

Tartufarstvo u Istri

Tartufi su danas cijenjen i tražen specijalitet koji je postao i dijelom gastronomskog identiteta Istre. Stoga mnogi strani, ali i domaći turisti dolaze na odmor u Istru kako bi ih kušali, uživali u njihovom okusu i pri tome otkrili imaju li svojstva koja ima se pripisuju (afrodizijska i sl.).

U radu će se prikazati: promjene u načinu lova na tartufe - tko ih danas lovi, a tko ih je nekada lovio; promjene kod konzumenata tartufa: tko ih je i u kojim prigodama jeo nekada, a tko danas; promjene pri prenošenju tradicionalnog jela koje se konzumiralo u seoskoj kuhinji u drugi prostor - restoran.

Ključne riječi: tartufarstvo, tradicionalna prehrana, Istra

U želji za isticanjem svoje specifičnosti kao turističkog odredišta Istra se okrenula ka stvaranju što bogatijega gastronomskog identiteta. "Država, regija ili čak i mala zajednica može imati specifičnu kuhinju koja identificira svoje karakteristike i kulturalno naslijeđe često preciznije nego neke druge značajke" (Quijano-Caballero, 2002: 65).

Tartufi su jedna od bitnijih značajki specifičnosti kuhinje ovog područja. Iako nisu dio tradicionalne prehrane u Istri, nalaze se na jelovnicima konoba i restorana.

Ovim radom, koji je samo početak istraživanja određenih segmenata tradicionalne prehrane Istre, željela bih pokazati kada je počelo organizirano sakupljanje tartufa u Istri, te koje su se promjene dogodile u lovu na tartufe i kod njihovih konzumenata.

Tartufarstvo u Istri

Zanimljivi su odgovori na pitanje kada počinje organizirano sakupljanje tartufa u Istri.

Jedan od mojih kazivača naglašava da su Talijani zaslužni za početak sakupljanja tartufa u Istri. Prema njegovom mišljenju, dolaskom Talijana dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća započela je intenzivnija obrada površina koja je otkrila te podzemne

gomoljike. Budući da su imali iskustva s tartufima, potaknuli su njihovo sakupljanje na ovom području.

Prema drugom kazivaču, priča o tartufima počinje krajem 1920-ih kada jedan stanovnik sela u blizini Livada odnosi "velike smrdljive gomolje" (koje su seljaci davali svinjama), na koje je nailazio pri oranju, jednom od najvećih veleposjednika u Livadama - nekom Agoštineliju. Livade su se razvile zahvaljujući Parenzani - željezničkoj pruzi koja je povezivala Trst i Poreč. Agoštinieli je bio učen i bogat čovjek, a ujedno i jedini koji je imao telefon. Nazvao je barunicu Barbaru von Hütterott u Rovinj koja je poslala svoje ljude s psima da provjere to nalazište tartufa. Ubrzo su stanovnici Livada i okolice počeli prikupljati tartufe za tvrtku u vlasništvu obitelji Hütterott koja ih je nakon otkupa izvozila.

Glas Istre od 10. ožujka 2003. donosi zanimljiv podatak o tome da je Josip Folo, povjesničar-amater, pronašao u Zavičajnom muzeju Rovinja dokumente o osnivanju prve tvrtke za istraživanje, nalaz i izvoz tartufa. Tvrtka pod nazivom "L'azienda del Tartufo Sella Hütterott" osnovana je 1933. u Livadama, a osnivači su bili barunica Hütterott, Massimo Sella, tadašnji direktor rovinjskog Instituta za biologiju mora, te dvojica Talijana, istraživača tartufa iz Pule.

Glas Istre objavio je i podatke iz prve pisane studije o bijelom istarskom tartufu koju je napisao Massimo Sella, a preveo J. Folo. Studija donosi podatak da su talijanski istraživači tartufa iz Pule prve tartufe otkrili na području Pazinskih Novaka 1929. Nakon prekida, potragu nastavljaju tek 1931. uz pomoć dresiranih pasa. Analizirajući područja gdje se mogu naći tartufi, M. Sella kaže da je "... zona nalaza tartufa ograničena na ravni i livadni dio doline (Pazinčice), posebno na trake od 30 do 40 metara uz potok." Nalazišta su još bila na području prema Golgorici te u dolini Roča i dolini Rečine ispod Huma i Buzeta. Posebno je nalazište bilo u dolini Mirne prema Livadama i u Motovunskoj šumi. Mišljenja je da bi Motovunska šuma mogla postati rasadnik tartufa ako se, zbog stalnih poplava, provede melioracija. Ustvrdio je da uspjevanju tartufa na ovom području pogoduje kombinacija vapnenastog i glinastog tla, stabla koja ovdje rastu (topole, vrbe i sl.), površinske i podzemne vode, te kontinentalna klima s vrućim ljetima i hladnim zimama. Po uzoru na Francusku s oko tri milijuna kilograma tartufa godišnje i Italiju s milijunom kilograma godišnje, Sella je izračunao da bi se u Istri moglo sakupiti više od 300 kilograma godišnje.

Sella, koji je tu studiju napisao 1932. za Talijansko botaničko društvo iz Firence, uvidio je veliki gospodarski značaj tartufa na području tadašnje talijanske pokrajine Istre.

Časopis Menu u svom 4. broju iz srpnja/kolovoza 2002. donosi zanimljiv podatak da su, kaoiskusni sakupljači, za vađenje tartufa na području Livada zaslužni željezničari iz regije Emilia Romagna. Na njihov poticaj pojavljuju se u Livadama prvi berači tartufa, koje su do tada seljaci davali svinjama.

Iz svega navedenog možemo zaključiti da su se tartufi počeli organizirano sakupljati u Istri krajem dvadesetih odnosno početkom tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Italija, pod čijom je upravom bila Istra, bila je iskusna u sakupljanju tartufa. Pod utjecajem

Ijudi koji su se tamo susreli s tartufima počinje lov, te njihov otkup od strane tvrtke "L'azienda del Tartufo Sella Hütterott", koja ih je najvjerojatnije izvozila u Italiju.

