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UDK 39:634.8](497.561 Praputnjak)

663.223(497.561 Praputnjak)

Pregledni rad

Primljeno: 18.01.2008.

Prihvaćeno: 05.02.2008.

Takale: bakarsko-praputnjarski prezidi

Nad Bakarskim zaljevom, podno sela Praputnjak, prostiru se strme suhozidne terase Takale, na kojima su Praputnjarci uzgajali vinovu lozu i proizvodili vrhunski autohtoni pjenušac Bakarska vodica. Kako je s vremenom vinogradarstvo zapušteno, 2001. godine pokrenut je zahtjevan i ambiciozan projekt revitalizacije kamenih terasa i sadnje vinove loze. Cilj obnove nije samo očuvanje tradicije i vraćanje izgubljenog segmenta gospodarstva, već i privlačenje turista. Specifičnost je Praputnjaka da su zbog izbijanja muškaraca glavnu ulogu u vinogradima imale žene. Stari praputnjarski vinogradari iznijeli su svoje priče, način života i znanje o uzgoju loze, pokazujući zadovoljstvo pokrenutim projektom, ali i skeptičnost kada je u pitanju nova praksa, tj. suvremeni način uzgoja vinove loze.

Ključne riječi: vinogradarstvo, Takale, Praputnjak

Na najvećem dijelu strmih i nepristupačnih terasa Bakarskog zaljeva, danas obraslih šumom i makijom, naslućuju se ostaci starih «gromača» i »suhozida« (*prezidi*), na kojima se od druge polovine 18. stoljeća uzgajala vinova loza.

I upravo tu, podno naselja Praputnjak, ispod stare Karolinske ceste, na području *Takale (Takala)*, 18. srpnja 2007. upriličeno je svečano predstavljanje čuvene *Bakarske vodice*, vrhunskog praputnjarskog pjenušca čija je proizvodnja desetljećima bila zapuštena.¹ Od toga dana na tržištu se očekuje, kao zaštićeni *brand* »Stara bakarska vodica«, prirodni pjenušac proizveden na osnovi prekinute prvotne fermentacije mladog, nepotpuno provrelog vina.

¹ Gospodarskim promjenama, industrijalizacijom i globalnim trendom deruralizacije, zapuštili su se suhozidi i vinova loza te je proizvodnju gaziranog pjenušca *Bakarska vodica* preuzela tvornica »Istra-vino«.

Brojne terase na tom području – Letovo, Dobra, Lovrinovo, Stiminovo, Čićićevo, Mandrija, Gornje i Dolnje Črno, Punta, Rebar, Takala, Komorica, Smilj i Križ, danas su uglavnom zapuštene. No, na zemljopisnim kartama iz druge polovice 18. stoljeća vidljivo je da su na nekima od njih već tada postojali vinogradi.

Na platou, iza masiva Gradine (Crni Vrh) bili su *završki* vinogradi, a na južnim padinama podno Gradine, i iznad Bakra, uzgajana je sorta grožđa *belina* za proizvodnju vina *takalac*. I upravo s južnih padina, od *beline*, kao «domaće radinosti», «narodnog običaja» i «ženskog posla» dvjestotinjak godina dobijala se *Bakarska vodica*.

Godine 1998. osnovana je *Kulturno društvena udruga Praputnjak*. Dvije godine kasnije, njezini su članovi pokrenuli projekt i program *Revitalizacija bakarsko-praputnjarskih prezida*.

Od 2001. godine, uz potporu lokalne Poljoprivredne zadruge *Dolčina* te općinskih, županijskih i državnih ustanova, pokrenuta je i obnova starih kamenih terasa i sadnja vinove loze, prvi put poslije 1956. godine kada su vinogradi zapušteni i napušteni.

U prvoj fazi, revitalizacija prezida i obnova vinograda predviđena je na terasama Takale koje su većim dijelom u vlasništvu stanovnika Praputnjaka, a manjim dijelom onih iz Hreljina. Osnova je projekta zakup na petnaest godina kako bi se počelo sa sadnjom cjepova *beline* na površini od jednog hektara od ukupno predviđenih 7-9 hektara, od 1.500 do 30.000 sadnica, a kasnije i više na 14 hektara površine prezida.

