being created at home and connected to women's work in the kitchen, with the rise of demand, the labour and the use of tools for its handicraft production increased. Consequently, the costs grew. For this reason, in the 14th century the poorest food was, paradoxically, the richest food that you might have on the table, even more so for the fact that, in addition to labour and tools for making pasta, large quantities of wheatmeal and so, of grain were needed, which was considered as precious as gold because of its frequent lack due to war and famine.

Certainly, the rich mercantile community did not renounce pasta, even though its high cost, since they were responsible of its trade. From the countries of the Mediterranean to Flanders in the North Sea, pasta was always present on their tables, especially for special occasions.

In one year time, from 1404 to 1405, the Datini mercantile company purchased ten times, for many special occasions, *fideus* produced in Sardinia which cost 21 pence per kilogram instead of 11 denier like meat.³⁷

It was a luxury food in Jewish canteens, both because of food prohibitions dictated by their religion, and because they traded it. Indeed, in Valenza, a sharp decline was recorded in the very years that followed the expulsion of Jews in 1494.³⁸

It was clearly a well-appreciated dish in the papal table as well. In the records of the gabelles of Avignon in the Datini Archives, during the stay of the papal court throughout the exile, a peak of pasta consumption was recorded, primarily *fideus* and *menudez*, a type of semolina also suitable for the preparation of pasta.³⁹

³³ Book of knowledge of spices and drugs, and of comparison of weights, lengths and measurements from various lands of 1455.

³⁴ The opera of the 14th century was edited by GUAL CAMARENA, M. 1964, 1, pp. 431–450.

³⁵ ACA, R.P., AS, regg. 2127–2143; reg. 2144.

³⁶ DI TUCCI, R. 1911, pp. 8–9; DI TUCCI, R. 1925, doc. CCLV.

³⁷ The archive is composed of documents produced during the mercantile, banking and industrial activities of Francesco di Marco Datini, alongside with its collaborators and its employees. They worked directly in eight different markets: Avignon, Pisa, Florence, Prato, Genoa, Barcelona, Valencia and Mallorca from 1363 to 1410. See: ASPra, F.D., F. Pisa, L. Cont., 1382–1407, Carteggio 1378–1410; ASPra, F. D., F. Valenza, L. Cont., 1393–1412, Carteggio 1386–1419.

³⁸ TASCA, C. 1992, pp. 333–334, 402–403. See: ACA, R.P., reg. 2078, ff. 6v–7v; reg. 2147, ff. 68v, 69v.

³⁹ ASPra, F. D., F. Avignone, L. Cont., 1363–1416, Carteggio 1368–1414. Around the semolina GUAL CAMARENA, M. 1976, p. 422.

Furthermore, we shall not forget about the royal canteens of the Catalan kings. In October of 1397, in Zaragoza, Martin I the Eldest, the last king of the Crown of Aragon (1397-1410), requested that, in order to celebrate his coronation with a feast, *fideus* coming from “*isla de Serdenya*” needed to be purchased in Barcelona.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasise that the use of pasta was taken not only as delicious food but also for its nutritional and healing properties.

Following, only two brief examples in two treatises of medicine of the 14th century. The first one is by Barnaba of Reggio who, in his *Compendium de naturis et proprietatibus alimentorum*,⁴⁰ devoted a whole chapter to the therapeutic properties of pasta, suitable food for the sick, which could be eaten even in times of famine.

This concept remains stable throughout the centuries. In Naples, a notice in January 1509 intimated that “if the price of the flour, due to war or famine, or bad season, increases of five carlini for each mound of grain, it is prohibited to prepare *taralli, susamelli, ceppule e Maccarune* and any other type of pasta except in the case of the sick needs”.⁴¹

The second example is the treatise by Arnold of Villanova, counselor and physician to the King of Aragon, who, in the dietary opera *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum*, composed in Barcelona between 1305 and 1308 – probably in 1307 – at the behest of King James II (1291–1327), recommended to consume the always well-cooked pasta for a better digestion and to prevent kidney stones. The *itry/tria*, instead, needed to be well-cooked in order to make them very digestible and useful in case of stomach ache: cooked in water for nearly two hours with “oil and salt”, to avoid getting stuck, and seasoned with a lot of milk!⁴²

CONCLUSION

As a final note, we could state that the books of customs of the 14th and 15th century, preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, are fundamental because they design a new path regarding the history of pasta. The analysis of the data gathered shows that pasta, even at the time, was a sought-after food and highly widespread, just as it is today, dish par excellence of the Mediterranean diet.

Even more, by reading the registers, we also discover that pasta, traditionally associated with the South of Italy, during those years presented an important centre of production and export in Sardinia. A record that, relative to the Late Middle Ages, no one could ever have imagined, and thanks to which, the demands of large areas of the Mediterranean, including Naples and its surroundings, were satisfied.

The slow revolution of the food culture was already beginning. A revolution that, over the centuries, with the increasingly intense exchange of information and the increasing mobility, led to the success of the Mediterranean diet in the Western world, diet still presents today.

However, as pasta is so “universally” known, as its history is so little known and far more complex than how is commonly believed.

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ASPra, F. D., Archivio di Stato di Prato, Fondo Datini: Fondaco Valenza, Libri contabili 1393–1412, Carteggio 1386–1419.

⁴⁰ Dietary opera written in Venice in 1338, and complementary to the “*Libellus de conservatione sanitatis*”, which was written in Mantua in 1331.

⁴¹ SERENI, E. 1981, p. 321: “*se la farina per guerra o carestia, o per indispositione de stagione saglie de cinque carlini in su il tumulo (di grano) non si debiano fare taralli, susamelli, ceppule e Maccarune, ne altra cosa de pasta excepto in caso di necessità de malati*”.

⁴² PANIAGUA ARELLANO, J. A., GARCÍA-BALLESTER, L. 1996, X, 1, pp. 394–416.

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ITALIJANSKA HRANA. TESTENINE IN JEDI S TESTENINAMI.

ZGODOVINSKA POT IN GASTRONOMSKI MODEL

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Testenine so zmeraj predstavljale osnovno živilo v mediteranski prehrani in so bile bistvenega pomena v smislu pokazatelja »civilizacije«, s čimer se lahko pohvali le redko kateri drug izdelek. Predstavljale so plod človeškega dela in inteligence. Gre za živilo, ki že od nekdaj izkazuje velike kulturne in tehnično-proizvodne implikacije. Na podlagi nekaterih carinskih registrov iz 14. stoletja, ki jih najdemo v pristanišču mesta Cagliari in jih danes hranijo v Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Arhiv aragonske krone) v Barceloni, lahko vidimo, da je že v drugi polovici omenjenega stoletja obstajala izjemna proizvodnja testenin izdelanih iz prestižne trde pšenice. S proizvodnjo testenin se je vzpostavila pomembna trgovina z najznamenitejšimi trgi srednjeveškega Sredozemlja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

»mediteranska prehrana«, »italijanska hrana«, testenine, proizvodnja, Sardinija, Sredozemsko morje, 14.–15. stoletje

POVZETEK

Zgodovina italijanske kuhinje predstavlja neločljivi del celotne zgodovine Italije. Italijanska kuhinja ima torej starodavne korenine: je preprosta, vendar jo po drugi strani dojemamo kot prodorno v svoji zmožnosti utrjevanja identitete. Med vsemi živili so prav testenine tiste, ki so v italijanski kuhinji, ob ostalih glavnih jedeh zagotovo označevalci kulturne in družbene identitete par excellence. Ustvarjene iz preproste zmesi vode in moke, so testenine, še danes, najbolj razširjen stereotip tistega kar predstavlja Italijo in je povezano s kuhinjsko mizo.

Testenine so zmeraj predstavljale osnovno živilo v »mediteranski prehrani« in so bile s tem, ko so reprezentirale plod človeškega dela in inteligence, bistvenega pomena v smislu pravega pokazatelja »civilizacije«, s čimer se lahko pohvali le redko kateri drug izdelek. Gre za živilo, ki že od nekdaj izkazuje velike kulturne in tehnično-proizvodne implikacije in se še zmeraj nahaja v središču živahne zdravstvene in prehranske debate.

Ob upoštevanju zgoraj navedenega in da bi bolje razumeli zgodovinsko vrednost razvojne poti testenin, se bo avtorica posvetila analizi proizvodnje testenin na Sardiniji med 14. in 15. stoletjem in njihovo široko, morda nepričakovano, razširjanje v poznem srednjem veku na področju sredozemskega morja.

Carinski registri, ki jih hranijo v Arhivu aragonske krone v Barceloni, pričajo o tem, da je bila Sardinija v drugi polovici 14. stoletja, sredi Katalonsko-Aragonskega obdobja, eno izmed najpomembnejših pozno srednjeveških središč proizvodnje testenin na področju sredozemskega morja. Med tem pa je bilo mesto Castell de Càller (Cagliari), prestolnica Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae, eno izmed najpomembnejših središč za njihov izvoz. Mesto je bilo tako pomembno, da je bilo povpraševanje na tržišču podvrženo nadzoru prometa z omejevanjem v primerih primanjlovanja žita.

Carinski registri razkrivajo tudi trgovske poti in najpomembnejša pristanišča, ki so predstavljala njihov končni cilj. Najpomembnejša so bila seveda Katalonija in posebej Barcelona in Valencija, ki jim je sledil otok Majorka. Za temi destinacijami je bil, glede na pogostost obiskov, najpomembnejši cilj italijanski polotok, kjer je prvo mesto zasedal Neapelj. Temu pa so sledila mesta Gaeta, Tropea, Amalfi in nato Pisa. Manjši neposredni izvozi so bili tisti na Sicilijo in otoka Malto in Ciper.

BUCKWHEAT IN THE KITCHEN AND FOR PEOPLE*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

Buckwheat, once a staple food, has a special place in the cuisine and dietary habits of Slovenians and many other nations. In Slovenia, it used to be of special importance as it provided sustenance for the poor, especially during the famine in the beginning of the 19th century. Buckwheat has attractive flowers, traditionally typical for Slovenian landscape, during flowering it is an important source of nectar for honeybees. Slovenia, like other parts of the world where buckwheat has been grown, has many folk customs, proverbs, festivities, poems and stories connected with the plant. Smaller nations and ethnic minorities have often preserved buckwheat cultivation.

KEYWORDS

buckwheat, Tartary buckwheat, common buckwheat, healthy food, ethnobotany, tradition, history

Buckwheat is an important plant and a dish in the cuisine and dietary habits of Slovenians and many other nations, including those of Central Europe and Asia.¹ In Austria (Carinthia), it is cultivated mainly by Slovenians, it is grown in the Slovenian Raba Region (Slovensko Porabje) in Hungary, in Bosnia by ethnic Bosniaks and Ukrainians, and in the multiethnic border region Islek, where borders of Luxembourg, Belgium and Germany converge. In France, Bretons are famous for buckwheat growing and utilisation, in southern Switzerland Italians and Romansh people.² Small nations and minorities perceive buckwheat cultivation and utilisation as a part of their heritage, with which they are sometimes more closely linked than big nations.

Besides the cultural and culinary value of buckwheat, recently more emphasis is laid on its health-related and nutritional value; well-balanced amino acid composition of proteins, dietary fibre, content of mineral elements and vitamins, as well as rich content of diverse antioxidants.³ Novel buckwheat dishes and products, including diverse pasta products, grain based tea products, ice-cream and even beer, are being developed in Slovenia and elsewhere.⁴

Buckwheat is an ancient crop that has long been grown in East Asia and the Himalayan region. It is a major staple food crop in high-altitude zones, including the Daliang Mountains in Southwest China. It is one of the most important crops for grain in mountain regions above 1800 m elevation in China.

* Translation: Primož Trobevšek

¹ See: KREFT, I. 1995; KREFT, I. 1999; KREFT, I. 2003; and NORBÄCK, D., WIESLANDER, G., WIESLANDER, G., KREFT, I. 2003; and KREFT, I., IKEDA, K., IKEDA, S. 2007.

² See: KREFT, I., VOMBERGAR, B., PONGRAC, P., PARK, C. H., IKEDA, K., IKEDA, S., et al. 2016b; WIESLANDER, G., FABJAN, N., VOGRINČIČ, M., KREFT, I., JANSON, C., SPETZ-NYSTRÖM, U., VOMBERGAR, B., TAGESSON, C., LEANDERSON, P., NORBÄCK, D. 2011; KREFT, I. 1995.

³ Comparison: COSTANTINI, L., LUKŠIČ, L., MOLINARI, R., KREFT, I., BONAFACCIA, G., MANZI, L., MERENDINO, N. 2014; BONAFACCIA, G., FRANCISCI, R., KREFT, I., IKEDA, K. 1999; IKEDA, K., ASAMI, Y., ITOH, S., YAMASHITA, Y., OKA, T., NISHIHANA, A., IKEDA, S., LIN, R., KREFT, I. 2016; and NORBÄCK, D., WIESLANDER, G., WIESLANDER, G., KREFT, I. 2003.

⁴ See: IKEDA, S., KREFT, I., NAGAI, R., IKEDA, K. 2011; and IKEDA, K., ASAMI, Y., ITOH, S., YAMASHITA, Y., OKA, T., NISHIHANA, A., IKEDA, S., LIN, R., KREFT, I. 2016.

The renewed interest in buckwheat is based on its nutritional value. Unlike cereals, which are deficient in lysine, buckwheat has excellent protein quality due to a balanced essential amino acid composition. Emphasised are the high protein quality, the content of flavonoids (rutin and quercetin), mineral elements and dietary fibre, and the ability to grow in marginal areas (i.e. in high altitude, poor soil conditions). One of the reasons for its popularity is the relative resistance of buckwheat to pest and diseases, and the ability to repress weeds. Buckwheat is thus suitable for biological (organic, ecological) cultivation. It does not contain gluten proteins, so it is safe for people who require gluten-free diet (coeliac disease). Since buckwheat does not contain gluten, it is difficult to make bread entirely from buckwheat flour. Buckwheat can increase food diversity; it evokes the tradition and in a way revives the heritage of “the good old days”.

International scientific cooperation in research of buckwheat growing, utilisation and culture intensified after 1980, when the First International Symposium on Buckwheat was organised at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. This symposium was attended by some prominent scientists working in the field of buckwheat research in Europe and Japan. As the worldwide international cooperation in buckwheat research started on the 3rd of September (1980), it was proclaimed the World Day of Buckwheat, with the purpose to utilise, develop and promote buckwheat.

Two types of buckwheat are used around the world: common buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) and Tartary buckwheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*). For the difference of common buckwheat (the word started with low case letter), the words ‘Tartary buckwheat’ should start with an upper case letter. This way of writing was internationally accepted, among others, by the participants of the discussions at the International Buckwheat Research Association (IBRA) Assembly in 2013 (Laško, Slovenia), as the word came from the term of the Tatar people. The Swedish botanist Carl Linné, who named this buckwheat species, apparently perceived Crimea (the Black Sea region) as the homeland of Tatars and as the entering point of Tartary buckwheat into Europe.

Which buckwheat species is used in different parts of the world depends on the production zone and the way of utilisation. Generally, in Europe, the USA, Canada, Brazil, South Africa and Australia, the common buckwheat prevails. This holds true for most Asian buckwheat growing countries, e.g. Japan, Korea, and the central and northern parts of China. Tartary buckwheat is grown and used in the mountainous regions of southwest China (Sichuan). In northern India, Bhutan and Nepal both types are known, yet Tartary buckwheat is grown in harsher climatic conditions.

Tartary buckwheat flour is recently increasingly used in preparing dishes due to its even much higher content of rutin in comparison to common buckwheat. Tartary buckwheat has been cultivated to some extent in Slovenia for centuries, but this ceased before the end of the 20th century. The cross-border region Islek - which includes northern Luxemburg, the Westeifel (Germany) and the border area of the German-speaking part of Belgium - was, the only place in Europe where Tartary buckwheat was still grown (on approximately 50 ha, for human food) not so long ago. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a mixed crop of common and Tartary buckwheat is traditionally sown. In the last ten years, Tartary buckwheat has been returning to Slovenian fields, and from Slovenia - with the support of the Slovenian experts in Maribor and Ljubljana - also to Italy and Sweden.

The hard-boiled Tartary buckwheat mush called *žganci* was one of the staple foods in Slovenia prepared traditionally, together with buckwheat bread, while there is no historical information about Tartary buckwheat bread. However, common buckwheat bread was very popular, and it is undergoing a revival because of the growing awareness of healthy diets and functional food items. Varieties of Tartary buckwheat bread recently appeared along with common buckwheat bread in Slovenia.

Common buckwheat and Tartary buckwheat are used in different parts of the world to make various food products. The grain of both species contains up to 27% fibre. Buckwheat groats are a prebiotic food because they can, for example, increase the lactic acid bacteria in the intestine due to the resistant starch content.⁵

Buckwheat noodles are produced traditionally and are very popular in Japan and the rural areas of Sichuan, Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces in China, in Bhutan, and in the southern regions of the European Alps, namely

⁵ BONAFACCIA, G., KREFT, I. 1994; BONAFACCIA, G., FRANCISCI, R., KREFT, I., IKEDA, K. 1999.

Slovenia, northern Italy, southern Switzerland and France.⁶ In Slovenia, buckwheat noodles were traditional prepared in villages in Carinthia (Koroška) which is located close to the Austrian border. Buckwheat noodles were served with green beans soup. Buckwheat pasta is used in Italy (*pizzoccheri*) and in France (*crozets savoyards*, *galettes*), in Japan it is known as *soba*, Korea, China and Bhutan have extruded buckwheat noodles, China has also short flat pasta called *cats' ears*.

Common buckwheat has never completely disappeared from Slovenian fields, but it had been used very moderately until about ten years ago. In recent years, due to its favourable nutritional composition and new trends in eating habits, it has found its way back to Slovenian kitchens. While Slovenians have kept some traditional dishes from buckwheat, they also added some brand new recipes and modern dishes.

Many buckwheat flour products in different countries are quite similar - buckwheat *polenta* in northern Italy, *Sterz* in Austria (Carinthia), *soba-gaki* in Japan. Very popular in Slovenia are also buckwheat bread, *štruklji* (cooked buckwheat rolls filled with cottage cheese or walnuts cream), *ajdova potica* (buckwheat walnut cake), *zlevanka*, *potanec* and other traditional buckwheat dishes.

The preparation of buckwheat *žganci* differs from region to region. There are *žganci* that are cooked in water, and those that are made by pouring salted hot water over slightly roasted flour. They are named after the region where they are prepared. Hence the latter are called *koroški žganci*, while *dolenjski žganci* are prepared by sipping flour into a pot of salted boiling water and allowing it to form a lump.

Traditional bread making procedure, usually using about 70% wheat flour and 30% buckwheat flour, involves scalding the buckwheat part of the flour before mixing and kneading the dough. Buckwheat has been in Slovenia a traditional food at least since the 17th century. The buckwheat bread with walnuts is one of the most valued breads in the country, which is based on the tradition. It is made of a mixture of buckwheat and wheat flour.⁷ *Zmesni kruh* is bread made of a mixture of flours. Wheat flour is mixed with common and/or Tartary buckwheat flour, sometimes barley, rye or maize flour is added. *Beraška potica* (beggar's cake) is bread made with three types of dough (wheat, corn and buckwheat).⁸ The buckwheat dough in the cross section resembles the filling of ground walnuts. The poor who could not afford walnuts ate it.

Buckwheat *potica* is nowadays rarely prepared. Rural homemakers make it with walnuts or poppy seed filling.

A traditional dish from Prekmurje (north-eastern Slovenia) is *zlivanka* or *zlevanka*. It is a dish made of buckwheat flour, milk, eggs and salt, baked in a frying pan and served with sour cream, pumpkin oil or cracklings. Another traditional dish is also *pogača* - buckwheat dough is covered with cottage cheese filling, sour cream and eggs, baked in a round baking tray and cut into pieces like a cake. Less common, but still present in the countryside, is buckwheat *kvasenica* made from yeasted dough, with cottage cheese, sour cream, eggs, nuts and semolina filling. It is known as well as *hajdinska pogača*. Sometimes the dough is folded inwards, and the dish is then called *zavihanka*.

The traditional dish *štruklji* are buckwheat rolled dumplings with cottage cheese or nuts, they are made from common buckwheat. Some homemakers are skilled enough to make them from pure buckwheat flour; others make them from the mixture of buckwheat and wheat flour in the ratio of 1:1. *Štruklji* are popular throughout Slovenia. Although these dumplings are most often made from wheat flour, some old traditional inns offer those prepared from the mixture of wheat and buckwheat flour.⁹

Ajdov potanec is prepared in the Dolenjska region from buckwheat flour and water, baked in a pan on a fire-wood stove. It is slightly salted, but not necessarily, and sprinkled with sour cream.

⁶ KREFT, I. 1995; IKEDA, S., YAMAHATA, Y., TOMURA, K., KREFT, I. 2007; IKEDA, S., KREFT, I., ASAMI, Y., MOCHIDA, N., IKEDA, K. 2008.

⁷ VOMBERGAR, B., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S., PEM, N., HOSTNIK, S., KREFT, I., GERM, M., VOGRINČIČ, M. 2013.

⁸ VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., GERM, M., VOGRINČIČ, M., ŠTREKELJ, P. 2012; VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S., GERM, M., TAŠNER, L., VOMBERGAR, N., KOVAČ, T. 2016.

⁹ VOMBERGAR, B., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S., KREFT, I., GERM, M., PEM, N., HOSTNIK, S., BERLIČ, S., KOVAČ, T. 2015; VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S., GERM, M., TAŠNER, L., VOMBERGAR, N., KOVAČ, T. 2016; VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S. 2014.

Pig slaughter or *koline* is a traditional custom in the rural areas of Slovenia. In addition to meat, various other meat products are prepared, e.g. sausages. The eastern part of Slovenia (Prekmurje, Štajerska) is well known for its specific type of sausages made of lower-quality pork, soups, spices and buckwheat groats. They are called *kašnice* (sausages with buckwheat groats or millet porridge), when they are prepared in combination with pig's blood, they are known as *krvavice* (black pudding).

Buckwheat groats can be used similarly as rice. Groats appear as a traditional food in some mountainous areas of Shikoku Island, Japan, and in Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, Ukraine and Russia. Hydrothermal treatment, a process involving heating with hot water, followed by slow cooling, drying and husking, is applied to produce buckwheat groats (husked buckwheat or *kaša*) with the traditional technology still used in Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, Ukraine and Russia.¹⁰ A fairly common dish in Slovenia is cooked buckwheat groats (buckwheat *kaša*), which can be served with salty side dishes like fried onions, tomatoes and peppers, leek and other vegetables, fresh mushrooms, as well as smoked or minced meat. It can be served as a main course or a side dish. To make sweet buckwheat *kaša*, eggs, sugar, cottage cheese, sour cream, walnuts, apples and other fruits are added to cooked groats. Thus prepared, it can be baked in an oven and served as a dessert.

Intensive quantitative research of buckwheat market potentials has shown that Slovenian consumers have positive attitudes towards dishes made from buckwheat and that a large variety of these dishes are prepared in Slovenian households.

Translating this Slovenian name with the English word *pap* is supported by two arguments. Firstly, *pap* is in English defined as a soft food for infants. This description is in line with the consistency of *močnik*. Secondly, the word *pap* is in English used to denote something less pleasant, lacking substance and real value. The metaphorical meaning of the English word *pap* is similar to that of the Slovenian word *močnik*. The poor image of *pap* on the one hand, and the established preference of Slovenian consumers for buckwheat *pap* on the other have led Slovenian scientists to investigate both its position in Slovenian households and the traditional and modern way of preparing it.¹¹

Močnik is a soft floury dish made from cereal flour, usually wheat or buckwheat. It is also the culinary name for tiny pellets made from cereal flour and eggs which are put into boiling water or soup. *Močnik* is traditionally perceived as the food of the poor. It means that *močnik* is a dish that was once not suitable for well-to-do rural and urban families. The word *močnik* is also used to express an unpleasant, complicated situation: "I am in *močnik* again" (I am again in a jam).

Wealthier families improved *močnik* by adding an egg to the bowl mixture and by boiling *močnik* in milk or soup instead of water. *Močnik* is sieved at the eater's discretion. If smaller pellets are preferred, a sieve with a more compact net has to be used. If larger pellets are preferred, a less fine sieve is suitable. *Močnik* is nowadays often prepared by stirring a mixture of flour, egg and water with a fork and then squeezing and rubbing it with fingers.¹²

The competitive position of buckwheat as a crop against other grains worsened due to agricultural policy measures (high guaranteed prices for wheat, poor economy of scale due to small scale farming) and due to the spread of maize and other fodder crops. Since 2000, however, buckwheat growing has become increasingly popular.

Slovenian consumers express a strong preference for products of domestic origin. Yet they are quite naïve, as they seldom check the origin of a product they are buying, or are misled by declarations ('Produced in Slovenia') on products of foreign origin or those imported from faraway countries and merely packed in Slovenia. To avoid the temptation to manipulate customers, ethical business principles should be applied to inform customers correctly. This is of the utmost importance - a high and stable perceived value of Slovenian buckwheat products should be one of the long-term aims of the growers, producers and suppliers. According to Vadnal and Kreft,¹³ the present consumers' demand for more environmentally friendly products and product

¹⁰ JANEŠ, D., PROSEN, H., KREFT, I., KREFT, S. 2010. VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S. 2014.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

practices is a welcome development. Although Slovenian agricultural policy makers have declared eco-farming as one of the cornerstones of agricultural development, it is merely a tool of agricultural protectionism. In any case, Vadnal and Kreft believe that Slovenian *močnik* (buckwheat pap), attractive in taste and smell, with mild yet tempting flavour, still has possibilities in modern times.¹⁴

More than 100 different products and dishes from common and Tartary buckwheat were developed at the Education Centre Piramida Maribor.¹⁵ The product development was carried out in cooperation with the Slovenian buckwheat producer and miller Anton Rangus. They observed and studied the characteristics of different doughs made of common and Tartary buckwheat flour and a mixture of Tartary buckwheat and wheat flour, and developed several technological processes of bread, cakes and pasta production. Recently, they have also presented different types of ice cream and chocolate pralines with buckwheat groats or flour.

The present authors¹⁶ emphasise the rewards of reviving the buckwheat culture, cultivation and utilisation, as well as of developing novel buckwheat products based on the rich tradition and the present knowledge of the importance and quality of buckwheat.

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¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S. 2014; and VOMBERGAR, B., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S., KREFT, I., GERM, M., HOSTNIK, S., PEM, N. 2015.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Ajda ima v prehrani pri nas in po svetu posebno mesto. To je jed, ki je bila čislana v nekdanjih časih in ki je povezana z zgodovino Slovencev. Pri nas je bila še posebej pomembna v letih lakote v začetku 19. stoletja. Ajda je ena redkih poljščin s privlačnimi cvetovi in je tradicionalno značilna za našo krajino. V času cvetenja je vir nektarja za čebele. Z ajdo so pri nas in po svetu povezani običaji, pregovori, praznovanja, pesmi in pripovedke. Ohranjajo jo predvsem manjši narodi in etnične manjšine, ki jo čutijo kot del svojega izročila, s katerim so mnogokrat povezani tesneje kot večji narodi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

ajda, tatarska ajda, navadna ajda, zdrava živila, etnobotanika, tradicija, zgodovina

POVZETEK

Ajda ima v prehrani pri nas in po svetu posebno mesto. To je jed, ki je bila čislana v nekdanjih časih in ki je povezana z zgodovino Slovencev. Pri nas je bila še posebej pomembna v letih lakote v začetku 19. stoletja. Ajda je ena redkih poljščin s privlačnimi cvetovi in je tradicionalno značilna za Slovenijo. V času cvetenja je vir nektarja za čebele. Z njo so pri nas in po svetu povezani običaji, pregovori, praznovanja, pesmi in pripovedke. Ohranjajo jo predvsem manjši narodi in etnične manjšine. Vsi ti jo čutijo kot del svojega izročila, s katerim so mnogokrat povezani tesneje kot večji narodi. V novejšem času je poleg tradicionalne kulinarične vrednosti ajde posebej poudarjen njen pomen za zdravje ljudi. Vsebuje kakovostne beljakovine z uravnoteženo sestavo, prehransko pomembne vlaknine, mineralne elemente, vitamine in zlasti antioksidante, kar vse lahko omili zdravstvene težave, npr. povečano koncentracijo holesterola, sladkorno bolezen, utrujenost. Danes smo priča hitremu razvoju raznovrstnih novih jedi in izdelkov iz ajde, kot so različne testenine, čaji iz zrnja, sladoled in pivo.

HEMP - ALMOST LOST FROM FIELDS AND PLATES*

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ABSTRACT

Until the American prohibition in the thirties of the last century, hemp was an important plant used for technical and diet purposes as shown by different dishes which have been preserved by individual nations through time. Also for Slovenians, hemp has been important for centuries, but only as a technical plant since in the diet of our ancestors it practically was not present. Thus, current efforts of re-cultivation and greater representation in the diet do not mean the preservation of Slovenian food and gastronomic heritage but rather a compensation for various imported superfoods and re-identification and recognition of its exceptional nutritional value.

KEY WORDS

Hemp, hemp history, hemp food products, hemp dishes, superfoods

INTRODUCTION

For people, food has always been important. Nowadays, food is often a means of maintaining the body in good condition or repairing damages because of a modern and quick way of life, diseases and so on. Even more, so called superfoods are on the march. Food, commonly found on a list of superfoods, are acai and goji berries, chia seeds, noni fruit, blueberries, seaweed, ginger, aloe vera juice and recently also linseed, black garlic, hemp, etc. Although the term “superfoods” has no medical or scientific meaning and is mostly a marketing tool for increasing sales, superfoods are often understood as “we must eat them”. In general, it can be said that the term superfoods means all food containing more antioxidants, vitamins and minerals, healthy fats, dietary fibre and phytochemicals in comparison with non-superfoods. Many of these superfoods originated from non-European areas, and even today, they grow just in certain parts of the world. That raises the question whether we have food rich in nutrients and with a beneficial effect on the organism in a local environment? Therefore, it would be more reasonable to put locally produced food at the forefront. For example, the Slovenian version of ginger may be horseradish. Among such food is also, undoubtedly, hemp,¹ which deserves greater recognition.

HEMP AS A SUPERFOOD

Hemp is an annual plant. It belongs to the family of *Cannabaceae* and is a cousin of hops and nettle. Through history, it was not cultivated just for food, more often for fibres, ropes, paper, oil lamp, etc. Seeds² and other products have high nutritional value; they are also rich in dietary soluble and insoluble fibres and healthy fats. In hemp seed, there are two important storage proteins – edestin and albumin. Both are easily digested and a good source of all essential amino acids.³ In comparison with soybeans, hemp seeds do not contain inhibitors which are responsible for the reduced body's ability to absorb proteins or other harmful components like lectins or saponins. Therefore they can be eaten raw. Also, hemp seeds are better digestible than flax seeds.

Less informed are sometimes worried about a possible content of tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) which has psychoactive properties. Certainly, THC is a key factor to distinguish between hemp (non-drug variety) and marijuana (drug variety). All hemp products contain a negligible quantity of THC and today they can be legally sold, bought and consumed in most countries. On the other side, THC is just one compound from the complex and biologically active group of more than 100 related compounds called cannabinoids. Endocannabinoids have a key role in the body because they affect virtually every process in it. The chemical structure of the phytocannabinoids is quite similar to the endocannabinoids, and in the body, they also behave similarly. Phytocannabinoids can be found in many plants but a lot of them right in hemp. In this area, intensive research is still ongoing.

* Translation: Neva Malek

¹ Hemp is a non-psychoactive or non-drug variety of *Cannabis sativa*.

² Technically a hemp seed is a nut.

³ Hemp seed has almost as much proteins as a soybean.

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF HEMP HISTORY

In the last few decades marijuana has been more well-known than hemp because of its psychoactive effect. Still, today few people know that hemp can be considered as one of the oldest cultivated plants. The oldest evidence are showing the use of hemp in ancient China, Japan and India.⁴

In Europe hemp was spread from Asia through ancient trade routes. The oldest archaeological findings that show us a usage of hemp in Europe are hemp rope and fabric originating from the 4th century BCE that were found in Germany. In Common Era hemp became increasingly important especially for paper and fibres.⁵

Colonialism enabled the spread of hemp to other areas, especially in the new world. In 1619, America already enacted hemp as a legal tender and 150 years later the cultivation of hemp was compulsory for all farmers. The first three American presidents were also hemp farmers; the cultivation and processing of hemp increased until the late 1930's.⁶

Certainly, not all historical findings are related just to the use of hemp. Some of them testify about the use of marijuana, primarily in medical or spiritual purposes. It is interesting that the use of marijuana by specific groups or individuals was not seen as a real threat to humans by the society. The real danger came from the versatile usefulness of hemp. This threatened the interests of a certain group of people in America because they had significant investments in the fields where hemp could be used (oil, paper, synthetic fibres, etc.). So a campaign against hemp began which culminated in 1937 when the American Congress approved a bill on the prohibition of all cannabis cultivation (including hemp). During World War II, hemp was again highly regarded because of the production of military clothing and equipment. However, after the war, the persecution continued. Not just in America, also in most other countries around the world. So hemp, year after year, disappeared from the fields almost as if it had never existed.

HEMP IN SLOVENIA: FROM PAST TO PRESENT

As in many other countries, the cultivation and processing of hemp also have a tradition in Slovenia. The oldest written record of hemp cultivation is from 1589 – Jurklošter Carthusian Monastery.⁷ Valvasor⁸ wrote about the cultivation of hemp in *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*.⁹ In the area of today's Lendava, hemp was part of tithe paid by the serfs since 1730.¹⁰ In the newspaper "Kmetijske in rokodelske novice"¹¹ from 1856, it can be read that hemp was recommended as a remedy against caterpillars on cabbage because of its preeminent odour.

Before World War II, hemp was an important industrial plant. According to Sadar¹² hemp was a very important spinning plant. In later years, the specialisation of agriculture increased the growth of industrial plants such as cotton, jute and sisal, new plastic materials and a strong prohibition policy in many countries completely erased hemp from the Slovenian fields.

In the 90's hemp was rediscovered again. There were several reasons: returning to nature, growing concern for healthy diet and way of life, increasing concern for the environment, etc. However, the return was not so easy. Until 1989, Slovenia had, as part of Yugoslavia, a law which made no distinction between hemp and marijuana (it spoke only about *Cannabis sativa*).¹³ In 1989, a Decree on growing industrial hemp was adopted.¹⁴ In accordance with the decree, growing hemp just for seed production for further reproduction, oil pressing, cosmetic purposes, food for animals or production of fibres was allowed. Later in the independent Republic of Slovenia,

⁴ BENHAIM, P. 2000, p. 44.

⁵ ROULAC, J. W. 1997, pp. 27–31.

⁶ HEMP FOODS AUSTRALIA, 2017.

⁷ ROBINSON, R. 2000, p. 177.

⁸ Published in 1689.

⁹ VALVASOR, J. V. 1994, p. 17.

¹⁰ KOROŠA, A. 2009, p. 18.

¹¹ Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, No. 89, year 14, pp. 355–356.

¹² SADAR, V. 1935, p. 70.

¹³ KOCJAN AČKO, D. 1999, p. 106.

¹⁴ Decree on growing industrial hemp, 1989, p. 2485.

the legislation has changed several times (in 1999, 2004 and 2011), but the cultivation of hemp for nutritional purposes was not allowed until some years ago. The important change occurred in 2015 with the adoption of Rules amending the Rules on conditions for obtaining a permit for hemp and poppy cultivation.¹⁵ In these Rules, it is written for the first time that hemp can be cultivated for the purpose of seed production for further reproduction, the production of food, beverages, and the production of substances for cosmetic purposes, the production of fibres for animal feed and other industrial purposes.

DISHES AND FOOD PRODUCTS MADE FROM HEMP

There are some records of hemp use for diet from ancient time, mostly seeds (ancient China, Japan, Korea, and Europe). The seeds were probably used by the Chinese at least in the third millennium BCE.¹⁶ However, this article will focus on dishes from different countries/regions that have been preserved through history or which are in use today with the emphasis on some European areas.

In India, we can find a dish called *bosa* prepared from goose grass and hemp. Another one is *mura* made from roasted wheat, amaranth or rice and hemp. Both are eaten by the poorer part of the population.¹⁷

In present-day China, roasted hemp seeds (whole and hulled) are very popular. Roasted seeds are China's version of western popcorn. They can be bought on the street as a snack food.

In Japan Shichimi (or Shichmi Tougarashi) is a commonly used condiment mixture. The primary ingredient is red chilli pepper mixed with other ingredients such as orange peelings, poppy, sesame and hemp seeds. It is used for preparing several kinds of dishes: grilled meat, fish, rice, soups, etc.

Gruel is a dish that is similar to porridge, but it is usually less dense and more liquefied. It can be made from millet, hemp, rice, barley, etc. According to the North American Industrial Hemp Council, the original gruel was made of hemp seeds.¹⁸

In Poland and Lithuania even today a soup made from hemp seeds is eaten. It is called *semieniatka* or more commonly *semianka* and is traditionally served on Christmas Eve. The soup is creamy and also has a spiritual meaning. It is believed that on Christmas Eve dead souls come back and then they can enjoy the scent of the soup. In Lithuania hemp is mostly used for Christmas Eve dishes in a region called Žemaitija.¹⁹

Porridge can be made from various ingredients. In Lithuania, hemp seeds are quickly dry-roasted until crisp and then ground into fine powder. In boiling water flour, onion, salt and pepper are added and cooked for a few minutes. In the end, hemp powder is added and well mixed. Such porridge is traditionally served with cooked or baked potatoes in their skins.

In the Czech lands, the porridge was also known and prepared from hemp seeds in the 19th century.²⁰

From the Czech Republic comes another interesting application of hemp seeds but this time for medical purposes. During the thirties and forties of the last century, a special therapeutic diet was used in a sanatorium for patients suffering from tuberculosis. In this diet, the most important medicament was a specially processed extract of hemp seeds because of its high level of edestine and high level of amino acid arginine which is considered to be essential for formation and growth of new tissue. It is interesting that until 1948 this extract was also commercially available under the name Edezyme.²¹

In Latvia, the use of hemp has more than 1000 years of tradition.²² At that time people mostly consumed

¹⁵ Rules amending the rules on conditions for obtaining a permit for hemp and poppy cultivation, 2015, p. 3991.

¹⁶ KOČJAN AČKO, D. 2015, p. 130.

¹⁷ CLARKE, R. C., MARLIN, M. D. 2013, p. 206.

¹⁸ NORTH AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL HEMP COUNCIL, 1997.

¹⁹ Oral source: Vilčinskaitė Deimantė, Vilnius, 21. 2. 2017.

²⁰ ROUŠAVÁ, Š. 2011, p. 31.

²¹ SIREK, J. 1995, pp. 53–74.

²² THE LATVIAN INSTITUTE, 2004.

grains such as rye, barley and hemp. Nowadays hemp-seed butter is the most popular, sometimes called Latvia's black caviar. It is prepared from ordinary butter and hemp seeds and is often used on bread, particularly on rye bread which is another traditional staple food in Latvia.

In Russia, the so-called *kutya* (or *kutia*) has remained one of the traditional dishes usually served on Christmas Eve or at funerals.²³ The base is wheat porridge cooked with butter and hemp oil. Today there are several versions of *kutya* with different added ingredients: poppy seeds, honey, nuts, etc. Variations of *kutya* can also be found in Ukraine, Poland, Belarus and Lithuania. Ingredients vary from country to country, from family to family with the common ground: it is served on Christmas Eve.

It seems that hemp is strongly associated with Christmas celebrations. In Romania, before Christmas, a "Yule torta" is made. It is a traditional cake made of honey, walnuts and hemp seeds and it looks like baklava.

In Austria, the cultivation of hemp has never been prohibited. So, it is not surprising that there are places named after hemp. One of them is Hanfdorf,²⁴ which is fully dedicated to the cultivation and processing of hemp as well as gastronomy offer. The absence of prohibition is maybe a reason why Austria was the first European country with commercially produced hemp milk.



Image 1: Hemp as an ornamental plant in the tavern courtyard in Hanfdorf, Austria (photograph: Neva Malek).

To the Balkans, hemp was introduced in the 5th century, probably from the Middle East or Russia.²⁵ Over the centuries it has become an important agricultural crop. Even after World War II, Yugoslavia was among the world's leading manufacturers of hemp. In the life of the population, hemp has played an important role, but mostly for textile and other technical purposes.²⁶ However, some records relate to the use of hemp in the diet. In the article "Memories: Hemp in Zenica"²⁷ it can be read that in Zenica²⁸ two kinds of baked goods were made. Most commonly hemp flour was obtained by grinding dried leaves and flowers of hemp and then used for baking. More rarely hemp seeds were ground to obtain flour. Also, honey with hemp flower was

²³ GRAUDT, S., SHERLAN, M. 2015.

²⁴ The German word for hemp is hanf.

²⁵ Poljomagazin. 2016.

²⁶ ROBINSON, R. 2000, pp. 180–182.

²⁷ ĐULBIĆ, M. 2010.

²⁸ Zenica is a city in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

made as a home medicament. In Bosnia people remember that hemp oil was at times highly appreciated. For one litre of hemp oil, it was possible to get five kilograms of butter or ten kilograms of pork lard.

There is no doubt that hemp over time has been present in Slovenia. However, from different resources, it is possible to infer that it was mainly cultivated for the production of rope, yarn, canvas, oil lamps, soap, animal food, etc. Gestrin writes that it was sowed in an area around Ribnica to produce seeds which were used for baking Easter cakes in the 18th century.²⁹ According to the oral source,³⁰ this tradition is forgotten nowadays. Also, Rengeo³¹ agrees that hemp was not quite visibly represented in the diet of Slovenians.³² His belief is shared by Kuhar³³ as well³⁴. Recipes with hemp can neither be found in the Slovenian cookbook published in 1889 by Magdalena Pleiweis, the author and publisher of the first copyrighted cookbook in Slovenian language,³⁵ although the book contains recipes with barley, buckwheat and hops.³⁶ Additionally, hemp can neither be found in more recent Slovenian cookbooks such as the Slovenian cookbook by Felicita Kalinšek, although this book has recipes with barley, buckwheat, lentil and even soya.³⁷ Similarly, in Bogataj's³⁸ opinion³⁹ in times of food shortages hemp was used for baking bread but otherwise did not have a prominent role in the diet of our ancestors.

Nowadays, with the changes of legislations and with the efforts to eliminate the stigma related to hemp, many products based on hemp can be bought. Among the various products, there are four basic: hemp seeds, oil, flour and proteins. Other products are hemp butter, milk, yoghurt, tofu, sauce, beer and wine, tea, bars and chocolate, ice cream, shake, bread and other baked goods, salt, different types of hemp drinks, etc. Many of these products are available also in Slovenia, and many of them can be made in the home kitchen, for example, hemp butter, salt, bars, ice cream and even sprouts.



Image 2: Homemade hemp butter (photograph: Neva Malek).

²⁹ GESTRIN, F. 1991, p. 40.

³⁰ Oral source: Vesel Marinka, Ribnica, 13. 3. 2017.

³¹ Dejan Rengeo, a farmer from Prekmurje and the first initiator and the fighter for re-cultivation of hemp in Slovenia, now longtime grower and researcher of hemp.

³² Oral source: Rengeo Dejan, Pivola, 7. 2. 2017.

³³ Boris Kuhar, Slovenian ethnologist and author of several books of the eating habits of Slovenians and Slovenian traditional dishes.

³⁴ Oral source: Kuhar Boris, Grosuplje, 13. 2. 2017.

³⁵ BOGATAJ, J., KVATERNIK, R. 2007, p. 16.

³⁶ PLEIWEIS, M. 1889.

³⁷ KALINŠEK, F. 1997.

³⁸ Janez Bogataj, Slovenian ethnologist and researcher of ethnology of Slovenia.

³⁹ Oral source: Bogataj Janez, Ljubljana, 14. 2. 2017.

HEMP AS A PART OF GASTRONOMIC OFFER IN SLOVENIA

As discovered, hemp is not a part of the gastronomic and culinary Slovenian heritage. Therefore, for Slovenia, it cannot be said that the rediscovery of hemp means the revival of traditions in the field of nutrition. But we can talk about efforts to place hemp on the culinary maps, both in domestic as well as in the external ambient.

In Slovenia, the offer of cookbooks is various, ranging from the general to the more specific, such as local cuisine, vegetarian and/or vegan dishes, pasta and sauces, cooking with the wok, etc. Many of these books have been reviewed, especially those that relate to healthy, vegetarian or raw diet. In some of them, hemp is not even mentioned, in some certain recipes for preparing various smoothies can be found, in some of them, the use of hemp oil and sometimes hemp seeds are mentioned. But in general, the use of hemp in cuisine is poorly represented in our cookbooks. Just one thin book with hemp recipes that was written by Lesnik in Zlodej was found.⁴⁰

Another source for searching recipes is websites. On the Slovenian websites, a variety of recipes can be found but usually on a given website, just a few recipes can be found. So we cannot talk about a systematic presentation of recipes. An exception could be the *Natural Mystic's* website.⁴¹ It offers more than 50 recipes sorted by categories: soups, bread, salads, drinks, spreads, desserts, etc.

Outside Slovenia, the offer of cookbooks is much higher. There are many cookbooks with hemp recipes only. In some of them, more than 100 different recipes for dishes and drinks are presented. For example, Cicero et al. are authors of a hemp cookbook, which has 200 different recipes based on hemp. The book can almost be entirely viewed on the Google Books web site⁴² or ordered at some booksellers.

In the field of catering services, hemp slowly becomes recognisable. Already more than ten years ago, a pizzeria on the outskirts of Maribor offered pizza with the addition of hemp flour and seeds. At that time they were one of the first if not the first providers of hemp dishes in Slovenia. Today it also offers a special fermented sauce based on hemp seeds, which can substitute soy sauce. The offer of dishes containing hemp can also be found in some other taverns and restaurants in Slovenia. In preparing the dishes, mostly hemp seed and hemp oil are used.

The World Hemp Congress, which takes place in Slovenia every year since 2012, more precisely in the Prekmurje region, also contributed to the promotion of hemp. During the congress, besides the number of lectures and workshops, a competition in preparing hemp dishes called Global Hemp Food Innovation is organised, and the live stream is available in dozens of countries. According to the World Hemp Congress CEO⁴³ during these years a considerable amount of recipes and materials were accumulated, which unfortunately has not been arranged in paper or online form yet.

HEMP IN THE SLOVENIAN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

By the mid-19th century, hemp was used to make school textbooks. Even more, hemp was also presented in them. For example, in the school textbook for natural science for elementary schools from 1871 can be read that hemp is classified as a "deal plant". According to the author of the book a "deal plant" is every plant which is grown for the purpose of earning.⁴⁴

In the 19th century, school gardens were an important part of education. Koprivnik⁴⁵ explained in his book about school gardens how to prepare and maintain them. According to him, the so-called technical plants should grow on a special bed: hemp and flax, hops, tobacco, poppy and pumpkins. Especially interesting is the scheme of a school garden from the beginning of the 20th century where hemp was planted together not just with flax (technical plant) but also with millet and corn. In the last decade school gardens once again has become an important part of education (especially in primary schools and kindergartens), but hemp must not be grown in them.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ LESNIK, Š., ZLODEJ, L. 2013.

⁴¹ Natural Mystic is Slovenian specialized store for the sale of hemp products available on <http://naturalmystic.si/>.

⁴² CICERO, D. et al. 2002.

⁴³ Oral source: Robič Majda, Rakičan, 6. 2. 2017.

⁴⁴ GOVEKAR, F. 1871, p. 64.

⁴⁵ KOPRIVNIK, J. 1894, p. 5.

⁴⁶ Rules amending the rules on conditions for obtaining a permit for hemp and poppy cultivation, 2015, p. 3991.

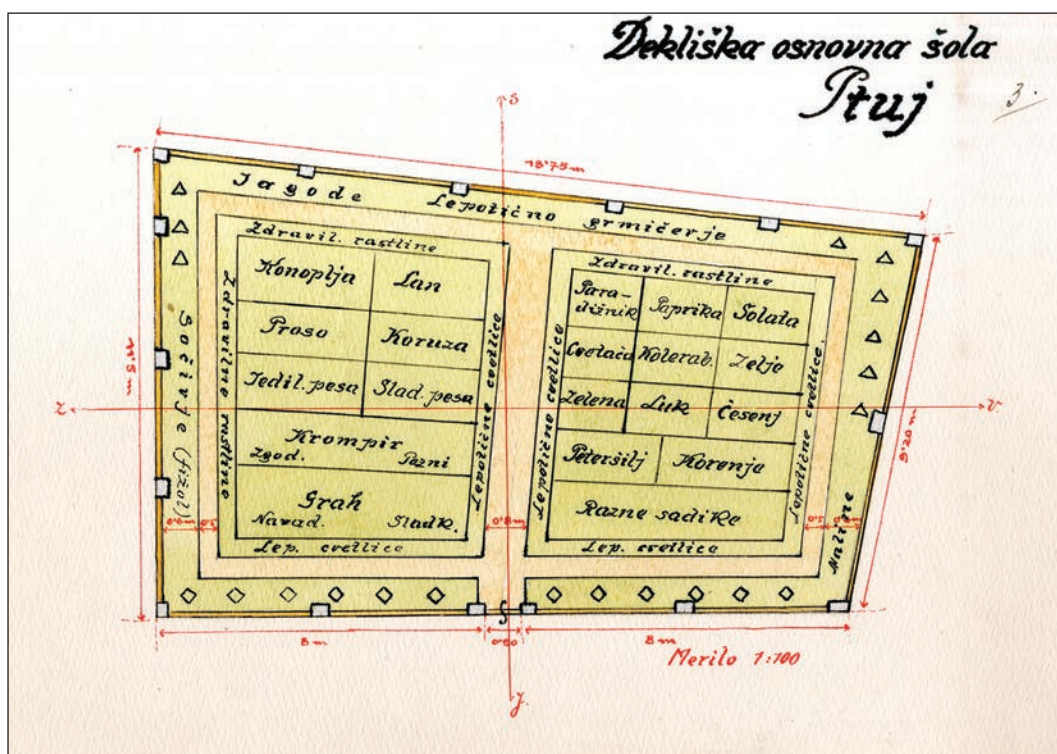


Image 3: The scheme of a school garden from the beginning of the 20th century (The Slovenian School Museum, archive collection, Girls Primary School Ptuj, around 1930).

Unfortunately, today hemp can hardly be found in educational programs. For example, it is not mentioned in biology or natural science school textbooks for the primary and secondary level of education. Also, some textbooks for higher vocational education in the field of nutrition and gastronomy were reviewed. The use of hemp seeds and oil is mentioned only in some of them. Of course, no mentioning of hemp does not mean that students are not at least briefly aware of the possibility of its use in diet and gastronomy. Most likely it depends on the lecturer. In higher professional and university level of education, textbooks have not been reviewed, but quite some diploma works associated with hemp can be found. The topics are different: morphological properties, cultivation, legal status, public opinion research, etc. However, it still happens that students have problems if they want to examine hemp in their diploma work.⁴⁷

It seems that catering students are most familiar with the use of hemp. At the Vocational College for catering and tourism Maribor students regularly use hemp oil and seeds in food preparation.⁴⁸ Besides, hemp oil is regularly used in their school restaurant. Students at the Higher Vocational College for hospitality and tourism Bled are acquainted with the possibility of using hemp oil for preparing certain dishes during the study, and occasionally they also use it.⁴⁹ At the Biotechnical Education Centre Ljubljana, students of the higher vocational program for catering and tourism are acquainted with the possibilities of hemp oil use. However, they do not use it in practical exercises nor do they use hemp seeds.⁵⁰

In addition, to a greater recognition of hemp also helped students of the Secondary School for Catering and Tourism Radenci. According to the headmistress of the school,⁵¹ students are acquainted with potentials of the use of hemp in the diet in practical classes. Furthermore, at the fifth World Congress of hemp students competed in the preparation of hemp dishes and won in the field of Global hemp food innovation – chefs' competition.