Sakupljanje tartufa nastavilo se nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata kada je za otkup i prodaju tartufa bila odgovorna Šumarija. Za vrijeme Jugoslavije tartufari su bili zadovoljniji cijenom otkupa i redovito su nosili tartufe u Šumariju. Nelegalno trgovanje javlja se 1980-ih godina, a danas se Šumarija bavi samo izdavanjem dozvola za lov na tartufe.

Lov, cijene, šverc i budućnost

Na pitanje je li lov na tartufe nekada bio isključivo muški posao, moj kazivač nije mogao sa sigurnošću odgovoriti, ali je naveo primjer iz svoje porodice. Njegova prateta, koja je umrla prije desetak godina u dobi od osamdeset godina, cijeli je život "išla za tartufima". Primjer tartufarke Francesce Bazjak, koja je zajedno sa svojim muškim kolegama - tartufarima predstavljena u dokumentarnom filmu "Priče iz Motovunske šume",¹ govori nam da se malo toga promijenilo. Mogućnost da u lov idu i žene (iako ipak rjeđe), nije se promijenila, a i način lova ostao je isti.

U *lov* se ide isključivo s psima. Zato se ne kaže da se tartufi sakupljaju, nego *love*. Vjerojatno svatko od tartufara ima svoje mišljenje o tome koji su psi najbolji za *lov* - čistokrvni ili mješanci. Moj kazivač tvrdi da su njegovih dvanaest mješanaca izvrsni psi za *lov* na tartufe. Potrebne su dvije-tri godine kako bi se psa uvježbalo za *lov*. Pri dresuri, kada pronađu tartuf, psi za nagradu dobivaju malo salame, a pri *lovu* može se dogoditi i da pojedu komadić samog *ulova*.

Prema mojim kazivačima, u Istri se nikada nije *lovilo* pomoću svinja, a neki navode i čisto praktičan razlog za to: "Bi se sa svinjom dalo, međutim zbog transporta je praktički nemoguće."

Sezona *lova* na tartufe otvara se početkom, odnosno sredinom rujna i traje otprilike do Nove godine. Vrlo je uvriježeno mišljenje da se u *lov* na tartufe ide isključivo navečer i noću jer da oni tada jače puštaju miris. No to nije istina, već mistificiranje samog postupka *lova* na tartufe. U *lov* se ide kad tko ima vremena. Lovci računaju da će noću biti manja gužva u šumi, a neki od njih ne žele biti viđeni. No, naglašava kazivač: "A onda svi nahrupe, pa bude k'o Las Vegas u šumi. Svi ti s baterijskim lampama šetaju uokolo."

U *lovu* se obično ostane dva do četiri sata i kada se lovci i njihovi psi umore ide se kući. Kada pas pronađe tartuf, lovac otkopa zemlju pomoću vadilice, izvadi tartuf, ostavi micelij, zatrpa zemlju i utaba je nogom. Prema mišljenju mog kazivača, to je pravilan način vađenja tartufa, no ne znači da ga se svi lovci pridržavaju. Male tartufe, prema nekim mišljenjima, ne bi se smjelo brati. Moj se kazivač ne slaže s tim: "Ako ga ne pojide jedan brek, će ga pojist drugi."

¹ Dokumentarni film "Priče iz Motovunske šume" redatelja Zorana Margetića snimljen je u produkciji Magnatum filma i Gastronomada iz Zagreba, po scenariju Željka Šatovića, Renea Bakalovića, Mirka Bajsa i Zorana Margetića. Prikazan je na HRT-u početkom travnja 2003.

Kada ga iskopa, lovac stavlja tartuf u jače podstavljeni džep ili u kakvu vreću. *Ulov* može varirati do kilogram i pol tartufa, ali lovac može doći kući i praznih ruku. Sve ovisi o sreći.

Cijene tartufa također variraju. One zavise o tome kakva je bila godina - s više ili manje kiše. Sanja Kalapoš u svom članku "Kiša, hrana i kultura ..." iz 1998. navodi da je cijena za kilogram tartufa iznosila milijun i pol lira, tj. 1500 DM (750 €). Moj kazivač navodi da je 2001. godina bila izrazito sušna, što nije pogodovalo rastu, pa je cijena tartufa bila vrlo visoka - 5 milijuna i 300 tisuća lira, tj. 5300 DM (2650 €). Prema njegovim riječima, prosječna cijena iznosi 1000 -1500 DM (500 -750 €).

Moj kazivač naglašava da ne može vjerovati da još nijedan tartufar nije stradao od puške nekog lovca, jer se na tim područjima i lovi. To je, prema njegovom mišljenju, možda pitanje lovačke etike, po kojoj se ne ide u lov tamo gdje se vade tartufi. Ipak, odnedavna je cijela Motovunska šuma i državno lovište pa nema jamstva koje bi moglo spriječiti kakav nesretan slučaj. Da bude još zanimljivije, zakupac tog državnog lovišta su Hrvatske šume, tj. Šumarija koja izdaje dozvolu za lov na tartufe u Motovunskoj šumi.

Cijena sezonske dozvole u Buzetu je, npr., 2002. iznosila 600 kuna, a prethodne godine 400 kuna. Prema Pravilniku o zaštiti gljiva, tartufi se love uz pomoć jednoga dresiranog psa, uz kojeg može biti još jedan u postupku dresure. Kopa se samo na mjestu gdje je pas nanjušio tartufe, i to lopaticom čije sječivo nije duže od 15 i šire od 8 centimetara, a rupe se moraju zatrpati iskopanom zemljom.

Normizacijom je, prema mom kazivaču, prikrivena nezakonita trgovina i divlji *lov*. Formalno, Šumarija izdaje dozvolu za ulazak u Motovunsku šumu, ali dozvolu za sakupljanje tartufa trebala bi izdavati Državna uprava za zaštitu prirode. Međutim, ona te dozvole daje poduzećima i obrtnicima koji su registrirani za promet gljivama. Tim se poduzećima daje dozvola za prometovanje određenom količinom tartufa tijekom određenog vremena. Prije tri godine, dozvole i rješenja za sakupljanje četiri tone tartufa dobilo je dvadesetak obrtnika i tvrtki, koji su prijavili da su prikupili tek dvadeset kilograma. Taj podatak govori da nelegalna trgovina i dalje dominira.