S obzirom na to da sam sa skupinom studenata *Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju* u okviru *Ljetne škole Hrvatskog etnološkog društva* i u suradnji s *Katedrom čakavskog sabora Ljubo Pavešić* bila uključena u projekt popisivanja privatnih etnoloških zbirki na području Bakarske općine, događanja oko spomenutih inicijativa motivirala su me da saznam više o fenomenu suhozida i vinogradarstva te životu težaka i težačinja na ovom području.² Kazivači su mi uglavnom bili iz Praputnjaka koji su podrobno opisivali svoj život i rad u polju što se većinom zasnivao na uzgoju vinove loze. Druge relevantne podatke potražila sam u dostupnoj literaturi.³

Početak intenzivnog uzgoja vinove loze potaknula je carica Marija Terezija u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća. Praputnjarski su kmetovi krčenjem šume i sadnjom vinove loze postajali vlasnici zemljišta, te su pet godina bili oslobođeni svih davanja (Tadejević, 1990: 291). Proizvodnjom vina i prodajom posječenog drva ostvarivali su znatne prihode. Kazivačica navodi da su padine na kojima se uzgajala loza za spomenuti pjenušac,

² Podršku sam dobila od prof. dr. Đakovića i muzejskog savjetnika mr. Šestana, a naišla sam i na izuzetnu susretljivost lokalnog stanovništva zainteresiranog za etnografsku baštinu svoga kraja. Od posebne pomoći bile su mi gospode Jadranka Ajvas i Dušanka Maračić.

³ Stari praputnjarski vinogradari, koji su veći dio života mukotrpno obrađivali vinograde, ipak su sumnjičavi i ne dijele u punoj mjeri entuzijazam «službenih» nositelja projekta smatrajući da nove tehnologije nisu u skladu s tradicijom proizvodnje *Bakarske vodice*, ali su ipak zadovoljni što će, barem u jednom dijelu, «prezidi oživjeti».

Takale, nazvane po „takanju“ (kotrljanju) posječenih drva tj. balvana do mora, gdje se su ukrcavala na jedrenjake i odvozila u Veneciju (kazivač 4).⁴

Iako nije prošlo nezapaženo da su glavnu ulogu u vinogradarstvu ovoga kraja imale žene, tome se nije posebno posvećivala pažnja unatoč činjenici da se zaista radi o jedinstvenom fenomenu. Naime, to se ponajprije može objasniti populacijskom situacijom i gospodarskim prilikama proteklih stoljeća.

Sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća započeto je iseljavanje Praputnjara u SAD, gdje je rasla potražnja za jeftinom radnom snagom u modernoj industriji. Značajni valovi iseljavanja muškaraca u potrazi za poslom krenuli su na Maltu i Sueski kanal (1858.-1869.). Mnogi su kao mornari odlazili u svijet ili se pak zapošljavali kao *kalafati* – tessari i brodograditelji, u brodogradilištima diljem svijeta (Tadejević, 1990: 286). Stoga je u Praputnjaku desetljećima omjer spolova bio izrazito neuravnotežen: na sto muškaraca otpadalo je 1890. godine 168 žena, 1910. godine 171 žena, 1921. godine 159 žena, 1948. godine 160 žena, a 1953. godine 145 žena (Tadejević, 1990: 286).

Poremećaj u populacijskoj strukturi odrazio se i na svakodnevni život, tj. raspodjelu poljoprivrednih poslova. S obzirom na to da se nisu mogle osloniti na pomoć muževa koji su radili u inozemstvu, žene su preuzimale i poslove koji su inače pripadali u mušku domenu. Kazivačice ističu da su Praputnjarka bile jako bistre i *šegave* (pametne), podrazumijevajući pod time da su vodile poslove oko kuće, domaćinstva i djece, vinograda, sadnje, sumporanja i špricanja, kao i prerade grožđa, konobe, prodaje vina itd.

Djeca su se strogo odgajala, međutim, više se pazilo na žensku djecu. Djevojčice od devet, deset godina obavljale su većinu poslova u domaćinstvu, brinule se o braći i sestrama ili su pak pomagale u poljima. Makar su *delale ki muški*, žene su se od malih nogu odgajale da budu vrijedne, pa su i u domovima izuzetno pazile na čistoću i urednost (kazivač 4).

Iako su muškarci bili često odsutni, žene su rađale puno djece: „ljeti bi muž došao doma, za devet mjeseci dijete bi se rodilo“. Dok su muškarci radili u polju, nosile bi im ručak, palentu, kiselo mlijeko, kavu i slično (kazivač 4).

Muškarci su obavljali teže poslove, poput kopanja, zidanja gromača, košnje i sl. (kazivač 5). Kamenje su *kavali* (klesali) i od njih gradili kamene suhozide. Bakarske je terase izgradilo četiri-pet generacija Praputnjara od zadnjih desetljeća 18. stoljeća do početka 20. stoljeća. Proračunato je da, s obzirom na konfiguraciju terena, jedan radnik za osam sati rada može izgraditi 1,5 kubičnih metara suhozida. Uzme li se u obzir da se zemlja često donosila s planina, vrijeme rada povećava se za 20 posto (Tadejević, 1990: 295).

