

Blagdanska i svakodnevna jela virovitičkog kraja

*Tradicionalna veza između određene vrste hrane i blagdana čvrsto je ukorijenjena u narodu. Teško je zamisliti Božić bez pečenke ili Uskrs bez šunke s jajima i hrenom. Nekada je ta veza bila još čvršća, odnosno postojala je simbolička razina kojom se pridavalo dublje značenje hrani. U obične dane ljudi su jeli skromnije, ponekad i samo da "pre-
vare" želudac. To znači da se po jelovniku dobro razlikovao običan dan od blagdana. Prehrambene navike mijenjaju se usporedno s promjenama u načinu života. Bolji materijalni uvjeti života izmijenili su tradicionalne jelovnike, no ipak se za blagdane često pripravlja stara jela koja prizivaju minula vremena i okupljaju obitelj oko stola.*

Ključne riječi: blagdanska jela, svakodnevna jela, Virovitica

Uvod

Virovitica je centar Virovitičko-podravske županije smještene između rijeke Drave na sjeveru i obronaka Bilogore, Papuka i Krndije na jugu. Područje su našeg istraživanja sela oko Virovitice: Vukosavljevica, Špišić Bukovica, Bušetina, Turanovac, Gornje Bazje, Rušani, Detkovic i Brezovica. Istraživanja o prehrani obavljena su 2004. u selima Rušani, Špišić Bukovica i Vukosavljevica. Korišteni su i podaci iz kataloga izložbe "Godišnji običaji virovitičkog kraja", koje je tijekom godina sakupila Danica Draganić.

Blagdanska jela

U godišnjim običajima posebna je uloga dodijeljena hrani. Svaki običaj prati određena vrsta hrane, u kojoj se mogu iščitati i skriveni običaji iz pretkršćanskog vremena.

Crkveni propisi određuju post i nemrs za Advent i Korizmu. Posti se na Veliki petak, Pepelnicu, na Badnjak i kad su kvatre. Nakon posta slijedi obilje hrane, osobito na božićnom i uskršnjem stolu. Vjernici poste i danas, a crkveni su propisi puno blaži pa je zapovijedani post i nemrs samo na Pepelnicu i Veliki petak. No i tih se propisa ne pridržavaju svi tako strogo. Ima slučajeva da baka, koja zbog starosti više nije obvezna postiti, posti, a ukućani ne poste. Izmijenila su se i jela u posne dane. Jede se riba, dok je, npr., *žufnjara* koja se priprema od tučenih bundevinih koštica, nestala.

U virovitičkom kraju, u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, u Adventu se postilo utorkom i petkom. Nije se ni mrsilo, pa je ulje od bundevinih sjemenki zamjenjivalo svinjsku mast, kukuruzno brašno pšenično, a kvas se uopće nije upotrebljavao. U Špišić Bukovici jeo se grah s *koščićnim uljem*, pogačice s *krumperom*, *kuružnjača*, pogača bez kvasa. Postilo se i na Badnjak. U selu Gornje Bazje za večeru se pekla *žufnjara* od tijesta koje se umijesilo kao za savijaču te posipalo sitno tučenim bundevinim košticama koje bi se istukle u mužaru i prosijale kroz sito.

Sve vezano uz Božić treba osigurati blagostanje u nadolazećoj godini. To je povezano i s nekadašnjom proslavom Nove godine 25. prosinca. I najsiromašniji su nastojali obilato jesti na Božić, makar bi time iscrpili sve svoje mogućnosti. U Špišić Bukovici na božićni se stol prekriven tkanim stolnjakom postavlja zdjela ili malo korito s raznim vrstama žita, tri vrste luka, hren, med, orasi, grah, zdjela hladetine, rakija i božićni kolač. Sve poslove koji se obavljaju na Badnjak vrlo je slikovito opisala Jana Tovarović iz Rušana (2. listopada 1996.):

“Žene su na Badnjak imale toliko posla da ti pamet stane, od rane zore do mraka. Ujutro rano dižemo se odma iza tri sata. Prvo ranom zorom zamijesiti kruh, za koje je kvas sinoć metnut već se digo, drugo zamijesiti kolače, za dizanicu istući mak, samljet orahe. Napravi se poseban ukrasjen kruh za stol za Badnjak za večeru, na njemu je križ i neke ruže od tijesta malo manje. Moja mama idu mijesiti kruha za devet kruva u krušnoj peći. Post je, niko ništa ne jede, ali se rakija i vino piju natašće. Peku se sitni kolači medenjaci, sitni kolači, kuglof, sa suhim groždem, svi mogući mirisi. Stariji ljudi ne jedu nekog, a i djeca, a motaš se oko kolača, to mi je bilo najteže. Pripremalo se meso za hladetinu, prale zemljane zdjelke, uhvatile se kokoši za juhu, pripremalo se meso koje će se peći u tepsiji, pure, guske. Kuvo se grah, koji će se na Badnjak jesti onako postan i luk bijeli i crveni. Predvečer je sve bilo gotovo.”