Vidljivi pomaci u legaliziranju prometa tartufima nastali su otkako je osnovana tvrtke Zigante² i otkako su našli mjesto u ugostiteljskoj ponudi. Na taj način sve više tartufa ostaje u Istri, a ne švercaju se u Italiju, čime se štiti imidž istarskog tartufa. To je i bio najčešći put *šverca* - *šverceri* bi od lovaca otkupljivali tartufe i prodavali ih u Italiju. Na pitanje tko su ti ljudi, moj kazivač odgovara: "... to su uglavnom naši ljudi koji žive u dolini Mirne. Prepoznaš ih po tome što imaju kuću na tri kata, a ne na dva, kao obični tartufari." On smatra da se na tom tržištu ništa nije promijenilo. Nezakonito se trgovalo nekoć, a nezakonito se trguje i danas.

Policija povremeno patrolira *lovištima* tartufa i provjerava dozvole, no problem je što se isti prekršaj različito kažnjava. Budući da su prekršitelji iz različitih gradova, za

2 Godine 1990. obitelj Zigante započinje s plasmanom i preradom tartufa, predstavljajući ga kao autentičan istarski proizvod. Otada tvrtka obitelji Zigante CEA trade d.o.o., kao jedina u Hrvatskoj, otkupljuje, prerađuje i konzervira tartufe te ih plasira na domaće i strano tržište.

isti će prekršaj sudovi u Pazinu, Buzetu i Bujama izreći različite presude. Još je veći problem što je maksimalna kazna sitnica u odnosu na to koliko čovjek može zaraditi. Time tartuf još uvijek nema status zaštićena nacionalnog ili prirodnog bogatstva.

Sami tartufari s područja Motovuna organizirani su u Udruženje tartufara koje je prije tri godine imalo oko 500 članova. Međutim, procjenjivalo se da je oko 1000 ljudi tražilo tartufe u Motovunskoj šumi, što znači da je svega polovica bila obuhvaćena tom organizacijom i izdavanjem dozvola. Udruženje nema nikakvu ovlast nad Motovunskom šumom, niti mogućnost proglašavanja propisa. Isto tako, ne može se brinuti o uređenju šume, usjeka i mostova jer je za to nadležna Šumarija.

Činjenica je da je sve veća potražnja za tartufom, koji je postao dio kulturno-gastronomskog identiteta Istre. Činjenica je i da ne postoje propisi koji bi ograničavali broj dozvola za lov na tartufe. Činjenica je i da sve više ljudi ide u *lov* na tartufe bez dozvole.

No, nije sve tako crno. Pojedine općine ipak su prepoznale važnost tartufa u njihovoj turističkoj promidžbi. Načelnik općine Motovun, Slobodan Vugrinec izjavljuje u Glasu Istre 29. siječnja 2003.: "Tartuf je sigurno naše najveće prirodno bogatstvo." Naglašava da je općina pružila potporu osnivanju Centra istarskog tartufa koji će se baviti i istraživanjem i promidžbom istarskih tartufa.

Udruga je tartufara općine Kršan "usvojila zaključak o potrebi izuzimanja staništa tartufa iz poljoprivrednog zemljišta", donosi Glas Istre od 21. siječnja 2003.

Postavlja se pitanje što će biti s tartufima u budućnosti. Tartuf je sezonski proizvod. Tartuf je gljiva, koja se razmnožava sporama. Daljnjem rastu neće škoditi izlov tartufa. U te činjenice me uvjeravaju kazivači. No, mene je zanimalo da li bi se moglo umjetno poboljšati uspijevanje tartufa, npr., sadnjom stabala ili na neki drugi način. Prema njihovu jedinstvenom mišljenju, još nitko u svijetu nije uspio umjetno uzgojiti bijeli tartuf. Ni Francuzi, niti Talijani. Kao što se ne može uzgojiti vrganj, tako se ne može uzgojiti niti tartuf.

Nekada i sada - tko i gdje ih jede

Tartufe se obično nije jelo, nego ih se prodavalo. Tartufari bi možda zadržali one jako sitne i loše kvalitete koje bi onda upotrebljavali za uvježbavanje pasa. Tartufi nisu tradicionalna domaća hrana. Oni su poput najboljeg vina koje se uvijek prodavalo. Za domaćine bi ostajalo vino miješanih sorti, lošije kvalitete.

Jedan od mojih kazivača, čuvši to od starijih, tvrdi da su se tartufi nekada mogli pronaći po kanalima, dakle, izvan zemlje. Znali su ih pripremati za marendu, kao *fritaju* - omlet s tartufima. Kaže da je to bio veoma hranjiv obrok nakon kojeg se moglo napornije raditi.

S tim se ne bih mogla složiti. Kao što najbolje vino i pršut nisu čuvali za se, tako ni tartufe nisu pripremali kod kuće kada su mogli vrlo dobro zaraditi njihovom prodajom. Drugi kazivač potvrđuje moju pretpostavku ističući da zna kako tartufari

razmišljaju jer mu je majka iz Livada, a djed mu je bio tartufar. Po njegovom mišljenju, tartufari su pripremali tartufe kod kuće ako ih zbog neprihvatljive cijene nisu uspjeli prodati.

Tvrtka Zigante omogućila je putem raznih konzerviranih proizvoda od tartufa, kao što su tartufata, tartufi u ulju i tartufi s gljivama, da nekad ekskluzivni obrok danas postane lako dostupan svakom kućanstvu.

Tartufe možemo naći i na pučkim feštama i festivalima hrane koji se održavaju s ciljem privlačenja turista izvan sezone. Gradovi tartufa, kao što su Buzet i Livade, organiziraju tijekom listopada Dane tartufa koji donose mnogobrojna događanja poput izložbe i prodaje tartufa, pučkog veselja, biciklijade, malonogometnog turnira i sl.

