

From Onions to Champagne – Food and Drink in the SrpELTeC Corpus

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ABSTRACT: The paper presents a set of examples excerpted from the Serbian ELTeC collection, which illustrate eating habits and language about food in the Serbian population from the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The results are confronted with ethnographic sources and description of private life from that time, as well as with the language of food illustrated in few existing cookbooks in Serbian of the time. Unlike these sources, the examples from the corpus show not only what food was used at that time, but also the attitude of the local population towards food, as well as elements of their food taste as part of a collective identity.

KEYWORDS: corpus, language processing, Serbian language, private life, nineteenth century, food, ELTeC.

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1 Introduction

The accounts of private life of Serbs in the past feature, among other things, reports about the eating habits of the population (Фотић 2005). These descriptions, based on the available written resources and archaeology sources, paint a picture of the available and everyday foodstuffs. But the range of food at hand and the dishes that were prepared depended on a wide variety of factors: rural diet differed from its urban counterpart: in the areas dominated by the Turkish influence, the meals were unlike those eaten in the regions where the German influence prevailed; people's financial situation

affected their nutrition, while technological innovations in the food preparation process changed the contents of the menu. A variety of other factors, such as soil composition, local climate or mastery of various agricultural skills had a significant effect on dietary styles. In view of such a complex set of circumstances, the picture about eating habits that can be pieced together from the available historical sources is limited to what was documented, neglecting the intricacies of preparing everyday, ephemeral, quite simple meals of the diverse population about which no traces whatsoever remain.

On the other hand, the testimonies about the taste (or tastes) of the peoples populating the vast area spreading from Thessaloniki to Buda and Szentendre and even farther to Constantinople and Vienna remain unmentioned in the available documents. What is meant here by taste involves not only one's impression about a certain meal, but also an element of the collective identity (Montanari 2011). There is no data as to the kinds of food deemed desirable, or indeed rare, unusual or unacceptable by the members of the different strata of this complex society. One of the examples of the clash between well-established and new tastes in this sense can be found in (SRP18935: *86):¹ Zlata, a harem slave is brought the most expensive Turkish dishes, which she unwillingly accepts, but she frequently thinks about the food common to her village. New food originating from Vienna can also come in conflict with the deep-rooted tastes as in (SRP18941: *85). Moreover, the attitude towards food is not static: it changes continually over time. The meals readily made at one point or those that someone grew accustomed to get eclipsed at another, as a result of a change in the collective taste or dramatic changes in life's circumstances. This phenomenon of the evolution of taste has been spotted as early as in the prefaces to different editions of SRPSKI KUVAR (*Serbian Cookbook*) written by Katarina Popović-Midžina (Поповић-Миџина 1891, 1911), while the act of suppressing the developed taste in the face of cruel refugee hunger is illustrated in the fragment from (SRP19201: *140-1).

The sources lack data on the evolution of the language referring to food and the changes of meaning of certain words. Based on these old written sources, it is easy to get the impression that they describe the same food

1. The references to certain works forming part of the SrpEITeC corpus follow the (work: number) pattern where work is the code assigned to each novel as listed in the addendum to this issue of *Infotheca*, while number refers to the page number in the novel. A selection of examples illustrating certain items in the text is given in the [Appendix](#) at the end of the paper. The examples cited in the text are marked with the symbol * in front of the page number, unless marked otherwise.

and dishes that we are familiar with today. However, both the individual words and the language of food changed as much as the ingredients themselves. The first Serbian cookbooks appearing in the 19th century can be used as sources of examples of the evolution of the language of cooking. A stable nomenclature for certain foodstuffs, ways of preparing food or indeed meals is still non-existent. While our ancestors knew of *tomato* (PARADAJZ) or *frying in breadcrumbs* (POHOVANJE), for example, in the cooking jargon, they are also referred to as *red tomato* (CRVENI PATLIDŽAN) or simply *frying* (PRŽENJE). AJVAR, nowadays a mainly a red pepper dish was termed SERBIAN AJVAR as early as in PATIN KUVAR (*Pata's Cookbook*) (Марковић 1959). It was made of bell peppers, which differed from the then common meaning of the term, since it was considered to be a synonym for *caviar*, etc.

Still, is there a way of capturing at least a fraction of tastes of our ancestors, having in mind the limitations that necessarily make such an attempt but a rough approximation? One of the pathways of inquiry bypassing the historically significant material is made available through the SrpELTeC corpus data. The texts included in this corpus vary as regards the time period in which the story takes place and the type of plot, but in terms of food, they do not go beyond the limits of what readers in the past would have understood and accepted as something edible (SRP18960: *76-7). While the historical novels found in the corpus bring great battles and rebellions from the past back to mind, crime novels construct the plot around crimes, romances describe the emotional life at the time, when it comes to food, the language that describes it was always concrete and precise for the benefit of the then readers. Food parlance of the past can be of interest to the contemporary reader in several ways. On the one hand, it illustrates eating habits of the people living at a certain time, even the social strata about which there are no ethnographic, historical or other records. This is particularly true of the everyday diet of the less well-to-do population in urban areas, about which no reliable data exist. Even in the languages with a long tradition of recording eating habits, the conclusions about common folk food were drawn indirectly, based on what was recorded about alimentation at courts or in monasteries (Flandrin 2002; Montanari 2011). In addition to everyday meals, the corpus contains examples of sophisticated gastronomic knowledge and pleasures and they too failed to come into the focus of attention of ethnographic writings. Nevertheless, there is a risk of all these examples being interpreted through the lens of the contemporary cooking vocabulary, thus creating a false picture about eating habits and making sense of the language of food as it was used at the time.

Cooking handbooks, published in Novi Sad throughout the period are few and far between and they depict primarily European cuisine under strong German influence. The reach of this cuisine extended to the urban areas in what was then known as Serbia too. The handbooks feature instructions for preparing certain meals mentioned in the SrpELTeC corpus. Still, the descriptions found in cookbooks and those focusing on gastronomic experiences are worlds apart. This is convincingly shown in two dictionaries: Ducasse's *Dictionnaire amoureux de la cuisine* (Dikas 2016) and Millau's *Dictionnaire amoureux de la gastronomie* (Mijo 2012). With the former, written by an eminent chef examining the conditions under which to choose the ingredients or compose dishes that would satisfy guests' tastes, but not the personal taste of the chef (or in all probability the guest either), the latter has Millau, a relentless critic of everything that is brought before him in the form of a dish, placing his senses above any culinary authority. Nonetheless, satisfaction during a meal depends especially on one's mood, as shown in the scene from (SRP19100: *203).

The present text is organized in the following way: Section 2 describes the procedure governing the analysis of the SrpELTeC corpus; some of the results obtained by means of this analysis will be presented in Section 3. Special emphasis will be placed on the relation between the examples identified in literary works and the instances from other sources, dating back to the time when corpus material was created. Closing considerations are given in Section 4.

2 Procedure

The analyzed version of the srpEltek corpus consists of 104 novels and longer short stories selected according to the criteria defined by the Distance Reading action team. This version approximately corresponds to the reference corpus, with the exception of certain slight differences stated in the appendix. The corpus also includes the novels left out of the reference version in order to satisfy common criteria for building a corpus in different languages as part of the action (e.g. no more than three novels by the same author).

The analyzed corpus consists of a total of 5,400,000 simple words processed by using Unitex² with the help of a system of electronic morphological dictionaries for Serbian.

2. Multilingual Corpus Processing Suite [Unitex/GramLab](#)

The texts forming part of this corpus were analyzed first one by one, separately, and then as a chronologically ordered entity, so as to monitor the distribution of the development of certain linguistic phenomena over time, as well as their collective frequency. Figure 1 provides an example of the results of such a collective analysis showing the distribution of appearance of the different forms of the noun *potato* in the corpus. This figure indicates that the initial 40% of the (chronologically ordered) corpus contains less than 20% of all realizations of this noun and that its frequency increases sharply in the second half of the corpus. Such distribution corresponds, for example, to the observations of foreign travelers about the cultivation and use of potatoes in Serbia in the 19th century (Костић 2019).