Hladetina s božićnog stola pripravlja se od svinjskog mesa, dosta masnog, što je u suprotnosti s nemrsom iz posnog razdoblja. Nakon povratka s polnoćke moralo se pojesti malo hladetine i pečenicice i time započeti novo razdoblje. Dobar početak trebao je osigurati blagostanje tijekom cijele godine.

Pretkorizmeno vrijeme, vrijeme poklada, označeno je obiljem i neumjerenošću u jelu. U selu Gornje Bazje za *Fašenjak* se za ručak klala kokoš. To se činilo kako se kokoši ne bi objesile na ogradu. U dubokoj masnoći pekli su se *kovrtanji* (uštipci) koji su u sredini imali rupu da bi ih maškare mogle nataknuti na štap. Zbog rupa, takve uštipke u selu Rušani zovu *kukulele*. I tamo se klala kokoš, a boja kokoši nije bila važna. U selu Vukosavljevica vjeruju da će te godine sve “pocrkati”, ako se za *Fašenjak* ne pripremi kokoš. Osim kokoši, kuhalo se i kiselo zelje sa suhim rebrima. I danas se

za *Fašenjak* pripremaju ista jela samo su tumačenja zaboravljena. Kad dođu u kuću, maškare u Vukosavljevici pjevaju:

Za konoplje i za lan

i za masni kovrtanj.

U vrijeme Korizme vlada oskudica i iscrpljenost jer su se zalihe smanjile, a valja nešto hrane sačuvati za Uskrs. Na Veliki petak bio je veliki post. Pekle su se posne pogače, koje bi se zalile gutljajem dobre rakije.

Na Veliku subotu pripravljalno se za Uskrs. Pekla se dizanica, kuhala šunka i jaja. Kvas za dizanicu zamutio bi se večer prije s brašnom, vodom i šećerom. Ujutro bi se kvas zamijesio s brašnom i mlakim mlijekom, te dodala sol. Tko je imao, stavio bi i jaje. To se činilo samo za svetak, Uskrs, jer su se jaja inače prodavala. Dizanica se nadjevala sirom, orasima i makom koji su se tukli u stupi. Poslije Drugoga svjetskog rata došla je čokolada i kakao koji su, pomiješani s brašnom i mlijekom, služili kao nadjev.

Post prestaje blagovanjem jela na Uskrs. Ujutro bi žene napunile košaru kuhanim jajima, šunkom i kolačima i odnijele u crkvu na blagoslov, *posvećenje*. Blagovanjem tog jela blagoslov bi se prenio na sve ukućane. U Špišić Bukovici na blagoslov se nosi šunka, jaja, sol, kruh, dizanica, uskršnji *kovrtanj* (kuglof od dizanog tijesta) i nezao-bilazni hren. Na povratku, žene su se utrkivale koja će prije stići kući. Vjerovalo se, naime, da će najbrže težaci biti najvredniji, a njihova žetva najbrže završena. Kad se posvećena hrana donijela kući, najprije bi se zapalila svijeća u uskršnjem kolaču i jeo hren “za zdravlje”.

Svakodnevna jela

Običnih, radnih dana jelo se puno skromnije, jer nije bilo novca. Jaja su se uglavnom jela samo na Uskrs budući da su se skupljala za nasad i za prodaju kako bi se kupio petrolej, duhan, šibice, kvas.

Kako se u tjednu jelo u Rušanima, ispričala je Jana Tovarović: za doručak su se jeli *kukuruzni žganci*, *frigana čorba (prežgana juha)*, *bošpor*, *šterc* i *tarana*. *Frigana* se čorba jede s kruhom. Ako se u nju ukuhaju jaja, onda se zove *popjevačka*. *Bošpor* je žitni umak (od pšeničnog brašna), tj. gušća zaprška koja se, ohlađena, može rezati nožem. Jede se s kruhom. *Šterc* je preprženo brašno preliveno toplom vodom tako da se dobiju grudice. Jeo se sam, a stariji su ga jeli s lukom kao salat. *Tarana* se mijesila od kvasnog tijesta preostalog od tijesta od kojeg se radio kruh. Mijesila se u koritu u kojem se prethodno mijesio kruh. Od dobivenog tijesta oblikovale bi se grudice koje su se sušile “tako da ima za više puta”. Skuhani krumpir, mrkva i peršin začinili bi se lukom sprženim na masti, kojem bi se dodala jedna do dvije šake tarane. Bilo je ukusno i voljeli su to jesti.