Proslava Subotine u Buzetu stoljetna je tradicija koja se slavi uoči ili prve subote nakon Male Gospe, a već petu godinu za redom na taj se dan priprema i velika *fritada s tartufima*. Prošle se godine u tavi teškoj tonu i promjera dva i pol metra pripremao 2003³ jaja s 10 kilograma tartufa, 2 kilograma tartufate, 4 kilograma parmezana, 2 litre ulja od tartufa, 7 litara običnog ulja, 1,5 kilograma soli, te 7 kilograma maslaca. Nakon četrdesetak minuta pečenja, *fritada* je podijeljena na 700 porcija koje su se prodavale po 35 kuna. Proslava Subotine, osim pripremanja velike fritade, sastoji se od koncerata popularnih grupa, vatrometa i ostalih događanja. U ovom se slučaju 'novopečeno' gastronomsko događanje pripojilo stoljećima uobičajenoj proslavi Subotine. Na taj se način to rujansko događanje približilo i stranom turistu, te omogućilo zanimljiv dodatak aktivnostima turističkih radnika nakon sezone.

Tartufe s tijestom, omet s tartufima ili tartufe s mesom možemo naći na jelovnicima agroturističkih objekata, restorana i konoba.

Kao što je prikazano na primjerima, danas je tartuf lako dostupan ljudima s ne tako velikom platežnom moći. Upravo zbog te velike rasprostranjenosti i dostupnosti moguće su manipulacije. Uočilo se da pojedini ugostitelji smatraju da je bijeli tartuf preskup za običnog gosta, pa pribjegavaju varkama - miješaju bijeli i crni tartuf,⁴ poslužuju crni tartuf umjesto bijelog ili, pak, preradevine tartufa. Takvi slučajevi negativno utječu na imidž tartufa u Istri.

"Istarski tartuf - Tartufo vero" projekt je Turističke zajednice Istarske županije i županijskog odjela za turizam kojim se želi ponudu tartufa podići na višu razinu. Pločice s natpisom "Tartufo vero" bit će od 2003. godine postavljene na pročelja deset odabranih konoba i restorana,⁵ jamčeći posjetiteljima da tu mogu kušati kvalitetne i svježije tartufe pripremljene i poslužene na kvalitetan i primjeren način.

³ Za svaku godinu održavanja ove pučke fešte dodaje se u *fritadu* po jedno jaje.

⁴ Bijeli jesenski tartuf (*Tuber magnatum pico*) znatno je cjenjeniji od crnoga ljetnog tartufa (*Tuber aestivum vill*).

⁵ To su konoba "Malo selo" u Fratiji, konoba "Marino" u Kremenju, konoba "Rino" u Momjanu, restoran "Igor" u Kaštelu, konoba "Buščina" u Mariji na Krasu, Restaurant-Enoteka "Zigante" u Livadama, gostionica "Toklarija" u Sovinjskom Polju, konoba "Pod voltom" u Motovunu, gostionica "Tartuf" u Livadama i restoran "Vrh" u Vrhu.

Restorane i konobe ocijenila je i istaknula posebna "gastro-inspekcija" koja je od travnja do rujna 2003. godine provjeravala kvalitetu pripremanja i posluživanja jela s tartufima diljem Istre. Takvim načinom predstavljanja, po ugledu na talijansku regiju Alba ili francuska iskustva, žele se stvoriti preduvjeti za dolazak bogatijih turista iz cijelog svijeta.

Tartuf - tradicionalno jelo?

Kao što je već naglašavano, tartufi, kao ni pršut, nisu istarsko tradicionalno jelo. Pršut se na selu posluživao za marendu težakima, članovima domaćinstva koji su radili u tvornici te, najviše privređujući, imali veliku važnost unutar obitelji, i gostima iz grada. Također se poklanjao liječniku, učitelju i sl.

Tartufi su se od početka njihova organiziranog sakupljanja u Istri uvijek prodavali i gotovo nikad nisu bili dijelom tradicionalnog obroka seoskog stanovništva. Zbog ekskluzivnosti i cijenenosti u svijetu njegovu su vrijednost, uočili turistički radnici i ugostitelji, a zatim i političari. U želji za promidžbom Istre kao zanimljiva turističkog odredišta koje uz sunce i more nudi i druge sadržaje, bilo je potrebno stvoriti opipljiv simbol koji će olakšati prepoznatljivost specifičnosti ove regije.

Ako promotrimo od čega se danas sastoji turistički jelovnik u istarskim konobama i restoranima, vidjet ćemo da se najčešće nude *maneštre* ili pršut i sir kao predjela, tijesto s mesnim umacima ili tartufima i meso poput *ombola* ili *žlomprta* (zarebnjaka), te kobasica s kupusom.

Postavlja se pitanje ima li takav turistički jelovnik kakve sličnosti sa svakodnevnim ili svečanim seoskim obrokom. Turistički jelovnik sličan je svečanom seoskom obroku po pripremi niza od nekoliko jela po obroku. Svečani jelovnici počinjali su (najčešće kokošjom) juhom, kao potvrdom dobrostojećeg gospodarstva. Nakon juhe, kao drugo jelo, slijedi meso i povrće iz juhe. Treće su jelo njoki, fuži, *kapuz* (kupus), a četvrto je pečeno meso s pečenim krumpirima. Na kraju dolaze slastice - kolači.

U tradicionalnom svečanom obroku nema pršuta i sira, nema niti maneštre. Ona se najčešće javlja kao glavno jelo u veoma siromašnom svakodnevnom jelovniku, dok se meso jelo vrlo rijetko.

U posljednjih desetak godina, u ponudu tradicionalnih jela u istarskim restoranima i konobama pokušalo se unijeti određena tradicionalna jela pojedinih krajeva. S obzirom na današnje bolje tehnološke mogućnosti pripreme hrane nužno se promijenio i način pripreme tradicionalnih jela. Nekad su domaćice satima pripremale *šugo* ili *maneštru* na starinskim štednjacima na drva, a još prije na otvorenom ognjištu. Tehničkim napretkom smanjen je broj sati koji se mora provesti u kuhinji. Osim toga, tu su i mnogobrojni dodaci jelu koji nam omogućuju brže zgušnjavanje, ljepšu boju i sl.

