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Otocí [u dijalektu škoji] Hvar, Vis i Šolta za mnoge predstavljaju najljepša mesta na svijetu.

U nastojanju da tu ljepotu oplemene i učine još ljepšim mjestom za život svojih stanovnika i odmor posjetitelja, svi gradovi i općine, brojni ribari, turistički djelatnici, udruge i ustanove spomenutih otoka ujedinili su se u Lokalnu akcijsku skupinu u ribarstvu Škoji, skraćeno FLAG Škoji, kako bi uz pomoć Europskog fonda za pomorstvo i ribarstvo i pristup poznat kao „CLLD – razvoj vođen zajednicom“ stvorili zajedničku viziju razvoja i potom provedbom projekata putem lokalne razvojne strategije u ribarstvu omogućili da ideje postanu stvarnost.

Priredivač publikacije je Muzej Staroga Grada, član FLAG-a Škoji. Prezentacijom bogate ribarske baštine i tradicije prerade ribe na otoku Hvaru želimo potaknuti nove modele održivog ribarstva putem implementacije Lokalne razvojne strategije u ribarstvu FLAG-a Škoji 2014-2020., o čijim strateškim ciljevima i prioritetnim mjerama više doznajte na www.flag-skoji.hr.

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The islands [Škoji in the local dialect] Hvar, Vis and Šolta represent the most beautiful places in the world for many.

In an effort to enrich this beauty and to make the islands even more beautiful for the lives of their inhabitants and their visitors, all towns and municipalities, numerous fishermen, tourist workers, NGOs and institutions of these islands joined the Fisheries Local Action Group Škoji, abbreviated FLAG Škoji, to create a common vision of development, with the help of the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund and the approach known as "CLLD – Community Led Local Development", and by implementing the projects through local development strategies in fisheries make these ideas become a reality.

The publisher of this publication is Stari Grad Museum, a member of the FLAG Škoji. With the presentation of the rich fishery heritage and tradition of fish processing on the island of Hvar, we want to encourage new models of sustainable fisheries through the implementation of the Local Development Strategy in fisheries of FLAG Škoji 2014-2020, whose strategic goals and priority measures can be found at www.flag-skoji.hr.

FLAG Škoji is solely responsible for the content of this publication.

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OD BARAKE DO FABRIKE

—
o preradi ribe na
otoku Hvaru

FROM BARAKA TO FABRIKA

—
on fish processing
on the island of Hvar

Muzej Staroga Grada
Od *barake* do *fabrike* /
O preradi ribe na otoku Hvaru
14. kolovoza – 30. rujna 2018.

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On fish processing on the island of Hvar
14 August – 30 September, 2018

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Muzej Staroga Grada
Galerija Juraj Plančić

14. kolovoza – 30. rujna 2018.

Stari Grad Museum
Juraj Plančić Gallery

14 August – 30 September, 2018



| Za pranonota Sibeta iz Male Bande u Jelsi

| For great-grandfather Sibe from Mala
Banda in Jelsa

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Uvod

Introduction

Od najstarijih vremena ribarstvo je bilo temelj hvarskega života. Obilje male plave ribe, posebno srdeli, bili su uz grožđe in masline temelj hvarskega gospodarstva in društveno-kulturnega razvoja. Ekonomski, kulturno in simbolički, najvažnejše mesto nesumnjivo pripada srdeli (*Sardina pilchardus*) čija je drevna tradicija usoljavanja preživjela do današnjih dana. Riba se solila v barilima, ki so se skladištili v *barakama*, gospodarskimi objekti, ki so nekoč postojali v vseh hvarskih obalnih naseljih. Razvojem tehnologije in inozemnimi ulaganjema, Hvar v drugi polovici 19. stoletja svjedoči prvim *fabrikama*, industrijskim postrojenji za preradbo ribe. Tradicijo soljenja ribe Hvarani so od sredine 19. stoletja proširili po vsej Sredozemljem, sve do severnih obala Afrike in Novega sveta, kjer so ustvarili ribarsko-prerađivačke centre in razvijali trgovino. Pojavom masovnega turizma v 1960-ih letih je ribarstvo i prerada ribe postala glavni ekonomski in društveni dejavnosti. Ribarska politika Evropske unije in vse veča brigata

From the earliest times, fishing has been the cornerstone of life on the island of Hvar. The abundance of small pelagic fish, especially pilchard, has always been, along with grapes and olives, the backbone of the local economy and socio-cultural development. Economically, culturally and symbolically, the most important commodity is undoubtedly pilchard (*Sardina pilchardus*) and a long tradition of pilchard salting has survived to this day. The fish was salted in barrels and then stored in specialised buildings called *baraka*, which once existed in all coastal settlements on the island. Due to the development of technology and foreign investment, the island's first fabrika (sardine cannery) appeared in the second half of the 19th century. Fishermen from Hvar spread the tradition of fish salting throughout the Mediterranean, all the way to the northern coasts of Africa and the New World, establishing fishing and fish-processing centres and trade. With the emergence of mass tourism in the 1960's fishing and fish

za održivim korištenjem maritimnih resursa postavljaju nove izazove. Nakon stoljeća slavne prošlosti slane srdele, danas na otoku Hvaru ne postoji niti jedna plivarica za izlov srdela kao niti jedan riboprerađivački obrt.*

processing lost their economic and social importance. The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Union and the growing concern for sustainable use of maritime resources pose new challenges. After a glorious past of salted pilchard, today there is not a single purse seine or fish processing company on the island.*

Proizvodnja i prodaja slane ribe na Hvaru

Production and sales of salted fish on the island of Hvar

Obzirom da je riba kvarljiva namirnica, od najranijih se civilizacija pokušavala konzervirati ne bi li se sačuvala za kasniju konzumaciju, zamjenu dobara i trgovinu. Sušenje, soljenje i dimljenje ribe bili su jedini načini konzerviranja sve do pojave riboprerađivačke industrije u 19. stoljeću. Domaće je podmorje već od 16. stoljeća hvarske ribare usmjerilo prema ljetnom ribolovu male plave ribe: srdela, inčuna, skuša, lokardi i šnjura. Srdela je za Hvarane bila ekonomski najznačajnija jer se njome trgovalo na veliko, usoljenom u barilima. Lov, prerada i prodaja srdela činili su materijalnu osnovu hvarske zajednice, ali i obilježili hvarsku društvenu i kulturnu zbilju od početaka 16. stoljeća pa sve do druge polovice 20. stoljeća. Tradicijsko umijeće soljenja ribe prenosilo se generacijama te se nije značajnije promijenilo do današnjih dana, kada svjedočimo njezinom odumiranju. Politika pomorske privrede, od mletačke do austro-ugarske uprave, rijetko je išla na ruku hvarskom ribaru. Osim osnovne sirovine trebalo je osigurati sol i barile, te organizirati nemalen broj zanatlija i najamne radne snage.

Given that fish is a perishable food, people have been preserving it for later consumption, exchange and trade from the earliest civilisations. Drying, salting and smoking were the only methods of preservation until the fish processing industry appeared in the 19th century. Since the 16th century, the surrounding waters directed fishermen from the island of Hvar to the summer fishing of small pelagic species: pilchards, anchovies, mackerels, chub mackerels and saurels. Because of the wholesale trade, pilchard was the most important economic commodity. The fishing, processing and selling of pilchards was the material basis of Hvar island's communities, which significantly influenced the local culture from the beginning of the 16th century until the second half of the 20th century. The traditional craft of salting fish was passed through generations and has not changed to this day, when we witness its demise. Maritime economy policy, from the Venetian to the Austro-Hungarian administration, rarely benefited local

* Rezultati istraživanja provedenog povodom izložbe ukazuju da danas niti jedna hvarska plivarica ne lovi srdele kao i na činjenicu da riboprerađivački obrti nisu zadržali tradicijsku proizvodnju soljenja ribe na otoku Hvaru.

* The results of the research carried out on the occasion of the exhibition indicate that today none of Hvar's purse seine catches pilchards as well as the fact that none of fish processing companies maintained with traditional salting process production on the island of Hvar.



I Bačvarski alat iz ostavštine obitelji Scrivanelli u Jelsi, fotografirala V. Gamulin

Transport i plasman proizvoda također je ovisio o snalažljivosti pojedinaca. Multifunkcionalnost ove pomorske privrede nerijetko je od siromašnih ribara stvarala poduzetnike – prerađivače i trgovce. Budući da je sol podlijegala mletačkom državnom monopolu, i bila nedostatna za bogat ulov hvarske ribara, ova se ključna sirovina nabavljala s različitih strana, nerijetko pomorskim kriještenjem. Transport i plasman slane ribe također su često bili u svoj zoni zbog striktnе mletačke politike koja je zahtijevala da sva usoljena riba

I Cooper's tools belonging to the Scrivanelli family in Jelsa, photo by V. Gamulin

fishermen. In addition to fish, salt and barrels had to be provided, and a number of craftsmen and workers had to be organised. The transportation and distribution of the product also depended on the resourcefulness of individuals. The multifunctional nature of this maritime economy often made entrepreneurs, manufacturers and traders out of poor fishermen. As salt was under the Venetian state monopoly, and unavailable in sufficient amounts for the massive catches of Hvar island's fishermen, this key com-



I Ilustracija barila *tipo Lissa*, Ribarski kalendar, Direkcija za morsko ribarstvo u Zagrebu, 1947.

I Illustration of barrel *tipo Lissa* (*Lissa type*) from Fishing Calendar, Directorate for Marine Fisheries in Zagreb, 1947

bude popisana, ocarinjena i prijavljena u Veneciji. Međutim, snalažljivi su hvarske ribari pronalazili zaobilazne puteve, kako s nabavkom soli tako i s plasmanom proizvoda koji se nerijetko kriještalo do trgovačkih luka južne Italije.

Baraka je prostor za soljenje i skladištenje ribe. Prve hvarske *barake* nalazile su se u prizemljima bro-

modity was procured in various ways, and often through smuggling. The transport and distribution of salted fish were also mostly in the grey areas due to the strict policy of the Venetian Republic, requiring listing, taxation and registering of all salted fish in Venice. However, resourceful fishermen found alternative routes, for both the purchase of salt and the distribution of products that were often smuggled to the merchant ports of southern Italy.

Baraka is a space for salting and storing fish. The first ones on the island were located in the ground floors of numerous fishermen's houses in Jelsa, Vrboska, Hvar, Stari Grad and Sućuraj, as well as in numerous smaller bays where the transportation of barrels was possible. After the Second World War, co-operative *barake* were built on the island. The ideal *baraka* is a spacious, clean, bright, well-ventilated room with a slightly sloping floor and floor channels which served for the flow of the brine that drained from the barrels. The brine would flow along the channels to the stone basin where it was collected, separated from the fat and used again to replenish the barrels. The night before the arrival of the fish, the barrels were fitted with hoops and either pre-filled with clean seawater or soaked in the sea, so they wouldn't leak later. When the fish was catego-



| Družina Novakovih u Portugalu početkom 20. stoljeća, ustupila B. Gulič Novak

| Family Novak's crew in Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century, courtesy of B. Gulič Novak

jnih ribarskih kuća Jelse, Vrboske, Hvara, Starog Grada i Sućurja, kao i u brojnim manjim hvarskim uvalama koje su omogućavale transport barila. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata na Hvaru se grade zadružne *barake*. Idealna *baraka* bila je prostrana, svijetla, čista i dobro prozračena prostorija s lagano nagnutim podom i podnim kanalicama koju su služile za otjecanje salamure koja se cijedila iz barila za vrijeme soljenja. Salamura bi se kanalicama slijevala u kamenicu gdje se sakupljala, odvajala potom od masnoće te ponovo koristila za nadolijevanje u barile. Noć prije

rised, the barrels would be labelled [according to the type and size of the fish and the *darkness* (summer fishing season without a full moon) in which it was caught, as this was required by the market. Closed [*prizadnjeni*] barrels were stacked high, with the brine being regularly topped up through a small opening in the lid to avoid spoiling. The floors of the *baraka* were often oily, and the room had a characteristic smell of salted fish.

Before transport, the barrels would be well brushed, and the hoops attached with light nails. For domestic traders



| Juraj Scrivanelli pri radu u svojoj bačvariji u Jelsi, ustupio D. Scrivanelli

| Juraj Scrivanelli working in his cooperage in Jelsa, courtesy of D. Scrivanelli

dolaska ribe barilima su se nabijali obruči te ih se ili punilo morem ili su se potapali u more ne bi li postali nepropusni. Nakon kategorizacije ribe, barili bi dobivali posebne oznake [prema vrsti i veličini ribe te *mrakovi-ma* (ribolovnim ljetnim sezonom bez punog mjeseca) u kojima je ulovljena] kako je to zahtijevalo tržište. Zatvoreni [*prizadnjeni*] barili slagali su se jedan na drugoga, a budući da riba nije smjela ostati na suhom jer bi se pokvarila, trebalo je dolijevati salamuru kroz malen otvor na poklopцу [*gornjem dnu barila*]. Podovi *barake* bili su često masni od ulja, a u pros-

eight hoops were fitted, ten for foreign ones. To test the quality of the product, customers would send special salted fish tasters. These specialists would insert a thin wooden dagger (*šperun*) through the small opening in the lid to pierce the fish all the way down to the bottom of the barrel and then smell it. They were able to evaluate whether the fish was spoiled by contact with oil, due to either late salting or lack of brine.

The large catches of fish resulted in pilchard salting in barrels on a large scale, often at the point of unloading or in *baraka*. Most of the salting



| Kamene kanalice na podu nekadašnje barake u Vrboskoj [danas Ribarska zbirka], fotografirao V. Popović

toriji se osjećao karakterističan miris slane ribe.

Prije transporta barili bi se dobro iščekali, a obruči pričvrstili laganim čavlima. Za domaće trgovce stavljalо se osam obruča, a za strane deset. Za provjeru kvalitete kupci su stali posebne stručnjake za slanu ribu. Degustatori su kroz mali otvor na pokrovу barila tankim drvenim bođezom [šperunom] probili ribu sve do dna te ga potom omirisali. Njuhom su znali ocijeniti je li riba pokvarena jer je došla u doticaj s uljem, zbog prekasna soljenja ili pak zbog manjka salamure.

| Stone channels on the floor of ex-baraka in Vrboska [today Fishery collection], photo by V. Popović

workforce were women, who were paid by the barrel. *Baraker* or *barakera* were the persons responsible for controlling all the operations concerning salting, including the control of hired workers. The name *barakera* was sometimes used for women who salted fish.

