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TRADITIONAL FOODS IN RURAL VILLAGES OF THE CENTRAL DALMATIAN ISLANDS OF BRAČ, VIS AND HVAR
(POTENTIAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF GASTRO-TOURISM?)

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we research the presence of traditional forms of approach to food in rural villages of Dalmatian islands in the times when some of these forms are forgotten, but others have become gastronomic specialities crucial in offers to tourists. The topic of the research is perceptions which inhabitants of villages have of traditional diet as a cultural phenomenon, and how they experience the influence of processes of modernization and postmodernization on nourishment tradition. The theoretical framework assumes a developmental approach, which implies that the current eating needs are the products of a long lasting historical development that includes the presence of changes and periods of stability. Main eating practices (traditional, modern, and postmodern) we defined using content analysis of Dalmatian cook books. Analysis shows that traditional recipes are dedicated to domestic food, which has been prepared for a number of years in the same manner. Therefore, purchasing fresh food and every day cooking is recommended, including spending much time in preparing food. A key characteristic of modern nourishment is using industrially processed food, and postmodern nourishment is denoted by the openness to new foodstuffs and dishes with a tendency for experimenting. On the basis of notions defined in this way, we will determine the main characteristics of nourishment of rural villages: the look of daily meals, basic daily groceries, and dominant ways of food preparing. The ethnographic part of the paper includes field notes that were recorded during informal conversations with 26 residents of the islands Brač, Hvar and Vis. According to the ethnographic research the cuisine of the rural villages is strongly linked to tradition. The modern approach appears sporadically, and the postmodern approach does not appear at all. The traditional rural diet is characterized by simplicity and is mostly based on products from family production. Methods of food preparation and consumption continue to be sustained through the inherited traditional habits. Good opportunities for the future development of traditional island cuisine lie in maintaining the uniqueness and by means of integral sustainability assisting a postmodern ecological world view, which emphasizes the restoration of local knowledge.

Keywords: Dalmatian islands, rural villages, traditional, modern and postmodern forms of food and diet

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INTRODUCTION – THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Is it conservative to advocate the preservation of cultural diversity and cultural traditions? For some it certainly is. However, we should ask what is actually meant by the concepts of tradition and maintaining tradition. Here, we are by no means referring to going back centuries in time, when life was hard and people lacked running water, electricity, sewers, television, electronic communications and so forth, nor are we referring to the static and unchanging nature of the traditional culture. We are referring to the (human) values traditionally retained as progressive, which can contribute to the preservation of cultural diversity. Traditions do not only refer to pre-modern society, but can also be formed in modern society, although the social mechanisms and actors in their selection and symbolism are different. Traditions have historically shown strong vitality and resistance to cultural reduction and one-way development. Therefore, through their authenticity, they can play an important role in current decision-making on the direction of social development, since the preservation of cultural traditions is crucial for the preservation of the diversity of cultures.

Preservation of traditions has no meaning per se but in its significance for the future, which it can have if the progressive aspect assumes normative significance, in the sense that cultural diversity becomes a value because it has specific significance for survival, for example, the survival of island communities. To promote the importance of tradition means to support the affirmation of traditional values, which have importance and significance for modern life. In this regard, the contemporary reinterpretation of tradition is acceptable. Tradition only has value as a past that has reached the historical level. Today, diversity is certainly one of the values that guarantee collective identity. In this sense, such conservatism may prove to be stimulating when considering the future of the diversity of cultures and cultural diversity in general.

However, the traditional culture (in our case the traditional diet of islanders) is under influence, more or less, of the process of modernization. We define modernization as a process where, unlike the situation in traditional societies, the main characteristic is quick change that overtakes all segments of society and all aspects of human activities (Haralambos i Holborn 2002:1075-6). Modernization also overtakes the domains of diet and food preparation, by introduction of electric power, gas, running water and sewage systems in the majority of households. That enabled the use of the number of home appliances considerably facilitating the process of preparing and preserving food (gas and electric stoves, microwave ovens, fridges, freezers, small kitchen appliances like blenders, choppers, etc.).

THE SUBJECT AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

This paper is a contribution to the study of the traditional diet in the rural communities of the central Dalmatian islands, at a time when some of its aspects are facing oblivion and others (for example, specific dishes) are becoming gastronomic specialities in tourism offerings. The study was conducted with the aim of studying traditional³ island foods and the coexistence of man and nature, in order to be able to plan future development based on positive experiences from the past.

Diet is a complex system of the interwoven natural resources of an area, the social fabric of a human community and its economic potentials, as well as technical know-how, material inventory, value system and entrenched habits. Owing to the specific content of the phenomenon of diet, methodological demands require that it should be observed within the framework of a social group residing in a particular place at a specific time. The social group whose diets are being studied here consists of the farmers living on the central Dalmatian islands. This is a social class for which the source of livelihood has always been based on agriculture, and the production of most of the foodstuffs used in their own households is a decisive and specific factor in the structure of their diets. There is another reason why we have chosen to investigate the diets of this particular social class: “Peasant societies fostered an attitude of respect towards nature, trying harder to adapt to it than to subjugate it, and they knew how to strike a balance between natural resources and human needs, which is a valuable experience for contemporary ecological awareness” (Muraj 1997).

This investigation examines the perceptions and significance that islanders attach to the traditional Dalmatian diet as a cultural phenomenon. The decision to study traditional diets, as an important segment, is based on the assumption that the results of the investigation will also illuminate other features of the former life on the islands and examine possibilities for the development of gastro-tourism based on traditional and ecological foods.

This investigation of the traditional island diets includes two specific goals, as follows:

- To describe the main features of traditional Dalmatian diets;
- To analyse ways of maintaining the traditional diets in rural island communities, despite the process of modernization.