Te sve činjenice dovode do pitanja koliko je tradicionalno jelo koje nam nude restorani, doista tradicionalno. Restorani žive od zarade, a što će biti više posjetitelja, bit će više i novca. To, naravno, utječe i na brzinu pripremanja obroka. Moj kazi-

vač naglašava: "Čim spomeneš komercijalu, možeš reći doviđenja bilo kakvoj originalnosti i autohtonosti."

No, vratimo se tradicionalnom jelovniku u današnjoj turističkoj ponudi. Iz svega navedenog jasno proizlazi da je to 'izmišljena tradicija'. Gostu je potrebno ponuditi dašak tradicionalnoga, začinjen visokim cijenama kako bi uživao u nekadašnjoj kuhinji ovoga kraja. U tu se priču izvrsno uklapaju tartufi i pršut, koji nikada nisu bili tradicionalna svakodnevna jela, kombinirani s ostalim jelima koja su se ipak svakodnevno pripremala.

Iako je potpuno jasno da se priprema tradicionalnih jela treba prilagoditi današnjim tehničkim uvjetima (uostalom, njihova se priprema promijenila i prilagodila i u samim seoskim domaćinstvima), ipak bi se moglo posebno pripaziti na sezonsku i regionalnu dostupnost. Pod time mislim na dostupnost određenog sezonskog jela samo u odgovarajućoj sezoni i samo na području gdje određeni proizvod uspijeva. To se pravilo mora primijeniti na ponudu jela s tartufima. Jela od tartufa preporučljivo je jesti od rujna do Nove godine na područjima gdje oni uspijevaju kako bi se što bolje moglo uživati u njihovim specifičnim odlikama.

Zaključak

Tartufi su se organizirano počeli prikupljati u Istri krajem dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća pod utjecajem talijanskih poznavatelja tartufa. Godine 1933. osniva se i prva tvrtka za otkup i izvoz tartufa. Otada tartufarstvo postaje dodatna aktivnost mnogih istarskih domaćinstava.

Način i pravila *lova* nisu se znatno mijenjala do današnjih dana. Jedino što se promijenilo jest broj ljudi koji se njime bavi. Kao što sam navela, danas se u Istri *lovom* na tartufe bavi velik broj ljudi. Mnogi od njih bave se nezakonitom preprodajom, i to najčešće u Italiju. Cijena koju tartuf postiže na tržištu dovodi do sve većeg iskorištavanja površina na kojima on uspijeva. S obzirom da ga je nemoguće uzgojiti, posljednjih godina vidljivi su pomaci k očuvanju područja na kojem se pojavljuje ograničavanjem širenja poljoprivrednog zemljišta.

Proizvodnjom tartufa Istra nikada neće dosegnuti najveće europske proizvođače - Francusku, Španjolsku i Italiju. No, zbog dugogodišnjeg organiziranog *lova* na ovom području, te zbog cijene koju postiže na tržištu tartuf postaje zanimljiv u turističkoj promidžbi Istre. Stoga se jela od tartufa sve više nude kao tradicionalni obrok na jelovnicima brojnih konoba i restorana, iako se nikada nisu jela u istarskim domovima.

Postavši tako jednim od prepoznatljivih simbola ove regije, pospješuje dolazak turista veće platežne moći koje ne zanimaju samo prirodne ljepote, već i različiti sadržaji poput specifične kuhinje. Ponuda tradicionalne prehrane koja nas jednim dijelom povezuje s prošlošću bit će zanimljiv događaj za turista koji će pomoću brošura te u razgovoru s ugostiteljima ili turističkim radnicima moći ponešto saznati i o načinu pripremanja tradicionalnih jela.

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Truffle Hunting in Istria

Truffles are today a highly esteemed and sought-after specialty, which also became part of the gastronomic identity of Istria. This explains why many foreign and domestic tourists visit Istria for holidays to taste truffles, enjoy their flavour and find out whether they truly possess aphrodisiac and other qualities attributed to them.

This paper deals with the changes in truffling methods (who used to hunt before and who hunts now), changes in truffle consumers (who used to eat them before and who eats them now), and changes in transferring a traditional dish consumed in peasant kitchens to a different environment - the restaurant.

Key words: truffle hunting, traditional nutrition, Istria

With the intention to highlight its specific traits as a tourist destination, Istria has also turned to enriching its gastronomic identity. "A state, a region or even a small community can have an original cuisine, which often gives a better identification of its characteristics and cultural heritage than any other hallmark" (Quijano-Caballero, 2002: 65).

Truffles are one of the significant characteristics of the typical cuisine of this region. They were never part of the traditional Istrian cuisine, but nevertheless appear on the menus of wine cellars and restaurants.

This paper is only the beginning of the research of certain segments of the traditional Istrian food and deals with the beginnings of organized truffle collection in Istria and changes that occurred in truffling and the consumption of truffles.

Truffling in Istria

The answers to the questions about the beginning of organized truffle collection in Istria are quite interesting.

According to one of my informants, the Italians were responsible for the beginnings of truffle collecting in Istria. In his opinion, the arrival of Italians in the 1920s meant a more intensive cultivation of land which led to the discovery of these underground tuberous plants. Since they had experience with truffles, they initiated truffle collecting in this region.

As reported by another informant, the story of the truffles begins in the late 1920s, when an inhabitant of a village near Livade brought the "big smelly bulbs" (usually thrown to pigs by the peasants), which he encountered when ploughing, to one of the biggest land-owners in Livade - some Agostinelli (Agoštineli). The village of Livade developed thanks to the Parenzana, a railroad connecting the cities of Trieste and Poreč. Agostinelli was a learned and rich man, and also the only one in the area who had a telephone. He called the baroness Barabra von Hütterott in Rovinj, who sent her people with dogs to check out this truffle field. The inhabitants of Livade and the surroundings soon started to collect truffles for the company owned by the Hütterott family, who purchased and exported them.

An article in the daily *Glas Istre* of March 10, 2003, brings an interesting information about Josip Folo, an amateur historian, and his discovery of documents about the establishment of the first company for research, collection and export of truffles in the County Museum of Rovinj. The company called "L'azienda del Tartufo Sella Hütterott" was established in 1933 in Livade by the baroness Hütterott, Massimo Sella, who was managing the Rovinj Institute for Maritime Biology at that time, and two Italian truffle researchers from Pula.

