

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

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Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand

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Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patent in 1492 to the Present

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MUZEJ RIBNICA
MUSEUM OF RIBNICA



Krošnjarstvo je močno zaznamovalo ljudi in prostor kočevsko-ribniškega območja, zato kliče po enoviti strokovni predstavivti.

Katalog **Križem svajt so se podala pa sujo ruobo ponujala** govorji o 520-letnici krošnjarskega patentu in je del projekta, ki zajema tudi razstavo in multimedijijske vsebine. Strokovno raziskovalno delo je v duhu tega fenomena v Muzeju Ribnica potekalo skozi celo leto. Vsebinsko je delo močno poseglo na medinstitucionalno raven muzejskih in znanstvenih institucij. Zbrali smo veliko dragocenega muzejskega gradiva in za javnost predstavili gradivo Muzeja Ribnica, Slovenskega etnografskega Muzeja, Muzeja novejše zgodovine Celje, Muzeja novejše zgodovine Slovenije, Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota, Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje, Knjižnice Miklova hiša in ZRC SAZU-ja – Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje. Osem avtoric osvetljuje pričajočo vsebino iz različnih zornih kotov v obliki člankov, ki jih vizualno dopoljuje dokumentirano fotografско gradivo in fotografije razstave. Raziskava je dober povod za nadaljnja poglobljena zgodovinska raziskovanja. Živost in pestrost vsem pričajočim vsebinam dajeta dve zgodbi, in sicer zgodba Metke Klun, potomke krošnjarske družine Prijatelj iz Vinic, ter zgodba Ivana Debeljaka, ki živi, dela in prodaja suho robo v Beogradu. Ti dve zgodbi smo zabeležili s kamero in ju vsako na svoj način predstavili. Posneli smo tudi intervju s še delujočim krošnjarjem v Avstriji, gospodom Janezom Ambrožičem. Vse to je živa dediščina, ki je del našega ponosa, naše identitete, ki nosi ime Ribnice v svet. Predvsem nosilci krošnjarstva ali zdumarji so tisti, ki nadaljujejo ta fenomen.

»Ribničan Urban« je izražen v ribniški šegavosti, iznajdljivosti, podjetnosti, delavnosti in tudi preko uspešnih ribniških podjetij, obrtnikov, prodajalcev suhe robe in lončarstva. S vsemi temi atributi se bo ribniški človek obdržal vsaj še nadalnjih 500 let ...

Peddling has left a strong mark on the people and the area of the Kočevje-Ribnica region and thus calls for a uniform expert presentation.

The catalogue **Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand** is devoted to the 520th anniversary of the Peddler Patent and is part of the project that also includes an exhibition and some multimedia contents. At the Museum of Ribnica, a lot of time has throughout the year been spent on the research and expertise of this phenomenon, which has called for close cooperation of a number of museums and scientific institutions. A large amount of valuable museum materials have been collected and the public has had the opportunity to get familiar with the materials provided by Museum of Ribnica, Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Museum of Recent History Celje, The National Museum of Contemporary History, Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota, Kočevje Regional Museum, Miklova Hiša Library and ZRC SAZU Institute of Slovenian Ethnology. Eight authors have shed light on the subject matter in their papers focused on different aspects of peddling and the project has also been visually supported through the documented photographic images and the exhibited photographs accompanied with short descriptions. The research conducted so far has laid the groundwork for future in-depth historical research work. The presented contents are further animated through two stories: the story of Metka Klun, a descendant of a family of peddlers, the Prijatelj family from Vinice, and the story of Ivan Debeljak, who works, lives and sells woodenware in Belgrade. Both stories have been filmed and presented in their own ways. We have also filmed an interview with Mr Janez Ambrožič, a peddler who is still active in Austria. All of this makes up the living heritage, which is part of our pride and our identity that brings the name of Ribnica into the world. Peddlers in particular are the ones to carry on this phenomenon.

»Peddler Urban from Ribnica« is mirrored in the waggish humour, ingenuity, enterprising spirit and diligence of people from Ribnica and also through successful local companies, craftsmen, as well as woodenware and pottery sellers. All of these attributes will help the Ribnica man stay around for at least another 500 years.

Polona Rigler Grm
direktorica

Polona Rigler Grm
managing director

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mag. Marina Gradišnik
višja kustosinja, Muzej Ribnica



Obdobje petnjstega in šestnjstega stoletja – med novo vero, božjo šibo in krošnjarjenjem

Obdobje petnjstega in šestnjstega stoletja je bilo izrazito nemirno obdobje tako z vidika svetovne zgodovine kot tudi z lokalnega vidika. V svetovni zgodovini govorimo o velikih odkritjih, o novih trgovskih poteh in migracijah prebivalstva. Evropo so v tem času pestile vojne med plemiškimi rodbinami, vojne s Turki, ki so območje srednje Evrope slabili dobro let, in verske vojne. Zaradi negotovih razmer se je tudi med podeželskim prebivalstvom rojevalo nezadovoljstvo, ki se je v slovenskemu prostoru odrazilo leta 1515 v velikem vseslovenskem kmečkem uporu. V pričujočem prispevku bom poskušala orisati razmere časa, v katerem je bil izdan krošnjarski patent, s poudarkom na lokalnem okolju.

Cesar Friderik III. in njegovo obdobje

Vse od cesarja Friderika III. so cesarsko krono nosili deželni gospodje iz Habsburške družine. Friderikovo obdobje vladanja je bilo zavidljivo dolgo, od leta 1440–1493. V svojem času je bil pogosto kritiziran zaradi svoje drugačnosti. Dunajčani so o svojem vladarju menili, da bi bil primernejši za meniha kot vladarja. Bil je zelo skromen. Kljub temu, da ni bil rojen za vojskovodjo, je vladal v času, ki nikakor ni bil čas miru. Poleg plemiških vojn, bratske vojne zoper Albrehtom VI. in vojne z Ogri (Matija Korvin), je proti Dunaju pričela vdirati tudi turška nevarnost.

Friderik III. je zapisan v slovensko zgodovino kot ustanovitelj Ljubljanske škofije, ki jo je ustanovil leta 1461. Papež Pij III. je ustanovitev nove škofije potrdil leta kasneje. S tem je sredi slovenskega ozemlja nastalo prvo samostojno cerkveno središče, ki je bilo podrejeno neposredno papežu. Zaradi turških pustošenj so kraji Kočevje (1471), Lož (1477), Višnja Gora (1478) in Krško (1477) dobili mestne pravice. Za ribniško in kočevsko območje je zagotovo ključnega pomena t. i. krošnjarski patent, privilegij o prostem trgovjanju iz leta 1492.

Zadnja leta svojega življenja je Friderik III. večino časa preživiljal v Linzu. Umrl je 19. avgusta 1493. Cesarsko krono je prevzel njegov sin Maksimiljan I. (1493–1519). V času Friderika III. je Avstrija začela postajati velesila, v obdobju njegovega sina pa je to dejansko postala. Maksimiljan I. je bil pravo nasprotje

svojega očeta, odločen vladar z vizijo, ki je v svojem času bil glavne bitke s Turki. Postavil je ogrodje nove države, ko je vpeljal upravno politične reforme. V vojni z Benečani so si Habsburžani dokončno zarisali svoje ozemeljske pridobitve na slovenskih tleh.

Od konca 15. stoletja dalje je vzporedno s političnim razvojem tekel tudi proces gospodarskih sprememb, nastopila pa je tudi kriza, ki se je najbolj vidno odražala na podeželju.¹

Ribniško gospodstvo

Tako ribniško kot kočevsko gospodstvo je na osnovi dedne pogodbe po smrti zadnjega Celjana pripadlo Habsburžanom.