The transport of barrels was demanding due to the unwieldy handling and perishable cargo. The barrels would be transported to the ship on hand barrows [*ćivire, civire*] or on carts [*karet*], and then loaded on deck with a special crane. During storms, the wooden hoops would fall off the bar-



| Soljenje ribe u Hvaru za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata, ustupio MHB

Veliki ulovi rezultirali su masovnim soljenjem srdela, često na mjestu iskrcaja ribe ili u *barakama*. Većina radne snage pri soljenju bile su žene, koje su bile plaćane po usoljenom barilu. *Baraker* ili *barakera* bile su osobe zadužene za kontrolu svih poslova oko soljenja ribe u *baraci*, uključujući kontrolu najamnih radnika. Naziv *barakera* ponekad se koristio i za žene koje su solile ribu.

Transport barila bio je zahtjevan zbog teška rukovanja i lako kvarljiva tereta. Barili bi se do broda prenosili nosiljkama [*ćivirima, civirima*] ili prevozili na kolima [*karetima*] te

| Fish salting in Hvar during WWII, courtesy of MHB

rels so the sailors had to nail them on and top up the brine so that the cargo would not spoil. In dramatic situations, in a life-threatening turmoil of the storm, the ship's cargo was the first to be thrown off the deck.

Until the 1960's, fish were salted exclusively in wooden barrels. Domestic wooden barrel production, recorded since the beginning of the 16th century, flourished in the mid-19th century when local cooperers were joined by their Istrian and Slovene colleagues. Wood for making staves [fir or spruce] and hoops [hazel, ash or ruscus]



| Soljenje ribe na terasi obitelji Novak Kronjac u Hvaru oko 1938., ustupio MHB

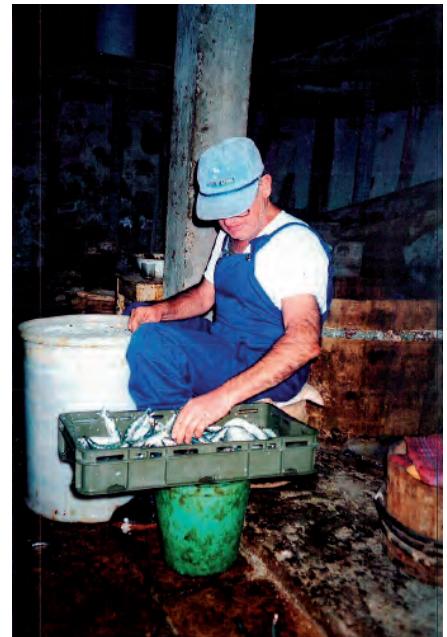
posebnim kranom spuštali na pod i na palubu broda. Za vrijeme nevera drveni su obruci ispadali s barila te su ih mornari morali čavlima pribijati i nadolijevati salamurom da se teret ne bi pokvario. U dramatičnim situacijama, kada se u neverama morao spašavati život, teret je prvi bacan s palube.

Do 1960-ih riba se na Hvaru solila isključivo u drvenim barilima. Domaća proizvodnja drvenih barila, zabilježena od početka 16. stoljeća, procvala je sredinom 19. stoljeća kada se hvarskim bačvarima pridružuju

| Fish salting on the Novak Kronjac family terrace in Hvar around 1938, courtesy of MHB

came mainly from the northern parts of Croatia. The cooper's production rate was ten barrels per day, although exceptional cases of twenty-one per day were recorded. The standard type of barrel produced on the island of Hvar was called *tipo Lissa* [after the island of Vis, from where the largest quantity of salted fish was exported] and when loaded with fish it weighed about 55 kg. The centre of the island's barrel production was Jelsa, where the following coopers were recorded: Niko and Ante Vidali Palermo, Luka Gamulin, Petar, Dinko and Juraj Scrivanelli, Ivan, Pavao and Ante Zanković, Stjepan Gamulin Bukarando, Vicko Ivanišević Nana, Niko Radičić, Ivo Dužević Maravan, Nikola Russo. U Starome Gradu radili su bačvari Ernest Fredotović, Petar i Antun Glasinović, Petar Kovačević Rudon. U Hvaru su djelovali bačvari Vitorije Vučetić, Ivo Bojanić, Ivan Novak Violando i Ante Filičević Marinac, a u Vrboskoj Lorencu Kovačić, Zane Franković i Perku Kovačić.

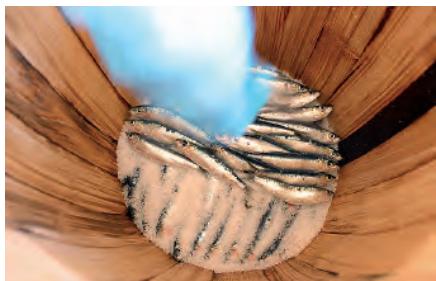
istarske i slovenske kolege. Drvo za izradu dužica (jelovina ili smreka) i obruča (lijeska, jasen ili vaprina) dolazilo je uglavnom iz sjevernih krajeva Hrvatske. Dnevna proizvodnja bačvara bila je desetak barila, iako je u iznimnim slučajevima mogla biti i dvostruka. Standardni tip barila, kakav se proizvodio na Hvaru, nazivao se *tipo Lissa* [po otoku Visu, odakle se izvozila najveća količina usoljene ribe] koji je napunjen ribom težio oko 55 kg. Otočni centar izrade barila bio je u Jelsi gdje su sačuvana imena najpoznatijih bačvara: Niko i Ante Vidali Palermo, Luka Gamulin, Petar, Dinko i Juraj Scrivanelli, Ivan, Pavao i Ante Zanković, Stjepan Gamulin Bukarando, Vicko Ivanišević Nana, Niko Radičić, Ivo Dužević Maravan, Nikola Russo. U Starome Gradu radili su bačvari Ernest Fredotović, Petar i Antun Glasinović, Petar Kovačević Rudon. U Hvaru su djelovali bačvari Vitorije Vučetić, Ivo Bojanić, Ivan Novak Violando i Ante Filičević Marinac, a u Vrboskoj Lorencu Kovačić, Zane Franković i Perku Kovačić.



| Soljenje ribe u baraki obitelji Beritić u Vrboskoj 1990-ih, ustupila obitelj Beritić iz Vrboske

| Fish salting in family's Beritić *baraka* in Vrboska in 1990's, courtesy of Beritić family in Vrboska

Bukarando, Vicko Ivanišević Nana, Niko Radičić, Ivo Dužević Maravan, Nikola Russo. Stari Grad had the following coopers: Ernest Fredotović, Petar and Antun Glasinović, and Petar Kovačević Rudon. In Hvar there were Vitorije Vučetić, Ivo Bojanić, Ivan Novak Violando and Ante Filičević Marinac; and in Vrboska Lorencu Kovačić, Zane Franković and Perko Kovačić.



I Rekonstrukcija tradicijskog soljenja srdele u drvenom barilu održana u kolovozu 2018. na gradskoj ribarnici u suradnji s Nilom Glasinović i lokalnim stanovništvom, fotografirala A. Palašti

I Reconstruction of the traditional pilchard salting in wooden barrel held in August 2018 in the Stari Grad fish market, in cooperation with Nila Glasinović and local community, photo by A. Palašti

Kako se solila srdela na otoku Hvaru?

How was pilchard salted on the island of Hvar?

Srdela se u pravilu soli svježa, nezgnječena i oprana u čistoj morskoj vodi, po mogućnosti prije podneva u novim drvenim barilima koji bi se prethodno ili napunili čistim morem ili pak potapali u more da kasnije ne bi propuštali. Obilan ulov srdele na Hvaru nije uvijek dopuštao pridržavanje svih higijenskih uvjeta pa se riba nerijetko solila u starim barilima, često direktno s poda. Na svako barilo dodavalo se oko 20 kg soli. *Mršava* majska srdela traži manje soli, dok ona *masnija*, iz kasnijih ribolovnih *mrakova* [ribolovne ljetne sezone bez punog mjeseca] traži više, najviše 22 kg po barilu. Na dno barila stavljalo se toliko soli da se nazire dno. Riba se slagala glavama okrenuta prema stranama barila polegnuta na bok, jedna do druge, s malo podignutim trbuhom. Sloj ribe posipao se solju tako da se naziru riblji trbusi. Drugi sloj ribe slagao se poprijeko i opet pokrivao solju sve do vrha barila s time da se svaki novi sloj čvrsto pritiskao drvenim poklopcem [*frakom, kontrafundom*].

As a rule, pilchards are salted fresh, un-crushed and washed in pure seawater, preferably before noon, in new wooden barrels that would either be pre-filled with clean seawater or soaked in the sea to make them watertight. Significant catches of pilchards on Hvar did not always allow compliance with these hygienic conditions, and fish was often salted in used barrels, sometimes taken directly from the floor. Approximately 20 kg of salt was added to each barrel. *Slim* May pilchard needs less salt, while the *fatty* one, from later *darkness* (summer fishing seasons without a full moon) requires up to 22 kg per barrel. The bottom of the barrel was covered with a thin layer of salt (the bottom had to be visible). The fish were laid on their sides, with their heads to the walls of the barrel, with a slightly raised belly, one next to the other. Each layer of fish was sprinkled with salt so that the fishes' bellies were visible. The second layer was stacked across and covered with salt again, all the way to the top of the barrel. Each new layer was firmly pressed with

Usoljeni baril sa srdelama pokriva se poklopcom na koji se stavljao uteg [piz] težine od 20-30 kg. Prvotni uteg kasnije bi se zamijenio lakšim, a upravo o tome zavisila je tvrdoća ribe. *Majska* srdela stajala bi pritisku snuta 30-35 dana prije nego li se baril zatvorio, a ona iz kasnjih *mra-kova* do 60 dana. Soljenje srdela je oduvijek bilo zahtjevnije od soljenja ostale ribe zbog obilja ulja koje se sakupljalo na stjenkama barila [*rongeca*] i u salamuri, a koje nije smjelo doći u doticaj s ribom. Kada se srdela pod pritiskom utega slegnula, baril bi se nadopunjavao [*repara-vao*] novom ribom, po mogućnosti iz istoga *mra-ka*. Barili su se čuvali u strogo kontroliranim uvjetima *barake* te održavali redovitim čišćenjem ribljeg ulja i dolijevanjem salamure. Za dolijevanje se koristila salamura koja je izlazila iz barila i sakupljala se u isprva kamenim, kasnije betonskim posudama ili se radila nova, u omjeru 100 litara vode na otprilike 33 kg soli. [Krupnjič ili jaje uronjeno u salamuru mora izroniti!] Nakon što se riba stvrdnula, barilo bi se zatvaralo drvenim poklopcem s malenim otvorom za nadolijevanje čiste salamure koji se zatvarao plutenim čepom. Pri vrhu ovako zatvorenog barila konačno bi se postavili drveni obruči.

wooden lid [*frak, kontrafundu*]. The salted barrel with pilchards was covered with a lid and a 20-30 kg weight [*piz*] on top of it. The initial weight would later be replaced by lighter one because the hardness of the fish depended on the amount of pressure exerted on them. The May pilchard would be pressed for 30-35 days before the barrel was closed, and the pilchard from the later darkness would be pressed up to 60 days. Pilchard salting has always been more demanding than the salting of other fish because of its abundant oil which would gather on the walls of the barrels [*rongeca*] and in the brine. Oil had to be removed as it wasn't supposed to come into contact with the fish. When the pilchard had settled under the pressure of the weight, the barrel would be supplemented [*repavljene*] with new fish, preferably from the same darkness. Barrels were kept under strictly controlled conditions and maintained by regular cleaning of the fish oil and pouring of the brine. The brine was collected under the barrels in stone, and later concrete vessels or a new one was made, in a ratio of 100 litres of water to about 33 kg of salt. [A potato or an egg immersed in brine must float!] When the fish had hardened, the barrel would be closed with a wooden lid that had a small opening for pouring off pure brine, closed with a cork. At the top of such a closed barrel, wooden hoops would finally be fitted.



| Brik-škuner *Acropoli* obitelji Novak,
ustupila B. Gulič Novak

| Novak family's 117 t schooner-brig *Acropoli*,
courtesy of B. Gulič Novak

Ribolovni *eldorado* Hvarana u vodama Lampeduze, Tunisa, Portugala i Španjolske

The Hvarians's fishing *Eldorado* in the waters of Lampedusa, Tunisia, Portugal and Spain

Višegodišnji slab ulovi srdele na istočnoj obali Jadrana sredinom 19. stoljeća potaknuo je hvarske brodarsko-ribarske družine da zaplove prema obalama otoka Lampeduze i sjeverne Afrike. Začetnik ovog maritimnog poduhvata, čija se već i prva ekspedicija pokazala unosnom, bio je Hvaranin Tomaso Novak Bonaparte. Za njim je uskoro krenulo i tridesetak hvarskeh družina sa svojim trgovačkim jedrenjacima. Kapetan Juraj Maroević iz Staroga Grada 1864. godine na svojem je peligu *Giuseppe II* među prvima na Lampeduzi započeo s ribolovom i preradom *alacca* (*Sardinella aurita*), vrstom krupne srdele kojom je akvatorij Lampeduze obilovao. Također je započeo i značajan posao s morskim spužvama koje je prodavao na veliko. Poduzetni su Hvarani, udruženi s lokalnim talijanskim ribarima, u ljetnim sezonomama kroz sljedećih pola stoljeća razvili nužnu infrastrukturu poslovanja: gradili su vlastite barake za skladištenje barila, vodili solane, transportirali teret te pronalazili tržišta po čitavom Sredozemlju. Na put bi kretali iz hvarskeh luka u travnju,

The multiannual low catches of pilchards in the Eastern Adriatic in the middle of the 19th century prompted shipping and fishing crews from the island of Hvar to sail to the coasts of Lampedusa and North Africa. The originator of this maritime enterprise, whose first expedition had proved lucrative, was Tomaso Novak Bonaparte from Hvar. Some thirty crews from the island soon followed with their merchant sailing ships. Captain Juraj Maroević from Stari Grad in 1864 on his *pelig Giuseppe II*, was among the first in Lampedusa to start fishing and processing *alacca* (*sardinella aurita*), a kind of large pilchard that abounded in Lampedusa waters. He also developed a significant business with marine sponges that he wholesaled. Entrepreneurial Hvarians, together with local Italian fishermen, developed the necessary business infrastructure for the next half-century in summer seasons: they built their own *baraka* for barrel storage, ran salt pans, transported cargo and found markets for salted fish throughout the Mediterranean. They would set sail from Hvar island's ports in April and sail back



| Grob Caterine Bonine Teresine u Lampeduzi 1928., ustupio ASL

| Caterina Bonina Teresina's grave in Lampedusa in 1928, courtesy of ASL

a vraćali se u ranu jesen nakrcani barilima. Barile su rastavljenih dužica ukrcavali na Hvaru, a svoju su flotu, pretežno škune, pelige, brigantine i brik-škunere popravljali u hvars-kim škverovima. Pelig *Sklad* braće Gamulin iz Jelse, korišten u ovim maritimnim pothvatima, sagrađen je u cijelosti 1878. godine u škveru u Vrboskoj.