Glas Istre also published details of the first paper on the white Istrian truffle written by Massimo Sella and translated by J. Folo. The paper contains the information that Italian truffle researchers from Pula discovered the first truffles in the area of Pazinski Novaki in 1929. Their search continued in 1931, after two years of inactivity, with the aid of trained dogs. Analysing the areas where truffles could be found, M. Sella said that "... the truffle finding zone is limited to the lowlands and meadows of the valley (Pazinčica), in particular to the 30 to 40 m wide area along the stream." Other finding places were in the region towards Golgorica, the valley of Roč and the valley of Rečina below Hum and Buzet. A special finding place was in the valley of the river Mirna towards Livade and the wood of Motovun. He believed that the wood of Motovun could become a truffle nursery if the land gets meliorated due to frequent floods. He found that truffles thrived in this area due to a favourable combination of limy and clayey soil, the trees growing in this region (poplars, willows etc.), surface and subterranean waters and the continental climate with hot summers and cold winters. Taking the example of France with its annual production of roughly three million kilograms and Italy with an output of one million per year, Sella calculated that more than 300 kilograms of truffles could be collected in Istria.

Sella, who wrote this paper in 1932 for the Italian Botanical Society of Florence, realized the great economic potential of truffles in Istria, which was at that time a province of Italy.

The magazine *Menu* brings in its 4th issue of July/August 2002 the interesting information that the truffling in the region of Livade developed thanks to railwaymen of the region Emilia Romagna, who were experienced collectors. It was on their initiative that the first truffle collectors appeared in Livade, where peasants used to feed pigs with truffles before.

Based on all this, we can conclude that organized truffle collecting started in Istria in the late twenties and early thirties of the 20th century. Istria was at that time under the administration of Italy, a country with a tradition of truffle hunting. Under the influence of the people who found truffles there, truffles started to be collected and bought off by the company "L'azienda del Tartufo Sella Hütterott", from where they were probably exported to Italy.

The truffle hunt continued after World War II, when the Forestry Office became responsible for the purchase and sale of truffles. In former Yugoslavia, truffle hunters were satisfied with the purchase prices and regularly delivered the truffles to the Forestry Office. Illegal trade appears in the 1980s and the Forestry Office today only deals with the issuance of truffle hunting licenses.

Hunting, pricing, smuggling and the future

My informant could give no definite answer to the question whether truffle hunting used to be an exclusively male business. However, he gave an example from his own family. His great-aunt, who died a decade ago at the age of eighty, "went after truffles" her entire life. The example of the truffle hunter Francesca Bazjak, presented together with her male fellow hunters in the documentary "Stories from the Wood of Motovun", demonstrates that little has changed since then. Women can also go hunting for truffles (although less frequently) and the method of hunting also remained the same.

Truffles are hunted exclusively with dogs, which explains why it is said that truffles are hunted rather than collected. Every truffle hunter probably has his own opinion about which dogs are best suited for the hunting - thoroughbreds or cross-breeds. My informer claims that his twelve mongrels make excellent dogs for the truffle hunt. It takes two or three years to train a dog for hunting. During the training, dogs are rewarded with a piece of sausage when they find a truffle, and it can also happen that they eat a piece of the catch when hunting.

According to my informers, pigs were never used for truffle hunting in Istria, which is explained sometimes by purely practical reasons: "It is doable with a pig, but it is practically impossible because of transport."

¹The documentary "Stories from the Wood of Motovun" was directed by Zoran Margetić, produced by Magnatum Film and Gastronomad of Zagreb and based on the screenplay by Željko Šatović, Rene Bakalović, Mirko Bajš and Zoran Margetić. It was broadcast by the Croatian TV in early April 2003.

The truffle-hunting season opens in early or mid-September and lasts until around New Year's Day. There is a deep-rooted belief that truffles should be collected only in the evening and by night, which is the time when their scent is stronger. However, this is not the truth, but rather a mystification of the truffle-hunting process. Truffles are hunted whenever one has spare time. Truffle-hunters expect that the wood will be less crowded by night and some of them avoid being seen. However, the informant says: "But then they all swarm in and the wood turns into Las Vegas, everybody walking around with their flashlight torches."

The hunt usually lasts two to four hours and when the hunters and dogs get tired, they go home. When a dog finds a truffle, the hunter removes the soil with an extraction tool, takes the truffle out, leaves the mycelium, puts the soil back on it and stamps the earth down with his feet. My informant believes that this is the right way to extract truffles, but this does not mean that all truffle-hunters adhere to it. Small truffles, some believe, should not be collected. But my informant disagrees: "If one dog doesn't eat it, another will."

After the truffle is extracted, the hunter puts it into a thickly lined pocket or a bag. The catch varies and can reach a kilogram and a half of truffles, but the hunter can also return empty-handed. It is all a matter of luck.

Truffle prices also vary. They depend on whether the year was rainy or dry. In her paper from 1998 entitled "Rain, Food and Culture...", Sanja Kalapoš states that the price for a kilogram of truffles amounted to a million and a half Italian liras, which equals roughly 1500 DM (750 €). My informant reports that 2001 was an extremely rainless year, unfavourable for truffle growth, and the prices went up to 5 million and 300 thousand liras, i.e. 5300 DM (2650 €). The average price, to his knowledge, is between 1000 and 1500 DM (500 - 750 €).

My informant stresses out that it is hard to believe that no truffle-hunter was ever hurt by the gun of a game hunter, since this region is also a game-preserve. It could be, in his opinion, a matter of hunter ethics, according to which no game hunting occurs in areas where truffles are collected. However, since the wood of Motovun has recently become a public hunting-ground, there is no guarantee that such accidents could be prevented. To make things even more interesting, the leaseholder of this public hunting-ground is the state-owned company Hrvatske šume (Croatian Forests), i.e. the Forestry Office which issues truffle hunting licenses for the wood of Motovun.

A seasonal license in Buzet, for instance, cost 600 kuna in 2002 and 400 kuna the year before. According to the Mushroom Protection Rules, truffles are hunted with the help of one trained dog, possibly accompanied by a second one that is being trained. The digging is done only on the spot where the dog has picked up the truffle scent, using a shovel with a blade not longer than 15 cm and not wider than 8 cm, and the holes must be filled with the scooped out soil.

