

# TO LIVE ON KRIVI PUT<sup>1</sup>

## ETHNOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MONOGRAPH ON THE LITTORAL BUNJEVCI

In the introduction to the monograph *To Live on Krivi Put* Milana Černelić, the leader of the project *Identity and Ethnogenesis of the Littoral Bunjevci*, gives a brief overview of the research process and explains the motivation to publish this book. The scientific monograph on Krivi Put will be issued in two parts. Its first part tackles the ethnic group of Bunjevci on the example of the Krivi Put microregion, situated on the slopes of Velika Kapela in the hinterland of Senj. It consists of ten thematic units divided in larger or smaller chapters. Along with ethnological articles, there are two contributions dealing with historical subjects, and one on the Krivi Put speech features.

Ways of communicating within the local community, as well as with its closer and more distant surroundings, can be noticed in various life spheres of the Krivi Put inhabitants. Thematic articles of different contents discuss various aspects of this local community's way of living. Almost each of the contributions to the monograph (in both its parts) deals with a certain segment of the life on Krivi Put. Whether focusing on each village as a community or on a cluster of villages and hamlets, one can discern specific communication bonds exhibited through various segments of traditional culture. The social life at the level of the village (when taking into consideration separate settlements on Krivi Put), and of the wider local community (the whole area of Krivi Put), along with the extra-local communication with population of the closer or more distant surroundings, serves as a thread running through all the topics presented in both parts of the monograph. The second common thread is the identity of Bunjevci, the awareness of which is reflected in all the contributions to this book. The topics are chosen to throw light on specific features of the life of the Littoral Bunjevci. These traditional cultural elements best reflect the process of Bunjevci identity construction and thus, on the one hand, form an objective aspect of the group's ethnicity. The inhabitants of Krivi Put are aware of their belonging to a Bunjevci branch and of their distinctiveness in relation to other groups, which means that these elements at the same time represent a subjective aspect of their ethnicity.

Ethnological topics presented in the monograph primarily deal with the traditional cultural heritage of Bunjevci in the Krivi Put area, but their destiny is also highlighted in the contemporary social context. Many themes are selected due to their potential applicability nowadays. By including certain elements of traditional culture in the contemporary life (for instance, through renewal of architectonic heritage, rural tourism, gastronomic offer, revitalization of characteristic products, souvenir production, marking of some specific holidays, etc.), the tourist offer of that region can be enriched. Certain contributions to the monograph particularly emphasize possibilities of connecting the traditional to the contemporary, by laying suggestions on how to use natural resources and the neglected cultural heritage before readers. Through a joint effort, all the participants of the research have shaped their results into a book, the aim of which is to set a positive example of how to pave the way to the future by using the insight into the past. Such a holistic approach to the research of the question of Bunjevci, which the editors have attempted to accomplish by this monograph (and its second part), represents a significant innovation in the Croatian ethnological scientific practice.

The monograph begins with the historical thematic unit, which consists of four chapters dedicated to the history of Krivi Put and historical aspects of the Bunjevci issue.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally translated from Croatian, the name of the area, Krivi Put, means "the curvy way". The title also carries witty connotations in the sense of "living in the wrong way".

The first part of this thematic block is titled **The Bunjevci in the Early Modern Times – Creation and Development of a Postmodern Ethnic Group**. The author, Marko Šarić, problematizes the analyzed phenomenon, the processes and structures that had led to the constitution of the premodern ethnic group of Bunjevci as a separate and recognizable ethno-cultural and ethno-confessional group in the Early Modern Times. The premodern ethnic group of Bunjevci is defined as a supralocal traditional community that, in spite of a wide-area dispersion, shared a common name, language, memory, belief and certain elements of the Dinaric cultural tradition. The questions of the origin, the widening of the term “Bunjevci”, that is, the semantic transformation from a generic into an ethnonym determinant, its presence in the onomastic material and the shaping of the group’s traditional identity are the problems dealt with in this chapter. The subject under discussion is a dynamic and multiply structured identity that has been articulated in different state, legal, social, cultural and ecosystem conditions. A feature that plays a relevant role in the Bunjevci identity is the rise of ethno-confessional belonging, closely related to the strengthening of the religious identity and confessional culture within communities of the Dinaric Vlachs. The ethnic core of Bunjevci was formed by leagues of the catholic Vlachs from Western Herzegovina, who settled in a wider border region between the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Venetian Republic in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Croatia. The Bunjevci, thus, emerged from the Vlach social and confessional structures in the imperial triple border region in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This process was based on the dichotomy *bunjevci – rkaći*. The imperial confrontations and the phenomenon of the border influenced significantly the development of the Bunjevci, who can be viewed as a “borderland ethnic group”. Migrations, wars, rebellions and religious conversions added to the dynamic aspect of their ethnic identity creation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which was of an uneven intensity though. Migrations have primarily left a considerable trace in the history of the Bunjevci community, by dividing it in four major branches: Western-Bosnian, Dalmatian, Lika-Littoral and Danube groups.