DEVELOPMENTAL THEORETICAL APPROACH TO FOOD AND DIET

Understanding the modern model of the attitude towards food and diet in a particular social context is not possible without comparisons to the model or models that preceded it in the recent or distant past and, consequently, the theoretical framework of this study is a developmental approach to the issue of food and diet. The basis of the developmental theoretical approach is an attempt to resolve the key dispute in the

³ What we undeniably find today in scientific articles about the islands is emphasis on their specificities, such as insularity, isolation, particular economic structures, specific natural environment, particular way of life and so forth. Everything that contributes to the differences between the life and environment on the islands from that in other areas sharpens the image of its specificities, which in the papers of many scientists has been elevated to the level of a special scientific subject (Šimunović 1993:452).

contemporary sociology of diet, where two extremes are in conflict. According to the first, tastes and habits regarding food are conservative, rooted in tradition and difficult to change. According to the second, modern man easily accepts innovations in many aspects of life, including the area of food and diet, where voluntarism, individualism, and the lack of rules and criteria prevail, and even a type of anomie. One of the solutions to this dispute is offered by Sobal (1999), who emphasizes that social development gradually leads to changes in the area of diet over time, where the traditional forms of attitudes towards food and diet are replaced by modern and postmodern ones. Thus, this is a process that, depending on the historical, regional, economic and other social specificities of a particular area (village, region, state...), lasts for a longer or shorter period and is expressed to a greater or lesser degree.

The most prominent representatives of the developmental approach to food and diet are Mennell, Goody, Mintz, Harris, Fischler and Elias. Mennell's key work, *All Manners of Food* (1985), is a comparative study of the types of diets and differences in tastes in France and England, which is the starting point of the developmental approach. Mennell believes that the cultural tastes and needs of people are products of their social experience. However, the very social forces that form the tastes of a specific generation are the products of long-term processes of social development, which are accumulated over the course of history by many generations. For an explanation of the changes that occur in the area of taste, Mennell used a figurative (sociogenetic) approach with the goal of explaining changes in the social model and determining why one model has a greater potential for change than another, what are the consequences of changes in people's lives, and how people experience changes (Mennell et al. 1996:16). Through an analysis of diets and tastes in France and England, Mennell attempted to demonstrate that the changing structure of social interdependence and the power relations within a society are reflected in the areas of diet and taste. Tastes connected with food, as well as tastes in music or literature, are socially shaped and the main forces that influence their formation are religion, class and nation (Mennell et al. 1996:16–17).

Goody (1982) believes that it is easier to describe changes in cooking methods that come from the outside and are the consequences of the introduction of new foods and culinary techniques. Although the areas of food preparation and consumption are generally conservative and strongly related to tradition, under certain circumstances, such as, for example, those caused by the introduction of potatoes in the diet of the Irish, the massive use of tomatoes in the United States (the ubiquitous ketchup) or corn in Africa, surprising changes occur.

An example of the developmental approach is found in the essay *Time, Sugar and Sweetness* by the anthropologist Mintz (1997). He criticizes structuralism, stating that meanings cannot be merely read or deciphered but should be interpreted with respect to their cultural and historical contexts. When food is analysed as the bearer of a message in symbolic form, it is always necessary to keep in mind that the symbolic structures cannot be viewed out of context, as timeless facts (Goody 1989:37). Therefore, Mintz pleads for taking the historical perspective into account, that is, studying the changes in preferences for certain types of foods and diets that have occurred throughout history (Mintz 1997:367).

Within the framework of social anthropology and sociology, the dietary analyses by the American anthropologist Harris are important. Harris devotes particular attention to the historical fact according to which no known human community eats everything in its surroundings that has nutritional value, but there are group forms of preference and aversion. Harris maintains that the reason for this should be found in the entire system of food production, particularly in the fact that to some food represents a source of wealth and power, while for the majority it serves for (mere) survival. Harris shows that the dietary habits of social groups change with time, which is explained by the developmental arguments. In the background of the existence of dietary prohibitions and taboos, there is always practical logic, which attempts to adapt to the physical environment and effective exploitation of resources within a given natural and ecological context. Thus, Harris is considered a supporter of the developmental approach, which attempts to investigate the specific social conditions and historical processes that have led to the establishment of a given food system (Beardsworth–Keil 2001:66).

A major contribution to the sociology of food was made by the French author Fischler. His key thesis is that the traditional rules, norms and meanings that structure human food and its consumption increasingly fall under the process of the disaggregation or breaking of long-ago created rules, which leads to a state of *gastro-anomie*.⁴ The state of the contemporary diet is a consequence of the effects of contradictory and inconsistent pressures on the conscious of the modern food consumer, which are promoted by the powerful food and advertising industries as well as government institutions. Under such intense pressure, there are changes in personal identity, which are determined by belonging to a specific culinary culture, most often closely related to tradition (Fischler 1988:288–90). Fischler's basic explanation of the crisis is as follows: instead of the heteronomic and externally imposed rules that were crucial in the determination of traditional foods, the contemporary situation is increasingly characterized by manifestations of individualism, autonomy and anomie (Warde 1997:30).

The way in which Fischler understands the cultural dimensions of the contemporary food system is quite pessimistic, although he stresses that there are individual and joint efforts to renew the normative order in dietary practices, which would redefine the meaning of food. For example, individuals accept certain specific ways of consuming food (dietetic or vegetarian) in order to restore the normative logic within their food system based on personal choice (Fischler 1988:290–291). The next key concept within the theoretical model is the menu, which is understood more broadly than in its everyday meaning. Namely, the menu includes a set of rules that determine the choice of foods among those available, and within the food system of an individual society there can be a variety of menus. Here we look at a description of a traditional menu, with recommendations and rules for the selection of foods derived from ordinary customary practice. Such practice is formed by generations and its incontestability and legitimacy are justified by its long existence. The recommendations and prohibitions of traditional menus are considered self-evident, natural and immutable. Deviation from such rules and prohibitions causes others in the community to express astonishment and sometimes even scorn and revulsion.⁵ Fischler's developmental theoretical orientation comes into play when it is taken into account that

4 Fischler's concept of *gastro-anomie* is closely related to Durkheim's classic concept of *social anomie*.

5 Fischler also mentions rational menus, for which the selection criteria are created to achieve a specific goal (for example, weight loss, improvement of physical and mental performance, generalized promotion of good health etc.). Such menus are mainly

in traditional societies there is a traditional central menu, which coincides with the limits of the available foods but also changes, albeit slowly and with resistance.

Social influences and forces which, to a greater or lesser extent, form the tastes of modern generations are the products of long-term developmental historical processes, which were created and accumulated by previous generations. Therefore, the intergenerational transfer of habits, preferences, values and models related to food and diet are implied, as well as inevitable changes due to development.