Also, students of nutrition and food technology at the Education Centre Piramida Maribor are informed about the possibility of using hemp for the production of various food products. Already in 2010, products with added hemp flour and seeds were offered in the school shop. In 2016, one group of students of the Higher Vocational College prepared a variety of products made from hemp during project work. The products were also presented at a public presentation at the end of the project.

⁴⁷ Oral source: Rengeo Dejan, Pivola, 7. 2. 2017.

⁴⁸ Oral source: Polak Mojca, Maribor, 6. 2. 2017.

⁴⁹ Oral source: Zalar Jože, Bled, 24. 2. 2017.

⁵⁰ Oral source: Selan Neli, Ljubljana, 24. 2. 2017.

⁵¹ Oral source: Prašnikar Neuvirt Janja, Radenci, 3. 3. 2017.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

For the last ten years, we have been confronted with efforts of re-cultivation and wider recognition of the usefulness of hemp in Slovenia, too. There is no doubt that hemp played an important role in our history but mostly as a technical plant. As a possible answer to why it did not have a significant role in the diet in the past, some reasons could be possible. It is well known that buckwheat and millet were quite important for Slovenians up to the 20th century. Especially in times of starvation at the beginning of 19th century Tarty buckwheat was important.⁵² Sometimes they called buckwheat and millet even the food of the poor.⁵³ However, from buckwheat and millet, various tasty dishes can be prepared. Some of them today are ranked among the autochthonous Slovenian dishes, for example, buckwheat bread and buckwheat spoonbread. On the other hand, whole hemp seeds are not so attractive for food preparation and in those times techniques for quickly and efficiently hulling probably had not been developed yet. So hemp was recognised as a useful technical plant but not as a useful plant for diet despite its high nutritional value. Mlakar who says that in Slovenia cultivation of hemp was closely linked with the production of the canvas also confirms this.⁵⁴

So, today the efforts to increase the use of hemp in an everyday diet is not a revival of Slovenian food and gastronomic heritage as we may think, but rather to recognise its high nutritional value, environmentally friendly cultivation and the possibility of using it for other purposes. In doing so, it is still necessary to confront prejudices caused by long years of prohibition, stigmatisation and at least with not distinguishing between hemp and marijuana.

It should be said that hemp can give food a peculiar taste in comparison with some other ingredients. As mentioned before, whole and unroasted hemp seeds are not so attractive for consumption and food preparation for most people. The replacement of a portion of other flour with hemp flour in bakery and confectionery products, pasta, pancakes, etc. can give these products green coloration, bitter taste and even the taste of sand. The intensity of taste and colour, of course, depends on the quantity of added hemp flour. For people, it is most difficult to get used to the bitter taste of food, so it is necessary to eat such food several times to accept it fully. This may be one of the reasons why there is a commercially limited number of products with the addition of hemp flour. Also, hemp oil has the peculiar taste and colour. Due to the high level of unsaturated fats, it should be used only for cold food preparation. It is likely that for most people a complete replacement of pumpkin or olive oil in the preparation of salads is unacceptable.

So, in the everyday diet, the use of hulled hemp seeds seems to be the most acceptable. Seeds can be used in many ways: as an additive to salads, flakes, smoothies, soups and sauces, as a part of breadcrumbs for preparing different frying foods, etc. In doing so, unroasted and roasted seeds can be used. The seeds also give a less intensive taste in comparison with oil or flour. The reason why they are used less frequently in the commercial preparation is probably the price. The price is higher than, for example, the price of sesame or flax seeds. Of course, there is a possibility that in the future prices will be lower because of increased offer.

In the diet of vegetarians (and also vegans) hemp seeds can be a good alternative to soy. The seeds can be eaten raw, and there is no fear of genetic modifications. Hemp flour can be used in the diet of people suffering from celiac disease because it is gluten free. Hemp milk is particularly suitable for vegans and also for people suffering from lactose intolerance. The deciding factor is likely again the price. But on the other hand, all plant drinks (soy, oats, rice, almonds) have fairly high prices and among their prices are no significant differences. It is interesting that in most of the bars a coffee with plant milk (as a replacement for cow milk) cannot be obtained. For this purpose, more than 50 cafes and taverns in the eastern part of Slovenia were checked. Hemp milk could be an interesting alternative which would probably be well accepted, especially among young people and those who want to reach for something new.

Even the educational sphere outside catering programs offers opportunities to integrate or at least mention hemp. For example, in chemistry, the teaching of proteins can be linked to the amino acid composition of hemp or the teaching of fats can be linked with hemp oil as a good source of unsaturated fatty acids. For

⁵² VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S. 2014, p. 10.

⁵³ VOMBERGAR, B., KREFT, I., HORVAT, M., VORIH, S. 2016, p. 19.

⁵⁴ MLAKAR, V., 2015, p. 161.

example, with a preparation of a drink from hemp seeds lessons can be more attractive, interesting and theory can be related to everyday life. The latter was tested in practice at the Secondary school for food and nutrition in Maribor and responses from the students were good. In biology or natural science, teaching germination can be made more interesting with the production of hemp sprouts.

The fact that hemp is slowly returning to daily use is suggested by many factors: different lectures and presentation for the general public, presentations of producers and processors at various fairs, publications in various media, an increasing number of Slovenian hemp products.⁵⁵ However, in the Slovenian area quite a few options for a more comprehensive presentation thus, in the diet, as well as in other areas still remain unused. Showing its use throughout the history could be interesting for experts and the general public as well as for educational purposes. The proposal is not original because in some countries there are already museums that are entirely dedicated to hemp. An exhibition or a special place for education about hemp could also help to eliminate doubts about the safe use of hemp while uncovering a part of Slovenian heritage that is almost forgotten. It is also likely that the use of hemp in diet would be more represented if we had a good cookbook in the Slovenian language or just a book in which hemp would be presented in general. Also, certain hemp products (for example hemp butter or milk) may be included in the project Traditional Slovenian Breakfast, in which Slovenian kindergartens and primary schools are involved.

Undoubtedly, hemp cannot save the world as can be read many times. But it gives the promising possibilities of different uses in modern food preparation. In addition, it may be, at least, occasionally a good substitute for imported superfoods and also other food regarding the slogan, "Think global, eat local!"

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⁵⁵ An increasing number of Slovenian products are probably due to changes in legislation from 2015.

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NAVADNA KONOPLJA – SKORAJ IZGUBLJENA S POLJ IN KROŽNIKOV

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Pregledni znanstveni članek(1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Konoplja je bila do ameriške prohibicije v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja pomembna rastlina, uporabna v tehnične in prehranske namene, o čemer priča tudi vrsta jedi, ki so se skozi čas ohranile pri posameznih narodih. Tudi za Slovence je bila konoplja skozi stoletja pomembna, vendar samo kot tehnična rastlina, saj v prehrani naših prednikov skoraj ni bila zastopana. Tako sedanja prizadevanja za ponovno gojenje in večjo zastopanost v prehrani ne pomenijo ohranjanja slovenske prehranske in gastronomske dediščine, temveč bolj nadomestilo za razna uvožena superživila ter ponovno prepoznavanje in priznavanje njene izjemne prehranske vrednosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

konoplja, zgodovina konoplje, prehranski izdelki iz konoplje, jedi iz konoplje, superživila

POVZETEK

Konoplja ima veliko prehransko vrednost, je dobro prebavljiva, ne vsebuje inhibitorских snovi, glutena ali drugih škodljivih snovi, npr. saponinov. Semena se lahko uživajo surova, kar ji v primerjavi s sojo daje dodano vrednost. Velja za eno najstarejših rastlin na Zemlji, če ne celo najstarejšo, o čemer pričajo razne najdbe, ki datirajo v 4. stoletje pred našim štetjem. V nekaterih evropskih in neevropskih državah se je vse do danes ohranila priprava različnih jedi iz konoplje, ponekod so te jedi celo del nacionalne prehranske in gastronomske dediščine.

V življenju Slovencev je bila konoplja močno zastopana, vendar le kot tehnična rastlina. V prehrani so jo uporabljali le izjemoma. Po drugi svetovni vojni se je tudi pri nas, podobno kot drugje po svetu, pridelava postopoma zmanjševala, dokler ni popolnoma zamrla. Vzrokov je bilo več, od ameriške gonje proti konoplji do pojava novih, umetnih materialov. Naporji za možnost ponovnega gojenja in proizvodnje so se začeli v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in od maja 2015 ima Slovenija končno zakonodajo, ki dovoljuje gojenje konoplje tudi za proizvodnjo hrane in pijač. Še zmeraj pa ostaja vrsta neizkoriščenih možnosti za celovitejšo promocijo in sistematično predstavitev.

THE WHOLE LAMB: THE FORGOTTEN ART OF EATING NOSE TO TAIL*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The island of Cres has a local breed of sheep, tradition of extensive farming, unique pastures and a certificate for the production of eco-lamb. Cres lamb, a unique gastronomic experience, is gaining in popularity. But, in restaurants, only the prime cuts are served, the innards are thrown away. Traditionally, mutton was eaten more often than lamb, and old recipes used the whole animal. Those recipes still exist and are sometimes prepared for local feasts. Also, new recipes are introduced to make lamb more popular. However, in order to reduce the waste of food, traditional recipes will need to be reinvented and pluck brought back to menus.

KEYWORDS

Cres, sheep, lamb, mutton, recipe, innards, tradition

INTRODUCTION

In the recent gastronomic boom in which Croatian gastronomy slowly gains its deserved place on the map of Europe, special attention is paid to the origin of food.¹ In accordance with dominant culinary trends, it is very important that the ingredients are locally produced, seasonal, fresh and, if possible, endemic. Such ingredients are abundant in Croatia, and therefore many olive oils, cured hams and other agricultural products have the geographical indications and designations of origin.²

In that wide selection of quality products, Cres lamb is slowly gaining popularity, although it is still overshadowed by the more famous Pag lamb. However, even if they are bred on neighbouring islands, and both are of very high quality, these two types of lamb differ, and connoisseurs can tell them apart and choose their favourite.

But the difference between lamb's meet of different geographical origin is not just a question of taste. Pag lamb already has the geographical indication, and Cres lamb is in the process of obtaining designation of origin, already granted to the lamb from Lika.

The island of Cres has a thousand-year-old tradition of sheep breeding, which has not changed much even in the modern times. The local breed of sheep has grazed on the same pastures under the same sky for hundreds of years. Parallel with that tradition is the tradition of eating lamb and mutton. The old ways of preparing them, however, are disappearing. The growing popularity of lamb and the wider circle of people who want to try it led to the situation in which only the prime cuts of meat are offered, and everything else is thrown away. Such practice is not only wasteful but also unethical and untraditional.

In the earlier, more frugal times, local cooks knew how to use the whole sheep, down to its hooves. Although that practice is mostly abandoned, there are still a few people on Cres who remember and can prepare the old recipes. Unfortunately, the old tastes do not necessarily satisfy the modern palate, and it is difficult to persuade a modern epicure to try, say boiled mutton legs.

Fortunately, modern culinary trends in search of new tastes return to old ingredients, preparing them with a twist,

* Translation: Jelena Dunato

¹ There is a number of acts and regulations in EU and Croatia defining and protecting the origin of food. The whole list can be found here: <http://www.mps.hr/default.aspx?id=6078> (quoted 16. 8. 2017).

² Products with geographical indications can be found here: <http://www.mps.hr/default.aspx?id=8108> (quoted 16. 8. 2017) and products with designation of origin can be found here: <http://www.mps.hr/default.aspx?id=7517> (quoted 16. 8. 2016).

and so the pluck has regained its place on popular menus. Maybe the tripe, lungs or brain will never be as popular as the shoulder or haunch, but they should be given the opportunity to present us with new tastes and textures.

This paper aims to present the Cres sheep, its characteristics and to show why its meat is so special. Furthermore, the aim is to research the tradition of eating lamb and mutton throughout history and to show the ways in which they were prepared. After that, it is necessary to present the current menus in restaurants on Cres and see the challenges and demands they encounter when preparing lamb and to find out what they think about using all parts of the animal. In the end, it should be seen if the less popular cuts of meat can be used and what the future of the Cres lamb in restaurants might be.

There are few written sources on this subject. There are books and records about the original Croatian breeds of sheep and data from the Ministry of Agriculture. There is one book of traditional recipes, written by Melita Chiole.³ Everything else about the tradition of eating lamb and mutton, original recipes from Cres and current restaurant offer was collected in oral interviews.

CRES SHEEP

The Cres sheep is an indigenous sheep breed, which has been included on the list of indigenous and protected breeds in 1998.⁴ Its origins and breeding tradition are very old. It is bred extensively only, on the islands of Cres and Lošinj. This breed, along with other genuine sheep breeds, was considered inferior and unproductive. However, the attempts to replace it with “better” breeds turned out to be unsuccessful.⁵ This is not unusual, considering the very specific breeding conditions – keeping the sheep in the open, shortage of food and water – which the original breeds are adapted to and can survive.⁶

The long tradition of extensive breeding and equally long presence of sheep on the island is closely connected with the population of griffon vultures on Cres. These scavengers could not survive without the sheep, and without their help, the carcasses of the dead sheep would pollute the environment.⁷ Another proof of this long tradition are the ancient dry stone walls – kilometres of *gromače* spanning the island, encircling the pastures and controlling the access to fresh water. Since the sheep dwell in the open without the shepherd, their movement is controlled by the dry stone walls, the *lesa* – wooden gates blocking the paths and cattle grids on the ground.

The Cres sheep is a breed of combined properties, but today it is bred almost exclusively for meat – lamb.⁸ Sheep cheese, which is, like all the other 100% ewe's milk cheeses produced in this region, very tasty and of high quality, is produced only for private use in small quantities and it cannot be bought in shops.

The Cres sheep is a lively, hardy and adaptable animal. It has a small, narrow, pointy head and small, horizontally laid ears. Ewes usually do not have horns, while the horns of the rams are hard and well-developed. Its body is of middle size with very strong legs. Ewes weigh around 42 kg and rams 47 kg. Ewes have on average 1,2 lambs annually, lactate for 150 to 170 days and produce 60-90 kg of milk.⁹

The fleece of the Cres sheep is mostly white, rough to the touch and separated into coils. One sheep produces 1–3 kg of wool annually. The wool is usually thrown away, which creates an ecological problem.

The quality of the meat is excellent. Lamb's meat has a high percentage of protein; it is easily digestible and

³ Books about original Croatian breeds of sheep: Zdravko Barać, Boro Mioč, Zvonko Čokljat, *Ovčarstvo u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji*, Zagreb, Hrvatski savez zadruga, 2006 and Šandor Horvath, *Hrvatske baštinske pasmine*, Zagreb, Pokret prijatelja prirode “Lijepa naša”, 1996. Traditional recipes: Melita Chiole, *Dodatak za zdravi život – maslinovo ulje i tradicionalna jela otoka Cresa / Supplement for Healthy Life – olive oil and traditional dishes of the island of Cres*, Cres, Poljoprivredna zadruga Cres, 2012. Ministry of Agriculture: <http://www.mps.hr/>.

⁴ Narodne novine No. 127/1998., 2017, <http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/> (quoted. 1. 3. 2017).

⁵ BARAĆ, Z., MIOČ, B., ČOKLJAT, Z. 2006, p. 57.

⁶ BARAĆ, Z., MIOČ, B., ČOKLJAT, Z. 2006, p. 57.

⁷ HORVATH, Š. 1996, p. 162.

⁸ BARAĆ, Z., MIOČ, B., ČOKLJAT, Z. 2006, p. 58.

⁹ BARAĆ, Z., MIOČ, B., ČOKLJAT, Z. 2006, p. 60.

rich with energy. It contains very little fat, most of which are unsaturated fatty acids.¹⁰ Cres lambs are exclusively fed with ewe's milk and grass they eat on open pastures, famous for their biodiversity and for the sea salt brought by the northern wind – *bura*, which results in the special taste of the meat.

In 2005, the Agricultural Cooperative Cres was the first in Croatia to obtain the certificate for the production of eco-lamb, according to the Directive on ecological production, and under supervision of the certified controller. The pastures on which the sheep are placed on are also in the system of eco-control, forbidding the use of mineral fertilisers and other agricultural chemicals, which protects natural vegetation and biodiversity of the pastures.¹¹

According to the Croatian Agricultural Agency's data, in 2016 there were 105 farms and 9736 sheep on Cres.¹² The Agricultural Cooperative has approximately 2800 sheep, and the rest belongs to small farmers.

Agricultural Cooperative also has the only registered abattoir on the island, operating according to the HACCP system, with a permit to sell the meat in the EU.¹³ In the Cooperative's butcher's shop, one can find lamb's meat and innards: liver, heart and lungs. Stomachs and guts are not on sale because the Cooperative does not have a machine for their cleansing and they are not registered for selling them.¹⁴

LAMB AND MUTTON THROUGH HISTORY

In the past, almost every family on the island of Cres had sheep. Their number varied from 15–20 in the poorer houses to several hundred in richer homes. It primarily depended on the size and quality of pastures the sheep owners had and natural conditions characteristic for a certain part of the island.¹⁵

People usually ate mutton, while lamb was rarely on the menu, only for big feasts. The sheep for slaughter were carefully chosen: they were older sheep who could not breed anymore, sheep who lost their teeth or weak sheep who were not expected to survive the winter. Such sheep were removed from the flock, away from the ram (gravid sheep's meat does not taste good) and placed on good pastures until late autumn or winter.¹⁶

Sheep were usually slaughtered in the winter since the conditions for preserving the meat were better. Before the appearance of the refrigerator and freezer, fresh meat could only be obtained if there was a system of solidarity: one family would kill their sheep and give the meat to others, then the other family would do the same and so forth.¹⁷

The meat was preserved with salt and drying. The carcass would be cut into pieces which were salted, dried (with the help of the cold north-eastern wind, *bura*) and kept in the cold cellar called *konoba*. The only way of preparing this meat for eating was boiling it. It had to be soaked in water for one day and then boiled.¹⁸

It is interesting that the salted water in which the mutton was boiled in was not used for soup, but for *škrobić* – runny polenta which was served with the meat.¹⁹ In Valun, potatoes were sometimes added to such polenta.²⁰

The hind leg of the sheep was specially cured and turned into *udić* (or *gudić*): sheep prosciutto. Younger meat of better quality was chosen for *udić* because older meat tends to split during the drying, and the holes that appear in this process become mouldy. Meat for *udić* was salted, dried in the wind and smoked just enough

¹⁰ Poljoprivredna zadruga Cres: Creska janjetina, 2014, <http://www.pz-cres.hr/creska-janjetina-2/> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

¹¹ Poljoprivredna zadruga Cres: Certifikati i nagrade, 2014, <http://www.pz-cres.hr/certifikati-i-nagrade/> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

¹² Hrvatska poljoprivredna agencija: Brojno stanje domaćih životinja, 2017, <http://www.hpa.hr/brojno-stanje-domacih-zivotinja/> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

¹³ Poljoprivredna zadruga Cres: Klaonica, 2014, <http://www.pz-cres.hr/klaonica/> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

¹⁴ Information obtained from Mateo Ferarić, director of Agricultural Cooperative, on the 1. 3. 2017.

¹⁵ JURKOTA REBROVIĆ, M. 2009, p. 20.

¹⁶ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

¹⁷ KUČIĆ, M. 2017, p. 44.

¹⁸ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

¹⁹ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

²⁰ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

to stop the insects from spoiling it.²¹ Once it was dry, *udic* could be cut into pieces and preserved in oil.²²

When a sheep was killed, all the easily spoiled parts had to be used right away. Blood had to be eaten first – it could be boiled in hot water or thrown directly on hot oil and onions to curdle.²³ The result looks like and also has the texture of very dark scrambled eggs.

Sheep's head, together with the brain and the tongue also had to be used immediately. It was usually boiled, and the water was then used for making polenta. The head and polenta were served with bacon when it was available.²⁴

The pluck, also called *koradela* (from Italian *coratella*) also had to be used immediately, and there were two basic ways of preparation. The first was simply frying it in the pan with or without onions. Liver, heart and kidneys can be prepared in this manner. It is interesting to notice that, traditionally, children were not given the kidneys. It was probably due to health reasons, but our ancestors had a curious explanation: “you must not eat that, or you will not know how to pray.”²⁵

Another way of preparing the pluck is the so-called *alla Veneziana*, which means sautéing them with onions and spices and adding water or wine. We can find two traditional recipes in the book *Dodatak za zdravi život. Koradela from Orlec* contains liver and heart, which are sautéed with onions and olive oil, with the addition of wine, bay leaf, parsley and paprika. The other recipe is *Koradela alla Veneziana*, with liver, heart, spleen, all the ingredients mentioned above and tomato puree. *Alla Veneziana* is traditionally served with polenta.²⁶

Lamb tripe is a special topic. Unlike other innards, it needs complex cleaning and preparation. Stomach and guts need to be washed immediately after slaughter to rinse all the traces of digested food. Then the stomach needs to be parboiled to remove the inner layer. After that, stomachs and guts, which need to be opened with a knife, are boiled. After boiling, tripe is left to cool and then it is cut into narrow stripes. Only then is it ready to be prepared with other ingredients.²⁷

On Cres, tripe is prepared in one manner – sautéed with oil and onions and then stewed with wine, tomato puree and spices (bay leaf, paprika, and cloves). Potatoes can be added directly to this stew, or it can be served with polenta.²⁸

There are only a handful of ways lamb and mutton can be traditionally prepared: boiled, stewed or roasted. Roasting a whole lamb on a spit – which is popular in other parts of Croatia – has never been practised on Cres. As one local chef commented: “impaling is the Turkish way.”

For soup, the meat of an older sheep called *starka* is often used: head, lower leg and neck. Boiled meat is traditionally served with sautéed cabbage.²⁹ Soup can be served with noodles, grated noodles or rice. A special kind of soup is *palinbrok* – with dry bread and grated sheep cheese.³⁰

Stew is mostly prepared with mutton. First, all the suet is removed, and then the meat is soaked in water for half an hour. After that, it is stewed with onions, tomato puree and spices.³¹ Stew or *žvacet* is usually served with pasta, potato gnocchi or *fuži* – a special type of pasta.

²¹ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

²² Oral source: Sučić Mornarić Đanino, Cres, 23. 2. 2017.

²³ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

²⁴ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

²⁵ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

²⁶ CHIOLE, M. 2012, pp. 40–41.

²⁷ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

²⁸ CHIOLE, M., 2012, p. 43 and Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

²⁹ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

³⁰ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

³¹ CHIOLE, M. 2009, p. 46.

Roast lamb, which is the most popular dish today, was served only for holidays. Only the best cuts of meat are used for roasting: hindquarter, shoulder, ribs. The meat was roasted in a bread oven. Usually, only oil, salt and pepper were added, with an occasional pinch of immortelle.³² A typical holiday menu would start with soup with rice, followed by roast lamb and potatoes. Between lunch and dinner, tripe was usually served. For dinner, either the lunch leftovers were served, or mutton stew.³³

When we look at the old menus for feasts, roast lamb is not even mentioned. For example, in the exhibition *Fraternities of the northern part of the island of Cres*, a fraternity menu, *obed*, from the early 20th century was described. Sheep's pluck was served for breakfast. Lunch consisted of mutton soup with rice and grated cheese, boiled mutton and stew, *zvacet* with pasta, *fuži*. Dinner was the leftovers from lunch. The poor, children and non-members got *požerilo*: soup, boiled meat, mutton legs and innards.³⁴

Perhaps the most interesting speciality on the Cres sheep menu is a dessert called *olito*. *Olito* is a sheep's stomach filled with a mixture of dough, suet and spices. When it is prepared well, it resembles a fat pancake with raisins, and its origin can only be detected by a mild aroma.

In order to make *olito*, a sheep's stomach needs to be prepared first. It has to be washed and cleaned, turned inside out and soaked in brine. After that, it is filled with air, like a balloon and left to dry in the wind. When dried, it can keep for months. Before preparing the *olito*, the stomach has to be soaked in water, and it can be cut in half, to get two casings.³⁵

Like all pauper's desserts, the filling of the *olito* varies depending on the availability. The basic ingredients are flour, suet and dried fruit. Croatian television has recently produced a TV show featuring traditional Croatian desserts, and among them was the *olito* made by Ružica Mužić from Orlec. Her recipe includes flour, sugar, oil, suet, raisins, lemon and orange zest, honey and cinnamon, all soaked in fig juice. Dried stomachs are cut in half, filled, sewn shut and boiled in water for 2-3 hours, depending on the size.³⁶

Olito can be cut and served while warm, or it can be kept completely and then cut and warmed in a skillet before serving. *Olito* is a winter dessert, usually made for the feast of St. Anthony and served during the carnival.

CURRENT OFFER OF LAMB AND MUTTON

Restaurants on Cres currently offer only lamb's meat, without pluck. The only exception is the liver, which can sometimes be found fried or prepared *alla Veneziana*. Mutton is not mentioned on the menus at all.

There is a trend of offering lamb prepared in some new, different way. Restaurant *Bukaleta* in Loznati, which was established in 1980 and which is currently the number 1 restaurant in Cres according to Trip Advisor, created a new and very popular speciality – breaded lamb. They also offer the classic roast lamb, and another novelty: grilled lamb. However, the owner of *Bukaleta* points out that such preparation is intentionally aimed at those who are afraid to try lamb or think they do not like it because breading and grilling actually cover the specific aroma and taste of lamb.³⁷

Grilled lamb can also be found in other restaurants across the island, like *Trs* in Krčina and *Na moru* in Valun (*Na moru* is actually more famous for its fish). Besides the roast lamb, some places, like *Konoba Kumpanija* in Cres offer lamb under the bell, which is not a traditional recipe but is becoming more popular. There is one more traditional way of preparing lamb, called in umido, which is a combination of cooking and roasting.

The Agricultural Cooperative also offers some new products. Besides the traditional *udić*, they also have lamb pâté and lamb sausage. None of these are based on original Cres recipes, but they bring lamb closer to the taste of the average consumer.

³² Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

³³ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

³⁴ DLAČIĆ, M. 2016., pp. 7–8.

³⁵ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

³⁶ Slatka Kuharica: Creski olito, 4. 3. 2017., <http://magazin.hrt.hr/377250/slatka-kuharica-creski-olito> (quoted 21. 3. 2017.).

³⁷ Oral source: Kučica Antica, Loznati, 2. 3. 2017.

It seems that in the attempt to make the average guest like lamb, the locals are trying to reduce its special characteristics and make it more similar to other types of meat and meat products.

The only exception are the gastro events promoting local products, the biggest of which, the *Days of Cres lamb and olive oil* takes place in April. The latter mentioned event includes most of the restaurants on the island, some of which create dishes inspired by traditional recipes. The event menus feature the dishes that are usually hard to find: lamb soup, *koradela* and tripe along with more predictable choices: roast lamb, lamb under the bell, lamb stew.

And while the *Days of Cres lamb* are focused on tourists, there is one special event in Valun on the 25th of April which has been going on for 20 years. On that day, the feast of St. Mark, the patron saint of Valun, a special menu unlike any that can be found on the island today is prepared for local people in the restaurant *Toš Juna*. It is as close to the tradition as possible, using every part of the lamb that can be used.

The menu starts with lamb's blood, which is first boiled in salted water, then left to cool down. It is warmed on hot oil before serving, and garlic and bay leaf are added to it. Tripe follows it, sautéed with onions, served with potatoes. After that, liver and lungs are served *alla Veneziana*, with polenta. After that comes the lamb soup with noodles and boiled lamb with sautéed cabbage. The last dish on the menu is roast lamb with potatoes.³⁸

Olito for dessert is not included in this menu, but that makes sense since this is a young lamb menu, and *olito* is made from a sheep's stomach. In addition, this is a spring menu – a special, one-day menu of dishes prepared for that day only, while *olito* is a winter, carnival food that can keep long.

Although the owners of *Toš* are aware of the authenticity and originality of this menu, it will never be offered in *Toš* on regular basis. The preparation of these dishes is complicated and takes a long time, they are spoiled easily, and it is unlikely that the demand would justify offering them.³⁹

CONCLUSION

It is a fact that a thousand-year-old tradition of sheep breeding on open pastures filled with various herbs and salted by the wind, which has not changed much on Cres, is an exceptional advantage. The quality of the Cres lamb is gaining in fame and popularity. Although that type of breeding has its specific problems, such as the wild boar attacks on the unprotected flocks, in this case, the traditional way, along with the authentic breed of sheep, proved to be the right choice.

The problems with tradition are obvious, however, in the gastronomy. Originally, mutton was eaten much more often than lamb on Cres, but mutton is not popular today, and it is very hard to persuade those who are not accustomed to it to try it, due to its specific smell and taste. Boiled salted mutton with polenta or sheep's head are the dishes that can be eaten only by those who grew up with them or by especially adventurous gourmands – not by the average restaurant guests.

Even the *olito*, which survived as a curiosity from the olden days, is served today in modified shape. Sheep's stomach – the most problematic ingredient of this dessert – is replaced in the new variations by artificial casing. The only remaining animal ingredient – sheep's suet – is also sometimes left out. The new *olito* has therefore moved away from the original Cres recipe and came closer to some kind of traditional English pudding.

Lamb has a different story. Young Cres lamb roasted with potatoes in the bread oven is a dish no meat lover can refuse. However, such use of meat leaves us with the problem of what to do with the innards.

It is positive that the Agricultural Cooperative sells not only lamb's meat but also the innards (except spleen and tripe) so that anyone who wants to try them can get them at the butcher's shop. It is even more positive that the owners of the restaurants know and preserve the old recipes and sometimes prepare them. Lamb's

³⁸ Oral source: Mlacović Ivan, Cres, 1. 3. 2017.

³⁹ Ibid.

liver, the least problematic and most popular part of pluck, can be found on regular menus in some restaurants. Other dishes sometimes appear on special occasions, and guests who are patient can try them.

The situation with tripe is, unfortunately, different. Its popularity among the connoisseurs is almost mythical, but the problem is that sheep's stomach and guts are difficult to obtain, clean and prepare for cooking and therefore are not on offer every day. It is encouraging that the Agricultural Cooperative plans to buy a machine for the preparation of tripe and they will soon start selling it. When it becomes available at the butcher's, it is possible that the restaurants will include it in their menus and then we will be able to see the reaction of the guests.

All in all, we can conclude that the old ways of eating mutton will never return. Lamb, whose popularity and promotion are constantly growing, will be served in both traditional and new ways. Restaurants find new approaches to their guests who want to try something different, and they prepare old ingredients in new ways.

It is interesting to notice that, in spite of the growing popularity, the lamb preparation methods on Cres remain very plain. Influences of other cuisines cannot be found, nor the ambition to cook on a more ambitious level. Boiling, sautéing, roasting, breading and grilling sum it all up. Local restaurants have neither the capacity nor the time in the relatively short season for offering something that differs from the typical menus.

Since the demand for lamb will undoubtedly grow, the problem of innards will also become bigger. The worst solution will be throwing them away – if they do not find their place on the menus. The other option – using them – means that the restaurant owners will have to decide to work with the less popular and more easily spoilt parts of the animal. It will certainly have to be backed up by the strong promotion, persuading people to try something different. In that case, traditional recipes can be the base from which the new offer will grow. Modern recipes, modern culinary techniques, deeper thinking about the ingredients – all which will have to become a part of the future gastronomy of Cres.

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CELO JAGNJE: POZABLJENA UMETNOST ZAUŽITJA OD SMRČKA DO REPA

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Na otoku Cres najdemo lokalno sorto ovc, tradicijo ekstenzivnega kmetijstva, edinstvene pašnike in certifikat za pridelavo eko-jagnjetine. Creška jagnjetina, brezprimerna gastronomska izkušnja, pridobiva na popularnosti. Vendar v restavracijah strežejo zgolj najboljše dele mesa, med tem ko drobovino vržejo stran. Tradicionalno se je ovčetina jedla pogosteje kot jagnjetina; v starih receptih pa se je uporabila celotna žival. Ti recepti še zmeraj obstajajo in se včasih pripravljajo za lokalna slavlja. Prav tako pa se uvajajo novi recepti, ki bi naj imeli za posledico večjo popularnost jagnjetine. Vendar, če želimo zmanjšati odpadke hrane, bomo morali na novo izumiti stare recepte in notranje organe ponovno uvesti v jedilnike.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Cres, ovca, jagnjetina, ovčetina, recept, drobovina, tradicija

POVZETEK

Kombinacija starodavne tradicije ekstenzivnega kmetijstva, raznolikosti pašnikov in vzdržljivost lokalnih pasem je creško jagnjetino spremenila v edinstveno gastronomsko izkušnjo, ki pridobiva na popularnosti. Ampak s popularnostjo prihaja tudi diskriminacija: uporabljajo se zgolj najboljši kosi jagnjetine, kar je potratno in nespoštljivo do tradicije. Pred gastronomski bumom, v bolj varčnih časih, so lokalni prebivalci vedeli kako uporabiti celotno žival, od smrčka do repa, od predjedi do poobedka, tj. sladice. Ovčetina se je jedla pogosteje kot jagnjetina. Konzervirala se je tako, da so jo najprej posolili in nato prevreli. Notranje organe so postregli na več različnih načinov, tako tudi vampe. Obstaja celo sladica z ovčjim želodcem in lojem. Ti stari recepti še zmeraj niso pozabljeni in takšne jedi se včasih celo pojavijo na lokalnih gostijah. Vendar se lastniki restavracij zavedajo, da ne morejo ponujati nespremenjenih tradicionalnih jedi, ker jih gostje ne bi marali. Obstajajo poskusi, da bi se ponujale jedi, ki so nekoliko oddaljene od tradicije, a bližje moderni paleti okusov, kot na primer jagnjetina na žaru ali jagnjetina ovita v kruh. To pa ne reši problema z metanjem neželenih delov v smeti, prav tako ne doprinaša k lokalni gastronomiji. Potrebna je oživitev in prenovitev tradicionalnih načinov prehranjevanja, da bi preprečili potrato hrane in pripomogli k temu, da bi creška jagnjetina izstopala med podobnimi izdelki.

MEETING BETWEEN HUNGER AND ABUNDANCE: MEDITERRANEAN TROIKA AND TALES OF THE TABLE*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

Food is an important cultural good, embedded in the historical and social environment; knowledge of it enables us to understand other areas of life in various periods. Previous periods typically suffered a shortage of food. However, a person of size showed outward signs of wealth and consequently abundance. Nowadays, there is enough food, at least in the Western world; the consumer industry is constantly suggesting to individuals what they should try next. This exhibition is based on field notes¹ and museum material housed by the Koper Regional Museum, which specify a time frame – from the 19th to the mid-20th century.

KEY WORDS

taste, hunger, abundance, Mediterranean cuisine, traditional dishes, attitude towards food

INTRODUCTION

Within ethnology, food is treated as a cultural good, connected with a number of culturally determined activities, which are reflected in the everyday, holiday, ceremonial and working men's dishes. In Slovenski etnološki leksikon [Lexicon of Slovenian Ethnology] the headword *food* is defined as foodstuffs and dishes containing nutrients, which are consumed to satisfy physiological, societal, social, religious, etc. needs.² In the European cultural space, the narrowest interpretation of diet is a means to satisfy basic physiological needs for food and drink; in the broader context, there is the social and cultural interpretation of diet, since social activity is always present, during which the participants communicate with one another. Within this communication, food and drink as cultural goods hold special importance.³ Their supply, preparation and consumption are connected with a number of activities of individuals, which change nature into a culture par excellence through the processing of foodstuffs.⁴ It is this very supply, preparation and consumption that denotes the concept behind the permanent ethnological exhibition *Meeting between Hunger and Abundance: Cuisine and Eating Culture in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century*, which this paper presents with a brief introduction to theoretical and historical thoughts on food.

INTRODUCTORY THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL THOUGHTS ON FOOD

Food as a cultural good is most closely connected with the issue of taste. In *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* the introductory words under the headword taste inform us that "taste" is an admirable sense organ and the tongue its main organ. Taste – the sense organ in the mouth differs from hunger and thirst, and the organ in the mouth (tongue), with which we taste dishes, is the very one which arouses the desire for food in the oesophagus and stomach. Hunger, thirst and taste are nothing more than a single uninterrupted organ with the same goal: if the mouth is disgusted by "tastelessness", then so are the oesophagus and stomach. Hunger, thirst and taste are therefore three actions of the same organ: hunger and thirst cause the organ to move due to the desire for food/drink, and the taste is the organ's motor: of course, the soul merged with the organ is the one true subject of the sense organ.⁵ Food is therefore needed for survival, yet the symbolic value of food rises above its nutritional value, feeding the soul as well as the body.

* Translation: Urška Žitnik

¹ From 1948 to 1954, Orel's field teams were carrying out systematic ethnological research in the countryside of Istria.

² Slovenski etnološki leksikon, 2004, p. 171.

³ GODINA-GOLIJAJ, M. 1996, p. 211.

⁴ Ibid., p. 213.

⁵ Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers, 1780, pp. 328–336.

One of the earliest researchers of taste was Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, who discussed taste (Meditation II) in his famous work *La physiologie du goût* of 1825, realising that he was on the verge of making grand discoveries about human perception and experiencing of tastes.⁶ His definition defines taste as the sense “which communicates to us a knowledge of vapid bodies by means of the sensations which they excite.”⁷ He distinguishes between two ways of using taste: through pleasure, it invites us to repair the constant losses which result from life’s activities, and by helping us to select from among the substances offered by nature, those which are alimentary. He stresses that taste is greatly aided by the sense of smell when making choices, since “nutritious substances are repulsive neither to the taste nor to the smell.”⁸

Ethnological research became interested in the study of diet as a segment of culture and life relatively late. The first ethnological research of diet did appear in the 19th century, but it was not discussed more professionally and systematically until the 20th century. In that century, two basic theoretical concepts developed in the European area. The first concept is the theoretically oriented research of food, based on historical and ethnological research of cultural spaces;⁹ the researchers focused on the meal, taking into account the general aspects of ethnological research – time, space and social group; their basic research question was which individual dishes and drinks comprise a meal. The second concept is the research conducted by structuralists¹⁰ in the 1960’s and 1970’s, who opened up the interesting field of diet as a bearer of meanings and a builder of social structures, thus finally establishing diet as an important and legitimate academic topic.¹¹ The primary importance of this direction is that it has explained how culture shapes taste and is regulated by society.¹² Claude Lévi-Strauss, the basic author for cultural studies on diet, pointed out cooking as a fundamental articulation of the distinction between nature and culture, and emphasised that every known culture processes at least some of its food by cooking it – in addition to language, cooking is a truly universal human activity. The transformation of food from the raw is what Lévi-Strauss considers the most profound expression of the transformation of nature into the culture or of the method with which humans make a distinction between nature and themselves.¹³ Lévi-Strauss illustrated these ideas most vividly in his work *The Culinary Triangle* (1965), which contains a diagram showing the transition from nature (raw ingredient) to culture (edible meal), which is performed by food during the elaboration process. Through the concept of a culinary triangle, Lévi-Strauss combined the three key attributes of food – raw, cooked, and inedible (spoilt, rotten). The symbolic component of food is one of the foundations of a collective and individual identity and an integral part of the human perception of the world.¹⁴ In his work *Structural Anthropology*, Lévi-Strauss pointed out that his research focused the most on the different trends in taste and manners of preparing meals, in addition to kinship systems, myths and rituals, and that he labelled such phenomena as permanent, basic sociocultural patterns of human existence.¹⁵

Nowadays the knowledge of diet and eating practices is an important element of intangible heritage; food is otherwise seen as an important segment of material culture and is strongly connected with the broader cultural frame, owing to its characteristics. Food is greatly tied to the tradition and environment from which an individual hails. The eating culture is, therefore, an indicator of social, economic and spiritual dimensions of a specific era,¹⁶ which is influenced by numerous geographical, political, socioeconomic and cultural factors, and by religion, customs and instilled eating habits or bad habits; in modern times the impact of media cannot be overlooked. Generally speaking, the eating habits of members of a specific culture or community change through space and time, which is also typical of the area of Istria (the Slovenian and Croatian part); until the mid-19th century it was a province of Central and Eastern Europe, inhabited

⁶ KURAN, M. 2014, p. 35.

⁷ BRILLAT-SAVARIN, J.A. 2005, p. 22.

⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

⁹ Representatives: Günter Wiegmann, Nils Arvid Bringéus, Eszter Kisbá.

¹⁰ Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, Roland Barthes, Pierre Bordieu.

¹¹ VIŽINTIN, J. 2011, p. 11.

¹² GODINA-GOLIJA, M. 1996, p. 217.

¹³ FIDDES, N. 1991, p. 81.

¹⁴ VIŽINTIN, J. 2011, p. 8.

¹⁵ GODINA-GOLIJA, M. 1996, p. 213.

¹⁶ KAVREČIČ, P. 2014, p. 37.

by three ethnic groups with different social structures.¹⁷ In the present-day Slovenian territory, periods of hunger and prosperity alternated through the centuries; the majority population mostly suffered want. In Europe, the 18th century was, by and large, the century of hunger, due to a rise in population and insufficient food production. The population suffered a great shortage of food, especially cereals,¹⁸ which affected inhabitants from all social classes. The beginning of the 19th century was one such “hungry” period when the area of present-day Slovenia was marked by a catastrophic hunger in 1817, caused by a series of poor harvests. In his work *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* [History of the Slovenian Nation] (1928), Dr Josip Mal described the situation of that time, stating that “many beggars and starved people came rushing to Trieste from the Classical Karst, Friuli and Istria, and were given alms by the townspeople. In Trieste, they were often given coffee, which later spread quickly and became common even among the poorer classes in the Gorizia region. In Veneto, they would grind corncobs and unripe fruit. They set up soup kitchens, which served Rumford’s soup to the needy;¹⁹ it was made from lentils, maize or pasta; bones and salt were used as seasoning.”²⁰ Much of the population only ate the food handed out by charitable committees and individuals, and food substitutes; only the aristocracy and the wealthier town dwellers were able to avoid hunger.²¹ This shortage resulted in great changes to agriculture and cattle breeding. Of course, we cannot overlook the role of the potato and maize; they truly began to spread after three consecutive poor harvests between 1815 and 1817.²² Hunger was therefore crucial in the introduction of both cultures; only after both of these cultures became established did the threat of catastrophic hunger go away. Towards the end of the 19th century, the eating revolution swept through all of Europe, changing the population’s quality of life, because until then the eating system was based mostly on cereals, but afterwards, the need for protein and fat was mostly satisfied by the food of animal origin. In the past it was this very shortage of food which dictated the notion of the ideal human, who was a person of size, thus showing outward signs of wealth and consequently abundance. In societies of want, food is a particularly esteemed value; as far as the 19th century is concerned, the basic problem was the shortage of foodstuffs and eatables, and not their quality, since the dishes of the majority population were hardly changing at all, but the quantities of the ingredients in everyday food were, however (e.g. the share of certain cereals, maize and potato was increasing; people began to abandon the use of spelt, oats, sorghum, lentils, etc.). At the end of the 19th century, under the influence of the national awakening among nationally conscious Slovenian townspeople, rural dishes began to be included in bourgeois cuisine by suitably improving and changing select rural dishes. Consequently, the concept of “national cuisine” emerged, which spread in the inter-war period. The lifestyle that was typical of the rural environment until World War II merged with the non-rural mass culture in the 1960’s or 1970’s at the latest, and lost its importance within the community.

MEETING BETWEEN HUNGER AND ABUNDANCE – MEDITERRANEAN TROIKA – TALES OF THE TABLE

The inhabitants of Istria identify themselves with Mediterranean cuisine,²³ which is symbolically represented by the exhibition’s first subheading – *Mediterranean Troika*, which combines the topics of the ingredients, storage and preparation of dishes in two exhibition rooms. The exhibition’s second subheading – *Tales of the Table* rounds off the interpretation of objects intended for consuming food and drink, which tell stories about the diet, habits and rules of table etiquette in the past. These objects bear witness to abundance and want, the status and reputation of an individual, and the status of various social groups within society. Great differences between individual social groups could be seen primarily in the quantity and method of preparing food, and in the possession and use of tableware and cutlery. In the Slovenian countryside, tables came into general use as late as in mid-19th century; eating together at the table out of one bowl was preserved by the majority of the rural population until the mid-20th century. They said a prayer before eating; in some places, they wished one

¹⁷ DAROVEC, D. 2008, p. 241.

¹⁸ BOGATAJ, J. 2011, p. 9.

¹⁹ Rumford’s soup: named after the American Count Benjamin Rumford, who lived in Bavaria at the end of the 18th century as a physicist/chemist.

²⁰ MAL, J. 1928, pp. 506–505.

²¹ Ibid., p. 504.

²² At that time potato established itself in Carniola; the use of maize became widespread in Carinthia and the Gorizia region, whereas both cultures became widespread in Styria.

²³ Mediterranean cuisine has been used as a model of a healthy diet since World War II; the term Mediterranean diet was used for the first time in 1975 in the book by the American physiologist Ancel Keys, entitled *How to Eat Well and Stay Well: The Mediterranean Way*.

another *bon appétit* or as they say in Istria: “Buh žegnej!” (God bless you!), to which they replied “Buh lonej!” (May God repay you!). The food was served on a bare table; they most often ate with a spoon alone. The lord of the house was usually the only one with a knife, with which he cut the meat on a wooden platter. In the past, the main characteristic of the high table was the display of power, wealth and grandeur; in the 18th century, the dining hall thus became one of the most representative rooms in the abodes of higher classes. The dishes prepared were carried into the dining hall on platters and in various bowls; the refinement of taste was evident not only in the selection of dishes but was also connected with the eatables, meal and crockery. For ordinary meals, they used plates and bowls made of brass, copper, tin and faience; on solemn occasions, they mostly used porcelain sets. Obligatory tableware was silver candlesticks, saltcellars and pepper pots, oil and vinegar bottles, and bowls and baskets for sweets, in which fruit was also served as a dessert; glasses, and ceramic pitchers and bottles. Special status was also demonstrated by sets for drinking coffee, tea or chocolate. Until the 18th century, cutlery was mostly privately owned. The characteristics of the rural table differed entirely because until the late 19th century the rural population ate out of pots in which the food had been prepared; afterwards, they ate out of a common bowl on a bare table. The table was laid only on holidays and perhaps on Sundays. The crockery was modest, wooden or made of earthenware, faience, aluminium, and at the end of the century also of enamel. Forks were only rarely used in the 19th century since in early 20th century the standard cutlery for the majority of the rural population was a wooden spoon (most often privately owned). The seating arrangements at the table indicate the social statuses and roles of those attending a meal, certain customs or formal gatherings. Such arrangements were not particularly important in the modest circumstances in which the majority of the rural population lived, except on holidays and special occasions.

Mediterranean cuisine is determined by the fact that it originates in poor settings, in an ecologically depleted world, in which people were most often unable to procure enough food of animal origin.²⁴ The “Mediterranean troika” *cereals – olive tree – vine* of eastern Istria was already included in the famous work by Janez Valvasor at the end of the 17th century, *Slava Vojvodine Kranjske* [The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola], in which he states that “in addition to oil and cereals, this region is thriving with the most exquisite red wine, which people in distant lands also enjoy drinking and which the Istrians are exporting...”²⁵ However, the olive tree, wine and cereals have been identified as the basic agrarian cultures of the antique economy. The vine made its way to the Apennine Peninsula through Greek colonisation; the Greeks presented it to the Etruscans, along with their knowledge of and experience in cultivating it; the Romans afterwards adopted it from them.²⁶ In Roman times, the production of olive oil played an important role in supplying the army with provisions and was connected with the process of Romanisation in our lands. Since the Romans were very familiar with the variable fruitfulness of the olive tree, they grew it together with cereals and the vine.²⁷ The essays of antique writers often mention Istrian oil, which was famous for its quality and quantity as one of the best ones, alongside the oil from ancient Southern Italy, second only to oil from Spain,²⁸ whereas wine is hardly ever mentioned. As has already been said, the spreading of viticulture and winemaking to Istria was connected with the process of the Romanisation of Istria and its inclusion in the Roman Empire. In Roman times, olive oil production likewise boomed, which is attested by many historical and epigraphic sources and archaeological research (systematic supply of towns and military posts, and organised transport). Archaeological finds of oil vessels on Slovenian archaeological sites indicate extensive use of oil in towns, whereas oil must have been used less in the countryside since the native population clung to the established use of animal fat. The use of oil is a visible sign of Romanisation and of Rome trying to subjugate the barbarian world (the eating habits, clothing, language and dwellings represent a complex cultural divide between the Roman and the barbarian world).²⁹

We should mention a special form of winegrowers offering their surplus in Istria – *osmice* (they would host guests at their property), which were named after the decree of 1784 issued by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II.³⁰ Recently, the rule has been established that one wine cellar/canteen may organise a 10-day *osmica* no more than twice a year, provided that it serves its own food and drink.

²⁴ KRESE BASKAR, M. and BASKAR, B. 1993, p. 69.

²⁵ Valvasor also mentions sweet chestnuts as an important foodstuff in Istria.

²⁶ CUNJA, R. 1995, pp. 37–98.

²⁷ VIDRIH PERKO, V. 2004, pp. 243–256.

²⁸ VIDRIH PERKO, V. and ŽUPANČIČ, M. 1999, pp. 512–515.

²⁹ VIDRIH PERKO, V. 2004, p. 245.

³⁰ FURLAN, A. 2004, pp. 393–394.

This exhibition centres on the reconstruction of a bourgeois kitchen with a hearth and kitchen utensils, characteristic of the Mediterranean environment, whereas a reconstruction of a rural kitchen is presented in the hinterland of Koper, in the Bardinc House in Lopar (local ethnological collection).

Through objects in use from the 19th to mid-20th century, we present the *high and rural cuisine*, which coexisted for a time in the same area; their intertwinement, differences and interaction. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that we also distinguish between the hinterland and coastal cuisine, which were tied to the primary industries in their area.³¹ Coastal cuisine is connected with the towns and inhabitants, who were mostly engaged in fishing, salt panning, viticulture and olive oil manufacture, and was based on seafood. The hinterland cuisine was mostly characterised by vegetable and mealy dishes. The Mediterranean influence is also demonstrated in the use of spices and herbs: rosemary, laurel, sage, garlic, onion, parsley, celery; the use of olive oil and wine; and in the preparation of pasta, minestrone, vegetable dishes and in certain places fish dishes. Because Istria borders on the Classical Karst or because the geographical boundary between the Mediterranean and continental world runs along its edge, a continental influence can also be detected in its diet. This influence is apparent in the use of lard, potato, roux for preparing dishes, the preparation of porridge and mush, and the negligible consumption of fish dishes. In addition to traditional cultures (cereals, vegetables), Istrians in the past also cultivated and consumed foreign cultures – maize, tomato and potato. The favourable (sub-Mediterranean) climate and the soil conditions influenced the cultivation of more weather-sensitive cultures characteristic of Mediterranean lands; most of the foodstuffs were produced by the farmers themselves, who continued to supply the coastal towns (Koper, Izola, Piran, Trieste) with them even after World War II.