Za ručak su jeli grah, *rušanske gumboce*, *grah šalatu*, rezance sa sirom ili makom, grašak i bob, mahune, zelje, kuhani kukuruz. Grah se kuhao s dvije glavice crvenoga luka u puno vode. Kad se skuha, ocijedi se *čorba*, luk baci, a juha ponovno zavrije. *Rušanski gumboci* zamijese se od *žitnog* (pšeničnog) brašna u koje se doda vode i soli (može i bez soli jer je skupa), te trgaju u juhu. Kad se skuha, dignu se na površinu vode. Potom se juha začini crvenom paprikom i mašću. Ocijedeni se grah na masti pirjao ili se pravila *grah šalata*. Grašak ili bob pirjao se na luku na masti.

Kuhalo se na svinjskoj masti. Ulje se koristilo samo u modernim svatovima, i to se onda posebno razglasilo po selu. I salata se začinjala mašću koja se otopi i pomiješa s malo vrhnja. Odnos masti i ulja u prehrani bio je 90:10 %. Tako se kuhalo do 1960-ih godina kada se ljudima materijalni položaj poboljšao. Danas je taj odnos gotovo obrnut. Ulje se koristi više od masti, većinom i zbog zdravstvenih razloga.

U nedjelju se kuhala kokošja ili pileća ("pjetlić jer je kokice bilo šteta") juha s rezancima. Pripremao se u *slapu krumpir* ("na mast s malo paprike doda se krumpir i prelije vodom"), pečeni krumpir i krumpir u cijelo, pečen u *vermi*. Jela se salata od zelja, salata od paprike, *jabučice* (rajčice) i luka. Pekao se i kolač: dizanica s makom, orasima, sirom ili kakaom.

Kad se obavljao veći posao, jelo se meso iz masti i u *slapu krumpir*. Meso iz masti dodavalo se i *čušpajzima*. Kad se prelo, pekla se *prova* koja se pravi od kukuruznog brašna s mlijekom, čemu se doda i malo sira. Ako se pripravljala od žitnog brašna, zvali su je *mutnjara*.

Za vrijeme kolinja, *čvarki* su se dijelili svim susjedima i rođacima, koji bi pak uzvratili kad su oni klali, tako da su se uvijek jeli *friški*. Tada su se radile i krvavice koje bi se odmah pojele. Krvavice su se spravlјale od kuhane svinjske krvi, sitnih komadića mesa i mesa od glave. Od začina stavljala se sol, papar i paprika. U sve to umiješala bi se kuhana hajdina kaša, riža ili kukuruzna kaša. Mesne se kobasice zalijevaju mašću.

U vremenima velike oskudice, hrana je doslovno značila život. Zbog toga su je visoko cijenili i pridavali joj simbolička i alegorijska značenja. Danas, kada mnogi imaju hrane u izobilju, gube se ta značenja. Više ne ovisimo ni o godišnjim dobima, jer se gotovo sve namirnice mogu nabaviti u svako doba. Ostaje, dakle, samo tradicionalna veza hrane i blagdana koju ljudi poštuju iz sentimentalnih razloga, poštovanja prema toj tradiciji ili iz navike.

Literatura

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Holiday and Everyday Dishes of the Virovitica Region

The traditional link between certain types of food and holidays is deeply in folk customs. It is difficult to imagine Christmas without roast meat or Easter without ham, eggs and horseradish. This link was even stronger before, that is, there was a symbolic level on which a deeper meaning was associated with food. On weekdays, people took humbler meals, sometimes only to take the edge off hunger. This means that there was an obvious distinction between everyday and holiday dishes. Dietary habits change as lifestyle changes. Although better material life conditions have changed traditional menus, old dishes evocative of times past are still prepared on holidays, gathering the family around the table.

Key words: holiday dishes, everyday dishes, Virovitica

Introduction

Virovitica is the centre of the Virovitičko-podravská county, situated between the river Drava to the north and the hillsides of Bilogora, Papuk and Krndija to the south. Our research focused on the villages around Virovitica: Vukosavljevica, Špišić Bukovica, Bušetina, Turanovac, Gornje Bazje, Rušani, Detkovac and Brezovica. The research of food was carried out in the villages of Rušani, Špišić Bukovica and Vukosavljevica in 2004. We also used data from the catalogue to the exhibition “Annual Customs of the Virovitica Region”, collected over years by Danica Draganić.