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL DALMATIAN DIETS ON THE ISLANDS

In order to gain deeper insight into the traditional island diet, we employed a qualitative research approach. The research methods used were unstructured interviews with islanders and a qualitative analysis of the contents of Dalmatian cookbooks, which were necessary for defining traditional Dalmatian cuisine. We employed the method of unstructured interview with the aim of discovering the deeper significance that islanders ascribe to specific phenomena and processes related to food and diet. The interviews were conducted in March and April 2012 in the villages of Nerežišća on Brač, Gdinj and Zastrazišće on Hvar, and Podšpilje and Žena Glava on Vis. During the interviews, we provided the subjects with the topics of conversation and encouraged them to respond as freely as possible. Very often, the interviews were completely free form, like ordinary conversations. After we transcribed the interviews, we categorized the empirical textual data using qualitative analysis of the text. For the research sample, the three aforementioned central Dalmatian islands (Brač, Hvar and Vis) were chosen and the research subsample consisted of the five villages where we conducted our research, which share very important characteristics: they are located in the interiors of the islands and have very small populations.⁶ During the field portion of the study, we interviewed a total of 26 subjects, of whom 10 were from the island of Brač, 10 from Hvar and 6 from Vis. Of the total number of subjects, 18 were male and 8 were female. We consider it important to point out that women were under-represented due to the fact that they deferred to the male members of their households, reflecting the presence of patriarchal family relations in the rural island settlements. Half of the subjects were over 70 years of age, which clearly demonstrates the dramatic demographic trend of population ageing among the island villagers.

Regarding analysis of the content, the subject was the texts accompanying recipes from specialized cookbooks devoted to Dalmatian cuisine,⁷ more precisely, the introduction, foreword and afterword, and

based on scientific or quasi-scientific principles. Closely related to the rational menu is the convenience menu, which tends to reduce the time and effort invested in the preparation of daily meals, as well the hedonistic menu and the so-called moral menu, where the selection criteria are influenced by norms related to ethical, religious and ecological convictions.

6 On the island of Brač, we randomly selected and interviewed villagers from the village Nerežišća, one of the smallest island municipalities in terms of population size, with 617 inhabitants. On Hvar, we interviewed villagers living on the eastern part of the island, in Gdinj, which has 136 inhabitants, and Zastrazišće, with 169. We used the snowball or chain-referral sampling method here, establishing contact with the local people and arranging interviews. In the mountain villages of Podšpilje (with only 11 inhabitants) and Žena glava (47 inhabitants), located on the south-western part of the island of Vis, we chose and interviewed local inhabitants according to the method of random selection.

7 The list of the cookbooks from which publications dedicated to Dalmatian cuisine were singled out was prepared on the basis of data collected through a search of the major online book stores in Croatia. We limited the search to a 20-year period, 1985–2004, in order to gain insight into eventual changes in the approach to Dalmatian cuisine. During the search, eight exclusively Dalmatian cookbooks were found. It is important to point out that even today these Dalmatian cookbooks are highly influential, especially *Dalmatinska kuhinja* by Dika Marjanović Radica.

eventually the text on the back cover. The goal of the content analysis was to identify the key features and specificities of Dalmatian cuisine, as well as to describe how these texts define the traditional Dalmatian diet.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL DALMATIAN FOODS ACCORDING TO DALMATIAN COOKBOOKS

In the qualitative analysis of the content of Dalmatian cookbooks, due to the specific nature of the subject, aims and selected sample, we analysed only the accompanying texts (not the recipes), which are written in a free form. In these texts, the authors singled out the main characteristics of foods in Dalmatia by citing and describing typical ingredients, types of foods and seasoning, the manner of processing and preparing food, and somewhat less frequently gave advice in connection with the cooking process and serving, composing daily and festive menus, the schedule and structure of daily meals and so on.

Through analysis of the accompanying texts in the cookbooks, we singled out all the attributes that the authors ascribe to Dalmatian cooking, foods and seasoning that they consider autochthonous and traditional.

Table 1. Attributes that the cookbook authors ascribe to Dalmatian cuisine

GROUPS OF ATTRIBUTES	INDIVIDUAL ATTRIBUTES	F	Σ
MAIN INFLUENCES	Venetian influence	1	5
	French influence	1	
	Austrian-Hungarian influence	1	
	Italian national cuisine	1	
	Circle of Mediterranean civilization	1	
MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FOODS	Light	1	3
	Tasty	1	
	Fresh	1	
MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF CUISINE	Healthful	1	16
	Simple	6	
	Simple meal structure	1	
	Moderate	1	
	Easy to prepare	1	
	Variety	1	
	Seasonal	1	
	Economical	1	
	High quality	1	
	Aromatic	1	
	Accepted everywhere	1	
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS	Amalgam (Combination)	1	7
	Limes (Border)	1	
	Multicultural	1	
	Gastronomic tolerance	1	
	Integration	1	
	Change	1	
	Adaptation	1	
TOTAL ATTRIBUTES:			31

We used the attributes listed and categorized to construct as comprehensive a picture of Dalmatian cuisine as possible. Its specific features are as follows: in the first place is simplicity, both in the choice of seasonal ingredients (whenever possible) and the manner of food preparation, as well as in the structure of daily meals (primarily lunch as the central meal, which frequently consists of only one dish, often soup). Moreover, Dalmatian cuisine is considered to be exceptionally healthful. The food is defined as light, tasty and aromatic, which usually does not require long or demanding preparation. Dishes are constructed from various fresh local ingredients (as the authors point out with pride), and it is important to emphasize that the menu is almost always adapted to the seasons. The home-maker is economical and rational in her attitude towards food, and we assume that this is a consequence of the memory of frequently long and difficult periods when food was scarce, as have historically occurred in Dalmatia, especially inland (Dalmatian hinterland) and on the islands.

The cookbook authors place Dalmatian cuisine within the circle of Mediterranean civilization but emphasize its typical multiculturalism and gastronomic tolerance. These characteristics, according to the principle of reciprocity, have led to the constant integration of new elements from various culinary traditions. As a result, there have been some changes in traditional dietary habits, adaptation to foreign influences. In the same way, new ingredients, foods and preparation methods are being adapted to the local cuisine, which is inevitable in the acculturation process. More precisely, Dalmatian cuisine is an amalgamate, a border (limes) cuisine in which there are interaction and intertwining with Venetian, French, Austro-Hungarian (Central European), Italian, Southern Slavic and other cuisines, which have influenced it to a greater or lesser extent.⁸

In the following table are the types of foods, seasoning and techniques for preparing food that the cookbook authors consider typical of Dalmatian cuisine.