The standardization covered up illegal trade and unlicensed truffle hunting, believes my informant. Formally, the Forestry Office issues licences required to enter the wood of Motovun, but the truffle-collecting license should be issued by the State

Bureau for the Preservation of Nature. However, such licenses are issued to companies and businesses registered for mushroom trade. They get licenses to trade in certain quantities of truffles during a certain period of time. Three years ago, decisions and licenses for the collection of four tons of truffles were issued to some twenty companies and small business owners, who reported only roughly twenty kilogram of collected truffles. This information proves that illegal trade continues to dominate.

Visible improvements in the legalization of the truffle trade were made since the company *Zigante*² was established and found its place in the catering offer. In this way, more truffles stay in Istria rather than being smuggled to Italy, which helps protecting the image of the Istrian truffle. This was the mostly frequented smuggling route - the smugglers would buy truffles from hunters and sell them to Italy. When asked who those people are, my informant responded: "... they are mostly our people living in the Mirna valley. You can tell them by their houses, which have three floors rather than two, like the houses of ordinary truffle hunters do." In his opinion, nothing changed on the truffle market. Illegal trade was practiced before and is still practiced today.

Police patrols occasionally go their rounds on the truffle hunting-grounds and check licenses, but the problem is that the same offences are differently sanctioned. Since the offenders are from different towns, courts in Pazin, Buzet and Buje will pronounce different sentences for the same offence. An even greater problem is that the maximum fine is trifling compared to how much one can earn. Thus the truffle has still not been given the status of a protected national or natural treasure.

The truffle hunters in the region of Motovun have established a Truffle-Hunters Association, which had about 500 members three years ago. According to estimations, however, around 1000 people were hunting for truffles in the wood of Motovun, which means that only half of them were members of the association and held licenses. The Association has neither authority over the wood of Motovun nor the capability to reverse regulations. It can also not maintain the wood, the gorges and the bridges because this belongs to the scope of authority of the Forestry Office. It is a fact that the demand for the truffle, which became part of the cultural and gastronomic identity of Istria, is growing. It is also a fact that there are no regulations limiting the number of issued truffle-hunting licenses. And it is also a fact that an increasing number of people go truffle-hunting without licenses.

But things are not as gloomy as they seem. Individual districts have nevertheless recognized the relevance of the truffle in their tourist promotion. Motovun district mayor Slobodan Vugrinec stated for *Glas Istre* on January 29, 2003: "The truffle is certainly our biggest natural treasure." He emphasized that the district has supported the establishment of the Istrian Truffle Centre to deal with the research and promotion of the Istrian truffle.

² In 1990, the *Zigante* family has started their truffle trade and processing business, presenting truffles as an authentic product of Istria. Since then, the family business *Zigante CEA trade d.o.o.* has been the only company in Croatia purchasing, processing and canning truffles and selling them on the domestic and international markets.

The truffle-hunters association of the district Kršan "adopted a decision on the need to exclude the truffle habitats from agricultural land", it was reported by Glas Istre of January 21, 2003.

The question is what will happen with truffles in future? The truffle is a seasonal product. It is a fungus procreating by spores. The collection of truffles will not endanger their future existence, as my informants tried to convince me. But I wanted to know whether there is a way to artificially stimulate the growth of truffles, by planting tress, for instance or in another way. They were all of a single opinion that nobody in the world ever managed to artificially cultivate the white truffle. Not even the French, not even the Italians. The truffle, just as the edible bolete, cannot be cultivated.

Then and now - who eats them and where

Truffles were normally sold rather than eaten. Truffle hunters would perhaps keep the small and low-quality truffles and use them to train dogs. Truffles are not a traditionally indigenous food. They are like the best wine, which was always sold, while the mixed-sorts, low-quality wine was left for the hosts.

One of my informants recalls hearing from older people that truffles could be once found in channels, above the ground. They used to prepare them for early lunch as truffle omelette (*fritaja*). He says that it was a very nutritious meal, providing strength for hard work.

I would disagree with this. Just like they never kept the best wine and smoked ham for themselves, they also did not prepare truffles at home when they could earn well by selling them. Another informant confirms my assumptions, saying that he knows how truffle-hunters think because his mother is from Livade and his grandfather was a truffle-hunter. He believes that the truffle-hunters prepared truffles at home if they did not manage to sell them due to unacceptable pricing.

Through its various truffle products such as tartufata, truffles preserved in oil and truffles with mushrooms, the company Zigante made the once prestigious meal now easily available to every household.

Truffles can be also found at folk festivities and food festivals organized to attract off-season tourists. In October, truffle cities such as Buzet and Livade organize truffle days with numerous events such as truffle exhibitions and sales, popular celebrations, bicycle tours, five-a-side football tournaments etc.

The *Subotina* festival in Buzet is of centennial tradition, organized just before or on the first Saturday after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. For the fifth consecutive year, a big truffle fry (*fritada*) is prepared on that day. Last year, 2003³ eggs, 10 kilograms truffles, 2 kilograms of *tartufat*, 4 kilograms Parmesan cheese, 2 litres truffle oil, 7

³ One egg is added to the *fritada* for each year in which the folk festivity is held.

litres plain oil, 1.5 kilograms of salt and 7 kilograms of butter were prepared in a pan that weighted 1 ton and measured 2.5 meters in diameter. After some forty minutes of frying, the *fritada* was divided into 700 servings that were sold at 35 kuna each. Besides the big *fritada*, the *Subotina* festival also features popular group concerts, fireworks and other events. In this case, a 'newly fledged' gastronomic event merged with a centuries-old festival tradition. Thus the September event also became more attractive to foreign tourists and provided an interesting supplement to the post-season tourist activities.

Truffles with pasta, truffle omelettes or truffles with meat can be found on the menus of agricultural tourism facilities, restaurants and wine-cellar.

As exemplified, the truffle is today easily accessible also to people with lesser spending abilities. It is the wide distribution and accessibility that makes manipulations possible. It has been noticed that some caterers consider the white truffle too expensive for the ordinary guest and resort to cheating - mixing the white and the black truffle⁴, serving black instead of white truffles or serving truffle products. Such cases negatively influence the image of truffles in Istria.