Ribniški tržani so se cesarju prostovoljno podredili ter 9. julija 1457 obljudili zvestobo habsburški hiši. V poplačilo za to lojalnost je cesar Friderik III., ki je s tem postal gospodar ribniškega gospodstva, ustanovil v Ribnici beneficij bratovščine presvetega Rešnjega Telesa in zanj podaril od graščinske posesti pol grunta.²

Ribniško in kočevsko gospodstvo je cesar upravljal preko svojih oskrbnikov. V Ribnici sta prva znana oskrbnika brata Jurij in Andrej pl. Lamberg, ki pa nista dolgo bivala skupaj v Ribnici, ker si je Andrej sezidal grad na Bregu, kamor se je preselil in kjer so potem Lambergi bivali še celo stoletje. Druga veja Lambergov z Jurijem pa se je odselila na grad Ortnek v bližini Ribnice, ki mu ga je cesar leta 1462 podaril v zahvalo za zasluge v času vojne med cesarjem in njegovim bratom Albrehtom.

Grad in urad v Ribnici je po Lambergih prevzel v najem Andrej pl. Rohenwarter, ki je leta 1473 padel v vojni s Turki. Ribniški grad je za njim dobil Žiga Pirš, ki se je poročil z hčerjo pl. Lamberga z Brega. Leta 1478 je Pirš od cesarja kupil tudi deželno sodišče v Kočevju in si s tem zagotovil še dodatne dohodke na Kočevskem. Žiga Pirš je postal leta 1492 glavar v Metliki. Anton Skubic v svoji Zgodovini Ribnice in ribniške pokrajine, ne navaja datuma, kdaj točno, vendar verjetno še istega leta, ko je Pirš imenovan za glavarja v Metliki, postane ribniški graščak Gašper Ravbar.

To je bilo za Ribnico zelo težko obdobje. Stiskanje podložnikov z davki, kar je šlo Piršu menda dobro od rok, in nenehno turško ropanje je povzročilo, da je to področje tako obubožalo, da je cesar Maksimiljan 29. 10. 1493 dal Ravbarju nalog, da posodi Ribničanom seme za setev, ker so ljudje vsled turških napadov in takratne strašne slabe letine prišli v velikansko pomanjkanje³.

Ta ukrep je bil izdan leto dni po cesarjevem privilegiju, na osnovi česar lahko povsem upravičeno sklepamo, da se izboljšanje življenjskih pogojev zaradi te

1 Štih, Peter, Simoniti, Vasko: Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja. Ljubljana, 2010, str. 214

2 S tem je dobila Ribnica tudi eno duhovniško mesto več, kar je zaradi obsega ribniške župnije v tem času zelo potrebovala. Ribniška župnija je takrat namreč obsegala tudi območje kasnejših župnij: Gotenica, Grčarice, Dolena vas, Stara cerkev, Gora, Sodražica, Velike Poljane, Ribnica in Ravne na Blokah. Skubic, Anton: Zgodovina Ribnice in ribniške pokrajine. Buenos Aires, 1976, str. 338

3 Skubic, Anton: Zgodovina Ribnice in ribniške pokrajine. Buenos Aires, 1976, str. 344

nove pravice, ki so jo prebivalci dobili s privilegijem leta poprej, še ni odrazilo. Nedvomno je bilo v danih razmerah to tudi nemogoče. Je pa privilegij zagotovo olajšal trenutne razmere, saj je omogočil kmečki trgovini, da je nadaljevala s svojim trgovanjem.

V napetih razmerah med mestno trgovino ter med cehovskimi združenji, ki so že od konca 14. stoletja vedno bolj utrjevali svojo izključno pravico rokodelstva, je bila kmečka trgovina zagotovo ogrožena.

Ravbar je imel ribniško gospodstvo v zakupu do leta 1499, ko sta ga dobila brata Žiga in Volbenk Hodiski, sledili so še Bernardin Ričan, Jožef pl. Lamberg, Franc Gall, Adam Moškon. Po dobrih sto letih, leta 1618, je cesar prodal ribniško gospodstvo in novi lastniki so postali baroni Khisel.

Kmečka trgovina in tovorništvo

Podeželska obrt in trgovina sta od 14. stoletja dalje pridobivali na pomenu in obsegu zaradi povečanega števila vaškega prebivalstva v obliki kajžarjev in njihovega načina preživljjanja.

V drugi polovici petnajstega stoletja so se v to trgovino vpletli tudi fevdalci. Cesar se je postavil na stran mest in plemičem prepovedal, da bi zemljiški gospodje silili podložnike, da bi svojo živino, vino, oves in kože prodajali le njim. S podpiranjem meščanov je cesar branil tudi svoje koristi. Zaradi upadanja mestne trgovine so mesta težje plačevala davek, manjši so bili pa tudi dohodki mitnic v mestih.

Leta 1492 so cerkveni dostojanstveniki in plemstvo sklenili s kranjskimi mesti pogodbo, ki je podeželsko obrt in trgovino delno dovoljevala. Ta sporazum je vseboval vrsto določb: obrt je bila omejena na določen pas okoli mest in trgov⁴, kmetje so smeli svoje presežke prodajati samo na mestnih in trških trgih ter na cerkvenih proščenjih, medtem ko so lahko svobodno trgovali na dolge razdalje s soljo, z vinom, z žitom, z živino, s platnom in z drugimi izdelki domače obrti. Ta sporazum med plemstvom in mesti ter trgi iz leta 1492 je potrdil, kako močno so bili konec srednjega veka kmetje vključeni v trgovski posel.

V borbi proti plemički trgovini s pridelki in živino njihovih podložnikov so meščani v glavnem uspeli. Seveda pa s tem borba za podeželsko trgovino ni bila končana. Prav številne prepovedi kmečke trgovine dokazujejo, da niso dosegle svojega namena. Kmetje namreč v svoji neposlušnosti niso bili osamljeni. Branili so jih namreč njihovi gospodje. Uveljavljanje teh prepovedi je slabilo gospodarsko in s tem tudi davčno moč podložnikov. Prav zato sta se pod okriljem plemstva trgovina in obrt kljub številnim prepovedim nemoteno uveljavljala dalje.⁵

Prepovedi kmečke trgovine so se ponavljale tudi še kasneje. Ne glede na vse to, pa je trgovina še dalje napredovala.

Ribniško-kočevsko območje je ležalo ob pomembnejših trgovskih poteh. Glavna trgovska smer iz teh krajev je šla v Ljubljano, kot izhodišče za nadaljnje poti, predvsem v Trst in Reko, v velika pristanišča. Tod mimo je peljala tudi pomembna trgovina z žitom.

Kraška zemlja je dajala prebivalcem slabe pogoje za življenje, trgovina pa jim je izboljšala dohodke, tako da ti kraji nikoli niso trpeli lakote in revščine.⁶

Kmetje so se ukvarjali s trgovino zaradi potrebe po preživetju in seveda tudi zaslužku. Pogosto je bilo s kmečko trgovino tesno povezano tudi tovorništvo. Tovorništvo je bila praviloma oblika tovorjenja trgovskega blaga. Tovornike so najemali trgovci za transport blaga. Tovorništvo je bilo tudi oblika podložniške tlake. Vlado Valenčič v svojem prispevku o tovorništvu navaja, da je bilo v tovorništvo na Kranjskem stalno vključenih od 6.000 do 8.000 konj, trgovina s soljo pa je v drugi polovici 16. stoletja dosegla tudi do 90.000 tovorov letno. Nedvomno ti podatki pričajo o razširjenosti kmečke trgovine.⁷

Po izjavi kranjskih deželnih stanov iz 1553 je bila marsikatera kmetija na Kranjskem premajhna, da bi se mogla preživljati samo s poljedelstvom. Tam, kjer prebivalstvo ni moglo prodajati svojih poljskih pridelkov, ker zemlja ni bila dovolj rodovitna, je pač moralo prodajati izdelke domače obrti. Tipičen primer tega je Ribniška dolina.⁸

V ribniškem območju je bila kmečka trgovina združena s tovorništvom. O tem priča veliko število tovornih konj. Starejših podatkov žal nimamo, a podatki iz terezijanskega katastra nam veliko povedo o vlogi tovorništva na ribniškem območju.