The exhibition clearly shows that the bourgeois classes (merchants, craftsmen, clerks, professors and teachers, lawyers, landowners and the clergy) and the aristocracy led a different life than the peasants in the surrounding area, which was also true of their eating habits. They mostly bought supplies at the town market place, where farmers from the Istrian hinterland were selling their products; some of them also had their own gardens in the towns and properties on shore. The main difference between the high cuisine and the cuisine of the majority population was that the first was based on meat dishes and many and diverse exquisitely prepared dishes, drawing from the French, Italian, Hungarian, Czech and Viennese cuisine. It incorporated fresh culinary ideas from other provinces and newly-imported produce (spices, fruit and vegetables, etc.) and products, which can be seen from the preserved crockery of various origin, including products of the leading premium manufacturers in Europe, such as Imperial and Royal Porcelain Manufactory of Vienna, the French Sèvres, the English Wedgwood, the German Villeroy & Boch, etc., which furnished the homes of the dwellers of coastal towns.



Image: Between hunger and abundance, reconstruction of a bourgeois kitchen, photo archive Koper Regional Museum.

³¹ KAVREČIČ, P. 2014, p. 38.

Here too, the diet of the majority population was modest, monotonous and insufficient, which was conditioned by the social standing of the households, seasonal shortage, hunger and starvation during poor harvests. However, in the lives and consciousness of the population, there was a strict distinction between everyday dishes, holiday dishes and dishes for special occasions. Anything that was better was an exception to everyday life. Foodstuffs of higher quality had to be sold in order to get the money to pay tributes, taxes and urgent expenses for their homes. If a family was wealthier, it could afford a richer and ampler diet, thus showing its social status. The research into 19th-century diet, conducted by Gorazd Makarovič, reveals an image that was merely continued from previous periods.³² An ideal distribution of everyday dishes on working days in the rural environment comprised five meals: morning, forenoon, midday, afternoon and evening meal. The holiday dishes and dishes on special occasions, which at that time signified abundance on rural tables too, were distinguished from everyday dishes mostly by their origin and manner of preparation, and by their number, schedule and contents. The basic division into three meals was mostly also used on religious and local holidays (Easter, Christmas, Shrovetide, etc.). On special occasions, e.g. when performing hard physical work, there were two meals in between.

It can be deduced from the notes of Orel's field teams³³ that the everyday diet consisted of dishes made of cereals (maize, barley, wheat and rye) and vegetables, and very little meat, dairy products and eggs. For breakfast, they would consume barley coffee or *prežganka* (soup made by browning flour on lard) with bread or sauté polenta, or in some places hasty pudding; they would make the "mush" from vinegar, pepper, garlic and crumbled bread. If the family was wealthier, it also ate eggs, sour milk and butter. For a forenoon snack, the women and children would consume seasonal fruit, a slice of bread or polenta, or barley coffee. When performing more demanding work, the men would eat more calorie-dense and filling dishes: e.g. *šopa* (coated bread slices) with asparagus or tomato, *frtaja* (omelette) with asparagus, etc. For lunch, they would most often eat minestrone as the only dish. The women of the house made minestrone in many ways, but it had to be thick, cooked from various foodstuffs, mostly vegetables, depending on the time of year or the foods in season. The most typical minestrone is one made from beans, potato and maize, called *bobiči*, *špoč*. The combinations or ingredients varied: beans – barley – potato; pasta – beans (*pašta-fižol*); sauerkraut or sour turnip – beans – potato (*jota*), etc. Thus, they would combine pasta, beans, carrots, potato, maize, barley, rice, leek, celery, parsley, zucchini, peas and tomato. They would always put a small piece of sausage or at least a pork bone into the pot; in times of great famine, it would be used several times or even borrowed among families. The minestrone was also given flavour by the roux – *tacada* made from finely chopped bacon or olive oil, onion, garlic and flour.

Besides minestrone, they would also make polenta and potatoes for lunch, with various side dishes and sauces. Of all the cereal food, polenta was the most widely used and present in all meals. They would cook it for breakfast or sauté the one from the previous day. For lunch they would pour sauce over the polenta – e.g. codfish sauce, tomato sauce, lamb goulash, a sauce made from pork ribs and sausages, liver sauce, bean goulash, a sauce made from animal blood (during the pig slaughter known as *koline*; black or bloody polenta). The polenta was also eaten topped with vegetables – kale, cabbage or turnip (larded with cracklings or olive oil), in some places with milk, whey, cheese, fried eggs, etc. Bread slices would also be dipped and topped in similar ways. Afternoon snack: e.g. barley coffee with bread or polenta, fruit. They would also pour red wine and olive oil on the bread slices and sprinkle them with sugar. For supper, they would most often eat radicchio with beans, potatoes or eggs; polenta with sauerkraut or sour turnip; cooked potatoes with salt; pasta with sauce; risotto. The Sunday diet was better; there was a smaller number of meals (3), but they drank real coffee for breakfast and also ate meat for lunch, or the women of the house would at least lard the everyday dishes more. They would also make dessert (*štruklje*, i.e. rolled dumplings, filled with apples or cottage cheese or walnuts). During meals, the adults would drink wine or *temperanje* (water and vinegar), while the children mostly drank water. They did not consume much milk (they sold it in towns); only in the morning with barley coffee or they poured it over the polenta. They generally ate very little meat and would always use it sparingly, because it was not in abundance. They would dry the pork, except for the entrails, which they used up right after the slaughter. They would sell the finer pieces of meat (prosciutto) and kept the pork

³² MAKAROVIČ, G. 1988–1990, pp. 127–205.

³³ Field notes of Orel's teams between 1949 and 1954, archive of the Ethnological Collection, Koper Regional Museum.

lard, cracklings and sausages for home use. The meat was typical of a Sunday meal or on holidays when it was cooked in a soup (chicken, hen, beef, and pork) or a goulash (hen, rabbit, lamb, and dried pork). Fish were not really consumed in the hinterland, except for codfish. The dishes and eating habits written down in the field notes of Orel's teams, which were conducting systematic ethnological research in Slovenian Istria between 1949 and 1954, present the dietary heritage of Slovenian Istria. They bear witness to the simple structure of the dishes, which indicate frugality and poverty in Slovenian Istria, and the untiring resourcefulness of the cooks, who were nevertheless able to make savoury dishes.

The holiday diet was, of course, richer; there was a wider selection; the dishes were prepared from higher-quality foodstuffs, which the women of the house started putting aside several weeks in advance. There was an unwritten rule that nothing should be lacking on holidays; holiday food is closely connected with customs and forms of religious belief. It symbolises the connection and affiliation among members of the family community, which is also closely connected with the issue of identity. In addition to meat dishes, dairy products, soups, holiday types of bread, pasta and sauces, children would look forward to desserts, dry fruit and compote the most. Desserts were a distinctly holiday food: *supe* – slices of bread, a few days old, dipped in milk and egg, and fried in butter or oil; *kroštoli* – made from shortcrust pastry and fried in oil; *miške* – fritters made from yeast dough; *potice* – rolls made from yeast dough (besides walnuts, they would add pine nuts, raisins, almonds or hazelnuts); *pinca* – sweet bread with milk, butter, lemon or orange zest; *štruklji* – rolled dumplings, cooked or baked with different stuffing (walnuts, pine nuts, almonds, hazelnuts, cracklings, jam, brown butter solids, fried onions). In the past, holiday dishes were used primarily to commemorate Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter and the church fête (feast day of the village's patron saint).

It can certainly be said that holiday dishes characterised the holiday table and symbolised abundance, which the majority of the Slovenian population in the second half of the 20th century could only wish for because, until the mid-20th century, their diet was still monotonous and insufficient.

Elements of traditional dishes or their basic ingredients can be found on the menus of present-day inns and restaurants in Slovenian Istria. Slovenia is divided into 24 gastronomic regions, one of which is Slovenian Istria, where events have been held in recent years under the name of "Gastronomic Treasures of Istria"; their goal is to present the gastronomic and culinary traditions of Istria. Thus, from March to November there is a series of festivals and themed culinary evenings, such as: Golden Olive Branch Festival, Malvasia Festival, Mediterranean Mussel Week, Saltpanning Holiday, Asparagus Festival, Oil and Chard Holiday, Artichoke Holiday, Holiday of Olives, Wine and Fish, From the Winemaker to the Oil Maker, Wine and Garlic Holiday, Fishing Holiday, Must from the Refošk of Izola, Sweet Istria, Truffle Festival, Kaki Holiday, Chestnut and New Wine Holiday. The very names of the festivals and evenings confirm the Mediterranean troika and refer to traditional dishes. Here we may speak of an interpretation and merging of tradition in contemporary cuisine. Chefs are adapting to the demands of today's visitors and consumers by creating new dishes that are based on the dietary heritage of a specific environment. Sometimes, their innovativeness may be vague or mysterious, and the name of the dish does not fully reveal what we will be served on our plate. Seeing that traditional dishes are often not suitable for today's catering offer and the demands of contemporary guests, they are actually used more as a basis for developing and building on older recipes and home-grown (local) foods, or for the so-called invented tradition, which is based on the dietary tradition that was once a part of the everyday or holiday menu, especially of the poorer classes of the population, and is more the synonym of hunger than of abundance, but which is nowadays becoming a synonym of abundance in the sense of a healthy diet as an added value. The selection of food was smaller than today; in addition to sociohistorical factors, this is also the result of the impact of global communication (the Internet), of travelling, and of the import of food, which are changing our dietary heritage.

CONCLUSION

The exhibition is complemented by the didactic programme *Ošterija p'r Bepu in Juči* (Bepo and Juča's Inn), which is intended for younger visitors.

Besides presenting the eating culture in Slovenian Istria, this exhibition is also encouraging visitors to contemplate their attitude towards food. In the past, the shortage of food also dictated the notion of the ideal

human, who was a person of size, thus showing outward signs of wealth and consequently abundance. A long time ago, food stopped being a sign of wealth and became a notion connected with health, attractiveness, self-confidence, success, and with self-discipline and control. Consequently, society and culture have also revalued the ideal body, which has always been a deviation from the average, and can therefore only be achieved today by those who shape their bodies, prone to pleasures and vices, in accordance with the norms of slenderness, which is again a sign of privilege, for only the higher social classes have enough time and money to focus on their bodies and the appropriate lifestyle. There are constant tension and dissatisfaction between the real and the desired body, which is most often connected with the socially and culturally conditioned norms that exclude all who are different; it is this very deviation from the norm that leads to stigmatisation.³⁴ The impact of advertising on eating habits particularly that of children – the advertising of unhealthy food is a burning issue on a global scale. Hence, the media messages of today deliberately want to make individuals dissatisfied, because a dissatisfied individual is the basis of the capitalist market and food is a part of the consumer society. The postmodern society has established the concept of “slender = healthy”. If we wish to answer the question as to how, when and why this concept became established, a suitable interpretation tool would be the culturological understanding of differences between the urban and the rural, which were clearly visible both in the traditional and in the modern society. Obesity could be a component of the rural way of life, where a “fat”, chubby, portly body was an indicator of being well provided for, of economic prosperity, and hence of social power.³⁵ On the contrary, the urban environment of the 19th-century bourgeois society started viewing a slender body as one of the basic outward attributes at the level of the individual. The values of slenderness, which is connected with speed, diligence and effectiveness, came to the forefront as a new aesthetic and cultural ideal as early as in the 18th century.³⁶

At the cultural level, the attitude towards food changed in the first half of the 20th century, and the threat and fear of hunger were replaced by the threat and fear of immoderation.³⁷ An improper attitude towards food leads to numerous diseases, such as bulimia, anorexia, compulsive overeating, extreme weight loss, etc., which confirms the fact that food can be used to manipulate. In the lives of individuals, food often plays the role of reward and punishment, as a means of showing love, and a means of bribery, extortion, submission, control and comfort. The situation today is or at least should be different. There is enough food, at least in the Western world and the food industry has become a part of the consumer industry, which is constantly suggesting to individuals what they should try next in order to be completely satisfied. Previous periods were characterised by the fear of hunger, whereas the contemporary period is characterised by the fear of gluttony. “The appeal of immoderation, which we are unable to resist and which a thousand years of history have imprinted in our bodies and in our minds, is beginning to worry us, now that abundance has become commonplace”.³⁸ According to Montanari, dreams are the most effective means against hunger and fear. Dreams of peace and prosperity; or perhaps more of abundance and indulging in pleasures; dreams of Wonderland, where food supplies are inexhaustible and always available, for as Montanari says: “a hungry person always dreams of eating their fill.”

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³⁴ JUŽNIČ, S. 1998, p. 28.

³⁵ ALEKSIČ, J. 2001, p. 315.

³⁶ MONTANARI, M. 1993, p. 219.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 222.

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SREČANJE LAKOTE IN IZOBILJA: MEDITERANSKA TROJKA IN PRIPOVEDI MIZE

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Hrana je pomembna kulturna dobrina, vraščena v zgodovinsko in družbeno okolje, njeno poznavanje omogoča razumevanje drugih področij življenja v različnih obdobjih. Za pretekla obdobja je bilo značilno pomanjkanje hrane, vendar je človek obilnejših mer že na zunaj kazal znake premožnosti in s tem izobilja. Danes je vsaj v zahodnem svetu hrane dovolj, potrošniška industrija posamezniku vsak hip sugerira, kaj mora še poskusiti. Razstava sloni na terenskih zapisih in muzejskem gradivu, ki ga hranimo v Pokrajinskem muzeju Koper, in določajo časovni okvir – od 19. do sredine 20. stoletja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

okus, lakota, izobilje, mediteranska kuhinja, tradicionalne jedi, odnos do hrane

POVZETEK

V etnologiji se hrana obravnava kot kulturna dobrina, povezana z vrsto kulturno določenih dejavnosti, ki se izražajo v vsakdanjih, prazničnih, obrednih in delovnih jedeh. V etnološkem raziskovalnem interesu je prehrana razmeroma pozno postala proučevani segment kulture in življenja. Prve etnološke raziskave o prehrani sicer sodijo v 19. stoletje, vendar je bila šele v 20. stoletju deležna strokovnejše in sistematičnejše obravnave. Danes so znanja o prehrani in prakse prehranjevanja pomemben element nesnovne dediščine, sicer pa je hrana obravnavana kot pomemben segment snovne dediščine in je močno vezana na tradicijo in okolje. Prebivalci Istre se identificirajo z mediteransko kuhinjo, kar simbolno predstavlja prvi podnaslov razstave, Mediteranska trojka, ki v dveh razstavnih prostorih združuje vsebine o sestavinah, shranjevanju in pripravi jedil. Drugi podnaslov, Pripovedi mize, zaokrožuje interpretacijo predmetov, ki so namenjeni za uživanje hrane in pijače in pripovedujejo zgodbe o navadah in pravilih obnašanja pri mizi v preteklosti. Mediteransko kuhinjo opredeljuje dejstvo, da izhaja iz revnih okolij, v katerih si ljudje največkrat niso mogli priskrbeti dovolj hrane živalskega izvora. Prehrana večinskega prebivalstva je bila skromna, enolična in pomanjkljiva, vendar pa sta bila v življenju in zavesti večinskega prebivalstva ostro ločena pojma vsakdanje in praznične jedi ter jedi za posebne priložnosti. Razstava nagovarja obiskovalce tudi k premisleku glede odnosa do hrane. Odnos do hrane se je v prvi polovici 20. stoletja spremenil: nevarnost in strah pred lakoto sta zamenjala nevarnost in strah pred nezmernostjo. Iz nepravilnega odnosa do hrane izhajajo številne bolezni (bulimija, anoreksija, kopulativno prenajedanje), kar potrjuje, da je mogoče s hrano manipulirati, da ima velikokrat vlogo nagrade in kazni, lahko je sredstvo ljubezni, podkupovanja, izsiljevanja, podrejanja, nadzorovanja in tolažbe. Ne moremo in ne smemo spregledati vpliva oglaševanja (zlasti nezdrave hrane) na prehranjevalne navade, ki je pereč problem na globalni ravni. Danes je oziroma bi moralo biti stanje drugačno, saj je hrane vsaj v zahodnem svetu dovolj, tako da lakota ni posledica primanjkovanja hrane, ampak pohlepa in napačnih odločitev političnih elit.

FAMINE AND ABUNDANCE IN THE PROVINCE OF CARNIOLA IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

Food is a constituent part of everyone's daily life and is inherent in all segments of life. Today, food is increasingly seen as a way of documenting periods of civilisation and human lifestyle. New technologies for investigating the past, written documents about food, and, primarily, interest in everyday life have elevated food to the status of a fashionable research topic. Being most interested in the Early Modern Age, I see a change therein as regards the new culinary wave. The discoveries, new world, new economy, different means of transportation, and new spices led to a new way of daily life. Big changes were introduced, such as new needs and new patterns in fashion, eating, table behaviour, kitchen elements, hygiene regulations, etc. A deep understanding of the old recipes can reveal a wide range of interesting social phenomena.

KEY WORDS

Early Modern Age, Carniolan History, culinary heritage, food and social changes, historical recipes

FROM MESLIN PORRIDGE TO DISHES *PAR EXCELLENCE*

Food has always been an essential part of the daily ritual of the human race. Food shortages or surpluses and the amount of food produced were co-dependant on numerous factors. In the 17th century, people were not so lucky – as few as two bad harvest years in a row resulted in catastrophe. And once this combined with plague, wars, and weather-related issues, famine was inevitable. Even France with its fairly favourable weather conditions suffered famine eleven times during the 17th century, while between 1371 and 1791 even rich Florence experienced at least 111 years of famine and only sixteen very good harvests!¹ The town of Blésois had not seen such misery in five hundred years as it experienced in 1662 when the poor had only cabbage stalks soaked in cold water to eat. That same year, the townspeople of Burgundy – even the rich ones – ate grass and even human flesh.² In the 17th century, white bread was only on the tables of the rich as grains for making bread were in short supply. Wheat flour was sold for the needs of young children and on festive days – but only 4% of the population could afford it!

Until the end of the Middle Ages, Europe was a continent of meat-eaters and did not know more refined food. The more we move away from the Middle Ages, due to the numerous religious and other wars, diseases, and bad harvests, the standard of living went down even further. At the same time, the quality of food decreased, in particular, the amount of meat per meal decreased after 1550.³ In 1601, weavers from Nuremberg complained that while in the past they had eaten meat on a daily basis, at that time they had some meat only three times per week. Until the 18th century, the majority of Europe's population would eat mainly lean broth and porridge. People's diet was based on lower-quality grains such as meslin (a wheat-rye mixture), rye, barley, and oats, while the poorest were left with maize, chestnut flour, and buckwheat, as well as legumes, dry vegetables, lentils, broad beans, peas, and chickpeas, i.e. small foodstuffs called *minuti*. A good buckwheat harvest would satisfy a large share of the population;⁴ thus, the merry folksong about buckwheat ripening all over Carinthia and Carniola did not arise by coincidence. A revolution in the diet of the poor occurred with the preservation of meat by means of salt and smoking – although the price of fresh meat rose, salted beef and especially pork ensured at least a small daily portion of meat for the poor.⁵

* Translation: Petra Zaranšek

¹ BRAUDEL, F. 1988, I, p. 77s.

² Ibid., p. 82s.

³ Ibid., pp. 232s, 157s, 236.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 128–160.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 232–236.



Image 1: Three-legged kettle with handle, purified clay, 17th century, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.

In Carniola, the first famine occurred in 1622; in Ljubljana, the *Landstände* (Carniolan Provincial Diet) carried out a so-called general *visitation* or inspection with regard to the essentials of living. However, no food stocks were discovered. Famine reoccurred in 1629 with several thousand deaths, and many people left for Hungary or even for Turkey.⁶

On the one hand, there were famine and food shortages, while on the other, a certain part of the population enjoyed a surfeit of very fine foods. It could be claimed that consuming excessive amounts of food had become a medical issue, as two medical doctors, i.e. Volbenk Andrej Vidmajer and Marko Gerbec, as well as the educator Adam Sebastian of Siezenheimb, held long debates about moderation with regard to eating and drinking. They deemed that the amount of food one eats is connected to caring for one's health as well as to good behaviour. Furthermore, food was considered to be a curative, and thus there were recipes for various waters, tonics, powders, juices, sugars, poultices, broths, drinks, oils, pomades, balms, and orange-bloom and sweet rose petal restoratives, called *rozolija* and *sladka rozolija*, respectively, for curing all sorts of diseases. The first Austrian cookbook, printed in Graz, Austria, in 1686, was entitled *Ein Koch- und Artzney- Buch* ("A Cook and Cure Book").⁷ Janez Krstnik Mayr, a bookshop owner from Ljubljana, had for sale, amongst his other medical books, a cookbook with the simple title *Kochbuch* ("The Cookbook"), as well as a bestseller by Anne Wecker entitled *Ein köstlich neu Kochbuch* ("A Tasty New Cookbook"), which was first printed in 1598 with many subsequent reprints.⁸ *The Köchin*, *Kuharica* book ("The Cookbook"), which was greatly used in Ptuj, but copied all over the Slovene lands, contained recipes and amounts for twelve people, i.e. for large and rich groups. It contained 117 recipes for soups and 209 for dishes involving fish, crustaceans, and other shellfish, of which there were 67 recipes for pike dishes alone; furthermore, it included 54 different pâtés, 195 recipes for sweet pastries, 63 for cakes, and 147 recipes for other simple or more complicated desserts.⁹

The discovery of new areas of the world and faster transportation connections with Europe brought along new foods: potatoes, maize, sugar, coffee, cocoa, and exotic spices, which affected and changed eating habits and food preparation. Due to the food shortage, the 17th century saw progress in cookery – new recipes were formulated that were appropriate for both the broader public and even more so for the select higher classes. Engaging the services of a good cook was viewed as a mark of prestige. The burgeoning enthusiasm for cooking became so widespread that Janez Svetokriški became upset, claiming that in the past cooks had not been appreciated while "nowadays everyone serves their stomach as if it were their God!"¹⁰

⁶ DIMITZ, A. 1874–1876, VII, p. 483.

⁷ *Ein Koch- und Artzney- Buch*, Grätz, 1686: in the library of the Ursuline Monastery in Ljubljana. The book has 236 pages; on page 119 the chapter Register über des Artzney Buch begins; also KUHAR, B. 1988, pp. 13, 10; WOLF, A. A. 1860, p. 94; SSKJ 1985, p. 547: *rozolija* is a liqueur, typically made from orange blooms, while *sladka rozolija* (Ger.: Zucker Rosath) was made from rose petals.

⁸ CATALOGUS LIBRORUM 1966. URL: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Wecker.; http://books.google.si/books?id=vfrH_rCHLZwC&pg=PA363&lpg=PA363&dq=weckerin+kochbuch&source=bl&ots=mnJJvwW7J5&sig=RtGd2GHjvfsBurFSY9enMncsxqc&hl=sl&sa=X&ei=c1I2UZrpD6WG4gSCIIGwDw&ved=0CDUQ6AEwAjgK#v=onepage&q=weckerin%20kochbuch&f=false. (quoted 19. 10. 2014) J. Wecker noticed his wife's ability to heal sickness with food and encouraged her to write a book about it.

⁹ KUHAR, B. 1988, p. 10: *Köchin*, Nürnberg, 1691.

¹⁰ SVETOKRIŠKI, J. 1998, IV, p. 289.

Chefs would compete by using new ingredients and coming up with new recipes; dishes *par excellence* on the tables of the rich were for showing-off and were a chance to combine otherwise unthinkable ingredients. The daily activities of a household began with shopping for fresh ingredients at the market, which Svetokriški described in a very picturesque manner as there being “more merchants and customers at the market than at Holy Mass; people are happier going to the market than joining a procession; they prefer the smell of roast meat to that of frankincense on the altar,” etc.¹¹

Around 1642, *ragoût*, i.e. a heavily spiced stew, was prepared in France for the first time. This dish, eaten with a spoon, no longer contained large chunks of meat, which was a novelty in food preparation; rather, the dish got its flavour from the spices and herbs added to it. From the 16th century onwards, Europe was overrun by a Spanish dish called *olli potridi*, or *olla podrida*, a seemingly simple stew, which – according to the recipe – should contain over 60 ingredients(!), or whatever was available. This stew was also known in Slovene territory; a recipe for it has been preserved in the Carthusian Monastery in Žiče.¹² The above-mentioned German cookbook recommended it as a stew that was liked equally by emperors, kings, princes, and gentlemen, as well simple people.¹³ For certain, most people would not look down on either French *ragout* or this Spanish stew, as they would eat anything that was edible, walked on four legs, or was catchable.

Although the majority of the people lived in poverty, weird and exotic dishes were nevertheless common on the menus and tables of the rich, as well as an overabundance of food within the small circle of the elite. Large quantities of food would be left uneaten; the French court lived by the rule that “whatever is left from a meal the servants will eat, while the leftovers, even if rotten, will be given over to merchants. In Paris, dealing with the remains of the food from the court was well established and one quarter of the city’s population shamelessly survived on such.”¹⁴ A similar habit was also employed by various chateaus, palaces, and residences of the well-to-do of the city. From the records of the Jesuits in Ljubljana, one can conclude that in Slovene lands, too, leftovers were not thrown out. The remains that were left on the tablecloth after the “simple” meal held on the premises of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana following the reception of Count Eggenberg and his spouse were fed to monks from other monasteries, as a token of mutual affection.¹⁵ On the basis of this record, we could perhaps conclude that in 1641 plates and dishes were not yet used at the College as the food was left “on tablecloths”. It could be that the record is somewhat inaccurate – based on other decrees regarding cleaning and cleanliness, it is highly unlikely for Jesuits to have served food without plates and dishes at a high-level reception. Furthermore, the meal was certainly not just a simple one as they were able to invite and feed monks from various orders! Also, in the construction of the College premises the Jesuits introduced certain new details in order to improve the food preparation process and make the consumption of food more enjoyable: in 1626 an extension to the premises was built which housed a bakery; “more and better air was brought into the refectory [...]. Besides, two fountains have been fully restored and improved – one in front of the kitchen and another in front of the refectory [...]”¹⁶ Having a bakery ensured that their own fresh bread was always available.

Poor people would eat flour mash, millet, barley, or buckwheat groats, called *kaša*, with a side dish of sauerkraut, pickled turnips, buckwheat mash, or *štruklji*,¹⁷ i.e. dough in the form of a roll with various types of filling. After the 1649 plague, a shortage of grain occurred that brought about terrible famine; people lived in such misery that they would grind tree bark and make it into bread together with millet husk and crushed grape berries.¹⁸ Eggs, nuts,¹⁹ cheese, and chestnuts were only eaten as special treats, the same held true for mushrooms (the known types were porcini, chanterelle, and morel mushrooms). All kinds of meat were eaten, i.e. beef, pork, veal, mutton, and goat meat; capons, chickens, and wild fowl were considered to be the higher quality meats.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² KUHAR, B., MLINARIČ, J. 2002, p. 123. On page 160 one can find the following recipe: the Spanish stew called *olla potrida* was typical in the diet of monks; it is a vegetable stew to which fresh and saltwater fish and herbs are added.

¹³ Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁴ BRAUDEL, F. 1988, I, p. 241s.

¹⁵ BARAGA, F. 2002, p. 130.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 105, 228.

¹⁷ AS 1, archival fond Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, box 192, Instruction des Bürgerlichen Spitals, XV-1.

¹⁸ BARAGA, F. 2002, p. 166.

¹⁹ VILFAN, S. 1988, p. 20.

Meat became the desired food and after 1650 butchers could afford to weigh it “by eye” again. They became very wilful, as can be understood from the decree issued in Ljubljana in 1691 stating that butchers were to sell to poor people as much meat as they wanted and also those cuts that they wanted and were able to purchase.²⁰

The meat of animals living in water was popular during fasting seasons. Even frogs, turtles, and various birds such as grebes, Eurasian coots, beaver, and otter were consumed. Furthermore, various kinds of vegetables were grown, as well as legumes, asparagus, cauliflower, cucumber, lettuce, cabbage, turnip, kale, kohlrabi, red beets, beans, horseradish, lentils, and broad beans.²¹ Lettuce was prepared in a similar manner as today, i.e. with oil and vinegar, which is implicitly revealed in the allegory written by Siezenheimb on the upbringing of the children of the nobility: children should be brought up with the right balance, as it is also highly inappropriate to make salad only with sharp vinegar and without soft flowing oil.²²

Besides the basic spice, i.e. salt, other spices and flavourings that people produced at home were used: vinegar, onions, garlic, sage, anise, and juniper berries. Furthermore, exotic spices such as black pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, saffron, cloves, dill, etc., became desirable in the culinary arts.

Dishes that at first were considered special and that were reserved for the tables of monasteries and the nobility gradually moved onto the plates of the majority of the population. People’s diet included rice dishes, which they dressed with (olive) oil brought in from the modern regions of the Slovene littoral and north-eastern Italy, as well as with zaseka, which is ground lard containing bits of bacon, *svinjska mast*, i.e. rendered lard, zabela, i.e. hot pork fat, bacon, or butter, which was believed to foster physical growth.²³ Besides milk and butter, cheese and cottage cheese were also used for this purpose. Janez Vajkard Baron of Valvasor mentions recipes for special dishes that were prepared in Ljubljana for special feasts. On Easter, housewives would wrap into white bread-type dough a filling consisting of grated cheese, raw eggs, milk, and cream. The nobility and the bourgeoisie would also add wine into such a rolled pastry, and, towards the end of the century, also sugar, and small grape berries or raisins. The rolled dough would then be baked. At Christmas, they would bake a cake with a walnut and honey filling. On other occasions, the filling might be made “of other ingredients”. *Poprtnik* was a Christmas bread that was decorated with ornaments made of dough; “a great deal of lard and eggs would be put into the dough for the nobility and bourgeoisie, whose palates are more delicate [...]”.²⁴

Valvasor made specific mention of the rich people of Ljubljana enjoying desserts, especially Italian ones. They also consumed the following home-grown fruits: pears, apples (they knew how to preserve both kinds), strawberries, sour cherries, cherries, quince, elderflower, plums, peaches, grapes, almonds, raspberries, chestnuts, hazelnuts, pomes (a fruit similar to pear), and citruses such as oranges and lemons, as well as figs.²⁵ Fresh fruit was available twice every season: first, it was ripe in Inner Carniola, the Karst, Vipava, and Istria, and somewhat later in Ljubljana and Upper Carniola. There was a fashion for friends to send one another fruits as presents: cherries, pears, figs, apples, apricots, peaches, and grapes.²⁶ Count Jošt Jakob of Gallenberg would send his friend in Ljubljana, Count Janez Vajkard of Auersperg, tasty melons and asparagus, which he grew himself.²⁷ And all that despite the official medical science warning against the consumption of excess amounts of raw food, especially fruit, salad, melon, and seafood.²⁸

AN EIGHT-COURSE LUNCH OF A PRINCE

A regular “prince’s”²⁹ lunch consisted of at least eight courses. First, various soups were served – a clear broth, a thick soup, an artichoke or fish soup, etc. The next course consisted of ham, ragoût, tongues, sausages, pâtés,

²⁰ ŽONTAR, J. 1982, p. 210; VRHOVEC, J. 1888, p. 257s.

²¹ KUCHAR, B., MLINARIČ, J. 2002, pp. 89–94, 120–145.

²² SIEZENHEIMB, A. S. 1659, p. 116s.

²³ VILFAN, S. 1988, p. 17; VIDMAJER, V. A. 1692, p. 202.

²⁴ VALVASOR, J. V. 1689, VII, p. 471s.

²⁵ KUCHAR, B., MLINARIČ, J. 2002, p. 96.

²⁶ VALVASOR, J. W. 1689, III, p. 707.

²⁷ ŽVANUT, M. 2006, p. 235.

²⁸ GERBEC, M. 1710, p. 125.

²⁹ SANTONINO, P. 1991, p. 36: among the higher classes, a menu consisting of just seven courses was considered a poor meal.

and stews made of game meat, which were followed by large roasts: pheasant, turkey, partridge, and rabbit – all decorated with lemons, oranges, and olives. The next course consisted of small roasts: godwit, lark, bunting, thrush, and other small birds, as well as fish, salmon, trout, pike, fish pâtés, dishes made from the meat of crustaceans, and a turtle meat stew. The sixth course consisted of egg dishes, baked goods containing egg, aspic, and flambés. Afterwards, fruit, pastries and other baked goods, as well as cheeses, were served; at the end, desserts were served: “dry fruits, candied fruits, marzipan, biscuits shaped like people or animals called *sladkorni podobnjaki*, small baked goods in various colours, and cake decorations for connoisseurs.”³⁰

THE BOURGEOISIE LACKED MODERATION AS WELL

The ceremony held upon the occasion of the re-consecration of St. Elisabeth Church (the city poorhouse church) in Ljubljana in 1601: the feast was attended by 37 citizens (the mayor, the so-called *inner city council* and *outer city council*), the bishop and members of the high clergy, the governor of the province, the vicedom (Carniolan Provincial Vicedomus, i.e. the deputy of the governor of the province), and most likely some other people, who enjoyed a great feast that cost 100 Gulden to stage!³¹ At the feast, beef tenderloin, ox tongue, veal, and kid were served; as well as sea fish from Trieste; even the better types of small roasts were not missing, such as roasted pigeon, capon, and turkey. In the preparation of meat dishes, pure rendered lard, oil, the highest quality vinegar, and smoked bacon were used. For dessert, a cake made of wheat flour, as well as “goodies from the pharmacy”, and also apples and cheese, were served. Therewith, a “Homeric” quantity of wine was consumed – approximately 198 litres!³²

MONOTONOUS FOOD AT THE CITY POORHOUSE

In the document *Inštrukcija Meščanskega Špitala* (“The Rules of Order of the City Poorhouse”), dated 1718, weekly menus are preserved, which most likely reveal the typical dietary habits of the majority of people. However, there is a question as to whether a typical poorhouse resident actually received the stated amount of food. They had two meals a day, at noon and in the evening. During the week, for lunch, each resident received approximately 0.4 litres of legumes dressed with butter. Approximately 320 grammes of melted butter was used for all servings of lunch. As a side dish, they were served pickled turnip and sauerkraut dressed with some kind of fat. Dinner would consist of a mash made of meslin flour or dark wheat flour, and almost half a kilogramme of millet per person, topped with melted butter (280 grammes in total for everyone). On Sundays, meat was served: meat soup, followed by 280 grammes of meat per person with a side dish of some cheaper vegetables such as turnip and cabbage and dressed with homemade *zaseka*. Everyone was entitled to half a litre of red *cviček* wine from the county, which the poorhouse had to buy in bulk quantities in order to secure a lower price. Besides two meals a day, residents were entitled to 4.5 kilogrammes of dark bread weekly, and for dinner, an additional 400 grammes of meslin flour for a mash topped with some butter. On Sundays and festive days, they would also get an additional pound (about half a kilogramme) of white bread. On fasting days people would eat štruklji, beans, buckwheat mash – all dressed with butter; the menu was somewhat richer on feast days, important holidays such as Easter, Whit Sunday, St. Martin’s Day, St. Elisabeth’s Day, Christmas, New Year’s, the Epiphany, and Shrove Tuesday.³³

FOOD AS PART OF THE CULTIVATION AND EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Socialising while eating together used to be a widespread form of fun as well as an obligation. Gatherings of various groups of people for lunch or dinner were important events in their own right, or they were the final acts of other, more important events. The food was an important excuse not only for socialising but also for forming alliances, explaining viewpoints and positions, showing off political and financial power, as well as for enjoying the abundant and exotic food. Janez Gregor Dolničar often mentions in his chronicle distinguished hosts and guests gathering around loaded tables. Feasts were especially grand when important people visited the city on the occasion of the first annual assembly of the Carniolan Provincial Diet.³⁴

³⁰ KUCHAR, B. 1988, p. 9.

³¹ FABJANČIČ, V. 2003, 2, p. 312s.

³² VRHOVEC, J. 1898, p. 39ss.

³³ AS 1, archival fond Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, box 192, Instruction des Bürgerlichen Spitals, XV-1; BRAUDEL, F. 1988, I, p. 236: The diet of the Dutch bourgeoisie was more sparse, their dish called *hutsepot* was a stew consisting of beef or mutton cut into very small pieces, barley, and vegetables; for dinner they would eat a mash made of dry bread typically soaked in water or milk. City paupers would eat kohlrabi, fried onions, dry, even mouldy bread, or bread made from sticky rye.

³⁴ STESKA, V. 1901, pp. 21, 71–74, 81.

An appropriate diet and nutrition were important in the Convent of the Order of Saint Clare as well. The nuns would have three meals a day: breakfast, lunch after 10 a.m., and dinner after 6 p.m. A bell announced each meal fifteen minutes prior to it beginning in order for them to prepare for it spiritually and not “come rushing to it like irrational animals”. They had to follow good and respectable table manners; the abbess would eat with the nuns; every week it was the duty of one nun to prepare the table, collect the food from the kitchen and bring it to the table, and after the meal to wash the tablecloths (not the dishes!) and cutlery, and to put everything away afterwards. The dining room had to be clean, in it, it was not permitted to hang laundry or perform activities that could be detrimental to health. The nuns had to ensure that everything needed for eating, drinking, and cooking, as well as other tableware, were clean and appropriate with regard to the avowed poverty of the order.³⁵

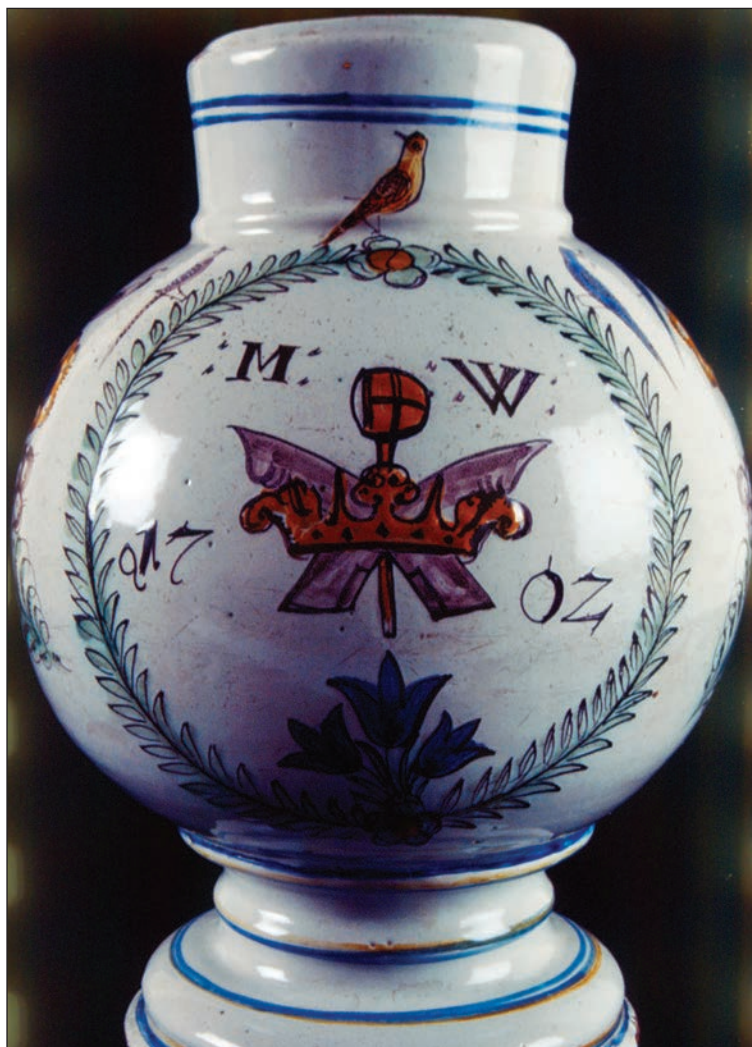


Image 2: Majolica wine jug, ceramics/glazed, 1702, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.

Adam Sebastian of Siezenheimb attempted to make the children of the nobility follow some good old educational advice, which he complemented with some early modern behavioural habits,³⁶ as he was bringing up the new elites, i.e. the noblemen were being developed into gentlemen and the intelligentsia. Siezenheimb understood food and eating to be part of a positive (or negative) educational process. His first focus was on the diet of infants – he tried to convince mothers from noble families that the healthiest and most suitable diet for their babies was for them to be breastfed. He was upset about the nobility spoiling their children by giving them treats, bread, fruits, sugar, and other sweets. Another mistake they made was to feed their children excessively, and the third was to feed them food that was too special.³⁷ Dr Gerbec, too, advised against sweet treats, primarily due to the fact that such “spoil the stomach juices by turning them yeasty, especially when sugar is consumed in excess amounts.”³⁸ The basis of a healthy diet was considered to be discipline, moderation, and strict rules as regards the chosen foods, especially sweets.

³⁵ HANČIČ, D. 2005, pp. 132–139.

³⁶ SIEZENHEIMB, A. S. 1659, p. 224.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 67.

³⁸ GERBEC, M. 1710, pp. 67, 78–79.



Image 3: Knife, metal/bone, 17th century, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.

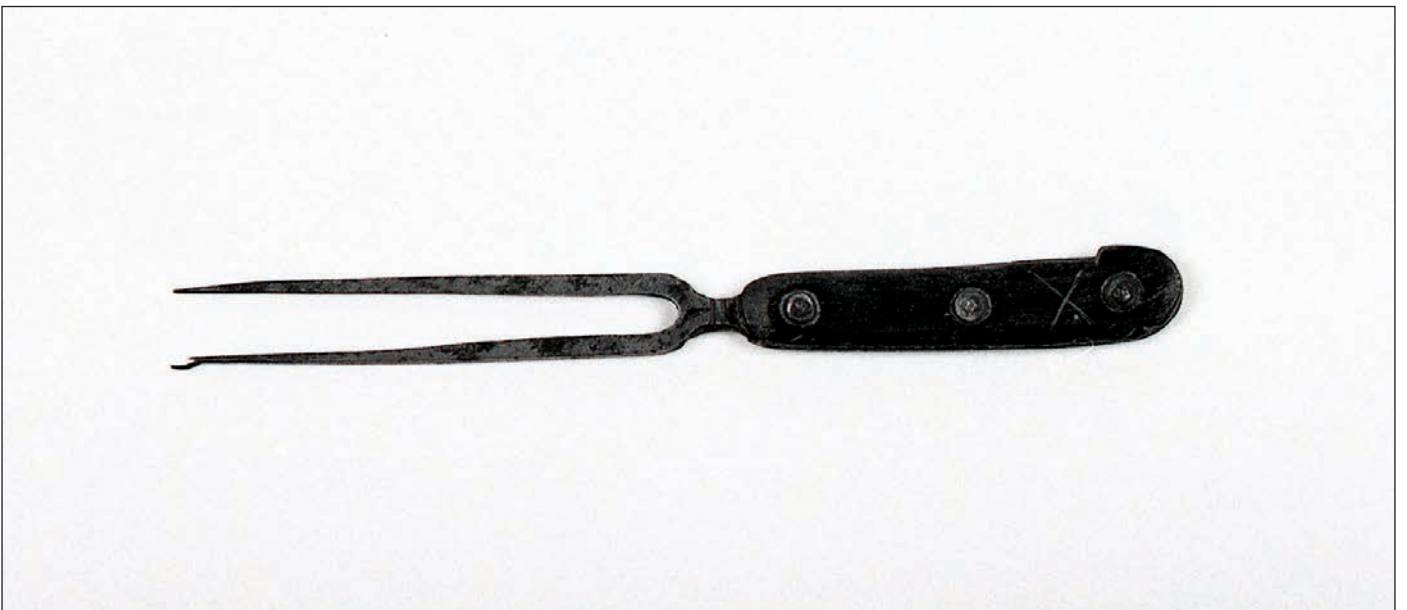


Image 4: Fork, metal/bone, 17th century (?), Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana.

Siezenheimb established norms as regards education and upbringing, his rule of the thumb being to take into consideration the social status of the company present in accordance with the so-called “priority according to protocol”, which was always reserved for the person of the highest rank. In 1672, *The Rules of Civility*, authored by Antoine de Courtin, established rules on table manners with regard to different social classes. The processes of cultivation and differentiation began: that which may still have been permissible for peasants and ordinary townspeople was completely unacceptable in the conduct of the nobility. By requiring these new forms of behaviour, the nobility attempted to close off their elite group. While the bourgeoisie and peasants were allowed to reach into a common dish with their hands, and tear off bread with their fingers, such conduct was completely inappropriate for the nobility. After 1640, the use of cutlery became mandatory. It was considered polite and appropriate³⁹ for those of the highest rank at the table to take food from a common dish first; there was also an unwritten rule that each person should take the closest piece of food and not seek out the best piece. A personal place setting consisted of a plate, a

³⁹ SIEZENHEIMB, A. S. 1659, p. 272.

glass, and cutlery – a spoon, a knife, and a fork; the latter could have either two or already three tines. The food was moved from pots, pans, and casseroles, etc., into serving dishes and was served by means of serving cutlery such as ladles, serving forks, and serving knives – unless the food had been cut into pieces beforehand. The rules regarding serving food and cutlery reveal the already developing sensitivity of higher classes when sitting at a common table as “some people are so sensitive that they will not eat soup into which someone has dipped their spoon or bread after it has already been in their mouth.”⁴⁰ Inappropriate conduct would make noblemen look like “ordinary peasants” who will eat half a piece of meat and then pass the remainder to their neighbour or place it back into the common bowl. Licking one’s fingers was not deemed *höflich* (“polite”) either. It was no longer a habit to use one’s fingers to take food from trays and put it into one’s mouth, or to slurp loudly; rather, it was mandatory to know how to use cutlery. And while using a spoon was simple, the combination of fork and knife required some skill.⁴¹

Despite everything, this teacher of etiquette left some room for undesirable events. “If the soup is too hot, you are not allowed to blow on every spoonful; if you have burnt yourself (with the soup), you should not show that; however, if you cannot bear it, which happens sometimes, quickly bring the plate to your mouth with one hand, while with the other one, hide what you have spat out, and immediately hand it over to a servant. Etiquette requires decent manners; however, it does not require that you kill yourself.”⁴²

Furthermore, the nobility was able to show off their luxuries and excellent upbringing by using tablecloths, napkins, and towels embroidered with gold or silver thread, and even with lace.⁴³ In a cosmopolitan manner, expensive sugar was served with special silver tongs. In the mid-17th century, the famous French chef Marin wrote in his cookbook that the bourgeoisie, too, could eat like counts as long as they possessed the right pots and pans, went to the market every day and were capable of cooking a good soup.⁴⁴

Somewhat less prestigious was kitchenware, which was due to the fact that it was hidden from the eyes of the public. Such included cauldrons, buckets, various containers, bowls, pitchers and goblets, large and small pans, tin plates and dishes for everyday use, grills, and grids.⁴⁵

At first glance, it may come as a surprise to find the book *Wälliches tranzier buch*⁴⁶ in the libraries of the nobility. However, from Siezenheimb’s advice and warnings, it becomes clear that it was wise not only to possess this book but also to study it carefully. This was not a book of anatomy, as one might think, but a handbook on how to correctly cut into pieces prepared meat on serving trays, which was an important point of correct conduct. “At feasts, one should not behave like a barbarian and should, therefore, learn beforehand how to cut meat correctly, in order to not make a fool of oneself. One cuts up a capon differently than a rabbit, and a partridge differently than a Westphalian ham.”⁴⁷ The fashion of enjoying food came from Paris, just as the idea behind the expression *razkosati* (“to cut into pieces”) came from the French expression *tranchieren*.

FOOD AS CULTURAL HERITAGE

In research on food, the relevant scientific developments should also be addressed, since as early as 1679 the physicist Denis Papin was developing a type of pressure cooker, the so-called “Papin” cooking pot.⁴⁸ Through writing this paper, I have come to have a completely different view of the publication “Eat Local – Think Global” published by the ICOM International Committee for Regional Museums.⁴⁹ Recipes tell us so much! From them, we can come to see food in terms of its potential curative nature, societal change, standards as regards beauty, and the survival of the Protestant sect population group that migrated to America in the 18th century and which has preserved its recipes there until the present day, etc.

⁴⁰ ELIAS, N. 2001, I, p. 193s.

⁴¹ ŽMUC, I. 2003, p. 255.

⁴² ELIAS, N. 2001, I, pp. 193s, 195.

⁴³ AS 309, ZI, lit. T (Joseph Teneffle pl. Tenau), 9, pp. 140, 226; lit. A (Johan Andreas von Auersperg) I A, 11, pp. 115–121.

⁴⁴ KUHAR, B. 1988, p. 8.

⁴⁵ ŽMUC, I. 2003, pp. 254s, 264.

⁴⁶ AS, 309, ZI, lit. T, 9, p. 213.

⁴⁷ SIEZENHEIMB, A.S. 1659, p. 276; see also ŠTUHEC, M. 1988, p. 4.

⁴⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis_Papin. (18. 3. 2017)

⁴⁹ Eat Local – Think Global 2016.

Food can be viewed as an aspect of our cultural heritage that can be traced ever since the era of Ancient Greece; for example, the cuisine of Athens was known for its sweet pies. The recipe for so-called *melopita*, which contains honey and cheese (food for the gods), has survived until the present. In numerous places, recipes known from the Bible have been preserved, e.g. a recipe for pancakes made of *freekeh*, which is a grain prepared according to a special procedure. In biblical times, farmers harvested green wheat before it was completely ripe because they were afraid that severe heat or heavy rain could damage the crops. The green wheat was roasted and rubbed to create its unique flavour, *freekeh*.⁵⁰

Nowadays, there is a new awareness of well-being that calls for the rediscovery of old, local, and healthy food. Food is increasingly seen as a way of documenting the individual periods and lifestyles of humankind. New technologies for investigating the past, written documents about food, and, primarily, interest in everyday life have elevated food to the status of a fashionable research topic. Food history is an interdisciplinary field that examines the history of food and its political, economic, cultural, environmental, sociological, and spiritual impacts, as well as various technologies and the anthropological impact thereof.

In addition to storing enormous quantities of kitchenware and different types of memorabilia that have survived since prehistory, museum repositories also document ways of life together with cooking recipes and cookbooks; they organise workshops on cooking, etc., and also serve as vehicles for passing on culinary traditions, for ensuring the survival and abundance of food, the art of laying a table, the history of kitchenware, gastronomy, medicine, the “dramaturgy” of a dinner, changes in *gustibus*, i.e. tastes, etc.

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LAKOTA IN IZOBILJE V ZGODNJEM NOvem VEKU NA OBMOČJU KRANJSKE

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Strokovni članek (1.04.)