Holiday Dishes

Food plays a special role in annual customs. Every custom is associated with a certain sort of food, which also reflects hidden customs from pre-Christian times. Church regulations impose fast and abstinence during Advent and Lent. Fast-days are Good Friday, Ash Wednesday, Christmas Eve and a fasting week every season. Fast is followed by abundance of food, especially on Christmas and Easter tables. Catholics still observe the fasting rules, although church regulations are much more lenient now, so that fast and abstinence is obligatory only on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. However, these rules are not strictly adhered to by everyone. There are cases where the grandmother fasts, even though she is not obligated to due to her old age, while other household members do not. Lenten fare has also changed: the fast-day menu now includes fish, but no longer the traditional foods like *žufnjara*, a dish prepared with crushed pumpkin seeds.

In the Virovitica region of the first half of the twentieth century, every Tuesday and Friday in Advent were regarded as fast-days. Abstinence from meat was also a rule, so that lard was replaced by pumpkin seed oil, wheat flour by corn flour, while yeast was not used at all. Typical Lenten food in the village of Špišić Bukovica consisted of beans with pumpkin seed oil (*koščičino ulje*), potato cakes (*šogačice s krumprom*), corn pudding (*kuruznjača*) and unleavened flat bread. Christmas Eve was another fast-day. In the village of Gornje Bazje, dinner consisted of *žufnjara*, which was made of strudel dough strewn with pumpkin seeds crushed in the mortar and passed through a sieve.

Everything connected with Christmas should ensure prosperity in the year to come. This is also related to the ancient custom to celebrate New Year on the 25th of December. Even the poorest families did their best to eat abundantly on Christmas, even if it was beyond their means. In Špišić Bukovica, a bowl or a small trough containing various grain sorts, three types of onions, horseradish, honey, walnuts, beans, a bowl of jelly, brandy and the Christmas cake were placed in the middle of the Christmas table covered by an embroidered tablecloth. All chores performed in Christmas Eve were vividly described by Jana Tovarović from the village of Rušani (October 2, 1996):

“On Christmas Eve, women were very busy from dawn to dusk. In the morning, we get up right after three o’clock. First we knead the bread dough ready, using the yeast set to prove the evening before, then prepare the dough for the cakes, crush the poppy seeds and grind walnuts for the leavened-dough roll. A specially decorated loaf of bread is made for the Christmas Eve dinner table, with ornaments in the shape of a cross and some smaller flower-shaped ones. My mother goes to knead the dough for nine loaves of bread, baked in the baker’s oven. It is fast-day, nobody eats anything, but brandy and wine are drunk on an empty stomach. Small honey and other biscuits are baked as well as form cakes with raisins, of various flavours. Some older people fast, some children too, and you bustle around the cakes and biscuits, this was the worst for me. Meat was prepared for the jelly, earthen bowls were washed, hens were caught for the soup, meat was

prepared for the roast, turkeys, geese. Beans were cooked to be eaten meatless with garlic and onions on Christmas Eve. Everything was ready by early evening.”

The jelly on the Christmas table was made of rather fatty pieces of pork, as opposed to the meatless diet on fast-days. Having returned from the Christmas Eve Mass, one should eat a little jelly and roast and thus begin the new period. A good start was supposed to ensure prosperity throughout the year.

Shrove-tide, the time preceding Lent, was marked by abundance and intemperance. In the village of Gornje Bazje, a hen was slaughtered for lunch on Carnival (*Fašenjak*). This was believed to prevent the hens from hanging on the fence. Doughnuts with a hole in the middle (*kovrtanji*) were deep-fried. Because of the holes, which were necessary so that the masked people could stick them on rods, such doughnuts are called *kukulele* in the village of Rušani. A hen was also slaughtered there. In the village of Vukosavljevica it is believed that everything would die this year if a hen was not cooked for the Carnival. Besides the hen, sauerkraut with dried ribs was also a Carnival dish. The same dishes are still prepared for *Fašenjak*, although their symbolic meaning is forgotten. When the masked groups come to a house in Vukosavljevica, they sing:

<i>Za konoplje i za lan</i>	<i>For hemp and flax,</i>
<i>i za masni kovrtanj.</i>	<i>And a fatty doughnut.</i>

Lent was a time of privation because the supplies were exhausted and some food had to be saved for Easter. Good Friday was a great fast-day. Lenten puddings were baked and eaten with a glass of good brandy.