Ribniško gospodstvo je v terezijanskem katastru izkazalo okoli 500 kmečkih podložnikov, 277 od njih je imelo 321 konj. V nekaterih vaseh so skoraj vsi kmetje imeli konja, nekateri celo po dva. V Dolenji vasi je bilo 65 kmetov, imeli so 76 konj, v Prigorici 34 kmetov 38 konj, v Rakitnici 32 kmetov 30 konj in v Goriči vasi 12 kmetov 14 konj.⁹

V območju ortneškega gospodstva je bilo 210 kmečkih podložnikov, 80 izmed njih je imelo 84 konj. Uporabljali so jih za tovorjenje in so bili izrecno označeni kot tovorni konji.¹⁰

Tudi na Kočevskem je bilo iz istega razloga precejšnje število konj, vendar v razmerju do števila kmečkih podložnikov manj kot na ribniškem območju. Največ konj je bilo na ozemlju kočevske župnije, kjer je bila, po Valvasorjevih podatkih, domača lesena obrt najbolj razširjena, razmeroma veliko konj so imeli tudi kmetje v mozeljski župniji.¹¹

⁴ Ena milja okrog večjih mest (Ljubljana, Kranj, Kamnik in Novega mesta) in pol milje od drugih trgov in mest v deželi Kranjski.

⁵ Grafenauer, Bogo: Zgodovina Slovenskega naroda. Doba prve krize fevdalne družbe na Slovenskem od začetka kmečkih uporov do viška protestantskega gibanja. III. zvezek. Ljubljana, 1956, str. 19

⁶ Kraji so bili najbolj prizadeti ravno v obravnavanem času, zaradi omenjenih razmer.

⁷ Štih, Peter, Simoniti, Vasko: Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja. Ljubljana, 2010, str. 218

⁸ Grafenauer, Bogo: Zgodovina Slovenskega naroda. Doba prve krize fevdalne družbe na Slovenskem od začetka kmečkih uporov do viška protestantskega gibanja. III. zvezek. Ljubljana, 1956, str. 19

⁹ Valenčič, Vlado: Tovorništvo na Kranjskem. Tovorništvo v zgodovinopisu in njegova problematika. V: Zgodovinski časopis, 1981, letnik 35, str. 255

¹⁰ Prav tam, str. 255

¹¹ Prav tam, str. 256

Ribniški podložniki so morali poleg drugih tovorniških obveznosti tovoriti tudi žito, ki ga je gospodstvo prodajalo deželnim stanovom za Vojno krajino, za rudnike in za cesarsko žrebčarno v Lipici. Večino podložnikov kočevskega gospodstva je bremenila tlaška obveznost, da pretovorijo letno 400 starjev¹² pšenice iz Kočevja na Reko, kar pa ni veljalo le za dobavo žita Vojni krajini, temveč tudi za druge kupce.¹³

Zlasti na Dolenjskem so se mnogi kmetje ukvarjali s prekupčevanjem živine, na ribniškem in kočevskem območju pa je bila razširjena domača lesna obrt, njene izdelke so tovorniki nosili naprodaj tudi v druge dežele.

Šiba božja in nova vera

Kmečko trgovino in vsakdanje življenje so v obravnavanem času močno omejevali in ogrožali turški vpadi, ki so po letu 1469 neprestano ogrožali življenje in premoženje ljudi. Kot primer naj navedemo leto 1471, ko je na ribniško vdrla turška vojska, ki je štela 15.000 do 16.000 konjenikov. Utaborili so se na Rašici. Od tam so se razkropili na vse strani ter ropali bližnjo okolico.

Viri iz leta 1473 poročajo, da je bila Kranjska zaradi turških ropanj na pol požgana. Leta 1476 so po Kranjski ropali štiri mesece. Po Ribniškem so divjali še v letih 1480, 1491, 1497. Najhuje je bilo leta 1528, ko je Kranjska doživela štiri napade. V enem od teh napadov so na svojem pohodu zavzeli Ribnico in plenili naprej proti Ortneku, Laščam, Turjaku do Iga ter zajeli 4000 ujetnikov.¹⁴ Meja turške države se je slovenskemu ozemlju približala na vsega dva dni ježe.

Razen teh velikih napadov je bilo še veliko število manjših, ki so jih izvajali oddelki obmejnih turških čet – martolozi. To so bile majhne skupine, ki so se naselile v gozdovih v okolini Ribnice, Loškega Potoka ter gospodstva Poljan in Kočevja. Neprestano so napadale okoliško prebivalstvo in ga plenile. Od leta 1525–1530 je Kranjska doživela 50 napadov, ki so popolnoma opustošili vse obmejne predele, tudi ribniško območje¹⁵.

Že od začetka 15. stoletja je Evropo pretresala tudi močna verska kriza prav pri vrhu cerkve. Po zgledu višjih krogov se je ravnala nižja duhovščina. Poleg lahkonatega življenja, ki je bilo v nasprotju s krščanskim naukom, so duhovniki odpuščali grehe tudi najhujšim zločincem za primerno ceno. Prodajanje odpustkov je bil eden glavnih povodov za to, da se je ljudem pričelo to stanje upirati. Ribnica je bila eno izmed žarišč in središč reformacijskega gibanja na tem delu slovenskega ozemlja.¹⁶ Na širjenje reformacije na Ribniškem je vplivalo v prvi vrsti prenašanje vesti, ki so jih v domače okolje prinašali ljudje, ki so zaradi svojih trgovskih poti prečkali meje. Luteranskemu gibanju je bilo naklonjeno plemstvo na Ribniškem in prebivalci trga, medtem ko se je podeželje organiziralo v skupine, katerih pripadniki so uteho in božje zavetje iskali na

različnih romanjih, sami vodili svoje obrede ter postavliali cerkve (štiftarji, skakači, prekrščevalci). Prve zametke ostre cerkvene kritike na Ribniškem najdemo v delih slikarjev hrvaške skupine. Najbolj znana je njihova upodobitev lisice romarice, ki se je v kardinalski opravi s popotno palico, molkom in zadavljenou kokoško odpravila na romanje.¹⁷ Freska se nahaja v cerkvi sv. Urha na Maršičih nad Ortnekom.

Poleg Turkov in verske krize so deželo slabili tudi upori podložnikov, ki so se leta 1515 združili v vseslovenski kmečki upor in zahtevali nazaj »staro pravdo«. Kmečki upor, ki se je začel na Kranjskem, se je od tu razširil tudi na južno Štajersko in Koroško. Tudi na Ribniškem so se kmetje uprli Jožefu pl. Lambergu, ki je tedaj gospodoval na Ortneku.

Od Kolumba do Ribničana

Oktobra leta 1492 je Krištof Kolumb prvič stopil na tla Novega sveta in s tem se je pričela doba odkritij, raziskovanj in migracij. Svet je dobil nove dimenzije.