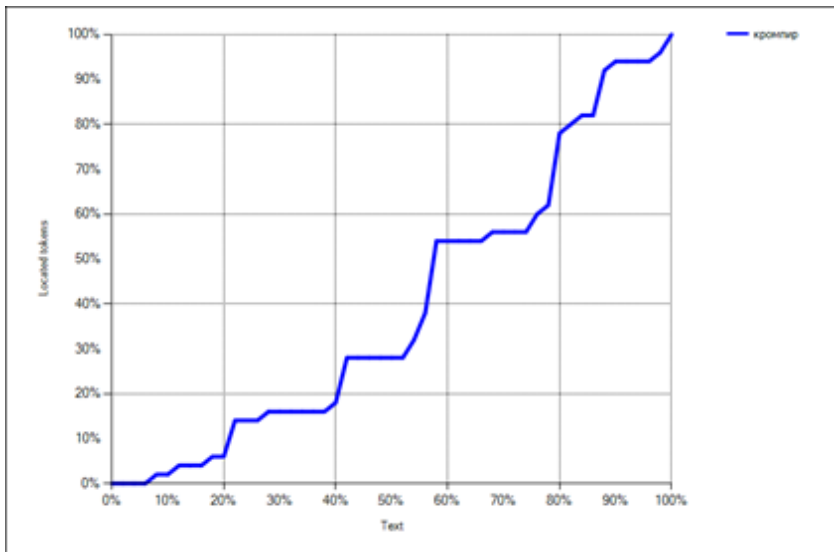


Figure 1. Distribution of the query <krompir>+<krtola>+<<krump>>.

Text analysis itself relies on the lexical resources developed for Serbian, especially the semantic markers built into the system of electronic dictionaries described in more detail in (Крстев and Јазвић 2015; Krstev et al. 2017; Vitas and Krstev 2012). Besides semantic markers, morphological filters were also used as one of the means of discovering derived words in the records containing the lexemes belonging to the culinary domain. Semantic markers make extracting relevant examples from the corpus possible, but the result

must be manually validated due to the presence of homographs. For instance, the string ZOVE may originate from the name of the plant ZOVA (*elder*) or the verb ZVATI (*call*), while the string BLAŽENA may be derived from the adjective BLAŽEN (*blessed*) or be part of the name of the plant BLAŽENI ČKALJ (*Blessed Thistle – Cnicus benedictus*).

The examples extracted via semantic markers show that further development of the dictionary must include the addition of an ontology describing the relations between certain culinary terms. At the existing level of processing, the relation that exists, for instance, between the entries forming the string *wheat – flour – bread* is not explicitly stated. A simulation of this kind of ontology has, in some cases, been done by using local grammars. The formalization of the indicated relation can be achieved, in part, in interaction with the existing lexical resources, but it is an exceptionally complex endeavour, in general.

Variations in the naming of phenomena pose another problem in the process of identifying food parlance in the corpus. Thus, *potato* (KROMPIR) is also KRUMPIR, KRUMPIJER or KRTOLA, *French beans* (BORANIJA) is also BURANIJA and *beans* (PASULJ) can also be referred to as GRA(H), etc.

As the plot in the novels takes place in different cultural settings, the extracted examples should have to be assigned not only temporal markers, but also the markers of dominant cultural influence. However, such markings, although potentially useful are not the primary aim of this analysis. Our goal is to determine what kind of food is mentioned in the corpus and possibly the relation between the attestations identified in this manner and the ethnographic and historical sources referring to the domain of food. In other words, we are, above all, interested in what could be said about food in Serbian at that particular point in time, as well as the nature of the attitude towards food in the past. Brillat-Savarin's statement: "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are" from *Physiologie du Goût* (1825) has additional significance in this corpus: what is brought to the protagonists of the stories as a meal, defines not just their identity, but also the wider cultural and geographic context of the milieu in which they live.

The search for culinary terms in the corpus was performed across sections consisting of entries sharing thematic similarities, so that the results obtained from the corpus could be compared to other sources. The comparison was made relative to the relevant historical and ethnographic sources. We focused our attention on the kinds of food or dishes whose past meaning or use differ from those opted for today. Because of the space constraints imposed by this article, the present review could not be comprehensive.

3 Results

The language of food is featured throughout SrpELTeC in a variety of ways, sometimes only in passing and sometimes the entire sumptuous feasts with the accompanying rituals were described, as in (SRP18950). Such examples that could be recognized by using the available tools were singled out and classified. The classification made it possible to organize these examples into sections featuring entries that share thematic similarities, thus giving an insight into certain aspects of the process of preparing and serving, as well as enjoying food at the time. We will first examine the range of foodstuffs that can be used to prepare a meal, subsequently focusing on some dishes and beverages that found their way to tables of the protagonists of the literary works forming the corpus.

3.1 Food of Plant Origin

Food originating from plants can be classified into several groups. The first group is constituted by cereals. The word *cereal* (ŽITARICA)³ is not present in the corpus. Instead, it is substituted by *grain* (ŽITO) and its many meanings. Grain can refer not only to wheat and corn, but also other cereals, as in (SRP19024: 147), for example, or maybe in (SRP19102: 310) and (SRP19132: 216). Individual cereals are also mentioned, especially *corn* (KUKURUZ) [236]⁴ (in (SRP18992:45) – KURUZA or in (SRP18970: 33) – *corn fields* (MURUŽNE NJIVE), *wheat* (PŠENICA) [52] (or ŠENICA [15]), *oats* (OVAS or ZOB) [50], *barley* (JEČAM) [28], *rice* (PIRINAČ (PIRINADŽ)) [19], *broomcorn* (SIRAK) [2], *rye* (RAŽ) [1], *buckwheat* (HELJDA) [1] <36>.⁵ *Millet* (PROSO) appears only once, indirectly, as *millet bread* – PROSENICA <37>.

Flour [108] and subsequently baked goods are made of cereals: *bread* (HLEB (HLEBAC, LEB, LJEB, LEBAC)), *round unleavened bread* (POGAČA), *flat*

3. In Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's 1852 *Serbian dictionary* (SRPSKI RJEČNIK), the only meaning given for the word ŽITARICA is “grain transporting ship”, while the corpus features the word BOLOZANKA in (SRP18620:7) with the same meaning.

4. The number shown in square brackets [...] refers to either the frequency of a lemma or the one obtained from a lemma (that includes the derived forms) by applying a morphological filter. For example, the filter <<^pšenič>> extracts the examples for the noun PŠENICA and the adjective PŠENIČNI.

5. Ordinal numbers referring to the selected examples of use of the terms denoting cereals and vegetables given in the [Appendix](#) as subsection *Examples of Food of Plant Origin* appear in the text in brackets < i >.

unleavened bread (LEPINJA), *round loaf of wheat bread* (SOMUN), *round bread* (SIMIT), *rusk* (PEKSIMIT), *commercially manufactured biscuits* (BEŠKOT) (a total of over 800 mentions), as well as *corn bread* (PROJA (and PROHA)) [62], along with *rolls* (KIFLE), *buns* (ZEMIČKE), *bagels* (DEVRECI), *pretzels* (PERECE)...

How does this data measure up to the historical and ethnographic sources? Карић (1887, 109) states that “corn bread and leavened and unleavened bread made of wheat, barley, oat and buckwheat flour is the main food of our peasants in the lent season” which corresponds to the data obtained from the corpus. The following quote from (Мијатовић 1908) reads that in the Levač region “rye (...), oats, buckwheat and millet (fine grained corn) are rarely sown”. Besides, *spelt* (KRUPNIK) and *meslin* (SURAŽICA) that are absent from the corpus are mentioned in (Зиројевић 2005). These sources fail to make reference to a wide variety of baked goods.

At first sight, the selection of vegetables does not differ much from what is available in the open-air markets today. The ethnographic sources describing eating habits of the time reference varying selection of vegetables depending on author. Thus, Карић (1887, 110) mentions *beans* (PASULJ), (extremely hot) *peppers* (PAPRIKA), *cabbage* (KUPUS), *broad beans* (BOB), *French beans* (BORANIJA), *lentils* (SOČIVO), *potatoes* (KROMPIR), *radish* (ROTKVA), *rice* (PIRINAČ), *dock* (ZELJE), *cucumbers* (KRSTAVAC), different kinds of bulbous vegetables (*garlic* (BELI LUK), *onion* (CRNI LUK), *leek* (PRAZILUK), *chives* (VLAŠAC), *bunching onion* (ALJMA)). This list is extended in (Мијатовић 1908) to include *squash* (TIKVA), *mushrooms* (PEČURKE), *bell peppers* (BABURE), *pickling peppers* (TURŠIJARE), RED TOMATOES (CRVENI PATLIDŽAN), whereas *nettle* (KOPRIVA), *green amaranth* (ŠTIRA) and *white horehound* (PEPELJUGA) are used in the same way as *dock*. The author also lists little known vegetable crops that are not cultivated; these are: *peas* (GRAŠAK), *eggplants* (PLAVI PATLIDŽAN, MODRI PATLIDŽAN), *lentils* (SOČIVO), *parsley* (PERŠUN), and *dill* (MIRODIJA). He also mentions *beet* (CVEKLA), describing it as “the root of *patience dock* (PITOMO ZELJE)” – thus, could be no different from *chard* (BLITVA).