Table 2. Indigenous Dalmatian ingredients, foods, seasoning and preparation techniques

Type of Ingredients	Types of Foods	Types of Seasoning
Eggplant	Jota (beans with sauerkraut)	Garlic
Courgette	Fish stew of grouper (2)	Bay leaves (3)
White fish	Crni zec (rabbit hunter style) (2)	Thyme
Seafood (2)	Paštica (beef in a thick sauce) (4)	Anise
Vegetables (2)	Pasticcio dei macaroni (pasta with minced meat)	Cedar
Fruits	Arambašići (minced meat wrapped in sauerkraut leaves)	Cloves
Lamb (3)	Fritule (fried sweet pastries) (2)	Nutmeg
Prosciutto (3)	Paprenjaci (gingerbread)	Cinnamon
Fresh tomatoes (2)	Black risotto (2)	Coriander
Canned tomatoes	Bakalar na bijelo (salt cod purée)	Fresh herbs
Salted fish	Tuka (turkey)	Sage (2)
Dried fish	Sautéed or fried fish	Basil
Fresh (salt water) fish (4)	Soup with zanzarella (soup with special home-made pasta)	Rosemary (2)
Shellfish	Eel with peas	Olive oil (4)

⁸ As previously stated, we employed words/sentences written by the authors of the accompanying texts in the eight cookbooks analysed. Each attribute or construction is not attributed to a particular author because we compiled words and phrases from all of them for this part of the analysis.

Crabs	Pašta i fažol (pasta and beans)	Mixed oils
Mutton	Kroštule (fried sweets)	Vegetable shortening
Beef	Soup	Lard
Pork	Varivo (stewed vegetables)	Mediterranean herbs
Pancetta	Inexpensive sweets	
Poultry	Brudet (fish stew)	
Game (2)	Poached fish with potatoes	
Swiss chard	Roasted meat	
Spinach	Grilled fish	
Wild greens	Sarma (minced meat in sauerkraut leaves)	
Cabbage		
Peas		
Fava beans		
Capers		
Artichokes		
Bread		
Olives (2)		
Woodcock		

In addition to the general picture of Dalmatian cuisine, its internal structure and key elements are evident from Table 2. For this purpose, we have singled out types of ingredients, foods and seasoning, as well as the main food preparation techniques, which in the accompanying cookbook texts are considered “original Dalmatian and autochthonous.”

Regarding ingredients, fresh vegetables are mentioned most frequently, particularly fresh and canned tomatoes (see Table 2). It should be noted that the list includes many characteristic types of local vegetables, which are still commonly used today in family meals, such as Swiss chard, spinach, cabbage, wild greens, peas, fava beans, artichokes, eggplant and courgette, and are usually consumed when they are in season (for example, spring, summer and early autumn).⁹ After vegetables, meat is the most frequently mentioned, with particular emphasis on Dalmatian lamb, prosciutto and game.¹⁰ Otherwise, the first two meats (lamb and prosciutto) in various contexts are considered trademarks of Dalmatian cuisine (from lay persons to experts and gastronomes). In the third place, behind vegetables and meat, are terms connected with fish and seafood, which is somewhat surprising because Dalmatia is oriented towards the sea. In this category, the general terms “fresh fish” and “seafood” are used.¹¹ As autochthonous foods from the sea, the authors mention salted and dried fish. These two ingredients are very important for obtaining an accurate picture of traditional Dalmatian cuisine, where fish preserved with salt (for example, sardines and anchovies) and dried (conger, whiting, ray...) have had exceptional importance in the daily diet of the coastal and island populations. This was particularly true in winter, when fishermen could not go out on sea due to bad weather, so naturally preserved fish was eaten.

9 In the area studied, the habit of purchasing vegetables at open markets has been maintained. Therefore, the majority of home-makers prefer to buy seasonal vegetables when they appear on the market, although some types of frozen and canned vegetables can be found in self-service grocery stores throughout the year. Also, out-of-season fresh vegetables are either assumed to be imported or grown in greenhouses, and considered to be of doubtful freshness and quality.

10 Among the other types of meat characteristic of Dalmatian cuisine, the authors mention mutton, beef, pork and poultry.

11 Seafood is understood to refer to crab, shellfish, squid, cuttlefish, octopus and the like.

In addition to meat, vegetables and fish/seafood, only bread and fruit are mentioned among other foods and this in a general manner, without specifying the types. Such a finding is somewhat surprising because many types of high quality fruit grow in Dalmatia, which are often processed and preserved (for example, fruit juice) and eaten fresh when in season.

In contrast to the imbalance that exists among typical Dalmatian ingredients (where we have seen that meat dominates), among Dalmatian dishes there is equal mention of those based on meat and those containing fish or seafood.

Analysis of the cookbook texts showed that the most popular Dalmatian meat dish is *paštica*, followed by *crni zec*, *arambašići* and *sarma*. According to the cookbooks, other authentic dishes from this group include roast turkey and roast meat (likely referring to lamb, baby beef and veal, which are most commonly consumed), which are mentioned once. Favourite traditional Dalmatian fish/seafood dishes are *brudet* (stew) of grouper and black risotto with cuttlefish. Within this group, we also include several popular dishes that are mentioned once each, such as *bakalar na bijelo* (salt cod purée), eels with peas, grilled fish and poached fish (see Table 2). Less frequently other types of favourite foods, including traditional Dalmatian *variva* (vegetable stews) such as *jota* and *pašta-fažol* (see Table 2) are mentioned in recipe form in nearly every cookbook analysed. In addition to vegetable stews, meat and fish soups¹² are mentioned as very important components of the daily diet in Dalmatia. As for seasoning, the most important are olive oil (appears four times), followed by bay leaves (three times), sage and rosemary (two times each). There are also indigenous, wild or cultivated aromatic plants that thrive in the Mediterranean climate.¹³

Although we omitted recipes for sweets in the previous section of the analysis, we shall take them into consideration here because they are particularly singled out in the accompanying texts of the cookbooks. Typical Dalmatian sweets include *fritule* (mentioned two times), *paprenjaci* and *kroštule*,¹⁴ while one of the authors specifically refers to “inexpensive sweets”¹⁵ as being specific to Dalmatia.