V drugi polovici 15. stoletja in v 16. stoletju je bilo mnogo dogodkov, ki so opozarjali na nov začetek.

Ko govorimo o Krištu Kolumbu in vplivu njegovega odkritja na takratni svet, govorimo o makro zgodovini, o zgodovini velikih dogodkov, velikih osebnosti. Vendar se je tega istega leta in celo istega meseca na mikrozgodovinskem nivoju kočevsko-ribniškega območja zgodil pomemben dogodek, ki je tem krajem zagotovil dragocen dodaten vir preživetja.

23. oktobra 1492 je cesar Frideriki III. v Linzu podpisal privilegij:

Mi Friderik po božji milosti Rimski cesar, vseh časov povečevalec cesarstva, ogerski, dalmatinski, hrvaški itd. kralj vojvoda avstrijski, štajerski itd. dajem našim zvestim ljubim meščanom v Kočevju, našo milost in vse dobro, da smo mi našim ljudem in podložnim v naših tamošnjih uradih, da te v Kočevju, naseljeni in stanujoči, ki so jim Turki prinesli uničenje, kateri naše kmetije tam zasedajo in nam stalni činž od njih dajejo, smejo trgovati z njihovo živino, platnom in ostalim, kar oni vzugajajo in izdelujejo na Hrvaško in v druge dežele. Na naš nadaljnji ukaz jim je dovoljeno in zaželeno, da trgujejo, kar prinaša denar. Mi še resno ukazujemo (naklonjeno) in želimo, da vi navedenim našim ljudem in podložnikom pri tem našem pospeševanju in dovoljenju navedene njihove trgovine ne naredite nobene prepreke ali posega, temveč jim po njihovih potrebah, kolikor jih oni potrebujejo, dovolite mirno izvajati, v tem dajemo vam naše resno mnenje, izdano v Linzu na torek po dnevu sv. Uršule leta gospodovega dvaindevetdesetega, našega cesarjevanja v enainštiridesetem letu (23. oktober 1492).¹⁸

¹² Star je bila nekdaj prostorninska mera za žito, značala je približno sto litrov.

¹³ Valenčič, Vlado: Tovorništvo na Kranjskem. Tovorništvo v zgodovinopisu in njegova problematika. V: Zgodovinski časopis, 1981, letnik 35, str 261

¹⁴ Voje, Ignacij: Slovenci pod pritiskom turškega nasilja. Ljubljana, 1996, str. 82

¹⁵ Prav tam, str. 83

¹⁶ Gestrin, Ferdo: Reformacija v Ribnici in okolici. V: Kronika, 1982, št. 2, str. 95

¹⁷ Pri upodobitvi freske gre predvsem za kritiko in svarilo pred hinavstvom dvoličnežev na najvišjih posvetnih in cerkvenih položajih.

¹⁸ Del teksta potrdilne listine iz leta 1571, katera vsebuje tudi besedilo izvirne listine iz leta 1492. Prevod: dr. Matevž Košir in mag. Brane Kozina.

Pogosto se v povezavi s tem privilegijem zmotno omenja, da ga je cesar dal Ribničanom, vendar to ni popolnoma točno. Cesar je dovolil meščanom Kočevja, vsem podložnikom kočevskega zemljiškega urada, posredno torej tudi Ribničanom, da smejo zaradi škode, ki so jo utrpeli od turških napadov, brez dodatnih bremen trgovati, da bodo lahko na ta način kmetije bolje obdelane in zasedene ter da se bo redno plačeval davek. Ta ukrep je veljal le do preklica.

Šlo je torej le za začasen ukrep v pomoč vsem podložnikom na Kočevskem, ki pa je s potrditvami v 16. in 18. stoletju postal osnova tukajšnjega krošnjarstva.¹⁹

Za mikronivo kočevsko-ribniškega območja je ta privilegij pomenil »odkritje novega sveta«, novih trgovskih poti in načinov, kako izboljšati življenje na skopi kraški zemlji.

Zapis privilegija se je ohranil v listini iz leta 1571, v kateri je nadvojvoda Karel II. s prepisom stare določbe in lastnim dodatkom znova potrdil svobodno trgovino. Pravice so bile ponovno potrjene tudi v letih 1596, ko je cesar Ferdinand III. potrdil privilegije. Leta 1774 je podpisala krošnjarsko dovoljenje cesarica Marija Terezija in z njim sporočala, da podložnikom kočevskega gospodstva ostaja dovoljeno in omogočeno kot dotej prosto in neovirano trgovati in krošnjariti z datlji, pomarančami, limonami, figami, lovorjevimi listi, platnom, mandlji, grozdjem in drugim podobnim laškim sadjem.²⁰ Njen sin Jožef II. je leta 1780 potrdil krošnjarske pravice. V tej potrditvi se prvič izrecno omenja dovoljenje podložnikom ribniškega gospodstva, da lahko krošnarijo tudi z lončeno posodo, rešeti, siti in drugimi tovrstnimi izdelki iz lesa, s poljimi kožicami in tudi z južnim sadjem, kot je bilo dovoljeno prebivalcem kočevskega gospodstva.²¹

¹⁹ Otorepec, Božo: Doneski k zgodovini Ribnice in okolice v srednjem veku. V: Kronika, 1982, št. 2, str. 83

²⁰ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, str. 40

²¹ Prav tam

²² Prav tam, str. 42

Zadnji tak patent oz. privilegij je patent Franca Jožefa I. iz leta 1852, s katerim je bilo Kočevjem, Poljancem in Ribničanom dovoljeno, da prodajajo ostrige, laško olje, rožiče, citrone, datlje, vino iz Drage, fige, granatna jabolka, lešnike, kapre, kostanj, limone, lovorjeve liste, mandlje, školjke, pomaranče, riž, sardele, želve, grozdje, cibube in drugo blago, s katerim so smeli trgovati že dotej.²² Ta patent je bil v veljavi v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji do izida obrtnega zakona 1931, v republiki Avstriji pa do obrtnega zakona leta 1973. Tudi avstrijski obrtni zakon iz leta 1859 je vključeval krošnjarski patent.

Že sama geografska lega je kočevsko-ribniški prostor določila za trgovino, saj so tu že v preteklosti vodile ene od pomembnejših trgovskih poti. Privilegij cesarja Friderika je omogočil razcvet krošnjarske trgovine na tem območju, prav tako pa spodbudil razvoj različnih oblik krošnjarstva: kostelski in predgrajski krošnjarji, ribniško krošnjarstvo, kjer srečujemo predvsem prodajalce izdelkov lastne domače obrti – suhorobarja in lončarja, ter krošnjarje kostanjarje, jajčarice in druge oblike, ki so bile značilne za celotni obravnavani prostor.

Medtem, ko so ostale oblike krošnjarstva na kočevsko-ribniškem območju po drugi svetovni vojni zamrle, pa je posebnost ribniškega krošnjarstva prav v ohranjeni tradiciji. Še danes, po 520-ih letih od cesarjevega privilegija, ribniške krošnjarje lahko vsakodnevno srečamo tako pred sodobnimi trgovskimi centri, na sejmih, kot tudi na poti od hiše do hiše, ko nas nagovarjajo z izdelki ribniških domačih obrti.

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Trgovstvo vs. Krošnjarstvo

Trgovina sodi med najvitalnejše dele gospodarstva, saj igra vlogo posrednika med proizvajalci in potrošniki ter med ponudbo in povpraševanjem. Velik obseg je zavzela v času vzpostavljanja potrošniške družbe – v slovenskem prostoru se je to zgodilo na prelomu v 20. stoletje. Prej so zaradi relativno majhnega obsega (industrijske) proizvodnje potrebe kupcev zadovoljevali pretežno kar proizvajalci (največkrat obrtniki) sami, v neposrednem stiku s kupci.