"Istrian Truffle - Tartufo Vero" is a project initiated by the Tourist Community of the Istarska County and the County Tourism Department with the intention to raise the level of the truffle offer. Starting from 2003, plates with inscriptions "Tartufo vero" will be placed on the fronts of ten selected wine-cellar and restaurants,⁵ guaranteeing the visitors that they can taste there high-quality and fresh truffles prepared in an appropriate and quality way. Restaurants and wine cellars were evaluated and selected by a special "gastro-inspection", which checked the quality of preparation and serving truffle dishes across Istria from April to September 2003. The intention of such presentation, following the examples of the Italian region Alba or French truffle regions, is to create preconditions for hosting more affluent tourists from all over the world.

Truffle - a traditional dish?

As already emphasized, truffles, just like smoked ham, are not traditional Istrian food. Smoked ham was served in villages as early lunch to farm hands who came to work, to factory-employed family members who occupied a special status in the family as the highest earners and to guests from the town or was given as present to the doctor, the teacher, etc.

⁴The white autumn truffle (*Tuber magnatum pico*) has a considerably higher value than the black summer truffle (*Tuber aestivum vitt*).

⁵The selected catering establishments are the wine-cellar "Malo selo" in Fratirija, the wine-cellar "Marino" in Kremenje, the wine-cellar "Rino" in Momjan, the restaurant "Igor" in Kaštel, the wine-cellar "Buščina" in Marija na Krasu, the restaurant-wine boutique "Zigante" in Livade, the inn "Toklarija" in Sovinjsko Polje, the wine-cellar "Pod voltom" in Motovun, the inn "Tartuf" in Livade and the restaurant "Vrh" in Vrh.

Since the beginning of organized collecting in Istria, truffles were always sold and were almost never part of the traditional meal of the rural population. Due to its exclusivity and the high value attached to it worldwide, the value of the truffle was acknowledged by the tourist and catering industry, and then also by the politicians. To promote Istria as an interesting tourist destination with an offer extending beyond sun and sea, it was necessary to create a tangible symbol that will make it easier to recognize the specific traits of this region.

If we look at today's tourist menus of Istrian wine-cellars and restaurants, we will see that the *maneštra* (rich vegetable soup) or *pršut* (smoked ham) and cheese are mainly offered as appetizers, followed by pasta with meat sauces or truffles and meat dishes such as *ombolo* (smoked pork loin roast) or *žlomprt* (rib portion) as well as sausage with sauerkraut.

The question is whether this menu has anything to do with the every-day or festive rural meal. Similarly to the festive meal prepared in rural areas, the tourist meal also consists of several courses. Festive meals started with the soup (usually chicken soup), a symbol of a well-off household. The second course consisted of meat and vegetables from the soup. The third course was usually *gnocchi*, *fuži* (pasta shells) and *kapuz* (cabbage), while roast meat with fried potatoes were served as the fourth course. The meal was rounded off by sweets.

The traditional festive meal includes neither smoked ham and cheese nor *maneštra*, which was usually the main course in a very poor every-day menu, where meat was rather scarce.

In the last ten or so years, attempts were made to enrich the offer of traditional meals in the restaurants and wine-cellars of Istria by certain traditional dishes of individual regions. With the improvement of food preparation technologies, the methods of preparing traditional dishes also necessarily changed. In the past, women used to prepare the *šugo* (sauce) or the *maneštra* for hours on traditional wood-burning stoves, and even before that over open fireplaces. The progress of technology reduced the number of hours to be spent in the kitchen. Besides that, there are also numerous food additives that enable faster thickening, a nicer colour of the food, etc.

For all this, it is a question to what extent the traditional food served by restaurants is truly traditional. Restaurants live from their earnings; the more visitors they get, the more money flows in. Naturally, this affects the dynamics of food preparation. My informant stresses: "As soon as you mention commercial business, you can say goodbye to all originality and indigenoussness. "

But let us return to the traditional menu of the contemporary tourist offer. Everything mentioned above makes it clear that it is an 'invented tradition'. The guest must be offered a whiff of the traditional, spiced up with high prices, to enjoy the original cuisine of this region. Truffles and smoked ham, which were never traditional every-day food, fit perfectly into this story, combined with other meals which were indeed prepared on an every-day basis.

Although it is completely clear that the preparation of traditional meals must be adapted to contemporary technical conditions (after all, their preparation changed and adapted also in rural households), seasonal and regional availability should still be paid special attention. This implies that certain seasonal foods should be available only in the right season and only in the region where certain products are grown. This rule must also apply to the offer of truffle dishes. It is recommended that they are served from September to New Year in areas where they grow, in order to fully enjoy their specific qualities.

Conclusion

Organized truffle collecting began in Istria in the late 1920s under the influence of Italian truffle connoisseurs. The first company dealing with the purchase and export of truffles was established in 1933. Since then, truffle hunting has become a secondary business activity of many Istrian households.

The methods and rules of hunting have not changed considerably to the present days. The only thing that changed is the number of people engaged in truffle hunting. As I said, a great number of people in Istria today pursue truffle hunting. Many of them engage in illegal trade, most frequently selling truffles to Italy. The market prices of truffles lead to increasing exploitation of truffle growth areas. Since it is impossible to cultivate truffles, visible progress has been made recently to preserve the truffle areas through limiting the expansion of agricultural land.

The production of truffles in Istria will never reach the level of the greatest European producers: France, Spain and Italy. However, due to a tradition of organized truffle collecting in this region and the market prices, the truffle has become an interesting element of the tourist promotion of Istria. This explains why truffle dishes are increasingly offered as traditional dishes on the menus of numerous wine-cellars and restaurants, although they were never eaten in Istrian homes.

The truffle has thus become one of the identifiable symbols of this region, attracting tourists with grater spending ability who are interested not only in the beautiful nature, but want to enjoy a broader tourist offer, including the typical cuisine. The traditional food offer, partly linking us to the past, will be an interesting event for tourists, who will be able to learn from brochures and by talking to caterers and tourist professionals more about the methods of preparing traditional dishes.

Translated by Sanja Novak