Regarding food preparation techniques, the authors do not express preference for any and attach equal importance to boiling, poaching, stewing, braising, frying, sautéing, roasting and grilling. Grilling meat or fish,¹⁶ roasting lamb on a spit and cooking food under a domed lid or bell are singled out as typical food preparation methods.

12 Soups in Dalmatia, even today, are very often served as one-dish meals. Noodle soup is followed by a second course consisting of the boiled meat and vegetables from the soup, frequently served with tomato sauce (*šalša*).

13 Although indigenous forms of seasoning are most commonly mentioned, in Dalmatian cuisine a number of imported (Oriental) spices play major roles, such as cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, coriander and the like. Moreover, it is necessary to mention several domestic kinds of seasoning that are indispensable in this cuisine and mentioned in the cookbooks, such as garlic, basil, thyme and others.

14 Fritule and kroštule are very inexpensive pastries, which are prepared from pieces of dough deep-fried in oil. Although simple, considerable skill and experience are required to prepare them well.

15 The author probably believes that traditional Dalmatian sweets are prepared from affordable basic ingredients (flour, eggs, sugar, almonds and such), without a lot of custard, chocolate, sweet cream and similar ingredients infrequently found in Dalmatian kitchens. The humble ingredients used in kroštule, fritule and cookies do not diminish the quality, flavour or demanding preparation of the finished products.

16 In Dalmatia, it is customary for grilled fish or meat to be prepared by men.

The qualitative analysis of the accompanying texts was aimed at providing a basic picture of Dalmatian cuisine and singling out the essential features that distinguish it from the other regional cuisines in Croatia, as well as those outside the Croatian context.

PRODUCTION-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE ISLANDERS

Given that agriculture has represented one of the fundamental aspects of daily life in the area studied since ancient times, it was also one of the most fruitful topics in conversations with the islanders. Grapes and olives are the most common crops in the villages on the islands of Brač, Hvar and Vis, although the total area of cultivated land has significantly diminished the difference between cultivating olives and grapes was vividly described by a subject from Gdinj on the island of Hvar, and variations of this description can also be heard in other parts of Dalmatia:

“A grapevine is the same as a wife. You always have to run after it, prune it, apply sulphur and spray it, and if you let up even once, then all is lost. An olive tree is like a mother, you just stroke it a little and it rewards you!”

Knowledge used to be systematically passed down from the old to the young and agricultural production was the main source of income for each family. The land was tilled manually, with a hoe, and most products on the islands of Hvar and Vis (wine, figs, lavender, olives, rosemary, carob, wheat...) were sold through so-called agricultural cooperatives, which provided the prerequisites for the reproduction and development of peasant family farms as the principal agricultural producers (Defilippis 2004:43). Village cooperatives represented an organizational type of collective ownership and collective cultivation management, which emerged during the socialist period as the basic unit of collective production in all branches of agriculture and animal husbandry. It was necessary to allow village cooperatives to transition from small-scale to large-scale production with large market surpluses. Members of a cooperative were required to give part of their own land to the cooperative and, at the discretion of the cooperative, also part of their means of production, including agricultural machinery, farm buildings and livestock (Defilippis 2004:50). However, although machinery such as tractors and rotary tillers have made work in the fields much easier today, most of the cooperatives have closed due to the failed socialist system and muddled agricultural policy after the 1990s. Socialism forced agriculture to become industrialized. Commercial agriculture has been increasingly abandoned, while production for a family's own needs has begun to predominate (raising plants, mostly vegetables, in household gardens), which was characteristic of almost all the households we visited.

A subject from the village of Gdinj on the island of Hvar explained the former and current attitudes towards agriculture:

“Agriculture is already gone! I'm the only one who still has figs. The entire coast of the island of Hvar no longer has them! In our coves, everyone used to have fig trees and grapevines. It was wonderful! That was twenty or thirty years ago. Now everything is abandoned, covered with brambles and pines. There is nothing any more. No one is planting anything!”

The main reasons for the neglect of agriculture today, according to the subjects, are the negative

demographic trends (the dying out of the population and young people moving to the mainland and large cities), and the young people's lack of interest in agriculture (who today participate more as helpers than as active labourers). As one subject from the village of Gdinj on the island of Hvar says:

"Farming this meagre land is too difficult and physically strenuous,"

while others from Gdinj note that village life requires versatility and manual dexterity.

"If a person does not know how to weave a basket for his own needs, then life isn't easy. A person has to deal with many things. He has to know how to use a hoe, and a pick-axe, and a hammer."

Some subjects cited the unprofitability and uncertainty of the sale of crops as reasons for the decline in agricultural production. The subjects emphasized that the greatest difference between the cultivation of land then and now is that the hoe has been replaced by the rotary tiller. The following photograph shows one of the subjects in front of an agricultural cooperative:



Photographed on the island of Vis in the village of Podšpilje. Photo by Đeni Macan.

The greatest problem in the island localities studied is depopulation caused by the emigration and dying out of the population. Among the demographic changes, the subjects emphasized two emigration processes. The first process is emigration in search of a means of existence, which the subjects described as "going with the stomach in search of bread," as was the case during the 1930s and 1940s. Today, however, they pointed out that people mostly leave the islands because they offer neither educational nor employment opportunities. The abandonment of island villages is evident in the number of empty houses where no one lives any more, as noted by a female subject from Brač, who was visibly saddened:

"Many houses are empty. Look, there are many of those stone houses. No one lives in this first house. They went to Zagreb, one died and one stayed here. Then there is no one in the house above mine. Upstairs are our son, his wife and two children. There is one man living in the house next to mine and there is no one now in the one below."

An important demographic change characterizing small island villages is the dying off of the population. A subject from the island of Hvar wistfully notes how *"the only future for Gdinj is at the graveyard."* Nevertheless, in cities there is what Defilippis calls an "urban crisis, which indicates the general degradation of the living conditions in cities" (Defilippis 2006:827), and city dwellers are turning to the values offered by the village,

which mean that they are returning to nature. This is evident from the responses of the subjects, particularly those from the island of Hvar, when they speak about emigrants returning for a weekend or an annual vacation, as well as the desire to return after retirement, which occurs among the elderly population.