The following chapter titled **The Parish of Krivi Put**, by Mile Bogović, on the basis of historical sources, published literature and the author’s personal impressions, depicts briefly the settling of the Bunjevci in this region and the history of the Krivi Put parish from its foundation in 1790 up to now. The author pays particular attention to the situation in 1964, when he had served as the parisher of Krivi Put, yet as a celebrant of a virgin mass, and to the changes occurring after more than twenty years, when he paid a visit to Krivi Put. The author of the contribution is nowadays a bishop of the diocese of Gospić and Senj.

The next historical contribution by Enver Ljubović is **The Coat of Arms of the Bunjevci of Krivi Put**, with the subtitle **An Attempt to Interpret the Symbols of the Bunjevci Coat of Arms**. In it the author analyzes a plea addressed to Emperor and King Rudolf II, to grant the community a coat of arms and a charter. Then he turns to the creation of the coat of arms and its symbols. In the mentioned plea a wish to include images of a forest, a meadow and a river in the coat of arms, along with St John the Baptist and St George, was expressed. The author concludes that the symbols and figures in the coat of arms attached to the plea are partly clear and significant, and can be viewed as fragments pointing to the destiny of the Bunjevci in the course of their turmoil and insecure history in this area.

In the chapter **Geographical Position and Survey of the Recent History of Krivi Put** Blaženka Ljubović presents the climate and geographical features, social and economic, military and political, cultural historical and demographic conditions in Krivi Put in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. She particularly focuses on the development of the school system. By describing these circumstances, the author tries to answer numerous questions related to the changes occurring at that time’s Krivi Put municipality. Based on historical documents, she attempts to shed light on what happened to the administrative district of Krivi Put, which formed a governmental, religious, social and political centre of numerous settlements encompassed by the former municipality, and which used to have 3200 inhabitants in some thirty hamlets in the total territory of 8334.89 hectares. Nowadays, according to the census in 2001, there are as few as 495 inhabitants, primarily elderly people, living in the same area. Today’s economic and demographic state is a consequence of inadequate economic plans and programmes designed for Krivi Put, and of late

and insufficient infrastructural investments (roads, water supply line, electricity and phone). That has led to stagnation in agriculture and cattle breeding and, consequently, in sectors dependant on them. Weak traffic communication with the neighbouring and more distant urban centres has additionally aggravated the situation. All the mentioned factors have led to depopulation, especially when it comes to young people, capable for working and raising families. That has resulted in the birth rate decrease and the shutting down of the local schools, leading to the complete emigration and the community's dissolution.

Notwithstanding poor economic and demographic circumstances, growing especially severe in 1970s, positive trends in the attempts to revive Krivi Put can be discerned. The municipality of Krivi Put, in cooperation with the City of Senj government, has initiated the resolving of communal and economic problems, such as water supplies, renewal of cisterns, maintenance of the power network, widening and renovation of roads, etc. Activities of the *Vrisak* association, founded in 2001, with the aim of encouraging rural development and preserving the heritage of Krivi Put, have also provided a positive stimulus to the trend.

The following two chapters address the migration of the Krivi Put inhabitants. In the article titled **The Survey of Migrations of the Krivi Put Inhabitants**, Marijeta Rajković sets two aims. The first is to depict the migrations of the Krivi Put inhabitants in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the second to examine their current bonds with the local community. The day most suitable for conducting such a research is the feast of the local patron saint, Our Lady of the Snow, when everybody gathers in Krivi Put. Narratives of the migrations cover the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while the data on the participation of Krivi Put emigrants in the Our Lady of the Snow celebration mostly refer to 2004. Forms of external (transcontinental, to West Europe, to the neighbouring countries) and internal migrations (mostly to Slavonia, closer urban centres) are shown in the article. The author analyzes whether the migrations were temporary or permanent, seasonal, moving, chain, etc., together with the push and pull factors. The main reason for the Krivi Put inhabitants to emigrate has been the economic stagnation, urbanization, lack of infrastructure and communication with urban centres. Temporary visits and permanent returns to the local community are also discussed, together with the actual relationship of the migrants and their descendants towards Krivi Put. The emigrants rarely return to live in Krivi Put, but mostly spend summer there. A number of the Krivi Put inhabitants that no longer live in Croatia build houses along the coast, in larger urban and tourist centres, such as Senj, Crikvenica and Novi Vinodolski. However, at Our Lady of the Snow feast everybody tends to be in Krivi Put.