⁴ *Takala* (*Takale*) zabilježeno je i kao toponim u Istri (kao lijepa uvala u blizini Raklja), a i naziv je za jedno selo u srednjoj Bosni u blizini Žepča.

Većina je obitelji imala u vlasništvu određenu površinu vinograda. Plodna zemlja donosila se iz vrtača koje su bile na planinama. Žene bi se *uprtile* i nosile zemlju *va kofe* (u velikim košarama na leđima) do vinograda koji su znali sezati sve do mora.

Uzgoj sorti (*par*) vinove loze kod Praputnjaraca bio je prilagođen terasastim terenima i vjetrovitim položajima. Ti su uzgoji: *koltar*, *baras* i *ruža* (Štiglić, 1981: 137).

Koltar je jednostruki red po trasi s jednom pritkom i dvije žice. Između redova *koltara* sadi se povrće, nerijetko smokva ili neka druga voćka.

Baras ima izgled niske jednostruke ili dvostruke pergole ili sjenice širine oko 2 metra bez naslona na zid ili gromaču.

Ruža je način uzgoja vrste pergole s naslonom na jednoj strani na zid ili gromaču.

S obzirom na velike vrućine i jake suše, forma *barasa* i *ruže* priječila je prodor sunčevih zraka do tla, tj. njegovo isušivanje.

Kombinacija sadnje i uzgoja vinove loze na padinama prema Zaljevu uvjetovana je koliko tradicijom toliko i samim položajem koji je izložen dugotrajnoj insolaciji, kišama, ali i naletima bure i *posolice*.

Loza se sadi u dubini do 40 cm, veže u veljači, a reže od studenog do veljače. *Les*, kolje i pritke, priprema se u jesen: kolje od hrastovine ili akacije, a pritke *ostilj* ili *sulja* i *prešnjica* od cijepanih jelovih trupaca i objijeljenih grana jasena. Za vezivanje se koristi *žukva*, vrsta vrbe i njome se veže *tapalj* – deblo trsa i *rozge* – mladice. Najmlađe mladice (*mlaje*) vežu se i vrpcama od lipove kore.

Vinogradi su se okopavali *rogljima* ili trokutastom motikom dva ili tri puta godišnje. Najteži je posao bio okopavanje pod *barasom* i *ružom* jer se obavljao u klečecem ili sjedećem položaju.

U lipnju se *plevilo* – otkidale su se mladice koje nemaju ploda, a u kolovozu obavljala se *skudnja* – čupanje *haludine* (korova).

I praputnjarski vinogradari pretrpjeli su velike štete od bolesti vinove loze (*oidium* – trsna plijesan, *filoksera* – trsna uš, *peronospora* – lozna «rđa») u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća pa su za zaštitu prskanjem modrom galicom u vinogradima građene *šternice*.

Trgadba, berba grožđa, bio je izuzetno važan obiteljski događaj. Njega je, sredinom rujna, u rane jutarnje sate, određivao gradski magistrat iz Bakra u dogovoru s područnim učkim sucima. Prije tog dana nije bilo dopušteno brati, a prekršiteljima, koji bi strahovali od tuče i uništenja berbe, grožđe se plijenilo i javno prodavalo (Zakarija, 1999: 330). Raspoloženje je bilo veselo i svečano te bi, osim uže obitelji, sudjelovali i rođaci (kazivač 5). Grozdovi su se pažljivo prebirali. Najbolji su se ostavljali za *Bakarsku vodicu*, i to od sorti beline (koja podsjeća na francusku sortu *sauvignon*) i *vrbeničke žlahline* (koja potječe od francuske sorte *chablis*).

Trgadbi su prethodile opsežne pripreme kada je trebalo *razadnit* (skinuti dno bačve), *zadnit* (postaviti dno), *nabijati* (zatezati obruč), *namakati*, *sumporiti* i *bromulat* bačve, *kade*,

brente. *Bromulanje* je zapravo parenje koje se izvodilo ubacivanjem *venuka* – lišća trsa, smokve, oraha, trešnje, breskve, u bačvu. Ono bi se potom pretilo vrelom vodom, a bačva zatvorila. Na taj način *brombul* drvu oduzima neugodne mirise.

Grožđe se kućama dopremalo na leđima, u brentama i *kofama* ili kolima u bačvama (*kartelima*, *bordulezima*). *Mast* se gnječio nogama u *kartelu* ili *grotu*. Odvajalo se grožđe predviđeno za pjenušac, a samotok se dijelio od krutih sastojaka prelijevanjem kroz konusni, od šiblja napravljeni koš. Poslije taloženja i alkoholnog vrenja, fermentacije, mošt se filtrirao u staklene demijzone gdje je sazrijevao u fazama do prosinca i veljače kada se pristupalo punjenju *vodice* u boce.