Sezonski ulov ribe iznosio je od 10 000 do 15 000 barila. Trgovina slanom ri-bom odvijala se pretežno u talijanskim lukama gdje su dobri cijenu postizale

in the early autumn laden with barrels. The barrels were unloaded here on the island, with their staves disassembled, and their fleet, mostly schooners, *peligs*, brigantines and schooner-brigs, was repaired in the island's shipyards. *Sklad*, the *pelig* belonging to Gamulin brothers from Jelsa used in these maritime expeditions was built entirely in the Vrboska shipyard in 1878.

The seasonal catch of fish ranged from 10 000 to 15 000 barrels. The salted fish trade mostly took place in Italian ports, where only selected salted pilchard



| Lijevo su *alacce* (*Sardinella aurita*) koje su Hvarani lovili oko Lampeduze, desno su srdele (*Sardina pilchardus*), fotografirala A. Palašti

| Left is *alacce* (*Sardinella aurita*) caught by fishermen from the island of Hvar around Lampedusa, right is pilchard (*Sardina pilchardus*), photo by A. Palašti

samo birane slane srdele te u Grčkoj, ali i u dunavskim lukama Brăile i Galatijsa, gdje su se tražili nešto jeftiniji usoljeni *alacci*.

Sve jača konkurenacija bolje opremljenih talijanskih ribarskih družina, hvarske je poduzetnike usmjeravaла dalje prema novim, izdašnjim vodama Alžira i Tunisa gdje se riba lovila kroz srpanj i kolovož. Osim obitelji Novak i Maroević, u afričkom moru ribarili su Plančići, Gamulini, Bašići, Garbatiji, Ivaniševići, Jerkovići te obitelj Stalio. Glavne logističke

was sold, and in Greece, but also in the Danube ports of Brăila and Galați, where cheaper salted *alacci* were sought.

The ever increasing competition of better-equipped Italian fishing companies directed entrepreneurs from the island further towards the new, more generous waters of Algeria and Tunisia, where fish were caught throughout July and August. As well as the Novak and Maroević families, the Plančić, Gamulin, Bašić, Garbati, Ivanišević, Jerković and Stalio families



| Obitelj Novak u Portugalu početkom 20.
Stoljeća, ustupila B. Gulič Novak

baze Hvarana bile su tuniške luke Mahdia i Sfax gdje su podizali barake, solane i uredske zgrade. Razgranata prerađivačka industrija urodila je trajnom selidbom nekih Hvarana i zasnivanjem obitelji koje su nerijetko bile začete između obitelji poslovnih suradnika. Neki od njih u novim su domovinama velik ugled stekli svojim poslovnim dostignućima, a neki vrijednim arheološkim otkrićima, poput Dominika Menega Novaka, upravitelja solane u Sfaxu i istraživača feničko-kartaških grobnica. Krajem 19. stoljeća konkurenčija talijanskih ribara i trgovaca kao i sve veći broj efikasnijih i bržih parobroda istisnula

| Novak family in Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century, courtesy of B. Gulič Novak

were fishing in the African waters. Their main logistics bases were the Tunisian harbours of Mahdia and Sfax, where they built their *baraka*, organised the necessary salt pans and office buildings. This diversified processing industry resulted in the permanent displacement of some Hvarians and the creation of new families that often originated between business associates. Some of them earned a great reputation in the new countries with their business achievements, and some with valuable archaeological discoveries, such as Dominiko Menego Novak, who studied the Phoenician and Punic tombs while



| Parobrod *Algarve* obitelji Novak nosivosti 647 t, ustupila B. Gulič Novak

| Novak family's 647 t steamship *Algarve*, courtesy of B. Gulič Novak



| Ribarske lade na Lampeduzi, ustupio ASL

| Fishermen's boats in Lampedusa, courtesy of ASL

je jedrenjake većine Hvarana iz ovih područja.

Nećak Frane Maroevića, Dinko [Dominik] Lušić iz Staroga Grada, nastavio je obiteljski posao na Lampeduzi do svoje smrti 1942. go-

managing the salt pan in Sfax. At the end of the 19th century, the competition of Italian fishermen and traders, as well as the increasing presence of more efficient and quicker steamships, displaced most Hvarians and their sail ships from these areas.



| Ribarska družina i kuća Lušićevih u Lampeduzi, ustupio ASL

| Fishermen crew and Lušić family household in Lampedusa, courtesy of ASL

dine. Nakon tragične smrti sedamnaestogodišnje kćerke Caterine Bonine Teresine 1928. godine, svečano pokopane na Lampeduzi, a potom i supruge Vincenzine Marino, oženio se Starograđankom Ivkom Berković. Palača Lušić [Lussich] na Lampeduzi još uvijek stoji i u njoj stanuju potomci obitelji Marino i Martorana.

Najimpozantniji posao s usoljenom ribom, kasnije i konzervama sardina, razvio je poduzetni Vincenzo [Vice, Vicko] Novak Bonaparte, mlađi brat Tomasa, koji zajedno sa sino-

Frano Maroević's nephew, Dinko [Dominik] Lušić from Stari Grad, continued his family's business in Lampedusa until his death in 1942. After the tragic death of his seventeen-year-old daughter Catherine Bonina Teresina in 1928, solemnly buried in Lampedusa, and later his wife Vincenzina Marino, he married Ivka Berković from Stari Grad. The Lušić [Lussich] Palace still exists in Lampedusa, owned by the Marino and Martorana families.

The most impressive salted fish trade, and later canned sardine trade was developed by Vincenzo [Vice, Vicko]



| Tvornica sardina obitelji Novak u Vila Real de Santo Antonio u Portugalu nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, ustupila B. Gulič Novak

| Novak family's fish cannery in Vila Real de Santo Antonio in Portugal after WWI, courtesy of B. Gulič Novak

vima krajem 19. stoljeća proširuje franšize poduzeća VN [Vice Novak] u Portugalu i Španjolskoj. Novakovi su započeli proizvodnju slane ribe u Lagosu te se ubrzo proširili u Olhão, Sines, Portimão, Vila Real de Santo António i Setúbal, te u španjolski gradić Ayamonte. Prvi hvarska parobrod korišten u poslu s usoljenom ribom pripadao je upravo Vici Novaku i nosio naziv najjužnije portugalske pokrajine Algarve. Nakon Vickove smrti, parobrod mijenja ime u *Buon Padre*, ali se portugalsko poslovanje i dalje odvija u čvrstoj vezi s hvarskom bazom. Osim tradicijskog

Novak Bonaparte, Tomaso's younger brother, who together with his sons at the end of the 19th century expanded the VN [Vice Novak] franchise in Portugal and Spain. The Novaks started a fish salting enterprise in Lagos, and soon spread to Olhão, Sines, Portimão, Vila Real de Santo António and Setúbal, and to the Spanish town of Ayamonte. The first steamer from the island of Hvar used in these operations belonged to Vice Novak and it was named *Algarve*, after Portugal's southernmost region [it was renamed *Buon Padre* following Vice Novak's death]. The Novaks'



| Usoljena riba u barilima na Lampeduzi,
ustupio ASL

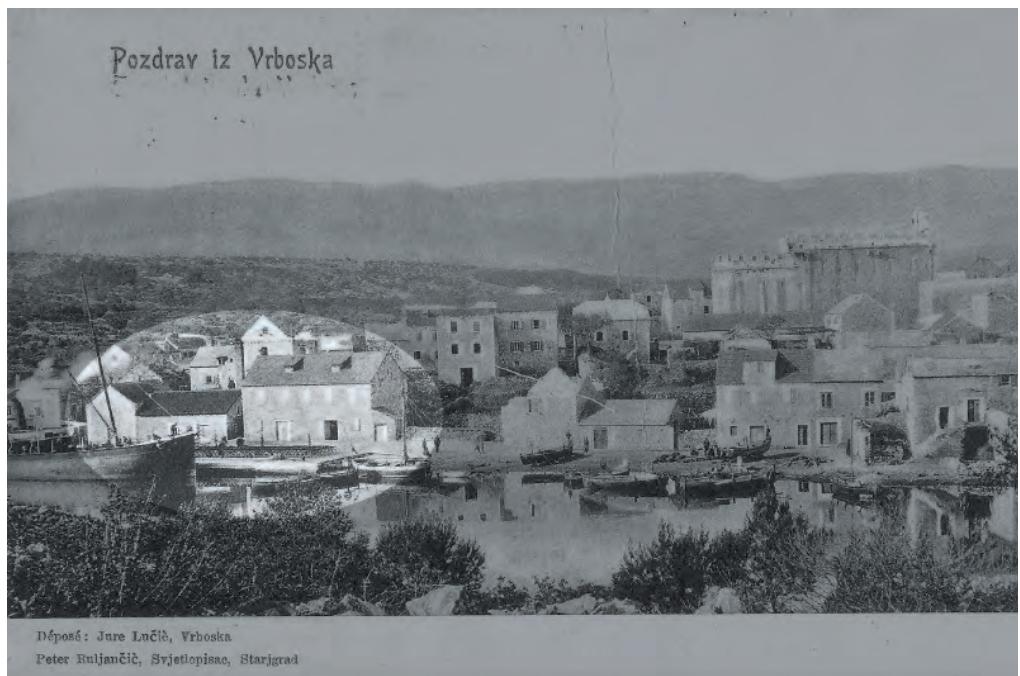
| Salted fish in wooden barrels in
Lampedusa, courtesy of ASL

soljenja ribe u barilima Novakovi su osnovali nekoliko tvornica za konzerviranje ribe, od kojih su neke djelovale sve do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata. Razvivši industriju prerade ribe izvan domovine hvarske su poduzetnici višestruko doprinijeli razvoju tamošnjih lokalnih zajednica. Prenosili su pritom hvarske tradicije, usvajali tude i tako pridoniojeli kulturnoj i društvenoj isprepletenosti Mediterana. Također, brojni hvarska iseljenici svojim su znanjem i vještinama doprinijeli intenzivnjem razvoju ribarstva i prerade ribe

Portuguese enterprise always took place in the business community based in Hvar. In addition to the traditional fish salting in barrels, the Novaks established several canneries, some of which operated until the end of the Second World War. By developing the fish processing industry in far-off countries, entrepreneurs from the island of Hvar have contributed to the development of local communities. They expanded the island's traditions, appropriated others' and thus promoted the cultural and social interconnectedness of the Mediterranean.

u Amerikama, Kanadi, Australiji i Novom Zelandu.

Also, their knowledge and traditional skills contributed to the more intensive development of fisheries and fish processing in the Americas, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.



| Stolovi za sušenje ribe ispred prve vrboške tvornice sardina, ustupio N. Gamulin

| Tables for drying fish in front of Vrboska sardine factory, courtesy of N. Gamulin

Hvarske Fabrike

Sardine canneries on the island of Hvar

Povijest industrijske prerade ribe kakvu danas poznajemo započinje u francuskom gradu Nantesu gdje je 1820. osnovana prva tvornica sardina. Odajući počast gradu u kojem je nastao, način prerade sardina u ulju naziva se *al uso Nantes* [na nantski način]. Uspjeh konzerviranih sardina bio je strelovit. Već je 1850. godine u Francuskoj proizvedeno tri milijuna, a 1900. godine više od četrdeset milijuna konzervi, od kojih je većina bila namijenjena izvozu po Europi, Americi i Rusiji. Osnova tehnologije *al uso Nantes* sastojala se od nekoliko faza: pranja i čišćenja ribe rezanjem glava i iznutrica, višesatnog namakanja u otopini vode i soli [salamuri], sušenja na rešetkama [gradelama], prženja ribe u ulju i cijeđenja, zatim slaganja ribe u konzerve i nadoljevanja uljem te konačno sterilizacijom vodenom parom ili toplinom. U ovom je nemehaniziranom procesu svaka konzerva ribe u proizvodnom lancu prolazila kroz sedamnaest ruku, što je u konačnici bilo skupo. Unosna industrija ribljih prerađevina koja je započivala mnogo ženske radne snage u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća pojavljuje na

The history of the industrial fish processing we know today begins in the French city of Nantes, where the first sardine factory was founded in 1820. Honouring the town where it originated, the system of canning sardines in oil is called *al uso Nantes* [the Nantes way]. The success of canned sardines was immediate and already in 1850, three million cans were produced in France, and more than forty million in 1900, most of which were intended for export to Europe, America and Russia. The basis *al uso Nantes* technology consisted of a number of phases: the washing and cleaning of the fish by removing the head and intestines, soaking in the solution of water and salt [brine], drying on grates [*gradelae*], frying in oil and draining, stacking the fish in cans with oil and finally sterilising the cans, either with steam or heat. In this non-mechanised process, every fish can in the chain went through seventeen pairs of hands, which was ultimately costly. The lucrative industry of fish products, which employed a large number of female workers, appeared in the eastern Adriatic in the second half

obalama istočnog Jadrana. Jadranska srdela, glavna sirovina riboprerađivačke industrije, potaknula je osnivanje šezdesetak tvornica sardina od kojih je polovica bila smještena na otocima. Osnivanje tvornica sardina poklapa se s razdobljem stagnacije talijanskog i grčkog tržišta, glavnih uvoznika jadranske slane ribe. Od početaka riboprerađivačke industrije na istočnom Jadranu, najznačajnija središta proizvodnje bila su tvornica sardina u Izoli [Slovenija], te Komiža na otoku Visu s ukupno sedam tvornica sardina.