IZVLEČEK

Hrana je sestavni del človekovega vsakdanjika. Danes s hrano dokumentiramo civilizacijska obdobja in človekov življenjski slog. Z raziskovanjem pisnih dokumentov in uporabo novih tehnologij raziskujemo preteklost, pri čemer nas vodi predvsem to, da je postalo raziskovanje prehrane statusna tema. V 17. stoletju opažamo kulinarčne spremembe, ko so odkritja v »novem« svetu, nova ekonomija in drugačne poti transporta ter nova hrana in predvsem začimbe spremenili človekov vsakdanjik. Spremenili so se oblačilna moda in vedenjski vzorci, vpeljali so nove kuhinjske elemente in nova higienska pravila itn. Poznavanje starih receptov nam odkriva široko paleto zanimivih družbenih fenomenov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

zgodnji novi vek, zgodovina Kranjske, kulinarčna dediščina, hrana in družbene spremembe, zgodovinski recepti

POVZETEK

Hrana oziroma njena pridelava kaže na stopnjo razvoja družbe, kaže pa tudi na ključne družbene premike in predvsem opredeljuje človekov življenjski slog. Hrana in skrb zanjo je človekov vsakdanji fenomen, ki je v zadnjem času povzdignjen na prestol raziskovalne ikone. Še vedno velja maksima: Raziskovanje pridelave in uporabe hrane je interdisciplinarno polje o zgodovini hrane in njenem kulturnem, ekonomskem, okoljskem in sociološkem vplivu.

V zvezi s pridelavo in uporabo hrane je daleč največ zapisov o hrani bogatih. V zgodnjem novem veku čas ljudem ni bil prijazen. Številne slabe letine, slabo vreme, številne vojne, bolezni, vpadi Turkov so prinesli vsaj pomanjkanje, če že ne lakote. Tako hudo je bilo, da so jedli zelnate kocene, travo, celo zmleto hrastovo lubje, pomešano s prosenimi plevami. V takšnih razmerah pa se je razvijala *haute cuisine*, ko so kuharji pripravljali nepojmljivo umetelne recepte z raznovrstnimi sestavinami in okusi, ki so jih bogati že dopolnjevali s sestavinami iz novega sveta. Na jedilnikih se je znašlo »vse, kar leze in gre«, tudi veverice, male ptice in celo vrane. Razkošne so bile praznične jedi, za privilegirane vedno obogatene z maslom, sirom, medom, smetano, vinom in jajci. Novi način priprave hrane je zahteval drugačno kuhinjsko in servirno posodje. Vse to je zahtevalo nove vedenjske vzorce: uporabo prtov in prtičev, izdelanih iz najfinejšega blaga in obšitih z zlatimi in srebrnimi nitkami, še posebej imenitni pa so bili z dragocenimi čipkami. Uporaba osebne jedilnega pribora in pogrinjka je postala obvezna. Začela se je individualizacija za jedilno mizo, plemič – gospod in izobraženec – se je ločil od meščana in kmeta z elitnimi vedenjskimi pravili.

Zanimiva je hrana za pripravo plemstva v vzgojnem procesu. Novi predpisi o plemiškem bontonu so se prilagajali novim družbenim spremembam. Hrano in njeno pripravo danes raziskujemo kot kulturno dediščino. In kakor danes je hrana tudi v preteklosti delila in združevala ljudi.

OTTOMAN-SERBIAN CUISINE AND WEST-EUROPEAN INFLUENCES – AN AMBIENCE OF CONTACTS AND DISCORD – FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

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Original scientific article (1.01)

ABSTRACT

Using the perspective of serving food and drink to foreigners and guests, the paper describes expressions of hospitality and methods of serving food and drink, with a partial description of menus for formal and special occasions. The paper shows that notes made by foreign travellers do not offer an insight into the everyday diet in Serbia, but do elucidate the cultural pattern of serving the best that the host had to offer to strangers, as well as the influence of Ottoman cuisine on Serbian food and drink preparation and consumption. Since Western European influences on Serbian cuisine were slow to spread and not nearly as pervasive, they mostly remained limited to Belgrade and some affluent families in the interior of the country.

KEY WORDS

Principality of Serbia, travelogues, food, drinks, Ottoman-Serbian cuisine, European influences

The first half of the 19th century in the Balkans was marked by a series of national rebellions and uprisings triggered by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, bad Turkish government and violent measures against the local population. Western European ideas on freedom began reaching the Balkans and inspiring liberation movements. Aware that the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was not far off, the diplomatic departments of the European Great Powers sought to collect as much information as possible about the situation and developments in the Balkans in an effort to protect their colonial interests. Those who could collect such information included travel writers whose visits to the Balkans were motivated by various reasons and interests. Long journeys, contacts with different people and mentalities and the experience of seeing new regions allowed them to collect a lot of information and to introduce the European part of the Ottoman Empire to the European public. The newly liberated Principality of Serbia had a prominent place in this travel literature. Recounting the history, position and character of the Serbian people and offering many images and various information about Serbia and its population, these travel writers inevitably included detailed or, more often, fragmentary descriptions of the local food and drink. The diversity of their experiences only adds to the interest of their works.¹

Setting out on their journey through Turkey, many travellers brought various kinds of cutlery with them and some basic groceries. In rural Serbia, meals were eaten with homemade wooden spoons and from small bowls which were replaced after every meal.² However, travelling through the Principality of Serbia was made easier by the fact that foreigners enjoyed the favour of Serbian authorities and were given a letter signed by the Prince himself or another high-ranking official, which allowed them to find good accommodation and nourishment in the interior of the country. Serbian authorities were very concerned with the picture of Serbia that was being sent out to the world – to politicians and the general readership alike. Another favourable circumstance for visitors from abroad was the Serbian hospitality and generosity described in their travel accounts, which meant that food and especially drink was never difficult to come by.

*Translation: Miljana Protić

¹ МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 267. More detailed: РИСТИЋ, Љ. 2001a, pp. 629–650; РИСТИЋ, Љ. 2001b, pp. 301–313; РИСТИЋ, Љ. 2003, pp. 221–236; РИСТИЋ, Љ. 2012, pp. 27–40.

² BLANQUI, M. 1843, pp. 106–107; ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 113; See also: КОЦИЋ, М. 2010, pp. 330–339.

Hospitality was a trait shared by both the Serbs and the Turks. The only difference was that no women could be seen in a Turkish home, while it was the women who usually served guests in a Serbian household. Travel writers often mention Princess Ljubica, the wife of Prince Miloš Obrenović, who both prepared the dishes as well as served her guests. According to Siegfried Kapper, even the poorest Turks did their best to honour their guest. Even if they had nothing else to offer, they would provide at least “a pipe of tobacco, a glass of wine, milk or coffee, some fruit or anything else”. The Serbs, on the other hand, tried to show their prosperity in their new state.³ In 1808 Bantyš-Kamenskij praised the locals who greeted his party along their journey from Poreč (Parenzo) to Belgrade, offering “wine, cherries, onion, beef and eggs.”⁴ After staying in Belgrade at the Hotel *Zdanje* owned by Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Siegfried Kapper could also attest to the “sanctity of hospitality.”⁵ Enthusiastically recounting his hospitable treatment by the mayor of Požarevac, Andrew Payton described it as “the art of hospitality.”⁶



Image 1: Felix Kanitz, Welcoming guests to Buljane, Serbia, lithography (Reproduced from: KANITZ, F. 1909)

According to S. Kapper, it was the “Easterners who invented the *kafana* [coffeehouse, tavern].” However, as they preferred to sit “in silence and motionless”, they did not realise its social and economic potential and did nothing to “complete and perfect [the concept].” Kapper remarks that the Serbs improved the concept of the *kafana* when they founded the *Reading Room* (*Čitalište*) which offered a selection of local and foreign newspapers to its visitors.⁷ However, this was a unique establishment that contributed to education but did little to quickly change the available menus.

³ ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 115; КАПЕР, С. 2005, pp. 96–97, 168; КАНИЦ, Ф. I, 1985, p. 176.

⁴ БАНТИШ-КАМЕНСКИ, Д. 1951, p. 13.

⁵ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 53.

⁶ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 177. See also: РИХТЕР, В. 1984, pp. 42–43.

⁷ КАПЕР, С. 2005, pp. 146–147.

Of course, meals could take place at various places. Travellers usually dined in city taverns or roadside inns. The latter establishments could sometimes resemble hotels or, more likely, dilapidated buildings or stables. And yet a good meal could even be had at an inn. At an inn in Grocka which included a post office and stables, Pirch was served coffee, a chibouk (tobacco pipe), *rakia* (fruit brandy), good red wine, meat and freshly baked bread, as was the case in Golubac.⁸ After being caught in a rainstorm, at the humble inn *Kod Hajdučke česme* Edmund Spencer was given an unusual potion made of ground garlic, oat flour and crushed red pepper to prevent him from catching a cold.⁹ In winter, Serbian inns were usually very stuffy and full of smoke because most inns had no other ventilation except the door. The innkeeper would stand in the middle of the room stirring a pot of *pasulj* (a local bean stew), while slabs of beef hung from the ceiling beams.¹⁰

Meals and drinks could also be served under the open sky. A traveller could, of course, find refreshment on the streets of Belgrade. Street vendors offered cherries, rose water, cherry brandy, milk, ice cream, soured milk, sherbet, lemonade, chilled water and other refreshing drinks. Shops sold candy, dried fruit, sugared almonds, olives, lemons, oranges, etc.¹¹ Another attraction which seemed very exotic in the eyes of Belgrade's visitors was a candy vendor who dipped a small stick into a pot divided into sections containing thick syrups, finely ground sugar and various spices. The vendor would then place the stick in the buyer's mouth and would be given a coin in return.¹²

Travelling in the company of Prince Miloš Obrenović, Wilhelm Richter noted that not even the Prince's presence could ensure a diverse diet. On the road from Kragujevac to Belgrade, peasants invariably offered wine or fruit in each village. However, the food on offer was modest, and during their three-day-journey, the Prince's party often had sauerkraut with "unwashed semi-smoked bacon or mutton". The preparation of various ingredients to feed about a hundred people lacked any organisation or basic hygiene.¹³

In quarantine in Raška, an innkeeper made a delicious pilaf as well as roasted and boiled poultry for Payton's party. At Kopaonik, hungry travellers were served roasted lamb, but were given nothing but sweetened brandy for breakfast on the following morning.¹⁴ In the town of Brus, lunch was served under a great oak tree by a river: there were cheese and onion as a starter, followed by soup, mutton kidneys, and a deliciously roasted rooster, and finally grapes and *kaymak*, a creamy dairy product, for dessert. The local captain attributed the quality of the food to fertile pastures, cattle, and an abundance of corn, fruit and drinking water.¹⁵

Furthermore, Serbia's dense forests offered ample opportunities for hunting rabbits, eagles, hawks, falcons or even bears, whose meat could be used to make delicious dishes by locals or travellers.¹⁶

On their first encounter with the locals, travellers were usually given a formal welcome which also included refreshments.

If travellers happened to stay the night at a Serbian house, a young woman from the household would be waiting in the morning to provide fresh water and towels. In affluent and humble homes alike, travellers were then served fresh drinking water, stewed fruit described by visitors as "sweet jelly or fruit preserve" or jam. This was a favourite dessert in Serbia and was also served at baptisms, weddings and funerals, as well as in monasteries. This type of conserve could be made from various types of fruit such as strawberries or even roses (rose petal jam) and was offered as a special kind of welcome and refreshment.¹⁷ In some parts of Western Serbia, however, it was customary to present the visitor with melon as a welcome gesture.¹⁸ On their departure, along with the host's best wishes, travellers were again given the same type

⁸ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 61–62, 98.

⁹ СПЕНСЕР, Е. 1993, p. 148.

¹⁰ АНТИЋ, Ч. 2004, pp. 45–46.

¹¹ КАПЕР, С. 2005, pp. 87–89.

¹² ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 54–55.

¹³ РИХТЕР, В. 1951, p. 87.

¹⁴ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 140, 148,

¹⁵ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 150–151.

¹⁶ СПЕНСЕР, Е. 1993, pp. 140–141.

¹⁷ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 149–150; МОМЧИЛОВИЋ, Б. 1990, pp. 17, 68; ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 83, 96; КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 101.

¹⁸ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 102.

of conserve and rakia. In cold weather conditions, they were served mulled *rakia* and honey instead.¹⁹

Breakfast was inevitably preceded by coffee and a tobacco chibouk,²⁰ which were served at any dignitary's or pasha's home, as well as in every roadside inn or city guesthouse. Visiting a pasha in Belgrade, the Briton Kinglake was offered coffee and a chibouk, while the Frenchman Adolphe Blanqui was also served sherbet in the home of another pasha. Andrew Payton thought it a sign of luxury that "there was always sherbet and nargile [a Turkish type of hookah]" in an Eastern-style bathroom.²¹ The Serbian dignitary Toma Vučić Perišić offered a pipe from his mouth to Edmund Spencer as a special form of welcome.²² In Turkish *kafanas* guests were served coffee without even being asked what they wanted. It was believed that the act of coming to a *kafana* in itself meant that the patron wanted a cup (phildjan) of the "strongest brew". At taverns where older Turks could sit for hours, usually in silence, leaving only for prayer at the mosque, chibouks were served as soon as the guest entered.²³ Even during the Ramadan, Turks offered coffee and chibouks to their guests but did not partake themselves.²⁴

At Fazli Pasha's residence in Kalemegdan, Siegfried Kapper had five Turkish attendants bringing and lighting his chibouk, "the obligatory part of every reception." Furthermore, Kapper was even offered a chibouk at the mosque in the Belgrade district of Dorćol.²⁵ Visiting Khurshid Pasha at the Belgrade Fortress, the renowned scholar and travel writer Felix Kanitz was offered "opulently decorated *nargile*" filled with the famous Syrian tobacco mix (latakia), while mocha coffee was served in filigree cups.²⁶ It was believed that smoking cigarettes could not offer the same level of pleasure as smoking chibouks.²⁷

A chibouk was always offered to a guest, and the guest could never decline it, regardless of whether he was a smoker or not. If not, it was sufficient to take a single drag as a sign of acknowledgement of the host's welcome and to lay the chibouk aside or keep it in one's hand without actually smoking.²⁸

In Serbia, meals took place rather early. The day began at sunrise and ended at sundown; hence breakfast was served very early, lunch followed at noon and dinner around sunset.²⁹ Siegfried Kapper was invited to lunch at the home of a certain Mr Z. in Belgrade. Kapper believed that this was an excellent opportunity to try the "cuisine of a nation that always tried not to fall behind in this regard." At a Serbian household, lunch could take hours because it was always accompanied by lively conversation, as well as due to moderation in eating and because there was "always business to discuss at the table that was more pressing than food and drinks."³⁰ According to Pirch, at the Prince's residence in Požarevac lunch was served at 11 a.m. The table was set in the "Frankish fashion". This meant that the guests sat at a table set with cutlery. However, these tables could only be seen in urban areas and some monasteries.³¹ Payton informs us that he dined at a "European-style table" from Belgrade to Ljubovija. Beyond this area, dining took place at an "Eastern-style" low table – a *sofra*. "The food was delightful. The cooked lamb dish would not have been out of place on any table in the world."³²

Otto Dubislav von Pirch left a detailed description of the process of preparing lunch in a rural household. The lady of the house baked two kinds of bread: a thin cornbread served hot and a white wheat one that was left to cool before it was served. If there were many guests, neighbours would help prepare the food and would bring some groceries, usually dairy or poultry. The master of the house prepared chickens,

¹⁹ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 89; ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 114.

²⁰ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 149–150.

²¹ МОМЧИЛОВИЋ, Б. 1990, pp. 63–64; ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 43; АНТИЋ, Ч. 2004, p. 46; BLANQUI, М. 1843, p. 74.

²² МОМЧИЛОВИЋ, Б. 1990, p. 68.

²³ КАПЕР, С. 2005, pp. 148–150.

²⁴ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 117.

²⁵ КАПЕР, С. 2005, pp. 82, 162, 185.

²⁶ КАНИЦ, Ф. I, 1985, p. 36.

²⁷ МОМЧИЛОВИЋ, Б. 1990, p. 68.

²⁸ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 97. For more details on the beginnings of coffee and tobacco consumption in the Balkans, see: BOUÉ, A. II, 1840, pp. 254–255; КОЦИЋ, М. 2010, pp. 340–359.

²⁹ МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 259.

³⁰ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 146, 164; ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 114. For a somewhat different impression, see: РИХТЕР, В. 1984, p. 43.

³¹ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 78, 113; РИХТЕР, В. 1984, p. 46.

³² ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 112.

lambs or a whole pig for skewering and roasting on a rotisserie. If the guests were held in particularly high esteem, other prominent members of the village would come to greet them and hear the news.

Lunch usually began with a glass of *rakia* followed by a starter comprising cheese, bread and onion. The soup was served next and followed by stew, sauerkraut with pork as “a firm favourite that could not fail to make an appearance” and finally roasted chicken or turkey and even roasted pork or lamb on special occasions. All dishes were seasoned with red pepper, which led the guests to drink more wine with their meals. The wine they served was excellent as there was no shortage of good wine in Serbia; at the end of the meal, the guests were sometimes offered *bermet*, a local dessert wine.³³

In affluent households in Serbia and particularly in Belgrade, dishes were similar to those served on the other side of the border, i.e. in Austria. Cheese with onion and garlic was usually served as a starter with *rakia* and was followed by soup, beef, cabbage or other leafy greens with meat, roast (usually lamb) and finally cake.³⁴ Another example of dining at a Belgrade household was recorded by Siegfried Kapper. A number of guests were invited to share in the host’s joy of having such a prominent guest from abroad. The women and girls hurriedly prepared vegetables, fish and chicken, while several lambs roasted on a rotisserie. Kapper was thrilled and noted that the scenes he witnessed resembled Homeric episodes.³⁵

Very few travellers had the opportunity to attend receptions hosted by Serbian rulers. Once or twice a year, Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević (r. 1842–1858) hosted official lunches for the Turkish Pasha, ministers and consuls. An official reception was organised only on the day of his *slava* (Serbian religious feast commemorating the patron saint of the household) and served German-style dishes. Before dessert, the Prince toasted the Ottoman sultan with champagne, and his guests duly responded, toasting the health of other rulers. Payton underlined the fact that all dishes he had tried in Belgrade mirrored German cuisine.³⁶

As was the case with lunch, the quantity and quality of dinner depended on the host’s social standing and the occasion. At an inn in Obrenovac Payton was served lamb soup seasoned with so much lemon that he could not eat it. This was followed by boiled lamb and lamb stew.³⁷ Visiting a household in Šabac, he was served the same sour soup, but the rest of the courses followed in an unusual order: boiled fowl with turnips and sugar, almond pudding, raisins and crepes, and finally roast rooster, with white and then red wine.³⁸ Roast lamb was certainly the hallmark of an opulent feast and also a sign of respect towards the guest or sometimes of a special occasion. Payton was served mutton



Image 2: Felix Kanitz, Stalać, Slava at the home of a kmet (village chief-tain), lithography (Reproduced from: KANITZ, F. 1909)

³³ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 115–116.

³⁴ МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 260.

³⁵ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 165.

³⁶ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 50, 77.

³⁷ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 64.

³⁸ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 77–78.

at a monastery *slava*; in Krupanj, he was served cut-up lamb that had been arranged into a cone-shaped structure; dining under the open sky, he was offered lamb roasted on dried vine leaves in a hole in the ground, which gave the meat a distinctive smell. Each of these feasts included good wine and often singing and dancing.³⁹

Most travellers have noted that the Serbs were a very pious nation, particularly in rural areas. Dinner began with the lighting of a candle and frankincense, as well as a prayer to the Lord and the patron saint of the household.⁴⁰ A short prayer was said at the beginning of every meal; all attendees would then make the sign of the cross; finally, they would toast each other with glasses of *rakia*. The toast usually included a supplication to God to protect the prince, serfs, the people and the host's family. The guest would be addressed in a welcome speech, with the host expressing his gratitude for the guest's kind visit.⁴¹

Every religious fast was observed. A London reporter informed future travellers that in Serbia fasting was observed five weeks before Christmas and seven weeks before Easter. This meant that the menu was limited to fish and vegetables. In Grocka, the same reporter was unable to find anything but *pasulj* (bean stew) and spicy fish stew during Lent.⁴² Monasteries such as the Annunciation Monastery in the Ovčar Gorge served lovely trout dishes even on regular days in the religious calendar.⁴³ However, our reporter had an opportunity to experience the hospitality of rural Serbia when he was greeted by peasants running out of their homes to



Image 3: Felix Kanitz, Belgrade, Slava celebration, 1867, lithography (Reproduced from: KANITZ, F. 1904)

offer food and drink such as fish, wine and *rakia*. The occasion in question was a three-day-long *slava* feast – an occasion when hosting a stranger was considered a particular honour.⁴⁴ The food was generally good at monastery *slavas*. At the Čokešina Monastery, Magarašević was served cheese and onion with *rakia*, followed by sour lamb soup, cabbage and roasted lamb, as well as good wine.⁴⁵

In 1850, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, his daughter Mina and their guest Louise Hay Carr arrived in Šabac during the Apostle's Fast. They had lunch at a roadside inn: "We had the worst lunch ever; the fast was observed, and no meat could be found."⁴⁶ Not far from Šabac, on a Friday in 1827, Đorđe Magarašević was content to have only bread and wine, while his coachman had to make do with boiled beans and dried fish.⁴⁷

³⁹ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 92, 97, 103, 171.

⁴⁰ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 139–140.

⁴¹ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 115–116; РИХТЕР, В. 1984, p. 43.

⁴² АНТИЋ, Ч. 2004, p. 46.

⁴³ КАНИЦ, Ф. II, 1985, p. 527.

⁴⁴ АНТИЋ, Ч. 2004, pp. 53–54.

⁴⁵ МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 302.

⁴⁶ МИЈАТОВИЋ, Ч. 1895, p. 759.

⁴⁷ МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, pp. 268–269.

The Serbs both ate and drank in moderation. The same was said of the Turks, whose restraint in eating sometimes elicited surprise. However, it was at dessert that the Turks' hedonism really came to the fore.⁴⁸

Foreigners also noticed the Serbs' partiality to wine and brandy, but there were very few drunken people to be seen at family or church events.⁴⁹ The Serbian merchant and voivode Mladen Milovanović was known for toasting his guests with wine "demonstrating his drinking prowess."⁵⁰

Good food was always accompanied by good wine. There were fine vineyards in the Negotin area, where Kapper drank "the wonder of Negotin",⁵¹ as well as in the Čokešina Monastery in the area of Loznica, whose wine was praised by Magarašević,⁵² and in the vicinity of Čačak, as reported by Pirch.⁵³ In Smederevo, a town known for its grapes and wine where an ancient grapevine had survived, Pirch tasted a white wine whose "potency and mild flavour" he found comparable to that of Hungarian wine.⁵⁴ The vineyards of Smederevo were also praised by Payton, who admired the size, beauty and flavour of the local grapes and noted that he had never tasted "such delicious fruit of this kind."⁵⁵ At the Ravanica Monastery, Payton drank "excellent wine" with the local monks, which made him "a more avid drinker of water than usual". In Šabac, he drank eleven-year-old wine with the mayor's deputy.⁵⁶ Good wine and merriment were always accompanied by toasts, which Kapper interpreted as the Serbs' desire to show how deeply they cared for the guest's health and wellbeing.⁵⁷

However, the beverage that Serbia was most famous for and that Serbian hosts took most pride in was *rakia*. As plum orchards could be seen all over Serbia, the abundance of quality *rakia* was unsurprising. Plum was the most widespread fruit, and practically every village had a plum orchard.⁵⁸ Lunch and dinner always began with a *rakia* toast. It was believed that this beverage promotes recuperation and health.⁵⁹ *Rakia* was served in all households alike – from peasants to shepherds to Princess Ljubica Obrenović at the Prince's residence.⁶⁰

The first signs of Western influence were brought by students educated at Western European universities and Serbs from Hungary who came to the Principality of Serbia in search of work. These first signs were reflected in the use of foreign (sometimes mispronounced) words, clothes, furniture and food. Andrew Payton was the most meticulous at recording Serbian food and beverages. He certainly enjoyed local dishes such as sour soup, boiled fowl, pudding and crepes in Šabac, roasted lamb in Krupanj, pilaf in Raška, and boiled lamb in Palež, which he thought would not have been out of place at any table in the world. However, the German cuisine at the Prince's residence in Belgrade left him indifferent.⁶¹

The first sign of European influence on the Serbian cuisine was the so-called "Frankish" style of eating. This meant that meals were served at a table surrounded by chairs.⁶² This German influence was noted by Otto Dubislav von Pirch, who noted that he had encountered "fine German cuisine" in Belgrade.⁶³ Payton also noticed that he was served from a dish made of Bohemian glass.⁶⁴ At the British consulate in Belgrade, William Denton ate German, English and French dishes, but on his travels through Serbia, he enjoyed sour soups, *sarma* rolls,

⁴⁸ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 54–55. For more details on desserts see: БОУЋ, А. II, 1840, pp. 245–248; КОЦИЋ, М. 2010, pp. 317–322.

⁴⁹ ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 54.

⁵⁰ БАНТИШ-КАМЕНСКИ, Д. 1951, p. 16.

⁵¹ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 177.

⁵² МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 302.

⁵³ ПИРХ, О. 1983, pp. 160–161.

⁵⁴ ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 63.

⁵⁵ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 183.

⁵⁶ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, pp. 88, 169.

⁵⁷ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 172. For more details on wine consumption in the Balkans, see: БОУЋ, А. II, 1840, pp. 251–252.

⁵⁸ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 230. For more details on plum cultivation, see: МИЉКОВИЋ КАТИЋ, Б. 2012, pp. 209–228.

⁵⁹ КАПЕР, С. 2005, p. 168; МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 269.

⁶⁰ КАНИЦ, Ф. I, 1985, p. 176. For more details on *rakia* consumption in the Balkans, see: БОУЋ, А. II, 1840, pp. 250–251; КОЦИЋ, М. 2010, pp. 322–330.

⁶¹ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 171.

⁶² ПИРХ, О. 1983, p. 166; МАГАРАШЕВИЋ, Ђ. 1983, p. 258; РИХТЕР, В. 1984, p. 42.

⁶³ ПИРХ, О. 1951, p. 61.

⁶⁴ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 80.

roasted lamb and mutton, smoked meat and Negotin wine.⁶⁵ Payton left a detailed description of a dinner he had at a household in Šabac, noting that the dishes he was served in Belgrade were not “Serbian, but were all modelled after German cuisine.”⁶⁶ In spite of his appreciation for local food, Payton was nonetheless glad to be offered “roast beef, plum pudding, sherry, ale, Stilton cheese and other English delicacies” at the British consulate in Aleksinac.⁶⁷ At the residence of Prince Miloš Obrenović, his wife Princess Ljubica served *rakia*, wine and *pelinkovac* (a local bitter liqueur based on wormwood), as well as champagne, Tokay and “other fine wine”.

It should be noted that the travellers’ comments about German influence on Serbian cuisine actually refer to the influence of Austrian cuisine. Due to the immense influence of the Ottoman civilisation on Serbian cuisine, which understandably included the culinary habits of the average inhabitant of Serbia⁶⁸ as well as the economic status of the majority of Serbs in the Principality, (Western) European culinary influences were slow to spread and not nearly as pervasive. Travellers’ notes suggest that these influences were minimal except in Belgrade and some more developed urban areas.

As there are no descriptions of cakes, it is difficult to note Eastern influences that would be vastly different to local dishes (except different drinking habits). Almost none of the travel writers differentiated between them. Furthermore, Eastern influences on Serbian cuisine included both authentic Ottoman impacts and Persian traces in the Ottoman menu.⁶⁹ Travel writers discussed here found it more interesting and easier (as well as more entertaining for their readers) to compare the dishes they had tried in Serbia to dishes known in most of Europe, particularly because many of these authors were not familiar with the Eastern cuisine.

Obviously, the nourishment offered to foreign travellers does not offer an insight into the diet of the average inhabitant of Serbia. Fasts were long and frequent, and the meat was rarely on the menu, usually being limited to feasts and special occasions. However, guests were served the best, finest and most plentiful the host could offer, particularly in affluent houses. Hence, the notes that describe the cuisine in the Principality of Serbia simply mean that its inhabitants made and served their best dishes to their guests. The situation was very different in remote villages and inns. It was not uncommon for travellers to be unpleasantly surprised by unusual dishes and the negligent attitude of the cook.

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⁶⁵ ДЕНТОН, В. 2013, pp. 183–184.

⁶⁶ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 77.

⁶⁷ ПЕЈТОН, Е. 1996, p. 163. In Serbia, it was probably soft white cheese that was served, although hard yellow cheeses were also produced (ЗИРОЈЕВИЋ, О. 2013, p. 168).

⁶⁸ КОЦИЋ, М. 2010, pp. 310–315.

⁶⁹ For more details on the diet in the Balkans and its Ottoman roots, see: BOUÉ, A. II, 1840, pp. 234–258.

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OSMANSKO-SRBSKA KUHINJA IN ZAHODNOEVROPSKI VPLIVI –PROSTOR STIKOV IN NESOGLASIJ – PRVA POLOVICA 19. STOLETJA

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so skozi prizmo načina serviranja hrane in pijače tujcem in gostom obravnavani izrazi za gostoljubje in načini serviranja hrane in pijače, na kratko pa so opisani tudi jedilniki za formalne in posebne priložnosti. V prispevku je govor tudi o tem, da zapiski tujih popotnikov ne dajejo vpogleda v vsakodnevno prehrano v Srbiji, ampak ilustrirajo kulturni vzorec ponuditi tujcem najboljše, kar gostitelj premore, ter tudi vpliv osmanske kuhinje na srbsko pri pripravi in uživanju hrane in pijače. Ker so bili vplivi zahodne Evrope na srbsko kuhinjo prepočasni, da bi se lahko razširili, in niti najmanj prepričljivi, so večinoma ostali omejeni zgolj na območje Beograda in nekatere premožne družine v notranjosti dežele.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Kneževina Srbija, potopisi, hrana, pijača, osmansko-srbska kuhinja, evropski vplivi

POVZETEK

Politični interesi držav zahodne Evrope in potreba po zanesljivih informacijah o balkanskih deželah, vključno s Kneževino Srbijo, so spodbudili njihovo javno menje in tudi ljudi, da so na različne načine zbirali informacije o tem območju. Tisti, ki so lahko zbrali potrebne informacije, so bili tudi popotniki, ki so se na Balkanu znašli zaradi najrazličnejših motivov in interesov. Ti potopisci so objavljali vseobsegajoče informacije, ki so jih zbrali na svojih popotovanjih, vključno z opisi postrežene hrane in pijače ter opisi načinov priprave in serviranja hrane.

Skozi prizmo načina serviranja hrane in pijače tujcem in gostom so v tem prispevku obravnavani izrazi za gostoljubje in načini serviranja hrane in pijače, na kratko pa so opisani tudi jedilniki za formalne in posebne priložnosti. V prispevku ugotavljamo, da je bilo gostoljubje očitna značilnost vseh družin, s katerimi so popotniki prišli v stik (od vladajoče družine do domov nižjih uradnikov in podeželskih gospodinjstev). Ugotavljamo tudi, da je obstajal kulturni vzorec, zaradi katerega so gostitelji svojim gostom ponudili najboljše, kar so premogli.

Prav to je razlog, zaradi katerega nam zapiski popotnikov ne dajejo vpogleda v vsakodnevno prehrano in jedilnike povprečnega prebivalca Srbije. Formalni obroki so se ponavadi začeli s kozarcem *rakije* (žganje), s sirom, čebulo in juho. Temu so sledile različne vrste mesa in dobrega vina. Vrstni red jedi je včasih odstopal od tistega, ki so ga bili vajeni zahodnjaki. Zanimivo je, da ne najdemo omemb tort, verjetno zato, ker jih sploh niso postregli. Namesto tega so gostom izrekli dobrodošlico z vkuhanim (dušenim) sadjem in *rakijo*.

Na opisane načine priprave in uživanja hrane in pijače je močno vplivala osmanska kuhinja, kar je glede na več stoletij dolgo osmansko vladavino razumljivo. Kljub temu je v delih popotnikov težko prepoznati neposredne osmanske vplive, saj so za primerjavo uporabljali evropske jedi in pijače (ne vzhodnjaških). (Zahodno)evropski vplivi so bili omejeni zgolj na Beograd in nekatere premožne družine v notranjosti dežele. Ti vplivi so prišli iz Avstrije, vendar so jih opisali kot francoske ali nemške načine priprave in serviranja hrane.

KOROŠKA LJUDSKA ZVEZA AND NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE FRAUENSCHAFT*

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with the functioning of women's organisations in the framework of the *Kärntner Volksbund* (hereinafter KVB) and women's organisation *Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft* (hereinafter NSF) in the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (hereinafter NSDAP) during the World War II in Upper Carniola. German occupier's authorities tried to involve all the population. Many women were active in local organisations and involved in 11 different departments of NSF. The primary objective of the NSF was to raise good German women, following the National Socialist ideology and image of German wives and mothers, whose main task was to lead their household under war conditions, in accordance with the economic responsibility to the state and nation.

KEY WORDS

World War II, Kärntner Volksbund (KVB), Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP), Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (NSF), women's organisations

INTRODUCTION

The leader of the women's organisation *Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft* - NSF Gertruda Scholtz-Klink addressed German women in the 1930's as follows: "My beloved German women, in the future you will be advised through newspapers and radio how to use the money you place aside. The money you and your husband earn does not belong only to you but also to the German people."¹

"When the Führer says that we do not have foreign currency to import meat, can we, the housewives, prove our professional abilities, we can provide bread, we have enough potatoes, and the supplies of milk and sugar are even in abundance. I say this just to prove that the German woman would know how to be the best Minister of Economy."²

Indeed, the main task of NSF's was to focus women on their economic responsibilities in relation to their household and the economically regulated household which was a national duty. It is clear from the quotations above that the private household in NS was no longer private. The main purpose of the organisation of NSF was to teach the German wife how to spend the money she held as rational as possible. The aim was actually the planned cooperation of the state, the economy and women.³ The local economy was expected to maintain the health and economic well-being of the nation. The image of the German housewife as a German mother was an elemental part of the NS ideology, and her work was a model and guarantee for the German future.

THE ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN IN THE THIRD REICH

The first women's groups were formed within the NSDAP already in 1923 and operated mainly in the field of charity. In 1928, an organisation *Deutsche Frauenorden* was established and became the organisation within NSDAP. This organisation focused in particular, on education, treatment, care and support for families with many children and the education of girls into conscious German wives, and members of the German community. In 1931 the organisation changed its name to NSF.⁴ In just two years 900,000 women joined the organisation, and in 1935 the NSF became part of the NSDAP.

* Translation: Monika Kokalj Kočevar

¹ SIGMUND, A. M. 2004, p. 120.

² Ibid., p. 122.

³ WAGNER, L. 1996, p. 94.

⁴ Ibid., p. 180.

In 1934, another women's organisation, the Deutsche Frauenwerk, was organised and had about 6 million members in 1936. Gertruda Scholtz-Klink led both organisations. The organisation NSF consisted of women and girls, over the age of 18. The aim of the organisation was to enrol every fifth woman. The main areas of activity were motherhood and household economy. The structure of the organisation was similar to that of the NSDAP party, with provincial, district and local offices, divided into blocks and cells. The highest education personnel was trained at state-operated schools; the most famous were those in Coburg and Berlin. NSF cooperated with another organisation - the *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* – NSV (National Socialist People's Welfare), as their tasks sometimes complemented.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NSF

By the year 1937, the organisation formed 11 divisions. The NSF leader was a member of the state headquarters. Her tasks included also working at the female office of *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* – DAF, and also at the Office III of the Bureau of the German Red Cross. In 1940, the NSF had over 20 million members. In the most active NSF department – the department for assistance - women and girls devoted their free time, in the form of neighbourhood assistance to help families, which also included staying with a family with many children, staying with women who worked in the country, etc. Women who worked in factories could get help, and if necessary, women assistants from the NSF organisation also replaced the mother's role in the families with many children. In the cities, NSF activist stayed with families with many children and helped them when the bombing alerts started. They also helped women who had to leave their homes because their houses were too damaged in air raids. The help of NSF members was also needed in the public kitchens, in hospitals and nursery schools, and at railway stations, where the women helped travellers and predominantly soldiers. They also assisted in supplying units of the German army, preparing packages for the soldiers and worked at places where the soldiers could spend their leave. They were also stationed in supply centres of resettlement camps for Germans.⁵

These women also helped in the stores to prepare packages, sorted supplies and put stickers on food boxes. Many girls helped within the so-called *Pflichtjahr*, also known as the domestic year which every girl had to serve. In the Sewing rooms section, the women of the NSF sewed and mended for people in resettlement camps, for refugees and others. The so-called campaign of patching underwear was introduced which encouraged busy working women to put torn clothes and stockings into special bags and then the NSF women mended the pieces. However, it turned out that women did not want to put their personal clothes into stranger's hands. Thus this campaign never proved to be very successful.

The NSF department of economics and household tried to reconcile the demands of life with the needs of the German family. The families' existence and health should not be threatened because of the needs of the state economy. Women were trained in household matters, preparation of food, supplies and care of clothing, furniture and household utensils. Women's work included a broader sphere of household: their work was used for the functioning of the economy and health, which included combining various provisions that were available, accepting different adaptation of habits that facilitate household work, with various cleaning tips. The permanent education which should be ensured throughout the wartime was also very important. They introduced consultation hours on how to wash clothes, neatly dress oneself, etc. In the campaign of cleaning tips for women, there was also a significant distribution of washing powder. *Reichsstelle für industrielle fettversorgung* or the RIF was responsible for presenting new powders, softening agents and various floor cleaning agents. There were many pieces of advice on coal consumption. The department also supported the collection of old materials.

Particularly important was the concern for a healthy diet and proper composition of the meals and the integration of essential vitamins in the diet. Within the framework of the so-called female afternoons, the so-called Schaukochen cooking lessons were organised in large and small spaces, advice centres and workshops. Together with the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* -DAF these lessons were introduced also into companies. At the same time, NSF published many recipes and cooking brochures.⁶

⁵ FILLIES-KIRMSSE, E. 1941, pp. 25–30.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 36–50.

The NSF maternity service, which was the most important among all departments, propagandised that with the absence of a husband and sons, the wife should rely on herself, and take responsibility for the house and family. The department spread important advice on effective use and processing of food, as well as on clothing and housing, which represented the German culture. Housekeeping should be based on domestic production. The parole “Women need to also learn to prepare rich meals and sew beautiful clothes with the limited production and imports” was very much in use. The NSF gave courses on how to shop food, textiles, etc. Participants in maternity schools aged up to 20 years, attended mainly cooking and sewing courses, women at the age of 30 took part at courses on nursing infants, and participants aged 30 to 45 years joined courses dedicated to advice connected with health. In the so-called school for girls, brides “learned about how to save time and strenght, and how to enter into life, physically and mentally healthy.”⁷

The youth group of the NSF have enrolled Bund der *Deutscher Mädel* – BDM girls from the ages of 18 to 30 years. They emphasised, in particular, the development of personality and influence of women in family life, in the community with her husband and child. The NSF held lectures on healthy nutrition, on how to dress for everyday life as well as for celebrations, on housekeeping.

The children's NSF group included children from 6 to 10 years. The organisation emphasised the connection with the mother, home and school. For each child was required to fulfil Hitler's desire, “It is never early enough to educate the young person to feel German first”.⁸ Children also participated in the gathering of herbs and berries, which were then processed by the mothers.

The sections for borders and abroad as well the press and propaganda were also very active. For the purpose of propaganda, the organisations issued posters, flyers, made movies and prepared exhibitions.

THE CARINTHIAN FOLK ASSOCIATION-KVB

After establishing a civilian administration in Upper Carniola, new organisations started to operate as a part of the new administration. The chief of the Civil Administration, Franz Kutschera established the *Kärntner Volksbund* (hereinafter KVB) (Carinthian folk association) on the 24th of May in 1941. The KVB was an important institution in the process of Germanisation and served as the basis for the establishment of the German party NSDAP in Upper Carniola.⁹ A lot of efforts were put into propaganda in order to address people to join the KVB. It was already in the first months of 1941 when more than 90% of the population aged over 18 had entered the KVB, which was mainly to be ascribed to the fear of consequences. The residents were admitted to the KVB as either definitive or provisional members, which was based on political and racial reviews. The first members became mainly the *Volksdeutsche* and the members of the Swabian-German Cultural Association. In October 1941, the newspaper from Upper Carniola, the *Karawanken Bote*, reported that the KVB had 113,000 members.

There were four district leaderships of the KVB in Upper Carniola that were divided into local groups. The borderlines between these groups matched the boundaries of the municipalities. The Kranj District had 31 local groups, Radovljica 17, Kamnik 27 and Dravograd 5. Local leaders were subordinated to the federal leader, who had his headquarters in Bled.¹⁰

Local groups were further divided into blocks and cells which included families representing the smallest unit of the community. Cells of the local group comprised several villages; each village was formed, if necessary, into one group. Special attention was devoted to encouraging family members to join different organisations and to participate in gatherings, events, fundraisings, etc. Besides of the local leader, the local group also consisted of an organisational leader, the head of the personnel office, the school leader, and the leader of the local office of the NSV. The *Mutter und Kind* (Mother and Child) office and the local head of the women's association NSF also operated within this context.

⁷ FILLIES-KIRMSSE, E. 1941, pp. 51–68.

⁸ FILLIES KIRMSSE, E. 1941, pp. 70–78.

⁹ FERENC, T. 1980, p. 216.

¹⁰ “Spodnja Koroška naj se dostojno uvrsti v veliko nemško skupnost,” see: *Karawanken Bote*, the 26. 7. 1941, No. 4, p. 4.

The KVB was very devoted to the education of its members and had organised the KVB federal school in Gozd near Kranjska Gora. It held courses and lectures for KVB local leaders, women leaders and other representatives of the KVB offices. Already in October 1941, the leaders of local organisations organised lectures. Federal leader Maria Goritschnig welcomed women participants, and together they reviewed fields of work and auxiliary services pursuing the aim: "The task of the KVB is to revive the German blood of the people in southern Carinthia, which is to be considered a woman's task primarily".¹¹

WOMEN'S GROUPS IN THE KVB AND NSF IN UPPER CARNIOLA

Women in Upper Carniola were organised in the framework of the KVB, and later also in the *NS Frauenschaft* women's groups and the *Nationalsozialistische Volkwohlfahrt* (hereinafter NSV). NSF was organised into district organisations, local organisations, blocks and cells. The entire region was led by Gaufrauenschaftsleiterin Grete von Mitterwallner, who came to Upper Carniola several times to control and to attend women's meetings of the local organisations. Over 50,000 women from Carinthia participated in the activities of the NSF.



Image 1: A leaflet *Frauen und Mädchen*, Propaganda for different courses, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije.

From the NSF annual report for the year 1942 in Upper Carniola, we found out that the majority of the work was done in the departments of auxiliary work, household and economy, the maternity department and youth groups. There were 7169 women who spent more than 34,000 hours in sewing rooms making over 5000 pieces of clothing. Families with many children received the help of 3340 hours from 260 women. 153 women spent 1780 hours helping families where the women were employed. 82 women helped for 1900

¹¹ Žene v narodni fronti, see: *Karawanken Bote*, the 29th of October 1941, No. 21, p. 5.

hours on farms; from which 178 women helped for 6500 hours with the harvest and planting. In the so-called *Einsatz* (engagement), 102 women worked 1412 hours during which they sewed 1400 socks for the German army, collected 8000 scarfs. 3100 women also attended cooking courses. The maternal service organised six cooking classes, five sewing courses, seven baby courses, and five nursing courses. 33 girls who were in youth groups helped neighbours and also at the hospital. They made more than 700 toys which they donated to the NSV. They were also engaged in the collection of wool and hides and spent 2800 hours in processed them. These girls also cooked 3153 litres of juice and 2500 kg of marmalades, collected 2700 kg of fresh fruit, made 133 litres of wine, 1400 kg of dry fruits. Within the framework of the *Löffelspende* action in December 1942, they collected 300 kg of flour, 98 kg of sugar, 478 kg of pastries, 115 kg of dried fruit, 239 eggs, 3958 cigarettes for submarine soldiers, 135 mattresses and 186 coverlets.¹²

LOCAL GROUPS OF THE NSF UPPER CARNIOLA

An interesting insight into village activities reports shows that the KVB tried to develop as many activities within the local community and involve as many people as possible.

The local group of the KVB in Smlednik was established on the 30 June 1941. In April of 1942, women carried out the collection drive for soldiers, the so-called *Winterhilfswerk* (hereinafter WHW) and gathered over 1900 German Reichsmark. Village women collected 270 silk scarves, 1000 litres of blueberry jam, and sent 90 chickens and rabbits to wounded soldiers to the hospital at Golnik. Women also collected laundry, knitted and mended for stationed units. The local group Šentvid organised in 1941 KVB, *NS-Frauenschaft*, NSV, BDM and in 1942 DAF, *Nationalsozialistische Kriegsoferversorgung* – NSKOV (National Socialist War Victim's Care), *Hitler Jugend* – HJ, and *Deutsches Rotes Kreuz* – DRK were also established. The NSV had 1214 members. The organisation Mother and Child distributed 2,000 German Reichsmark to poor mothers. The BDM had 126 members and carried out a two-hour service on a weekly basis, while the members of the NSF prepared sweets, jam, blueberry juice, fruits and dried fruits for soldiers. They organised several cooking and sewing courses. The members met every week. In October of 1942, 47 women made 400 running meters of garland for the opening of a new rail link Šentvid–Črnuče-Laze. 400 women picked blueberries for 1200 hours and prepared 689 bottles of juice and 48 pots of jam (500 kg) for the lazaret in Tirol. In December of 1942, 60 women took part in a collecting campaign.¹³

When the NSDAP party was established in Upper Carniola in January of 1942, the district leaders of the KVB passed their work on to the NSDAP district leaders. If the KVB members were also members of the NSDAP, they remained the members of the KVB.¹⁴

Women in the KVB learned to make slippers in December of 1941. The women in Mežica prepared a Christmas exhibition where they displayed their products such as blankets, socks and scarves.¹⁵ In January of 1942, cooking classes were held according to the motto "Good Housekeeping is a weapon of the German women against the enemy".¹⁶ In February of 1942, the NSF in Jesenice opened the first maternity department in Upper Carniola, which was also connected to the culinary school and a sewing room. In April of 1942, maternity courses were organised in Kamnik. Waistcoats, jackets and sweaters were manufactured in the sewing room in Domžale. District leader Johana Abt held the cooking course in Žabnica. Women made 490 slippers, collected 378 scarves, cooked 160 kg of jam and 130 litres of juice. Within the framework of the action *Löffelaktion*, they collected 19 kg of pastries.

A department for household and economy as well as a children's group, and a choir were organised in Oselica. The women who were part of the department collected 1400 kg of fruit, dried it and sent to the German army. They also collected 50 silk scarves and organised cooking courses.

¹² MNZS, fototeka, album Slikovni arhiv okrožja NSDAP Kranj 1942–1943, volume 2. Kronika krajevne skupine NSDAP Šentvid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ ARS, Fond Oboroženi oddelki Kärntnern Volksbund AS 1689 (hereinafter AS 1689), AŠ 989/5/50, Dopis Bezirksführerja Pg. Samonigga, 2. 2. 1942.

¹⁵ Božična razstava žen, see: *Karawanken Bote*, the 6. 12. 1941, No. 32, p. 6.

¹⁶ Iz naše domovine, see: *Karawanken Bote*, the 11. 2. 1942, No. 12, p. 4.

In Predoslje women mended 120 slippers for the soldiers. 718 inhabitants lived in Jezersko, of which 453 were members of the KVB and 78 women were in the NSF. In July of 1942, a clothing drive was carried out, and in November three women made pillows and sent them to the Carinthian submarine crew. During the summer and autumn months, the local children's group picked berries and nuts. They knitted products of straw and sent them to poor children for Christmas.

In 1942 in the district of Kranj, the NSF organised 73 collection campaigns. In the summer of 1942, cooking courses were prepared in Kranj. The women presented the results of the campaign of preserving fruit in shop windows. It is also interesting to compare prices to the average salary. In the factory *Luftfahrgerätekwerke Krainburg* (LGW) a worker earned 100 German Reichsmark per month, while a worker at the Peko factory earned 22 German Reichsmark per week. One kg of wheat flour cost 5 Reichspfennig, one litre of milk 15 Reichspfennig, one kilo of polenta 28 Reichspfennig, 0.5 kg coffee substitute 45 Reichspfennig, one kilo of cheese 2,14 Reichsmark, one kilo of cauliflower 60 Reichspfennig, one kilo of cabbage 10 Reichspfennig, one kilo of kohlrabi 7 Reichspfennig, one kilo of apples 30 Reichspfennig.¹⁷

New vegetables emerged on the open market. Housewives looked at peppers with considerable suspicion. To popularise this delicious vegetable, the *Karawanken Bote* published several recipes, including "stuffed peppers with a meat mixture", which was also used for meat dumplings. It was recommended that the stuffed peppers which can be stuffed with rice, barley or oatmeal, should be floured with "a bit of potato flour."



Image 2: The NSF cooking course in Kranj, 1942, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije.

Many campaign took place mainly during the winter months at homes and in the streets. There was a great number of fundraising campaigns in Upper Carniola, within the context of the *Winterhilfswerk* -WHW' (Winter Aid). The organisational office of the provincial councillor in Kamnik reported that 26 local groups in the district which counted 58,315 inhabitants gathered 11, 188 German Reichsmark.

With the acquisition of more than 8000 different badges that were issued in millions of editions, residents throughout the Third Reich contributed for the soldiers on the front. Street collection drives for the WHW were carried out by the German army, the German Red Cross and other organisations of the NSDAP. One way of collecting donations was also the so-called *Eintopfsonntag* (Stew Sunday) when housewives would cook vegetable soup, and the rest of the money that would usually be spent on the preparation of a typical Sunday lunch with meat was given for the WHW.

The newspapers for women were as follows: *Frauenkultur*, *NS Frauen Warte*, *Deutsche Hauswirtschaft* and *Die Deutsche Landfrau*. Almost every copy of the newspaper *Karawanken Bote* also published articles bearing titles that would refer to the sphere of the housewives and would contain various tips for the targeted audience. The

¹⁷ Najvišje cene za tuzemsko sadje in zelenjad, see: *Karawanken Bote*, the 1. 11. 1941, No. 22, p. 5.

autumn issues comprised a lot of advice related to the protection against the cold. Water taps should be protected in the house, in the hallway, in the bathroom, in the kitchen and the bathroom and covered with newspapers, then wrapped with pieces of cloth, while straw should be used in exposed areas. Windows should be covered with glass glue. One should make rolls from old cloths, which ought to be filled with straw and placed between double windows. Dense layers of newspaper should be put under the linoleum and carpet.¹⁸

In October of 1941, housewives were advised to store summer clothes. For the cleaning of wollen furniture upholstery, one should put salmiac into war water in which one should then dissolve some washing soap and brush the upholstery. Water stains on polished surfaces should be sprinkled with common salt and some water and wiped and rubbed bed with a cork. Silver spoons were cleaned with potato water. Bean water was recommended for washing curtains, which could be rinsed in rice water.¹⁹

It was already in the year of 1941 when 2 million leaflets with recipes were distributed in Carinthia. In May of 1942, the law on the protection of mothers was introduced, which entered into force on the 1st of July. In the times of economic reconstruction and at the beginning of the war, many mothers had to start working in factories. The DAF office was responsible for these women. The DAF was particularly devoted to the protection of the health and life of future mothers, who during their pregnancies, changed their posts, so they performed lighter jobs. Families with many children were assigned help; young mothers were voluntarily replaced at workplaces by female students or housewives, and mothers were sent on vacation in resorts. It applied to all German women that they had right to use six weeks leave before and six weeks after childbirth, which was the so-called suspension from work. An average weekly wage was taken into account for the calculation of the weekly wage. Women were also protected against dismissal; they were transferred to easier jobs without reduced earnings. For women, working overtime, night work and piecework were also prohibited.²⁰

The NSF and NSV made sure that mothers and women had a rest. The mothers who came in question to be accepted into recovery homes were those who had many children, who were weakened, who had had a long tracking record of working for the NSDAP and mothers who did not dispose of sufficient funds for their "recovery". During the time they were away, another woman came into their household and looked after their children. Mothers were gone for at least four weeks to recover at homes owned by the NSV. Mothers with children were also sent to recovery by organisation *Mutter und Kind*. Women from Upper Carniola were sent to gather strength at the recovery home in Kranjska Gora.