The most comprehensive catalogue of edible plants is found in (Зиројевић 2005) where the above-mentioned selection is expanded by adding *carrots* (REPA (ŽUTA REPA, ŠARGAREPA and MRKVA)), *beans* (GRAH), *spinach* (SPANAC), *sorrel* (KISELJAK), *eggplant* (PLAVI PATLIDŽAN), *kohlrabi* (KELERABA), *cauliflower* (KARFIOL), *artichoke* (ARTIČOKA), *asparagus* (ŠPARGLA), *pumpkin* (BUNDEVA), *celery* (CELER), *kale* (KELJ), *horseradish* (REN) and *zucchini* (TIKVICA). The differences between various cultivated

vegetable crops encountered in diverse sources stem from the fact that older written works provide descriptions related to Serbian 19th century countryside, disregarding the range of vegetables available in towns, especially in Austria-Hungary, where the selection of vegetables included in the diet was considerably richer. Hence, *onions, garlic, cabbage, potatoes, kohlrabi, rice, beans, string bean* (MAHUNE), *green beans* (ZELENI PASULJ) and *French beans, peppers and bell peppers, eggplants, tomatoes, cucumbers, kale, pumpkins, squash and gourd* (JURGET), *peas, spinach, asparagus, dock, chives, celery, carrots, truffles* (GOMOLJIKA), *mushrooms, button mushrooms* (ŠAMPINJONI), *parsley, dill, parsnip* (PAŠTRNAK)... are named in (Поповић-Мицина 1891) where the following remark is given about bell peppers: “Take bell peppers, Bulgarian ones, nice ones...”

The corpus attests to the presence of almost all these vegetable crops. First and foremost, there are general terms, such as *vegetables* (POVRĆE) [28], *greens* (ZELEN) [7] and *greenstuff* (ZELJE) [10] but especially – *stewed vegetables* (VARIVO) [5] mostly referring to *pulses* (MAHUNARKE). An example of their occurrence can be found in Appendix 2 under items <1, 2, 18>. The examples of cultivation of individual kinds of vegetables have also been confirmed, primarily bulbous vegetables, above all *garlic* and *onions* [156]. Other vegetables of the bulbous variety, namely, *leek* [4], *pickling onion* (ARPADŽIK) [1] are rarely found, while *chives* and *bunching onions* are absent <3, 4, 15>. These are followed by *beans* (GRAH, GRA') [97] <5, 15>, *French beans* (BURANIJA) [5] <6> and *lentils* (SOČIVO) [10] <7>, with the form LEČA missing from the corpus. Other kinds of pulses on record include *peas* [3], *broad beans* [8] and *chickpeas* (LEBLEBIJE or NAUT) [13] <8, 9, 10>. Furthermore, both *cabbage* and *sauerkraut* (KISELI KUPUS) [72] <11> were confirmed as listed in the corpus, together with *peppers* [56] <12, 13⁶>, *potatoes* (KRTOLA, KRUMPIR, KRUMPIJER) [48] <14, 15>, *cucumbers* (KRSTAVAC, KRSTAVICA) [31] <16, 17>, *radishes* [10] and *red radishes* (ROTKVICE) [2] <19>, *asparagus* [5], *cauliflower* [4] and *kale* [2]. *Pumpkin* [17], *squash* [44] and their variant names: DULEK [7] and ŠUČURKA [1], JURGET [1] and LUDAJA [2] <23, 24, 25> are also present. Cultivated plants include *horseradish* [10] <26>, *spinach* [5] <27>, *lettuce* (salata) [5] <28>, *parsley* (MAGDANOS) [3] <4, 5>, *celery* (ČERVIZ) [3] <4, 29>.

6. Example <13> reveals why *bell peppers* in (Поповић-Мицина 1891) are referred to as Bulgarian.

There are red tomatoes and there are eggplants⁷ [11] <13, 14> but the examples <30> show that both vegetable crops were regarded as foreign elements of the cuisine by the residents of the Belgrade Dorćol quarter in the late 19th century. The name *tomato* [4] (CRVENI PATLIDŽAN) appears in the corpus at that time among the Serbs in Vojvodina <31> and somewhat later in the town of Niš as CRVENI FRENC. [32]. Such late appearance of tomatoes corresponds to the data provided by (Zirojević 2019).

The examples referring to other vegetables cited in (Поповић-Мицина 1891) (Popović, 1891) indicate that they are not widely present in the diet of the time. *Beet* (CVEKLA (PANDŽAR)) [6] is mentioned because of its colour or as cattle feed. *Carrots* are known as *yellow radish* (ŽUTA REPA) [1] <33> and just like beet, they get mentioned because of their color, rather than as an element of the diet.⁸ The fact that neither beets nor carrots were common is made evident by their very names, taken from Hungarian, while PANDŽAR is of Turkish origin.

Mushrooms [12] are used only metaphorically, as in the expression mushrooms after rain, while *okra* (БАМИЈА),⁹ *bell peppers*, and *pickling peppers* are not mentioned at all. *Sunflower* [21] <34, 35> is known as a decorative plant only.

Other food of plant origin, namely, fruits, spices and medicinal herbs will not be mentioned here.

The frequency of the above-mentioned plants confirms their presence in the diet, providing hints about the nature of the common meal, as well as about forbidden or undesirable food, at the same time.

Onions, whose frequency is high are often the only ingredient of meagre meals, in addition to bread (see the examples in the Appendix, Subsection *Examples of the Simplest Meals - Bread and Onions*). This meal structure corresponds to the description given in (Карић 1887, 109) and (Мијатовић 1908, 12). A variety of vegetables makes a more varied and richer diet possible, illustrated, for example, by Gican's feasts in (SRP18741:117-21) or New Year's Eve supper in (SRP18911: 65) (see Subsection *A Description of a Feast* in the Appendix). Both descriptions show

7. In Serbian, the same noun (PATLIDŽAN) is used for both *tomato* and *eggplant* that are distinguished by their respective adjectival modifiers, *crveni* (RED) and *blue*, *dark* (PLAVI, MODRI).

8. Поповић-Мицина (1891) (Popović, 1891) cites recipes for preparing *carrots* and *beet*.

9. БАМИЈА might be synonymous with the term БАБЊА in (SRP19012: 27).

that gourmet cuisine of townspeople, where onions were no longer key, co-existed with the modest menu of peasants and workers.

In the case of some of the terms, referring to certain plants, it is unclear what exactly is meant by them. For instance, ZELJE, according to (Белић 1959–2021) (RSANU) can be understood both as a general term for plants and taken to mean “different herbaceous plants (...) whose leaves are often eaten”. In the example (SRP18922: 118) “GRGO IZNESE ZELJA I SUHE RIBE” (“*Grgo brought (herbaceous) plants and dried fish*”), ZELJE is as undefined as the kind of fish brought to the table. Nevertheless, even as regards the plants whose names are unambiguous, we cannot be sure whether they are the same as their counterparts today. We can find out something about their appearance from the metaphors related to their characteristics: *oranges like golden apples* (SRP18910:75), *small like a cucumber* (SRP19203:110), *pale like a lemon* (SRP18760: 351), *yellow like a lemon* (SRP19070: 92), *pale and blue like an eggplant* (SRP19021:67), *all red like a pepper* (SRP18892:240), *as hot as a pepper* (SRP19001: 25) (see also (Krstev 2021) in the same issue).

Some plants used as food are not mentioned. For instance, *okra* (BAMIJA), referred to by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in his *Dictionary* is not mentioned even once in (Грђић-Бјелокосић 1908), while (Марковић 1959) says the following, specifying that *okra* is an indispensable ingredient of stews: “In the past you could see heaps of this vegetable in Belgrade’s open-air market, but it is rare today. Okra is a very pleasant herbaceous plant in the summer and many people like it better than any other”. Did okra disappear from stews because of its origin that was considered to be too oriental? *Bulgur*, which according to (Тројановић 1983, 319) is used and very valued by peasants, who use it instead of rice, suffered a similar fate. It appears in the corpus only once in the form of BUNGUR (SRP19030: 122). *Rice*, whose use is mainly associated with Turkish cuisine owes the majority of its appearances in the corpus to the works published after the year 1900 and mainly in relation to oriental dishes. This shows that taste, as part of the collective identity, as far as the choice of foodstuffs is concerned was determined by the reasons that could be different from the objective nutritional value of food.