Prva tvornica sardina u Dalmaciji

Godine 1861. bečki industrijalac češkog podrijetla Carl Warhanek [Karel Varhánek] u Jelsi i Rijeci osniva prve tvornice sardina *al uso Nantes*. Jelšanska je *fabrika*, čini se, zadovoljila sve tehnološke kriterije i proizvodila 60 000 konzervi godišnje, no iz nepoznatih je razloga finansijski propala već 1863. Warhanekov eksperiment u Jelsi nije uspio, ali mu je omogućio daljnje širenje proizvodnje u Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji. Samo na istočnoj obali Jadrana Warhanek je osnovao dvanaest tvornica sardina, od kojih sedam u Dalmaciji. Još za života odlikovan je carskim viteškim ordenom za zasluga u razvoju nove industrije. U Komiži gdje je Warhanek podigao tvornicu te nakon smrti ostavio 2000 kruna tamošnjoj javnoj *dobrotvornici* 1900. go-

of the 19th century. Adriatic pilchard, the fish processing industry's main commodity, prompted the establishment of around sixty sardine factories, half of which were located on the islands. This happened at a crucial moment of stagnation of Italian and Greek markets, the main importers of Adriatic salted fish. From the beginning of the fish processing industry in the eastern Adriatic, the main centres of production were the sardine canneries in Izola [Slovenia], and Komiža on the island of Vis with a total of seven canneries.

The first sardine cannery in Dalmatia

A Viennese industrialist of Czech origin Carl Warhanek [Karel Varhánek] founded the first sardine canneries *al uso Nantes* in Jelsa and Rijeka, in 1861. The Jelsa cannery seems to have met all the technological criteria and produced 60 000 cans per year, but for unknown reasons it collapsed financially in 1863. Warhanek's failed experiment in Jelsa enabled him further expansion of production in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Warhanek founded twelve sardine canneries, seven of which were in Dalmatia, on the eastern Adriatic coast alone. For his contribution to the development of a new industry, he was awarded the Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Joseph. After his death, a memorial service was held in Komiža, where he had founded



| Portret Carla Warhaneka iz 1900., začetnika riboprerađivačke industrije na istočnom Jadranu, preuzeto sa virtualne izložbe www.gastarbajteri.at

| Portrait of Carl Warhanek in 1900, founder of fish processing industry on the Eastern Adriatic, retrieved from virtual exhibition www.gastarbajteri.at

dine održana je svečana misa zadušnica. Tvrta pod imenom C.Warhanek posluje sve do današnjih dana.

Francuske delicatese iz Vrboske

Prije 120 godina, 1898., tršćanska filijala Anglo-Austrijske banke osniva tvornicu u Vrboskoj. Bio je to



| Reklama ribljih proizvoda poduzeća Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires s početka 20. Stoljeća, preuzeto sa www.dorotheum.com

| A billboard advertising fish products of *Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires* company from the beginning of the 20th century, retrieved from www.dorotheum.com

a factory and donated 2000 krones to the local charity. A company named C.Warhanek still operates today.

French delicacies from Vrboska

120 years ago, in 1898, the Trieste branch of the Anglo-Austrian Bank founded a factory in Vrboska, its ninth



| Detalj memorandumskog lista s prikazom tvornica poduzeća *Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires* iz 1903., ustupio MHB

njezin deveti pogon za preradu ribe na istočnog obali Jadrana. Ostale tvornice Anglo-Austrijske banke bile su u Gradu [Italija], Izoli [Slovenija], Rovinju, Cresu, Rogoznici, Komiži, Šipanskoj luci i Mulu [Crna Gora]. Budući da je tržčanska banka većinu tvornica otkupila od poznatog francuskog proizvođača konzervi *Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires*, zadržavaju ime tada čuvenog prehrambenog brenda uz novi dodatak, *Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires*. Fabrike Anglo-Austrijske

| Detail of memorandum letter of the Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires company with drawings of their sardine canneries in 1903, courtesy of MHB

fish processing factory on the eastern Adriatic coast. Other Anglo-Austrian Bank's factories were located in Grado [Italy], Izola [Slovenia], Rovinj, Cres, Rogoznica, Komiža, Šipanska luka [Croatia] and Muo [Montenegro]. Since the bank bought the majority of factories from the well-known French canned food manufacturer *Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires*, they retained the name of the then famous brand with the new addition, the *Usines de l'Ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires*. The Anglo-



| Vrboška tvornica Itak iz 1920-ih, ustupio N. Gamulin

banke doslovno su radile punom parom, što im je uz izvrstan program marketinških stručnjaka donijelo titulu dobavljača carske vojske te brojne druge nagrade na svjetskim sajmovima. Vrboška fabrika nalazila se na današnjoj Novoj Rivi i radila na parni pogon te u sezoni zapošljavala podjednako mušku i žensku radnu snagu. Radnici su plaćani po tjednom broju proizvedenih konzervi, a za svaku izgubljenu kutiju oduzimalo bi im se dio plaće. Limenke su se na spojivima zatvarale lemljenjem slitinama na bazi olova i kositra, a gotove su se

| Sardine cannery Itak in Vrboska in 1920s, courtesy of N. Gamulin

Austrian Bank's factories operated literally with full steam, which, combined with an excellent programme of marketing experts, gave them the title of suppliers of the imperial army and numerous other awards at world fairs. Located on today's New Seafront, the Vrboska factory was steam powered and in the season it employed both male and female workers alike. Workers were paid by the number of cans manufactured in a week, and each lost box would be deducted from their wages. The cans were sealed by soldering with lead and tin alloys and sterilised by



| Pogled na tvornicu Skuša u Hvaru 1950-ih

| View on sardine cannery Skuša in Hvar in 1950s

limenke sterilizirale vodenom parom ili toplinom. Proces lemljenja, koji je smatran muškim poslom, rezultirao je većim broj muške radne snage. Nabavkom automatskog zatvarača konzervi radnice su gotovo posve preuzele sve manualne poslove prerade ribe. Uspješno poslovanje tvornice i sve veći ulov plave ribe urodili su gradnjom novog, modernog tvorničkog postrojenja koje je prestalo raditi početkom Prvog svjetskog rata. Godine 1922. tvornicu kupuje Itak Jugoslavenska tvornica alimentarnih konzervi d.d. [glavni dioničar Itaka bio je Viktor Morpurgo iz Splita] zajedno sa

steam or heat. The soldering process, considered a male job, resulted in a greater number of male workers. With the appearance of soldering machines, female workers almost completely took over all manual fish processing jobs. The successful operation of the factory and the growing catches of pelagic fish resulted in the construction of a new modern cannery, abandoned at the beginning of the First World War. In 1922, the factory was bought by *Itak Jugoslavenska tvornica alimentarnih konzervi d.d.* [the main shareholder of Itak was Viktor Morpurgo from Split] together with four other factories



| Radnice iz tvornice Skuša u Hvaru 1950-ih, ustupio MHB

| Female workers from sardine cannery Skuša in Hvar in 1950s, courtesy of MHB

četiri druga pogona u nekadašnjem vlasništvu Anglo-Austrijske banke. Itakovi proizvodi mogli su se vidjeti na čuvenoj Jadranskoj izložbi u Splitu 1925. godine. Loša gospodarska politika visokih carina i nesubvencioniranja prerade ribe onemogućili su Itaku konkurentnost na europskim tržištu, već zasićenom jeftinijim španjolskim i portugalskim ribljim proizvodima. Jedna od poslovnih afera vezana uz Itak iz 1930-ih godina odnosi se na optužbe o nelojalnoj konkurenciji komičkog tvorničara Mardešića, koji je optužio vodstvo Itaka da djeluje u talijanskom vlasništvu i da tako koristi

formerly owned by the Anglo-Austrian Bank. Itak's products could be seen at the famous Adriatic Exhibition in Split in 1925. Poor economic policy towards fish factories which were non-subsidised and subject to high-tariffs didn't allow Itak's competitiveness in the European market, which was already glutted with cheaper Spanish and Portuguese fish products. One of the business scandals related to Itak occurred in the 1930's when Mardešić, a manufacturer from Komiža accused Itak's leadership of unfair competition practices, by operating in Italian ownership and using all the benefits of

sve pogodnosti talijanskih subvencija, što je domaćim fabrikantima bilo nemoguće. Godine 1934. Itak d.d. prodan je tvrtci Neptun d.d. zajedno s fabrikkama u Salima, Komiži i Rogoznici te nastavlja poslovati do početka Drugog svjetskog rata. Tvrnica Neptun d.d. u Vrboskoj godišnje je proizvodila oko 5000 sanduka konzervi i 3000 barila prerađenih srdela i skuša koje su većinom bile namijenjene izvozu. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, vrboška je fabrika nacionalizirana kao Kotarsko privredno poduzeće Sardina, a kasnije djeluje kao Privredno poduzeće Vrboska koje 1950-ih zapošljava oko 140 ljudi, proširuje assortiman proizvoda, ali i osniva vlastitu ribarsku flotu, odvojeni pogon za proizvodnju tzv. gradela, metalnih rešetki za sušenje i prženje ribe te vodi odvojeni objekt solionice u Sućurju. Tvrnica je prestala s radom 1968. godine.

Tvrnica sardina u Sućurju

Intenzivna djelatnost soljenja ribe u Sućurju zabilježena je u *baraci Mate Slavića*, a slana srdela prodavala se od Pelješca do Makarskog primorja, na području Neretve i Zabiokovljia. Zbog manjka muške radne snage, žene iz Sućurja i okolnih mjeseta ribarile su zajedno s muškarcima već krajem 19. stoljeća [Lov srdela naopako. Šest mreža je armano, a

Italian subsidies, which was impossible for domestic manufacturers. When *Neptun d.d.* bought *Itak d.d.* in 1934 together with factories in Salima, Komiža and Rogoznica, it continued to operate until the beginning of the Second World War. In Vrboska, *Neptun d.d.* had an annual production of about 5000 crates of cans and 3000 barrels of salted pilchards and mackerel, most of them exported to foreign markets. After the Second World War, the Vrboska factory was nationalised as *Kotarsko privredno poduzeće Sardina*, and later operated as *Privredno poduzeće Vrboska*, which employed about 140 workers in the 1950's. The company extended its range of products, created its own fishing fleet, a separate production facility for *gradele* [metal grills for drying and frying the fish] and operated a saltery in Sućuraj. The factory was liquidated in 1968.

Sardine cannery in Sućuraj

Intensive fish salting activity in Sućuraj is recorded in Mate Slavić's *baraka*. Salted pilchard was sold in the nearby region, from Pelješac to the Makarska littoral, Neretva and the Biokovo hinterland. Due to the absence of male workers, women from Sućuraj and surrounding villages have been fishing with men since the late 19th century [a report to the People's Paper in Zadar in 1897 reads: *Pilchard*



| Pogon za soljenje ribe Epulum d.o.o. u Rudini osnovan 2004., ustupio MHB

| Fish processing company Epulum d.o.o. in Rudina founded in 2004., ustupio MHB

čovjek nema što da jede! U nestašici mužkaraca i ženske počele su hoditi na srdele. Bože pomozi!, pišu iz Sućurja *Narodnom listu* u Zadru 1897.), and ova netipična otočna tradicija nastavljena je i kasnije. Za vrijeme ljetnog ribolova na srdele žene ribarice su pomagale ribarima, povlačile mreže [trate], a jedna je i zabilježena u ulozi svićara. Djelatnost sućuraške ribarske zadruge i velik broj mreža između dva rata potaknuli su ideju o osnivanju tvornice sardina. Prvu sućurašku tvornicu podiže splitska tvrtka Casolini & Bižaca 1940. godine, koja je već u godinama gradnje kritizirana zbog eksplotacije lokalne radne snage, mizernih nadnica i loših uvjeta rada. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata tijekom kojeg je bila oštećena, tvornica prvo djeluje kao solionica ribe kojom je upravljala kotarska centrala iz Vrboske te ponovo

fish gone wrong. Six fishing nets are prepared, and one has nothing to eat! In the shortage of men, women began fishing. God help us!, and this atypical island tradition continued even later. During the summer pilchard fishing season, these fisherwomen would help the fishermen, pulling trawl nets, and one woman was recorded as being a svićar [a very important person who chooses the location where the fishing nets will be deployed]. The fishing cooperative's activity and a large number of fishing nets in the interwar period prompted the idea of founding a sardine cannery. The first one in Sućuraj was built by the *Casolini & Bižaca Company* from Split in 1940, which was criticised for the exploitation of local labour force, measly wages and poor working conditions. After the Second World War during which it was damaged, the factory first operated as a fish saltery controlled by the

Settimana dal 21 Giugno al 1 Luglio 1910	Settimana dal 16 Luglio al 22 Luglio 1910
Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 100 C. - c. 20	Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 1665 C. 11 c. 10
* * vuote * 20 * 24	* * vuote * 20 * 24
Importo lordo totale C. 95	Importo lordo totale C. 1110
Diffalchi.	Diffalchi.
Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 6	Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 1110 111
Perdite scat. a c. 2	Perdite scat. 20 26.5 1.60
per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia	per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia
per anticipozione	per anticipozione
* multe	* multe
Importo pagato C. 95	Importo pagato C. 839
Trattene di garanzia riportate	Trattene di garanzia riportate
> > della settimana	> 54
> > da riportarsi	> 111
Settimana dal 1 luglio al 15 luglio 1910	Settimana dal 10 luglio al 18 agosto 1910
Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 750 C. c. 46	Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 1242 C. 8 c. 30
* * vuote *	* * vuote *
Importo lordo totale C. 246	Importo lordo totale C. 830
Diffalchi.	Diffalchi.
Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 146 C. 14.6	Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 830 8.3
Perdite scat. a c. 2	Perdite scat. 20 26.8 1.60
per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia	per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia
per anticipozione	per anticipozione
* multe	* multe
Importo pagato C. 54	Importo pagato C. 242
Trattene di garanzia riportate	Trattene di garanzia riportate
> > della settimana	> 58.2
> > da riportarsi	> 105
Settimana dal 15 luglio al 22 luglio 1910	Settimana dal 18 agosto al 2 settembre 1910
Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 750 C. c. 46	Numero delle scat. piene fabr. 1242 C. 8 c. 30
* * vuote *	* * vuote *
Importo lordo totale C. 246	Importo lordo totale C. 830
Diffalchi.	Diffalchi.
Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 146 C. 14.6	Trattene di garanzia 10% su C. 830 8.3
Perdite scat. a c. 2	Perdite scat. 20 26.8 1.60
per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia	per la Cassa ammaliati pro -> famiglia
per anticipozione	per anticipozione
* multe	* multe
Importo pagato C. 54	Importo pagato C. 242
Trattene di garanzia riportate	Trattene di garanzia riportate
> > della settimana	> 58.2
> > da riportarsi	> 105

| Radna knjižica vrboške tvornice *Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires* iz 1910., ustupio MHB

započinje s konzerviranjem tek 1953. godine pod imenom Sloboda. Kao projektant Slobode iz 1950-ih spominje se splitski arhitekt Ivan Carić. Skromne poslijeratne investicije uključivale su nabavu dotrajalih strojeva iz drugih tvornica. Godine 1970. tvornica prestaje s radom, a 1980-ih obnavlja se s idejom ponovnog pokretanja proizvodnje, od koje se realizirala samo solionica plave ribe u suradnji s Komunalnim poduzećem Sućuraj, Općinom Hvar i Jadran ribo-

| Employment record book from Vrboska's factory *Usines de l'ancienne Société Générale Française de conserves alimentaires* from 1910, courtesy of MHB