The second chapter on migrations is titled **The Krivi Put Inhabitants in the Area of Virovitica**, and deals with a group of Krivi Put migrants in the surroundings of the town of Virovitica. The authors, Marijeta Rajković and Jasmina Jurković, present a case study of internal homogenous migration, concentrated on the relocation of a larger group of people from a rural area on the coastal slopes of Velika Kapela (Krivi Put) to another rural area in a different region of the Republic of Croatia, more concretely to the countryside of Virovitica. Voluntary migrations of the 1920s and 1930s are presented, since this is a period when they became larger-scale and more permanent. After years of transient departures for the area of Virovitica, Krivopučani gradually settled there, and they formed a settlement Rezovačke Krčevine, but also started to buy properties in the village of Podgorje.

The study is based on empirical research, and the material has been gathered over a period of several years in the area of Krivi Put (2003-2006), as well as in the area of Virovitica (2005-2006). The data regarding migrations from the period of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have been collected through interviews, that is, through life stories of the migrants, their descendants and inhabitants of Krivi Put that did not migrate. A part of the research has been conducted in the Register Office in Virovitica, on the basis of several birth and baptism registers, and in the local office of Suhopolje, with the focus on the birth indexes, as well as on the book of married couples – *Vjenčanik*, and *Zavičajnik mjesta Rezovac (The Native Place of Rezovac Book)*. The authors have also used online databases.

The paper gives answers to the following questions: why do people migrate, who moves and what happens after they have moved. The authors have recorded memories of the first years of life in the new surroundings. The paper presents relations between the migratory and domiciliary population, with an emphasis on cultural processes and boundaries between groups. Many forms of translocalism have been noticed, more concretely the connections between the migrants and their descendants with the local community. The authors have also recorded remigrations of the second and third generations of migrants, who started to renovate their old family houses and build new vacation houses in the area of Krivi Put, as well as in more attractive tourist destinations nearby. Attempts to preserve awareness of the Bunjevci identity can also be discerned. In spite of processes of acculturation and assimilation, many migrants' descendants exhibit an awareness of their Krivi Put origins, that is, their affiliation to the branch of Bunjevci (Littoral Bunjevci) and to the Bunjevci ethnic group in general.

The thematic block dedicated to the speech features of the Krivi Put inhabitants and titled **On the Speech of Krivi Put**, is written by Ankica Čilaš Šimpraga. The speech variant of Krivi Put belongs to western dialects, that is, to the new štokavian ikavian speech. In the vowel system we find five vowels (*a e i o u*), which come in short and long syllables. A sonant *r* is also syllable-forming. At the phonetic level, one can notice the closure of long vowels *ā* and *ō* (e.g. *spāvā* 3p. sing. present, *dōm*), as well as of the short and long vowel *o* in front of the sonant among the oldest speakers, e.g. *òna*, *dònosili*. The shifts *o > u* have been confirmed, e.g. *bumbóni*, *ûn*, *pùlčija*, *ùndā*, *ùna*, *únde*. That shift is not present in the speech of younger generations. Another relevant characteristic at the phonetic level is the weakening of the post-stress vowel *i*, e.g. active adj. f. sing. *rádila* can be pronounced [*rádila*], [*rád'la*] or [*rádəla*]. On the other hand, there are few vocal shifts of the unstressed vowels; such examples are in the nouns *pládenj* 'pladanj' 'plate', *bàdenj* (uz *bàdanj*), *taràpija* 'terapija' 'therapy' and in some other lexemes.

A significant feature of the Krivi Put vocalism is the ikavian reflex of the letter *yat*, e.g.: *dì* 'gdje', 'where', *sīd*, *dīca*, *dīte*, *dīd*, *mlīko*, *vīdit*, *nēvista*, *závit*, *kòlino*, *sìkira*, with a certain number of the permanent ekavian (*ode*, *dèlat* inf., *děčko*, *pòslē*, *zēnica*, *cěsta*), as well as the jekavian reflexes, e.g. *pjěšice*.