Prema predaji, umijeće proizvodnje «praputnjarskog šampanjca», prirodnog pjenušca, u ove su krajeve najvjerojatnije prenijeli francuski vojnici za vrijeme Napoleonove vladavine ili pak bakarski brodovlasnici u poslovnim kontaktima s Francuzima.

Budući da je najveći dio posla padao na *ženska pleća*, svaka je domaćica u tančine poznavala pripremu *vodice* pa je tako očuvana tradicija sve do 1929. godine kada je proizvodnja pjenušca regulirana «vinskim zakonom», a u okolici Praputnjaka sve do kraja 20. stoljeća «preživjelo» je dvjestotinjak trsova beline.

Iako su si bogatije obitelji mogle priuštiti veću proizvodnju *vodice*, jer ona zahtijeva više ulaganja i truda, i druga su si je domaćinstva nastojala priskrbiti barem za svečane prilike. Bijelo vino (*bijeli par* – «žlahtina», «verdić», «gustošljen», «brankovac», «belin», «vrbić», «beli muškat») cijenilo se više i proizvodilo u većim količinama i za prodaju, dok se crno vino (*crni par* – «plavac mali i veli», «brajdica») više pilo kod kuće ili se pak u njega umakao kruh. Veći dio pjenušca čuvao se u konobama do jeseni i prodavao. Obitelji kojima je novac bio prijeko potreban prodale bi pjenušac i ranije. Vino se štedilo: kod kuće se najčešće iza ručka pila bevanda, dok je «šampanja» bila namijenjena za prodaju ili posebne prigode (kazivač 4).

Tko je imao puno vina, a nije ga mogao prodati, dobio bi dozvolu da sam, u svojim ili tuđim prostorijama, toči i prodaje vino iz bačve. Na tzv. *matici*, koja je bila praputnjarska posebnost, prodavale su žene i muškarci, i to u manjim količinama, od jedne do nekoliko litara (kazivač 4). Ponekad bi, primjerice, na dan sv. Josipa (*Jožefovo*) znala izbiti tučnjava između muškaraca koji bi više popili (kazivač 5).

Često su žene radile po *žurnadama*. Kod bogatije bi obitelji za novac kosile sijeno, kopalile i radile u vinogradima, ili bi pak kao služavke odlazile u bogate obitelji i radile po kući, ponekad godinama živeći s njima. Praputnjarkе su najčešće odlazile u Bakar, u kojem je bilo puno bogatih pomorskih obitelji (kazivač 5).

Makar se praputnjarske terase s vinogradima prostiru Bakarskim zaljevom te se danas nerijetko nazivaju bakarskim vinogradima, Bakarani su, za razliku od Praputnjara, živjeli urbanim životom i nisu se bavili vinogradarstvom, već su najčešće vino kupovali. Izvjesni, lokalni antagonizam među njima uvijek je bio prisutan. Bakarani su bili bogati pomorci te su za Praputnjarkе (pogotovo za religiozne Praputnjarkе) njihove žene bile „lošijeg morala“, stoga su ih Praputnjarci nazivali „Caponi“. Bakarani

su pak Praputnjarce nazivali „Vilanima“ ili „Završanima“ (podrugljiv naziv za seljane) (kazivač 2).

Do polovine 20. stoljeća najveći se dio praputnjarskih posjeda obrađivao te su bili glavni izvor prihoda lokalnom stanovništvu. Danas su oni agrarno mrtvi, pa je stoga i pokrenut vrlo zahtjevan, prethodno spomenuti, projekt revitalizacije vinogradarstva, ali i uzgoja povrtnih kultura u Dolčini (Vičević, 2003: 203).

Predviđene zamisli obnove uzgoja vinove loze imaju, između ostalog, za cilj osuvremeniti tehnologiju uzgoja i učiniti je svrsishodnijom i gospodarski učinkovitijom u komparaciji s nekadašnjim načinom rada, koji je enormno iscrpljivao čovjeka-težaka. To se namjerava postići poboljšanim i inovativnim uvjetima rada, poput okopavanja motokultivatorom, uništavanja korova raznim kemijskim sredstvima, *malčiranja* (zelena gnojidba motornom kosilicom), zaštite suvremenim preparatima protiv bolesti vinove loze, navodnjavanja „kap po kap“, uređaja na motorni pogon, orezivanja električnim škarama itd. (Vičević, 2003: 231, 232). Stručnjaci se nadaju učinkovitoj proizvodnji autentične *Bakarske vodice* (i ne samo nje) na suvremenim osnovama (Vičević, 2003: 233).