Vrboska district centre, and resumed with canning in 1953 under the name *Sloboda*. Ivan Carić from Split was the architect of *Sloboda* from the 1950's. Modest post-war investments included the procurement of worn out machinery from other factories. In the 1970's the factory ceased to operate, and in the 1980's it reopened with the idea of restarting the production. However, only the pelagic fish saltery was operating in cooperation with *Komunalno poduzeće Sućuraj*, the Hvar municipal-



| Konzerva ribe iz tvornice sardina Neptun iz prve polovice 20.stoljeća, fundus HPMS, fotografirala A. Palašti

lovom iz Splita. Solionica je prestala s radom za vrijeme Domovinskog rata, a solionica Franičević djelovala je u Sućurju sve do početka 21. stoljeća.

Hvarska tvornica Skuša

Godine 1956., prema projektu D. Duše, u gradu Hvaru je sagrađena tvornica ribe Skuša koja je djelovala do 1965. Tvornica je sagrađena južno od grada,

| Fish can from Neptun sardine cannery from the first half of the 20th century, HPMS fundus, photo by A. Palašti

ity and *Jadran ribolov* from Split. The saltery ceased its operations during the Croatian War of Independence, and *Franičević saltery* operated until the beginning of the 21st century.

The Skuša factory in Hvar

The Skuša fish factory was built according to the project drafted by D. Duša in 1956 in the town of Hvar and it operated until 1965. It was located

u uvali Križna luka u kojoj su već dje-lovale ribarsko-prerađivačke družine obitelji Dujmović i Novak Kronjac. Tvornica ribe Skuša izgrađena je kao prizemnica od svijetlog hvarskog kamenja, s raritetnim kamenim dimnjakom, još uvijek vidljivim u Križnoj luci. Godine 1967. u zgradi tvornice smješten je ekonomat Hotelskog poduzeća Hvar kojeg su mještani zbog dimnjaka prozvali Auschwitz. Na tvor-ničkoj je kamenoj prizemnici kasnije interpoliran Hotel Galeb. U pogonu bivše tvornice danas je smještena praonica rublja Hotelskog poduzeća Sunčani Hvar, a u Galebu turistički sezonski djelatnici.

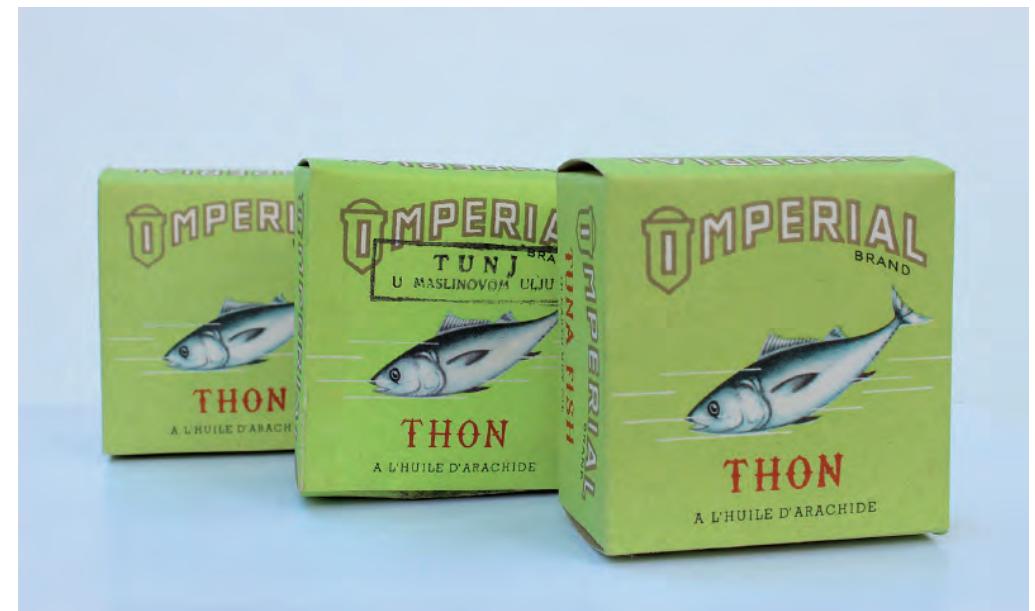
south of the town, in Križna luka bay, where the Dujmović and Novak Kronjac families had their fishing and fish processing operations. The fac-tory was built as a single-storey build-ing with local stone and a rare stone chimney, still visible in Križna luka. In 1967, the factory building was used for the offices of supply department of *Hotelsko poduzeće Hvar*, which the locals called Auschwitz because of the chimney. The factory was later interpolated with the *Galeb Hotel*. Nowadays, the former factory oper-ates as a laundry room of the *Sunčani Hvar Hotels*, while seasonal workers are situated in the *Galeb Hotel*.

Packed in Yugoslavia

Godine 1810. Francuz Nicholas Appert izumio je sterilizaciju hrane, a iste go-dine Englez Peter Durand prvu metal-nu konzervu. Novi prehrabneni artikl nastao je kao ekskluzivna delikatesa, prvi mondani *mobilni obrok* koji se prodavao u renomiranim trgovinama i servirao na trpezama svjetske imućni-je elite. Oblik konzerve prilagođavao se razvoju tehnologije. Prvotne konzerve bile su lemljene olovnim legurama što je moglo dovesti do trovanja, kao što je bio slučaj s arktičkom ekspedici-jom Sir Johna Franklina 1845. čija se posada navodno otrovala olovom iz konzervi. Isprva konzerve su bile izra-divane od debela metala, a otvarale su se čekićem, dlijetom ili nožem što se promjenilo tek upotrebotanjem tanjeg metal-a i izuma otvarača za konzerve sredinom 19. stoljeća. Većina konzervi sardina sve do polovice 20. stoljeća pakirana je zajedno s ključem ili po-lugom oko kojeg se namotavao tanki obruč poklopca. Hvarske tvornice proizvodile su srdele, inćune i skuše u ulju, a većinom su bile namijenjene izvozu. Neptunovi fileti inćuna, kao i fileti rolani s kaparama u vrhunskom

Packed in Yugoslavia

In 1810 Frenchman Nicholas Appert invented the sterilisation of food, and that same year, Englishman Peter Durand the first metal can. The new food item was created as an exclusive delicacy, the first ever *mobile meal* that was sold in renowned stores and served on the tables of the world's most affluent elite. The shape of the can adapted to the development of technology. The original cans were soldered with lead alloys, which could lead to poisoning, as was the case with the Arctic expedition led by Sir John Franklin in 1845, whose crew was allegedly poisoned by lead from the cans. The first cans were made of thick metal and opened with a ham-mer, chisel or knife. This changed only after the use of thin metal and the in-vention of the can opener in the mid-dle of the 19th century. Until the middle of the 20th century most canned sardines were packed together with a key or lever around which the thin cover was wound. The factories on the island of Hvar produced sardines, an-chovies and mackerel in oil, mostly for export. The Neptun factory's anchovy



| Etikete ribljih konzervi Privrednog poduzeća Vrboska iz 1960-ih, ustupila V. Gamulin

| Canned fish labels from Privredno poduzeće Vrboska from 1960's, courtesy of V. Gamulin



| Konzerva za srdele u salamuri poduzeća Sardina S.A. Split, prva polovica 20.st., fundus HPMS, fotografirala A. Palašti

| Tin for sardine fillets, Sardina S.A. Split, first half of the 20th century, HPMS fundus, photo by A. Palašti



| Konzerva za ribu iz prve polovice 20. stoljeća, HPMS fundus, fotografirala A. Palašti

| Fish can from the first half of the 20th century, HPMS fundus, photo by A. Palašti



| Etiketa riblje konzerve iz tvornice sardina Sloboda iz 1960-ih, ustupio N. Vujnović

| Canned fish label from Sloboda cannery in Sućuraj from 1960's, courtesy of N. Vujnović

ulju, iz 1930-ih na ambalaži su reklamirani kao *dalmatinski specijaliteti*. Druga polovica 20. stoljeća bilježi prošireni assortiman ribljih prerađevina od tune koja se većinom uvozila iz Japana i tzv. *miješanih konzervi* s povrćem. Glavno izvozno poduzeće za plasman ribe u bivšoj državi bilo je poduzeće Jugoriba.

fillets and fillets rolled with capers in *high-quality oil* from the 1930's were advertised on their packaging as *Dalmatian specialties*. The second half of the 20th century brought an expanded assortment of tuna fish products that were mostly imported from Japan and the so-called *mixed cans* with vegetables. The main exporter in the former Yugoslavia was the *Jugoriba* Company.



| Diorama o vrstama ribarstva predstavljena na *Jadranskoj izložbi* u Zagrebu 1935., ustupio HPMS

| Diorama with fishing methods shown at the *Adriatic exhibition* in Zagreb in 1935, courtesy of HPMS

Jadranska straža

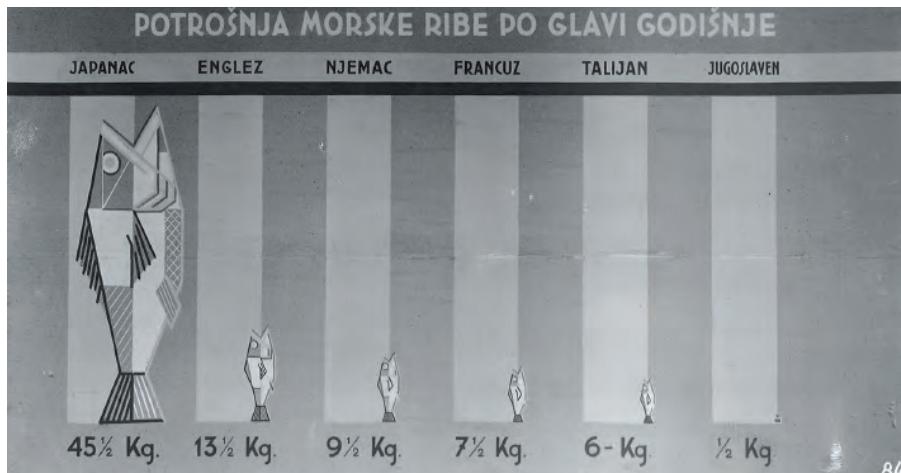
Jadranska straža utemeljena 1922. u Splitu bila je pomorsko-promidžbenja udruga Kraljevine SHS (od 1929. Kraljevine Jugoslavije) pod predsjedništvom Jurja Biankinija koja je djelovala do 1941. Udruga je aktivno djelovala na polju očuvanja i promocije pomorske tradicije, širenja svijesti o važnosti Jadranskog mora, te unaprjeđenja i razvoja njegova iskorištavanja. Sa 180 000 članova 1939. godine Jadranska straža bila je najbrojnija organizacija u zemlji, a njezini su domovi na Jadranu, od koji jedan u Jelsi, Ijeti ugošćavali brojnu omladinu iz čitave zemlje. Pomorska svakodnevica polaznika jelšanskog Doma Jadranske straže zabilježena je na filmu *Život u Jelsi* iz 1939. u produkciji Jadranske straže.

Izuzetno posjećene putujuće izložbe Jadranske straže (tzv. *Jadranske izložbe*), vrhunskom su produkcijom popularizirale pomorstvo po obalnim i kontinentalnim gradovima Kraljevine Jugoslavije. 1930-ih godina Ribarski odsjek pri Direkciji

Adriatic Guard

Jadranska straža [The Adriatic Guard], founded in Split in 1922, was the maritime promotional association in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia] under the presidency of Juraj Biankini, which operated until 1941. The association has been active in the field of the preservation and promotion of maritime traditions and the awareness of the importance of the Adriatic Sea, and the improvement and development of its exploitation. With 180 000 members in 1939, the Adriatic Guard was the largest organisation in the country and its houses on the Adriatic, one of which was in Jelsa, attracted a large number of youth from all over the country during the summer season. The daily life of students in the Jelsa House of the Adriatic Guard was recorded in the film *Life in Jelsa* from 1939, produced by the Adriatic Guard.