Nurseries were organized so that mothers could go to work. The exemplary nursery was in Kranj and Cerklje.²¹

At the end of the war, the NSF organisation operated practically to the end of the war. The NSF organisation was officially abolished by the law of the Allied Control Committee No. 2, which was passed on the 10 October 1945. The leader of the NSF Gertrude Scholtz Klink was sentenced to 18 months in prison; the judges took into consideration that the organisation was irrelevant and the leader's role was unrecognised.²² The post-war destiny of the local leaders of the NSF of Upper Carniola is unknown.

¹⁸ Iz področja gospodinje, see: Karawanken Bote, the 25. 10. 1941, No. 20, p. 4.

¹⁹ Iz področja gospodinje, see: Karawanken Bote, the 22. 11. 1941, No. 28. p. 4.

²⁰ Varstvo matere v NS Nemčiji, see: Karawanken Bote, the 8. 7. 1942, No. 53, p. 7.

²¹ MNZS, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, fototeka, album Slikovni arhiv okrožja NSDAP Kranj 1942–1943, volume 2.

²² SIGMUND, A.M. 2004, p. 125.



Image 3: Women from Upper Carniola in Kranjska Gora women rest home, 1942, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije.

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KOROŠKA LJUDSKA ZVEZA IN NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE FRAUENSCHAFT

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Avtorica v članku obravnava delovanje ženske organizacije v okviru Koroške ljudske zveze in organizacijo Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft v okviru NSDAP med drugo svetovno vojno na Gorenjskem. Okupatorjeva želja in zahteva po organiziranosti in vključevanju prebivalstva na zasedenem ozemlju je segla vse do domov Gorenjcev. Avtorica ugotavlja, da je bilo vključenih veliko žensk, ki so delovale predvsem v krajevnih organizacijah v 11 različnih oddelkih NSF, z glavnim ciljem vzgojiti dobre nemške ženske v skladu z ideologijo in podobo nemške žene in matere, katere glavna naloga je bila, da svoje gospodinjstvo v vojnih razmerah vodi gospodarsko odgovorno do države in naroda.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

druga svetovna vojna, Kärntner Volksbund (KVB), Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP), Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (NSF), ženske organizacije

POVZETEK

Različne ženske organizacije so delovale v Nemčiji že od sredine dvajsetih let 20. stoletja. V tridesetih letih sta delovali predvsem NSF in DFW, voditeljica obeh pa je bila Gertruda Scholtz-Klink. Nacionalsocialistični sistem je videl žensko predvsem v vlogi žene in mame, ki je podpirala sistem iz zaledja domačega gospodinjstva. V okviru te ideologije je nacionalsocialistična ženska organizacija – NSF oblikovala enajst oddelkov, ki so pokrivali različna polja delovanja. Najbolj aktivna sta bila oddelka za pomoč ter gospodinjstvo in gospodarstvo. Po okupaciji in vzpostavitvi civilne uprave so z ustanovitvijo Koroške ljudske zveze – KVB na Gorenjskem začeli delovati v okviru zveze tudi ženski oddelki, kmalu pa so ustanavljali oddelke NSF, ki je bil pridružena organizacija NSDAP. Gorenjke so se že od jeseni 1941 ukvarjale z različnimi akcijami zbiranja, predelovanja in pošiljanja pomoči vojakom na fronti, pomoči revnim, številčnejšim družinam, vodje posvetovalnic so jim svetovale z različnimi nasveti s področja kuhanja, vzdrževanja bivališča, vzgoje in skrbi za otroke ter z drugih področij zasebnega življenja v vojnih razmerah. Hkrati so potekali številni tečaji za ženske. Iz ohranjenih poročil je razvidna močna organiziranost in dejavnost NSF na Gorenjskem, ki je v povezavi z nacionalsocialističnim uradom za blagostanje – NSV delovala vse do konca vojne.

HOW/WHEN THE CULINARY FESTIVAL MULTIKULTINARIKA IN JESENICE IS DEVELOPING: WORKER'S KITCHEN AND DIET IN THE IRONWORKING TOWN OF JESENICE IN THE 20TH CENTURY*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

Cultural diversity is an important aspect of Jesenice. Most of the immigrants came here due to economic reasons as the Jesenice ironworks employed more than 7500 people. Political immigrants from Primorska, Carinthia and Bosnia Herzegovina came to avoid war and nationalism. At the same time role of the kitchen in the industrial city changed and along with it also changed local cuisine. We focus on memoirs about the social role of the kitchen as the centre of workers' housing. We try to establish how eating habits of ironworker families were changing along with migrations. We put emphasis on the dishes during festive seasons (dobravska reveille) and current tourist events (Multi-kulti-narika – an intercultural food festival).

KEYWORDS

ironworkers, dwelling culture, worker's kitchen, everyday and festive food, coffee and bread, immigrants, national identities

Through our culinary entity (ways of eating, preparing and eating food, social component in connection with food),¹ people confirm their belonging to a certain group of people: national, local, social, as well as the circle of colleagues, friends, etc. -in our everyday life and particularly on important occasions which raise our everyday life to a higher level (name days, weddings, festive days).

WORKERS' KITCHEN IN JESENICE

During the centuries, an iron-making settlement was developing at the Sava along with Jesenice, which was more oriented to trade and agriculture. The construction of the iron-making plants started in 1889, and by the opening of the railways in 1870 and 1906, the needs for labour force were increasing. Consequently, a long period of moving to Jesenice started and the settlements, which were growing quickly, joined into the town of Jesenice in 1929. Substantial migration waves are recorded at the time of fire and stoppage of works in Bohinj iron foundries in 1899, upon the construction of the Karavanke railway tunnel in the period from 1901-1906, Italian occupation of Primorska in the period between World War I and World War II, and in the decades later when people from ex-Yugoslav republics were coming to Jesenice to work as ironworkers. It follows from the above that the number of indigenous people was decreasing and Jesenice has been a melting pot of traditions and cultures for more than a century, with the labourer character rather than landscape or local character being the joining element.

Most workers' families used to live in quite poor conditions. They had small flats in multi-flat buildings, shack settlements and later on also in houses where several people, in order to be able to repay the loan for the construction, started to rent flats. Mostly, it was the kitchen which represented the main and only living place, often also the only one which was heated, and in the 1930's the average size of a kitchen in multi-flat buildings, shacks and workers' houses was 12m².

* Translation: Cilka Demšar

¹ MASTNAK, T. 2012, p. 15.

In 1935, the Ironworks were employing as many as 2400 workers, the densest workers' settlement was Stara Sava, where most (15 out of 24) residential buildings were owned by the Carniolan Industrial Company (iron-working company). In Kasarna and Ruard Manor there were 36 families. Even decades later, one-third of the employees were living in the Ironworks' flats, and the multi-flat Kasarna from the end of the 18th century is a representative example of dwelling culture and way of life of the workers' families in Jesenice. In the period of 200 years, about 20 families constantly lived in Kasarna. By World War I each family had had only a room, and two or three families had been sharing a black kitchen. In the period between the two world wars, rooms were reconstructed so that each family had their own kitchen and a bedroom while corridors and toilettes were still shared. The surface area of those one-room flats was from 27m² to 39m². The average surface area of a room was 21m² while the kitchen measured 12 square meters.²



Image 1: Workers kitchen in Kasarna in the year 1930, Archive of Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice.

In 1919, electricity was installed in the building. Even after World War II workers had been paying it at the same flat price. They received 300 kg of coal and two cubic metres of beech firewood. Before that, the residents had been using firewood and sawdust and smaller pieces of wood that they got at the neighbouring sawmill. A built-in kitchen cooker was used for cooking and heating. Bedrooms were usually not heated, only some of them had small wood stoves. Woodsheds were outside, by the wall of the building or by the millraces. In addition to the firewood, they were used as henhouses, an odd goat or even a pig was also kept. Water was fetched from a nearby well which used to have one tap for all the residents. It was only in 1946 that water pipeline was installed in the corridors and one sink per two or three families. At about the same time a laundry room with three kettles for washing up was built in the brickworks building. Before that, mothers had been washing in the corridor or the kitchen and boiled laundry on the cooker. Then they washed it on a wooden washboard and took it by carts to the millraces or the Sava to rinse it. One of the residents (a cook in the factory canteen) said that she had got up at 4.00 a.m., lit a fire under the kettle, washed for the whole morning, made lunch in the meantime, hung the laundry in the courtyard and then went to work in the afternoon shift. The building had a basement with coal storages. In the earthen part of the basement potatoes, turnip and beetroot were kept; sauerkraut was kept in big wooden buckets, and eggs in lime. As the kitchens were small, some residents arranged narrow storage spaces with shelves in the corridors. They had

² TORKAR TAHIR, Z. 2005, p. 23.

a common bread stove in the brickworks where three or four housewives would bake eight to nine loaves of bread at the same time.³

The kitchen was equipped with a solid fuel cooker, a wooden box for coal and firewood, a bench with a shelf for buckets (one for washing and one with clean water and a ladle), covered in front with an embroidered curtain. Sometimes the bucket was on a stool. A two-part kitchen cabinet was placed against the other wall. The upper part had a glassdoor, and it was used for plates, cups and glasses. A hand-embroidered curtain was fixed to the edge of the shelf, dividing the two parts of the cabinet. The bottom part of the cabinet had two drawers for cutlery and kitchen utensils and two doors with shelves for pots and pans. Usually, there were one or two chairs and some stools, sometimes also a bench around the table. A lamp was hanging above the table – an electric bulb protected by a tin plate. In addition, there was a *morajna* – a cupboard with drawers and shelves for different types of flour and other imperishable food. There was a shelf with a radio on the wall above the table. The sewing machine was often found in one of the corners by the window while a chair with a bowl for washing face and hands was in the other corner. They used to paint the walls themselves and a special roll was used to make different patterns. The walls by the cooker with a kettle for heating water and an oven, usually equipped with a hanger for ladles, used to be painted with oil paints, while the cooker was cleaned by *sidol*. The wooden floor was brushed every Friday with a brush, hot water and soda, and then covered for a short time with sackcloth. Napkins and cloths that the mothers embroidered themselves and then used them to cover the table, shelves and the wall above the coal box, decorated kitchens.⁴

Although the share of the women employed in the Jesenice Ironworks in the 1930's was from 6 to 2 per cent of all employees⁵ and reached 16 per cent in the 1960's and more than 20 per cent in the 1970's, it was significant due to general unemployment of women. Also women were working in difficult working conditions, at first mainly until they got married or because of unfavourable social conditions. Consequently, their social role was changing rapidly. An extract from workers' bulletin *Naša moč* shows the opinion about a century ago very well.

"When some older workers, who were paid according to how much they did, started to earn more, talks started that women cannot earn as much as men as they only eat some coffee with bread or *žganci* and they do not drink alcohol. They can also wash and clean themselves..."⁶

Going back to the life in Kasarna where the occupancy right was linked to the employment in the Ironworks, it should be pointed out that residents made sure that also their children got employed soon so as not to lose that right. Sons started to work in the Ironworks when they were 14 or 15 years old, while fathers worked there even for 50 or more years. Several daughters got jobs in the nailery or as maids with officers' families. Although most women were not employed, they were able to find various sources of income in order to live better. Some of them occasionally worked in the nearby brickworks, while others were cooking for single workers. They were not only cooking for them, but they were also washing their clothes, sewing, ironing and even making their beds (for those who lived in Kasarna in the room for single workers). They would grow some vegetables; they had chickens and hares, goats and some even pigs. They used to bring milk in milk cans from a dairy in the vicinity, and buy the necessities in shops *Pr' Markot* and *Pr' Gostinčar*, where they were willing to wait for the payment until the payment day.⁷

The kitchen remained the central living place for decades to come. It was used for cooking, eating, washing, and for various other works and leisure activities. Children used to play, learn and do their homework there. Housewives were doing most chores, sewing and embroidering in the kitchen; fathers were reading their newspapers after work. Everybody was listening to the radio and talking.

³ Ibid, pp. 25–27.

⁴ TORKAR TAHIR, Z. 2005, pp. 28, 29.

⁵ MUGERLI, M., TORKAR TAHIR, Z., SMOLEJ MILAT, Š., LAČEN BENEDIČIČ, I. 2015, pp. 25, 39.

⁶ *Naša moč*: glasilo za slovensko delavstvo, 1906, No. 44, 12. 10. 1906

⁷ TORKAR TAHIR, Z. 2005, pp. 32, 33.

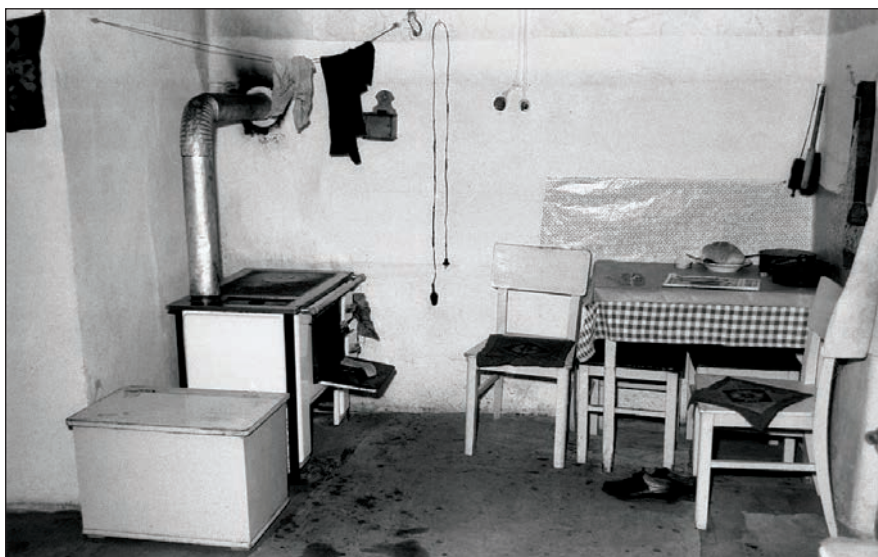


Image 2: Workers kitchen in Kasarna in the year 1960, Archive of Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice.

In the evening and the morning, they ate barley coffee with bread or *žganci*, at midday soup or something better because of the single workers who were paying for the meal, or cabbage or turnip and potatoes. For a change, there would be bean soup or "sour beans" (bean salad without oil). Typical Sunday lunch was a beef soup made of 300 g of beef, and each member got only a small piece. On festive days, housewives would make plum dumplings or omelettes, while *potica* was always on the menu at Christmas and Easter.⁸ On name days, children would come and rattle with pot lids or pokers. The person, who was celebrating, opened the door surprisingly, offered those biscuits, carobs, dry figs, apples and pears, and stewed fruit in a big pot.⁹

Interviews conducted in the field in 1984 (interviewee from the workers' settlement consisting of shacks and small houses along the present day Cesta 1. maja) tell us more about the diet before the World War II.

One of them compared the 1980's and 1930's in a very interesting way: "Gone are those days. Our life was healthier then. Floors were covered in wood, nowadays it's linoleum and it's difficult to breathe. I'm thinking of putting in the real cooker again and bake real bread. I don't care much about the present-days recipes. I try to cook more naturally; I like goulash, *žganci*, porridge, turnip, cabbage."¹⁰

"In the past, there were not so many courses as today. In the morning we used to eat corn soup, we heated up *žganci* from the evening before, wheat gruel and soup made by roasting and browning flour and bread. We drank white or black coffee. On workdays, pot barley, turnip, cabbage, polenta, *žganci*, dumplings or sauté potatoes were eaten for lunch. Dinner was mush, *žganci* with skimmed milk or heated leftovers from lunch."¹¹

Others had potato *žganci* with vinegar, cracklings or a drop of sour milk. Most common breakfast was white coffee with so much bread in it that the spoon could stand upright. Women used to grind coffee themselves and sometimes they would add a little fig bark. Families, who had a goat, drank goat milk. Lunch was usually potato or bean soup or soup made by roasting and browning flour and bread with macaroni if there were any. Those who grew peas would also eat pea risotto. A common dinner dish was French beans with potatoes. Tables were so small the housewives could not roll the dough for *štruklji* so that they were making *krapci*. Boiled cold millet was mixed with cottage cheese and rolled into the dough.¹²

Some of them rented the attic to up to six single workers who were sleeping on bunk beds, and the housewife had a lot of work as she had to wash, cook and clean for as many as 11 people. She would cook stews, goulash and soups for them. On Sundays, at Easter, the 1st of May and Christmas she would make a roast.¹³

⁸ Ibid, p. 30.

⁹ Ibid, p. 35.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 131.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 47.

¹² Ibid, p. 48.

¹³ Ibid, p. 71.

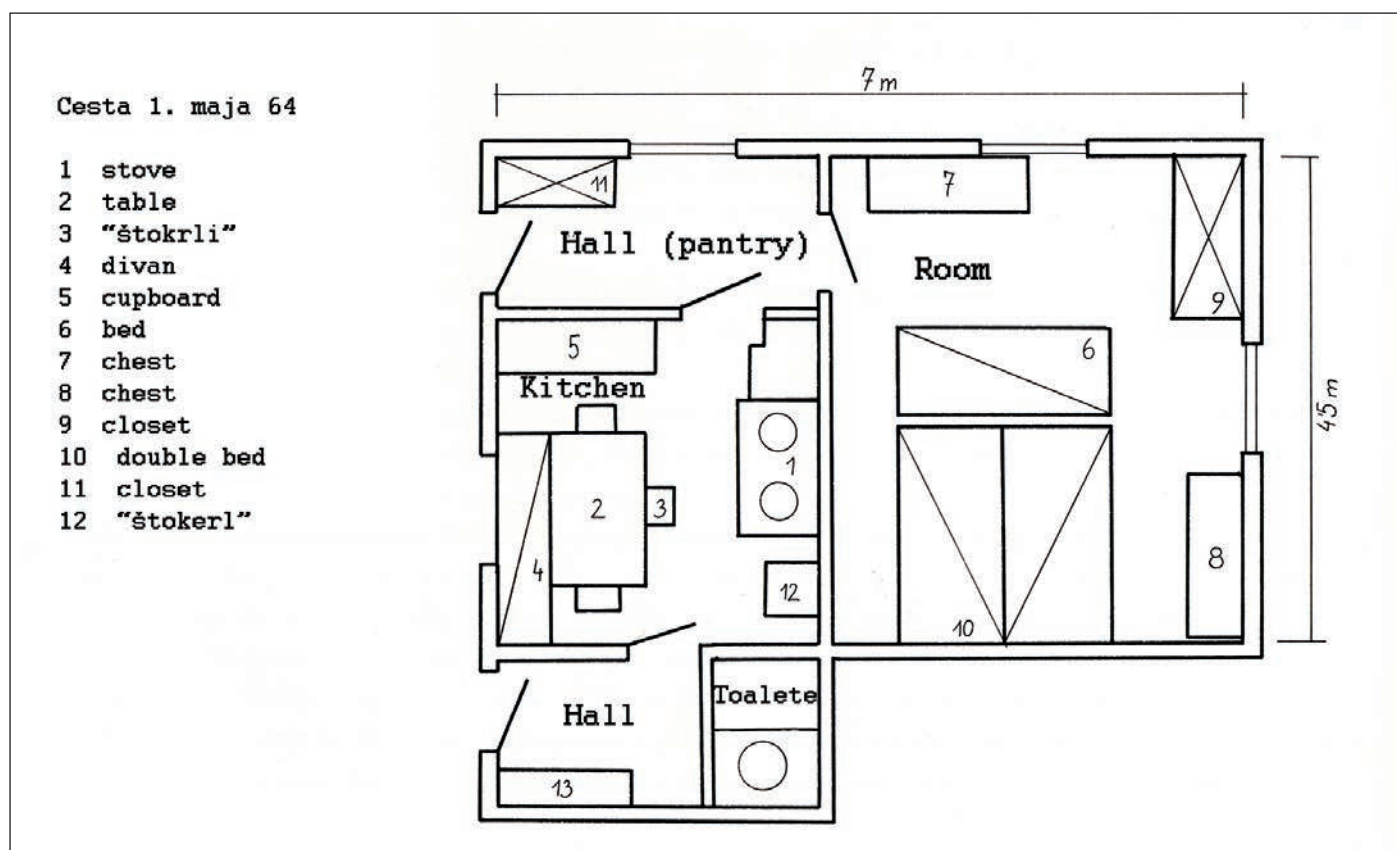


Image 3: Map of workers house before World War II, Drawn by Zdenka Torkar Tahir, Archive of Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice.

The fourth interviewee said that in the morning they usually had coffee and bread. Lunch was usually soup, potatoes and salad, beans in winter, stew and goulash made of a piece of salami. In the evening, they had porridge, polenta or *žganci*. As the table was small and there were a lot of children, their mother would place a big pot on the floor and children sat around it and ate from the pot. She does not remember her mother sitting at the table. She always sat on a footstool by the cooker, scraping food from the pots she was holding on her knees. Father and sisters, who were employed in the factory, were eating better. They received real lard while children were eating mostly dishes made of flour with diluted and boiled jam.¹⁴

On Sundays, meat soup was made. In some families, there was 100 g of meat for ten people, in others 200 grams for 4 litres of soup, and in one family, there was 250 g of meat every day. The meat was for the father while children ate soup. They had to understand that father had better food because he was working in the factory. Eggs and pork were also only for those who were working.¹⁵

As there was a lack of bread, children were told that bread was sleeping when there was none left. Bread was made in the common stove outside the shacks. Once a week two or three loaves were made of dark, corn or oat flour, or even bean flour if there was no other. A small bun was baked for each child, and children would give those buns to each other as a present. At some places, three-kilogram loaves made of bran flour were baked in the common stove.

Children were looking forward to the holidays (Easter and Carnival) because they got some treats (a piece of *potica* or *fantovci* (a type of fried pastry)). *Potica* was modest, made of dark flour with a fistful of carob flour. At Easter, there had to be walnut *potica*, ham, eggs (Easter eggs) and horseradish, no matter what. At Christmas, a pig was bought at the butcher's, then sausages and other food were made, meat was dried in the attic, and then it was eaten during the entire year.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 72.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 86.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 95.

Another interviewee said that their mother baked *potica* at Christmas, New Year, Easter and Whitsun, on the day celebrating the saint patron of the village, and when relatives came to visit. She used to say that they were eating potatoes for the whole week and relatives came to visit only once a year. St. Nicholas brought children biscuits, chocolate and one orange each. At baptism, godmother would bring three pieces of holiday bread with raisins or dried fruit and a loaf of bread. For the 1st of May “the green one” was often made (worm wood soaked in water and boiled, then spirit was added).¹⁷

The “green one” used to be a typical drink during the May Day labour celebrations. It was offered to musicians (sometimes they had to bring it themselves), announcing the festive morning by marches, and also to reveille sat “Dobrava reveille.”¹⁸ The memories of the Jesenice May Day celebrations go back to the period between the two world wars. Smrekar, one of the musicians, remembers that “every now and then musicians would get drunk because they were drinking “the green one” on an empty stomach.”¹⁹ Those who had had breakfast did not have such problems. May Day breakfast was not very different from what they were eating every day. In 1936 Franjo Federle – Slavko wrote: “In the meantime, milk was boiled. My mother made white coffee which smelled so nice as if the festive day came to the kitchen. I drank it quickly although she was trying to persuade me to put bread in so that I would not be hungry. I would have liked to do that, but I was in a hurry.”²⁰

The feast at the “Dobrava reveille” does not include only drinking the alcoholic drink, but since the 1950’s also coffee and a snack. Jolanda Strugar remembers: “Then Pavla and I would serve coffee, “the green one”, and some biscuits, and sometimes I had made some bread and salami sandwiches if anybody wanted that. There was always a litre or so of spare coffee because sometimes nobody wanted it, but sometimes they drank it all.”²¹

Alenka Jeraša presents the Jesenice cuisine in the first half of the 20th century.²² She also writes about the farmers who were quite numerous in some parts of the Jesenice municipality. Compared to worker's diet the farmers ate food that was filling and more diverse, especially when they ate together with seasonal workers. Below, there are some of the findings which are important due to the comparison with the workers' diet.²³

The food was different from today. It is said to have been healthier. In Jesenice, there were some big farmers, farmers who were well-off, but most of them were small farmers. Housewives had to be magicians and cook as much as possible with the fewest ingredients possible. They had to be inventive and skilled, and cooking also took more time than today. After the World War I, housewives were roasting barley for home-made white coffee themselves.

Rich people had bigger breakfast, but žganci was still often on the table (“the dark buckwheat” or corn), left from the dinner and white coffee (Kneipp with added Franck – chicory). Gruel was often on the menu, dressed with cracklings or sauté onions. Every now and then they could afford a fried egg. When thirsty, they drank “pear water” – stewed dried pears, apples and plums. Although it was not common to drink tea, they would often pick lime tree flowers to make tea as medicine against cold and for ill people.

A snack was offered only when they had workers in the house – day labourers at the time of mowing and hay harvesting, harvest, bringing of wood. Then the housewife would bring a snack (a piece of bread and bitter coffee or a piece of bread with fat or polenta) and drinks (pear water, water or apple cider) to the field at about 10.00 a.m. When labourers were working very hard, they also got an afternoon snack (bean salad with onions and a little dried meat) or more commonly some rye bread and a piece of dried meat.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁸ Dobrava reveille is an annual event, held on the 1st of May early in the morning, when reveillers ride their bikes or other means of transport in order to wake up the inhabitants of villages Blejska Dobrava, Lipce and Kočna. Several of them offer snacks and drinks to the reveillers. See: HRIBAR, N. 2009, p. 32.

¹⁹ HRIBAR, N. 2009, p. 32.

²⁰ GMJ, archival fond Delavsko gibanje, Series Spomini, Folder 1.

²¹ STRUGAR, J. 2009, pp. 50, 51.

²² JERAŠA, A. 2005, pp. 14–23.

²³ Ibid, pp. 14–30.

Lunch often consisted of potatoes and cabbage in dishes like potato mush, potato and bean mush, potato soup. Other common dishes were bean and vegetable soup, soup made by roasting and browning flour, stew and “dry soup” (soup made of dried pork), plum porridge, boiled *štruklji*, *krap*i, *šmorn*.

Dinner usually consisted of *žganci*, polenta with sour or sweet milk or white coffee with bread, sometimes baked potatoes, millet porridge with sauerkraut, mush, thick soup with bread, cold beef dressed with vinegar and onion.

On farms, it was a festive day when a pig was slaughtered in the winter. Pork meat and sausages, prepared on that day, were then eaten in the cold months which followed and some of it was also dried to be saved for later. Meat sausages, black pudding, minced lard and fat were made.

... TO THE JESENICE MULTIKULINARIKA

In the 1960's workers' families were still having a modest diet. For example, a six-member ironworker's family moved from Primorska.²⁴ Every day, they bought three litres of bottled milk and a big loaf of bread; in the morning and in the evening they usually ate white coffee with bread, and simple vegetable stews for lunch. They had a vegetable garden on the ironworks' land by the railway and potatoes and apples for the winter were bought through the trade union. It was only on Sundays that they had beef soup and typical Sunday lunch with sauté potatoes, salad and a piece of beef. *Potica* was made for big festive days and doughnuts for the Carnival. A fried egg was usually the father's privilege and rarely eaten by children; they did not taste exotic fruit very often although it was already possible to buy it. It was the time when farmers were coming to the blocks of flats at Plavž by their carts, selling their farm produce. Before a festive day, a man would come, probably from the south, leading a flock of geese in front of him and selling them. There was no central heating in the blocks of flats. However, there was a bathroom; they were cooking on electric cookers (in warmer months) and solid fuel cookers.



Image 4: Kitchen in Block of flats in the year 1971, Photograph: Edo Torkar, Archive of Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice.

Undoubtedly, in the 1970's living conditions were the worst in shacks. An example (a four-member family of a Serb and a Macedonian) from Straža na Javorniku shows us that the kitchen (12m²) was still the main living area.²⁵ There was a couch there, which was converted into a bed in the evening, a small coffee table, a rack with a TV set, a sewing machine with a telephone on top in the corner, and two armchairs. Along the opposite wall with the door, there was a sink in a cupboard, and a water tap, a cooker, working surface and a fridge.

According to the Personnel service,²⁶ in 1969 there were 84.7 per cent of Slovenes and 15.3 non-Slovenes employed in the Jesenice Ironworks. Most of the workers were from the former Bosnia and Herzegovina,

²⁴ TORKAR TAHIR, Z. 2013, pp. 52, 53, 55.

²⁵ MUGERLI, M., TORKAR TAHIR, Z., POGAČNIK, A., LAČEN BENEDIČIČ, I. 2016, p. 84.

²⁶ Jeseniški zbornik, 2000, Katja Praprotnik, pp. 123–124.



Image 5: Shacks's kitchen in the year 1961, Archive of Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice.

followed by Croats and Montenegrins, while Serbians and Macedonians were not so numerous. At first, they lived in residential buildings and shacks for single workers. Some of them were soon joined by their families, or they created a family in the new environment, several were still living in inappropriate conditions in shacks. By the end of the 1970's and later, when Jesenice inhabitants were already moving from the blocks of flats to their newly-built houses, those families moved to better flats in those blocks, or they got factory flats. Consequently, the national structure of the town was getting more and more diverse, however, there were no disputes or intolerance felt or seen, at least not from the outside. The environment or local people called all immigrants "the Southerners", "those from down-under" or simply "Bosnians". They themselves did not want to stand out with their identity or cultural background. For decades, we did not know their way of life in their homes or their cuisine. However, the Albanians with their cake and *burek* shops gradually brought it closer. Later on, our colleagues, daughters of the first generation of immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics, started to bring *baklavas* and home-made pies filled with cottage cheese, potatoes, cabbage, to celebrate important occasions such as birthdays, Women's Day, etc.

The impacts from Austria and Italy should not be forgotten either as they influenced Slovenian cuisine already in the 16th century and housewives started to make dishes which we consider as ours: Wiener schnitzel, apple strudel, *šmorn*, etc. as well as pasta, fish and *jota* and other minestrone.²⁷ Also, the migration flows have influenced local food.

People communicate our culture also through food: who we are, where we come from. Through food we communicate our social status, our attitude to other groups and to other nationalities. Food defines us, it is very important in creating our own identity,²⁸ and at the same time, it is an interaction and communication point with other identities. As the significance of individualism and uniqueness is more and more emphasised today, people, on the other hand, are more and more interested in searching and confirming within collective identities the need to belong to a certain community.²⁹

First public presentations of the cuisine of other nationalities and ethnic groups who live in Jesenice started during different events on the occasion of founding new societies in the 1990's: Cultural Society Triglav Slovenski Javornik – Jesenice,³⁰ Cultural and Sports Society of Bosniaks BISER,³¹ Cultural Sports and Humanitarian Society

²⁷ ZEVIK, L., STANKOVIČ, P. 2008, in: Teorija in praksa, year's issue 45 (5), 2008, p. 561.

²⁸ MASTNAK, T. 2012, p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 10.

³⁰ It was founded in 1996. The folklore group has been active since 1991. Oral source: Možina Miloš, Jesenice, 17. 3. 2017.

³¹ The Society was founded in 1992 as Kulturno društvo Muslimanov "Biser" Jesenice; it was renamed in 2003. <http://sokultura.si/wp/povezave/kulturna-drustva/kulturno-in-sportno-drustvo-bosnjakov-biser-jesenice/> (quoted 17. 3. 2017)

Vuk Karadžić Radovljica,³² Macedonian Cultural Society Ilinden Jesenice,³³ and Folklore Group Julijana section at the Cultural Sports Society Hrušica. The first joint event, which also included national cuisine, was held in 2007 and called Kulturna mavrica Jesenic (Cultural rainbow of Jesenice). "Children, young people and adult members of the societies present their rich cultural heritage in different ways: by national dances, playing typical musical instruments, skits and declamations. Stands are full of interesting objects and cultural heritage products, they will tell you more about the societies, and tasting of traditional dishes and sweets is a special experience,"³⁴ In 2017 the event is organised for the 11th time by Zavod za šport Jesenice – Mladinski center Jesenice, which wants "to show the diversity of cultures and point out what joins us all – a wish to preserve national identity, wish to be accepted and respected, the need for the conditions for creating and living."³⁵

In the period from 2013 to 2016 along with the Kulturna mavrica Jesenic, Multi-kulti-narika was taking place, a tourist event with ethnological character which, according to Faila Pašić Bišić, honorary ambassador of intercultural dialogue MAMD³⁶ "preserves the traditional preparation of food and presents priceless wealth of various cultural heritages through music, dances, and national dishes. Preparation of food and dishes or final products is of extreme importance in both, Slovenian and other cultures."³⁷

In 2016, 46 culinary evenings were organised as an upgrade to Multi-kulti-narika within the social programme³⁸ World cuisines in Hiša sreče in Jesenice. With its programme, World Cuisine Society UP tries to help as many migrants as possible enter the labour market in valuable and respected roles, where they can market their knowledge, skills, ideas, own cultural heritage, and at the same time allow the majority Slovenian population to create positive mutual interactions which lead to co-creating of tolerant, broad-minded, aware and sustainability oriented society. Hiša sreče is a place where people from Jesenice with different national roots occasionally meet with our guests (present immigrants). The latter make their traditional dishes. We get to know each other better through tastes and smells and those culinary afternoons are spiced also with presentation of culture (such as music, dances, literature, film, etc.) and countries (the Balkans, Middle East, Arabic countries, Eastern Europe, Russia, India, South America, Africa).

Like elsewhere, in recent decades the kitchen and diet in Jesenice have modernised and unified in accordance with the trade offer, advertisements and general trends. Women and mothers are employed, and food has to be prepared quicker and more simply. There are more and more kitchen utensils and technical improvements in the kitchen. But do we really eat better? We may eat too well and at the same time less healthily? Trends are moving back to more simple food with more vegetables and fruit. We may find past models useful. Since 2005 the Jesenice Museum has been housing a permanent ethnological collection and exhibition which shows the lifestyle of ironmaking families in the 1930's and 1940's. We conduct a teaching programme, an ethnological workshop Making worker's coffee where barley grains are roasted on the cooker in the museum worker's kitchen, and then the participants grind them in hand mills. Then we make black coffee, pour in milk and make a traditional worker's meal "coffee and bread". Every year, the Ironworking museum sets up an occasional exhibition; this year the topic is migrations, which has not been presented in a comprehensive way yet.

³² The Society was founded in 1995 as Kulturno prosvetno športno društvo Vuk Karadžić; it has been unofficially active since 1994; it was renamed in 2015 and expanded its activities to humanitarian as well. Oral source: Stojanović Milan, Jesenice, 15. 3. 2017.

³³ In 2016, the Society celebrated the 20th anniversary in the museum house Kolpern at Stara Sava.

³⁴ Oral source: Tkalec Lili, Jesenice, 3. 4. 2017

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Director of Society UP Jesenice, one of the co-organisers of the event.

³⁷ Oral source: Pašić Bišić Faila, Jesenice, 23. 3. 2017.

³⁸ Ibid.

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(KA)KO NASTAJA JESENIŠKA MULTIKULTINARIKA: DELAVSKA KUHINJA IN PREHRANA NA ŽELEZARSKIH JESENICAH V 20. STOLETJU

Zdenka Torkar Tahir, Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice, Slovenija

Nina Hribar, Gornjesavski muzej Jesenice, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Jesenice so nacionalno in kulturno pisano mesto. Največ imigrantov je k nam prišlo iz ekonomskih razlogov, saj je jeseniška železarna dajala delo več kot 7500 zaposlenim. Zaradi vojnih spopadov in nacionalizma so se v to železarsko mesto priselili tudi politični imigranti s Primorske, avstrijske Koroške ter Bosne in Hercegovine. Sočasno se je spreminjala vloga kuhinje v delavskem okolju, posledično z njo tudi kulinarika, ki je specifična za Jesenice. Proučujemo spomine o tem, kakšno socialno vlogo je imela kuhinja kot osrednji prostor delavskih stanovanj, in skušamo ugotoviti, kako so se vzporedno z migracijami spreminjale prehranjevalne navade Jeseničanov, tudi jedi v okviru prazničnih praks (»dobravska budnca«) in aktualnih turističnih prireditev (Multi-kulti-narika – festival medkulturne kulinarike).

KLJUČNE BESEDE

železarski delavci, bivalna kultura, delavska kuhinja, vsakdanja in praznična hrana, »kofe in kr'h«, priseljenci, nacionalna identiteta

POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljene specifične razmere na železarskih Jesenicah, kjer se zaradi potreb po delovni sili in posledično priseljevanja iz različnih smeri v več kot stoletnem obdobju ni oblikovala lokalna kulinarika, ampak bolj socialno pogojena delavska prehrana. Sledimo opisom skromnih bivalnih razmer in opreme delavskih kuhinj, ki so desetletja ostajale glavni bivalni in večinoma edini ogrevani prostor tako v večstanovanjskih stavbah in barakarskih naseljih kot v manjših zasebnih hišah. Ker je v daljšem obdobju prejšnjega stoletja tretjina družin železarskih delavcev bivala v tovarniških stanovanjih, so ta postavljena v ospredje. Izstopajo skupna delavska stanovanja v Kasarni, kjer si je več gospodinj pred sto leti še delilo črno kuhinjo, še pred 35 leti pa so si družine delile stranišča, kleti, drvarnice in lijake z vodo v hodnikih. Pomembnejše izboljšave v kuhinjski opreми in razmerah za bivanje beležimo šele od šestdesetih let 20. stoletja dalje, ko so na Jesenicah že pospešeno gradili nova blokovska naselja. V njih so delavske družine dobile večja in modernejša stanovanja s kopalnicami, električnimi štedilniki, skupnimi pralnicami ...

V nadaljevanju je največ pozornosti namenjene hrani, kakršno so pripravljali za zajtrk, kosilo in večerjo. Podatki so bili pridobljeni neposredno na terenu leta 1984 in kmalu po letu 2000. Izvemo, da je bil zjutraj na mizi običajno »kofe pa kr'h«, sredi dneva zelje in krompir, repa in krompir ter različne enolončnice, zvečer pogreti ostanki kosila ali žganci in spet bela kava z nadrobljenim kruhom. Omenjena so tudi boljša nedeljska kosila in praznične jedi ter privilegiji pri hrani za zaposlene družinske člane. Ob tej delavski prehrani je zaradi primerjave predstavljena še kmečka, ki se izkaže za bolj izdatno in raznovrstno predvsem tedaj, ko so ob večjih delih postregli še najetim dninarjem.

Ob delavski prehrani ne gre prezreti različnih vplivov, ki se vežejo na nacionalno heterogenost jeseniškega prebivalstva. Prvič so jih okusili, ko so Albanci odprli svoje slaščičarne in prodajalne burekov. Šele v zadnji četrtini stoletja se bolj samozavestno kažejo v delovanju kulturnih društev, ki poudarjajo svojo nacionalno identiteto, in v zadnjem desetletju v njihovih skupnih prireditvah Kulturna mavrica Jesenic in Multi-kulti-narika. V okviru te prireditve potekajo večeri, na katerih lahko okušamo tudi tradicionalne jedi današnjih imigrantov iz različnih dežel z vsega sveta.

DIGITALIZING THE ALIMENTARIUM, FOOD MUSEUM, SWITZERLAND, A SYSTEMIC APPROACH

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The Alimentarium Foundation founded by Nestlé in 1980 has been running a food museum for over 30 years. In 2013, whilst planning an extension of the building, renewing the exhibition and an online virtual museum, the foundation realized that, although the content of contextualized scientifically validated food and nutrition knowledge is relevant to us all and, in spite of high investments, the Alimentarium would remain limited in time and space. Therefore, in April 2013, it radically changed strategy by deciding to invest mainly in a digital outreach program anchored in the physical museum - a transmedia approach to content creation and dissemination.

With this approach, the Alimentarium Foundation aims to become a worldwide reference on food and nutrition, combining a digitally and physically interconnected learning platform to share its expertise with the general public and professionals.

The Alimentarium today is an international public learning centre composed of two interconnected spaces, alimentarium.org and alimentarium, the museum, which reopened in June 2016 after nine months of refurbishing.

The portal alimentarium.org contains the eCollection, the eMagazines, a vast eKnowledge database and a section dedicated to the pedagogical program Alimentarium Academy. All is available worldwide for free and published in French, German and English.

Academy, our online learning ecosystem targets (school)children, teachers and parents in particular whereas the other digital outputs cater for amateurs and offer insights for specialists.

Onsite at the alimentarium houses the museum and its semi-permanent exhibition “Food – The essence of life”. The educational garden forms an integral part of the museum's scenography. The aim is to convey a better understanding of every aspect of eating and the implications of an action that has become so mundane. Interactivity is the central element of the immersive scenography and is highlighted by various games in each of the three sectors: food, society and body. The GameRoom, designed as a point of exchange between the virtual educational platform and the physical museum, is an augmented reality, multiplayer gaming area. Scientific demonstrations and hands-on workshops for adults and children in dedicated spaces contribute to the full sensory experience.

This is just the beginning of the Alimentarium digitalizing process.

KEYWORDS

Alimentarium Foundation, Alimentarium, alimentarium.org., Nestlé, digitalisation, food, nutrition, museum, learning centre

DIGITALIZACIJA ALIMENTARIUMA, MUZEJA HRANE, ŠVICA, SISTEMATIČNI PRISTOP

dr. Ursula Zeller, Alimentarium, Švica

Ustanova Alimentarium Foundation, ki jo je leta 1980 ustanovil Nestlé, že več kot 30 let deluje kot muzej hrane. Fundacija je leta 2013 pri načrtovanju širitve zgradbe, prenovi razstave in spletnega virtualnega muzeja ugotovila, da bosta Alimentarium kljub velikim investicijam še naprej omejevala čas in prostor, čeprav je vsebina kontekstualiziranega, znanstveno potrjenega znanja o hrani in prehrani sicer pomembna za vse. Zaradi tega je ustanova aprila 2013 radikalno spremenila svojo strategijo in se odločila investirati predvsem v digitalne vsebine, ki izhajajo iz muzeja samega. Gre za transmedijski pristop v ustvarjanju vsebin in njihovem razširjanju.

S tem pristopom namerava Alimentarium Foundation postati svetovna referenca na področju hrane in prehrane, saj bo združevala med seboj povezano digitalno in fizično platformo za učenje. Preko nje bo lahko svoje strokovno znanje delila s splošno in strokovno javnostjo.

Danes je Alimentarium mednarodni učni center, sestavljen iz dveh prostorov: alimentarium.org in alimentarium; je muzej, ki je bil ponovno odprt junija 2016 po devetih mesecih obnavljanja.

Portal alimentarium.org vsebuje e-zbirko, e-revije, ogromno podatkovno bazo e-znanja in del, posvečen pedagoškemu programu Alimentarium Academy. Vse je brezplačno dostopno vsakomur in objavljeno v francoščini, nemščini in angleščini. Academy, naš spletni ekosistem, cilja posebej na (šolske) otroke, učitelje in starše, naše druge digitalne vsebine pa so namenjene laikom in so obenem na voljo tudi strokovnjakom.

V zgradbah Alimentariuma sta muzej in polstalna razstava »Hrana – bistvo življenja«. Izobraževalni vrt je sestavni del scenografije muzeja. Cilj je posredovati boljše razumevanje vseh vidikov prehranjevanja in implikacij početja, ki je postalo tako mondeno. Interaktivnost je osrednji element veličastne scenografije. Poudarjena je z različnimi igrami v vsakem od treh sektorjev: hrana, družba in telo. Igralnica, ki je bila zasnovana kot točka izmenjave med virtualno izobraževalno platformo in muzejem samim, predstavlja povečano resničnost, območje, namenjeno za več igralcev. Znanstvene demonstracije in delavnice za aktivno udeležbo, namenjene staršem in otrokom, v za to namenjenih prostorih, prispevajo k celostni čutni izkušnji.

To je zgolj začetek procesa digitalizacije Alimentariuma.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Alimentarium Foundation, Alimentarium, alimentarium.org., Nestlé, digitalizacija, hrana, prehrana, muzej, učni center

MUSEUM AND GASTRONOMY – FEEDING THE NATIONAL HUNGER*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

Private museums in Serbia were the first to recognise primarily economic benefits of gastronomy while big, national museums still reassess presentation models that would not compromise their integrity. Gastronomy, on the other side, attracts the attention of the audience both as a vivid subject and the matter of national pride promoted by the media. Multidisciplinary research in the field of gastronomy heritage conducted by the Artis Center in cooperation with museums and related institutions since 2010, clearly points to a number of challenges that museums will have to deal with within the complex task of research, preservation and promotion of this particular form of intangible heritage. A public expectation of gastronomy as a certificate of national excellence is probably the most difficult among them.

KEYWORDS

Museum, gastronomy, gastroheritology, intangible heritage, communication, audience, media, gastro mythology, national identity, museology

If merely ten years ago there existed a dilemma whether we would dare to try some exotic dishes or whether we had the means to prepare such dishes given the then existing local market offer of necessary ingredients, global gastronomic expansion assisted by all available media literally knocked down the slightest resistance, concern or squeamishness. Supported by the authority of world-renowned chefs such as Jamie Oliver, Anthony Bourdain and Gordon Ramsay, the food has broken into our homes and minds as an unstoppable flood-wave that was to shape the concept of food centrality as one of the maxims of our era. Although it is legitimate to ask who needs all those TV shows about gastronomy and cooking or whether anyone has ever cooked anything using those recipes and whether there are things we do not know about food in any part of the planet, the fact is that this enormous gastro-media production that is followed by at least several hundreds of thousands of blogs written by passionate foodies, represents only the tip of the iceberg of a complex phenomenon of food and the culture of eating. And that is a huge, largely unknown, only partially explored and virtually unexhibited material of great importance for both science and human society. Unfortunately, the findings in this field obtained by ethnologists, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, archaeologists and other scientists remain largely unknown when it comes to the general public. The lack of readily available, scientifically proven and fact-based information about food opens an immense manipulation space for the appearance of the phenomenon of gastronomic mythology that automatically, according to the unwritten rule that the media have an obligation, to tell the truth, becomes unquestionable. When it comes to nations in the process of social transformation or periods of convalescence occurring as a result of the collective trauma caused by war or other forms of crisis, food and the culture of eating can become an authentic antidepressant as proof of national excellence. Namely, it should not be forgotten that over the centuries food has been a reflection not only of the economic power but also of the political and even cultural supremacy – the elements that unequivocally speak in favour of the strength of a certain society.¹

A museum is or should be, with no doubt, an institutional intermediary between the public and science, the intangible heritage and the media. As a system that includes a wide array of activities from collecting, preservation and research all up to presentation, communication and education, according to its recognised role of a leader in the culture,² the museum is a public institution with authority of exceptional value. The

* Translation: Tamara Ognjević, Svetlana Janković

¹ STENDIDŽ, T. 2010, pp. 52–60.

² KRIVOŠEJEV, V. 2009, pp. 23–24.

museum has a reputation that is more reliable and appreciated than that of the media. Thus, the hesitancy of museums, especially the European ones, to exploit the full potential of gastronomy is somewhat confusing. This attitude is partly the result of traditional tightness and conservatism when it comes to the subjects and topics that deserve the attention of museum professionals and museologists, but also of the lack of understanding of intangible heritage concept and its place in museums and museology. Although in practice a number of museums provide elegant restaurants and coffee shops frequented by audience due to its remarkable interiors and acceptable prices, most of them do not think about gastronomy as something that should be researched and exhibited. Hence, gastronomy in a European museum context is often reminiscent of the Impressionists in their epoch. Everyone rushed to see and comment on the Impressionists work, but there was no room at the Salon and in Louvre for their paintings. However, as it is well known, that mistake was corrected long ago.

PRIVATE MUSEUMS IN SERBIA AND GASTRONOMY

When it comes to Serbia, it is particularly interesting that the gastronomy, recognised primarily for its sustainability, is embraced by small, private museums directly or indirectly related to an old trade, art crafts or other forms of entrepreneurship. Thus, the Živanović Museum of Beekeeping and Wine Cellar at Sremski Karlovci is based on the collection of beekeeping objects and personal belongings of professor Jovan Živanović (1841-1916), the founder of modern beekeeping in Serbia, but also on the active production of honey and wine that has been conducted by several generations of the prominent Živanović family, the descendants of professor Živanović.³ In that context, the presentation of the Živanović collection is more of a museum certified quality of wines and honey than a typical museum content, especially when it comes to honey and wine tasting that always follows after a guided tour of the museum with an intention to sell goods.

A nearby Gea Museum of Gugelhupf and Cakes at Sremski Karlovci has a very similar concept. Its nucleus consists of a pastry shop with a significant production of gugelhupfs, strudels and other pastries typical for this region, and a sales area featuring a small exhibition of bakery and pastry tools, Karlovci German women costumes, tablecloths, aprons and other items that should suggest coziness of kitchens and dining rooms of the local middle class in those times.⁴ Katarina Biber-Šnur, one of the owners of the Gea Museum, a member of the Association of German women in this picturesque Baroque town, emphasises that by museumification; of family pastry tradition she tried to brand Karlovac gugelhupf made with aromatized Bermet wine typical for the region⁵ and cinnamon as a dessert with geographic origin.⁶ Although small and without proper museum procedures, this interesting pastry-museum experiment does have a real potential, especially when one takes into account that the owners often organize pastry workshops aimed at promoting this particular kind of heritage and that they actively cooperate with museums and related institutions on interesting research projects and exhibitions that are focused on gastronomy and culture of eating.⁷

Since both Gea and Živanović private museums are mapped as original and attractive offers within cultural and creative tourism, it is a pity that their collections have not been assessed and protected appropriately and supported with brochures and catalogues based on a comprehensive scientific research and evaluation of the contents they present as local intangible heritage.

The Serbian Museum of Bread Jeremija, another private entrepreneurship product, emerged from the idea of amateur collecting of objects that seemed to be of importance for the history of bread in Serbia. Its founder and owner is a painter Slobodan Jeremić Jeremija, who transformed his passionate research of bread related customs and the symbolism of bread in folk tradition into a kind of museum-gallery housed in the courtyard of a private, family house in the village of Pećinci in 1995.⁸ One part of this interesting museum includes exhibits of agricultural tools used for the production of grain, while the other exhibits bakery tools,

³ All information about this museum are available at their web site www.muzejzivanovic.com

⁴ BLAGOJEVIĆ, N. 2015, Vredne dame iz Sremskih Karlovaca: Kako nastaje kuglof s dušom, priče s dušom, 26. 6. 2015, URL: <https://pricesadusom.com/vredne-dame-iz-sremskih-karlovaca-kako-nastaje-kuglof-sa-dusom/> (quoted 7. 3. 2017).

⁵ MARKOVIĆ, D. 2011, p. 92.