Međutim, kao što sam već istaknula, mnogi su Praputnjarci skeptični kada je u pitanju spomenuti projekt revitalizacije i njegove suvremene metode. Većinom su to stari,iskusni vinogradari koji su, s jedne strane, zadovoljni nastojanjem da se obnove zapušteni tereni, a s druge strane, uvjereni da se taj projekt funkcionalno neće pokazati dobrim (kazivači 1, 3). Kazivačica, čija je obitelj spadala među veće vinogradare, navela je niz primjedbi. Primjerice, da kopanje može raditi jedino ljudska ruka jer motokultivatori čupaju žilice, da su trsovi previše plitko posađeni i gaženi cipelama umjesto čizmama, da ptice napadaju lozu i da je nema tko čuvati, da su grozdovi suhi, da je njihova *belina* bila debela, a da ova danas nije te da, koliko god bilo lijepo vidjeti nove prezide, nema više ljudi koji bi taj posao radili, jer na Takalama trebaju redovito raditi po dva čovjeka svaki dan. Zaključuje da to više nije ona nekadašnja kvalitetna *vodica* (kazivač 3).

Činjenica je da su znanje i praksa starih praputnjarskih vinogradara zahtijevali puno više težakovog ulaganja vremena i truda, što takvo vinogradarstvo ne čini komercijalnim, a suvremeni trendovi modernizacije intenziviraju uzgoj na drugim osnovama.

Možda je kemijski današnja «praputnjarska šampanja» identična onoj staroj, ali je potonjoj konačni, ključni *stih*, davao subjektivni osjećaj posebne vrijednosti izazvan spoznajom da je težak svakodnevno mukotrpano radio na njoj, strepeći od nevremena i bolesti, dok danas mehanizacija preuzima znatan dio posla.

Koliko je stav starih vinogradara objektivan, potaknut nostalgijom i idealiziranjem ili pak realan, pitanje je na koje će odgovoriti stručnjaci i vrijeme.

Međutim, bez obzira na logične prijepore između zagovornika tradicijskog i suvremenog načina uzgoja i proizvodnje nesporno je da revitalizacijom *praputnjarskih prezida* ovaj kraj, uz vidljive i prepoznatljive ambijentalne vrijednosti, postaje i svojevrsna spomenička turistička atrakcija. Tim više što se planira i vinska cesta sa šetnicama i degustacijom u domaćim konobama.

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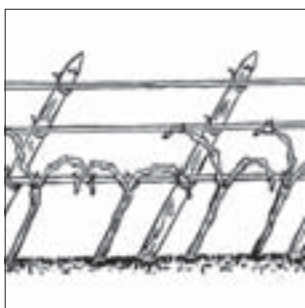
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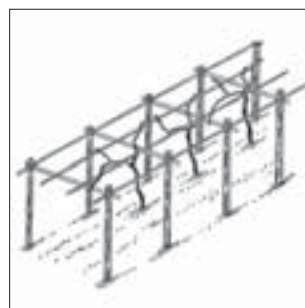
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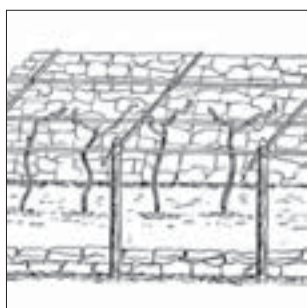
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UDK 39:634.8](497.561 Praputnjak)

663.223(497.561 Praputnjak)

Review

Received: January 18, 2008

Accepted: February 5, 2008

Takale: Bakar-Praputnjak Dry Stone Walls

Over the Bakar Bay, below the village of Praputnjak, spread the dry walls of the Takale terraces, where the people of Praputnjak cultivated vine and produced excellent indigenous sparkling wine Bakarska vodica. Since wine growing had been neglected over time, a demanding and ambitious project of revitalization of stone terraces and vine planting was initiated in 2001. The goal was not only to preserve tradition and restore a lost segment of economy, but also to attract tourists. Praputnjak's specificity is the fact that, due to men's absence, women played the main role in the vineyards. The old wine growers of Praputnjak told their stories, talked about their way of life and the knowledge of wine growing, happy that the project has been initiated, but also sceptical toward new practices and modern wine-growing methods.

Key words: wine growing, Takale, Praputnjak

Covering the largest part of the steep and inaccessible terraces of the Bakar Bay, today covered with forest and shrubs (*makija*), there are remnants of old dry stone walls (*gromače* or *prezidi*), which have been used for wine growing since the second half of the 18th century.

Right here, under the settlement Praputnjak, beneath the old Caroline's Road, in the area of *Takale* (*Takala*), on July 18, 2007 the presentation of the famous *Bakarska vodica* was held, after this top-class Praputnjak sparkling wine has been neglected for decades.¹ That date also marked the launch of the protected brand "Stara bakarska vodica", natural sparkling wine produced on the basis of initial fermentation of new, not fully fermented, wine.