Highly visited traveling exhibitions of the Adriatic Guard [the so-called *Adriatic exhibitions*], with top-of-the-line production, popularised maritime affairs in the coastal and continental



| Grafikon o potrošnji morske ribe u svijetu predstavljen na *Jadranskoj izložbi* u Zagrebu 1935., ustupio HPMS

| Chart showing seafood consumption shown at the *Adriatic exhibition* in Zagreb in 1935, courtesy of HPMS



| Prezentacija riboprerađivačke industrije na *Jadranskoj izložbi* u Splitu 1925., ustupio HPMS

| Display of fish processing industry at the *Adriatic exhibition* in Split in 1925, courtesy of HPMS



| Promocija morske ribe i ribarstva na *Jadranskoj izložbi* u Zagrebu 1935., ustupio HPMS

| Promotional display of sea fish and fisheries shown at the *Adriatic exhibition* in Zagreb in 1935, courtesy of HPMS

pomorskog saobraćaja u Splitu pod upravom Luke Ruića izradio je niz predmeta za preuređeni postav Ribarskog odjela Pomorskog muzeja Jadranske straže, a posebno su se isticale diorame s minijsaturnim modelima pomorskog ribarstva koji su prikazivali more, obale, otoke i uvale, ribarske luke, brodove i alate, kao i makete ribljih konzervi. U posebnom izlogu izrađena je „maketa tvornice ribljih konzervi i baraka u kojima su bili vidljivi sva postrojenja i brojno osoblje pri radu“. Prikazana je maketa nažalost više puta oštećena još za vrijeme transporta Jadranske

cities of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the 1930's the Fishery Department at the Marine Traffic Directorate in Split under the direction of Luka Ruić made a series of items for the redesigned permanent exhibition of the Fisheries Department of the Adriatic Guard's Maritime Museum, and in particular the dioramas with miniature models of marine fisheries that depicted the sea, coast, islands and bays, fishing ports, ships and tools, as well as models of fish cans. In a special showcase "a model of a cannery and baraka was made, in which all the workshops were visible as well as nu-



- | Naslovica časopisa Jadranska straža iz 1938.
- | Frontpage of the newspaper Jadranska straža in 1938

straže, potom se nalazila u fundusu Pomorskog muzeja JAZU, a danas je dio fundusa Hrvatskog pomorskog muzeja Split.

merous staff at work". The model was unfortunately damaged several times during the transport of the Adriatic Guard. Later it was placed in the JAZU [Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts] Maritime Museum, and today is part of the collection of the Croatian Maritime Museum in Split.

Zanimanje radnica

Ribarstvo je oduvijek smatrano muškim, a prerada ribe ženskim zanimanjem. Hvaranke su prilikom dolaska ribarskih brodova bile zapošljavane kao najamne radnice za soljenje ribe.

Solilo se po rivama i *barakama*, u slučaju velikog ulova i po tri dana zaredom bez odlaska na spavanje, uvijek pod paskom nadglednika ili nadglednice koji su kontrolirali proizvodnju. Ruke vječno nagrižene solju i intenzivan miris, kojega je bilo gotovo nemoguće isprati s odjeće i tijela, ponekad su bile predmetom poruge.

Radni kolektiv hvarske *fabrika* od početka 20. stoljeća činile su žene, u rasponu od četrnaestogodišnjakinja do osamdesetogodišnjakinja, koje su većinom radile u *fabrikama* sve do njihova gašenja. Za većinu njih tvornica je bila jedina alternativa težačkom radu na obiteljskim imanjima. Stupanjem u radni odnos hvarske žene postaju financijski neovisne što je, između ostalog, bitno utjecalo na njihov položaj u zajednici.

Female workers

Fishing has always been considered a male profession, and fish processing a female one. Upon the arrival of fishing boats, women from the island were employed as part-time workers for fish salting.

Fish salting took place on seafronts and in *barake*. Sometimes, in the case of enormous catches, salting lasted for three days in a row without sleeping, always under the close watch of supervisors in charge of production control. Hands constantly irritated by salt and the intensive smell of the brine, which was almost impossible to wash away, were sometimes the subject of mockery.

Women comprised the workforce of the island's factories from the beginning of the 20th century, ranging from fourteen-year-olds up to eighty-year-olds, who mostly worked there until the factories were closed. For most of them, *fabrika* was the only alternative to gruelling work on family farms. Women from the island became financially independent, which among



| Radnice vrboške tvornice sardina 1950-ih, ustupila N. Gabelić
| Female workers at the sardine factory in Vrboska in the 1950's, courtesy of N. Gabelić



| Radnice vrboške tvornice sardina 1950-ih, ustupila N. Gabelić
| Female workers at the sardine factory in Vrboska in the 1950's, courtesy of N. Gabelić

Teški uvjeti rada, zabilježeni u prijeratnim *fabrikama*, donekle su olakšani 1950-ih kada se dio tvornica opskrbljuje kvalitetnijom infrastrukturom i tehnološki naprednjim strojevima. Radnice, obilježene brojevima na svojim radnim odijelima, ispunjavale su tvorničke norme prenoseći, čisteći, sušeći i pržeći ribu, zatvarajući konzerve, omatajući ih u papir s etiketama i slažući u kutije. Fizički najteži poslovi odvijali su se u prizemnim tvorničkim *barakama* gdje su uglavnom radile starije žene, vičnije soljenju ribe, a najlakši poput umatanja konzervi dodjeljivani su mlađima.

other things, has had a significant impact on their social position in the community.

The tough working conditions in pre-war factories improved in the 1950's due to the higher quality of infrastructure and more sophisticated machinery. With numbers on their work clothes, workers were paid by productivity norm. Their work consisted of carrying, cleaning, drying and frying fish, sealing cans and wrapping them in label prints and finally boxing them. The most demanding physical work,



| Radnice hvarske tvornice Skuša prenose kašete na čivirima 1950-ih, ustupio P. Maričić
| Female workers transporting crates on čivire (hand barrows) at the Skuša sardine factory in the 1950's, courtesy of P. Maričić

Radni je dan započinjao sirenom ili zvukom zvona koji je označavao da je riba stigla u tvornicu, a svako se petominutno kašnjenje, zabilježeno u hvarskoj tvornici Skuša, kažnjavalо oduzimanjem od plaće. Žene su radile na normu, sve u duhu sveprisutne udarničke ideologije i u međusobnom nadmetanju u broju očišćenih fileta ili zatvorenih konzervi.

Prerada zaledene tune radnicama je ostala u mrskom sjećanju, kao i hladnoća za vrijeme zimskih mjeseci kada su ih upravitelji puštali na kratke pauze da se malo istrče gore-dole i zagriju. Zamorne

taking place on the ground floors of the factory's *baraka*, was given to older women, who were more skilled in the salting process, and the less demanding work, such as wrapping the cans, was given to the younger ones.

Workdays would begin with a siren or a bell signalling the arrival of the fish, and each five-minute delay would be penalised by a wage deduction, as is recorded in the Skuša factory in Hvar. Women were working on a productivity norm, in the spirit of the omnipresent hard-working ideology and often



| Juraj Fabrio, tehnički direktor tvornice u Vrboskoj, pri pečaćenju konzervi, ustupila M. Fabrio

Juraj Fabrio, technical director of sardine factory in Vrboska, while sealing cans, courtesy of M. Fabrio



| Sušenje ribe ispred tvornice Sloboda u Sućurju, ustupio N. Vučnović

Drying of fish in front of the Sloboda sardine factory in Sućuraj, courtesy of N. Vučnović

Dopis iz Sućurja na Hvaru

Početkom maja o. g. firma Cossolini & Rizica iz Splita počela je da gradi u mjestu nedu tvornici sardina. Sjajni ljudi su uslijedom bune riharskog i žive vremena učinili da se učini nešto posebno u ovim granicama, smatrali su da će preko ovog ljeta dobro prodati novo. Uzmu plavu ribu, a istodobno zaprošili seoske djevojke u tvornici oto konzerviranja ribe. S ovim namjera najprije su gledali boljim okom ne sljedeću zimu, mislilići da će se kar dovede opskrbliti najpotrebnijim životinjskim namirnicama.

Ove ljetne nadje stromasnih sjekaljica, nisu imale konzerviranje, već su jednostavno uklonile svu vodu, ali u jenom vremenu nije do tada u moguće seljaka, već da još i pogorsiti njihovo stanje. Kako bi što manje utrošao pri građanju, seljaci su je za tekući namjerni rad pleše mizrene nadmice.

Tvornica je dovršena i počela je svojim radom na konzerviranju plave ribe. Upisala je oko 30–40 miladih seoskih djevojaka, vodom od 14–20 godina. Radno vrijeme je neognoranjivo. Kada su ušle uvede kolindine ribe, ove mlade radnice rade po čitav dan i čitavu noć s prekidom u ruštu i veleri od 1–2 sati.

Cesto se događa da mlađe radnici užilje poslovog radnog vremena, a da obavljaju cijelo vrijeme stojeci i nespravanju direktnima pri samom radu.

Seljaci su govorili kako radnice, na gledaju poslijepodne posla, osjetile fizički simptome. Za ovaj vrh radnice su plasirane uprave žadno, ako uzmemo da nađuće ciljne Hrvatske namirnice. Mlađe radnice plasirane su po satu za 150 din, a starije 1.15 din, bez obzira na to što

to može ili prekovremenim rad. Od svih mizrenih nadmica nadmica se odvija pod satu za dovršak (mirenu). Dovršak se jede većinom na novagu, prijavljujući se u ovu granicu, smatrali su da će preko ovog ljeta dobro prodati novo.

Sjajni su pozajmili od svakog radnika i sastili plešama, ali užijed bijede u nejmastima pristigli su da i danje kolju svoje leđeri u tvornici na rad, jer žele gledati boljim okom ne sljedeću zimu, mislilići da će se kar dovede opskrbliti najpotrebnijim životinjskim namirnicama.

Seljaci, koji nisu svjezani, već da su učinili koliko mogu, učinili su da se učinili mirenjima od svih donosičnjih, već je na pragu. Projektni radnici se potvrdili, potvrdili su da su mirenjima učinili koliko mogu, ali u tomu učinili oblaćenjem, da će se godine plaće biti veće, jer da suđa još uče rad da konzerviranja. Radnici, koji nisu svjezani, i ne smiju kuhati se invazivnim postoladama. Ševa običana, slijepo vjeruju i strpljivo rade, behajudi 1941. god, u mudi da će raditi. Biti bori plave ribe. Ovaj radnik sloboda je učinili radnici na trećem, pa su emisiji vježbavati. One trebaju biti svjezani, trebaju se eksperimenti u svetu slobodnog organizovanja, koje će štititi njihove interese i oduprijeti se poslodavčkoj eksploataciji. Jedino sloboda organizirana moći će da poboljšaju svoje tekuće stanje, da traže 8 satne radno vrijeme, potvrditi sveobičajni plati i nadoplati, a nodai i prekovremen rad. Samo pod ovim uvjetima, može da se osiguraju radnici Živeti, raditi, boriti se, napomeni rad se mirenjanom sa i slave hrvatskih razne bolesti. Ovo trebaju radnici Sućurja, dobro da upame, jer ako nastave radom pod nadzorom istovima, njihovi mlađi životi bit će trajno u opasnosti.

| Članak iz Radničkog tjednika br. 17 od 13. rujna 1940.

| Article from Workers' weekly magazine No. 17 from September 13, 1940

competing in numbers of cleaned fillets or sealed cans.

Frozen tuna processing is a hated memory for workers, just like the coldness of winter months when managers would allow short breaks *to walk around and warm themselves a bit*. Tedious factory hours were eased with chatting and singing. Managers even encouraged singing [*Sing, sing, so you'll work better!*], as is recorded in the Sućuraj factory where workers sang folk songs, as well as Partisan songs. Workers were cheering comrade Tito but also criticised him, as in Vrboska where they were singing *Comrade Tito, our pride and joy, six workers, and nine bureaucrats!*

Apart from the post-war social and political reality, everyday life in the factories is characterised by mockery songs as a form of local parochialism. This is witnessed in the Vrboska factory, where local women worked together with women from the surrounding villages. Mocking the women from Vrbanj, who travelled to the factory in a small bus every day from the 1950's, the women from Vrboska would sing: *A box from Vrbanj is flying like a rocket!* while the women from Vrbanj would reply: *Vrboska, neither a village nor a town, but a little stink by the sea!*



| Radnice iz tvornice sardina Sloboda u Sućurju 1960-ih, ustupio N. Vučnović

| Workers from the sardine factory Sloboda in Sućuraj in the 1960's, courtesy of N. Vučnović

oblik lokalnih kampanilizama koje su zabilježene u Vrboskoj gdje su, osim lokalnih žena radile i one iz okolnih sela. Rugajući se prijevozu svojih kollegica iz Vrbanja, koje su svakodnevno od 1950-ih dolazile u tvornicu u malom autobusu, Vrbovljanke su pjevale *Vrbonjska kašeta leti kako sajeta, dok bi Vrbovke odgovarale Oj Vrbosko, ni selo ni gradu, nego pored mora jedno malo smradu!*

Osim teških uvjeta rada, prekovremenih sati i malih plaća [*Plaća je bila*

nikakva, ali odlična!] u kolektivnom je pamćenju većine nekadašnjih radnica rad u tvornici ostao *najbolje razdoblje života.*



Prije rata gospodari mriža iz Jelse išli su u Hvar na Veli bruškit [ždrijeb za pravo ribolova na određenoj lokaciji]. Oni koji su svoj ulov sami solili te još otkupljivali i tuđi i sve prodavali, bili su obučeni u odijela, imali su kožnu tarkiju i sat sa lancem, a nakon bruškita išli su na ručak u restoran. Oni koji su solili i prodavali samo svoj ulov bili su pristojno obučeni, imali su kožnu tarkiju i pojeli bi nešto usuho, a oni koji su prodavali frišku ribu, na gaće bi svezali bokun mriže i išli su doma gladni.

Iz kazivanja Iveta Duževića Maravana iz Jelse, bačvara, ribara i graditelja brodova, prema zapisu Nire Burmas Domančić 2008. godine

| Otkup slane ribe u Hvaru prije Drugog svjetskog rata, ustupio MHB

Before the war, the masters of the fishing nets from Jelsa went to Hvar to Veli bruškit [the drawing of lots for the fishing rights at a particular location]. Those who salted their own catch and bought someone else's and sold it all, were dressed in suits, had a leather belt and a pocket watch, and after bruškit they went to lunch at a restaurant. Those who salted and sold only their own catch were polite, had a leather belt, and they would eat something dry, and those who sold fresh fish would cling fishing net to their trousers and go home hungry.