Tako so v tem času še igrali pomembno vlogo sejmi in pa seveda krošnjarstvo.¹ Ta dejavnost je slonela še na avstrijski zakonodaji: na podlagi obrtnega reda iz leta 1859² so smeles prodajo po hišah izvajati zgolj osebe, ki so imele dovoljenje za krošnjarjenje (§ 51). Slabega četrto stoletja po sprejetju obrtnega reda je izšla novela k obrtnemu redu³, po kateri so dobili obrtniki pravico, da so smeli svoje blago prodajati bodisi sami bodisi preko agentov; blago so od kraja do kraja smeli neposredno prodajati le krošnjarji, ki jim je to omogočal zakon o krošnjarstvu. So pa imele v posameznih občinah politične deželne možnosti, da so iz določenih razlogov tovrstno prodajo začasno prepovedali.⁴

Konflikt med trgovci, ki so svojo dejavnost opravljali v skladu z zakonodajo v stalnih obratih, in krošnjarji, ki so prodajali blago od kraja do kraja, od vrat do vrat, je že star. Izhaja iz časa trgovskega odpora zoper liberalizacijo v meščanski trgovini, ko so trgovci posebej vztrajno nastopali zoper kramarje, krošnjarje in kmečko trgovino. V trgovaju nemeščanov so namreč meščanski trgovci videli neupravičeno poseganje v njihove pravice. Ob koristi meščanskih trgovcev je tako trčilo tudi krošnjarstvo. V Ljubljani sicer ni bilo dovoljeno, je pa zato cvetelo na podeželju, kjer ni bilo trgovin in kramarij. Kramarji iz Ljubljane so namreč z dovoljenjem magistrata krošnjarili tudi po vaseh in na sejmih. Prodajali so razno kramarsko blago, nabožne predmete, gumbe, igle, naprstnike, zrcala, usnjene pasove, tržaške nogavice, robce ipd. Tovrstnemu krošnjarjenju trgovstvo sicer ni nasprotovalo, saj je prinašalo koristi meščanskim kramarjem. Pritoževali pa so se zoper trgovce z materialnim blagom – italijanske kramarje, krošnjarje in kmečke trgovce, ki so s prodajo v mestih, trgih in vaseh odvzemali kupce meščanskim trgovcem. Proti koncu 18. stoletja se je krošnjarstvo še bolj razmahnilo. Krošnjarili so tako meščani kot drugi podložniki magistrata, ki so na podeželju poleg običajnih krošnjarskih drobnarij prodajali tudi svoje izdelke – kmečke obleke, rute, robce, barvano platno, avbe, igle, sponke in galanterijsko blago. Zaradi omejitve prekomernega krošnjarjenja je bilo izdajanje dovoljenj pridržano okrožnim glavarstvom; izdajali so jih za eno leto. Magistrat je ob tem priporočal, naj se krošnjarstvo omeji na podeželjane, prepove pa v mestih in krajih s trgovinami. Kot odsev nestalnega, t.j. potupočega trgovanja, se je krošnjarstvo ohranilo do novejšega obdobja.

¹ Erjavec, Fran: Slovenci. Zemljepisni, zgodovinski, politični, kulturni, gospodarski in socialni pregled. Ljubljana, 1923, str. 219

² Mayerhofer, Ernst: Handbuch für den politischen Verwaltungsdienst in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern /..., 3. Band, str. 567–626. Prevod obrtnega reda. V: Žižek, Zbirka obrtnih listin 1692–1932

³ Postava od 15. marca 1883, s katero se obrtni red izpreminja in dopolnjuje. Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele v državnem zboru zastopane, letnik 1883, št. XII, 29. 3. 1883

⁴ Obrtni red. Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele v državnem zboru zastopane, letnik 1907, št. LXXXIX, 16. 8. 1907

Med svetovnima vojnoma je bila trgovinska mreža na Slovenskem najbolj razvita v večjih mestih, kjer je bila tudi največja gostota prebivalstva. Tu so bile trgovine v veliki meri že specializirane (npr. trgovine s čevlji, modnim blagom, manufakturo, kolonialnim blagom, delikatesami, galerijami itd.). Trgovina pa je bila razvita tudi na podeželju, kjer je prevladoval tip trgovine z mešanim blagom. V njih so prodajali vse blago, ki je bilo v prostem prometu, od živil do galerij, železnine, manufakture, gradbenega materiala in poljedelskega orodja, ukvarjale pa so se tudi z odkupom deželnih pridelkov.⁵

Tudi v tem obdobju in še posebej v začetku tridesetih let, v času gospodarske krize, so trgovce vznemirjali potniki tujih trgovcev ter konkurenca krošnjarjev.⁶

V času med svetovnima vojnoma je številne trgovce najbolj motila nedovoljena prodaja od vrat do vrat, od hiše do hiše, najbolj razširjena sicer na podeželju, a tudi v mestih niso bili imuni pred tem pojmom. Res pa je, da je v tem obdobju – zaradi prisotnosti trgovin z mešanim blagom tudi v manjših krajih in vaseh – krošnjarjenje že počasi izgubljalo na pomenu, a je kljub temu bilo opazen in nezanemarljiv pojav, tako s strani trgovcev (njihove konkurence) kot tudi kupcev, torej njihovih odjemalcev.

Krošnjarjenje je bilo trgovanje, ki se je izvajalo brez stalnega obratovališča; krošnjar je lahko imel samo toliko blaga, kot ga je lahko nosil in za katerega je imel dovoljenje. Tipi krošnjarjenja so bili različni, odvisni od regionalnih posebnosti pokrajin in ljudi. V slovenskem prostoru zasledimo krošnjarjenje predvsem na obrobju slovenskega etničnega ozemlja, od Beneške Slovenije in Rezije, Goriške, zaledja Trsta in Reke, do Dolenjske (ribniško-kočevskega območja) in Bele krajine, najdemo pa ga tudi v Prekmurju.⁷

Kot oblika podeželske trgovine je bilo krošnjarjenje v naših krajih znano vsaj od 15. stoletja dalje, ko so bile komunikacije med kraji še slabo razvite, obdržalo pa se je tudi še pozneje, v obdobju razvitejšega cestnega in železniškega omrežja.⁸ Da bi pomagal od Turkov opustošenim krajem, je namreč avstrijski cesar弗里德里希 III. Habsburški leta 1492 izdal krošnjarski patent, ki je – sicer večkrat posodobljen – ostal v veljavi do konca monarhije in še med svetovnima vojnoma, s katerim je dovolil Kočevarjem izvajati živino ter doma izdelano platno in lesene predmete. Sčasoma so med krošnjarji nastale razlike v smislu prodajnega blaga: ribniški so prodajali doma narejene lese ne izdelke, kočevarski pa so podobno kot belokranjski krošnjarili le z nakupljenim blagom.⁹

Krošnjarjenje, ki je kasneje sicer vplivalo na opuščanje poljedelstva in izseljevanje, je bilo za tamkajšnje prebivalstvo pomembna gospodarska dejavnost, saj so krošnjarji svoje izdelke prodajali po vseh deželah monarhije. Krošnjarji so bili namreč mali trgovci, ki so se prezivljali s prodajo tekstila, južnega in suhega

⁵ Več o slovenski trgovini V: Marija Počivavšek, En gros & en détail. Trgovina v Sloveniji do druge svetovne vojne: trendi, strukture, prakse. Celje, 2012