The main characteristic of the Krivi Put consonantal system is the existence of a voiced and a voiceless affricate, which is noted as *ǰ* and *č*, e.g. *nàǰže* 3p. sing. present. 'ide', *dovižéna* and *čòvik*, *náčve*. A similar situation has been confirmed in the Transvelebit part of the hinterland of Senj.

*Ògnīšće* is also heard in the speech of the older Krivi Put inhabitants, so that one can assume that in the past there were more lexemes with the šćakavian reflex. However, the contemporary Krivi Put speech is categorized as štokavian due to the lexemes like *klīšta*, *gūšter*, *štēta*, *ògnīšte*, *štāp*. These features bring it closer to the speech of the Transvelebit hinterland. The phonemes *x* and *f* have returned into the consonantal system of Krivi Put, but their place is marginal since they frequently fall out or are replaced with other consonants.

The ending *-l* has been transformed into *-e* in the active adj. m. sing. vt, root stem with *-i* among the older speakers, e.g. *vīdije*, *nòsije*, *pīje*. However, the same speakers also pronounce *vòdija*, *vīdija*, *nòsija*, *pīja*. Such duality is also noted in the Transvelebit part of the hinterland of Senj. In other verbal bases: *-l > -a* *ùmrā*, *pīvā*, *rèkā*, *čūja*, *dòvē* (*ē < ea*), *ùzēja*. The ending *-l* has fallen out of nouns, like *sō* 'sol' 'salt', *vō* 'vol' 'ox', but nouns and adjectives with restituted ending *-l* are also used, e.g. *stōl*, *bīl*, *cīl*, *vèsel*, *dèbel*.

The phoneme *-m* at the closure of the ending morphemes has transformed into *-n*: *èsan* 'jesam', *ìmā n*, *u svākōn* L sing. n., *s àutīn*, *kāmēñon* I sing., *gòdīnan* I pl., etc.

The stress system is made of four types of stress (``^`'), with the shortness and post-stress length, and of the new štokavian distribution rules corresponding to the standard language. In the paper, specific features of the Krivi Put accent system are presented.

Concerning the morphological verb characteristics, the infinitive is elliptical (*dōč*, *dèlat*), the imperfect has disappeared from the verb form system, and the aorist has been well preserved. Considering the nouns, the plural case endings have been equalized in the dative, locative and instrumental – for mas-



culine and neuter  $-\bar{t}n$  (D L I *lúd̄tn, kòl̄tn*), and for feminine nouns of the e-declination  $-an$  (D *žènan, Lu kùčan, Is bàban*). Furthermore, among the younger speakers, under the influence of media and educational system, in D L I pl. endings  $-ima$  appear in masculine and neuter, as well as in feminine nouns ending with a consonant, and the ending  $-ama$  in feminine nouns.

In the thematic block made of the chapter **Traditional Architecture**, Ivana Šarić Žic brings forth a typological analysis of the traditional architecture in Krivi Put and the neighbouring hamlets by stating the common characteristics of this architecture, as well as certain particularities. Starting from a generalized description of the architectonic and construction features and moving towards some concrete examples, the author tries to place the depicted phenomena in a broad temporal framework. She concludes that traditional elements that appear in the area are not always of the same genesis, since they depend on a number of economic and social factors, and that each housing and economic unit has had its own individual development corresponding to the users' needs.

The author stresses that, when viewing the organization of some forty villages and hamlets of Krivi Put as a whole, one cannot detect any regular and uniform structure. On the basis of the geographical conditions, this region belongs to the area of the forest karst, which makes the creation of larger rural agglomerations impossible. That is why the hamlets are loosely structured and mostly consist of a few individual households. Furthermore, the author states that, although the hamlets seem to be scattered without some internal logic, a more thorough analysis shows a deliberate placement of each object in accordance with the local conditions (along the ways, at the borders of arable fields, on the slopes exposed to the sun).

Generally, the author defines the architecture of the Krivi Put area as simple and functional, without specific decorative elements. She emphasizes the role of stone and wood, which make the basic building material for the people in this area. She shows that housing and farming units are made in stone tied with the lime mortar. The thickness of walls amounts to 60 cm. The number of storeys and the inner distribution of the space varies owing to a number of factors. The roof construction of the housing and farming objects is wooden as a rule, while the common bi-slope roof is covered with the shingle.