From the narration of Ivo Dužević Maravan from Jelsa, a cooper, fisherman and shipbuilder, recorded by Nira Burmas Domančić in 2008.

| Buying-in salted fish in Hvar before WWII, courtesy of MHB



| Čuvena ribarska pošta Trešjavac na otoku Biševu, vlasništvo hvarske biskupije do 19. stoljeća, fotografirala V. Gamulin

| Trešjavac on the island of Biševo, a famous fishing location owned by the Diocese of Hvar up to the 19th century, photo by V. Gamulin

Zapis o lovnu i soljenju srdela na Hvaru prije 19. stoljeća

Prvi spomen lova na srdele na istočnom Jadranu potječe iz druge polovice 15. st. i to za otok Vis [1470.]. Nijedan istočnojadranski komunalni statut prije 16. st. ne spominje lov na srdele, već jedino na skuše, šnjure, gire ili tune.¹

Iz 16. st. imamo više izvora koji govore o značaju lova i soljenja srdela za otok Hvar:

[1504.]

Nikola Starjanić, župnik Vrbanja, Svirača i Vrboske u tužbi biskupu radi insubordinacije kaže da su mnogi iz njegove i drugih župa otišli u Vrbosku radi lova na srdele i nastanili se.²

Records of pilchard fishing and salting on the island of Hvar before the 19th century

The first mention of pilchard fishing in the Eastern Adriatic dates back to the second half of the 15th century and the island of Vis [1470]. There is no mention of pilchard fishing in any Eastern Adriatic municipal charter prior to the 16th century but only of mackerel, saurel, picarel or tuna.¹

There are numerous sources from the 16th century attesting to the significance of pilchard fishing and salting for the island of Hvar:

[1504]

Nikola Starjanić, parish priest of Vrbanj, Svirče and Vrboska, in an insubordination complaint to the bishop wrote that many of his parishioners as well as those from other parishes went to Vrboska for pilchard fishing and settled there.²

1 Basioli J. [1977]. Ribolovna sredstva u statutima istočnojadranskih gradova i komuna. *Pomorski zbornik* 15, 639-656.

2 Duboković Nadalini N. [2001]. Gdje je bila Civitas Vetus Ielsae na otoku Hvaru. U *Odabrani rādovi*. Split: Književni krug, 347.

1 Basioli J. [1977]. Ribolovna sredstva u statutima istočnojadranskih gradova i komuna. *Pomorski zbornik* 15, 639-656.

2 Duboković Nadalini N. [2001]. Gdje je bila Civitas Vetus Ielsae na otoku Hvaru. U *Odabrani rādovi*. Split: Književni krug, 347.



| Detalj karte Dalmacije Vincenza Marie Coronellija oko 1690.

[1512.]

Girolamo Capello, mletački zapovjednik galije opisujući posljedice kaznene ekspedicije providura Giustiniana protiv pobunjenih pučana na Hvaru, govori da su iz Vrboske odnijeli 4000 do 5000 barila slanih srdela i isto toliko barila slanih skuša.³

| Detail of the map of Dalmatia by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, around 1690

[1512]

Girolamo Capello, a Venetian galley commander, describing the consequences of the punitive expedition led by *provveditore* [administrator] Giustinian against commoners who rebelled in Hvar, stated that they took away between 4000 and 5000 barrels of salted pilchard and an equal number of barrels of salted mackerel from Vrboska.³

3 Zaninović-Rumora M., & Brakanović J. (2014). Izvori o Hvarskom pučkom Ustanku = Sources about the Hvar Peoples Uprising. Hvar: Matica Hrvatska, ogranač, 123-124.



| Prikaz Hvara Konrada von Grünenberga iz 1486., Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart. A 541, Bl. 18v-19r

| View of Hvar by Konrad von Grünenberg from 1486., Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart. A 541, Bl. 18v-19r

[1553.]

Engleski hodočasnik John Lock u svom putopisu govori da su mu za Hvar rekli da iz njega dolaze sve srdele koje se troše u Italiji.⁴

Mletački izvjestitelj Zan Battista Giustinian navodi da su za Hvar, uz

4 Levental Z. (1989). Britanski putnici u našim krajevima: od sredine XV do početka XIX veka. Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 43-44.



| Ribari s dalmatinske obale, Jean Marie Chopin i Jean Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini, 1856

| Fishermen from the Dalmatian coast, Jean Marie Chopin and Jean Henri Abdolonyme Ubicini, 1856

[1553]

English pilgrim John Lock wrote in his travelogue that he was told that all the pilchards consumed in Italy came from Hvar.⁴

Venetian syndic Zan Battista Giustinian stated that, along with wine, the most

vino, najvažnija roba srdele, od kojih se zaradi 14 000 dukata, te se šalju kako na istok tako na zapad. Govori također da su se bačvama, za čiju izradu drvo dolazi iz Rijeke, kao i srdelama obogatili pučani. Opisujući Pag navodi da paška komuna nema posebnih prihoda već im svake godine Venecija dopušta da uzmu 500 modija [modij, *mozzo* ili *moggio* iznosi 333,27 litre] soli s ovlaštenjem da to prodaju na Hvaru, od čega dobiju otprikljike 200 dukata.⁵

[1589.]

Njemački hodočasnik Semuel Kichel piše u lipnju te godine o Hvaru da „budući da se ovaj narod prehranjuje većim dijelom od ribolova, upravo u ovo vrijeme godine hvataju se srdele. To je jedna mala riba i tamo se okolo lovi u velikim količinama, usoljava se, te se vozi u Tursku, Mletke i druga mesta“.

[1675./76.]

Francuski liječnik i arheolog Jaques Spon i sir George Wheler, engleski svećenik i učenjak putujući Dalmacijom zapazili su u Hvaru da je „glavna

important commodity for Hvar are pilchards, which yield a profit of 14 000 ducats as they are sent both east and west. He also mentioned that the population had made a fortune from barrels, made of wood which comes from Rijeka, and pilchards. Describing Pag, he said that the Pag commune had no income to speak of, but that every year Venice allowed it to take 500 *mozzo* or *moggio* [a unit of measurement equal to 333, 27 litres] of salt, with a license to sell it on Hvar, bringing them about 200 ducats.⁵

[1589]

German pilgrim Semuel Kichel, writing about Hvar in June of that same year, said that “fishing is the main source of sustenance of this people and that pilchard is fished at this time of the year. It is a small fish and is caught thereabouts in large quantities, salted and shipped to Turkey, Venice and other places.”

[1675/76]

French physician and archaeologist Jacques Spon and English priest and scholar Sir George Wheler, when travelling in Dalmatia, observed that

5 Giustiniani G. B. (2001). *Dalmacija godine Gospodnje 1553. : putopis po Istri, Dalmaciji i Mletačkoj Albaniji 1553. godine / zapisao Zan Battista Giustinian ; prema transkripciji Šime Ljubića prevela i priredila Ljerka Šimunković*. Split: Hrvatsko-talijanska kulturna udruga „Dante Alighieri“, 66, 119.

5 Giustiniani G. B. (2001). *Dalmacija godine Gospodnje 1553. : putopis po Istri, Dalmaciji i Mletačkoj Albaniji 1553. godine / zapisao Zan Battista Giustinian ; prema transkripciji Šime Ljubića prevela i priredila Ljerka Šimunković*. Split: Hrvatsko-talijanska kulturna udruga „Dante Alighieri“, 66, 119.



| Prikaz noćnog ribolova sa svičalom,
Ribarski kalendar, 1947.

| Night fishing with svičalo – iron tool used to light pinewood whose light attracted fish, from Fishing Calendar, 1947

trgovina [*Hvarana*] lov na srdele. [...] Love se ovdje u svibnju i srpnju i uz dalmatinsku obalu, blizu otoka Visa, južno od ovoga otoka, u tolikom izobilju da njima opskrbe sve dijelove Italije i Grčke. Turci ih uzimaju kao lijek kad su bolesni⁶.

U 17. i 18. st. česte su zabrane lova na srdele zbog sukoba vlasnika *trata* [mreža potegača] i srdelara, vlasnika *vojga* [srdelara, mreža za lov srdela]:

6 Mønnesland S. (2010). *Dalmacija očima stranaca = Dalmatia through foreign eyes*. Zagreb: Fidipid; Oslo: Cypress Forlag, 59.

in Hvar the “main trade [of Hvarians] is pilchard fishing [...] In May and July they are fished here and along the Dalmatian coast, near the island of Vis, to the south of this island, in such abundance that they supply all parts of Italy and Greece. The Turks take them as medicine when they are ill”.⁶

In the 17th and 18th centuries there were frequent bans on pilchard fishing due to conflicts between *trata* [trawl nets] and *srdelara* and *vojga* [drift nets] owners:

6 Mønnesland S. (2010). *Dalmacija očima stranaca = Dalmatia through foreign eyes*. Zagreb: Fidipid; Oslo: Cypress Forlag, 59.

[1611.]

Vijeće umoljenih u Veneciji potvrđuje sporazum između pučana i plemića u Hvaru kojim se zabranjuje ribolov sa srdelarama „koje su štetne, a pored toga oštećuju i porez državi i komuni“.⁷

[1670.]

Knez Hvara A. Duodo na molbu plemića i vlasnika potegača dao je spaliti 180 komada srdelara u Visu i Komiži.⁸

[1718.]

Knez Hvara P. Loredan organizirao je kaznenu ekspediciju protiv ribara sa srdelarama.⁹

Mletački zakoni zabranjuju izvoz slane ribe od svibnja do rujna svake godine [vrijeme intenzivnog ribolova srdela], a također su veliki državni i ostali nameti na proizvodnju usoljene ribe. Zbog toga je uobičajena praksa *kontrabanda*, ilegalna prodaja slanih srdela u južnu Italiju i Papinsku državu, naročito u 18. stoljeću.¹⁰

[1611]

The Venetian Senate confirmed the agreement between the commoners and noblemen in Hvar prohibiting the use of drift nets “which are damaging and also detrimental to state and communal taxes”.⁷

[1670]

On the request of noblemen and owners of trawl nets, A. Duodo, the Governor of Hvar had 180 drift nets burned in Vis and Komiža.⁸

[1718]

P. Loredan, the Governor of Hvar, organised a punitive expedition against drift net fishermen.⁹

Venetian laws prohibited the export of salted fish from May to September of each year [the season of intensive pilchard fishing], and there were also high state and other taxes on the production of salted fish. For this reason, *kontrabanda* (smuggling), the illegal sale of salted pilchard in southern Italy and the Papal state, was common practice, especially in the 18th century.¹⁰

[1764.]

Hvarske kneze P. A. Barbaro šalje izvještaj u Veneciju gdje navodi da je zadnje četiri godine registrirano u hvarske komune u prosjeku 220 tona usoljenih srdela, 16 tona skuša i 14 tona šnjura godišnje.¹¹

[1774.]

Alberto Fortis u svome putopisu *Viaggio in Dalmazia* piše: „Ribarstvo Hvara bilo je u prošlim vremenima razvijenije jer je u njemu sudjelovao veći broj brodova, a istina je možda i to da su se čitava Italija i dobar dio Levanta opskrbljivali srdelama s ovog otoka i s njemu ovisnog Visa [...]. Ali danas, iako je more jednakno napućeno ribom, neki Hvarani mnogo manje trguju“.¹²

[1764]

P. A. Barbaro, the Governor of Hvar, sent a report to Venice stating that over the last four years an average of 220 tons of salted pilchard, 16 tons of mackerel and 14 tons of saurel per year had been registered in the Hvar commune.¹¹

[1774]

In his travelogue *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Alberto Fortis wrote: “Fishery in Hvar used to be more developed in the past because it involved a larger number of ships, and it is perhaps also true that the whole of Italy and a good part of the Levant were supplied with pilchards from this island and the island of Vis which is dependent on it [...] But today, although fish is equally abundant in the sea, some Hvarians are trading much less”¹².

7 Županović Š. (1995). *Hrvati i more: od koga Hrvati naučiše ribarstvo i ribarsku terminologiju?: ribarstvo*. Zagreb: AGM, 248.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid, 249.

10 Ibid, 381.

7 Županović Š. (1995). *Hrvati i more: od koga Hrvati naučiše ribarstvo i ribarsku terminologiju?: ribarstvo*. Zagreb: AGM, 248.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid. 249.

10 Ibid. 381.

11 Ibid, 385.

12 Ibid, 251.

11 Ibid. 385.

12 Ibid. 251.



| Pogled na tvornicu Skuša u Hvaru 1950-ih,
ustupio MHB

| View on sardine cannery Skuša in Hvar in
1950s, courtesy of MHB

Frane Novak Kronjac: Tvornica sardina Skuša Hvar

Frane Novak Kronjac: Sardine cannery Skuša Hvar

- Frâne, Åla probûd se! – usred sna raspoznao sam o ev glas.
- Mmmmmm... - spim. - promrmljao sam.
- R ka si da te prob din ako  ap mo.  ap li smo! P ne dv  gaj te! A i u lev t hi je d sta. D gni se! H d, tuk š pom  c.
- Uuu, kol ko ste  ap li? Je hi v  ce od cetardes t kvint li? – uzviknuo sam ve  potpuno budan.
- J , j  hi v  ce i od pedes t! Åla d gни se, i d jd na mul t od Tv rnice. T mo smo ko t li. C rma je p ocela p nit ka ete. J  gr n!
-  to me!

Za tren sam se obukao, nataknuo sandale i otr ao prema Tvornici na drugoj strani Kri ne luke od na e ku e.

Ferali su bili upaljeni i rasipali su svjetlost po dobro uronulim brodovima.

- Frane, come on, wake up! – I recognized my father's voice in the middle of my sleep.
- Mmmmmm... - I'm sleeping. – I muttered.
- You said to wake you up if we catch something. We did! Two full *gajeta*! And there is lots in the *leut* too. Get up! Come on, you must help.
- Uuu, how much did you catch? Is it more than forty quintals? – I exclaimed, now completely awake.
- Yes, yes, it's more than fifty! Come on, get up, and come to the Factory's pier. We're docked there. The crew have begun filling the crates. I'm going!
- I'm coming!

I got dressed in a moment, put on my sandals and ran to the Factory on the other side of Kri na luka from our house.



| Drvena daska za čišćenje ribe iz tvornice sardina u Vrboskoj, ustupila V. Gamulin

| Wooden board for cleaning fish from Vrboska's sardine cannery, courtesy of V. Gamulin

Moj Dide je već bio tamo nasmiješenog brka i kontrolirao što se događa. Uigrana družina je znala svoj posao. Dvojica su namakala drvena kašete i dodavala ih u gajete i leut, te prihvaćala pune i dodavala drugoj trojici na obali. Druga pak trojica su ih slagali u stupove jednu na drugu do visine od deset kašeta. Priključio sam se dijelu ekipe u tatinu gajeti. Dodavao sam prazne, kašete ribarima koji su ih punili te pune isto tako dodavao na obalu.