¹ With economic changes, industrialization and the global deruralization trend, dry stone walls and vineyards have been neglected and the production of Bakarska vodica sparkling wine was taken over by "Istra-vino" factory.

The many terraces in the area – Letovo, Dobra, Lovrinovo, Stiminovo, Čičićevo, Mandrija, Gornje Črno, Dolnje Črno, Punta, Rebar, Takala, Komorica, Smilj and Križ, are today mostly abandoned. However, the maps from the second half of the 18th century show that even then there were vineyards in some of them.

On the plateau, behind the Gradina (Crni Vrh) massif there were *završki* vineyards, and the southern slopes below Gradina and above Bakar were the locality of the *belina* grape vineyards for producing the wine *takalac*. These southern slopes have been producing *Bakarska vodica* from *belina* for about 200 years, as “home industry”, “folk custom” and “women’s work”.

The *Cultural and Social Association Praputnjak* was founded in the year 1998. Two years later its members launched the project and program called *Revitalization of Bakar-Praputnjak Dry Stone Walls*.

Since 2001, the recovery of old stone terraces and planting of wines was initiated, with the support of the local agricultural cooperative *Dolčina*, local, county and state institutions, for the first time since the year 1956 when the vineyards were neglected and abandoned.

In the first phase, the revitalization of dry stone walls and recovery of vineyards was done on Takala terraces mostly owned by residents of Praputnjak and, to a lesser extent, of Hreljin. The project is based on a 15-year lease, which allows the planting of *belina* slips across one hectare out of the planned 7-9 hectares and between 1,500 and 30,000 seedlings. This should be expanded to over 14 hectares in the future.

Since I was a part of the project of cataloguing the collections of ethnographic objects in the Bakar municipality, together with a group of students from the *Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology Department* within the *Croatian Ethnological Society's Summer School* and in cooperation with the *Chakavian Assembly Department Ljubo Pavešić*, the events surrounding this initiative encouraged me to learn more about the phenomenon of dry stone walls and wine growing, as well as of the life of farmers in this area.² My informants were mostly Praputnjak locals who described in detail their life and work in the field, which was mostly based on wine growing. I looked up other relevant data in the available references.³

The start of intensive wine growing was encouraged by Empress Maria Theresa in the second half of the 18th century. By clearing land and planting vines the Praputnjak serfs became landowners and were freed from paying all taxes for five years (Tadejević, 1990: 291). They made significant profits producing wine and cutting

² I received support from Professor Dr. Djakovic and museum advisor Ivan Sestan, and I was also exceptionally welcomed by the locals, who were interested in the ethnographic heritage of their region. Ms. Jadranka Ajvas and Ms. Dusanka Maracic were of great help.

³ Old wine growers in Praputnjak, who had spent most of their lives working hard in the vineyards, are still skeptical and do not share the enthusiasm of “official” project initiators, claiming that the new technology is not in line with the traditional production of *Bakarska vodica*. Still, they are satisfied with the fact that their dry stone walls will at least partially be brought back to life.

wood. The informant states that the *Takale* slopes where vines for producing sparkling wine were planted were named after the rolling (“takanje”) of wood trunks down to the sea, where they were loaded into sailboats and shipped to Venice (informant 4).⁴

The fact that women had a leading role in wine growing was not especially highlighted, despite the fact this was a truly unique phenomenon. This can be primarily explained by the migration and economic situation in the past centuries.

In the 1870s the people of Praputnjak started emigrating to the USA, where there was a growing demand for cheap labor force in modern industry. Significant emigration waves of men in search of jobs headed towards Malta and the Sues Canal (1858-1869). Many went away as sailors or got jobs as *kalafati* – carpenters and shipbuilders, in shipyards across the world (Tadejević, 1990: 286). Because of that the proportion of sexes in Praputnjak was extremely unbalanced for decades: in 1890 there were 168 women on 100 men, in 1910 171 women, in 1921 159 women, in 1948 160 women, and in 1953 145 women (Tadejević, 1990: 286).

The disruption in the population structure also reflected on everyday life, i.e. the distribution of agricultural jobs. Since they were unable to rely on the help of their husbands who were working abroad, women also took over jobs that had usually been the part of the male domain. Informants point out that the women of Praputnjak were very bright and smart, as they managed the work around the house, the household and children, vineyards, planting, sprinkling with sulfur, spraying, as well as processing grape, work in wine cellars, selling wine etc.

Children were brought up with a firm hand, but more attention was paid to female children. Nine- or ten-year old girls did most of the house chores, took care of their brothers and sisters or helped out in the fields. Although they “worked like men”, women were taught to be diligent, so they paid special care to cleanliness and order in the house (informant 4).

Although men were often absent, women gave birth to many children: “husband would come home in the summer and a child would be born in nine months“. While men worked in the field, they would carry them lunch, polenta, milk, coffee, etc. (informant 4).