⁶ Oral source: Katarina Biber-Šnur, Sremski Karlovci, 15. 9. 2014.

⁷ IVANČEVIĆ, D., MAGLOVSKI, O. 2013, p. 40.

⁸ All details about this museum are available at www.muzejhleba.rs.

utensils and various models of ritual bread. Jeremija designed, built and decorated himself the entire space of his museum also featuring his paintings inspired mostly by local landscapes, Orthodox Saints and Serbian historical figures. Although the Serbian Museum of Bread Jeremija is open only on weekends and entrance tickets are more expensive than those in big museums, this interesting place boasts some 15,000 visitors per year. Jeremija's Museum is a proud owner of numerous awards and has been nominated for the European Museum 2017 despite the lack of a comprehensive approach to its collections and appropriate publications that would support the endeavours of the Jeremić family.

A family collection in an authentic interior of the civil society salon from the beginning of the 20th century has been the platform of the Spoon Sweets Museum – the Cvetić House in Kraljevo founded by the art historian Marina Lukić Cvetić.⁹



Image 1: Spoon Sweets Museum-The House of Cvetić, Kraljevo, 2016 (Photo by Tamara Ognjević) ©Artis Center.

At the moment, this is the only private museum in Serbia based on a comprehensive scientific research of the civil society tradition of spoon sweets preparation and serving that was carried out in cooperation with the National Museum in Kraljevo. Presented at the European Heritage Days 2016, the Spoon Sweets Museum was a great attraction which, in addition to an authentic ritual of tasting spoon sweets prepared according to the original local recipes, also offered accurate facts about spoon sweets as intangible heritage of Serbia from the 19th century to date. The effort to preserve an authentic interior of the Central Serbia bourgeois family salon, with its original furniture, wall decorations and lighting, as well as the collection of spoon sweets serving utensils and recipes for the preparation of the typical treats, make this museum a representative example in terms of preservation, research and presentation of intangible heritage. Although the Spoon Sweets Museum – the Cvetić House is a young institution that has practically just started planning various projects and programs, it has a considerable potential to become a flagship among museums dealing with the culinary heritage in Serbia and the entire region.

⁹ PANTOVIĆ, J. 2010, Jedna Kraljevčanka odlučila je da napravi neobičan muzej, Blic online, 9. 10. 2016. URL: <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/srbija/jedna-kraljevčanka-odlucila-je-da-napravi-neobican-muzej/jvf1lgk> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

GASTRONOMY IN STATE MUSEUMS IN SERBIA

While private cultural entrepreneurs have no dilemma in recognising the commercial potential offered by a blend of gastronomy and museums, the state-owned museums flirt now and then with this aspect of intangible heritage.

The National Museum in Belgrade made a big surprise during the exhibition “Legacies and Echoes.” Stefan Nemanja - Nine Centuries in autumn 2013 when exhibiting objects correlating to Serbian medieval gastronomy as an illustration of everyday life. Archaeologist Natasha Cerović, the curator of the National Museum, offered to museum visitors bread prepared with yeast that was made in a manner most similar to that used in medieval Serbia.¹⁰ It was a small revolution in the ultra-conservative and certainly the most traditional museum institution in Serbia. However, this bold venture was preceded by experimental reconstruction of medieval flat bread discovered at Old Ras in May of the same year, organised by Artis Center in cooperation with the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University and Culinary School II Primo in Belgrade.¹¹ A team of experts made up of professor Ksenija Borojević (University of Massachusetts, USA), Biljana Djordjevic, PhD (National Museum in Belgrade) and the author of this paper, based on professor Borojević's findings related to this unique object that is kept in Ras Museum at Novi Pazar,¹² reconstructed a medieval flat bread within the project “Living the Past - Serbian Medieval Gastronomy.” From the standpoint of national science, it was quite an accomplishment that was followed by a series of experimental reconstructions enabling the Artis Center multidisciplinary team to perceive important patterns in food preparation and culture of eating in medieval Serbia.¹³

Inspired by the Artis Center project “Living the Past”, the Novi Sad City Museum curators Danica Ivančević and Olja Maglovski organised the exhibition “Sweet Trace of The Past” at the end of 2013-14 with an aim to put special focus on the history of confectionery and desserts in Novi Sad.¹⁴ This exhibition that took place in the Collection of Foreign Art of Novi Sad City Museum was the first one to exhibit cakes and pastries in a museum environment in Serbia. Remembered for the extraordinary number of visitors and excellent programs, “Sweet Trace of The Past” is one of the role models when it comes to the presentation of gastronomy themes in museums. Artis Center was a partner and consultant on this show which, in cooperation with Vremeplov Pastry Shop, also included the experimental reconstruction of Panforte cake according to the early 13th century sources.¹⁵

The project of the Ethnographic Museum – “Culture of Nutrition in Serbia” coordinated by Dušica Živković, ethnologist, is undoubtedly the most ambitious attempt to introduce gastronomy into museums “in grand style.” This project resulted in multimedia exhibitions in Belgrade, Milan and Paris in the period from 2014 to 2015 with an aim to highlight the complex scheme of cultural patterns as the foundation of national gastronomy.¹⁶ It is interesting that in this context the authors decided to put the main focus on the Serbian Patron Saint Day as a project within the project since it was precisely in those days that this authentic form of the intangible heritage of Serbia was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

We can only hope that the above mentioned exhibitions have not exhausted all the potentials of this project, which may constitute the basis of the first major museum of gastronomy in Serbia or at least a part of the permanent exhibition of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

While the Ethnographic Museum tried to explore a phenomenon of the national diet by applying ethno-anthropological approach, a series of exhibitions at the Natural History Museum called “The Gifts of Nature” realized in the period during 2010 and 2017, shows an interesting, educational and attractive aspect of the

¹⁰ CERović, N. 2013 pp. 93–97.

¹¹ MILENKović, J. 2013, Specijaliteti srednjovekovne Srbije: Kaša, jagnje i poneki zec, Blic Žena online, 14. 5. 2013 URL: <http://zena.blic.rs/recepti/recepti-redakcije/15362/Specijaliteti-srednjovekovne-Srbije-Kase-jagnjetina-i-poneki-zec> (quoted 11. 3. 2017).

¹² BOROJEVIĆ, K. 2005, p. 458.

¹³ OGNJEVIĆ, T. 2011-12, pp. 171–178.

¹⁴ IVANČEVIĆ, D., MAGLOVSKI, O. 2013, pp. 17–21.

¹⁵ TOP SRBIJA 2014, Šećer za vitezove i slatki krem za dame u Muzeju grada Novog Sada, Top Srbija online, 24. 1. 2014. URL: http://www.topsrbija.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4175:med-za-vitezove-i-karamel-krem-za-dame-u-muzeju-grada-novog-sada&catid=299:prisustvovali-smo&Itemid=575 (quoted 17. 3. 2017).

¹⁶ More about this project at its web site www.kulturaishranesrbije.rs.



Image 2: Experimental reconstruction of Pan-forte cake, Vremeplov Pastry Shop, Novi Sad, 2014 (Photo by Djordje Kojadinović) ©Artis Center.

relationship between the museum and content based on gastronomy relieved of national attributes. “Green and Red - the Story of Tea”, “Black and White - the Story of Chocolate”, “Three Colors of Wine” and “Coffee, Exciting Story of Good Taste” are the titles of well elaborated and attractively designed exhibitions of the Natural History Museum which intrigued audiences not only with its content but also with modern design of the presentation and exceptional accompanying programs.¹⁷ Modern audiences are increasingly coming to museums in search of experience, and since gastronomy has all the elements needed for creating an authentic experience, it is only a matter of museum professionals’ imagination how to exploit such potential.

ARTIS CENTER AND GASTRONOMIC HERITAGE OF SERBIA - THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED

Artis Center experience with the project “Living the Past - Serbian Medieval Gastronomy”, which began in 2010, clearly shows what gastronomy can provide to museums. This specific scientific and artistic project, supported by the Ministry of Culture and Information of Republic of Serbia and the International Council of Museums (ICOM), realised in cooperation with numerous museums (the National Museum in Belgrade, the Natural History Museum, Ras Museum at Novi Pazar, the National Museum in Kruševac, the National Museum in Valjevo, Novi Sad City Museum, etc.), as well as chefs, artists and masters of traditional crafts, was presented to the audience in 2014 within the exhibition “The Feast” at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – the Gallery of Science and Technology in Belgrade¹⁸ and in the Serbian Cultural Center in Paris in 2016.¹⁹ The exhibitions were preceded by comprehensive research and experimental reconstructions with an aim to identify the process of making certain dishes and their taste.²⁰ The idea to present scientifically proven facts within artistic environment inspired by the Middle Ages aesthetics gave a special dimension to the project. Accompanying programs through lectures, workshops and tasting contributed to the fullness of the experience of an exhibition, already regarded as unusual from the museum perspective since it exhibited food despite the usual practice of similar shows presenting only utilitarian objects such as dishes, cutlery, tablecloths, serviettes and furniture.

¹⁷ Info about this exhibitions is available at the web site of Natural History Museum www.nhmbeo.rs.

¹⁸ ILIĆ, S. 2014, U SANU otvorena izložba “Gozba”; Srpska srednjovekovna gastronomija, 15. 10. 2014. URL: <http://www.hellomagazin.rs/domace-vesti/u-sanu-otvorena-izlozba-gozba-srpska-srednjovekovna-gastronomija/> (quoted 10. 3. 2017).

¹⁹ SPASIĆ, S. 2016, Srpska “Gozba” među Parižanima, Avan Art magazine, 6. 2. 2016. URL: <http://www.avantartmagazin.com/srpska-gozba-medju-parizanima/> (quoted 15. 3. 2017).

²⁰ OGNJEVIĆ, T. 2011-2012, pp. 171–178.



Image 3: The Feast exhibition, detail, Serbian Academy of Science and Art Gallery, Belgrade, 2014 (Photo by Tamara Ognjević) ©Artis Center.

The exhibition has achieved remarkable success, both at home and abroad. In the country - because it provided clear insights into the culture of eating and diet of our medieval ancestors with an exclusive exposure of almost completely unknown findings such as medieval forks from Sopoćani Monastery, and abroad - because it shed light on a completely unknown segment of gastronomy within the circle of the Western Balkan civilisation. The special value of this project lies in the foundation of a new scientific discipline called gastronomic heritology or abbreviated gastroheritology, which synthesizes the methodology of traditional scientific disciplines such as history, art history, archeology, ethnology, biology, archaeobotany and others in order to obtain a broader picture when it comes to gastronomy and culture of eating.

The experience of the Artis Center team which emerged from the project “Living the Past” was not only positive in multiple ways but also very inspirational. It was not only the matter of Serbian golden Middle Ages fondness, one of those mythical maxims on which the pride of the nation is pillared, but also of a co-operation of Artis Center with the Gallery of Matica Srpska and Pavle Beljanski’s Memorial Collection in Novi Sad. It started in 2014 within the traditional manifestation “Summer in the Garden of Galleries” with a cycle of lectures on topics related to the European cuisine, the relationship between art history and gastronomy, culinary phenomena and myths.²¹ Lectures have always been spiced up with adequate refreshments in the form of cakes, canapés and wines selected to be in harmony with the topic of the lecture as a special added value. Gastronomy proved to be an excellent instrument in restoring the atmosphere of certain epochs in the context of exhibitions which, purely by their nature, seemed to be non-gastronomic. Thus, within the accompanying programs of the exhibitions dedicated to Albrecht Dürer in 2015 and Sava Šumanović in 2016, Artis Center and the Gallery of Matica Srpska organised lectures on the episodes from the lives of the two famous artists based on gastronomy subjects.²² The audience at these lectures was offered food typical for the epoch in which Dürer and Šumanović lived.

When in fall 2015 Artis Center launched the project “Pastry Shop” and the cycle of researches of sweets, deserts and confectionary in Serbia, it received support from many fellow museum professionals involved in this complex undertaking that should result in a virtual museum of a very specific content. The path from virtual to

²¹ All details on Artis Center web site www.artiscenter.com.

²² All informations on Artis Center web site www.artiscenter.com.

the real gastronomic museum is not as easy as it seems at first glance. Gastronomy, as an intangible heritage, brings with it a series of challenges ranging from the research methodology and evaluation to the problems of storage and exposure. The protection domain is particularly sensitive when it comes to the traditional aspects of food production, because maintaining certain technological processes involves, above all, a great economic risk for the holders of traditional crafts. We have witnessed this process while exploring the production of Bosiljčić Confectionary Shop, the oldest confectionery manufacture in Belgrade, within the "Sweet History of Belgrade" theme presented to the audience in Manak's house - the annex of the Ethnographic Museum, during the Days of the European Heritage manifestation in 2015.²³ Finally, the most complex issues that gastroheritology faces on a daily basis are those concerning the authenticity of a dish or ingredients. The authenticity almost automatically raises the issue of national origin, and this opens space to conflicts.

By exploring the gastronomic heritage of medieval Serbia and promoting the results of the project "Living the Past," the Artis Center held dozens of workshops and lectures. The project "Living the Past" was presented to the international professional audience at the ICOM ICR Conference in Belgrade in 2012, UNESCO UNITWIN congresses in Barcelona in 2014 and Budapest in 2016, the Mediterranean Archaeologist Conference in Gela, Sicily in 2015 and at the Danube countries conference "Taste of the Danube" in Ulm in 2016. While fellow scientists were primarily interested in gastroheritology methods and experimental reconstructions as added value, national origins of food were of utmost importance for the broadest audience. How many times have we heard the question: What is truly Serbian in terms of gastronomy and do we have anything that is exclusively ours? National gastronomic hunger is one of the biggest challenges in the process of museumification of gastronomy because researchers themselves are easily pliable.²⁴ At the same time, it is a fertile soil for gastronomy mythology that is particularly supported by certain Serbian chefs that are TV stars who love to feed the audience with sensational stories of national gastronomic excellence at any cost.²⁵ This process has gone that far making it difficult to explain to the audience that there is no such thing as preserved original recipes from the court of the Nemanjić dynasty or the Serbian Middle Ages, that chicken was not eaten in such amounts as we eat it today, that Prince Lazar's Last Supper before Kosovo Battle in 1389 is rather a metaphor than the actual event and that there is no evidence that the Great Prince Stefan Nemanja in the late 12th century was using the golden forks while his guest at the banquet in Niš, Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, was eating with his fingers.²⁶

The museum could play a key role as an ideal mediator between science and the public, because of its credibility. At the same time, the museum is an ideal place to approach everything that intangible heritage brings with it, especially when it comes to gastronomy as a reflection of a much broader and more complex picture of different forms. Finally, when one takes into account that no museology process is a one-way street, perhaps gastronomy may open up museums for a better and closer communication with the community whose heritage and cultural identity the museums as institutions deal with. The museum of the 21st century, according to the characteristics of the period in which we live, is not only the space where memories are stored but also the one where experience is created as the "substance" for the emergence of a new memory.

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²³ DANI EVROPSKE BAŠATINE, 2015, p. 4.

²⁴ STEVANOVIĆ, J. 2012, Kajmak je autentična srpska hrana, Politika online, 20. 9. 2012. URL: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/233963/Zivot-i-stil/Kajmak-je-autenticna-srpska-hrana> (quoted 15. 3. 2017) ; SEKULOVIĆ, T. 2015, Ma kakava sarma, burek...ovo je pravo srpsko jelo, Mondo, 21. 9. 2015. URL: <http://mondo.rs/a832106/Magazin/Recepti/Etnografski-muzej-izlozva-Kultura-ishrane-u-Srbiji.html> (quoted 9. 3. 2017).

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1. 02)

IZVLEČEK

Zasebni muzeji v Srbiji so prvi prepoznali ekonomske prednosti, ki jih prinaša gastronomija, medtem ko veliki nacionalni muzeji še vedno ocenjujejo modele predstavljanja, ki ne bi ogrozili njihove integritete. Po drugi strani pa gastronomija privablja pozornost občinstva kot živahna tema in predmet nacionalnega ponosa, ki ga promovirajo mediji. Multidisciplinarne raziskave na področju gastronomske dediščine, ki jih od leta 2010 izvaja Artis Center v sodelovanju z muzeji in sorodnimi ustanovami, jasno opozarjajo na številne izzive, s katerimi se bodo morali spopasti muzeji v sklopu kompleksne naloge raziskovanja, ohranjanja in promocije te posebne oblike nesnovne dediščine. Najverjetneje bo najzahtevnejši med njimi prav pričakovanje javnosti v zvezi z gastronomijo kot certifikatom narodove odličnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

muzej, gastronomija, gastronomska heritologija, nesnovna dediščina, komunikacija, občinstvo, gastronomska mitologija, nacionalna identiteta, muzeologija

POVZETEK

Čeprav ima gastronomija znaten potencial za raziskovanje, razstavljanje in izobraževanje, še zmeraj trka na zadnja vrata evropskih muzejev. V Srbiji so njen komercialni potencial najprej prepoznali zasebni muzeji, tisti, ki jih je ustanovila država, pa še zmeraj z dokaj velikim odporom skušajo najti kontekst, v sklopu katerega bi upravičili mesto gastronomije v muzeju. V tem smislu srbski muzeji niso pod velikim pritiskom javnosti, ki jo po zaslugi medijev zanima narodna gastronomija. Prav mediji pa so tisti, ki pogosto neposredno vplivajo na nastanek gastronomske mitologije. Raziskave, ki jih je izvedel Artis Center na področju kulinarčne dediščine v Srbiji, predvsem srednjeveške gastronomije, jasno pričajo o pomembnosti muzeja v vlogi posrednika pri predstavljanju izsledkov in ugotovitev teh in podobnih projektov. Čeprav je z gastronomijo povezan velik izziv, kako predvsem potešiti narodovo lakoto po pristnosti in suverenosti, ima nedvomno ogromen dediščinski in komunikacijski potencial. To velja predvsem za narode, ki preživljajo posttravmatsko obdobje zaradi vojn, ekonomskih stisk in krize identitete.

“CULINARY MILLENNIA” – WORKSHOPS OF PREHISTORIC, ROMAN, MEDIEVAL AND TRADITIONAL CUISINE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK IN BUDINJAK (ŽUMBERAK – SAMOBORSKO GORJE NATURE PARK)*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

Culinary workshops have been organised during every September since 2005 with the main purpose of improving the tourist offer of the Archaeological Park in Budinjak and presenting intangible heritage of the region. One of the major goals was to enable visitors to actively participate in the program. After visiting the Archaeological Park and gaining some basic knowledge on the cultural identity of the region and on the basis of the prepared recipe book, visitors were divided into four groups to prepare and taste food from four different prehistoric and historic periods.

KEYWORDS

Culinary, recipe, Archaeological Park, Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park

THE “CULINARY MILLENNIA” WORKSHOPS

Within the area of the Archaeological Park in Budinjak, which the Public Institution “Nature Park Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje” opened in September 2004, two archaeological sites are presented - Budinjak from the Early Iron Age (end of the 10th-6th c. BC) and Bratelji from the Early Roman Imperial period (1st-2nd c. AD). During the Early Iron Age Budinjak was one of the largest and most important centres in the region;¹ due to its value and state of preservation, this complex site, encompassing Early Iron Age settlement and grave-mounds, is listed in the Cultural Heritage List of the Republic of Croatia. The archaeological site Bratelji is the cemetery where members of the romanised Celtic tribe Latobici were buried² and is about one kilometre away from Budinjak. In an effort to present all known archaeological values of the area to the visitors, Public Institution “Nature Park Žumberak – Samoborsko” made an educational path named “The Trail of the Princes” and thus connected both sites. Alongside the path, there are ten stops presenting valorized and interpreted archaeological, as well as ethnological, geological, zoological and botanical phenomena, so as to highlight other cultural and natural values of the area.

Cultural - tourist event called “Culinary Millennia” was conceived shortly after the establishment of the archaeological park, prompted by a desire to improve the content of the archaeological park, especially regarding the interpretation of intangible heritage of the area. Workshops of Prehistoric, Roman, Medieval and traditional cuisine were created in order to provide visitors with a comprehensive look at the past and to pay equal attention to the valorization of culinary customs of different periods.

Our realisation that culture is actually created in nature and that cuisine stems directly from nature, have brought us to the idea to include natural resources of this region in our programme. Within the context of this program, the Archaeological Park in Budinjak is imagined as an exhibition space in which some of the groceries needed for the program actually grow. Respecting the needs and interests of visitors ordered the setting up of another goal - the active participation of visitors in the program. In addition to the fact that

* Translation: Morena Želle and Katarina Husnjak Malovec

¹ ŠKOBERNE, Ž. 2004, p. 158.

² GREGL, Z. 2002, pp. 84–86.

increases the attractiveness of the program, this goal was motivated by the respect of interpretation as a discipline that contributes significantly to the understanding of the heritage.



Image 1: The participants of the “Culinary Millennia” prepare trouts in clay moulds, 2009 (photograph: Morena Želle).

During the preparation of workshops a selection of recipes for the four major archaeological and historical periods was conducted. The scope of the archaeological and historical literature dealing with culinary traditions was modest, so archaeobotanical literature was used³ and research of autochthonous wild edible plants of Žumberak was conducted,⁴ which has allowed the collection of data on the possible and probable usage of edible plants during the past. The criteria for final selection of the recipes were their feasibility on open hearths, the appropriateness for the expected differences in the dietary habits of the workshop participants, for example, vegetarians, and their attraction, which included the usage of unusual technological procedures in food preparation, groceries rarely used today, unknown spices or other food supplements. Selected recipes are included in the collection of workshop recipes.



Image 2: Apron with a recipe for the preparation of Roman wine, 2009 (photograph: Morena Želle).

Based on archaeological finds we have made the kitchen inventory – tableware made as the replica of the Early Iron Age items of tableware from Budinjak, of Roman tableware found in Bratelji, and of the items belonging to the Medieval period that was found in the fortress Stari Grad Žumberak, only ten kilometres from Budinjak.

³ ŠOŠTARIĆ, R. 2003.

⁴ VRBEK, M., BUZJAK, S. 2005.

Kitchen utensils for traditional cuisine were partly obtained as presents from the people of Žumberak, partly bought off at the local fairs or we made replicas from the museum exhibits found in the Museum of Samobor. In order to emphasise the relationship between diet and climate in which it was made, we prepared materials about wild edible plants of the Žumberak area, containing data collected during a botanical research.

The “Culinary Millennia” workshops were held for the first time in the Archaeological Park in Budinjak in September 2005, and since then they have been held every year at the same time. The beginning of the programme is the walk around the “Trail of the Princes” with expert guidance, which lasts about two hours and it is a good theoretical introduction, during which visitors gain fundamental insights into the cultural identity of the region. At the workshops, which follow after the walk, the visitors are divided into four groups that simultaneously prepare food from four different periods. Each group is appointed an educated leader, who provide helpful tips and coordinate the activities of the participants. All the necessary ingredients, utensils and tableware are prepared for each group in advance. The smaller exception is a prehistoric group – members of these groups are supposed to look for and collect a part of the necessary ingredients on surrounding habitats, with the help of biologists, of course.

Implementing a survey made by the Croatian Institute for Tourism to evaluate cultural events, the Public Institution “Nature Park Žumberak - Samoborsko gorje” collected data on the visitors’ experiences and thus the success of the program from 2011 to 2014. On a 1–5 scale, every year, the average rating of the quality of the “Culinary Millennia” programme was either 4.9 or 5.0.

THE ETHNOBOTANICAL ASPECT OF THE CULTURAL – TOURIST EVENT

Humans all over the world have depended on wild - growing plants in their diets for hundreds of thousands of years, and many people continue to rely on these species to satisfy at least part of their daily nutritional needs. Wild harvested plant foods include roots and other underground parts; shoots and leafy greens; berries and other fleshy fruits; grains, nuts and seeds; and mushrooms, lichens, algae and other species. Use of any of these species requires special cultural knowledge regarding harvesting, preparation, cooking and other forms of processing. Many were, and are, prepared and served in mixtures or combinations. In most cases, too, the species are managed, tended or manipulated in some way to increase their productivity and availability. Many of the most widely used species are categorised as weeds - species that grow and reproduce readily in disturbed or cleared land and are common around human settlements and agricultural areas.⁵

In several countries and regions of Europe, ethnobotanical studies and reviews give us a picture of traditionally used wild food plants. In many cases, ethnobotanical studies reveal either a dramatic or gradual loss of traditional knowledge and practices. The changes in patterns of wild plant use differ by region and are associated with lifestyle changes, urbanisation, large-scale farming, lesser contact with nature and many other reasons. Moreover, times of famine seem to be in the distant past for industrially developed countries. Food made of cultivated plants and bought from the supermarket appears on the table with relatively little effort, while collecting wild species is more time consuming and season-dependent. In spite of that, the importance of wild food plants for food security and in shaping alternative models of consumption is emphasised. Wild food plants cannot be considered “famine food” only, as many of them were and still are used on several other occasions as well. Moreover, in Europe, there are new phenomena associated with plant use appearing in modern societies. Some of them have to do with migration and new ethnic minorities appearing in cities and bringing new traditions with them. Other phenomena appear due to new trends in nutrition and self-medication facilitated by the instantaneous spread of information via the Internet. On top of that not all the traditions are gone, in some areas for a variety of reasons old traditions are cultivated while in others, they are lost.⁶

At the beginning of the 20th century, Milan Lang (1863–1953), a teacher, writer and an active participant in the social life of the city of Samobor, accepted the invitation of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts' editor Dr. Boranić, to gather and systematise ethnographic material on the folk heritage in Samobor area altogether. Lang's records had been published in 8 volumes of Collection on the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs, from 1911 to 1915, when it was finally printed as one tome, entitled Samobor – the Folk Life and Customs. What

⁵ TURNER N.J., ŁUCZAJ Ł.J., MIGLIORINI P., PIERONI A., DREON A.L., SACCHETTI L.E. et al. 2011, p. 199.

⁶ ŁUCZAJ Ł., PIERONI A., JAVIER TARDÍO J., PARDO-DE-SANTAYANA M., SÖUKAND R., SVANBERG I., KALLE R. 2012, p. 359.

Lang had preserved, among other, is not only phonetic records of local plant names but, whenever possible, also valid scientific names. He had also systematised plants by way of their utilisation (human diet, domestic animal nourishment, spices, remedies, toys, blessings, harmful plants, toxic plants, plants that nobody cares about, etc.). His records are of great value as well as ethnobotanical material for comparison of contemporary wild plants use study, which has already proven a significant loss of traditional knowledge among present inhabitants of the area.

While the most of the plant originated supplies for the preparation of Roman and Medieval courses during the “Culinary Millennia” event were studied from the literature, and in a major amount purchased in advance at the markets, all available wild food plants required for both prehistoric and traditional recipes of the Žumberak area were harvested by the visitors themselves. This has been accomplished by collecting plants directly from their natural habitats and under the supervision of the botanical experts during the guided tour, in order to avoid confusing edible plants with the poisonous ones. According to visitors’ experience and reaction, this part of active participation and learning in the field has enhanced the value of the whole event.



Image 3: Participants collecting plants under the supervision of the biologist, 2005 (photograph: Morena Želle).

English name	Common (Croatian) name	Scientific name	Part used	Preparation	Period
greater burdock	čičak	<i>Arctium lappa</i> L.	leaves	fish and meat wrap	P
dandelion	maslačak	<i>Taraxacum officinale</i> Weber	leaves	chopped and cooked in dough (“dumplings”)	P
nettle	kopriva	<i>Urtica dioica</i> L.	young leaves and shoots	chopped and cooked in dough (“dumplings”); syrup production	P, T
elder	bazga	<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	fruits	“cookies” dough, baked	P
wild garlic, ramsons	medvjedi luk, krijemuž	<i>Allium ursinum</i> L.	bulbs	simmered	P
sorrel	kiselica	<i>Rumex acetosa</i> L.	aerial parts	simmered	P
carway	kumin	<i>Carum carvi</i> L.	fruits (seeds)	spice	P, R
horse mint	dugolisna metvica	<i>Mentha longifolia</i> (L.) Huds.	leaves, flowers	spice, syrup production	P, R, T
blackberry	kupina	<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> agg. L.	fruits	“cookies” dough, baked	P
hop	hmelj	<i>Humulus lupulus</i> L.	flower cones	infuse used for beer preparation	P
wild marjoram	mravinac	<i>Origanum vulgare</i> L.	leaves	spice	R
broad-leaved thyme	majčina dušica	<i>Thymus pulegioides</i> L.	leaves, flowers	spice, syrup production	P, T

Tab. 1 Wild plant taxa locally collected and used for the meal preparation, along with the part used, the way of utilisation and the workshop period (P – prehistoric, R – Roman, T – traditional cuisine) (taxonomic check: Flora Croatica Database; <https://hirc.botanic.hr/fcd/Search.aspx>)

Although the traditional use of wild edibles is largely decreasing due to socioeconomic and ecological changes, wild plants are becoming a part of the new thinking about food: they are very important as health food, and in food security and slow food movements.⁷

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⁷ ŁUCZAJ Ł., PIERONI A., JAVIER TARDÍO J., PARDO-DE-SANTAYANA M., SÖUKAND R., SVANBERG I., KALLE R. 2012, p. 367.

»TISOČLETJA KULINARIKE« – DELAVNICE O PRAZGODOVINSKI, RIMSKI, SREDNJEVEŠKI IN TRADICIONALNI KUHINJI V ARHEOLOŠKEM PARKU V BUDINJAKU (NARAVNI PARK ŽUMBERAK – SAMOBORSKO GORJE)

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Že od leta 2005 so vsak september organizirane kulinarične delavnice, njihova glavna namena pa sta izboljšati turistično ponudbo Arheološkega parka v Budinjaku in predstaviti nesnovno dediščino. Eden glavnih ciljev je bil obiskovalcem omogočiti aktivno sodelovanje v programu. Po obisku Arheološkega parka in pridobitvi osnovnega védenja o kulturni identiteti regije ter po pripravljeni kuharski knjigi so bili obiskovalci razdeljeni v štiri skupine, ki so pripravljale in okušale hrano iz štirih različnih prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih obdobj.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kulinarika, recept, arheološki park, Naravni park Žumberak - Samoborsko gorje

POVZETEK

»Tisočletja kulinarike« – delavnice o prazgodovinski, rimski, srednjeveški in tradicionalni kuhinji je vsako leto septembra od leta 2005 do leta 2016 organizirala javna ustanova Naravni park Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje. Glavna namena delavnic sta bila izboljšati turistično ponudbo Arheološkega parka v Budinjaku ter revitalizirati in predstaviti nesnovno dediščino v regiji.

Glavni cilj programa je bil omogočiti nazoren pregled preteklosti in hkrati prav toliko pozornosti posvetiti razvoju kulinaričnih navad v različnih obdobjih. Zaradi značaja Arheološkega parka so lahko organizatorji pri izvajanju programa vključili naravne vire in tako so bile nekatere sestavine, potrebne za pripravo jedi, v sklopu delavnic nabrane v njihovem naravnem okolju. Eden glavnih ciljev je bil obiskovalcem omogočiti aktivno sodelovanje v programu. Po obisku Arheološkega parka in pridobitvi osnovnega védenja o kulturni identiteti regije ter po pripravljeni kuharski knjigi in s pomočjo organizatorjev delavnic so bili obiskovalci razdeljeni v štiri skupine, ki so pripravljale in okušale hrano iz štirih različnih prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih obdobj.

ROMAN KITCHEN - A COMMON PROJECT OF PTUJ MUSEUM AND CIVIL SOCIETIES*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The museum is also a place where enthusiasts of cultural heritage meet and socialise in order to present customs and habits typical of the Ptuj-Ormož area and are connected with the modern era. Some societies actively cooperate with the Ptuj Museum. Here, *the Society of Women and Girls of the community of Hajdina* must be mentioned, because it participates in the preparation of numerous museum events and, thus, take care of the preservation of old habits. This Society has been cooperating with the museum since 1999, when the Society members, during the international conference Ptuj in the Roman Empire, Mithraism and its Era, gave their contribution to this scientific meeting by preparing a warm reception for the conference participants in Hajdina and by serving them ancient Roman food.

KEY WORDS

Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, schoolchildren, young researchers, Society, recipe, dish, Apicius, spice

INTRODUCTION

In the territory of present-day Slovenia, the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož is the third oldest institution of that kind, after the National Museum of Slovenia (1821) and the Regional Museum Celje (1882), and is the central museum in the Ptuj-Ormož area. It takes care of the preservation of the movable cultural heritage in this area from the oldest times to the present age.¹ We present the cultural heritage for visitors of all ages in the form of museum collections, occasional exhibitions and diverse activities of popularisation (publications, lectures, workshops, etc.). We pay special attention to young visitors. Through various activities and educational programs, we get them acquainted with the life in the past by using museum collections and objects. The museum is an educational institution where visitors, based on studying the museum material, get an insight into the cultural and historical development of this region.² It is, among other things, also a place where enthusiasts of cultural heritage meet and socialise in order to present customs and habits typical of the Ptuj-Ormož area and are connected with the modern era.

The Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož is the first in Slovenia to have started with the active inclusion of schoolchildren in educational programmes concerning different collections and carried out within the museum premises. The beginnings of the specially designed educational workshops for schoolchildren go back to 1989-1990 when the first term schoolchildren from a Ptuj elementary school (OŠ Olge Meglič) visited the archaeological collections and learned about life in the distant past. Among other things, various vessels used by our ancestors for cooking, eating and drinking were explained. The most exciting was the *glirarium*, a large terracotta container used for keeping edible dormouse that the Romans would offer to the most prestigious guests. This vessel was put in Roman graves as well as other vessels full of drinks and food in order to help the deceased in their way to the underground world. After the visit of the collection, the schoolchildren tried themselves in the manufacturing of clay pots which they exhibited, and ended the workshop with a cultural programme staging a folk tale from Carinthia "Mojca Pokrajculja" and a poem by Oton Župančič "Lenka", as both are about food and pots. A booklet³ was also published and a short video-film was made.

* Translation: Tanja Ostrman Renault

¹ VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M., KOLAR, N. 1993, pp. 9–20.

² KOLAR, N. 2003, pp. 9–12.

³ KOLAR, N., VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M. 1990. KOLAR, N., VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M. 1991, p. 66.

In 2001, a group of young researchers from the elementary school Olga Meglič (Matija Gojkovič, Marko Meznarič and Aleks Vajda) took part in the 9th regional meeting of young researchers of the Lower Po-dravje and Prlekija region, and their work entitled *Valeat tibi prandium, Poetovione!* received the golden award. Under the tutorship of Mrs Mojca Vomer Gojkovič from the Ptuj-Ormož museum, the three youngsters elaborated a theoretical work concerning the nutrition habits of Romans; they prepared the foodstuffs and tasted them as well.⁴ The upgrade of the project were different andragogic workshops and cooperation with nearby societies, schools and with the company Terme Ptuj.

The cooperation between the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož and the Society of Women and Girls from the community of Hajdina started in 1999.⁵ People still remember the feast on the 12th of October in 1999 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the first Mithraeum in Spodnja Hajdina. The cultural programme was conceived by the municipality of Hajdina, while the members of all societies and clubs based in the community took care of guests coming from different European cities to attend the scientific symposium with the title: *Ptuj in the Roman Empire, Mithraism and Its Era*, by serving snacks in a huge tent in front of the Mithraeum. The women of the community spiced the evening with an exhibition and tasting of different foodstuffs prepared after selected Roman recipes. Two other societies participated, one with the foodstuffs in vogue a hundred years ago and the other with current meals of the countryside. For this exemplary cooperation, the community of Hajdina was awarded a Valvazor honorary recognition for exceptional merits in the popularisation of the museum and movable cultural heritage, given by the state to those who distinguish themselves in their work with museums. And that is how it all started.

The cooperation continued in November 2001 at the opening of the exhibition *The Story of the Second Mithraeum*, and the presentation of the miscellany entitled *Archaeologia Poetovionensis 2*, proceeds with the international scientific symposium: *Ptuj in the Roman Empire, Mithraism and Its Era*. The mounting of an exhibition accompanied by the presentation and tasting of Roman dishes had, by then, already become the brand mark of the collaboration between different societies from Hajdina and the regional museum.

In the following years, the members of the women's Society took part in many events organised by the museum, one of the most successful one was on the 110th anniversary of the museum celebrated at the Old Prison exhibition grounds with Roman foodstuffs and songs. Participants of a course on archaeology held at Marinič homestead in Spodnja Hajdina were also able to taste some of the prepared foods. A series of events under the name of *Preservation and Development of the Heritage* in Hajdina Community was held under the arcades and in the courtyard of Ptuj Castle in which numerous societies from Hajdina participated with their cultural programme. Again, the women served Roman dishes, 100-year old dishes, current and also "future" dishes. In the past years, the women from Hajdina have been actively cooperating with the Regional Museum in presenting and tasting of Roman dishes which have been accompanying every archaeological exhibition until now. The dining room of a Roman house truly came into being at the opening of the exhibition *Roman Everyday Life in Poetovio* in June 2008, when Roman foodstuffs were presented and laid on a table.⁶ In May 2009, the opening of an exhibition and the presentation of a catalogue were introduced by tastefully prepared dishes after Roman recipes, as a part of the programme was dedicated to the gastronomy.

Members of the Society of Women and Girls from the community of Hajdina specialise in the preparation of different foodstuffs following the Roman recipes.⁷ In just a few years, the selection of dishes has significantly grown as well as the number of events where the Society presents the Roman cuisine. Thus, when different civil societies present their work or at the openings of archaeological exhibitions, Roman dishes are one of the key elements of each event. The sight of the dishes is "food" for the eyes, and their taste satisfies even the most demanding palates. The Society has become well known not only in Slovenia⁸ where it has been presented on TV many times, but also abroad, especially in Croatia where the number of events attended by the Society is growing, such as in Varaždinske Toplice, Rijeka, Split, Zagreb.

⁴ GOJKOVIČ, M., MEZNARIČ, M. VAJDA, A. 2001.

⁵ VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M. 2009, pp. 65–69.

⁶ VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M., ŽIŽEK, I. 2008, p. 127.

⁷ VOMER GOJKOVIČ, M. 2009, pp. 82–83.

⁸ BRODNJAK, S. 2009, p. 83.

The core of the Roman cuisine is represented by the recipes written down by an excellent Roman cook, Marcus Gavius Apicius. His recipes are meant to meet the taste of gourmets as they are full of diverse ingredients and ways of food preparation, such as cooking, simmering under the ashes or charcoal, baking in an oven or on a grill. The Romans used a lot of different types of meat, such as poultry, cattle, game; ham and smoked ham were much appreciated. The meat of different animals, also of the exotic ones, was prepared in many different ways. Vegetables were consumed raw or cooked. Besides that, the Romans also liked mushrooms, eggs, cheese and various fruits among which the most popular were figs, apples, cherries, dates, apricots, peaches, melons.



Image 1: Various dishes prepared according to recipes of Roman chef Apicius, Society of Women and Girls from the community of Hajdina (photograph: Silvestra Brodnjak).

Many spices were used to enhance the taste of dishes. The spices were brought from far-away countries and hence very expensive. These were cinnamon, ginger, saffron and nutmeg. Besides these spices, they also used lovage, celery, parsley, dill, oregano, coriander, rue, mint, laurel, cumin, mustard, onion, shallot, and garlic, though the latter was sparsely used; on the other hand, pepper was widely used. Some ingredients have disappeared, such as *silphium* used almost in every dish, and some sauces prepared on the basis of sun-dried fish: *liquamen* and *garum*. Still, nowadays many dishes are prepared after Apicius but using the available ingredients. Other important spices in the Roman cuisine were honey, vinegar, white or red wine as long as it was sweet. Therefore, it is not surprising that the job of a cook, which was first performed by ordinary slaves, gradually developed into a respectable and well-paid one and the cuisine was considered true art.

Everyday food of the majority of people belonging to poorer social classes and of slaves was rather simple: cereal porridge, flatbread, cabbage, legumes, chickpeas, and very often leek. The daily diet of poor people is rather eloquently summarised in a short inscription found on an oil lamp: *Pauperis · cena · pane · vinu · radic* (A dinner of a poor man is bread, wine and radish). Apicius's recipes serve just as the basis for food preparation, for there is no mention of the quantities of ingredients and spices, so everything is up to the skills

of a master chief and the taste of each individual. These recipes were translated and arranged by Svetlana Slapšak,⁹ Jerneja Kavčič and prefaced by Svetlana Slapšak,¹⁰ but there are many other authors who wrote about the Roman cuisine and who actually tried out the recipes, among them, was Ljudmila Plesničar.¹¹ The preparation of Roman dishes demands a lot of skills and resourcefulness. Therefore, the women from Hajdina needed a lot of practice to finally produce foodstuffs with a “Roman” flavour by finding right proportions of ingredients and their quantity; even more, as certain ingredients simply do not exist anymore. Some ingredients, such as *liquamen* and *garum*, had to be replaced with the ones in use nowadays. But the majority of spices are still in use; however, the quantity to be used is not stated in Apicius.



Image 2: “Roman” cookery course led by S. Slapšak, Society of Women and Girls from the community of Hajdina (photograph: Nataša Kolar).

In almost twenty years of Roman cuisine, the women from Hajdina have gained enough experience and become true master chefs in the preparation of many dishes. They can prepare various types of meat, different side dishes, vegetables and desserts. Generally, the choice of dishes varies, and they are normally presented together with different spreads and either “normal” bread or mixed with fruits, herbs, olives, etc. The women are dressed in Roman garments; some are richly decorated, again others are humble and simple. They also made the jewels they wear. Besides the Roman foodstuffs, there are also different beverages, such as *absinthium romanum*, and Roman wine enriched with pepper and honey.

⁹ SLAPŠAK, S. 1989.

¹⁰ APICIUS, M. G. 1996.

¹¹ PLESNIČAR – GEC, L. 1985; PLESNIČAR – GEC, L., KUCHAR, B. 1996; JUNKELMANN, M. 2000; COMES, E. 2013.



Image 3: Members of the Society of Women and Girls from the community of Hajdina along the table lined with Roman dishes at the Roman Games in Ptuj (photograph: Silvestra Brodnjak).

There are many other associations in the territory covered by the Ptuj Museum which revive Roman traditions during annual summer Roman games. Every year, the Polenšak tourist association organises the Feast of Harvest and performs the growing, harvesting and grinding of cereals. The area is also well-known for the tradition of wine which can be followed since the Roman times due to the engravings on old wooden barrels in the Ptuj Wine Cellar.

The museum continues its cooperation with various civil societies and other institutions in the presentation of the rich cultural heritage in the area of which the varied Roman cuisine is definitely a part.

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Mojca Vomer Gojkovič, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož

Strokovni članek (1.04.)

IZVLEČEK

Muzej je tudi prostor, kjer se srečujejo in družijo ljubitelji kulturne dediščine z namenom predstaviti domači in tuji javnosti šege, navade in običaje s ptujsko-ormoškega območja v povezavi s sedanostjo. Nekatera društva s ptujskim muzejem aktivno sodelujejo. Med njimi omenjamo *Društvo žena in deklet občine Hajdina*, ki se aktivno vključuje v pripravo številnih muzejskih dogodkov in tako skrbi za ohranjanje starih običajev. Društvo žena in deklet občine Hajdina sodeluje z muzejem od leta 1999, ko so hajdinske domačinke ob mednarodni konferenci Ptuj v rimskem cesarstvu, Mitraizem in njegova doba, znanstveno srečanje popestrile s sprejemom na Hajdini in pogostitvijo ugledne mednarodne družbe z rimskimi jedmi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož, prvošolci, mladi raziskovalci, društvo, recept, jed, Apicij, začimba

POVZETEK

Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož je v svoji dolgoletni zgodovini predstavil vrsto razstav, projektov in prireditev, ki so povezoval preteklost s sedanostjo. Prvi na Slovenskem je začel z načinom aktivnega pristopa šolarjev pri pedagoških urah v muzejskih zbirkah in izvajanjem muzejskih pedagoških delavnic. Prvošolčki so se pri ogledu arheološke zbirke ob kuhinjski in namizni posodi seznanili tudi z glirarijem, posodo, v kateri so Rimljani gojili polhe. Učenci so zatem izdelovali glinene posodice, ki so jih nato razstavili in ob tem pripravili kulturni program z odgovarjajočo vsebino. Leta 2001 je skupina osnovnošolcev na regijskem srečanju mladih raziskovalcev Spodnjega Podravja in Prlekije za nalogo o prehrani Rimljanov prejela zlato priznanje.

Nadgradnja muzejskih pedagoških delavnic so andragoške delavnice in sodelovanje z okoliškimi društvi, šolami in Termami Ptuj. Z Društvom žena in deklet občine Hajdina sodelovanje poteka že od leta 1999, ko so Hajdinčanke za mednarodni simpozij pripravile rimske jedi in pijačo. Svoje »rimske« kuharsko znanje vsako leto nadgrajujejo z novimi jedmi po rimskih, pretežno Apicijevih receptih.

Hajdinčanke z rimsko kuhinjo gostujejo na različnih prireditvah po Sloveniji, vabljeni pa so tudi v tujino. Njihova ponudba je pestra: od mesa, različnih prikuh, zelenjave do sladice, vsakič nekaj drugega. Ob tem je na mizi tudi kruh z različnimi namazi pa tudi sadni ali zeliščni. Hrano postrežejo v »rimskih« oblačilih, nekatere v bogatih, druge v skromnih, delovnih, tudi nakit k oblekam so si izdelale same.

Na območju ptujskega muzeja so še druga društva, ki posegajo po rimski kulinarični tradiciji in jo predstavljajo na tradicionalnih poletnih Rimskih igrah, kot je na primer prikaz rimskega pridelovanja, žetve in mletja žita ter pridelovanja grozdja in vina.

WE ALSO COOK IN THE MUSEUM! CULINARY PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAMMES IN THE POMURJE MUSEUM MURSKA SOBOTA*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The article discusses examples of pedagogical programmes in the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota related with the culinary heritage. These programmes are based on active participation of children and are carried out in the form of museum workshops, where children cook dishes that were popular in Prekmurje in the first half of the 20th century. The preparation of dishes based on old recipes can serve as an effective learning instrument, which can help children learn about the way of life of different social classes and the effects of certain historical events in the everyday life of the people.

KEY WORDS

culinary tradition, Prekmurje, museum pedagogics, Pomurje Museum

The old dishes of Prekmurje, which comprise dishes prepared in the time before the introduction of novelties into nutrition during the 1950's,¹ represent the culinary tradition of this region. This is why the latter has a special place in the programmes of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota, where we try to represent this tradition in a practical way and transfer it in the form of culinary workshops. For the purposes of new culinary workshops in 2012, we managed to ensure additional pedagogical rooms inside the museum, part of which has been turned into a modern kitchen. We have already carried out a few culinary workshops where participants prepared old dishes from Prekmurje. Because of the majority of the population in Prekmurje, depending on social class, was rural until the World War II,² the workshops present certain dishes of the rural class.

However, these programmes do not represent merely an educational role of the museum. Food is the strongest tool for shaping and maintaining contact between people.³ With its social importance, food thus provides the museum with additional opportunities to establish itself as an open and social place.

Culinary workshops in the museum represent a means of interpreting cultural heritage. In the context of museums, nutrition has long been an object of historical and ethnological research; these two sciences have developed findings thereof, which can be presented to the general public in the form of culinary workshops.⁴ The purpose of the workshops is not only a mere transfer of facts on the characteristics of folk nutrition; their goal is to help the participants experience the food with all their senses – to see, hear, touch, smell and taste it. We want to inspire the participants to take an interest in culinary heritage and form a personal relationship, develop consideration and understanding.⁵

Culinary workshops, in fact, represent practical educational work, which means that we are dealing with the field of museum pedagogics. In Slovenia, the latter has been understood as practical educational work in museums and galleries, but as a science with theoretical cognitions, it has merely started to develop.⁶ This is also

* Translation: Denis Furek

¹ ŠARF, F. 1985, p. 97.

² Ibid., p. 76.

³ POTTIER, J. 2002, p. 238.

⁴ KUŽNIK, L. 2014, p. 252.

⁵ KERŠIČ SVETEL, M. 2014, p. 31.

⁶ TAVČAR, L. 2009, Homo spectator: Uvod v muzejsko pedagogiko, Ljubljana, Pedagoški inštitut, Digitalna knjižnica, pp. 29, 35. URL: <http://193.2.222.157/Sifranti/StaticPage.aspx?id=65> (quoted 18. 5. 2017).

confirmed by the fact that the first scientific monograph in this field, which specifically discusses museum pedagogics in art museums and galleries, was issued in 2009.⁷ In the monograph,⁸ the author Lidija Tavčar develops a cognition that “the museum pedagogics can merely be a general theoretical framework for the development of specific museum pedagogics, characteristic for certain types of museums and galleries.”⁹ The method of education in museums, i.e. the type of methodical approach that we will use, must originate from the specificity of collections and items.

The culinary tradition represents an intangible cultural heritage. Its specificity is evident in the intangible elements such as knowledge, skills and practices, which constitute the basis for the preparation of a dish. The answer to the question of the methodical approach to be used for an efficient interpretation of culinary tradition is quite evident. I believe the most suitable one is the experimental-practical method, which allows for practical creativity. The most important fact is that the participants gain experience about the preparation of a certain dish, which is the first condition of learning.¹⁰ During this time, the learning occurs “incidentally” or as a “side product of a series of interpretational processes.”¹¹ The mentioned method is complemented with the conversational method, which is usually used in the introductory part of the culinary workshops when together with the participants we place a certain dish in the context of heritage. If we go on to analyse which sciences are present in the background of such workshops, we come to the conclusion that this is, in fact, a cross-section of different sciences, because they are based on the cognitions of history, ethnology and museology, while their content is designed interdisciplinary.¹²

The workshops are organised in such a way that the participants themselves prepare dishes. The preparation of a certain dish always takes place in the context of heritage, because the primary goal of such workshops is for the participants to familiarise themselves with the culinary heritage in an active way and take part in the preparation of dishes. This way they acquire direct experiences and enrich their knowledge.¹³ They learn about the ingredients and use them to make a dish, which they can taste in the end. The participants do not only gain knowledge about the ingredients and the preparation of the dish, but they also learn about its smell and taste.

Before I present some examples of workshops that have been carried out so far, allow me to list some organisational principles that we adhere to for the successful execution of the workshops. The number of participants is 15 at the most because the size of the kitchen and the nature of work do not allow for a larger number. We try to limit the duration of the workshop to two hours since longer duration would divert people from participation, i.e. it would take too much time, which we never have enough these days. When choosing the dish, we want to ensure that it would allow for each participant to do individual work. At the end of each culinary workshop, the participants receive the recipe of the dish.

EXAMPLES OF THE WORKSHOPS CARRIED OUT: THEIR CONTENT, EXECUTION AND LESSONS

During autumn holidays in 2016, we prepared a family workshop, where participants made apple strudels from autumn apples. Although this dish is ubiquitous today, it also used to be made in the past, which is confirmed by its old names that are almost entirely forgotten. The workshop was placed in the context of heritage by an introductory presentation of a dish today in Prekmurje known as *retaš*, which is a word taken from the Hungarian language. In the past, it was also called *preisne pogače* and somewhat newer names for the dish are *vitice* or *povitice*. Most often, apple strudels were prepared in the summer and the autumn, because

⁷ BRAČUN SOVA, R., ŠTRAJN, D. 2015, Tendence v muzejski pedagogiki, in: Šolsko polje, Revija za teorijo in raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja, year's issue 26, No. 5-6, 2015, p. 7. URL: http://www.pei.si/UserFilesUpload/file/digitalna_knjiznica/SP/2015/SP_XXVI_2015_5-6/Solsko%20polje,%20XXVI,%20vol%205-6,%202015.pdf (quoted 17. 5. 2017).