Lanterns were lighted, spilling the light on well-laden ships. My granddad was already there, smiling and controlling everything. The well-coordinated crew knew their job. Two fishermen were soaking wooden crates, passing them onto the ships, as well as taking full crates and passing them to the other three on the shore. They were stacking them in columns one on top of the other, to a height of ten crates. I joined the team on dad's *gajeta*. I passed empty crates to fishermen who filled them, and then passed full ones to the shore.



| Zatvaranje konzervi na poluautomatskom stroju u Hvaru 1950-ih, ustupio MHB

| Closing of sardine cans with a semi-automatic machine in Hvar in the 1950's, courtesy of MHB

Postepeno olakšavani od tereta brodovi su lijeno izranjali iz mora, a broj kašeta punih ribe se brzo povećavao.

Počeli su dolaziti i zaposlenici Tvornice. Pripremili su vagu za mjerenje ulova te dovezli dvoja velika kolica radi prijenosa ribe u pogon.

Na vagu je moglo stati trideset kašeta u tri stupa. Vaganje je kontrolirao i zapisivao osim skladistara i moj Dide.

Još se nije ni razdanilo, a radnice i drugi zaposlenici su pristizali na

Gradually relieved of their cargo, the ships were lazily rising out of the sea, and the number of crates filled with fish grew rapidly.

The employees of the Factory started to arrive. They set up a weighing scale for the catch and brought two big trolleys to transfer the fish to the factory.

Thirty crates in three columns could fit on the scale. Weighing was controlled and logged in by the warehouseman, as well as my granddad.

It was still dawn, and the workers and

posao. Ubrzo je Tvornica bila u punom pogonu.

Sva je riba bila istovarena. Naše brodove su premjestili na molet ispred naše kuće. Curma se prihvatiла pranja brodova te iskrcavanja i prebiranja mreže od zaostale ribe.

Ostao sam kod Tvornice i pomagao slagati kašete pune ribe na vagu pa u kolica kojima su se odvozile u Tvornicu na preradu.

Po završetku vaganja Dide i tata su se zadovoljno smješkali. Odvagano je 53 kvintala. Najveći ulov ovog kolovožkog mračka.

Ostale hvarske ribarske družine te večeri nisu imale sreće.

Tate nije bilo za vidjeti neko vrijeme. Pojavio se. Presukao se iz ribarske odjeće. Nije mogao doći bilo kako obučen na posao direktora Tvornice.

Gurali smo posljednja kolica s kašetama punim ribe u Tvornicu.

Sa ozarenim licem, širokog osmjeha otac me pozvao: – Čala, Frane! Hôđ sa menôm u kancelariju. Prîko rádio stànice čemo vîdit kâko sa rîbon stojîdû fâbrike u Komîžu i Varbôsku!

other employees were coming to work. Soon the Factory was in full operation.

All the fish were unloaded. Our ships moved to the pier in front of our house. The crew began cleaning the ships and unloading and cleaning the fishing nets.

I stayed at the Factory and helped stack crates filled with fish on the scale and into the trolleys used to transport them to the Factory for processing.

After the weighing, both grandad and dad smiled happily. 53 quintals were weighed. The biggest catch of this August's darkness.

Other fishing crews weren't so lucky that evening.

I haven't seen my dad for a while, but then he appeared. He changed from his fishing clothes. He couldn't come dressed like that to his job as the Factory director.

We were pushing the last trolleys with fish laden crates to the Factory.

With a beaming face and a broad smile, my father called me: - Come on, Frane! Let's go to my office. We'll radio factories in Komiža and Vrboska to check how many fish they got!



| Dinka Novak u Tvornici sardina u Hvaru 1950-ih, ustupila D. Novak

| Dinka Novak in sardine cannery Skuša in Hvar in 1950's, courtesy of D. Novak

Pristao sam. Sve me je u tom procesu zanimalo. – Čala grêmô ucinît đir po Tvôrnici pa čemo dòma na marêndu. – rekao je tata. Otišli smo najprije do hladnjače. Hladnjača se sastojala od više komora. U dvije veće komore održavana je temperatura do minus 5 stupnjeva Celzija. U jednoj od tih komora bila je smještena većina novo ulovljenih srđela. Tu su radnice Tvornice stavljale led od morske vode na srđele u kašetama kako bi se pothlađivanjem sprječilo kvarenje.

Led je iz uređaja padaо kroz posebni lijevak u veliki sanduk u tankim

I agreed. I was interested in everything in this process. – Let's check around the factory, and then we'll go home for lunch – dad said. First we went to cold storage which consisted of several chambers. Two larger ones were maintained at a temperature of minus 5 degrees Celsius. One of them contained most of the recently caught fish. Here, the factory workers were putting seawater ice on crates with pilchards, to prevent spoiling.

The ice was dropping from the machine in the form of thin plates,

ploćicama i lomio se na sitnije komade. Radnice su ga sa posebnim šešulama grabile i razastirale ga po svakoj kašeti.

Druge tri komore bile su za duboko smrznutu ribu. Održavala se temperatura od minus 18 stupnjeva. Tu su se obično skladištite duboko smrznute tune koje su se dopremale brodovima. Tune su se prerađivale i pakirale u limene kutije. To se radilo tijekom zimskog perioda ili kada nije bilo srdela.

Prešli smo u prostoriju pogona gdje su bili dugački radni stolovi za kojima je sjedila većina radnica i pripremala svježe ulovljene srdele za pranje i sušenje. Posebnim su škarama rezale glave i izvlačile crijeva i odlagale ih u kante za otpad. Svaku srdelu pojedinačno su stavljale repom prema gore u posebne kvadratne košare napravljene od čelične nehrđajuće žice. Svaka srdela je imala svoje mjesto u posebnom utoru. Kako bi se koja košara napunila odnosila se na pranje u posebno konstruiranom tušu s morskom vodom. Tu bi se uklonio najveći dio ribljih ljuški. Tako oprane srdele u košarama su se nosile na čistinu ispred Tvornice i slagale na posebno pripremljene police za sušenje na suncu. Sušile bi se tako 3 – 4 sata kako bi se izbjeglo prskanje vode tijekom prženja [friganja] koje je slijedilo. Osušene

through the special funnel, and into a large crate, breaking into smaller pieces. Workers would grab it with special shovels and spread it onto each crate.

The other three chambers were for deep-frozen fish. The temperature was minus 18 degrees. These were usually used for storing deep frozen tuna, transported by ships. Tuna was processed and packed into cans. This was done during the winter or when there was no pilchards.

We then moved to the operating room with its long work desks where most of the female workers were sitting and preparing freshly caught pilchards for washing and drying. With special scissors they were cutting off the heads and pulling out the intestines, discarding them in the waste bins. Pilchards were individually placed tail up into special square baskets made of stainless steel wire. Each pilchard had its place in a special slot. When a basket was filled, it was washed in a specially designed shower with seawater. This would remove most of the scales. The baskets with washed pilchards would be taken out in front of the Factory, and stacked on specially prepared racks for sun drying. They were dried for 3 – 4 hours, so as to avoid water splashing during the frying process that followed. The dried fish were taken to the operating area

su se unosile u prostor pogona gdje je bila postavljena velika kada puna ulja za prženje. Ulje se je zagrijavalo vodenom parom iz kotlovnice. Proces prženja se odvijao tako da se u kadu uranjala svaka košara pojedinačno jedna za drugom tako da je prženje svake trajalo oko 5 minuta.

Pržene ribe su se potom nosile drugoj grupi radnika koje su ih slagale u limene kutije. Srdele su se ručno ulagale u kutiju punu ulja. U svakoj kutiji se složilo po 5 prženih srdela. Kutije su se slagale na traku po kojoj su klizile do uređaja za zatvaranje kutija. Tu bi radnice koje su ih zatvarale provjeravale da li je kutija puna ulja, te ga dolijevale ukoliko je bilo potrebno, potom su stavljale poklopac i posebnom napravom zatvorile kutiju.

Pune kutije su se stavljale u veliki čelični kavez. Kada bi se kavez napunio uranjao se na određeno vrijeme u veliku kadu s vrelom vodom. Ukoliko bi u konzervi bilo zraka ona bi nabubrila i smatrala se škartom. Naravno takvih konzervi je bio jako mali broj. Škart konzerve su se odlagale u posebne kašete i kada bi se napunile 2-3 kašete mi djeca bi s velikim veseljem njih prebacili u naš leut i vozeći oko Galešnika bušili bi ih klanfama i bacali u more.

with a large tub filled with cooking oil, heated with steam from the boiler room. The frying process took place so that each basket was immersed one by one, and the frying cycle lasted for about 5 minutes.

The fried fish were then taken to a second group of female workers who were canning them. The pilchards were manually placed into oil filled cans. Each can contained 5 fried pilchards. The cans would then be transferred to a conveyor belt, taking them to the can sealing machine. There, the workers would check if the cans were filled with oil, topping it up if necessary. Finally, the lid was added and sealed with a special machine.

The filled cans were placed in a large steel cage. When the cage was filled, it would be immersed in a large bath of hot water. If there was any air in it, the can would swell and it would be rejected. Of course, there was only a small number of such cans. Rejected cans were packed in special crates. When 2 – 3 crates were filled, we kids would gladly take them to our boat, and sailing around Galešnik we would drill them and throw them into the sea.

The cooked and cooled cans were first wrapped in paper labels and then in cellophane and packed in cardboard boxes. They were stored in a ware-

Kuhane i ohlađene konzerve su se umatale najprije u papirnate etikete a potom u celofan i slagale u kartonske kutije i bile spremljene u skladište gotovih proizvoda za otpremu na tržiste.

Pored srdela i tuna u Tvornici su se konzervirale još i skuše i slane srdele. Naime ukoliko je ulov srdela oko Hvara bio toliki da se nije mogao preraditi dok je riba bila svježa srdele su se solile u barile i njegovale do sazrijevanja. Potom bi se čistile, filetitale i konzervirale u ulju u upola pličim konzervama od onih u koje su se konzervirale pržene srdele. To se radilo uvijek u vrijeme lovostaja na plavu ribu ili pak za vremena kada ulovi nisu bili bogati jer slana srdela ima dugi rok upotrebe.

Na zapadnom dijelu Tvornice bile su smještene radionice za održavanje i kotlovnica. Zanatlije su popravljali kvarove koji bi se pojavili u pogonu. Bili su vrlo vješti pa su vrlo rijetko trebali majstore izvan Hvara. Crni dim bi sukljao iz visokog kamenog dimnjaka čiji je vrh bio crn od čađe kad god je kotlovnica radila. Sastavni dio Tvornice bio je i teretni brod Stupica kojim se prevozilo sve što je trebalo za Tvornicu. Taj je po zadatku vozio između tvornica okolo Hvara te Splita.

house of finished products, ready to be placed on the market.

Along with pilchards and tuna, the Factory also canned mackerel and salted pilchards. Specifically, if the catch of pilchards around the island was so great that it could not be processed while the fish was fresh, the pilchards were salted in barrels and kept until maturation. They would then be cleaned, filleted and canned in oil, with cans being half shallower than those used for fried pilchards. This was always done at the time of closure of the pelagic fishery or in times when catches were not rich, because salted pilchard has a long shelf life.

There were maintenance workshops and a boiler room in the western part of the Factory. The mechanics repaired the malfunctions appearing in the plant. They were very skilled so they rarely needed people outside of Hvar. The black smoke would spew from a tall stone chimney whose top was black from soot whenever the boiler room was operating.

An integral part of the Factory was the Stupica freighter carrying all that was needed for the Factory. It was on duty sailing between factories around the island of Hvar and Split.

Za Tvornicu je na žalu, koje je u neposrednoj blizini, bila izgrađena stajanka za hidro avion. Njim se letjelo po akvatoriju Hvara i Visa u potrazi za jatima plave ribe. Pored pilota glavni promatrač u potrazi bio je moj tata. Kako potrage nisu dale očekivane rezultate od njih se odustalo.

Otpatke riba istresalo se direktno u more sa vrha rive od Tvornice na radost i veselje riba i galeba u Križnoj luci. Skoro svaki dan dobivali bi hranu bez puno truda. Zato još i danas, iako Tvornica već dugo ne radi, galebovi ju u niskom letu nadljeću.

A seaplane apron was built for the Factory, on the shore nearby. The seaplane was flown over the waters of Hvar and Vis in search of the pelagic fish schools. Along with the pilot, the main observer during the search was my dad. As the searches did not yield the expected results, they were abandoned.

Fish waste was dumped directly into the sea from the top of the Factory's seafront, to the joy and happiness of fish and seagulls in Križna luka. They would get food without much effort almost every day. That is why today, even though the Factory has been closed for a long time, the seagulls are still flying over it in a low flight.

Kratice / Abbreviations

ASP

Archivio Storico Lampedusa //
Lampedusa historical archive

HPMS

Hrvatski pomorski muzej Split // The
Croatian Maritime Museum, Split

MHB

Muzej hvarske baštine // Hvar Heritage
Museum

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Pre uvođenje je u obzir iznositi, koliki brojčani
potrebiti će se naši novac, u drugim, IGE stvari vodi na
iznos 35 kg novca. Iznositi će ga ustanovi u zasebno
prostoru kojem ih je u potpunosti pridružio, jer niti bi se za-
ustavio uvek povećanjem i maksimalnim iznosom za redov-
ničku poslužnicu. Kao je dozvoljen plodni depozit,
ili onda, uvezan zavremenog časova konsolidacijski bi se postavl-
jeni rezultati.

colonies and maintained by regular cleaning of fish oil during this time. The waste was collected under the baseline, and tank concrete visually checked each time was made. A mixture of salt and water in the ratio of 100 liters of water to about 10 g of salt. Posto or egg immersed in zinc must feed. The solution concentration was measured by immersing posture or eggs that would surface after the appropriate salt solution concentration was achieved. When the fish was harvested, same would be cleaned with the wooden log that had a small opening its porous of pure lime and is used. At the try of such wood board, wooden horse would firmly be fixed.





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Katica Dujmović in the family *baraka* in Hvar,
courtesy of Prošper Maričić