⁶ O nekaterih aspektih pritožb trgovcev nad krošnjarji glej: Polona Šega, Pritožbe nad krošnjarji na Slovenskem med svetovnima vojnoma. V: Traditiones, 28/I, 1999, str. 401–408

⁷ Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja. V: Kronika, št. 3, 2007, str. 390

⁸ Drnovšek, Marjan: Belokranjski krošnjarji v Ameriki. V: Slovenska kronika XIX. stoletja, 1. zv., str. 233

⁹ Drnovšek, Marjan: Kočevarski krošnjarji in nacistična propaganda. V: Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, št. 1, 2007, str. 86

sadja ter lesenih izdelkov od vrat do vrat in od vasi do vasi. Po usihanju trgovine z doma narejenimi izdelki so začeli trgovati s kupljenim blagom. Nekateri so postali kostanjarji,¹⁰ drugi so prodajali slaščice in bonbone.¹¹ S krošnjo, lesenim ogrodjem, ki so si ga oprtali na ramena in v njem prenašali robo, so postali znani v vsej monarhiji. Ker jim obrtni red ni dovoljeval prodaje na običajen način, so svoje blago ponujali npr. s pomočjo loterije: krošnjar je imel v vrečki lesene izrezljane številke in kupec je povlekel tri, če je bila vsota pod sto, je zmagal kupec in je dobil blago, ki si ga je žezel, sicer je zmagal trgovec in vložek spravil v svoj žep. Na ta način so Kočevarji prodajali rezbarije, opremo za vsakodnevno rabo, pa steklene izdelke, južno sadje, pekovske izdelke, turški med itd. Pred božičem so se ti krošnjarji prvič vrnili domov in z izkupičkom pomagali svojim družinam. Drugič so se odpravili na pot po novem letu, se vrnili domov spomladis ter do jeseni pomagali na svojih domačijah. Pravi fenomen je, da se je kočevarsko krošnjarjenje v praktično enaki obliki ohranilo skoraj petsto let. Kočevarji niso nikoli poskušali npr. postaviti svoje poslovne postojanke ali ustavoviti uvozno-izvozno trgovinsko podjetje večjega obsega.¹²

Po zakonu je bilo krošnjarstvo obrt, ki se je smela izvajati samo na podlagi izrecnega dovoljenja upravne oblasti prve stopnje (okrajnega načelstva), na področju katere je bilo krošnjarjevo stalno prebivališče; dovoljenja so izdajali proizvajalcem domačih izdelkov, npr. Ribničnom, invalidom in drugim za delo nesposobnim osebam ter prebivalcem posameznih pasivnih predelov, npr. Kočevarjem.¹³ Prebivalci teh pokrajin so poleg kmetovanja dodatne vire zaslužka poiskali zlasti v obrti in trgovini. Poseben položaj so imeli prodajalci suhe robe, Ribničani. S krošnjarjenjem so se ukvarjali tudi prebivalci iz Bele krajine, Hrvatske in Dalmacije, ki so kupovali drobno galerterijsko blago pri velikih trgovcih po znižanih cenah in ga po sejmih in po domovih prodajali po višji ceni. »*Razen beračev, včasih tudi ciganov, so se pri nas oglašali tudi rešetarji, ki so prodajali rešeta in različno suho robo. To so bili podjetni rokodelci iz ribniške doline, ki so svojo suho robo ponujali daleč okrog, celo po Avstriji, tja do Dunaja in še naprej. Redno so prihajali tudi krošnjarji iz Bosne in Dalmacije, ki so nosili s širokim usnjenim pasom čez rame oprtano spredaj polno krošnjo različnega drobnega materiala, kot so moški in ženski glavniki in sponke za lase, vezalke, vžigalnike in za njih kamenčke, mala ogledalca, včasih tudi sladilo saharin in še vrsto različnih pasov, britev in raznih drobnih potrošnih predmetov.*« Otroci smo se jih vedno razveselili, ker smo lahko opazovali, kaj vse imajo nabasano v svoji krošnji, ki so jo imeli spredaj na prsih. Imenovali smo jih „bozjanarji“.«¹⁴ Janez Trdina piše, da so Belokranjci krošnjarili po vzhodnih delih Štajerske, kjer so prodajali od trgovcev na up vzete drobnarije: sukanec, šivanke, nožke, milo, trakove, robce, pisala, podobice, platno, »cajg« in sukno. Med krošnjarji so bili znani tudi kostelski krošnjarji, ki so s svojimi slaščicami segali do Dunaja, pa kočevarski kostanjarji; vsem pa je krošnjarjenje pomenilo pomemben vir zaslužka, ki je dopolnjeval dohodke majhnih in razdrobljenih kmetij.¹⁵

¹⁰ Več o tem v: Šega, Polona: Slovenski kostanjarji na Dunaju. Prebivalci nekdanjega velikolaškega okraja kot kostanjarji v cesarskem mestu. Novo mesto, 1997

¹¹ Ferenc, Mitja: Kočevska – pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskej po odselitvi Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 37–47

¹² Gauss, Karl-Markus: Umirajoči Evropejci. Ljubljana, 2006, str. 54–55

¹³ Dr. Nemo Hugo Uhliš: Trgovsko-gospodarski leksikon. 1. del: A–K. Ljubljana, 1935, str. 626

¹⁴ Borovnik, Jernej: Vrnitev. Šentjur, 2006, str. 239–240

¹⁵ Bučić, Vesna: Urarske krošnje in krošnjarjenje. V: Argo, 1992, str. 8

Celjska Nova doba je v letih po prvi svetovni vojni poročala, da kroži po deželi polno krošnjarjev s koši in nahrbtniki, kateri se pečajo s prodajo raznega manufakturnega blaga, sukanca, mila, tobaka, kave, vžigalic, čaja, kvasa ... »*Vsak hlapec, potepuh in lenuh se danes že peča s trgovanjem, pravilno z verižno kupčijo. Trgovci na deželi ne dobi iz tovarne ne vžigalic, ne franka, kvasa itd., medtem ko krošnjarji take stvari po deželi po nesramno oderuških cenah (1/2 kg kvasa po 30–40 K, škatlica vžigalic 1 K) razpečavajo. Kje taki ljudje blago dobivajo? .../.../Da je marsikatero ukradeno blago vmes, je gotovo.*«¹⁶ Trgovska združenja so pozivali, naj se uprejo tovrstni nelojalni konkurenki, trgovce pa, da takšne pojave prijavijo. Dve leti zatem je bilo ponovno slišati glasove, da se je krošnjarjenje močno razpaslo po deželi in trgovci so ponovno obrnili na oblasti, naj vse krošnjarje izročijo sodišču ali pa jim celo zaplenijo blago.¹⁷ Ker naval krošnjarjev ni pojenjal, je veliki župan mariborske oblasti januarja leta 1928 na intervencijo Zbornice TOI izdal okrožnico, naslovljeno na vse okrajne glavarje in mestna magistrata v Celju in Mariboru, da strogo izvršujejo predpise krošnjarskega patentata. A tudi ta poziv ni zaledel. Nekaj dni zatem so sicer opazili neznatno zmanjšanje krošnjarjev, potem pa jih je bilo še več. Čeprav je § 12 krošnjarskega patentata (iz leta 1852), ki je bil v Sloveniji še v celoti v veljavi, določal, da mora biti blago, s katerim se krošnjari, domačega izvora, opremljeno z znakom in dobavnim izkazom, so v glavnem prodajali predmete tujega izvora. Zlasti so bili trgovski krogi ogorčeni, da se določila zakona o pobijanju draginje upoštevajo, izvajanje določil krošnjarskega patentata pa nihče ne nadzoruje.¹⁸ Rudolf Stermecki, predsednik celjskega gremija trgovcev, je leta 1928 v pismu velikemu županu mariborske oblasti zapisal, da so ukrepi proti krošnjarjem brez uspeha. Njihovo število spet narašča, »*tako da smo mogli ugotoviti celo devet krošnjarjev v enem dnevu. Ugotovili smo, da prodajajo britve, nože, škarje, vžigala, brvske pristroje in še razne druge posebno kovinske izdelke, ki se še ne izdelujejo v naši državi in s katerimi bi se ne smelo krošnjariti.*«¹⁹ Oblasti so krošnjarjenje načeloma preganjale, vendar ga niso mogle povsem zatreći. Krošnjarjem so dovoljevali drobno prodajo, da bi omilili brezposelnost v gospodarsko pasivnih pokrajinah, prepovedano pa jim je bilo prodajati materialno in špecerijsko blago, pijače, zdravila, karte, knjige, umetnine in mineralno olje.²⁰