3.2 Food Staples or Groceries

What information does the corpus provide regarding food staples that cannot be produced in the countryside, such as oil, sugar or coffee?

Salt was recorded 107 times, 40 times of which in the expression HLEB i SO (*bread and salt*) (including the variations of the lexeme HLEB) as a

symbol of hospitality. Twenty instances are related to the purchase of salt in a store or its delivery from Vidin, for example (SRP18790:40), or to Zlatibor from Belgrade (SRP18880: 55). In all probability, the purchase of salt was an important expense, since it is linked to the buying of *peasant shoes* (OPANCI) no less than four times (SRP18751: ?), (SRP18992: 45; 70), (SRP18993: 9). It is noted in (Карић 1887, 114) that too much salt is added to food, while the remark that such eating practices should be changed is found in (SRP19102: *382).

ZEJTIN [53] and ULJE (*oil*)¹⁰ [32] appear side by side, sometimes even in the same sentence (SRP18880: 17). In the vast majority of examples, the appearance of oil is related to icon lamps, but it is also used as an element of nutrition, as in (SRP19000: 83) or (SRP19201: 19). It is also necessary when seasoning a salad, as in (SRP18730: 126): „EVO VEČERE, DAJTE SAMO OSTA I ULJA“¹¹ (“*here’s supper, just get some vinegar and oil*”). According to (Поповић-Миџина 1891), oil is used primarily for seasoning and rarely for frying, in which case, mostly for frying fish.

Oil is among the rare foodstuffs that have to be purchased (SRP19102: 97). A description of a grocery store where oil is sold together with salt and other household items is given in (SRP19140: 178). In villages, it was sometimes distributed by hired coachmen, as well (SRP19101: 137).

The origin of oil usually is not stated. However, based on some examples, it can be concluded that what is referred to is first and foremost olive oil. Thus, *fine oil from Ulcinj* is mentioned in (SRP18590: 541), while olives are linked to oil in (SRP18892: 332) or (SRP19061: 189). Still, other examples indicate that ZEJTIN and in fewer cases ULJE is not exclusively olive oil. In (SRP19080: 44) there is the following comparison: POZNATA ŽILAVKA ŽUTE BOJE, JASNA I ČISTA KAO ZEJTIN (*the famous yellow coloured (wine) Žilavka, clear and pure like oil*). Because of the colour, this oil may not have been of the olive variety. In (SRP19091: 75) it is stated that ANDA NOĆU RAZGREVA ZEJTIN (*Andja heats up oil at night*) and that is why it might have been a different kind of fat. In (SRP18880: 36) MED JE LAGAN I TEČAN KAO ETIRNO ULJE (*honey is light and liquid like ether oil*). The quality of OIL (ZEJTIN) can differ, depending on the degree of refinement: from the example in (SRP19060: 434) ŠALJE U CRKVU NAJPROSTIJI ZEJTIN

10. ZEJTIN [53] and ULJE [32] are synonyms, both meaning *oil*, just like SIRĆE and OCAT below referring to *vinegar*.

11. *Vinegar* (SIRĆE) [30] or somewhat rarely, OCAT [9] is used along with oil. Vinegar can be made from plums, wine, apples or even roses as in (SRP18920: 213).

(*sends oil of the worst quality to church*), to the one in (SRP18941: 64) where NAJČISTIJI BARABANC-ZEJTIN (*the purest Bărbantç oil*) is used. According to (Зиројевић 2005), oil could also be made from sesame or poppy seeds, “šarlagan”, but these plants are absent from the corpus. Linseed might also have been used, but it is mentioned only alongside hemp.

The first appearance of sugar [145] is recorded in (SRP18631: 74) and subsequently it spread evenly throughout the remaining part of the corpus. In (SRP18751), there are 32 instances in the form of loaf of sugar and this particular combination appears only once more in (SRP19061: 10), while in (Тројановић 1983, 289) we find that “SE PAKUJE U HARTIJU [...] ONU PLAVU SA GLAVE ŠEĆERA” (“*it is wrapped in paper [...] the blue one removed from a loaf of sugar*”). Sugar was either imported or produced locally from sugar beet in the late 19th century (SRP19100: 202). It was sold in shops (SRP18750: 40), (SRP18760: 320) on both banks of the Sava and the Danube where it was stored in barrels or sacks. It was served with brandy (SRP18960: 108), coffee or water, usually as a *piece of sugar* (PARČE ŠEĆERA). It was used for making sweets, both oriental ones and those originating from Vienna (SRP19030: 118).

Finally, *coffee* [798], which gets mentioned more times than any other kind of food is indispensable. It is attested throughout the corpus in different forms (КАФА [394], КАВА [349], КАХВА [55]) also КАЈМАКЛИЈА [6] and even [2] *black broth* (crna čorba) e.g. in (SRP18940: 151). In the early ethnographic writings, no reference is made to coffee.¹² Coffee is essential, but it is viewed as a source of evil as early as in (SRP18630: 215) if it is drunk by women. Nevertheless, despite such remarks, the frequency of its occurrence shows that coffee was already an obligatory everyday beverage at the time. Moreover, there were people addicted to good coffee (SRP19193: *20). Precise instructions for making coffee are given in (Драгановић 1855), while (Поповић-Мицина 1891) provides a detailed description of coffee varieties classified by origin and method of preparation, including even a description of a percolator. Coffee arrived from Brazil (SRP19140:168). Coffee beans were unroasted, so they had to be roasted and ground after purchase. Black coffee or cafe au lait was drunk at home, in cafes and also at work where it was made by attendants.

The making of coffee, that is GORKA KAVA, NAJMILJE PIĆE TURSKO (*black coffee, a favourite Turkish drink*) was described as early as in (SRP18631: 70). At the same time, in (SRP18691: 100), coffee is the morning

12. ALOVINA, a beverage made of oats or barley, drunk instead of coffee is mentioned in (Тројановић 1983) but this word is not featured in the corpus.

drink of bishops. It was drunk in towns and in villages too (SRP18891: 116). Coffee was made the Turkish way, in a Turkish coffeepot (DŽEZVA) placed on a brazier (MANGAL) (SRP19070: 31) and in a coffee roasting tile stove (KAVE-ODŽAK) (SRP18790: 49). It was served not only in *narrow-necked copper vessels, with a cover used as coffeepots* (IBRIK) and Turkish coffee cups (FILDŽAN), but also in the European manner in a porcelain coffeepot and cups (SRP18892: 294). Coffee was sipped very hot [15] and often served with brandy, wine or *fruit preserves* (SLATKO) [46].

Examples for this section are given in the [Appendix](#), subsection *Examples of Food Staples or Groceries*.

3.3 Dishes

Which dishes were prepared in the past and what were our ancestors able to cook using the above-mentioned foodstuffs? The answers to these questions depend not only on the already well-established tastes, but certainly on cooking skills and the available kitchen tools, as well. Some dishes can be cooked in a copper cauldron hanging over the hearth, others in the oven, in a pot or indeed using a wide array of kitchen tools. Culinary skills are derived either from inherited food preparation practices or the innovations resulting from new knowledge adopted from other cultures. The first cookbook in Serbian (Драгановић 1855) states in its very title that it features recipes collected from German books on cooking. However, it became the basis of local feasts as early as in (SRP18941:385) where Jerotej's theory got transformed into madam Sida's cooking practice.

Meals ranged from the primitive eating using a shared spoon or fingers to pick food from the dining table (SRP18740: *133) to food excesses typical of feasts (SRP18967: *?). While in the former case food was brought or poured on the table all at the same time, in the latter, dishes followed one after the other in a predefined succession throughout the meal. The order of dishes served as part of a meal can be fixed (SRP18741: 121), (SRP18960: 116), (SRP18961: 26),¹³ in some settings, even the menu can be permanent and organized by the days of the week (SRP18880: 61).

Were the meals brought to the table in the past, such as soups and broths, beans, moussaka, stuffed peppers, stuffed sauerkraut leaves, stewed sauerkraut, goulash, steaks prepared in different ways and certainly barbecue, ajvar, and other salads the same ones that constitute "local cuisine"

13. The order of dishes during feasts held by Serbs, Russians, the English, the French and Swedes was described as early as in (Поповић-Мицица 1891)

today (Витас 2018)?¹⁴ Can the examples featuring these dishes, which are the basis of the usual and even national cuisine nowadays be found in the corpus?