⁸ The title of the monograph is *Homo spectator: Uvod v muzejsko pedagogiko*.

⁹ TAVČAR, L. 2009, *Homo spectator: Uvod v muzejsko pedagogiko*, Ljubljana, Pedagoški inštitut, Digitalna knjižnica, p. 30. URL: <http://193.2.222.157/Sifranti/StaticPage.aspx?id=65> (quoted 18. 5. 2017).

¹⁰ BRAČUN SOVA, R., KEMPERL, M., 2015, Irwinov Kapital – zakaj ga ne razumemo, in: Šolsko polje, Revija za teorijo in raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja, year's issue 26, No. 5-6, 2015, p. 81. URL: http://www.pei.si/UserFilesUpload/file/digitalna_knjiznica/SP/2015/SP_XXVI_2015_5-6/Solsko%20polje,%20XXVI,%20vol%205-6,%202015.pdf (quoted 17. 5. 2017).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² TAVČAR, L. 2009, *Homo spectator: Uvod v muzejsko pedagogiko*, Ljubljana, Pedagoški inštitut, Digitalna knjižnica, p. 128. URL: <http://193.2.222.157/Sifranti/StaticPage.aspx?id=65> (quoted 18. 5. 2017).

¹³ KUŽNIK, L. 2014, p. 244.

of the abundance of fresh apples.¹⁴ Furthermore, with the workshop, the museum took part in the current activities, i.e. autumn holidays, and actualized the heritage with appropriate content. When it comes to its execution, the workshop had to be adapted given the limited time that was at our disposal. Thus, the participants prepared strudels out of previously kneaded dough, since the latter has to rest for a while. Nevertheless, they received detailed instructions regarding its preparation. Most of the participants had never tried to spread strudel dough before. Among the participants were two older women that were quite proficient in spreading strudel dough and they complemented the practical demonstration with their comprehensive experience. The participants' responses were encouraging because most of them said they would try to make strudels out of homemade dough in their own kitchens. One of the older participants reacted very emotionally, expressing his regret at not learning the skill from his late mother. That is why the knowledge he gained meant a lot to him and allowed him to grow as a person. Based on the conversations with the participants, we believe that they changed their point of view and routine on a personal level: from never preparing apple strudels out of homemade dough to the application of the knowledge gained during the workshop.

We also prepared a workshop for a group of students, and it had to do with the preparation of *pereci*, a baked cake made from white flour and formed from doughy rolls, which was taken over from the Hungarians.¹⁵ Although based on its origin, *pereci* is not an indigenous dish distinctive of Prekmurje, we can see it



Image 1: Spreading apple strudel dough at the family workshop during autumn holidays, the 5 November 2016, Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota (photograph: Tomislav Vrečič).

as a clear message that culinary art is not something that is formed in isolation, but rather through contacts with other ethnic or social groups. Thanks to the workshop, the museum can effectively communicate how different groups, experiences and influence shaped a certain community, which is also reflected in various culinary traditions.¹⁶ With this cognition, we can strengthen the historical status of Prekmurje for students' understanding, which is marked by the several-century-long connection with Hungary. How do we present the historical facts on the inclusion of Prekmurje into Hungary? We can use the method of discussion, where participants might gain new knowledge through conversation, or we can present the facts above based on an experimental and practical method in the form of a workshop.¹⁷ *Pereci* is an example of a dish that reflects the influences of close political and social contacts of two ethnically different communities, which was also the aim of the workshop. After the introduction, the students started with their work: they kneaded the dough by using the ingredients, made rolls and intertwined them into oblong or round *pereci*.

Besides learning in the form of practical work, the culinary tradition can also offer an opportunity to learn about customs. Learning about specific custom was the aim of the workshop that took place in 2015 on the day before *Lucijino*, the name day of St Lucia, which is celebrated on the 13 December. In Pomurje, visits of *lucije* (local women impersonating St Lucia) and certain beliefs were connected with the day. The visits

¹⁴ NOVAK, V. 1947, pp. 80–81.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 82–83.

¹⁶ LUNDE, C. 2015, p. 94.

¹⁷ TAVČAR, L. 2001, pp. 27–28.

of *lucije* were widespread in Prekmurje and certain parts of Slovenske gorice and Prlekija before the World War II. This custom is not practised anymore, but some older residents still remember it.¹⁸ In the past, *lucije* used to walk around the villages on the eve of *Lucijino* dressed in white.¹⁹ Their faces were covered in white linen so that they could not be recognised. They carried plates with the eyes of a pig, which was supposed to demonstrate that they have already dug someone's eyes out. They would also use forks to rattle on the plates.²⁰ The importance of a custom can be found in the pagan beliefs and notions, which have later blended with Christianity. The visits of these creatures took place in the night from the 12 December to the 13 December. According to the Julian calendar, the latter was the shortest day, i.e. the day with the longest night. Based on pre-Christian beliefs, this was a period when due to the darkness which engulfed it, the world was the most vulnerable, because it was exposed to dangerous creatures, ghosts and demons. Among them, we can also find a female demon, whose name we do not know. The church wanted to abolish these notions of a female demon by establishing the 13 December as a name day of St Lucia – a saint who, as suggested by her name and image, brings light. St Lucia is a patroness of sight, and her divine attribute is a tray carrying a pair of eyes. According to the legend, a pagan fell in love with her eyes, and afterwards, she pulled them out and sent them to him. But a miracle happened – Lucia did not become blind because she received a new pair of eyes from an angel. So there were two female characters on the 13 December: a demon and a saint, which have blended into one. The pagan female demon was preserved and even took the name and the attribute (eyes on a tray) from the Christian saint. With the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in 1582, the date of the name day of St Lucia and the custom of performing visits was not moved and continued to be celebrated on the 13 December.²¹

In addition to the visits, literature also mentions Lucia's bread in connection with *Lucijino*. It was prepared from all types of grain and bran, though unsalted. One cake was given to the *polažar*, a boy who would visit houses and stables early in the morning on *Lucijino* and feed the livestock. This custom originated from the belief that on certain days, for example on *Lucijino*, the first male visitor brings good luck. The residents thanked him with Lucia's bread. This bread was not considered as ordinary food because people believed it to be a cure for rabies. Everybody in the house would eat it, even the livestock.²²

The information about Lucia's bread was also interesting for the museum's educational programmes because it offered an opportunity to prepare a new museum workshop in the field of culinary tradition. Because literature did not contain enough information on the preparation and execution of the workshop, I went on to gather additional information in the field. In a conversation with two interviewees, I did not receive any information about the special bread or any other food that was prepared on *Lucijino*. Then I visited one of the oldest women in Prekmurje who was born in 1909. She did not talk about a type of bread, but she did mention cakes that were baked on that day: "We baked cakes, Lucia's cakes. The children would eagerly wait for them and say something like: "Now we will eat cakes because Lucia's Day is coming." Everything was different back then. Cakes were nicely kneaded with milk; they were sliced and decorated with curd. Children used to wait very long for these cakes."²³ As we can see, the interviewee did not mention any kind of special bread baked on *Lucijino* that would per custom, as mentioned in literature, be given to the boy and then to the rest of the family, but she did mention some kind of cake that was baked on that day. Luckily, she described the process of preparation and the ingredients, and we had enough data to make them ourselves, which is why we decided to prepare these cakes during the workshop.

The workshop was designed in such a way that it first presented the concept of *Lucijino* and the visits of *lucije*, initially with the help of photographs, followed by a demonstration on a live model. Then we proceeded with

¹⁸ GOLJIJA GODINA, M. 2014, p. 79.

¹⁹ There are several versions of descriptions of their appearance. For example, in 1884, in his note for Križevci pri Ljutomeru, Josip Pajek wrote that there are two figures: the figure dressed in black represents *lucija* and the figure dressed in white represents her attendant. Lucia carried a plate with eyes and a knife and the attendant carried an axe with attached wings. In 1943, in his note for Ižakovci, Metod Turnšek wrote that there are *luca* and her guardian, both dressed in white and with antlers that were coming out of feathers on their heads. See: GOLJIJA GODINA, M. 2014., pp. 81–82.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

²¹ KURET, N. 1989, pp. 243–245.

²² Ibid., pp. 248–250.

²³ Oral source: Serec Matilda, Satahovci, 5. 11. 2015.

the baking of cakes. Even the date of the workshop was appropriate because it was held on the 12 December, the day when children had been visited by *lucije* in the evening. The participants were able to learn about the culinary tradition and the forgotten custom of the visits of *lucije*.

The preparation of dishes offers not only knowledge of the culinary tradition but is also a tool for the illustration of historical events that influenced the nutrition of people.

During the preparation of the thematic exhibition *Prišo je glas: Prekmurci v vojni 1914–1918* (Arrival of the Voice: Prekmurje in the War 1914–1918),²⁴ we saw an opportunity for a culinary workshop with the goal of familiarising participants with the influence of historical events on nutrition. As can be deduced from the title, the exhibition showed stories of soldiers from Prekmurje on the front lines during the World War I. With regards to the nutrition, the war caused the lack of food and consequently the famine of the population.²⁵ This was not limited to soldiers on the battlefields because the lack of food and the famine were problems experienced by both soldiers and civilians.²⁶ The worst problem was the lack of flour. During the World War I, bread was not made only out of different types of flour. In the effort to minimize the consumption of flour, people added grinded legumes or potatoes and cooked groats.²⁷ In wartime, the nutrition was predominated by ingredients that were the most accessible in these difficult times: potatoes, corn, buckwheat and barley flour, and mixtures of legumes.²⁸

These characteristics of nutrition that show the effects of food deficiency were presented in the culinary workshop. It was carried out in the context of three-day thematic workshops about the World War I during the winter holidays in 2016. The workshops were designed for primary schoolchildren.²⁹ Every day we covered a different topic that was presented to the children via an exhibition, and during workshops, they made products connected with the presented topic. During the first day, children learned about the European countries in 1914 and their alliances, the reasons the war started and the new type of warfare in the trenches. During the workshop, they made a waist bag for carrying bullets. On the second day, children listened about planes as a novelty in the war, because for the first time in history the battles were also fought in the air. We introduced them to Štefan Hozjan, an excellent pilot from Prekmurje, who received the most Medals of Honour of all Slovenian pilots that fought as members of the Austrian-Hungarian army.³⁰ The presentation was followed by the making of a two-winged aeroplane, which was typical of the time. On the last day of the workshops, we talked about the nutrition during the World War I and its deficiency, which the exhibition illustrated with money orders for food. We also read a few passages from diary entries of soldiers describing nutrition. We presented the first Slovenian War cookbook³¹ titled *Varčna kuharica za slabe in dobre čase* (An Economical Cook Book for the Good and the Bad Times). Its author is Marija Remec and she “assembled the cookbook during the war year of 1915.”³² During the reading of recipes and the preparing of two dishes from the cookbook, children learned about the characteristics above of nutrition during the World War I. One group of people prepared bean stakes from mashed beans, kale and chopped French beans, while the other group made croissants out of potato dough. Both dishes reflect the lack of food during the war because they are based on very little ingredients that are combined in such a way that they sustain one’s energy level.³³

We also prepared a new proposal for the pedagogical programme linked with nutrition, which does not focus on learning about the old dishes but focuses on objects that were used in the preparation of certain types of food and later replaced by electric devices. Thus, the emphasis is on learning about the technology of the preparation of certain types of food, which was mechanic and driven by human force. The target group of

²⁴ The author of the exhibition is Metka Fujs. The exhibition took place in the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota from the 3. 12. 2015 to the 11. 9. 2016.

²⁵ GOLIJ GODINA, M. 2012, p. 76.

²⁶ STERGAR, R. 2015, p. 48.

²⁷ GOLIJ GODINA, M. 2012, pp. 70–71, 73.

²⁸ GOLIJ GODINA, M. 2014., p. 74.

²⁹ The museum workshops took place during the winter holidays from the 23. 2. to the 25. 2. 2016.

³⁰ FUJS, M. 2015, p. 49.

³¹ GOLIJ GODINA, M. 2012, p. 65.

³² REMEC, M. 2015, cover.

³³ GOLIJ GODINA, M. 2012, p. 74.



Image 2: The preparation of two dishes from the war cookbook at one of the thematic workshops on the World War I during winter holidays, the 25 February 2016, Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota (photograph: Tomislav Vrečič).

the programme are students of the first and second trienniums of primary schools. The programme is designed as an experimental lesson: in the introductory part, the students visit the exhibition and see the black kitchen and original objects that were used for the preparation of food in the past. The visit is followed by the practical part in the pedagogical facilities of the museum, where the students can test the functions of makeshift objects: they weigh the poppy with the help of the kitchen scale with weights and smash it in a wooden mortar; they make butter in the churn and grind the coffee beans by using a coffee grinder. At the end of the programme, the children are served poppy noodles (another old dish) in a clay bowl and eat it out of a common bowl with wooden spoons just as this used to be done in the past. This way the children will learn not only about the old kitchen instruments but also about the different eating customs.

CONCLUSION

The culinary workshops that have been held so far in the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota proved to be an effective learning means, which can demonstrate to the participants what the dietary habits of the rural population looked like in the past.³⁴ This type of nutrition represents an intangible cultural heritage, which is actively experienced in such workshops, with the participation in the preparation of dishes, involving all senses.³⁵ The participants learn about the preparation of food, the food itself and the circumstances that surrounded the preparation of a certain dish (for example, a holiday dish, an everyday dish, etc.). Since the nutrition accompanies customs, both can be effectively presented in the form of culinary workshops, which we accomplished in the case of Lucia's cake. The dietary habits can tell us a lot more because they were influenced by historical circumstances. We successfully demonstrated this in the case of *pereci*, which were taken over from the Hungarian culinary arts, as well as with the help of two dishes prepared in accordance with the War cookbook from 1915, which reflects the lack of food experienced during those times.

In what way do such programmes contribute to the role museums have in the community in which they operate? We are confident that this way the museum reinforces its role and offers visitors a place for socialising, creating and studying. It operates as an active member of the community, which can take part in current matters and has an important influence on the shaping of devotedness towards heritage that it strives to protect. The 21st century museums are still institutions that protect the cultural heritage, but they have to adapt to the needs and changing aspects of the community so that they can become museums for the 21st century. That is why we need to add new meaning and values and look for new ways of museum communication.³⁶ In this context, the pedagogical programmes, which entail the described culinary workshops, have an important role because they open the museum as a place of dialogue with the community. Food brings people closer together.³⁷ It represents a safe topic that can connect a completely heterogeneous group of individuals.³⁸ Besides

³⁴ BIŽIĆ-OMČIKUS, V., ČOLAK-ANTIČ, T. 2015, p. 167.

³⁵ LUNDE, C. 2015, p. 96.

³⁶ ŠIROK, K., et al. 2016, p. 27.

³⁷ LUNDE, C. 2015, p. 94.

³⁸ ŠIROK, K., et al., 2016, p. 106.

the educational experience in a relaxed environment, the visitors of culinary workshops also experience social benefits.³⁹ The food that is prepared during the culinary workshops is always placed in the context of heritage. This means that the heritage is the value connecting community, enabling an intergenerational creativity and empirical learning. With the help of culinary workshops, we can determine important cognitions about the past and use them in the present. The culinary heritage, which we become familiar with during the workshops, reminds us that our predecessors grew all their food at home, so it came from an extremely local production and was seasonal. Also, they were very careful when preparing food not to waste too much of it. Local production of food and the reduction of waste are challenges that are becoming more and more apparent and urgent in the modern society. This is where heritage becomes useful because it shows us ways of the local production of food and its reasonable consumption. Due to the severely changed lifestyle in the modern time, we cannot directly transfer this knowledge and practices in our everyday life, but we can adapt them to our circumstances and capabilities. Another value of these museum programmes is evident in that they open a dialogue about actual problems and help us understand how to take the best practices from the past and use them today.⁴⁰

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Oral source: Serec Matilda, Satahovci, 5. 11. 2015.

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V MUZEJU TUDI KUHAMO! KULINARIČNI PEDAGOŠKI PROGRAMI V POMURSKEM MUZEJU MURSKA SOBOTA

Mateja Huber, Pomurski muzej, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so obravnavani primeri pedagoških programov v Pomurskem muzeju Murska Sobota, povezani s kulinarično dediščino. Ti programi temeljijo na aktivni udeležbi otrok in potekajo v obliki muzejskih delavnic, na katerih otroci kuhajo jedi, ki so jih v Prekmurju jedli v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Priprava jedi po starih receptih lahko služi kot učinkovito učno sredstvo, s katerim otroci spoznavajo način življenja različnih slojev prebivalstva in tudi vplive velikih zgodovinskih dogodkov na vsakdanjik ljudi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kulinarično izročilo, Prekmurje, muzejska pedagogika, Pomurski muzej

POVZETEK

Sestavni del pedagoških programov, ki jih izvajamo v Pomurskem muzeju Murska Sobota, so kulinarične delavnice, ki potekajo v za ta namen opremljeni kuhinji. Osrednji cilj teh delavnic je, da udeleženci spoznavajo kulinarično dediščino Prekmurja na aktiven način, ki vključuje vsa čutila. Udeleženci so tisti, ki pripravljajo določeno jed, ob tem pa spoznavajo sestavine, način priprave in okoliščine, v katerih so to jed pripravljali, na koncu pa spoznajo še okus, vonj in videz določene jedi. Toda pri teh programih ne gre le za izobraževalno vlogo muzeja. Hrana s svojim družbenim pomenom lahko služi tudi kot sredstvo, s katerim se muzej lahko uspešno vzpostavi kot družabni prostor in obiskovalcem poleg izobraževanja omogoča še družabna doživetja. Te delavnice izvajamo v muzeju kot družinske ali počitniške delavnice, po dogovoru pa jih izvedemo tudi s šolskimi skupinami. Taka družinska delavnica je potekala med jesenskimi počitnicami. Takrat smo pripravili delavnico priprave jabolčnih zavitkov, saj so te zavitke v preteklosti najpogosteje pripravljali ravno v jesenskem in poletnem času, ko je bilo svežih jabolč v izobilju. Večina udeležencev se je prvič preizkusila v veščini vlečenja testa in po delavnici so bili njihovi odzivi spodbudni, saj jih je večina dejala, da bodo zavitke iz doma pripravljenega testa še sami preizkusili v svojih kuhinjah. Menimo, da je udeležba na delavnici vplivala na udeležence, tako da so svoje dotedanje stališče in prakso spremenili: od tega, da jabolčnih zavitkov niso nikoli pripravljali iz doma pripravljenega testa – ker so menili, da je to zanje prezahtevno, do tega, da bodo na delavnici pridobljeno znanje odtlej uporabljali. Drugo družinsko delavnico smo izvedli v okviru božičnega programa. Predstavili smo *lucijo*, decembrsko obhodnico na predvečer goda sv. Lucije (13. december); ti obhodi so se do danes opustili. Na terenu smo pridobili podatke o lucijinih pogačah, jih pripravili na delavnici in tako smo s kulinariko predstavili staro šego obhodov *lucij*. Priprava jedi ni zgolj spoznavanje kulinaričnega izročila, ampak lahko s tem ponazorimo tudi zgodovinske dogodke, ki so vplivali na prehrano ljudi. Eden takih primerov je bila delavnica priprave dveh jedi iz kuharice iz časa prve svetovne vojne. Obe jedi sta ponazarjali vpliv pomanjkanja osnovnih živil na prehrano. V zvezi s prehrano pa načrtujemo še nov pedagoški program: udeleženci bodo s praktičnim preizkušanjem kopij starih kuhinjskih pripomočkov spoznavali njihovo delovanje.

THE MARKETPLACE – THE BELLY OF A CITY*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The travelling exhibition “The Marketplace – the Belly of a City” is a result of collaborative research of two museums, the Ethnographic museum of Istria and the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka. The research was targeted to describe the correlation of vendors and buyers with the main topic being the trust between them. In this paper (and within the scope of the exhibition) authors give the insight in the Marketplace as a place to work, but also a place to learn, communicate, exchange recipes or just hang with friends. However, marketplaces also have their history, and they are an important part of the identity of the city.

KEY WORDS

Marketplace, Rijeka, Pula, trust, fresh, homemade, organic produce, exhibition

INTRODUCTION

“The Marketplace – the Belly of a City” exhibition is firstly a result of the collaboration of two museums, the Ethnographic Museum of Istria and the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka. The idea for the exhibition came to be as a part of the “Mind What You Eat” project that the Ethnographic Museum of Istria organises every year on different topics connected with traditional and healthy food. In 2015, the main topic was “Marketplaces as places of communications”, so the need for an exhibition where this topic could further be explored occurred.

The exhibition is designed as a travelling exhibition, with the ability to update content on the markets of the hosting cities. The text of the exhibition and the accompanying promotional material is trilingual (Croatian, Italian, and English). This is what makes the exhibition attractive when roaming outside of the Croatian-speaking area. This exhibition was featured in the Republic of Croatia (Pula, Pazin, Rijeka, Županja, Vukovar), in the Republic of Serbia (Novi Sad, Kikinda, Pančevo, Belgrade) and in Tolmin, Slovenia since May 2017.

While primarily researching marketplaces in Pula and Rijeka, our goal was not only to highlight their specific features but also to draw attention to the universal topic of the seller-buyer relationship typical of all marketplaces. Through this interaction we opened many topics such as informal communication in markets, (un)conscious direction of customers when they are buying food, issues of mutual trust, the myth of authenticity, the trend of a healthy diet resulting in the emergence of the eco-market, and many other topics that are displayed at the exhibition and in the accompanying catalog.

We wanted to introduce a historical perspective but also a problematical review of the current context in which the city marketplaces persist. The exhibition was accompanied by lectures, workshops and film screenings on the subject of nutrition. That is why the exhibition was just one part of a complex project. The program that was designed for broad type of audience aimed to demonstrate that museums are not closed, introverted institutions, but open communicators who, in cooperation with the community in which they operate, open and discusses the current issues of interest to the community. The interactive part of the exhibition includes a *corner for the visitors* where they are allowed to write their own opinions and memories of the markets in the past and today. Thus, the museum is open for communication with the community that we consider extremely important in modern museology.

* Translation: Tanja Tomaš, Tanja Kocković Zaborski, Ivana Šarić Žic

“For me, the market is an exhibition of paintings. I want to buy everything: spring lettuce, chicory – primo tajo (“first cut”), the lovely fruit, the little fish... The market means relaxation, joy, happiness, encounters, pure enjoyment.” (Elda, Pula)

“It reminds me of my childhood, of certain habits and customs we used to have. Today, a market is an awesome place where I can still hear the dialect of Pula’s grandmothers and grandfathers.” (Andreas, Pula)

Going to a farmer’s market, an outdoor market or a market square is a part of our daily routine. We buy fresh produce, meat and fish, eggs, cheese and milk. We exchange recipes, ask for advice, comment on the weather, politics and the economy, or yesterday’s TV show.

A market has numerous meaningful facets – social, economic and touristic, yet it is primarily a place of communication, a space of multi-level social interaction between buyers, sellers and observers. It is a public space where the local community sees some new ingredients for the first time and incorporates them into its diet.

Markets have a universal quality about them, yet going to a market is a very personal thing. Each of us has his/her own routine when going to the market. Some buy vegetables first; others might leave buying fish as last, while still others just want to have a cup of coffee with friends.

As globalisation intensifies, town markets play the role of an *outdoor museum, a museum of identity*, where local traditions are on display. Even though it sometimes seems that we ‘only buy groceries’ at a market, it is there that we actually discover the identity of a town.¹ What we buy there reflects an extremely vital aspect of intangible culture – nutrition; the architectural features of a marketplace testify to cultural influences; while multiculturalism documents the migratory aspect of a local population.² The importance of a marketplace can be seen in what is on offer, while it represents a place that preserves the “spirit” of a town and its intangible tradition. Historically speaking Markets or places where people traded always attracted people from surrounding areas but also from a far. It was a place where the contact with the “outside” world was made. Marketplaces became places where exchange between citizens and farmers took place, but between people of different cultures as well.³

Lifestyles have changed rapidly over the past few decades. We live faster, and we want to do as much as possible in the least amount of time, preferably by using a car. Markets, most often located in downtown areas with limited parking options, are finding it increasingly difficult to fit into these new purchasing habits. Therefore, they are changing as well, adjusting to the buyer’s needs, yet they still survive and testify to a city’s identity.

Globalised food that comes from different parts of the world and that can be consumed at any season contributes to the loss of feeling for the place, local and seasonal product but can also contribute to breaking social ties between food and people. Standardization of taste, EU and local government regulative brings us to the fact that our biological diversity is decreasing and people are starting to forget local knowledge (growing and preparing food).⁴ That is why the marketplaces where local, fresh and seasonal goods are sold are so important in that process because it is becoming the only tie between the rural and urban place, the buyer and the food that they eat.

Today people appreciate the value of local, fresh and healthy food that they can buy on marketplaces. Seasonal fruit and vegetables are sold there, so marketplaces are different from supermarkets. People nowadays are appreciative about guaranteed quality, traceability of food, prices, safety of food, organic products but also of exclusive offer. That is why modern day gastronomes and people that want to live healthy go to the markets.⁵ A new paradox is emerging, marketplaces were usually places where poor people bought food, but

¹ Markets show the identity of the city, but also the identity of the surroundings from which the sellers come to the market.

² Ljubljana and Celje markets in Slovenia were interesting subject for the research concerning food habits of the people before World War II (see Židov 1994 and 1996, Zakošek 1997).

³ BLACK, R. E. 2012. pp. 30–31.

⁴ Ibid., 153.

⁵ CONTRERAS, J. 2004, p. 213.

today they are buying food in the supermarkets, whereas marketplaces are places for the wealthy people.⁶

THE SELLERS

Every vendors' face which we meet on the market "hides" their personal story and the reasons why they choose to work at the market. Talking to them, we realise why markets are very much alive and the witnesses of historical and social changes.

Ms Marija-Marjuča is a third-generation seller at Pula's marketplace. Before World War II, her grandfather used to come from Cerovlje with oxen to sell hay. In Pula, there was a great demand for hay because people had horses for traffic purposes. Her mother sold vegetables in the latter half of the 20th century. She used to take the train that carried workers to the Uljanik Shipyard. She would hire a porter who would load the produce on his cart and pull it to the market. When she was a girl, Ms Marjuča avoided going to the market with her mother, because she was ashamed. Since 1993, she has been selling her vegetables and wild herbs from the Cerovlje area. "Customers are finicky", Ms Marjuča says, "they want natural vegetables with no pesticides, but they want them to look nice. And this does not go hand in hand."

Ms Sofija has been selling vegetables at the marketplace for the past 25 years. She cultivates her own land, as well as leased land around Pula. "You have to be a psychologist to communicate with buyers," Ms Sofija stresses. She claims to have a "soft" relationship with her customers. She believes that people love buying at markets and that all of those who switched to supermarkets eventually return to the market in their search for fresh vegetables, fish and meat. Customers can ask for advice, recipes, and even when they are in a hurry, they find a moment to stop and chat with the sellers or neighbours they meet.

A woman with years of experience selling at Rijeka's marketplace shared with us some of her practices that ensure a successful day at the market, especially common among the older vendors. "It is important to them that their first customer is male, and God forbid anyone uses their scales before them, or that the first sale weighs less than half a kilo. And God forbid you ask them to make change for larger bills. These are some of the old ways." Working at the market is like working anywhere else. "All of us here are a large family, and that is how we should behave. You leave your stall, you need to buy something, you need to go to the toilet, or run some errands – and you need to trust the other person. There are areas of discord, but there are also areas of accord. I believe we should help each other out, why be jealous? I have my customers; you have yours."

One of the rare sellers who inherited her stall from her mother testifies to the conditions at an open market: "Say, strong *bora* winds may blow during summer months. Boxes fly, scales fall, everything flies, it's unbelievable. When the *bora* blows, I put a 2 kg weigh on my scales to keep them from blowing away. You can't have a parasol – everyone says not to be exposed to the sun – but we are all the time. You can't have a parasol because it gets broken, tons of mine got broken, and we have to buy them ourselves. In early summer, I buy the strongest sunscreen, and I'm ready, you can't imagine how nicely we tan. Not to mention the produce, the leafy greens..." She emphasised that the combination of the *bora* wind and rain is extremely unpleasant. "In the winter, with the wind and the rain, you simply remove the umbrella and stand in the rain, both you and your goods, waiting for someone to come and buy something, all day long. And who goes shopping when it rains?"

THE BUYERS

What is your market routine? At first glance, it might seem that we roam around the market with little reason or rhyme. Yet most of us go by logic unknown to the others. Moreover, having a coffee with friends, whether before or after shopping is always welcome.

"I first choose fish and ask for it to be scaled and cleaned while I buy bread, dairy products, meat, produce, and newspapers, and then I return for it. I never come back the same way; I rather walk in circles." (Elda, Pula)

"I have no fixed routine; it all depends on the day, time, needs..." (Ana, Rijeka)

⁶ KARINČIĆ, S. 2004, p. 37.

“First to the fishmonger, then the butcher, and then the rest – I put together my menu as I go.” (Goga, Rijeka)

When we buy groceries, we have to transport them from the market to our kitchen. The manner of packing groceries has changed over history. Vendors used to wrap products in clean white sheets of paper, in paper bags or, as they do it today, in plastic bags. Old market rules mention that wrapping the ingredients in newspapers, cloth or kerchiefs was prohibited in order to preserve the stipulated sanitary conditions. Buyers have always had in common the need to get their groceries safely to their final destination: the kitchen. Whether in wicker baskets, nets, linen or plastic bags, or contemporary wheeled baskets. Today produce market buyers pay attention not only to *what* they carry but also to *what they carry it in*. Thus, their bags are no longer only useful, but also indicators of their environmental awareness, as well as fashion accessories.

On marketplaces, the rule of payment with cash is still in use. We can only imagine how many various paper bills have rustled in the hands of buyers and vendors on the market places of Rijeka and Pula over the years. Whether using Austro-Hungarian or Rijeka crowns, lira, dinars or kuna, life on the market kept pace with changes of rulers and all of the ensuing socio-economic circumstances. Payment cards never took hold on market places. Payment with cash pulled from one’s pocket is typical for small-volume trade. The wad of bills used to be taken out from a buyer’s handkerchief or a pocket – when buying by a lot one would even unstitch a pocket concealing the money. Today, money is taken out of wallets, while the vendors still carefully store it in their pockets, cases or handy small metal boxes.

ON TRUST

Most of us have our saleslady from whom we have been getting the groceries for our meals for years. We turn to them confident that their products will always be of high quality and that the scales will always weigh correctly. When you hear them calling us *darling*, *sweetheart*, *honey*, *neighbour*, *lovely*, you just have to buy from them. Some of them know you by name, some of them you call by their names. You are well aware that the question of whether the last purchase was to your satisfaction has only one acceptable answer: in the affirmative. Today, when communication is increasingly impersonal and official, the direct communication typical of produce markets gains significance and attracts an increasing number of people devoted to buying at outdoor markets.



Image 1: Marketplace in Pula, photography in colour, 2014, Ethnographic Museum of Istria (photograph: Andreas Kancelar).

For many people going to a market means buying home-made products exclusively. The produce on offer is not as sterile as what we have become accustomed to seeing in supermarkets. This leads buyers to believe that produce with traces of dirt came directly from a farm. Yet, matters are more complex than that. Distinguishing home-grown produce from its imported counterparts is no longer an easy task on a market place (which applies to supermarkets as well). On the other hand, the vendors and their products (throughout history to the present) originate in different places and regions, thus giving market places a multicultural air.

“I try to remember the people and stalls where I found lettuce nibbled by caterpillars, plums with worms, peppers that look a bit homely, different in shape and size... It seems to me that it was not so long ago that we did not need to think about whether tangerines got too contaminated on their way from Spain. All the produce was natural, brought from local gardens and fields. In dry years, tomatoes were tiny, and lettuce would not grow... Today, weather conditions do not influence the quantity and appearance of a product.” (Ksenija, Rijeka)

Trust between buyers and sellers is difficult to build and easily toppled. Trust is broken when vendors do not label their product so the buyers can see from where the product came (local, regional or from neighbouring countries). It is important for the buyers to know where the vegetables and fruits were grown and to be sure that they are healthy.

Some of the buyers in the context of trust decide to buy in the different type of markets – organic farmers markets. The number of buyers opting for organic markets, which are highly popular both in Croatia and elsewhere in the world, is constantly growing. This is a form of resistance to the fast-paced life and uniform flavours of food, showing a desire to eat healthy, local products. There is a high demand for produce grown in an environmentally friendly manner, without the use of pesticides or chemical fertilisers, from old, domestic seed varieties. One of the basic differences between “standard” and “organic” market places is that there are no middlemen at the latter – the vendor is also the producer. Today, such direct communication revives trust on the part of buyers in the quality of the produce on offer. Eco-certificates guarantee that the produce was grown in accordance to organic standards.

Large cities have several organic market places, mostly organised by city precincts. There are two in Rijeka – the Eko Cvetko in Drenova and the Demetra’s Green Corner – both with regular customers.

There is a great number of organic markets and organic festivals in Croatia, but we have to have in mind the organic certification that differentiates “standard” and “organic” products. Organic markets with vendors/ organic farmers that have organic certifications for their product are new kind of markets. They are called Solidary Organic Markets. The idea of the Solidary Organic Market (SOM) originated in Pula. It resulted from the cooperation between the Istrian Eco-Product (IEP) Association and the Organic solidarity groups (OSG) – informal groups of citizens who support and purchase organic products. The word “solidary” on that type of markets means that the vendors sell their goods at stalls free of charge, while the buyers purchase the goods at reasonable prices (lower than the prices usually paid for organic products).

The fruit and vegetables at solidary eco-markets have “a name and surname”, the buyers know what they buy and from whom. The link between people and the food they eat is restored. The atmosphere at these markets is relaxed and friendly, which is another reason for buyers to come again. The idea of SOMs, which originated in Istria (Pula, Rovinj, Višnji), has spread to other Croatian cities (Osijek, Rijeka), and such markets are soon to be opened in Karlovac and Zagreb.

“There is no cheap and healthy in organic production. Organic production is a long and difficult process. If you want it cheap and healthy, plant your own garden.” (Nenad, organic farmer for over 15 years)

“The most important thing at an organic market place is the trust between buyers and sellers. No market place can function without it.” (Dorian, a young producer who launched an organic farm after graduating from college)

MARKETPLACES AS A CULTURAL HERITAGE

What is older, the city or the marketplace? Historically speaking we can say that the development of a city is closely connected with a place of trading goods. From the early days, people traded food, and they needed a place and time to trade. Fairs were usually organised on specific dates in the year, but the need to trade on weekly and daily basis grew as cities became bigger.

For the purpose of the exhibition, we researched historical data concerning the Rijeka and Pula city markets.

THE PULA MARKETPLACE

The late 19th century saw Pula's rapid growth into an important city and the main Austro-Hungarian port. The need arose for a separate place where its citizens could obtain high-quality groceries.⁷

The Pula Marketplace was opened in April 1903, built by the Viennese company Lodovic Jakob Müntz.⁸ The fishmongers were in the basement, with an ice-house on the other side. Fresh produce was sold upstairs. A total of eighty-six fixed stalls were at the disposal to the vendors.

The facility expanded over time. The open market had space for people from neighbouring towns and villages to sell their vegetables, milk, eggs and small livestock. Seventy chestnut trees were planted in two rows to protect the vendors from the Sun and pests. Twelve were set aside for butchers, while the rest sold produce.⁹

The marketplace was first renovated in 1935, when the interior was refurbished, and then again in 1958 when the passage through the ground floor was enclosed. The marketplace was last remodelled in 1997 when its original design was restored.

Today, there are 137 stone tables at the open space where the vendors are protected by red parasols and crowns of chestnut trees. This "belly of the city" has been feeding residents of Pula and its environs for over one hundred years.

THE MARKETPLACES IN RIJEKA

During the latter half of the 19th century, trade and seafaring were highly developed in Rijeka, prompting an increase in the town's population and the related problem of supplying its citizens with food and other products. The situation resulted in an increased demand for the construction of marketplaces, of which there were already several in Rijeka.

RIJEKA FISH MARKET

The opening of Rijeka's old fish market in 1866, designed by Anton Deseppi, is considered a crucial moment in the history of the *Velika placa* (Grand Market) in Rijeka. However, although it was a very architecturally harmonious structure, when the waterfront was broadened, a part of the fish market was lost, and it failed to comply with the sanitary and technical requirements. Despite years of disputes over the location for a new fish market, eventually, a decision was made to build it at the site of the old one. The project was finally completed in 1916, in line with the ideas by Carlo Pergoli.

"Having passed by the stalls, one comes to the fish market. There are stalls with (ice) boxes full of eels writhing like snakes. The floor is covered with baskets of sea snails and shellfish. (...) Rijeka's fish market is a long building with entrance and exit doors and two rows of fishers. Each placed his willow baskets on the planks, filled with various fishes, crabs, cuttlefish, calamari, squid, and octopus. The scent is peculiar, so if you are not used to it, you will soon leave. The fishers stand by their baskets, beardless with ravaged faces and rolled-up sleeves, offering their catch. (...) There is a plumbing system for water to keep the fish moist and fresh, yet Rijeka's fishers are skilled sailors. When you doubt their freshness, they swear by it, offering the fish by showing the properly red gills, yet they readily trick you by dyeing the gills."¹⁰

RIJEKA'S COVERED PAVILIONS

The opening ceremony for two identical covered pavilions (called the First and Second Pavilions) was held at Rijeka's Ürmény Square on the 1st of July in 1881. They were constructed at the site of the former open market stalls based on the design by Izidor Wauching. Their shorter sides are solid walls, while the longer sides are made of glass in cast iron frames. Rijeka's covered markets are significant urban and communal facilities resulting from a well-conceived plan for supplying residents in the best possible manner. When they were built, their architecture represented cutting-edge solutions to public buildings of the kind found in other European cities like Trieste, Graz or Vienna.¹¹

⁷ KRIZMANIĆ, A. 2002, pp. 541–542.

⁸ BENUSSI, B. 2002, p. 615.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 544–545.

¹⁰ HIRC, D. 1996, pp. 45–46.

THE SUŠAK MARKET

In the early 20th century, when Sušak was in economic and cultural competition with Rijeka and the Dalmatian ports, its further development called for the construction of a functional market place. The history of Sušak's market is as vivid as the history of Sušak itself.

The “forgotten” market building with its art-deco façade was built in 1911 opposite the Continental Palace, based on an idea by Mihovil Trnković. The market was adapted to the urban layout and was designed to contribute to the ambience intended for pedestrians, its size and shape fully suited to this human scale. The original double stairways with “small angels” – candelabras was replaced in 1931 by a single stairway, a strikingly coarse stone retaining wall and a concrete terrace balustrade.¹²

RIJEKA'S BELVEDER MARKET

When considering Rijeka's market places, the Belveder Market holds a significant place. It was designed as a supply centre with a fish market and was constructed in 1933 based on the designs of Rijeka's architect Eneo Perugini. Its architecture is modern, as it is the case with numerous public buildings constructed in Rijeka between the two World Wars. Perugini did not design the ground level as an open pavilion, which was usually the case in traditional covered markets, but rather as a string of specialised shops entered from the street and a fish market. Office spaces, two shops and a terrace are on the first floor.

RIJEKA'S BRAJDA MARKET

During Rijeka's flourishing era in the 1890's, the need arose to construct contemporary residential quarters close to the railway station along Rijeka's main street, which included a market place. Giacomo Zammatio, Rijeka's most prominent architect at the time, took on the project of constructing the covered Brajda market. According to the *La Bilancia* daily magazine, “on the day of the opening ceremony, on the 1st of Sept in 1896, the Brajda market building was adorned with flags, while the vendors decorated their stalls with flowers.”

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

We believe that every one of you, visiting new cities, has at least once checked on their markets to feel the pulse of the city. We are certain that it is precisely the market where you get an intense feel for your destination.

Tourists are more frequently visiting our market places, touring the stalls, asking questions, discovering, touching and feeling our cities. There they find the picture that may remind them of their past, the place they come from or discover an entirely new world. Some of them are recognised by their cameras, backpacks or (un)known languages. Some try to blend in with the world of vivid colours and intense aromas, hoping to return home with such a ‘souvenir’. By discovering a seemingly unimportant part of the cultural heritage, they discover the identity of a city.



Image 2: Marketplace in Pula, photography in colour, 2014, Ethnographic Museum of Istria (photograph: Andreas Kancelar).

¹¹ MATEJČIĆ, R. 1981, p. 25.

¹² LOZZI BARKOVIĆ, J. 1993, pp. 38–43.

And what do they see/feel? A market place is like a gallery with a continually changing display. Colours, moods, tastes, and scents constantly alternate, intermingled with sounds all at the same time. Summers are reserved for tomatoes, zucchini, eggplants, strawberries, watermelons and cantaloupes. The colours are bright red, orange, purple and refreshingly green. Winters are painted in darker tones, and the offer is more modest, dominated by sauerkraut, collard greens, and kale. The 'winter shades' are only 'disturbed' by the bright colours of citrus fruit and winter squash. No one is immune to the pulsing energy of *the belly of a city* that awakens the senses and invites us to a carefree game of verbal one-upmanship, shrewd selections and the excitement of unpredictable purchase choices. Unlike supermarkets with their highly controlled stimulation of our senses, outdoor markets feature a mixture of pleasant aromas and not-so-pleasant smells, a din and a rainbow of colours - all at the same time. Each change of seasons is reflected in the tidy rows of stalls which, despite the apparent chaos, exude a sense of a relaxing harmony.

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TRŽNICA – POPEK MESTA

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mag. Ivana Šarić Žic, Pomorski in zgodovinski muzej hrvaškega primorja, Hrvaška

Strokovni članek (1.04.)

IZVLEČEK

Potujoča razstava »Tržnica – Popek mesta« je rezultat raziskave pri kateri sta sodelovala Etnografski muzej Istre in Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja Rijeka. Raziskava je bila usmerjena v razlago soodvisnosti prodajalcev in kupcev, z glavno temo zaupanja med njimi. Avtorji v pričujočem prispevku (in v sklopu razstave) ponujajo vpogled v tržnico kot prostor za delo, učenje, komuniciranje, izmenjavo receptov ali zgolj druženja s prijatelji. Vendar imajo tržnice tudi svojo zgodovino in predstavljajo pomemben del identitete mesta.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Tržnica, Rijeka, Pula, zaupanje, svežina, domače, organsko sadje in zelenjava, razstava

POVZETEK

Potujoča razstava »Tržnica – Popek mesta« je rezultat raziskave pri kateri sta sodelovala Etnografski muzej Istre in Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja Rijeka.

Z vedno večjo globalizacijo so mestne tržnice začele igrati vlogo muzeja na prostem, muzeja identitete, kjer so razstavljene lokalne tradicije. Čeprav se včasih zdi, da na tržnici »zgolj nakupujemo hrano«, je prav to prostor, kjer dejansko odkrivamo identiteto nekega mesta. To kar kupujemo na tržnicah odraža bistven vidik nesnovne dediščine – prehrano; arhitektonske značilnosti tržnice pričajo o kulturnih vplivih; med tem ko multikulturalizem dokumentira migracijski vidik lokalnega prebivalstva. Pomen tržnice je viden preko njene ponudbe, ob tem ko predstavlja prostor, ki ohranja »duh« mesta in njegovo nesnovno tradicijo. Na tržnici se na veliko komunicira. To je prostor kjer se družimo s prijatelji, komentiramo televizijsko oddajo preteklega večera, politiko in vreme. To je prostor kjer kupujemo hrano, se povezujemo s sosedi in hrano. Tržnica predstavlja tudi zgodbo o delovnem mestu prodajalcev in težkih pogojih v katerih vsak dan delajo. Prav tako pa je tržnica prostor, kjer lahko spoznamo zgodovino mesta, ki smo ga obiskali.

Avtorji prispevka so med drugim želeli poudariti pomen zaupanja med prodajalci in kupci. Od tega je odvisna vsa »čarovnija«, ki se dogaja na tržnici. Kupci želijo kupiti sveže in zdravo lokalno sadje in zelenjavo. Prodajalci želijo kupcem ponuditi vse kar pridelajo. Da bi se spletla vez, ki jo predstavlja zaupanje, je potrebnih veliko let, vendar je potreben zgolj trenutek da se le ta pretrga. Prav zaradi tega se vse več ljudi odloča nakupovati na organskih tržnicah.

Predstavljena razstava je gostovala na Hrvaškem (Pula, Pazin, Rijeka, Županja, Vukovar), v Srbiji (Novi Sad, Kikinda, Pančevo, Beograd) in Tolminu v Sloveniji maja 2017.

THE OLD WORLD CHARM OF SMOKEHOUSES AND SMOKE KITCHENS

“We ate from the same bowl”, a pedagogical workshop in the Vrhnjak Smokehouse*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on permanent exhibitions in the Carinthian Regional Museum, demonstrating various forms of kitchens and food preparation in the past, with an emphasis on the pedagogical workshop “We ate from the same bowl”. The reconstruction of the wooden Vrhnjak Smokehouse, with its typical internal furnishing, enables children to make an imaginary entrance into the past daily life. By drawing comparisons with modern everyday life, they learn about the lives of rural families in the past. Together, we are finding answers as to how they lived, where they slept, how big the families were, what they ate at different times of the year, how they ate from the same bowl, what children’s chores were, etc.

KEY WORDS

smokehouse, smoke kitchen, stove house, pedagogical workshops, open hearth, smoke hood

The thematic cluster of the symposium Museoeurope is based on the Carinthian Regional Museum’s permanent museum exhibitions on the heritage of the living and food culture in Carinthia, with an emphasis on the pedagogical programme and work with primary school children.

Slovenian Carinthia encompasses the Mežica, Mislinja and Drava Valleys and is divided into twelve municipalities. It is a typical border area since its territory was first crossed by a provincial border between Carinthia and Styria and after World War I a state border.

The Carinthian Regional Museum, with its permanent exhibitions, is the central museum institution in the area of twelve Carinthian municipalities. Although a special place among the permanent exhibitions that display the heritage of the living and food culture of smokehouses and smoke-kitchen houses is ascribed to the reconstruction of the Vrhnjak Smokehouse in the Ravne Castle in Ravne na Koroškem, the Prežihov Voranc Cottage in the Prežihov Voranc Memorial Museum at Preški Vrh above Kotlje (a smoke-kitchen house) and the old smoke kitchen in the parish house in Libeliče, each and every one of them provides an inexhaustible source of historical memory, the diversity of residential culture, and social stratification of the rural population, ranging from big and isolated farms to small-farm “bajtler” plots. In the area mentioned above, the layout and design of a rural home were determined by the variegated terrain, the number of buildings, as well as the property status and the age of homesteads. Buildings on a variegated terrain are built so as to form a nucleated whole in line with the experiences passed on from previous generations and in line with the demands of cattle farming. A nucleated homestead has a central courtyard that is not enclosed, but rather serves as a communication space between all the buildings composing the homestead, regardless of its size. The nucleated homestead is composed of a farmhouse, surrounded by various outbuildings that are seemingly arranged without order but are, in fact, organically connected to make the homestead a complete and comprehensive whole. Farms are surrounded by land plots and forests. Standing parallel to the farmhouse is usually a barn with a stable, while most wealthy farms also have granaries – storehouses for harvested crops. Mills and sawmills were set up where the water power provided enough energy.

*Translation: Manca Gašperšič

The notions of dwelling and home bear very different meanings in workers' and city environments on the one hand and the rural environment on the other. Whereas city dwellers will identify their home with their residence, rural inhabitants will tie it to their landed property. This relationship is also manifested in the most elementary living needs. Namely, rural inhabitants slept not only in farmhouses, but also in stables, haylofts, on the floor, and so forth. They, likewise, ate not only at the home table but in the fields and meadows during grass-cutting, in the forest after woodcutting, etc.¹ The concept of living culture conveys the style of living, by including and intertwining all personal relationships which, in this case, unfold within the framework of the rural environment. The house as the core of a rural home has undergone the greatest changes over the past centuries, mostly owing to the position and type of hearths. The room in which food was prepared has had the most important role in the history of humanity, with the kitchen and its fireplace, which provided heat for cooking, having undergone countless changes, associated with many novelties in the living culture, as well as changes in the method and technology of preparing food.² Houses are distinguished by their position, the type of hearth, and the manner of smoke disposal, namely:³

- open-hearth house,
- smokehouse,
- smoke-kitchen house,
- fireplace-stove house,
- stove house.

In Carinthia, only certain types developed in the above sequence. The most common in the Alpine area were smokehouses, smoke-kitchen houses and stove houses. As Franc Kotnik wrote, the smokehouse remained in existence for a long time in places north of the Slovenian linguistic territory. Its presence was spread from Sv. Ana at Kremberg to Villach/Beljak. Around 1800, smokehouses in the east reached as far as Ptuj, in the south to the line connecting Konjice, Šoštanj and Mozirje, and to the northern slopes of the Savinja Alps and the Karavanke Mountains. At that time, they were also common in the entire Gail/Zilja area. In 1915, the boundary retreated further to the central Alps, towards north and west.⁴

During the Enlightenment period or the "time of common sense", the lifestyle and centuries-old, deep-rooted habits and customs of the rural population were drastically changed by Maria Theresa and her reforms, which also included a ban on the construction of new smokehouses. In open-hearth smokehouses, where the fire was permanently kept burning and where lighting was provided with the use of splints, the danger of fires was very high. However, peasants, particularly poorer ones, clung to their ancient tradition, not being able to afford new calotte-shaped ovens and tallow, false flax and linen oil lighting. Smokehouses, which rural families shared with cows and pigs during winter, were kept warm by the same fire. Lard and tallow for lamps and candles were scarce: peasants would not eat meat several consecutive years, and there was no material to make lamp fuel. Moreover, they would not eat bread for several months at a time. Nevertheless, smoke-kitchen houses continued to gain ground well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The process of eliminating the construction of smokehouses was a long one, and it is striking to see the tenacity with which they resisted progress.⁵

¹ KERŠIČ, I. 1988, p. 333.

² ODER, K. 1998, p. 2.

³ VILFAN, S. 1970, p. 562.

⁴ KOTNIK, F. 1943, p. 32.

⁵ In 1763, the Viennese government sent proposals to the provincial governorship on improving the lives of the peasantry: The proposals were as follows:

1. Prohibition shall be imposed on the construction of new smokehouses, which shall be subject to a fine of 6 toalars, and if the estate is taken over by a new owner, the transfer of ownership shall only be permitted on the condition that he eliminates the smokehouse.
2. The first one hundred peasants who will convert their smokehouses into workshops with calotte-shaped ovens shall be paid 4 guldens each from the board's treasury.
3. The serfs shall be advised by landlords, officials or parish priests to abandon the use of splint wood and introduce tallow candles or iron lamps, which are common in France and the Netherlands, and are a handy way to use up the left-over lard, tallow or various kinds of false flax, linen or beech oil. Also, two hundred of such lamps are to be distributed among peasants without charge, while seigniorial officials and parish priests who win over the highest number of peasants in their districts are to be paid an annual award of 50 guldens for three consecutive years from the commercial treasury.
4. Prohibition shall be imposed on the use of splint wood in stables, which is to be replaced by the use of candles and lamps.
5. Prohibition shall be imposed on wooden chimneys in small towns, market towns, in manors and peasant house.