Holly Saturday was marked by preparations for Easter; baking leavened-dough rolls, cooking ham and eggs. The yeast for the leavened roll would be mixed on the evening before with flour, water and sugar. In the morning, the yeast would be kneaded with flour, lukewarm milk and some salt. If it was available, an egg would be added as well. This was characteristic only for a holiday, Easter in this case, because eggs were usually sold. The leavened dough roll was filled with cheese, walnuts and poppy seeds crushed in the mortar. After World War II, chocolate and cocoa became available and were used, mixed with flour and milk, to fill the rolls.

The fasting ended with the partaking of the Easter meal. In the morning, women would fill a basket with boiled eggs, ham and cakes and take it to the church for the blessing (*posvećenje*). By partaking of this food, the blessing would be transferred to all household members. In Špišić Bukovica, ham, eggs, salt, bread, leavened roll, Easter leavened form cake (*kovrtanj*) and the indispensable horseradish were taken to the church. On their way back home, women would race to arrive home first. It was believed that the fastest woman will have the most diligent farm labourers and the fastest harvest. When the blessed food was brought home, the people first lit a candle on the Easter cake and ate the horseradish “for health”.

Everyday Dishes

On weekdays, meals were much humbler due to poverty. In most cases, eggs were eaten only on Easter, because they were collected for hatching or sold to buy paraffin oil, tobacco, matches and yeast.

Jana Tovarović described what people ate on weekdays in the village of Rušani: for breakfast, there were dishes like *kukuruzni žganci* (hard-boiled corn mush, polenta), *frigana čorba* (thick flour soup), *bošpor*, *šterc* and *tarana* (grated dough). *Frigana čorba* is eaten with bread. If eggs are stirred into it, it is called *popjevačka*. *Bošpor* is a sauce made of wheat flour, i.e. a thick roux which can be cut by knife if cooled. It is also eaten with bread. *Šterc* is obtained by browning the flour and pouring warm water so that lumps are formed. It was eaten on its own, but older people ate it with onions as a salad. *Tarana* was made of leavened dough, actually from remnants of the bread dough. It was kneaded in the trough previously used to knead the bread. The dough thus obtained would be formed to pellets and dried “to last for several dishes”. Boiled potatoes, carrots and parsley would be seasoned with onions fried on lard and then one or two handfuls of *tarana* were added. It was tasty and people loved to eat it.

Lunch consisted of beans, *rušanski gumboci*, bean salad, flat noodles with cheese or poppy seeds, peas and broad beans, runner beans, cabbage, boiled corn. Beans were cooked with two onions in plenty of water. When they were done, the water (*čorba*) was drained, the onions thrown away and the soup brought to boil again. *Rušanski gumboci* is a dough kneaded from wheat flour with water and salt (possibly also without salt, because it was expensive). Pieces of it are torn by hand and thrown into the soup, where they cook until they swim on the surface. The soup is then seasoned with red peppers and lard. The drained beans were braised on lard or prepared as a bean salad. Peas or broad beans were braised with onions on fat.

Lard was predominantly used for cooking. Oil was used only on modern wedding parties, in which case the information was spread far and wide across the village. Even lettuce salads were seasoned with molten lard mixed with some cream. The lard and oil ratio in the diet was 90:10 until the 1960s, when the material conditions improved. Today, this proportion is just the opposite: oil is used much more than lard, mainly because it is healthier.

The Sunday meal began with a hen or chicken soup (“a cockerel, because it would be a pity to waste a pullet”) with flat noodles. People prepared potatoes *u slapu* (“potatoes are added to hot fat with some paprika and covered with water”), roast potatoes and whole potatoes baked in the oven (*verna*). Salads were made of cabbage, paprika, tomatoes (*jabučica*) and onions. They also baked cakes: leavened rolls with poppy-seed, walnut, cheese or cocoa filling.

On days of extensive work, meat preserved in fat and potatoes *u slapu* were served. The meat preserved in fat was also added to stews (*čušpajzi*). At spinning sessions they

would bake a *prova*, which is made of corn flour with milk and some cheese added. If wheat flour was used, they called this dish *mutnjara*.

On pig-slaughter days, greaves (*čvarki*) were given to all neighbours and relatives, who would return the service when they slaughtered a pig, so that the greaves were always eaten fresh. Blood sausages were made of cooked pig blood, small pieces of meat and meat from the pig head, seasoned with salt, pepper and paprika, and cooked buckwheat, rice or corn. They were eaten fresh as well. Meat sausages were covered with fat.

In times of great privation, food meant literally life, which is why it was highly regarded and imbued with symbolic and allegoric meanings. In contemporary times of overabundance, these meanings are lost. We no longer depend on the seasons, because almost all foodstuffs are obtainable at any time. What remains, therefore, is only the traditional link between food and holidays, which is observed out of sentimental reasons, respect for tradition or out of habit.

Prevela Sanja Novak