However, the names of dishes alone are usually not enough – it is necessary to cross-reference their names with the recipes, if any, dating back to the period in question. In addition to Jerotej’s (Драгановић 1855) cookbook, there was also the one by Поповић-Мицина (1891) that had four editions by the year 1920, as well as the 1922 *Cookbook* by Мирковић (1922). All these books on cooking have a shared denominator “srpski kuvar“ (Serbian Cookbook), found in their respective titles, despite having been published in Novi Sad. Consequently, they feature approximations of the dishes prepared under strong German and Hungarian influence at the time, while making a modest contribution to the description of the dishes existing on the opposite riverbanks of the Sava and the Danube.

We will look into some of the above-mentioned dishes comparing them to the data attested in the corpus. The aim is to examine whether the name is all that has remained to this day or the dish itself has been preserved in the form cited in the cookbooks of the time. Some dishes have obviously survived to this day, including beans without any animal fat added, beans with bacon or smoked meat, or pap, stuffed sauerkraut leaves or wine leaves, sauerkraut stew with turkey. *Goulash* (GULAŠ, GULJAŠ), however is mentioned only twice in (SRP18630). On the other hand, the somewhat forgotten chicken or lamb stew is mentioned as many as 19 times. Stuffed peppers are absent and mousaka appears only once. Just like other stew-like southern dishes (DUVEČE, JANIJA and PAPAŽJANIJA), they are rejected in certain regions as completely unacceptable foreign dishes (SRP18880: 72).

Soup and Broth

Nowadays, the difference between a *soup* (SUPA) and a *broth* (ČORBA) is clear: a broth must be garnished with browned flour. Soup is non-existent in the books on cooking until 1920. The only thing discussed are broths. Jerotej provides recipes for around twenty broths, both those with meat and/or fat and those without, but the term *soup* is not present. In Поповић-Мицина (1891), a single instance of the word *soup* (SUPA) is found. Namely, it forms part of the transcription of the German term BRAUNE SUPPE: BRAUNE SUPE. The local equivalent for this in Поповић-Мицина (1891) Midžina is

14. A similar selection of local meals can be found at [Wikipedia article on Serbian cuisine](#).

dark broth (MRKA ČORBA), the obligatory ingredients of which are hollow bone and beef liver. This dish is referred to as *beef broth* (*soup*) in a recipe appearing as late as in Sofija Mirković's cookbook.

The word *broth* appears in the corpus 75 times, for the first time in (SRP18740: 137) and (SRP18741: 95) where *black broth* (CRNA ČORBA) with grated Parmesan cheese is also found (SRP18741: *121), which is probably the same as Midžina's *Braune Suppe*. A broth can be meat/fat free (SRP19012: 3), or otherwise contain (fatty) beef (SRP18760: *377), lamb (SRP18871: *41), pork (SRP18964: *50), chicken (SRP19102: *65), or other poultry. There is also *fish* (RIBLJA) or *fisherman's* (ALASKA) *broth* (SRP18950: 54), flavoured with kaymak and eggs SRP19102: *65), eggs being an important ingredient (SRP18940: *54). *Sour broth* (KISELA ČORBA) [11] is a true favourite. It is described as containing chicken in (Драгановић 1855), while according to (Поповић-Мицина 1891) any kind of meat can be added to it. The sour quality is obtained by adding vinegar or lemon.

Soup (SUPA) [30] appears for the first time in (SRP18630: 148), therefore, before the first appearance of *broth* (ČORBA), just after the publication of the first edition of Jerotej's cookbook. This can be explained by Jerotej's (Драгановић 1855) and later Midžina's (Поповић-Мицина 1891) insistence on the use of Serbian names of dishes: they rejected the term SUPA on account of its foreign origin and replaced it by the Serbian counterpart – ČORBA. What must be kept in mind here is the fact that fresh beef is used when cooking beef soup; thus, there is the requirement of buying the ingredient at a butcher's shop, which was feasible only in urban areas at the time.

Unlike broths, the composition of soups is not mentioned except in (SRP19001: *27). Still, some people regarded soup as a new dish, since it is stated in (SRP18961: *26) that broth, referred to as soup, is brought to the table, having completely replaced the traditional sour broth. An indication of making a clear distinction between a broth and a soup is found as late as in (SRP19140: *269).

Examples are given in Section *Soup and Broth Examples* in the Appendix.

***Kebab* (ЏЕВАП) and *Grilled Minced-Meat Finger* (ЏЕВАПЧИЋ), Roasting and Frying**

The lexeme ЏЕВАПЧИЋ (*grilled minced-meat finger*) has been widely replaced by the lexeme ЏЕВАП (*kebab*) today (Витас 2018). Before this latest change of meaning took place, ЏЕВАП used to refer to pieces of meat prepared or cooked

most often on a grill, while ЏЕВАРЏИЏ meant “finely chopped [...] meat prepared in the shape of small, short sausages and cooked on a grill” (Петровић 1937). In (Поповић-Миџина 1891) only ЏЕВАР is found; it is prepared using big chunks of meat or fish that are roasted on a skewer, in the oven or steamed (in water or beef broth). ЏЕВАРЏИЏ, however, is absent.

Both lexemes: ЏЕВАР [12] and ЏЕВАРЏИЏ [10] are featured in the corpus. ЏЕВАР, appears for the first time in (SRP18882: *37), and with the exception of an example in (SRP19140: *269) where *kebab* (ЏЕВАР) is steamed (in water or beef broth), all other examples feature kebab roasted on a skewer. As early as in (Марковић 1959) (Marković, 1959) it is said that skewered kebab is “a classic dish served for lunch in the field” but that it must not be “three paces long”, that is not exceed half a metre. In (SRP18934: *88) there are words of praise for an arşın (approximately 3/4 metre) long kebab.

ЏЕВАРЏИЏ appeared for the first time in (SRP18690: *5). In (SRP19100: 67), their number is reduced to today’s restaurant portion of ten minced-meat fingers.

In the fourth edition of (Поповић-Миџина 1911), grilled minced-meat fingers and *skewers* (РАЖЊИЏИ) are among the dishes that are mentioned for the first time as “Serbian food” in addition to kebab, whose meaning is as described above. A skewer is described there as a small kebab made of walnut-sized pieces of meat, its dimensions being similar to those of a contemporary skewer. Grilled minced-meat fingers were made of meat cut into small pieces (meat grinders would appear later). They were about a finger long. When grilled, both minced-meat fingers and skewers got sprinkled with finely chopped onions. The then version of kebab, therefore is more akin to what is sold today as Greek gyros, but positioned horizontally when roasted, or resembling a giant skewer. *Grilled minced meat patties* (ПЛЈЕСКАВИЦЕ) are nowhere to be found and a hint of what is known today as grilled minced meat patties topped with melted kaymak can be found in (Мијатовић 1908). In other words, the pride and joy of the local cuisine and an indispensable feature of the contemporary restaurant and fast food joint menus experienced considerable changes over the last hundred years, both in terms of its lexis and probably taste, as well.

In addition to barbecue, meat [128] roasted on a spit (SRP19000: *172) is an indispensable element of feasts and other meals, particularly restaurant ones. Like broths, *roasts* (РЕЏЕНЈЕ) vary from roasted pork, lamb, poultry, veal, ox, rabbit, pheasant and even badger. Roasts are eaten with fingers, according to the Turkish custom (SRP18950: 125), (SRP18760: 338) or get carved up (SRP18620: 37) and put in bowls or plates to be carried to the

table or stored in baskets prepared for picnics. Another belief regarding traditional dishes is brought into question here: pork roast is as common as lamb roast. It is served warm or cold and it can be bought in restaurants. An interesting remark about the quality of roasted meat in roadside restaurants can be found in (SRP19001: 237).

Besides meat roasted on a spit, exceptionally rare occurrences of individual pieces of meat fried or roasted on a barbecue are also present. Corpus entries include *grilled steak* (ĆULBASTIJA) [2] (SRP18980: 32 and SRP18992: 45), and very early on *beefsteak* (or *lungenbraten*)¹⁵ (BIFTEK), as well as *pork chops* (“KARMENADLE”) [1] (SRP18941: 88, 121), but not *schnitzel* (ŠNICLA) resulting from a special way in which meat is cut and prepared. Popović-Midžna tried to introduce the terms PRŽOLJICA and ROŠTILJAČA as Serbian equivalents of the German word *Schnitzel*. But she is inconsistent in their use, since they refer to other pieces of meat, as well. Thus, ROŠTILJAČA, for example could be either leg of pork/lamb or sirloin steak, while PRŽOLJICA is both leg of pork/lamb, JETRENICA (the term introduced by Popović-Midžina to mean *beefsteak*) and cutlet. . . The contemporary range of differently prepared chops was not part of the usual meal at the time.