SMOKEHOUSES

It was still in the nineteenth century that smokehouses as single-unit buildings were very common in Carinthia. They were constructed of hand-chiselled logs and often had a small wooden anteroom, a “shed”. The only room in the house combined the working and dwelling space, with the hearth and the oven as its central and most important feature. The stone wall and the oven occupied at least one third of the room. Above the stone wall was the smoke hood or “klobučnik”, which protected the ceiling or the roofing against fire. The smoke hood was usually supported by two clay-cladded beams. The stone wall had a pit or the so-called “skriv”, where the housewife would collect the burning embers at the end of the day and fan them the following morning. The smokehouse also had a cauldron for preparing pig fodder and a table with benches. The earthen floor was made of hardpacked dirt, and the windows, measuring 40 x 40 cm, were most often equipped with latches to lock them shut. Because smokehouses had no chimneys, the smoke was deflected through a smoke hole located under the ceiling or above the door. What is more, given that houses were made of wood – except the sides where the open stone hearth was erected – there was a great danger of fires. The smoke in the room must have been quite a nuisance, especially in bad weather, when it even reached to the belt. Sticks, or “gliste”, mounted on the ceiling were used for drying firewood and splint wood for lighting. The smokehouse served as a dwelling for people and animals; it was a place where people prepared food, slept, performed many house chores, and received visitors.

At the edges of the Pohorje Mountains, many smokehouses were preserved with their ornamental details still well into the first half of the twentieth century. The smokehouse near Sabodin, the Levovnik Homestead and the Draučbahr smokehouse now serve as the memory of and witness to folk masonry. In the 1960's, the memory was still alive of smokehouses at Tolsti vrh, Šentanel, Strojna, as well as at Kvasnik's, Tone's, and Janež's.

Smokehouses were banned as early as the eighteenth century by Maria Theresa and were mostly replaced by smoke-kitchen houses that were partitioned by a stone wall. The stone wall was in the kitchen, and the oven was in the adjacent, smoke-free room.

SMOKE-KITCHEN HOUSE

The smoke-kitchen house already had a greater appeal, with all its living spaces (usually two) being smoke-free, except the kitchen. Smoke kitchens were almost always built of stone; sparks were trapped under the stone arch and the smoke, rising to the arch as well, was disposed through an open smoke hole under the roofing or forced its way out through the door and windows. Unlike smokehouses, smoke kitchens did not serve as a living space. In smoke kitchens, housewives were exposed to strong draught, heat, as well as cold, but most of all to the smoke rising from the fireplace. Owing to the advocates of improved hygiene and fire safety, it was already during the period of Enlightenment that smokehouses began to give way to houses with smoke kitchens. These had a smoke disposal system and a kitchen space separated from the living area, which means that smoke-kitchen houses were at least two-unit buildings, typically composed of the “house” as the main living area and a “shed”, the anteroom, which also served as the cooking area. The housewife mostly used the scarcely furnished small kitchen. Due to the thick smoke, dish racks, wooden-spoon holders, and pails were placed in the hallway.

STOVE HOUSE

The stove, a result of technical improvements and innovations in the first half of the nineteenth century, constituted the greatest novelty and a turning point in the culture of living and preparing food. The use of the stove, combining the principle of the fireplace and the oven, enabled a more relaxed arrangement of living areas and the use of interior furnishing. All forms of house-types mentioned above did not have a smoke disposal system that would catch the smoke in the immediate vicinity of the open fire area. Wealthy members of the rural population raised the first stone stoves by the end of the nineteenth century. The smoke disposal system rendered the kitchen a living area again, and the smoke-free area was equipped with new pieces of furniture, which had not made part of smokehouses and smoke kitchens – i.e., cupboards. Large farms set up the first stoves as early as the second half of the nineteenth century and small farms at a later date.

THE OLD SMOKE KITCHEN IN THE PARISH HOUSE OF LIBELIČE

The room designated for preparing food has throughout the history of humanity constituted the most important part of every dwelling. The oldest forms of kitchens that still remain in the vivid memory of older

generations in the Libeliče area are the smokehouse and the smoke kitchen, which in some areas remained in existence even well after World War II. The old smoke kitchen in the parish house of Libeliče is a unique example of the known kitchen types. The magnificent kitchen that is standing at the heart of the ambitious, Baroque-style parish house, which was constructed at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been preserved to the present day. The almost square-shaped kitchen area is set between wide stone walls and, positioned below the ground-floor level, resembles a cellar, especially given its two central stone pillars supporting two high barrel vaults. The most essential parts of the kitchen are the high open hearth at the window in the left corner and the free-standing bread oven standing on the left side of the entrance. The kitchen area also exhibits various objects that were used in the preparation of traditional food, typical of the area. Most objects were collected at the end of the 1980s, around the local community of Libeliče: the village of Libeliče, Gorče, Libeliška Gora, Tribej, and partly Črneška Gora.

The visitors are presented with various types of earthen, metal and wooden dishware and cookware that were used in Libeliče households from the second half of the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The reconstructed open hearth is furnished with a hanging cauldron and three-legged stands holding the iron cookware. The wooden bench was placed beneath the window near the fireplace. This bench was where the “mevtra” (a wooden water bucket) was put away, along with “pinja” (a butter-making bowl). The reconstructed bread oven was usually a place for keeping many earthenware items and “rine” (cake moulds). On the oven, the visitor can also see the “lesa” (a wooden tray for fruit drying). Leaning against the bread oven are several peels for putting the bread into the oven, various kinds of whisk brooms, and “usajenki” (paddles for putting firewood into the oven). Sitting on the shelves are mugs, washing vessels, lard pots, etc. The shelves in the wall cabinet hold wooden utensils, such as a grater, wooden spoons, “nudlnove kuhle” (large wooden spoons with holes for lifting cooked dumplings out of the water), butter moulds with floral motifs, small cutting boards, and wooden plates. A small hollow in the wall next to the window holds a woven wooden-spoon holder made of hazel wicker. The wall between the bread oven and the open hearth features a simple bowl rack holding earthen dishware and cake moulds. Leaning against the wall next to the bowl rack are two “nečki” (wooden tubs made of a single piece of wood, which were used for kneading the bread dough). The room itself features a sizable table with a bread drawer and two “koduji”; with a flat top wooden surface, “koduja” resembles a table. It was used to cover the drawer in which the bread dough was kneaded. Standing on the floor is a simple lighting device fuelled by splint wood, known as “čelešnik” or “svetnek”. At the entrance into the room is a birch broom with a dustpan and a “zajc” (a utensil used for taking off boots). Under the ceiling, the existing hanging hoops held “rante” (dry spruce branches) for curing meat and meat products.⁶

THE PREŽIH COTTAGE: A PREŽIHOV VORANC MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND AN INTERESTING DWELLING OF A SMALL FARMER OR “BAJTLER” WITH THE SMOKE KITCHEN

The old Prežih Cottage with the smoke kitchen was built in 1812, together with the adjacent stone stable and wooden barn. The courtyard between the house and the stable, commonly called “štala”, once featured a scarecrow with a trough that was used for watering the cattle as well as to provide water supply for cooking and laundry washing. On the upper side of the house, next to the garden, was a place designated for a beehive. The Prežih Cottage, a house consisting of a smoke-kitchen and two parallel living rooms, has a cellar under the entire building. The building has a shed (anteroom) with the kitchen in the middle, a “štiblč” (a small room) to the left and the “house” to the right. The main living space, the “house”, covered by a wooden ceiling, showcases a stone oven, which was fired from the smoke kitchen to avoid the residential area filling with smoke. Adjacent to the stone hearth is a “stone wall”, an open-fire place where food was prepared. The “house” is covered by a wooden ceiling, which at the same time functions as the floor in “jespa”, the attic, where the external “štenge” (staircase) lead. Under the hip-roof covered by “šitlni”, a Carinthian variant of shingles, there is also a “gank” (a covered wooden hallway) and, under the roof’s extension, a fruit press locally known as “preša”, leaning against the upper, i.e., western side of the house. During the 1970’s, the interior of the cottage was furnished in a way that would allow the visitors to learn not only about the ways of the Kuhar family but about the characteristic environment and life style in general at the beginning of the twentieth century. In a house with a smoke kitchen, the latter was used for cooking only; it was mostly occupied by the housewife, who worked in a poorly-lit space, heavily exposed to smoke and draught. Due to smoke, the kitchen had little furniture; bowl racks, wooden-spoon holders, and the water pail were put

⁶ MEDVED, L. and RAJŠTER, B. 2001, pp. 9–13.

away in the shed. The only items hanging on the wall were the most important utensils, the wood-drying “horse”, and “trimpusi” or three-legged stands. The cauldron, in which pig fodder was prepared, was put away on the floor, alongside small chopping blocks and axes. An indispensable part of the furniture was a bench without a backrest, where pots were usually put away. Just like in smokehouses, the wall niches in smoke kitchens were designated for holding a saltcellar, a coffee grinder and matches, which came into use at the end of the nineteenth century. Until then, housewives would collect the burning embers in the “skriv”, a pit in the fireplace, covered them with ashes and fanned them the following morning. The utensil used in baking bread – the ember rake, the broom with corn hulls or spruce branches, and the peel for putting the bread into the oven – retained their original appearance and function until the very end. Housewives would prepare food using dishware and cookware of various sizes and materials. When cooking over the fire, a housewife would use cast iron cookware, or the so-called “piskri”, and earthenware. She would place big pots on the three-legged iron stands or “trimpusi” and lit a fire beneath them. Fruits, seeds, food, and water were stored in chiselled or woven wooden dishware. Water was stored in pails and buckets, lard in the “dež”, and “kaduna” was used for kneading the bread dough, which was left rising in a straw basket called “slamnica”. Milk was soured in bowls, and butter, or “puter”, was beaten in a bowl known as “pinja”. The food was eaten with the use of wooden spoons and, as a rule, from a common bowl. Wooden plates called “talirji” widely used and stored with the bowls on the bowl rack mounted on the wall. Various “piskrčki” or small mugs were used for drinking coffee and milk and “gvaži” or “kozarci” for beverages. Furniture was scarce and mostly used in smoke-free rooms. In the “house”, a big maple-wood table with a bread drawer, benches and stools stood opposite the oven. Mounted on the wall in “bohkov kot” or God’s corner above the table were a crucifix and a rosary. Instead of closets, the ancestors used dressers. A bench and two beds stood beside the oven, just like in smokehouses before that. The “štiblč”, a room in which people slept, had a bed, a laundry chest, and a weight-driven wall clock. The room was lit by a splinter wood holder locally known as “čelesnik” or “svetnek”.

THE VRHNJAK SMOKEHOUSE, ENTERING INTO THE INTIMATE WORLD OF A SMALL CARINTHIAN FARMER

The reconstruction of the Vrhnjak Smokehouse of Brdinje was presented to the public in what was then the Workers’ Museum Ravne na Koroškem on the 29th of November in 1958.⁷ On the opening of the Vrhnjak Smokehouse in 1958, a member of the cooperative and speaker Beno Kotnik also expressed his gratitude to all others who had helped to set up the smokehouse: the curator of the museum Maks Dolinšek (the curator of the Workers’ Museum between 1957 and 1979), Franc Sušnik, Avgust Kuhar, Gregor Klančnik, Franc Fale, Marija Kuhar, Agricultural-forestry Production and Business Association of Dravograd, agricultural cooperatives, the Ironworks Ravne, farmers known locally as Meleržnik, Vužnik, Pavšer, Zdovc, Nacesnik, Lobas, carpenters Tomaž and Gregor Končnik, stonemason Podgornik, and many, many others.⁸



Image. 1: Open hearth cooking at Kavšak in Javorje, 1942, Museum Ravne na Koroškem (unknown author).

⁷ The selection and presentation of the Vrhnjak Smokehouse were made in collaboration with two well-known museum workers, Franjo Baš, the headmaster of the Technical Museum of Slovenia, and Bogo Teply, the headmaster of the Regional Museum in Maribor.

⁸ Koroški fužinar, the 28th of January 1959, nos. 1–3, volume 9, Avgust Kuhar, Kmetijci so dali dimnico, pp. 23–24.

The above mentioned record alone is indicative of the sheer number of people who showed their willingness to cooperate and the strong need of the entire community as well as companies to showcase and preserve the cultural, technical and ethnological heritage. Given that the heritage of smokehouses, which had become a rarity by that time, was slowly sinking into oblivion, it is easy to understand the efforts that the museum collection designers invested in preserving the memory and knowledge of the once common forms of dwellings, even if only in the form of a permanent exhibition in the then Workers' Museum. As Maks Dolinšek mentioned to me during my internship between 1980 and 1984, the Vrhnjak Smokehouse, too, was already in a state of decay during the 1950's. The wooden bench that used to stand next to the oven was preserved in its entirety; the fireplace, which formed part of the bread oven, was built of stone, and the wooden construction of walls was completely demolished. Based on the size of the stone-built fireplace, the size of the bread oven, the preserved wooden bench standing next to the oven and the stone wall, as well as on the visible ground-floor layout, they were able to determine the size of Vrhnjak's smokehouse, despite the demolished log walls.⁹ Since 1958, the museum interior has thus displayed a faithful reproduction of the Eastern-Alpine type smoke kitchen, the Vrhnjak Smokehouse at Brdinje. Such smokehouses, which appeared at a somewhat later date, were still in use in Carinthian high-hill farms in the twentieth century, whereas the exhibited items date to the end of the nineteenth century. The entire building was constructed of hand-chiselled logs, except the stone wall, where the open-fire hearth with the oven used to stand. Three small windows were cut into the hand-chiselled log wall and closed with a wooden latch on the inner side. The smokehouse's roofing consisted of "šitlni", i.e., thin, tapered pieces of wood. To the left side of the entrance into the museum smokehouse stands a stone-built fireplace – the "stone wall", topped by the characteristic "klobučnik" or smoke hood, and the oven, which was used for cooking and baking in the extension. The smoke hood was the culmination of anti-fire endeavours; most often in the form of a flat arch, it was initially a wooden and clay-cladded spark and smoke arrester, mounted above the fireplace in smokehouses and smoke kitchens. Stone-built fireplaces were of different heights but usually reached to the housewife's waist, making it easier for her to lift the heavy metal and earthen cookware, which she moved across the wall and put into the oven. If the "young one", who came to the house, was higher than the housewife, she had more difficulties performing this task by having to lean much deeper while cooking and preparing food.¹⁰ Before matches were introduced at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, housewives collected the burning embers into the "skriv", a pit in the fireplace, and covered it with ashes. The following morning, they fanned the embers and lit a new fire with a bunch of dry pine branches that was kept burning throughout the entire day. The fire was rejuvenated on Easter Saturday, with the holy flame brought from the church using a dry tinder fungus. It was considered an utter disgrace for the house if the fire in the wall died out and they had to borrow it from their neighbours.¹¹ A log bench was attached to the oven, where wanderers could keep warm as well. Under the stone wall was a place for chickens and on it were various cooking accessories, the "trimpus", on which housewives placed earthenware, the "trestle", a metal base for drying wet firewood, and the "burkle", the prod with a wooden handle for moving cookware. On both sides of the oven, there were small hollows in the wall, where housewives would store the saltcellar, the coffee grinder, and matches, which entered into common use at the end of the nineteenth century, and an array of small cooking utensils, which they needed for cooking and preparing food, and were an indispensable part of every smoke kitchen. In the wall, there was a pit or the so-called "skriv", where the housewife kept burning embers overnight. The bowl rack or "sklednik" hung on the wooden wall near the bread oven, holding earthenware, wooden plates and clay mugs. Other pieces of equipment standing next to the oven were the spinning wheel, the "comprat", a device for spinning linen and woollen threads into yarn, and the cradle. Leaning against the kitchen wall, one may see utensils that were used for cooking and lighting the oven; the prod, the paddle, and the broom. Pots and cauldrons for preparing pig fodder, small chopping blocks and axes are placed on the floor. An indispensable part of the furniture was the low bench without a backrest, where pots were usually put away. Standing in the right corner, opposite of the oven and the stone wall is a maple-wood table with a bread drawer, with a large clay bowl, from which the whole family would eat, and a "svetnek", a holder of pine sticks, which would provide the room with lighting. In the corner above the table was the so-called God's corner or "bohkov kot", with the Holy Spirit in the shape of a pigeon, as well as depictions of saints and patron saints. In the far right cor-

⁹ Oral source: Dolinšek Maks, Ravne na Koroškem, October, 1981.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Koroški fužinar, the 11th of January 1960, nos. 1–3, volume 10, Lenka Sušnik, Obisk v muzejski dimnici, p. 34.

ner beside the door, the visitor may also see some other characteristic objects that were used in performing everyday tasks during winter. The entire room was filled with smoke and dark. The smoke escaped through the smoke hole located under the ceiling or above the door, which would open and close with a latch. The door to the smoke kitchen was made of wood and furnished with a latch and a wooden handle. The earthen floor was made of hardpacked dirt. The housewife worked in a poorly lit room and was exposed to smoke, draught, as well as the heat from the fire, and cold. She would usually stand barefoot on the earthen or stone floor beside the fireplace. These dark, smoke-filled rooms were the place where the rural family life unfolded and the place where the folk tradition was preserved, mysteriously combined with stories of Sorrow Women, buried treasures, the Wild Hunt and other tales that stirred the imagination.

Descriptions of the life in smokehouses are also part of the literary heritage of the Carinthia-native writer Lovro Kuhar – Prežihov Voranc. “Our family lived in a spacious smoke-room, which was cosily warm in winter from cooking food for people and fodder for pigs. It was also used for cooking in summer; however, this is when it became unbearably hot. This was a big, spacious room with wooden, centuries-old walls, covered with thick layers of glittering soot and streaks of hardened resin. The ceiling, too, was blackened by soot. With daylight seeping into this voluminous space through four small, netted windows, the smoke-room was always dim during the day. One corner was occupied by a big, black oven that could hold twenty loaves of bread. In front of the oven was a huge, rectangular wall, as the open hearth used to be called, where the fire was kept burning day and night. Crouching over the wall was an arch of the same size, commonly known as the smoke hood. Everything was black and sooty. Along the same wall as the oven and the stone wall, but in the opposite corner, stood a huge stone-built cauldron for preparing pig fodder. Under the ceiling of the smoke-room, two soot-covered beams or the so-called “glisti” ran across the room from the smoke hood to the opposite wall that were used for drying firewood and curing pork during winter. This smoke-room had no flooring, but the clay ground had been beaten down by centuries until it was harder than brick. ... The smoke in the smoke-room usually reached knee-high, and whoever was not accustomed to it found it unbearable. ... My family was used to the smoke and were in no way bothered by it. Grandmother would continue spinning her yarn without stopping, even when the spinning wheel was completely devoured by smoke.”¹²

THE PEDAGOGICAL WORKSHOP “WE ATE FROM THE SAME BOWL”

In the time of inexhaustible information connections, interactions and technological advances, the preservation of cultural values and heritage as the memory treasury of our past generations and their creative power is of crucial importance. A variety of learning by selection has become a customary pedagogical approach in museums, and it was precisely the non-formal forms of education that have transformed these institutions into the cross-sections of rich cultural events. In developing pedagogical programmes and planning the work with visitors, we have for years followed the theme of permanent museum exhibitions, complementing temporary museum exhibitions with new programmes and at the same time endeavouring to meet the demands and desires of the public. More than twenty pedagogical programmes have been developed for various age groups and bearing different contents, related to permanent museum collections in the field of archaeology, ethnology, technical heritage, cultural history, and the history of art.

On the basis of museum collections that thematically also relate to the food culture, we have developed the workshop, entitled “We ate from the same bowl”, which is implemented in the reproduction of the Vrhnjak Smokehouse, showcased in the Carinthian Regional Museum in Ravne. For years now, the workshop has attracted many school groups, particularly those of the first and the second triads of the primary school, as it upgrades the teaching plan in the part where they learn about the cultural heritage of their home environment. The reconstruction of the wooden Vrhnjak smokehouse, with its typical internal furnishing, enables children to make an imaginary entrance into the past daily life. By drawing comparisons with their own everyday life, they learn about the lives that rural families used to lead in the past. Together, we are finding answers as to how they lived, where they slept, where they washed, how big their families were, what they ate at different times of the year, how they ate from the same bowl, what children’s chores were, what kind of tasks were performed on the farm, on self-sustainability, clothes, and so forth.

¹² PREŽIHOV, V. 1980, pp. 5–10.



Image 2: “We ate from the same bowl”, a pedagogical workshop in the Vrhnjak Smokehouse, 1. 6. 2012, Museum Ravne na Koroškem (photograph: Tomo Jeseničnik).

The workshop usually lasts sixty minutes. Due to the limited space in the smokehouse, we can form a group of fifteen children. The introductory part of the workshop is performed in front of the smokehouse, which enables the children to familiarise themselves with its appearance, characteristics, and wood as the basic construction material. After the introduction, we invite the children to step inside, where they must first adjust to the darkness. We sit them on the benches around the big maple-wood table, from where they can see the entire room. The presentation of the life in smokehouses and the use of individual exhibits take place in the form of a guided discussion, during which children raise a number of questions that stem from the daily life as they know it. When we put on the table a large clay cake mould with dried apple slices and pieces of Carinthian sourdough rye bread, the conversation quickly turns to food, the method of preparing it, and the variety of food at different times of the year. The big and full bowl stirs the children’s curiosity with regard to the table manners of their ancestors, who started eating first, etc.

CONCLUSION

Showcasing the heritage of the living and food culture of smokehouses and smoke-kitchen houses, the permanent museum exhibitions in the Regional Museum of Carinthia have an important role in presenting the lifestyle as it was in the past. A decade ago, we joined efforts with schools in search for possible ways of mutual collaboration in order to introduce the youngest school-children to the former ways of life in a manner that will be understandable to them. By developing a museum pedagogical workshop “We ate from the same bowl”, we presented primary schools with a possibility of using museum visits as a way to upgrade their fourth-grade teaching plan in the part where they learn about the heritage of their home environment. By viewing the museum collections, children familiarise themselves with objects, interior furnishings and kitchen utensils of which they have already learned in school, with the difference that the museum setting allows them to obtain a different view of them and thus consolidate their knowledge even further. As a result, the museum now receives regular visits from schools every year and follows generations of schoolers through their entire primary school education, while children can embrace and perceive going to the museum as a way of spending their leisure time as well as a way of non-institutionalised learning and acquisition of new knowledge.

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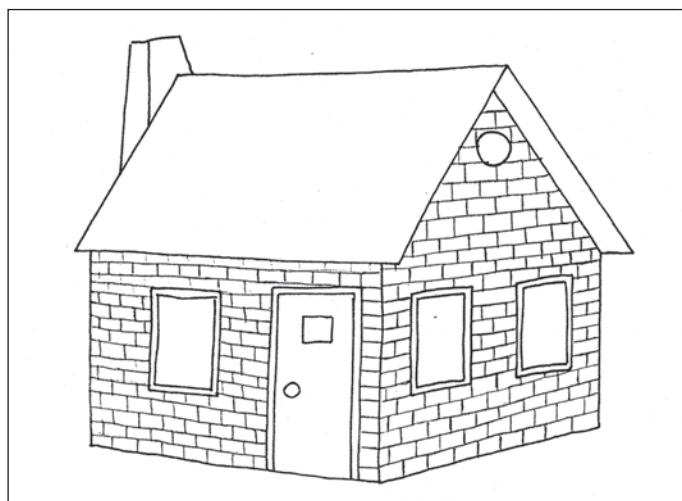
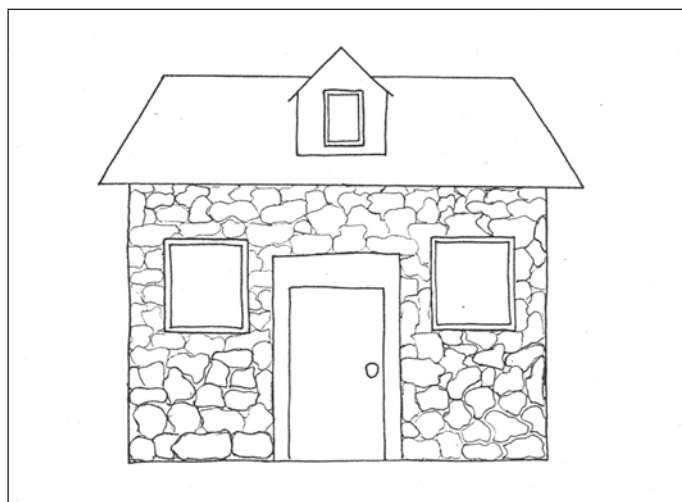
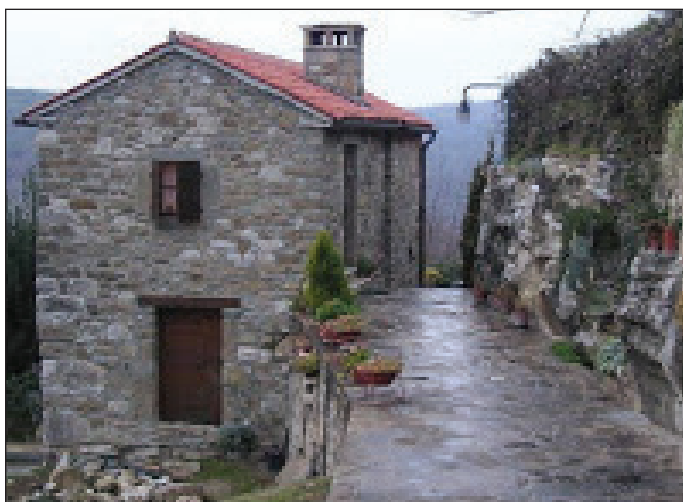
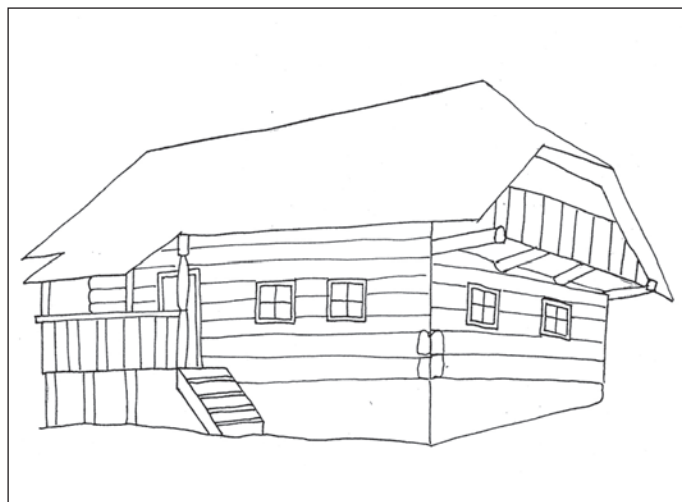
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WORKSHOP PAPER

IN THE PAST, PEOPLE LIVED IN HOUSES BUILT OF:



SMOKEHOUSES

IN THE PAST, MANY FAMILIES LIVED IN WOODEN HOUSES COMPRISING A SINGLE ROOM THAT SERVED AT ONCE AS A KITCHEN, A SLEEPING ROOM, A WORKSHOP AND SOMETIMES EVEN PROVIDED A SPACE FOR DOMESTIC ANIMALS. SUCH HOUSES, WHICH ARE KNOWN AS SMOKEHOUSES, PROTECTED FAMILIES WITH A GREAT NUMBER OF CHILDREN FROM COLD, RAIN AND HEAT. IN THIS ONE ROOM, PEOPLE PREPARED FOOD AND SLEPT; CHILDREN KEPT THEMSELVES WARM BY THE BREAD OVEN IN WINTERTIME, FATHERS MADE CLOGS AND WOVE BASKETS, WHILE MOTHERS AND GRANDMOTHERS SPAN YARN AT THE SPINNING WHEEL. THE SMOKEHOUSE HAD AN OVEN WITH AN INBUILT FIREPLACE, AND FOOD WAS PREPARED OVER AN OPEN FIRE. SINCE THERE WAS NO CHIMNEY, THE ROOM WOULD FILL WITH SMOKE. THE TABLE AND THE BENCH WOULD STAND IN THE CORNER, AND A SHELF MOUNTED ABOVE THEM WAS A PLACE DESIGNATED FOR A CRUCIFIX AND DEPICTIONS WITH RELIGIOUS MOTIFS.



Open hearth at the Vrhnjak Smokehouse, Museum Ravne na Koroškem



A maple-wood table with a bread drawer at the Vrhnjak Smokehouse, Museum Ravne na Koroškem

DRAW LINES TO CONNECT THE OLD AND THE NEW!



Smokehouse



“Svetnek”, Čelešnik – kindling stick holder



“Rina”, clay bowl



“Ribežl” washboard with a pail



Washing machine



Modern kitchen



Chandelier



Plates

»Jedli smo iz iste sklede«, pedagoška delavnica v Vrhnjakovi dimnici

Liljana Suhodolčan, Koroški pokrajinski muzej, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Osrednja tema referata so muzejske stalne postavitve v Koroškem pokrajinskem muzeju, vezane na prikaz različnih oblik kuhinj in priprave hrane v preteklosti, s poudarkom na pedagoški delavnici »Jedli smo iz iste sklede«. Rekonstrukcija lesene Vrhnjakove dimnice z značilno notranjo opremo omogoča otrokom domišljjski vstop v preteklost vsakdanjega življenja. Otroci z vzporedno primerjavo njim znanega vsakdanjega življenja spoznavaajo življenje kmečkih družin v preteklosti. Skupaj odkrivamo odgovore na vprašanja, kako so živeli, kje so spali, kako velike so bile družine, kakšna je bila prehrana v različnih letnih časih, kako so jedli iz iste sklede, delovne obveznosti otrok ...

KLJUČNE BESEDE

dimnica, črna kuhinja, štedilniška hiša, pedagoške delavnice, odprto ognjišče, klobočnik

POVZETEK

Koroški pokrajinski muzej s stalnimi razstavami je osrednja muzejska ustanova na območju dvanajstih koroških občin. Med stalnimi postavitvami, ki predstavljajo dediščino bivalne in prehrambne kulture dimničnih hiš in hiš s črno kuhinjo, imajo posebno mesto rekonstrukcija Vrhnjakove dimnice na gradu Ravne na Ravnah na Koroškem, Prežihova bajta – spominski muzej Lovra Kuharja - Prežihovega Voranca na Preškem Vrhju v Kotljah (hiša s črno kuhinjo) in stara kuhinja v župnišču v Libeličah, vse pa so neusahljiv vir zgodovinskega spomina, raznolikosti bivalne kulture in socialne razslojenosti kmečkega prebivalstva, od velikih samotnih kmetij do »bajtlarskih« gruntov. Prostor, kjer se je pripravljala hrana, je imel v zgodovini človeštva najpomembnejšo vlogo. Kuhinja, prostor s kuriščem, izvorom toplote, za kuhanje in pečenje živil, je v zgodovini doživela veliko sprememb, ki so povezane s številnimi novostmi v bivalni kulturi, tehniki in tehnologiji pri pripravi jedil. V prispevku so glede na lego, vrsto kurišč, načine odvajanja dima predstavljene za Koroško značilne dimnice in hiše s črno kuhinjo, s poudarkom na stalnih muzejskih postavitvah, ki predstavljajo dediščino bivalne in prehrambne kulture na Koroškem. Poseben poudarek v prispevku je namenjen pedagoškemu programu z naslovom »Jedli smo iz iste sklede«, s katerim našim obiskovalcem, predvsem mlajši šolski populaciji, predstavljamo življenje v dimničnih kuhinjah. Program je namenjen osnovnošolski populaciji 1. in 2. triade. Prispevku je priloženo naslednje gradivo: priprava na učno uro in delovni listi; oboje je primerno za otroke 1. triade osnovnih šol. To je populacija obiskovalcev, ki se prvič srečajo z muzejskimi vsebinami, z omenjeno delavnico pa nadgrajujemo učni načrt v delu, ko se spoznavaajo z dediščino domačega okolja.

CHOCOLATE AT “ALL COLOURS OF CHOCOLATE” MUSEUM EXHIBITION*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The “All Colours of Chocolate” exhibition has displayed a story about chocolate as a unique historical and social phenomenon, positioned it in the local environment through a map of locations where it was possible to purchase the chocolate, and presented producers of chocolate today. Chocolate at the exhibition also appeared as a medium that is used by the artists in their work and pointed out the phenomenon of the collection and exchange of recipes. Since the Museum of Recent History cannot present chocolate as foodstuffs, the exhibition has focused on contextualization, and presented the central subject of the exhibition without an exhibition object in the strictest sense.

KEY WORDS

Chocolate, nutritional phenomenon, museum object, contextualization

INTRODUCTION

The “All Colours of Chocolate” exhibition, which was the inducement for the Museum of Recent History Celje to undertake research of this worldly known phenomenon, arose from an idea to prepare an exhibition on a theme that would be light and delightful for visitors. From the original idea “the sweet Celje”, we focused on one area solely and selected chocolate as our topic. During the preparation of the exhibition, as mentioned hereafter, the latter proved to be a complex and interesting topic, which can be presented through numerous aspects, and in a way that promotes networking of the Museum with other actors from the world of culture, art, and entrepreneurship. Exhibiting chocolate as part of the human diet was particularly challenging when forming the museological concept of the exhibition, inviting us to reflect on the role and purpose of the museum object in museum presentations.

FROM CACAO TREE TO CHOCOLATE

The most important ingredient of chocolate is cocoa beans, which grow on a plant named the cacao tree. The cacao tree is a tropical plant that grows in the narrow band at the Equator. It thrives at high temperatures and sufficient humidity. It is extremely sensitive to cold, while it needs shadow for growth. From the fifth year onwards, the plant begins to bear long yellow and red fruits, in which 30 to 60 bitter cocoa beans are hidden. The quality of chocolate largely depends on cocoa beans.¹

The original homeland of the cacao tree is Guyana, where the plant first grew in the Orinoco and the Rio Negro River upstream. Many people who lived in this area knew this wild tree. However, the Mayans first began cultivating cacao trees and transferring them to the northern part of South America around the year of 600. First cacao tree plantations were cultivated in the Yucatán Peninsula.² Cocoa beans were highly appreciated and had a high value, as may be seen from the conversion rate – one rabbit was worth ten cocoa beans, while a slave was worth 100 cocoa beans. The Aztecs also used cocoa beans as a barter currency and believed that the cacao tree was a gift from the Quetzalcoatl god.³

* Translation: Leemeta Translation

¹ KAPŠ, P. 2005, p. 11.

² KAPŠ, P. 2005, pp. 11–13.

³ NORMAN, J. 1993, p. 4.

However, cocoa was not used only for trading. They also consumed cocoa in the form of a drink, which was reserved only for the chosen – rulers, priests and warriors, since they believed the cocoa to be of great value, contributing to the spiritual and physical strength and stamina. They mixed cocoa beans with hot or cold water and added spices, such as chilli, cinnamon, vanilla and pepper. The drink was thickened with corn starch and then poured from one cup to another from such height that the froth formed, which was believed to be the best part of the drink they called “xocotlatl”.⁴

Nonetheless, the cacao tree did not stay a secret on the old continent for long. Christopher Columbus was the first to have brought it there, but he did not know how to present its value and use in the right way, and therefore nobody paid much attention to the precious beans. Because they believed it to be a worthless cargo, English pirates even burnt it while pillaging Spanish ships. Only a few years later, when the next great Spanish conqueror Fernando Cortez himself tried the cocoa drink, prepared for him by the locals, and then offered it to the Spanish king with added sugar, the cocoa won over the nobility. For almost a hundred years, the Spanish managed to keep the preparation of chocolate a secret. They prepared cocoa drink in a jug, similar to coffee jug, and used a stick called molinet for frothing, i.e. pushing the stick through the opening at the top of the vessel for the preparation of chocolate. They drank the cocoa drink from special tall cups.⁵

Since it was extremely popular, the Spanish planted new cacao tree plantations, spreading them along with new conquests by the Spanish Empire.⁶ Fascination with chocolate spread to other European courts, with weddings and usage of Spanish trade routes. Italians, well-known for their culinary masterpieces, further improved the recipe for the preparation of the cocoa drink and began to use cocoa in other dishes as well.⁷ In 1700, chocolate houses appeared in England – only a few years after the advent of coffee houses. Austria received the cocoa directly from Spain when the Emperor Charles VI, who was to become the King of Spain, returned to Vienna. Unlike all other countries, Austria did not impose a heavy tax on cocoa, making it affordable to less wealthy social classes.⁸

CHOCOLATE IN SLOVENIAN TERRITORY

The earliest mention of chocolate in Slovenia dates back to the 17th century when chocolate was one of the special drinks in addition to coffee and tea with effects which were considered both medicinal and harmful. In the work *Georgica curiosa oder adeliches Landleben* from the year 1716, its author Hohberg states that chocolate increases blood circulation and vitality, but was not popular enough among people due to its high price.⁹

In the Slovenian territory, the Trappists, a religious order that moved from France to the Rajhenburg Castle, first began producing chocolate. With them, they brought machines that were powered by the Brestanica stream hydroelectric power station and began the production of chocolate in 1896. Their disciple, Štefan Mohorko, learned the process of chocolate production in France and was the only one familiar with the entire process of chocolate production. One of their customers was the Viennese Imperial Court that granted them a recognition award for quality and an honorary title of “Imperial” in 1912, which they used for their brand together with a lion token. They made chocolate bars, chocolate dragées, and cocoa liqueur. In addition to the chocolate factory, they also owned a printing house, where they printed the labels for their products. Production was first suspended during World War II when the Rajhenburg Castle was seized by the Germans. In 1947, the Trappist religious order was dissolved, and the castle nationalised. The production of chocolate continued in the Rajhenburg county factory, and later in the factory Tovarna čokolade in likerjev Videm Krško. However, the production did not follow the same recipes, as the Trappists never revealed them.¹⁰

In the 1920's, the production of chocolate began in other parts of Slovenia. Adolf Zavratnik, who moved from

⁴ NORMAN, J. 1993, p. 5.

⁵ NORMAN, J. 1993, pp. 6–7.

⁶ KAPŠ, P. 2005, p. 7.

⁷ COE AND COE, M. D. and S. D. 1006, pp. 216–222.

⁸ NORMAN, J. 1993, pp. 8–10.

⁹ KOS, M. 2002, pp. 191–192.

¹⁰ FÜRST, I. 2011, pp. 101–102.

the Slovene Littoral to Upper Carniola due to fascism, founded a chocolate factory in 1922. In Maribor, two factories for chocolate production were established almost simultaneously. In 1922,¹¹ Italian owners began producing chocolate in the Sana factory in Hoče near Maribor. The factory also produced baking powder, vanilla sugar, puddings, and later sweets, wafer biscuits, and similar products. During World War II, chocolate production ceased due to a lack of raw material. In 1923, the Mirim factory began producing chocolate, i.e. only large chocolate plates in the first years of production. And later, at the end of the 1930's when production increased, they produced as much as 2,000 kg of chocolate, candies and cocoa daily. In 1939, they opened a branch office in Zagreb, while the factory in Maribor ceased its operations.¹²



Image 1: Old chocolate packaging on the exhibition All colours of chocolate (photograph: Sebastjan Weber).

After the war, the factory in Lesce was also nationalised, renamed to Gorenjska tovarna čokolade, and in 1958 renamed once again to Gorenjka – the latter remaining the name of the brand to this day. A special period for the factory were the 1970's, a time when there was a lack of cocoa in the market, forcing the companies to adapt basic components of the products. At this time, Gorenjka produced the so-called non-chocolate bars, in which the cocoa was replaced by carob flour, and the company also expanded its production to cookies, drinks and chocolates with additives.¹³ For this reason, also the first rice chocolate in the world – produced by a Croatian company Zvečevo in 1964 – was created.¹⁴

Chocolate production began to flourish again from the 1990's onwards. By that time, many smaller, boutique chocolate productions arose, focusing on high-quality manual production. In recent years, producers and sellers of chocolate have had an opportunity to present themselves at chocolate festivals held in Radovljica, Podčetrtek, Ljubljana, Koper and several other locations.

CHOCOLATE AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Chocolate is certainly a specific phenomenon due to its exceptional prevalence. Without it, we cannot imagine any personal or calendar holiday. It can be used in both sweets and salty dishes; it is an appropriate gift for any occasion, or great as a snack, which gives us energy and for which we believe it can boost our mood.

In Slovenia, it became available and widely used in the years between the two world wars. Resources, such as price lists, menus and photos, bear witness to the fact that, in that time, chocolate was available in different sweetshops, cafés, hotels, and also in stores in Celje. Since it was expensive, it was sold in weighted pieces enjoyed only on special occasions. It was certainly not attainable for everyone. It was rather a rare treat. The price lists of the wholesalers Gregorc and Verlič from Ljubljana from 1926 shows that the wholesale price of

¹¹ KAPŠ, P. 2005, p. 19.

¹² BERBERIH SLANA, A. 2010, pp. 242–245.

¹³ URL: <http://www.gorenjka.si/zgodovina-gorenjke/> (quoted 14. 3. 2017).

¹⁴ URL: <http://www.zvecevo.hr/portfolio/mikado-riza/> (quoted 10. 3. 2017).

Mirim chocolates varied between 85 and 95 dinars per kilogram (depending on the packaging size of each bar) and wholesale price of Union chocolates varied between 40 and 44 dinars per kilogram. That same year, the price for a kilogram of cocoa ranged between 28 and 30 dinars, a kilogram of coffee was 39 dinars, a kilogram of roasted grain coffee 7.5, and a kilogram of sugar 13.35 dinars. That same year, the price for a kilogram of cocoa ranged between 28 and 30 dinars, a kilogram of coffee was 39 dinars, a kilogram of roasted grain coffee 7.5, and a kilogram of sugar 13.35 dinars.¹⁵ In 1939, the wholesale merchant Franc Zangger in Celje was selling Union chocolate for a price between 33 and 70 dinars, depending on the size of the package. Šumi and Union candies cost 16.50 dinars, coffee 46 dinars, and roasted grain coffee 5.60 dinars per kilogram. There was a daily price for sugar that was not published on the price list.¹⁶ In the first years after the war, chocolate was included in the UNRRA international aid packages of the United Nations. Some of them even contained chocolate pudding.

Children have a special relationship with chocolate and are particularly persuaded by the packaging and additives. Pictures with different motives (seasonal, animal, historical, military, etc.) were an integral part of chocolate bars already in the past and collected by children and adults. In the 1950's, the collection of pictures in the Animal Kingdom album began, published at the time by Kraš. Furthermore, first chocolate advent calendars were made in the 1950's and was shortly followed by chocolate in countless forms, all designed to be aesthetically pleasing to children.

CHOCOLATE IN MUSEUMS

Museums generally avoid exhibiting food as it is difficult to maintain appearance, form, and sanitary standards of such exhibitions due to the limited shelf-life of the products. However, there are quite a few museums in the world specialising exclusively in food exhibitions. Some of them are really bizarre. For example, there is a museum of baked potatoes and a museum of canned meat. There is even a museum of burnt food. Quite common are cheese museums, one of which can also be found in Kobarid. The most known museums, however, are certainly those that present our greatest sinful delight – chocolate. We can find such museums in Riegersburg in Austria, Cologne in Germany, or Brussels and Bruges in Belgium. All these museums are, of course, located in countries and cities from where certain food originates or is in any other way related to the environment. It is worth noting that this is also an issue of mass culture, as exhibited food does not only have a local identity, but it also coalesces different places, countries and even continents and binds to many popular and globally spread attributes, such as celebrations, trademarks, advertisements, etc. Especially when it comes to chocolate. Museum of Recent History Celje recognised chocolate not only as a nutrition phenomenon but also as a social phenomenon.

ALL COLOURS OF CHOCOLATE

The project All Colours of Chocolate, also the title of the exhibition, arose in response to the exhibitions in 2014 and 2015, with which we marked different anniversaries of both world wars. Difficult themes and revival of historical and collective memory willingly or unwillingly affect the museum and its visitors. "Our memories remain collective, and are recalled to us through others even though only we were the participants in the events or saw the things concerned."¹⁷ Few difficult themes in a past years is precisely the reason why we decided to opt for a different, lighter theme, in order to cheer up museum exhibitions and bring them closer to the general public. Above all, we wanted the exhibition to be not only historical but also up-to-date and inclusive of different perspectives of studying the presented theme. And for that, chocolate was perfect. The museum stores quite a few pieces of Imperial chocolate packaging, which was produced by the Trappists, and there is a large number of known producers of chocolate in the near vicinity of Celje, some with a long tradition. A great deal of sweet, but also bitter, memories are closely linked with chocolate. Chocolate, in one form or another, has been incorporated in the Celje social life, including venues such as cafés, restaurants, and sweetshops. Almost every café and restaurant also offered chocolate confectionery and chocolate liqueur. With this, it once did and still has a certain influence on Celje and its people, which is why the choice of chocolate for an exhibition was definitely not completely random.

¹⁵ Price lists Gregorc & Verlič, Ljubljana. General historical collection. Museum of recent history Celje.

¹⁶ Price lists Franc Zangger, Celje. General historical collection. Museum of recent history Celje.

¹⁷ HALBWACHS, M. 2001, p. 24.



Image 2: Exhibition All colours of Chocolate (photograph: Sebastjan Weber).

WHAT DO GEOGRAPHY, CUISINE AND ART HAVE IN COMMON?

The museological concept of the exhibition was designed in such a way that it presented chocolate in the broadest context of its use, along with the presumption that the research topic will not be the central museum object of the exhibition. Since the museum does not have a special collection of objects related to chocolate, we set its story as a central element. Initially, we took the view of its historical perspective and updated it throughout the entire exhibition with a wide array of contents, which can be observed through time from the first use of the cacao tree onward. These are connected with food, geographical origin, social use, and also social issues.

The entire exhibition was visually designed in the image of chocolate and chocolate packaging, as we know it for the last 100 years. The introduction, in particular, reflected this, as the story was presented in the form of a chocolate bar. We wanted to add a multi-sensory effect for the visitors to the space in addition to the visual image, a reminiscent of a chocolate bar. Namely, it was a great challenge to present the story of chocolate without chocolate. To achieve this, we added a sound of a short film associated with the conceptualization of chocolate, and a smell of chocolate in the first room in order to accompany text, photos and objects. In the other room, we presented local use and production of chocolate. Based on the memories of the people in Celje, with whom we have conducted interviews, we highlighted sweetshops in Celje known for their chocolate sweets and mentioned the status chocolate had when it has not yet been attainable for the majority of people and associated memories. Placement of chocolate in the local environment manifested particularly in cooperation with four different producers of chocolate, which either work in the broader Celje area or are present in this area with their products or stores. The opportunity offered itself for the Museum to establish cooperation with entrepreneurs, so they could also recognise the value and meaning of informing the visitors of the exhibition, the chance of promotion and mutual benefit.

Then, we presented the artistic expression of chocolate as a creative medium. Four academic painters and sculptors exhibited their work made of chocolate. Particularly interesting in their creation was that with the use of sweet chocolate, they presented the dark side of life and social issues, such as addiction, obesity, suicides, environmental pollution, etc. This part of the exhibition was also an opportunity for the visitors to finally taste chocolate. Painter Suzana Švent addressed the visitors with her work of art, "The Sweet Dilemma", for which the visitors had to decide whether to admire it as a work of art or consider it a sweet and eat it. The dilemma was solved at the end of the exhibition – there was not a single piece left of the chocolate work of art.

In the last part of the exhibition, we returned to the basic use of chocolate; that is as food, and, in addition to this, highlighted another phenomenon, which is extremely common and popular in society – collecting and sharing cooking recipes. The smallest exhibition space was lined with cooking recipes for the preparation of chocolate and chocolate pastries. During the formation of the exhibition, we collected these recipes on our website, in the local media and on social networks. Visitors could also contribute their recipes with chocolate at the exhibition, or write down new recipes to take them home.



Image 3: Art projects, made of chocolate (photograph: Sebastjan Weber).

CHOCOLATE AS A MUSEUM OBJECT?

Since we do not have a special room at the museum, which would be dedicated to food exhibitions, in our case chocolate, or allow adequate adaptation to exhibit foodstuffs, the entire concept of the exhibition was predominantly based on contextualization of the studied object and not the object itself. In this way, the story of chocolate got ahead of the chocolate itself. Such museological concepts are becoming increasingly common elements of modern museum presentations, following the spirit of the time and modern lifestyle. Modern technology, social networks, multi-sensory devices and the like are almost becoming an essential part of all museum exhibitions, which often seek to follow the novelties brought into our lives by the computer industry. A museum object as a central attribute of museums and museum collections is thus losing its role, since it can easily be replaced with computer animation, holograms, 3D printings, etc. Although museums in this segment compete with other providers of modern devices for leisure, they should be aware that with their operation, they must also build awareness and attitude of the visitor towards an authentic museum object.¹⁸ In the virtual times of the world, the authenticity of the object is still the one that can ensure the visitor a different experience. This experience was especially apparent in the visitors of the chocolate exhibition. The first two exhibition spaces were intended for the contextualization of chocolate, while the chocolate itself, as a museum object, got its place in the third exhibition space in an image we are not used to – presented as an artwork. Authentic museum object is still the one that offers the visitor a special experience. When this is chocolate, it is all the more important, as we experience it with all senses at the same time. The experience of reading the history and stories about chocolate and the experience of tasting chocolate in the form of artwork was essential and apparent for every visitor. A chocolate exhibition simply has to satisfy a sense to which it is originally intended – taste.

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Razstava »Vse barve čokolade« je prikazala zgodbo o čokoladi kot svojevrstnem zgodovinskem in družbenem fenomenu, jo umestila v lokalno okolje z zemljevidom lokacij, kjer jo je bilo mogoče kupiti, in predstavila izdelovalce, ki jo izdelujejo danes. Čokolada se je na razstavi pojavila tudi kot medij, ki ga pri delu uporabljajo umetniki, in opozorila na fenomen zbiranja in izmenjave receptov. Ker pa Muzej novejšje zgodovine nima možnosti predstavljati čokolade kot živila, kakor to običajno srečamo v muzejih hrane, se je razstava osredotočila na kontekstualizacijo in predstavila svoj osrednji predmet brez razstavnega predmeta v najožjem smislu.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

čokolada, prehranski fenomen, muzejski predmet, kontekstualizacija

POVZETEK

Muzej novejšje zgodovine Celje je konec leta 2014 pripravil občasno razstavo z naslovom »Vse barve čokolade«, ki je bila na ogled do aprila 2015. Raziskava tega skorajda vsakdanjega živila je vključevala zgodovinski, družbeni in prehranski vidik ter različne pomene, ki jih je čokolada imela v določenih obdobjih od njenega odkritja v času kolonizacije do danes. Pri pripravi razstave so sodelovali lokalni izdelovalci, umetniki, ki jo uporabljajo kot sredstvo izražanja, ter muzejski obiskovalci, ki smo jih pozvali k deljenju receptov s čokolado in pošiljanju ovitkov. Večplasten pogled na čokolado kot fenomen, ki je del vsakdana in vseh koledarskih in osebnih praznikov, je ponudil obiskovalcem vpogled v eno od številnih stvari, s katerimi se vsakodnevno srečujemo, a se o njih redkokdaj sprašujemo.

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