Further on, the author points out that the architecture found in the Krivi Put area is of different datations and types, but its common denominator is the importance given to the space reserved for the cattle. She concludes that the traditional architecture of Krivi Put is a product of relatively harsh natural circumstances and needs of the Bunjevci, who came to this territory as cattle breeders, which has considerably affected the community's way of living.

In accordance with this, she presents two main types of the residential space organization: the common space and the space reserved for the separate dwelling of the people and the cattle. This typology indicates that the space reserved for the cattle was almost the size of the housing space used by a Littoral Bunjevac, which clearly shows the importance the people attributed to their cattle. One can assume that the division conditionally defined as horizontal appeared first: the people and the cattle lived in the same ground storey, divided by a mere partition wall. By the construction of the upper storey, the division started to take place vertically: cattle was living downstairs, and people upstairs. Barns as separate buildings were introduced at the Turn of the Century, which is estimated on the basis of the dates engraved into the belonging housing units. Furthermore, the author presents some architectonic elements that formed a part of traditional plots: *bajte* (summer kitchens), *šterne* (water cisterns), and *trapovi* (potato cellars).

Finally, she examines the state of preservation of the traditional architecture, which differs significantly, in a positive sense, from the coastline space. In a concluding review, she outlines conservation guidelines and forms, indicating the possible consequences of uncontrolled restoration and reconstruction. Through the presentation of traditional architecture characteristics, the author tries to contribute to the understanding of the identity and ethnogenesis of the Littoral Bunjevci.

The following larger thematic block deals with the traditional economy. This unit, written by Marijeta Rajković, consists of six chapters: **Migrations and Common Life in Summer Settlements, Cattle Breeding, Agriculture, Hay Making, Bee Keeping, and Hunting**. The material has been collected through interviews in a wider Krivi Put area on several occasions over a period from 2003 to 2006. All the contributions cover chronologically the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the majority of data relates to the period preceding the 1970s, when the population emigrated from Krivi Put on a large scale, in search of new sources of earning.

The topic of **Migrations and Common Life in Summer Settlements** has proven to be essential in order to understand the traditional economy and to gain insight into the traditional way of life and the culture of this region's population. In springtime the inhabitants moved from the coastal area to mountain pasturelands, situated on the slopes of Velika Kapela at the height of 500 to 700 meters above sea level. The main reason to move was cattle grazing (cows and sheep), but also hog breeding, land tilling (hoeing), haying and bee farming. In autumn everybody moved back to the coastline, where they stayed until the next spring. This region's particularity comes out of the fact that these mountainous regions had permanent settlers, who sometimes moved into even higher areas, 800 to 900 meters above sea level. In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the migrations varied from one family to another, so that some of them took one migration step, some took two, and the others did not move at all. The temporary summer settlements have gradually turned into permanent places to live, some of which even had elementary schools. Specific daily migrations for the education needs, for earning an income, for carrying out religious practices and for funerals are observed. The research aims at grasping the totality of the way of life influenced by the migrations. The goal is to depict the push and pull migration factors and the life in summer settlements (buildings, interaction between the migrants and the domiciled inhabitants). The author sketches symbolic borders between the two communities, that is, autoidentification strategies which distinguished the migratory group from the domiciled one. She describes the symbolic inventory that the community members define as distinctive in relation to the "others", whom they perceive as different in spite of the fact that they live in the same area. Finally, she points to the role of ethnological research in the revitalization of this depopulated region, which could be accomplished by developing rural tourism, by presenting the life in summer settlements.

In the second contribution the author describes **Cattle Breeding**, which, along with agriculture, represented the main economic branch. Each family owned a cow or two, some ten to twenty sheep, several chickens, a dog and a cat. Families also owned oxen or horses. The choice between oxen and horses was conditioned by the arable land surface, geographical features of fields and the family's economic strength. Informants could enumerate families that owned horses and those owning oxen. In Krivi Put the families of Prpić, Pavelić, Krmpotić, Burić and Šojat had oxen, and Prpić family owned horses. In Francikovac, Šojatski Dolac the situation was more varied. In Veljun and Mrzli Dol oxen prevailed, whereas the inhabitants of Podbilo, Alan and Klarićevac mostly had horses. The Krivi Put inhabitants used draught animals to till the land (to plough and harrow), to carry cargo, to gain additional income by pulling tree trunks from the woods, which was especially the case in Alan. Due to a specific way of living (moving to summer settlements) and to the terrain structure, the inhabitants of the Croatian Littoral did not owe draught animals, apart from donkeys and/or mules. Donkeys and mules were also used in Alan, Podbilo, Šojatski Dolac, and less frequently in Krivi Put and Veljun. The poverty and an inadequate number of draught animals resulted in joining the animals together, so that they could finish the work more swiftly. In spring the Krivi Put inhabitants used to buy pigs and feed them until autumn, November to be more precise, when they would slaughter them for winter.