Fishing would be expected to represent a very important part of the daily lives of the islanders interviewed but this was not the case in all the places studied. The subjects from Nerežišće on the island of Brač are generally not engaged in fishing due to the distance from the sea, which is not the case among those from Hvar and Vis. Nevertheless, even they are less involved in fishing than during previous years. The attitude towards the sea and fishing is described by a subject from the village of Zastrazišće on the island of Hvar:

“To be near the sea and not have a boat and not go fishing would be as if a person had no legs...”

At one time, according to our subjects from Hvar and Vis, fishing used to represent the main source of food, while today it is more of a hobby, a type of recreation during free time. A subject from Gdinj describes the way fishing and farming used to be on the island of Hvar:

“People here had nets and lamps. They went out fishing with lamps in the evening, when the sea was calm. There was also a line for catching octopus, which was fifteen, twenty or so meters in length. At the end, you attached some pancetta, a chicken leg or something else, and a small stone so that it would sink, and then the octopus jumps on it! There were also nets that you cast into the water and then dragged... People also cultivated grapes, olives, lavender, carob and almonds, and planted cabbage, tomatoes, courgettes and potatoes. Everything!”

Animal husbandry was represented on all the islands studied, although there used to be many more livestock (sheep, goats) than today. In correlation with the tradition of raising livestock on of the islands are, naturally, the eating habits of the population, that is to say, the traditional island cuisine.

The traditional forms of economic activity did not undergo significant change until World War II and the postwar expansion of industrialization. Moreover, since the 1960s there has been a growing orientation towards tourism, the consequences, efficiency and expedience of which we shall only be able to assess in the future (Jakšić 2014:127). The subjects on Brač point out that there are not many tourists in their villages, although some of the subjects from each of the islands confirmed that they rented out apartments in their family homes, which is the main form of tourism in those areas.

As the rotary tiller replaced the traditional hoe, tourism squeezed out agriculture. The consequences were vividly described to us by a subject from the village of Zastrazišće on the island of Hvar:

“About thirty years ago, tourism began to be taken somewhat more seriously and then the lives of these people changed, because life was easier and they simply forgot some old traditions. Tradition was actually a lifestyle, because people lived from the fields and sea, but since we are talking about fields, the chief sources of income were wine, lavender and olive oil. The land was cultivated in the old traditional manner, which means with a hoe. There were old, narrow rural roads, donkey paths, which could only be used by people, goats and donkeys. People travelled for hours to reach their fields. Then it was no problem to till vineyards with a hoe for a couple of months from morning to night. With two pieces of bread and a litre of bevanda (wine mixed with water), people were able to spend the whole day on the fields. In the

evening they would come home tired, have supper and go to sleep, together with the chickens. Today this has changed, when the first tractor and rotary tiller arrived and people began to realize that they could earn more from one room during the summer than they earned from twenty olive trees. Then they easily switched to tourism. They rented out the beds and then the fields that were far from home ... since it was a problem to keep a donkey, because you have to prepare feed for it during the winter, you have to take it to pasture or keep it in a little house. People were not in a position to do so. Then it was easier for them to purchase a small tractor. Since a tractor could not be driven on the narrow paths, the people went to the fields that were near home, and then they abandoned the fields that were farther away. So that... during the past thirty years..., two-thirds of the fields became overgrown with bushes. Those near home, where you could go by car and where you could bring a tractor in the trailer, are maintained.”

Some of the subjects from Hvar and Vis note that there is a growing tendency towards the development of rural tourism, the importance of which is reflected in the interaction of agricultural production, the presentation of traditions (in the first place offering home-made specialities from home-grown ingredients), and sustainable development, which means the revitalization of the traditional island heritage.

The photographs show how old objects that were formerly used daily are now exhibited in wine cellars.

Some residents are also engaged in the sale of local products, such as wine, brandy, olive oil, dried figs and medicinal products (mainly from local wild herbs). Several subjects from Hvar and Vis mentioned that household work is shared equally by the male and female members of the family. Despite this, the attitude still prevails that women are required to work in the kitchen and clean, and men are generally only involved when it is necessary to prepare meat or fish on the grill. Nevertheless, the subjects emphasized that work in the kitchen has become much easier today owing to modern household appliances.



Photographed on the island of Vis in the village of Žena Glava. Photo by Đeni Macan.



Photographed on the island of Vis in the village of Žena Glava. Photo by Đeni Macan.

Oil, wine and brandy used to be sold through agricultural cooperatives but today are sold directly to tourists. In the next photograph, there is a roadside advertisement for domestic products.

Subjects on the island of Hvar particularly stressed the need for fishing and cultivating gardens as activities that “ease the household budget.” There are few employment opportunities on the islands and the per capita GDP is lower than the general average. Defilippis says that rural areas are less efficient economically (Defilippis 2006:833). A great problem for the island localities, especially Nerežišća on Brač, is the failure of trades and factories that used to employ a large number of locals. This has particularly negative consequences just now because in modernized society, people turn to the tertiary sector and neglect the typical rural activities such as agriculture and fishing, which used to be important sources of income. For the residents of the villages investigated on the island of Hvar, characteristic shortages of water and electricity are cited as particularly aggravating factors that contribute to the negative demographic trends.



4. Photographed on the island of Hvar in the village of Zastrazišće. Photo by Đeni Macan.

FOODS CONSUMED ON THE ISLANDS OF BRAČ, HVAR AND VIS

The manner in which food is produced, prepared and consumed is usually passed down through inherited values and traditions. The majority of households in the island villages produce enough food in their gardens to meet their own needs, which implies fewer shopping trips to purchase food. However, although the subjects on all three islands produce their own food, they stressed that they needed to travel to larger (island) localities in order to purchase food and other necessities more cheaply. They singled out the problem of being forced to shop in local, more expensive stores because they could not go to larger communities, which is again characteristic for the ageing population.

It seems that modernization is slowly eroding tradition, which leads to a type of mixed dietary model, in which domestic food still prevails over purchased food. However, it is difficult to estimate how long this situation will last: we may assume that the tradition will be maintained until the next generation. Furthermore, young people are reluctant to participate in agricultural work and generally perform less demanding tasks. When depopulation and emigration from the islands are factored in, the future of the traditional manner of food production and diet is largely in question. If government-level targeted political and economic measures do not encourage young people to remain on the islands, the long-term negative trend in the loss of traditions and cultural diversity will accelerate.