V dvajsetih letih so bile torej zahteve trgovcev po zatiranju nelojalne konkurenčne vse večje. Želeli so predvsem, da bi država, podobno, kot so to storile Avstrija, Nemčija in Češkoslovaška, sprejela poseben zakon in tako pravno zaščitila prizadete trgovce. Nelojalna konkurenca je posegala namreč »*po sredstvih, ki rušijo trgovsko moralno in poštenje, spodjedajo tla solidni, zdravi trgovini ter občutno oškodujejo tudi konsumenta.*«²¹ Glede skrbi za moralno: ljubljanski okrajni načelnik dr. Rudolf Andrejka je z okrožnico pozval orožniške postaje naj podvojijo pazljivost in krošnjarje natančno pregledujejo, če nimajo morebiti pri sebi prepovedanih predmetov in podob. »*Ni še dolgo tega, kar se je pri takih, zlasti dalmatinskih krošnjarjih po neki orož-niški postoji dognalo, da prodajajo prepovedane ter zdravju in morali škodljive predmete, npr. preservative, špan-*

¹⁶ Za redno in proti zakotni trgovini. V: Nova doba, št. 32, 5. 4. 1919

¹⁷ Beseda o krošnjarjih. V: Nova doba, št. 87, 28. 7. 1921

¹⁸ Proti krošnjarjem. V: Nova doba, št. 43, 18. 4. 1928

¹⁹ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Prestopki krošnjarskega patentata.

²⁰ Trgovci in krošnjarstvo. V: Slovenski trgovski vestnik, št. 6, 1900

²¹ Pretnar,I.: Vprašanje umazane konkurenčnosti. V: Trgovski tovarš, št. 5, 1927

*ske muhe ipd.*²² Zahtevo po prepovedi krošnjarstva je leta 1925 ministrstvu trgovine in industrije predložil veliki župan mariborske oblasti dr. Pirkmajer. Predlagal je prepoved krošnjarjenja v Mariboru, Celju, Ptuju ter turističnih Radencih, Dobrni in Rogaški Slatini.²³ Poleti leta 1928 se je Zbornica TOI obrnila na velika župana ljubljanske in mariborske oblasti: zapisala je, da se v zadnjem času močno razraslo krošnjarstvo z manufakturnim in galerijskim blagom, s čimer je bila trgovcem povzročena velika škoda. Vsa prizadevanja, da bi ta pojav omejili, so bila neuspešna. Poudarili so, da je v tem času, ko je v Sloveniji že več kot 10.000 trgovinskih obratov, od katerih jih je več kot polovica z mešanim blagom, tako da ima že praktično vsak kraj svojo trgovino, ta pojav popolnoma odveč. Zato je Zbornica prosila oboj velika župana, da izdata podrejenim obrtnim oblastem okrožnico z navodili, kdo in na kakšen način sme iskati naročila pri trgovcih in pri zasebnih strankah, kako je prepovedano iskanje naročil tujih trgovcev in kako omejiti krošnjarjenje. Septembra istega leta sta velika župana dejansko izdala omenjeno okrožnico in jo posredovala okrajnim glavarjem in mestnim magistratom. Glede krošnjarjenja so v okrožnici zapisali, da ga na območju ljubljanske in mariborske oblasti regulirata patent iz leta 1852 in odločba ministrstva trgovine in industrije iz leta 1925. V smislu teh predpisov je bilo dovoljeno krošnjariti le jugosloven-skim državljanom in to le s tuzemskim blagom. Dovoljenje je veljalo na območju cele države, vendar so ga morali overiti okrajni poglavarji okraja, v katerem je hotel kdo krošnjariti.²⁴ A pri prizadevanjih po omejitvi krošnjarjenja niso bili uspešni. Tako je ban dr. Ivan Marušič leta 1931 vsem okrajnim in mestnim načelstvom ter predstojništvom policije v Ljubljani, Mariboru in Celju izdal okrožnico, v kateri je ugotavljal, da so se kljub izrečenim kaznim kršitve krošnjarjenja kar vrstile. Krošnjarjev je bilo izjemno veliko, krošnjarili pa so kljub prepovedi tudi ob nedeljah in ob delavnikih zvečer, ko so bile trgovine že zaprte.²⁵ Banova naredba iz leta 1937 je namreč prepovedovala prodajanje in krošnjarjenje po ulicah med 18. uro zvečer in 7.30 zjutraj ter ob nedeljah in praznikih; med izjemami so bili poleg časopisov, cvetja in kuhanih klobas tudi pečen kostanj in t.i. kočevski predmeti (§§ 9, 33).²⁶ Zatem je Zveza trgovskih združenj Dravske banovine v Ljubljani leta 1938 izdala še letak proti krošnjarstvu.²⁷ Klasično krošnjarjenje torej ni usihalo, kot bi morebiti spričo širjenja trgovinske mreže pričakovali, temveč se je prilagajalo novim razmeram. Z nastankom novih državnih meja in z novo zakonodajo se je krčil geografski domet krošnjarskih poti, deloma sta se spremenila tudi vsebine in način krošnjarjenja; to je postal poklic revnejših, da so na ta način pridobili določeno socialno-zaščitno noto.²⁸

Postati krošnjar pa ni bilo čisto enostavno. Prosilec je moral poleg fotografije v vlogi navesti osebne podatke, osebni opis, priložiti pa še vrsto prilog, npr. krstni list, domovnico, nравstveno spričevalo, potrdilo davčnega urada, potrdilo sodišča o nekaznovanju in zdravniško poročilo. Po odobritvi vloge je krošnjar nato dobil »Dovolilo za izvrševanje obrta brez stalne poslovalnice«, ki ga je moral imeti vedno pri sebi. Največ dovoljenj so izdali za obrtne oblasti Kočevje, Črno-

melj in Mursko Soboto.²⁹ Krošnjarske knjižice, ki so jih izdajala okrajna načelstva, so dajale krošnjarjem pravico krošnjariti po celi državi.