The author brings data on the names for animals, orders issued to animals, and describes the system of stable farming and pig breeding. She presents in details the organization of cattle grazing, shepherds and their equipments, as well as shepherds' "servants" (children from the age of ten to the full age who stayed in a family's service for a year, mostly tending cattle). The relationship of permanent and seasonal

inhabitants is highlighted, on the examples of the organization of cattle grazing and joining the animals together. The author concludes with the description of the contemporary state of cattle breeding.

The topic of the third contribution is **Agriculture**. At the beginning the reasons that caused the division of arable land into small parcels are outlined. The family land-property was scattered because of the relief features (mountainous region), the common law inheritance practices and the life organized at different levels (two to three). Parcels were sometimes very distant, even two to five hours of walking from each other. The prevalent field crops were: barley, oats, wheat, buckwheat and rye. The author describes preparations for seeding and crop planting (spreading manure, plowing with wooden and/or iron ploughs, harrowing). While doing so, she pays a special attention to gender division in work. Agricultural tools are also presented: hoe, rake, shovel, pick, hay-fork and spade. The author also explains what the seeding time was and who the seeders were, as well as what magic procedures were performed in order to ameliorate crop. A large chapter deals with the harvest and with questions: when it was taking place and who participated (women with sickles, men with scythes), what the accompanying events were, through which the community's social life is reflected (contests of harvesters, songs, mutual help system). Rajković also shows how ropes to tie straw were prepared, how to sheave wheat and transport it home from the fields. She describes the threshing floor and the procedures of threshing wheat, which vary depending on whether it was performed by oxen or horse power. The harvest customs, the storing of wheat and its transportation to mills (in Brlog, Prokike, Švica) are also shown. Special attention is paid to height positions of the fields, which lead to different ways of tilling the soil.

In the last part home gardening is shown. Potato, cabbage, carrot, beans, red beet, seakale beet and lettuce were frequently planted vegetables. The tilling of the soil in home gardens and the bedding out of plants, most frequently cabbage, are described as well. The author pays most attention to potato and cabbage, which played the most important role in traditional nutrition, whereas other sorts of vegetables were seeded in small quantities. Today's state in the field is also sketched.

By examining the traditional economy and migrations of the Krivi Put inhabitants, Rajković has found **Hay Making** to be an important topic, due to its major role in the life of this region's inhabitants. During the long winter months (from November to April) the cattle stayed indoors, in barns, so that enough hay had to be provided. From this area hay was transported by mules and donkeys to the Littoral.

The importance of haying is reflected in the fact that men ceased their seasonal works (in Slavonia, West Europe). As late as in the 1970s they were taking their vacation to come to Krivi Put in time to prepare enough hay for winter months. Transcontinental emigrants, from the USA and Canada, used to send money for that occasion. Meadows with grass, and sometimes with clover, were mown (once, twice, occasionally even three times a year, depending on the height above sea level and climate). After three or four years of mowing, when the soil became impoverished, the grass was left to grow or clover was seeded. The author brings data on: the time of mowing, the organization of mowing (gathering of mowers, their equipment) and the mowing itself (songs, contests among mowers). Mowing had an impact on the entire family, since women prepared food and brought it to distant meadows, girls turned over the grass, children tended cattle in this period. The paper ends with the description of hay drying, its transportation to outhouses and storing for the winter, mostly inside the barns or grouped in stacks.