Men did more physical work, such as digging, building dry stone walls, reaping etc. (informant 5). They carved stones and used them for building dry stone walls. The Bakar terraces were built over four or five generations of Praputnjak residents, between the late decades of the 18th century and the early 20th century. It has been estimated that, considering the terrain configuration, a single worker can build 1.5 cubic meters of dry stone wall in eight hours. Considering the fact that dirt was often carried over from the mountains, the amount of time needed goes up by 20 percent (Tadejević, 1990: 295).

⁴ *Takala (Takale)* is also recorded as a toponym in Istria (as a beautiful cove near Raklje), and it is also the name of a village in central Bosnia, near Žepče.

Most families owned a certain area of a vineyard. Fertile land was brought over from karst valleys in the mountains. Women would carry soil on their backs in big baskets, to vineyards that sometimes reached all the way to the sea.

The growing of grapevine species in Praputnjak was adapted to the terraces and windy locations. The types of growing included: *koltar*, *baras* and *ruža* (Štiglić, 1981: 137).

Koltar is a type of growing with a single row on a terrace with one pole and two wires. Vegetables or fruit trees, such as figs, were often planted in between the *koltar* rows.

Baras looks like low single or double pergolas or arbors 2 meters wide without leaning on a regular or dry stone wall.

Ruža is a type of pergola leaning on the regular or dry stone wall on one side.

Considering heat and drought, the form of *baras* and *ruža* blocked sun rays from reaching the soil and drying it out.

A combination of planting and growing grapevine on the slopes towards the Bay is the result of tradition, as well as of the position, exposed to permanent insolation, rain and gusts of northern wind and salty water.

Grapevine is planted 40 cm below the surface, it is tied up in February and cut between November and February. Stakes and poles (*les*) are prepared in autumn: stakes from oak or acacia and poles (*ostilj* or *sulja* and *prešnjica*) from pine trunks and ash branches. For tying they used *žukva*, a type of willow used for tying up the *tapalj* – vine trunks and *rozge* – the saplings. The youngest saplings (*mlaje*) are also tied with lime-tree bark bands.

Vineyards were earthed up using pitchfork or triangular pick, two or three times a year. The hardest work was the earthing-up under *baras* and *ruža*, as it was done in a kneeling or sitting position.

June was the time for pruning – cutting off fruitless saplings, while August was the time for *skudnja* – rooting out weeds (*haludina*).

The Praputnjak vineyards also suffered great damage from grapevine diseases (oidium, phylloxera, peronospora) in the second half of the 19th century so *šternice* (containers) for blue vitriol have been built, for spraying the vineyards.

Trgadba, grape picking, was a family event of great importance. It was appointed by the Bakar town magistrate in agreement with district judges from Učka in mid-September, early in the morning. No picking was allowed prior to that day and violators, who feared losing the harvest due to hailstorms, got their grapes confiscated and sold publicly (Zakarija, 1999: 330). The mood was joyful and festive and the inner family was also joined by cousins (informant 5). Clusters were carefully selected. The best ones were left for *Bakarska vodica - belina* (which reminds of the French *sauvignon*) and *vrbička žlahtina* (which originated from the French *chablis*).

The picking was preceded by extensive preparations, when it was necessary to *razadnit* (remove the bottom of a barrel), *zadnit* (restore the bottom), *nabijat* (tighten the hoop),

namakati (soak), *sumporit* (clean with sulphur) and *bromulat* the barrels, *kade*, *brente*. *Bromulanje* is in fact steaming, which was done by putting *venuka* – vine, fig, walnut, cherry or peach leaves into a barrel. It was then poured over by hot water and the barrel was closed. This way the *brombul* removes the unpleasant odor from the wood.

Grapes were brought home on backs, in *brente* (wooden containers) and *kofe* (baskets) or stored in barrels (*karteli*, *bordulezi*) and transported by carts. The *mast* (grapes) was crushed by feet in a *kartel* or *grotu* (containers for crushing grapes). Grapes for sparkling wine were put aside and *samotok* (liquid) was separated from solid parts by pouring it through a conical wicker basket. After the settling and alcoholic fermentation, must was filtered into glass demijohns where it ripened in phases until December and February, when *vodica* was bottled.

According to folk stories, the art of producing the “Praputnjak Champaign”, natural sparkling wine, was probably brought here by French soldiers during Napoleon’s rule, or Bakar ship-owners through their business contacts with the French.

Since the largest part of the job lied on women’s shoulders, each housewife knew the process of making *vodica* in detail, so the tradition was kept until 1929, when the sparkling wine production became regulated by the “Wine Act”. In Praputnjak surroundings about two hundred *belina* vines survived until the end of the 20th century.