On the other hand, the modernization is not a unidirectional and unambiguous process, because it can positively influence traditional diet. For example, use of a (gas or electric) stove considerably facilitates and accelerates everyday cooking, and doesn't change the appearance, taste and other important characteristics of traditional dishes (foods). The use of fridge and freezers enables the preservation of traditional foods even out of season, so they can be tasted by tourists which came in the great majority on investigated islands during the summer. The role of modern agricultural machines can be considerably positive in the segment of traditional diet in the case of easier and simpler production of traditional goods (grapes and olive processing, cultivation of fruit and vegetables...).

These are only some examples of "coexistence" of traditional and modern and therefore it could be wrong to conclude that modernization influences tradition exclusively in a negative way. Namely, modernization processes can once more affirm some parts of tradition and therefore we have to reject the standpoints under which these processes destroy everything that existed before them. Consequently, the inhabitants of the investigated Dalmatian islands certainly accepted some aspects of modernization and modern society as well as those aspects which advance their traditional diet and which are useful for it. However, these problems are beyond the scope of this paper and this is the subject of a new investigation.

As for the traditional island diet, it can be described in the following manner. In addition to the frequent consumption of olive oil and wine, the daily menu at all three meals is based on local meat (lamb, goat and poultry...), fresh vegetables, fish and seafood. The ingredients used in everyday traditional foods are listed by a subject from the village of Gdinj on the island of Hvar:

“And there was everything! Pasta, potatoes, fish, cabbage, salted anchovies. We also pastured animals. On Sunday, there was meat.”

How meat was eaten at a time when there was no electricity or refrigeration is described by a subject from Gdinj, who still remembers that period well:

“There was no electricity, there was no refrigerator. Every family had from three to ten sheep, from three to four goats. When a buck was slaughtered, the meat would be dried or lent to neighbours, who would return it when they slaughtered one of their animals. In that way, people had meat nearly every Sunday. Either someone would slaughter or someone would lend. And fish was the main food for those who had a house by the sea.”

Fish has always had an important role in the daily diet of islanders and is prepared in various ways: poached, grilled, *brudet* (fish stew), and often dried or salted. How dried fish was traditionally prepared is described by a subject from Gdinj on the island of Hvar, using the example of dried conger:

“It was dried in such a manner that it was gutted, the bone was removed and then it was sprinkled with coarse salt, wrapped in paper and kept that way for one day. Then it was lightly rubbed with oil. In the summer, it was hung to dry in a so-called “muškadure,” a hanging rack with a diameter of one half to one meter, covered with fine wire to prevent flies from entering. And so fish were dried in the sun.”

The traditional everyday diet of the islanders was based on seasonal ingredients. From the following statement by a subject from Hvar, this is evident in the examples of fruits and vegetables:

“The greens were Swiss chard, which glistened when the first rain in nine months fell. Then the garden was tilled. The Swiss chard produced seeds, which had sprouted, as did the kale. The artichokes were also interesting, and would come up in May. Shallots would be preserved in vinegar. The dried figs were left until late winter and were eaten throughout the winter.”

Among the island specialities, the people of Brač mention *vitalac*,¹⁷ as well as local lamb grilled on a spit. A subject from Brač said the following:

“And lamb from Brač is the most highly valued, and vitalac is something special. It is made from innards and sausage casings, which are stuffed with freshly sliced liver and baked thoroughly. It should be eaten immediately, while still hot.”

People from Vis singled out *viška pogača* (bread dough stuffed with salted anchovies) and marinated fish as local specialities, while those from Hvar spoke of *brujet* (fish stew) with shallots and wild greens. Items that can be found on the traditional menu on the island of Vis were listed by one of the female subjects:

“Dalmatian dishes were usually eaten: fish, Swiss chard, spinach, beans and pasta, brujet (fish stew). This was mainly a tradition. Then there was paštica (beef stew) with gnocchi for any kind of celebration. Beans were food for labourers. When a labourer comes home from the field around 5 or 6 o'clock, he has lunch and supper. Viška pogača with only fish and onions is a speciality of Vis, and with tomatoes added is a speciality of Komiža. Marinated fish, stewed snails, rock samphire, capers ... we also make

¹⁷ Vitalac is an ancient meat dish peculiar to the island of Brač. In 2007, it was included on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This dish, prepared from the innards of lambs or goats, maintains a living link with the time of the first contacts between the inhabitants of the island of Brač and Greek civilization (Jakšić 2014).

marmalade from grapes, oranges and figs. Among sweets, there are quince cakes, almond nougat, and Vis pršurate (fritters), hroštule (fried noodle dough), rožata (crème caramel), all sorts of things ... and among beverages we have Vugava and Plavac wines, we have plenty of liqueurs and brandies from oranges, lemons, carob, herbs and so forth..."

There is a richer and more festive table on Sundays (when meat is eaten, which is uncommon during the week), especially on holidays and special occasions,¹⁸ with prosciutto, cheese, soup, *paštica* (beef stew) with gnocchi and roasted meat, primarily lamb, which is particularly emphasized by the subjects from the island of Brač, where "a celebration without lamb is not a celebration."

Among sweets, the most commonly eaten are *hroštule* (fried noodle dough) and *fritule* (fritters), while subjects from Vis mention *cviti* (cookies) and *hib*, which is made from dried figs and only eaten on Christmas Eve.

Dalmatian herbs are used everywhere to season food, most often rosemary, bay leaves, oregano, shallots, sage and basil. How to make a genuine *brujet* (fish stew) with shallots is related by one of the subjects from the village of Zastrazišće on the island of Hvar:

"Traditionally, we use shallots, which means not onions but shallots. Brujet made with shallots is actually the genuine brujet which has its own tradition. Shallots are similar to onions but much more piquant. They have a much spicier flavour, so that a few shallots are like a kilo of onions, for example."

The traditional time for the main meal of the day on all the islands is most commonly midday, while supper is served after sunset, following a hard day's work in the fields. The rhythm of meals is vividly described by a subject from the village of Gdinj on the island of Hvar:

"Usually we have supper when the sun sets. People generally eat according to the time, according to the sun. The main meal is at midday, most often from 11:30 to noon."

In addition to the production of cheese, honey, home-made juices (sage, elderberry, sour cherry, sweet cherry, lemon and orange), on the islands of Hvar and Vis the production of domestic brandies and liqueurs has special significance. Brandies are made using many different types of herbs growing in the vicinity. Some of the basic herbs used in liqueurs and brandies are listed by one of the subjects from Vis:

"The basic ingredients we use are sage, fennel and wormwood... Then there are common rue, lemon leaves, orange leaves, summer savoury, winter savoury, and even pine, olive branches, rock samphire ..."