The fat used to prepare food is animal fat [51] or butter [85], rarely kaymak. Animal fat is used for medicinal purposes and greasing; it is also necessary food in poor people’s households (SRP19203: *150). In several examples, fat is used in the course of food preparation as in (SRP18881: 24), (SRP18941: 176) and (SRP19000: *172). Suet appears in stock phrases ŽIVETI KAO BUBREG U LOJU (literally *to live like a kidney in suet* i.e. *to live in the clover*) or IDE KAO PO LOJU (literally *(everything) is going (smoothly) as if greased with suet* i.e. *everything is going like clockwork*). When burnt for lighting, it is the material from which tallow candles (LOJANE SVEĆE or LOJANICE) are made, but as a source of fat it is not used when preparing food.

Additional thirty or so instances of the noun *chicken* (PILE) and adjective *chicken* (PILEĆI) in the dietary repertoire at the time are worth mentioning. To these, around fifteen instances of the words such as *wing*, *thigh*, *leg*, *rump*, *white meat* (KRILCE, BATAK, TRTICA, BELO MESO) should be added. An example from (SRP18934: *158) is particularly interesting

15. Both Драгановић (1855) (Draganović, 1855) and Поповић-Мицина (1891) (Popović, 1891) use the term *lungenbraten*, meaning *beefsteak* in Austrian German. In (Поповић-Мицина 1891), however, it is not very clear whether it refers to beefsteak or a bigger piece of meat that incorporates beefsteak (for which the contemporary term LEDANICA is used nowadays).

since it provides information that kaymak too, like butter in other national cuisines, could be used as fat when frying. As previously indicated, *frying in breadcrumbs* (РОНОВАНЈЕ) is mentioned as a cooking method in (Поповић-Мицина 1891), but it is referred to as simply *frying* (PRŽENJE). The only subsequent appearance of the term РОНОВАНЈЕ in the corpus, significantly later compared to (Поповић-Мицина 1891) is found to be in the negative context in (SRP18941: 85) (The example from Section *Examples (Section 1)*).

Examples are given in Section *Grilled and Fried Meat Examples* in the Appendix.

Ajvar and Salads

Ajvar (AJVAR or HAJVAR) [6], which is nowadays considered to be a traditional national specialty does not appear in the corpus in its modern meaning. All recorded instances are related to the notion of *caviar*, as that meaning precedes the contemporary one (Zirojević 2020). Moreover, all instances happen to be in the context of three rich people's feasts (SRP18741: hajvar), (SRP19131: 41; SRP19190: 159: ajvar). In 19th century cookbooks too, this term is used exclusively in relation to caviar. Ajvar made of peppers is mentioned for the first time in (Поповић-Мицина 1911) where it is made using peppers and eggplants, with an unusual suggestion that fried eggplants should be peeled with a small silver spoon.

Salad (SALATA) [12] is another notion linked to middle class feasts, especially celery salad. Outside of that context, it appears in the corpus only once, as part of a lunch and twice as the garden crop, *lettuce* (ZELENA SALATA). *Sauerkraut*, *pickled cucumbers*, *pickled peppers* and *tarator* are also prepared as salads, but *tomato salad* or *Serbian salad* (SRPSKA SALATA) is absent from the corpus and cookbooks alike.

3.4 Alcoholic Beverages

Contrary to the contemporary view of *fruit brandy* (RAKIJA) as the national Serbian drink, the corpus provides a different picture. While there are 750 instances of *fruit brandy* (RAKIJA), *wine* (VINO) appears in it twice as often, 1298 times. This number of recorded instances of RAKIJA includes other names such as: ŠLJIVOVICA, PREPEČENICA, KOMOVICA, MUČENICA, LOZOVAČA and also MASTIKA and ANASONLIJA. Unlike RAKIJA, the noun VINO is often accompanied by an adjective determining the region of origin (Metohija → metohijsko, Negotin → negotinsko, Krajina → krajinsko, Župa

→ župsko, Primorje → primorsko, Bitolj → bitoljsko, Tokaj → tokajsko) or nominal determiners that still represent trademarks or brand names today (*Smederevka, Žilavka, Crvenika, Magyarater, Bermet*).

In several sources, the relationship between these two alcoholic beverages has a social dimension. Wine is drunk by the well-to-do, while brandy is for the poor (SRP18740: *141), (SRP18911:* 83), (SRP19071: *69).

Spritzer (ŠPRICER), i.e. wine mixed with soda/mineral water still did not have a name back then (SRP18911: *66), but both local and imported brands of mineral water were used to prepare it.

The surprising thing is that, besides wine, another drink that was frequently enjoyed was *champagne* (ŠAMPANJAC [35]: ŠAMPANJ, ŠAMPANJER, ŠAMPANJSKO VINO, PENUŠAVO VINO). Its frequency is noticeable in the first part of the corpus from (SRP18520) to (SRP18911) and then it vanishes until (SRP19090) when it appears again, remaining present until the end of the time period covered by the corpus in (SRP19201: 714) (see Figure 2).

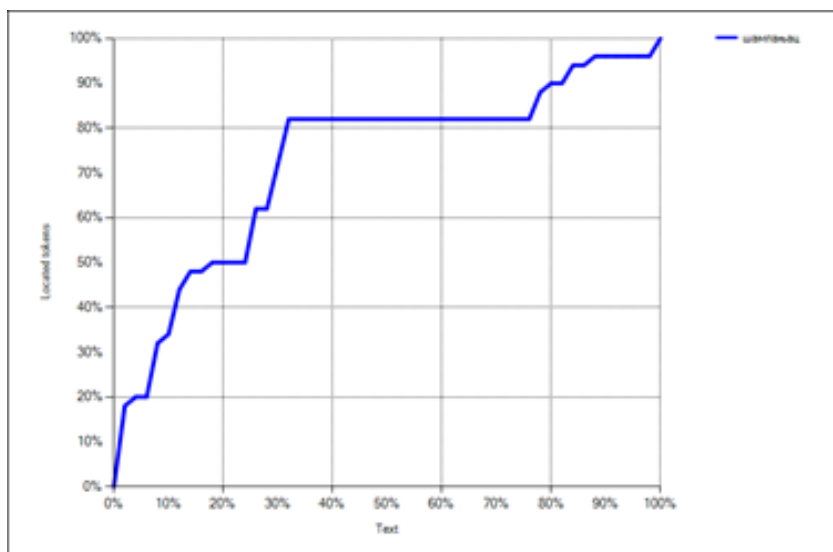


Figure 2. Cumulative frequency for the filter <<šampanj>>.

Other foreign alcoholic beverages were not unknown. Thus, *cognac* [7], *rum and grog* [11], as well as *whiskey, cherry brandy*, together with *punch, curaçao* and *absinthe* are also present.

Examples are given in Section *Alcoholic Beverages Examples* in the Appendix.

4 Conclusion

This short overview of the food and beverages attested in the SrpELTeC corpus bears witness to what was recognized as a nutrition-related concept in Serbian at the time. Moreover, what is dealt with here is not individual knowledge, but concepts that writers can share with their readers. On the other hand, the corpus clearly delineates the zones of cultural influences originating from Turkey and Austria-Hungary. Unlike early ethnographic writings, where we find excitingly simple descriptions of dietary choices, these corpus attestations illustrate their social (and lexical) complexity to the fullest.

The analysis of the SrpELTeC corpus provides additional information that helps paint a more complete picture of the dietary habits of the Serbian population from 1850 to 1920 as described in different ethnographic and historical sources, taking into account not only the choice of foodstuffs and cooked meals, but also their taste. Even at the level of the processed material, it is possible to perceive what is usual, new or peculiar, as far as eating habits and modernization of food preparation methods are concerned. Besides, an element missing in other sources, namely, nutrition of urban population is amply illustrated, including its social dimension.

Similarly, this corpus can surely render the picture of other aspects of life in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century more complete. Complex issues, such as the position of women in the Serbian society, children's education, cultural habits, medical treatments, means of travel and many other questions are amply illustrated too, opening possibilities for conducting further analyses of the corpus.

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Appendix

Examples (Section 1)

(SRP18935: 86) „О, да ми је сад комадић окореле проје, парче сира, сланине, ја сува меса, те бих се сита најела !...“

(SRP18941: 85) Поп Спира није марио за *поковано пилеће*; као Србин и православне цркве син мрзео је на то *швапско печење*.