Only richer families could afford to produce larger quantities of *vodica*, as it requires more investment and effort, but other households also tried to provide it at least for festive occasions. White wine (white *par* – “žlahtina”, “verdič”, “gustošljen”, “brankovac”, “belin”, “vrbič”, “beli muškat”) was more appreciated and produced in larger quantities for sale, while red wine (red *par* – “plavac mali and veli”, “brajdica”) was mostly drunk at home or used for dipping bread. Most of the sparkling wine was kept in wine cellars until autumn and then sold. The families that desperately needed the money sold the sparkling wine earlier. The wine was spared: at home after lunch they used to drink wine with water (*bevanda*), while sparkling wine was set aside for sale or for special occasions (informant 4).

Those who had a lot of wine and were unable to sell it would get a license for selling wine from a barrel in their own or leased premises. At the so-called *matica*, which was particular to Praputnjak, both women and men sold wine, but in smaller quantities, from one to several liters (informant 4). Sometimes, for example on St. Joseph’s Day (*Jožefovo*), an occasional fight would break out between men who had too much to drink (informant 5).

Women often worked in *žurnade* (daily work, paid per day). They would reap hay, work in vineyards for richer families, or worked as servants in houses, sometimes living with these families for years. The women of Praputnjak mostly went to Bakar, which was the residence of many rich maritime families (informant 5).

Although the Praputnjak terraces spread across the Bakar Bay and are today often called the Bakar vineyards, the people of Bakar, unlike the Praputnjak locals, lived urban lives and did not grow wine, but mostly used to buy it. A certain local

antagonism between the two had always been present. The people of Bakar were mostly rich mariners and the people of Praputnjak (especially religious women) saw their women as “women of loose morals”, calling them “Caponi”. On the other hand, people of Bakar called the Praputnjak locals “Vilani” or “Završani” (mock name for peasants) (informant 2).

By mid-20th century, the largest part of the Praputnjak estates was farmed and this was the main source of income for the local population. Today they are deserted, which was the reason for launching a demanding project of the revitalization of wine growing, mentioned above, but also the growing of vegetables in Dolcina (Vičević, 2003: 203).

Among other things, the idea behind the rehabilitation of wine growing is to modernize the growing technology, making it more purposeful and cost-efficient when compared to the former methods, which had put an enormous strain on the farmer. The plan is to do this through improved and innovative work conditions, such as earthing-up using motor cultivator, removing weeds using various chemical agents, *malčiranje* (green fertilization using motor lawn mower), protection using advanced preparations against wine disease, drop-by-drop irrigation, motor devices, cutting using electric scissors, etc. (Vičević, 2003: 231, 232). Experts hope for a more efficient production of the authentic *Bakarska vodica* (and other types of wine) based on modern technology (Vičević, 2003: 233).

However, as I have already pointed out, many people of Praputnjak are skeptical of the revitalization project and its modern methods. These are mostly old, experienced wine makers who are satisfied with the efforts for the rehabilitation of the abandoned land, but are also convinced that the project will not be successful (informants 1, 3). The informant whose family belonged to larger wine growers had several remarks. For example, that the digging can only be done by human hand, since motor cultivators pull out the rootlets, that grape vines are planted too shallow and threaded by shoes instead of boots, that birds attack the vineyards and there's no one to protect them, that grape clusters are dry, that their *belina* used to be thick and today it's not, and as good as the new dry stone walls look nice, there are no more people willing to do this job, because two persons need to work in Takala each day. She concludes that the old high quality *vodica* no longer exists (informant 3).

It is a fact that the knowledge and experience of the old Praputnjak wine growers demanded much more time and effort, which is not commercially viable, while advanced trends of modernization intensify growing based on other grounds.

Perhaps today's “Praputnjak Champagne” has identical chemical properties as the old one, but the latter had gotten its final, essential touch by the subjective feeling of a special value - the knowledge that the farmers invested hard everyday work in it, worrying about the weather and disease, while today's mechanization takes over a significant part of this job.

Whether the old wine growers are objective, influenced by nostalgia and idealization, or realistic, is the question to be answered by experts and time.

However, regardless of the expected disagreements between the advocates of traditional and modern methods of growing and production, it is clear that with the revitalization of the Praputnjak dry stone walls, this area, with its visible and recognizable landscape values, becomes a kind of a monumental tourist attraction, especially because the plan also includes the wine road with walkways and tasting in domestic taverns.

Narrators

1. Ajvas, Jadranka, born in 1957, Praputnjak
2. Antić, Alma, born in 1926, Praputnjak
3. Cibić, Ljubica, born in 1933, Praputnjak
4. Mavrić, Blanka, born in 1933, Praputnjak
5. Miloš, Vladimir, born in 1923, Hreljin

Translated by Ivona Grgurinović