The preparation of brandies is shown in photograph 5 below.

In some places on the islands, the traditional diet has been preserved through gastro-tourism. For example, in the village of Žena Glava, one of the subjects has a restaurant where he offers goat meat. He cares for the goats himself, and all the ingredients are raised, gathered and prepared in the traditional manner:

"I am mainly oriented to goat meat. Even before, most people lived from goats. We roast them on a spit, we have them grilled, boiled, sometimes goulash. And we also have plenty of fish. I picked these wild salad greens myself: milkweed, poppy greens, chicory..."

¹⁸ We are referring here to baptisms, first communions, confirmations and marriages.



5. Photographed on the island of Vis in the village of Žena Glava. Photo by Đeni Macan

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION: TRADITIONAL FOODS IN THE MODERN MANNER-POTENTIAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF GASTRO-TOURISM

Within the framework of our research, we have entered the world of the labourers of the central Dalmatian islands in order to capture part of their everyday lives and describe the significance they attach to their traditional diet and other daily activities closely connected with the food process, primarily agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry. The study was conducted with the goals of determining the presence of traditions in the peasant communities on the islands of Brač, Hvar and Vis, and the impact of modernization on the everyday lives of the islanders, according to the assessments of the subjects.

The theoretical framework of this study is the developmental theory. Our field observations largely coincide with those of Sobal (1999). Like Sobal, we consider the process of change and the modernization of the traditional diet to be inevitable but the speed with which they occur depends on the specifics of individual areas, in other words, the geographical, historical, economic and other factors. Actually, the specific nature of Croatian island localities (for example, isolation from the mainland, and distance from the sea) somewhat slow the processes of change and modernization in the daily diet. Many traditional aspects, although less influential than they used to be, continue to be present on all the islands studied, regardless of their uncertain future. We have seen that they are present in everyday cuisine and most clearly evident in the preservation of customs related to holidays, family celebrations and similar occasions.

Furthermore, we have shown how Dalmatian cuisine is defined in the accompanying texts of Dalmatian cookbooks. It turned out that in this segment of the study, there is exceptionally great correspondence between the written attributes of traditional Dalmatian cuisine and that which the islanders eat every day (see Tables 1 and 2). This applies to all food groups and types of foods, including vegetables, meat, fish, indigenous seasoning and sweets. In this case, the specifics of the island localities favour maintaining traditions because nearly all of the locals cultivate vegetables and fruits, and some of them also raise livestock and catch fish, at least to meet their own needs.

Agriculture is closely connected with the island cuisine. Although the locals are less engaged in agriculture than previously, it still represents an important part of daily rural life. Its importance lies in the fact that “villages are the only places where agriculture as an activity is still possible, although, unfortunately, increasingly less as an activity in the sense of achieving a meaningful life” (Šundalić 2011:258).

We have observed that the influences of modernization are most pronounced on the island of Brač, while a more traditional lifestyle still prevails in the villages on Hvar and Vis. The elements of modernization that we have noted primarily include technological changes, which made household work and agriculture considerably easier; the phenomenon of television, which altered interpersonal relationships; and the transformation of the rural infrastructure. What is specific to the modernization of the islands is that, on the one hand, it made life on the isolated islands easier and improved the difficult living conditions, while, on the other hand, it diminished the need to rely on relatives and fellow villagers, and thus reduced the intensity of socializing, which led to a type of alienation among the locals. It would be incorrect to conclude that the processes of modernization¹⁹ are exclusively responsible for the weakening of traditions. Although partially responsible for the abandonment of some traditional practices, the unfavourable demographic trends (most pronounced in the rural communities on the island of Hvar) are the main reason for the uncertain future of these practices. The elderly population is dying out and the young are leaving in search of the educational and employment opportunities available on the mainland but not on the islands. All of this is occurring in the absence of adequate policies aimed at island development and maintenance. Although these communities are still fairly traditional, it is a question whether they will survive or disappear, together with their inhabitants.

On the other hand, we noted a certain type of re-traditionalization in the villages on the island of Vis. This is a process by which a tradition is modified, renewed and appears in a somewhat altered form. Tradition exists as a tourism product, evident in the growing gastro-tourism and agro-tourism, and an increased return to the production of domestic products, such as the aforementioned authentic gastronomic specialities. Gastronomic tourism “refers to travels to destinations where the local foods and beverage are the main incentives for said travels” (Dávid according to Zoltán–Szűcs 2012:6). The high quality, authenticity and ecological production of foods and beverages on the Dalmatian islands correspond to Caffyn’s definition of gastro-tourism, which must offer “...a broad range of possible choices, particularly in countries with long traditions and points of interest. For the advancement of culinary tourism, it is necessary to offer food and beverage experiences that are unique and memorable” (Caffyn 2010, according to Zoltán–Szűcs 2012:6). Regarding the island localities studied, we saw that the greatest potential for preserving traditional cuisine may lie in gastro-tourism offered by village households. The growing tendency for the development of gastro-tourism has led to a connection between concern for tradition through touristic and gastronomic offers, which ultimately leads to the preservation of specific and sustainable ecological agriculture. This could be an incentive for the young to remain and even a motive for those who have gone to live in larger island localities or urban areas to return.

¹⁹ In the village of Nerežišće on the island of Brač, the modernization process is evident, which is logical considering that this village has a significantly larger number of inhabitants compared to the villages studied on Hvar and Vis. Other reasons lie in its geographical position and good connections with urban centres on the mainland, and it seems to have a policy focused on development, so that the community appears to be quite self-sufficient in terms of organization and activities.

What kind of future scenario for the development of these island communities would be beneficial to all? Šundalić believes that the only desirable future lies in development that maintains and fosters uniqueness through integral sustainability supported by the postmodern ecological world view, which emphasizes multivocality, a return to the values of local expertise and strategies which have arisen in specific contexts, together with the principle of balanced spatial development. Furthermore, he emphasizes that until the guidelines are put into practice, not merely the theological considerations of sociologists and other scientists dealing with the Croatian rural areas, we can only hypothesize about the possibilities for the development of Croatian villages (Šundalić 2011:259).

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