(SRP19201: 140-1) [...] онде по неко усамљен, ослоњен на зид, на дирек општинскога фењера, ломи рукама хлеб који држи под мишком и штрпка тврди сир из жуте бакалске хартије. А тај исти је, само неколико дана раније, са белом сервијетом на коленима, немарно прелетао очима јеловник, враћао порције што му је дато мршаво месо и три пут враћао келнера да му донесе хлеб са меком горњом кором. [...] Једна београдска породица, која се виђа о премијерама у позоришту, у чијим салонима господаре Шопен, Григ и Чајковски, која отказује службу девојци што је слаткише за жур купила у тој и тој радњи, где никад нису довољно свежи — очајно је и сатима дреждала пред ћепенком једне ћевабџинице, не би ли дошла на ред да купи неколико козјих ћевагчета, које ће из једних старих новина, на сред приштинске улице, јести прстима.

(SRP18960: 76-7) Учитељ пропитиваше из предавања о овци.

— На колико се делова дели овца?

— Овца се, молим господине, дели на пет делова на: главу, врат, труп, ноге и реп... [...]

— Децо! Једе ли се во ?

— Во се једе — рече један ђак, па и остали

— Једе ли се медвед?

— Не једе — наклешише се деца.

— А, на пример, магарац?

(SRP19100: 203) Вино је било нешто накисело, сир тврд, а кајмак преслан. Ипак се њима све то чинило врло добро. Милош је говорио да тако питког вина нигда није пио, Зорка је тврдила да се тако добар сир не може наћи на пијаци, а оба двоје су се слагали да је кајмак одличан.

Examples of Food of Plant Origin

<1> (SRP19102: 313) Тако се и у старој градини направило више места за цвеће, *поврће*, *варива*, малине итд.

- <2> (SRP19102: 50) И воће, и *зелен*, и цвеће — све је најбоље врсте и марљиво гледано и неговано.
- <3> (SRP19012: 3) Недеља је, пост, говорило се о посној чорби, о ђуфтетима од сецкана *празилука*, о *црноме луку* на тепсичету [...]
- <4> (SRP19012: 99) И свекрва ми од собајле у башчу: садила *арпаџик* и *бели лук*, сејала *ћеревиз* и *магданос* [...]
- <5> (SRP18891: 120) — Ово је моје цвеће! — рече попа. Ово се цвеће зове *купус*, ово *кромпир*, ово *пасуљ*, или како га ми сељаци зовемо *гра*, ово *першун*, ово, што лепо мирише, *мирођија*, ово *ротква*, ово...
- <6> (SRP19100: 167) [...] баште по којима расте *боранија* и *празилук* [...]
- <7> (SRP19130: 86) У свима је, и онда као и сад, био најпростији намештај сеоских кућа: неколико лонаца и чинија, наћве, ковчег за брашно, вреће с *пасуљем* и *сочивом*, низови *лука црног* и *белог* [...]
- <8> (SRP19140: 68) Ниже од њих растао је *грашак*, са широким зеленим *махунама*, које су висиле на све стране као фантастичне ресе.
- <9> (SRP18880: 94) Ја је замењујем, прибирам *боб* и *пасуљ*, сушим *мехуне*, млатим их, и зрна остављам за зимицу.
- <10> (SRP19101: 163) И предаде јој сито, пуно шећера, *леблебија* и осталих шећерлема [...]
- <11> (SRP18992: 30) Трешња у цвету, *купус* тек посађен и примљен.
- <12> (SRP18950: 6) Између осталих прочитао је и то: како се могу очувати *зелене паприке*, па да буду свеже усред зиме, као да су тога часа у башти узабрале, [...]
- <13> (SRP19203: 776) [...] поред тога знам да је Бугарин превртљив, па хоће и да превари и да изневери. Познајем ја њих, били су неки и код нас, што саде *патлиџан* и *паприку*.
- <14> (SRP119193: 94) Ја је замењујем, прибирам *боб* и *пасуљ*, сушим *мехуне*, млатим их, и зрна остављам за зимицу. Да видиш моје лехе, моје *патлиџане*, моје *лукове*, мој *кромпир* — све кућице у правилним редовима[...] Поред плота засадила сам *сунцокрет*, већ је израстао више моје главе, још који дан, па ће своје златне круне повијати према сунцу.
- <15> (SRP19090: 145) ... двоје дјече ваде запретане *крумпире* из жераве...
- <16> (SRP18932: 142) Анђелија прво оде у башту те нађе *красавац* и запрета га у пепео....
- <17> (SRP19012: 62) - Те си напраји' један таратор за ћеф од зелене [...]

- <18> (SRP19041: ?) Вртлићи, што би их зец прескочио, засађени *зељем*, леже неуређено и расијано у осјену кућа.
- <19> (SRP19203: 44) [...] сејао је *ротквице*.
- <20> (SRP18730: 56) [...] на њој је било да изда све наредбе о врту [...] где су сејани купус, краставци, диње и лубенице, роткве и остало.
- <21> (SRP18741: 118) *Карфиола* и *шпаггла* мора имати, па ма шта коштало [...]
- <22> (SRP19001: 29) Брзо одрешим шерпу у којој беше сав онај *кељ* што сам га видео и пржено месо.
- <23> (SRP19140: 279) [...] они су ишли дуж некога зида, преко кога су се спуштале процветале вреже од *тикава*.
- <24> (SRP19071: 9) [...] примаче преда се бедну своју вечеру, комад хлеба и повеће парче печене *бундеве* [...]
- <25> (SRP18960: 13) На столу, до прозора, чаша воде с цвећем, а око ње дуње и *шућурке* [...]
- <26> (SRP19193: 6) Код јабуке један вечити џбун крупног сјајног високог лишћа од *рена* даје од монотоније уморном оку, у сва годишња времена лепе зелене боје у свима нијансама редом.
- <27> (SRP18760: 313) Код старе госпође био је ручак већ спреман, супа готова, а у једној великој кастроли је *спанаћ* [...]
- <28> (SRP19100: 129) [...] у прабини сунчевих зрака, жутила се ниска поља, засађена *салатом* и *купусом*.
- <29> (SRP18936: 50) хтеде је бесно погледати али му очи, одоше на салату од *целера*.
- <30> (SRP18880: 72) — Па ђувече од *црвених* и *модрих патлиуана*? Ево како се то готови... — Али докле ћеш ме, Саво, бити по ушима са тим твојим *модрим патлиуанима*? Увек си био онако, онако.... [...] Што ти се сад наспеле те луде цинцарске сплачине?
- <31> (SRP18941: 205) — Та задрж'о ме овај проклети *парадајз* код куће, и баш сам данас нашла да га кувам!
- <32> (SRP19012: 26) [...] бре прајила сам слатко; бре варила сам *црвени френци*; [...]
- <33> (SRP18870: 144) Масло је врло добро и свеже. Бојадишу га *жутом репом* и *сафраном*, ал ја то осетим по мирису, па волим платити новчић два више, само да је добро и чисто.
- <34> (SRP18760: 374) Него, ако немаш георгине, а ти узми црвеног *божура* и два-три струка *сунцокрета*.
- <35> (SRP19140: 69) Око плотова су расли *сунцокрети*.

- <36> (SRP18992: 14) [...] једите црн сухи хлеб *овсени, ељдани* или *никакви*.
- <37> (SRP18964: 149) И *просенице, и сира* и *лука* и *соли* и *вина*!

Examples of the Simplest Meals - Bread and Onions

- (SRP18935: 40) За тим домаши своју торбу, завуче руку унутра, извади комадић *паучљиве проје, једну главицу црног лука*, одреши крпицу у којој је *со* завезана била, и поче авољити.
- (SRP18971: ?) Тако се отимала од немаштине и глади, а дао Бог — сеоској души не треба много: *комад проје* и *главица лука* задовољава потпуно њене потребе и навике. Чутура иде редом, неки присмаче и *хлеба* и *лука* те залива ручак црним вином.
- (SRP19001: 192) Два пуна месеца радио сам са зидарима и живео о *хлебу* и *луку* као и они
- (SRP19131: 122) Да завиди својим надничарима кад их гледа како слатко једу *сува хлеба* и *лука*, јер он, кад седне за своју милионарску трпезу не може ни да окуси ништа од најскупљих Ђаконија, јер није никада гладан.
- (SRP19132: 297) Ни ручавати није хтио за софром, с осталом чељађу, него носио у торби, о рамену, *овећи комад хлеба* и *неколике главице лука*, па ручавао негдје осамљен, сакривен од сваког.