The fifth contribution deals with **Bee Keeping**. In coastal villages almost each house was keeping bees; at 500 meters above sea level every third household had bees, whereas at 800 meters that was a sporadic activity. The reason for such differences obviously lies in the geographical and climatic features (especially in long winters). This was also a trigger for moving the bees up to the mountains during summertime, a process which the author elaborates in the paper (by showing, for instance, the transportation of two beehives on mules and/or donkeys and on the owner's back). Since there is a variety of plants growing at different heights, here we find several sorts of honey: sage, heather, lime, acacia, meadow and forest honey. Along with honey, the Krivi Put inhabitants made other products: for example, they used combs



to produce a kind of sherbet, they made candles, etc. The author describes the position and appearance of beehive yards, types and appearance of beehives throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the bee-keeper's equipment and clothes. She shows the beekeeper's tasks, especially those related to bee swarming and extraction of honey. Folk beliefs connected to bee keeping are also noted, such as a notion that the arrival of a runaway bee swarm in the courtyard brings luck, or reasons why a horse skull is placed next to a beehive yard. Owing to the abundance of forest vegetation, the Krivi Put inhabitants often used to find wild bees in the woods. This article informs us of the ways of transporting them to the house and taming them. It ends with a chapter on curing bees. In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the inhabitants were keeping bees primarily for their personal needs, while for a few individuals they represented the main source of income, since they owned up to 200 beehives. Nowadays, several bee-keepers from neighbouring urban centres have been bringing their beehives to Krivi Put. They have recognized the untouched nature and possibilities of ecologically pure production of honey, some of the sorts having therapeutic properties.

The topic of the last chapter is traditional and contemporary wild beast **Hunting**. Owing to the abundance of forest spaces and wildlife at their boundaries, almost every boy used to catch a dormouse, a bird or some small animal while tending the cattle. Adult men often went hunting and built rabbit, deer, badger, pine and stone marten, boar, bear, wolf and lynx traps. The author describes the strategies when hunting each of these animal species: taking by surprise, chase or pack hunt and lying in wait. Different types of traps are outlined: loops made of horsetail hair, traps that fall over animals, wicker enclosures that direct animals towards a trap, iron snare, as well as the ways to use and hide them. The inhabitants did not own fire weapons, so that pitfalls were dug out in order to catch larger animals, such as the boar. The animal would fall through a covered hole onto the peaks raised at the bottom. The motivation to catch each of the animal species is also shown: for meat, fur (such is the case with marten and fox) and therapeutic fat (from badger and dormouse).

Wolves were the major predators in this area, since they often attacked flocks of sheep. Therefore, the killing of a wolf was marked in a special way. The hunters used to make the rounds through the village and the wider area carrying the wolf skin (for instance, people from Podgorje used to come to Krivi Put). This custom, for which no special name was used, is described in details (songs, the appearance of the wolf, gifts given to the group that carried it). The final part deals with contemporary hunting, as carried out in the frame of the Hunters Association "Jarebica" ("partridge"). Today's hunting can also be observed as an economic branch, in this case as hunting tourism, due to arrivals of numerous Italian visitors that go bird hunting.

The thematic unit on **Transport** consists of a chapter having the same title, written by Danijela Birt. Transport as an important segment of the traditional life in Krivi Put has played a significant role in the shaping of their identity, distinctive in relation to the neighbouring communities. In this paper the identification of Bunjevci, primarily in relation to the urban centres nearby, is observed through a form of their material culture. Agriculture and cattle breeding have formed the main economic branches for the majority of the Krivi Put inhabitants. Many of them have continued to till the land for their own needs up to today. Nowadays, these branches can no longer be defined as the main means of production, since only the elderly people have remained in the area. Depopulation was triggered by the quest for an easier way of life, which did not encompass agriculture and segments connected with it, and such is also the case with the transportation utilities.

Modernization that has affected this area has forced out the usage of draught animals, such as horses, oxen and donkeys. The changes became more obvious in the seventies. In the course of research, a difference has been spotted related to which draught animals were used: in the area of Podbilo those were mainly horses, and in the area of Veljun oxen. Specific natural resources caused such a distinction.

Based on the gathered ethnographic material, the author attempts to show the development of various forms of transportation, as well as all the means used for that purpose. She also explains their usage within a wider community. Specific features noted during the fieldwork (for instance, the sole usage of four-



wheel carts) are consequences of certain climate and geographical conditions. The gathered data cover a span from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to today, while most of them relate to the period from twenties to seventies. These results have been compared to the contemporary way of living, which showed the magnitude of changes that happened in a relatively short period, from the 1970s to be more precise. This region's inapproachability has defined the means of transportation, but also the financial difficulties of its inhabitants.

Under the subtitle *Domesticated Animals as Means of Transportation*, Birt discusses not only the usage of various animal species for transportation, but also the causes that influenced the choice of a certain sort. In the chapter *Modernization of Transportation*, she examines changes of means of transportation after the World War II, especially those in the 1960s, when tyres replaced wooden wheels. That shift influenced a change in the appearance, and even in the name of the cart. In the following four chapters: *Cart Parts*, *Cart Usage*, *Horse Tack* and *Oxen Tack*, the author presents the material gathered during fieldwork, showing in details the appearance and multiple usage of carts, as well as the equipment needed to transport goods by horses or oxen. The inhabitants of this region frequently earned an extra income as *jobbing carters*, with which Birt deals in a separate chapter. In the chapter *Sledges – Parts and Usage*, she mentions means of transportation that were used in order to carry wood and manure in the winter months. The final part on *Saddles* deals with transportation equipment mostly applied when using donkeys, less frequently horses, for transportation. Parts of the saddle, its usage and ways it was applied when transporting different goods are described.

Danijela Birt and Matija Dronjić are authors of the next thematic block, consisting of a chapter **Water Supply**. In this area the access to the drinking water has always represented a serious problem. Therefore, water supply has played an important role in the life of Littoral Bunjevci, which is obvious from the fact that various measures have been taken to contain the rainwater, such as the building of specific water reservoirs, cisterns. In the contribution results of field research carried out in two phases, in 2003–2004 and at the end of 2007, are presented. The inhabitants used to fetch water from a two hours of walking distance (for instance, from Majorija in Senjsko bilo, Vratnik, Brinje). The authors describe ways of water carrying and several characteristic types of wooden water containers. The vessels were purchased in the areas nearby, mostly from the inhabitants of Kutarevo. Furthermore, the authors describe the building of water cisterns. That was an investment that often demanded a journey to America, in order to gain some extra profit. Variousness of such reservoirs is shown. Apart from family-owned cisterns, church cisterns were built as well. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the state realised the problem of the lack of water and was encouraging the building of public cisterns. The usage and maintenance of ponds for cattle in summer months are described as well. Finally, the authors bring forth the legends on wells, located during the research and described, which the Krivi Put inhabitants often interpret as “the Greek wells”.

The next thematic block, consisting of a chapter **Trade and Fairs**, is written by Tihana Rubić. The contribution begins with the data on fair trade, activities and ways in which it was conducted in the Krivi Put area. Significant trade relations between the region of Krivi Put – Senj, the region of Krivi Put – Brinje and the region of Krivi Put – Otočac are shown. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to 1970s, the fairs in Brinje and Otočac represented two most significant trade centres for the Krivi Put inhabitants. Some steady ways, unpaved roads and shortcuts were used as the means of communication from Krivi Put, but also towards that area, concretely towards localities in which specific services were provided (for instance, blacksmith's trade in Krivi Put, Vratnik, Prokike, Drežnica and Lučani). The author examines the jeopardy inflicted by highwaymen, bandits who used to intercept traders on the road. She enumerates places along the trade roads where popular inns were situated. The theme of fairs represents this contribution's central part. Along with the trade communication, she elaborates on the trade offer, the usage of sayings when negotiating the price and the drinking of a toast when the deal was made. She analyzes the

gender-constructed division in work. For instance, everyday cattle-breeding work, selling animals and goods at fairs were considered men's job, although women often took part in trade (either by assisting men or independently, in the case of widows). Trade activities were often carried out by women even outside the fair context. Such is an example of the women from Lika, who were selling woven rugs at fairs, as well as the women from Krivi Put, who delivered milk to the town of Senj. Finally, the author explains how trade communication was redirected from the mentioned fairs to the buying station in Podbilo in the seventies. The improvement of the traffic infrastructure, the intensified usage of cars and the industrial production growth have led to the increased population mobility and availability of goods and services that were not easily accessed previously. The demand for hand-made products has also gradually diminished. The above mentioned blacksmith workshops previously played an important role in the region of Krivi Put, Krasno and the surroundings. Parallel to the abandoning of the horse and oxen-driven carts, the demand for their services has gradually decreased. In that way, this traditional craft has vanished from the area, which represents only one of the many recorded changes affecting trade in the area of Krivi Put from the seventies on. At the same time, the demand for the woodenware from Kutarevo has also decreased, due to the introduction of cheaper plastic and enamel industrially produced dishes. Each of the mentioned segments of trade life in the period between the two world wars up to the seventies represents an interesting and colourful part of the Littoral Bunjevci traditional way of life, although in this area trade has never formed a basic or continual economic branch. Since ethnological literature rarely thematizes the topic of fairs and trade, this paper represents a significant contribution to the understanding of this topic in general, and especially in the traditional life of Bunjevci in Krivi Put.