Examples of the Simplest Meals - Bread, Onions and a Little Something More

- (SRP18881: 83) Бележниковица га задржала на *сир* с *црним луком*, да прави бележнику друштво.
- (SRP18920: 172) Доле се посадише на шареном сицадету око једног белог убруса, на који Рајко положио беше *нешто погаче, млада црна лука, соли* и *млада сира*.
- (SRP18940: 100) Беше ту у једном дрвеном чанку, лепа као *кајмак, папула од белог гра*. Неколико *главица бела* и *мрког лука*. У супрегу *испечених* и *укуваних кромпира*, и као снег бела *погача*. У једној чистој кринци беше завијено *соли*.
- (SRP19080: 182) На сваком столу стоје тепсије с питом, гужваром, колачима, а на свему томе *куван кромпир* и *лук*, а крај тепсије у тањиру *папула* — народна храна. Тим се сељак храни на дому па с њиме и славу слави.

A Description of a Feast

(SRP18911:65) Да се не би учинило на жао каквом гурману, изређаћемо сва јела, која су донесена после киселе чорбе, на овој вечери.

Пилећи паприкаш са резанцима предњачио је, за њим дође винова сарма, једна реткост у ово доба, но вешта домаћица имала је начина, да овај зимњи шпецијалитет одржи. Кома да вода на уста не поцури, кад се спомене, да се за овим појавила пита с месом. Ово српско исторично јело, својим мирисом и својом унутрашњом структуром управо очарава све живце, а задатак му је, да помоћу својих чаробних кључева отвара даљи апетит. Сва је дворана замирисала, кад се ово благородно јело унело, да је сирото „реш“ печено прасе, које је за овим дошло, имало читаву муку, да буде поједено. Јагђеће печење, опет једна реткост у овом добу године, нашло је одзива само код старих господара и госпођа, јер је омладина била већ толико испуњена одушевљењем, питом и прасетом, да је само још чекала, да музика засвира, па да се отпочне набијање унесених количина, и наступи прво варење црним неготинским вином знатно потпомогнуто.

Са свим меланхолично, и без икаквог утицаја на сите госте, лежаху по столу поређане „париске штанглице“, „латишпан“, „торта с орасима“, „пуслице“ и „ванили ринглице“.

Examples of Food Staples or Groceries

(SRP19102: 382) Посуђе је сад мало другојаче и много се чистије држи, а стоји по полицама, које се често перу. И јела се више не кувају нити онако масна, ни слана, ни љута, а готове се много боље и посна и мрсна. Нарочито више пазе, барем ученице Даничине, да сваког дана буду друга јела и да она буду увек свежа. Оне сад умеју и да месе сем гибанице и друге колаче, особито с медом и воћем.

(SRP19193: 20) Стара сам. Научила сам на *кафу* и на *ракију* сваки дан, а и да поједем лепо, и да се обучем топло.

Examples of Dishes

(SRP18740: 133) У бакрачету је већ врела вода. Стојанова мајка захвати из обешене јареће мешине две-три прегрши пројина брашна и сасу их у врелу воду. Стојан узне мирно једно парче чисто остругана дрвета, промеша својим снажним рукама, скиде са верига бакраче и изручи

качамак на совру, на којој већ беше постављено нешто мало сува меса, обарених јаја, лука, паприке и соли... И тако та мала породица седе за совру, да вечера:

(SRP18967: ?) Нигде се у свем свету толико не поједе као код нас. Сва јела, која год познајемо, скувамо на једаред, само ако имамо. Ето“, каже, „славиће наш ратар свечарство или има у кући сватове, па одмах зову куварицу из вароши и почну износити јела у подне, па буде ноћ, а још се није све изређало. Наше новине“, каже, „не доносе шта ручају цареви и краљеве кад се састају и госте, а требало би да доносе. Не што се то нас тиче, него да види свет, да се ни при царским гозбама не износи више од четири јела; за тим долази сир и воће. Ми ни на што друго не дајемо, до ли на јело. Најбоље, најздравије собе наше, те су намештене, у које и не улазимо, а живимо у вајатима и коморама. Чак и наши богатуни, који имају по три-четири намештене и гостинске собе, немају у кући купатила, немају књижнице — ништа.“

Soup and Broth Examples

- (SRP18741: 121) *Црна чорба* са рибаним пармезаном не сме фалити; па онда гарнирана говеђина, красна гарнитура!
- (SRP18760: 377) баш као она масна *ђинђувица* на *дебелој говеђој чорби* [...]
- (SRP18871: 41) Имали смо најпре *чорбу јагњећу*;
- (SRP18940: 54) „Што је више јаја, гушћа је *чорба*“,
- (SRP18964: 50) [...] бејаше *чорба од свињског меса* а у другој од *рибе*.
- (SRP18960: 116) Кад немате *супе*, онда иде *чорба*: или *пилећа*, ил' *гушчија*, *јагњећа*, *ћурећа*...
- (SRP19012: 3) говорило се о *посној чорби* [...]
- (SRP19102: 65) За вечеру најпре принеше као обично сира с младим *кајмаком*, па онда *чорбу пилећу зачињену кајмаком и јајима* [...]
- (SRP18950: 34) Ама у моје време није се знало за беле кафе и крофне, нити се знало за те милипроте, ни за те *супе* и *сосове*!
- (SRP18961: 26) Наш је народ у граници, бар у сремској, уобичајио, да у оваким приликама долази прво *чорба*, тако звана „*супа*“ на сто.
- (SRP19001: 27) Једног дана [...] добијем за ручак само ону *зелен из супе* са оним талогом што остане на дну лонца кад се *супа* оцеди.
- (SRP19140: 269) питала своје гошће шта више воле: *киселу чорбу* или *супу с кнедлама* [...]

Grilled and Fried Meat Examples

Kebab (ЋЕВАР) and *Grilled Minced-Meat Finger* (ЋЕВАРЋИЋ)

- (SRP18690: 5) мени је [...] добро као да сам појео педесет *ћевапчића*
(SRP18882: 37) на пољу ће се пећи свињски *ћевап* и *печење од живине*
на ражњу
(SRP18882: 38) Гледа како ђутуричар креше ражањ па надева *ћевап*.
Како које парче надене а он га поспе мало ситним луком, зеленом
паприком и закити парченцетом сланине. (SRP18934: 88) А, ми смо
смазали два *ћевапа*. У сваком је било по аршин [...]
(SRP18932: 25) у једној руци држи *ћевап* а у другој руци чутуру.
Сватови стадоше. Неки узеше по *режањ од ћевапа* и — чутура пође
од руке до руке.
(SRP18940: 170) [...] сваки држи по оканицу вина и ракије и по врућ
ћевап на ражњу...
(SRP19140: 269) [...] те је питала своје гошће шта више воле: [...] *ћевап у*
дунсту или *ћурче на подварку*.

Roasting and frying

- (SRP18881: 24) [...] цврче *батаци* на угрејаној масти,
(SRP18934: 158) Могло би се, на брзу руку, *попригати* које *пиле* на
младом кајмаку
(SRP19000: 172) [...] долећу често они сеоски »колачићи« умешени
с јајима, испржени на масти, што их господа варошка зову
уштишцима...
(SRP19000: 172) Кроз прозорче се једнако провлаче дугачки судови са
читавим »кршем« *разноврсна печења: прасећег, пилећег, телећег*... па
се ту жуте и преливају са руменом, масном корицом добро *укљукане*
ћурке и *гуске*, па неке *младе дебеле пловчице* пржене на кајмаку [...]
(SRP19203: 150) Лепо сам пазарио, и кући сам донео килу *соли*, *пун*
лонац масти, цакуљицу брашна [...]. Сиромас сам човек, али ми је
драго, кад у кући има брашна, масти и соли.

Alcoholic Beverages Examples

- (SRP18740: 141) — Хвала, господине, а баш ти слабо марим за вино!
Вино је за господу; а ја ти волим чашицу ракице, него целу вучију
вина.

- (SRP18911: 66) Старци пију црно вино само кад су слаби, па им то лекар пропише, а иначе су већином за бело, па му неки додају још и минералне или обичне воде; тако н. пр. Недељковић меша с вином чисту воду, Богатић пије уз бело вино „гисхиблер“ а стари начелник и домаћин „Буковичку воду“.
- (SRP18911: 83) У локалу се пије понајвише ракија, сиротињско пиће.
- (SRP19071: 69) [...] пиво је скупље, а вино јевтиније, и, што је главније, не дангуби — добива у времену, јер се од жупског вина много раније опије него од оног глупог швапског пива. И сада се лепо виде на њему обе те периоде пића: од пива је сачувао трбух, а од жупског вина стекао нос црвене, као бакар, боје.