Na neloyalno konkurenco so na svojih zasedanjih opozarjali tudi banski svetniki. Leta 1931 je npr. svetnik Jakob Ramovž, sicer župnik iz Velikih Lašč, opozoril na italijanske trgovce, ki so krožili po vaseh in katerih dejavnost je bila neobdarvana. Istočasno pa je izpostavil tudi krošnjarje, ki ponujajo ljudem »neke gumijeve izdelke za preprečitev spočetja. Ti uganjajo veliko pohujšanje, tako v nacionalnem kakor tudi v verskem oziru.« Bansko upravo je prosil, naj njihovo početje zaustavi, saj »na deželi bi teh artiklov sploh ne poznali, če bi jih ti krošnjarji ne razpečevali.« Glede teh pomislekov je bil med banskimi svetniki sprejet konsenz, da se po zakonu o krošnjarstvu v določenih krajih po državi lahko krošnjari; če bi namreč krošnjarjenje prepovedali, bi bili prizadeti tudi slovenski krošnjarji, ki krošnjarijo drugod po državi. Kar se pa tiče prodaje »nemoralnih« predmetov ali celo širjenja komunističnih idej, pa je naloga žandarmerije, da to prepreči.³⁰ Poleg tega je banski svetnik iz Kočevja dr. Ivan Sajovic izpostavil dejstvo, da je navzlic negativnemu stališču glede krošnjarjenja potrebna izjema: v Sloveniji sta bila namreč dva okraja, kjer se ljudje niso mogli preživljati niti s kmetijstvom niti z obrto, seveda pa tudi industrije ni bilo tam – to sta bila okraja Kočevje in Črnomelj. Tamkajšnje prebivalstvo se je v glavnem preživljalo s krošnjarjenjem, zato je bilo tam potrebno na ta pojav gledati tudi s socialnega vidika. V tem smislu so žeeli doseči izjemo glede pravil o krošnjarstvu.³¹ Za krošnjarjenje so si prizadevali doseči olajšave, saj so to dejavnost smatrali kot poseben tip domače obrti in v kolikor je šlo pri krošnjarjenju za prodajo domačih izdelkov, je bilo v banskem svetu sprejet stališče, da ga je potrebno pospeševati.³²

Da državne oblasti »z vso odločnostjo zatirajo gospodarsko kvarno krošnjarstvo in nedopustno agentovanje«, je zahtevalo tudi trgovsko društvo Merkur.³³ Med vzroki, da se – po mnenju sodobnikov – trgovina ni mogla povzpeti na višjo stopnjo, je bilo namreč tudi krošnjarstvo. Slednje, zlasti z manufakturnim blagom, je bilo razpredeno v vseh delih države, tako v mestih, še bolj pa na podeželju. Vsa moledovanja trgovstva pa niso rodila uspeha. Direktive vlade se niso izvajale, kot bi se morale. »Kupujoče občinstvo pa naj ne naseda vabljivim besedam krošnjarjev, ki vobče prodajajo samo slabo blago in blago neznanega izvora.«

Ban dr. Ivan Marušič je leta 1933 z okrožnico, namenjeno okrajnim in mestnim načelstvom ter upravam policije v Ljubljani, Mariboru in Celju zahteval poosnitriv nadzora nad krošnjarji. Carinske oblasti so namreč pri prebivalstvu pogosto naleteli na blago tihotapskega izvora – tu je mišljeno tako monopolno (nežigosani vžigalniki, tobak in cigaretni papir) kot tudi »moralno oporečno« blago (kondomi, pornografski predmeti), pri čemer so se dotični izgovarjali, da so blago kupili od neznanih oseb. Po uredbi iz leta 1928 je bilo sicer prepoveda-

22 AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Vsem orožniškim postajam.

23 SI_ZAC/0024/002 Mestna občina Celje (1850–1941), AŠ 66, Ukinitev krošnjarjenja v mestu. 1924

24 AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Detajlno potovanje in krošnjarjenje.

25 Krošnjarjev namreč ne gre zamenjavati s trgovskimi potniki, ki so s sabo lahko nosili vzorce, glede prodaje pa so se smeli obračati le na trgovce, ne na zasebne stranke. AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Krošnjarjenje in detajlno potovanje.

26 Naredba o odpiranju in zapiranju trgovinskih in obrtnih obratovalnic v dravski banovini, Službeni list kraljeve banske uprave Dravske banovine št. 35, Ljubljana, 1937. Podobno je določala že Naredba o odpiranju in zapiranju trgovinskih in obrtnih obratovalnic v dravski banovini iz 6. 5. 1930

27 AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Vsem trgovskim združenjem

28 Traven, Janko: Dvajset let razvoja slovenskega obrtništva. V: Spominski zbornik Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1939, str. 391

29 Drnovšek, Marjan: Kočevarski krošnjarji in nacistična propaganda. V: Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, št. 1, 2007, str. 91, 87

30 AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, št. 77, f. 1, Stenografski zapisnik I. zasedanja, januar 1931

31 AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, št. 77, f. 4, Stenografski zapisnik III. zasedanja, februar 1933

32 AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, št. 77, f. 8, Stenografski zapisnik VI. zasedanja, februar 1935

33 Windischer, Fran: Zadeve naše trgovine. V: Trgovski tovariš, št. 4, 1928

no krošnjariti v Ljubljani, Mariboru, Celju in Ptuju ter turističnih krajih (Bledu, Rogaški Slatini, Dobrni in Radencih); tu so lahko krošnjarili le prebivalci duvanjskega, livanjskega in imotskega okraja, v obmejnih okrajih pa še ti ne. Po vsod so smeli krošnjariti le t.i. priviligirani krošnjarji (Kočevarji in Črnomaljci), in sicer le s t.i. kočevskim blagom – južnim sadjem in slaščicami.³⁴ Morebiti so k številnim krštvam predpisov o krošnjarjenju pripomogle tudi nizke kazni – le-te so bile določene že leta 1852, sčasoma pa so zgubile na vrednosti in so predstavljale zanemarljive zneske. Tudi obdavčitev krošnjarjev je bila neustrezena. Krošnjarjenje, ki je nekdaj igralo pomembnejšo vlogo, je pravzaprav izgubljalo svoj namen: v Sloveniji je bilo v tem času okrog 10.000 imetnikov obrtnih listov za različne trgovinske obrti, med njimi okrog 2.500 trgovin z mešanim blagom – torej praktično ni bilo več potrebe po potujočih prodajalcih.³⁵ Z uredbo bana je bilo tako maja 1940³⁶ krošnjarstvo v nekaterih okrajih Dravske banovine prepovedano.³⁷

³⁴ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42,
Okrožnica Kraljevske banske
uprave Dravske banovine, 1933

³⁵ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42,
Petovar, Omejitev in obdavljanje
krošnjarstva, 1923

³⁶ Službeni list 40/715 z dne 18.
maja 1940

³⁷ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42

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*Nadja Kovacic*

kustosinja, Pokrajinski muzej Kočevje

Krošnjarji s Kočevske

»Handel und Wandel«

Kočevska je bila skozi zgodovino deležna mnogih nevšečnosti, kot so kuga, požari ter v 15. in 16. stoletju turški vpadi, ki so Kočevsko večkrat opustošili. Posledica turškega opustošenja je bila prenestitev središča na varnejši kraj na desnem bregu reke Rinže. Za obrambo pred Turki so nastali tabori okoli cerkva in drugi varnostni ukrepi. Posledici turških vpadov sta bili tudi delna razselitev kostelskega in obkolpskega območja ter naselitev Uskokov na izpraznjenem območju.

Avstrijski cesar Friderik III. je 23. oktobra 1492 z namenom, da bi gospodarsko pomagal od turških pustošenj obubožanim krajem, izdal krošnjarski patent (*Hausierpatent*), s katerim je bilo kočevskim krošnjarjem dovoljeno izvažati živilo, platno in lesene predmete, ki so jih izdelovali doma. Sprva je bila pravica omejena na Hrvaško in druge obmejne kraje, pozneje so postale razdalje krošnjarjev vedno daljše. Ta privilegij je bil v kasnejših obdobjih večkrat potrenjen. Njihovo delovanje so urejali policijski redi. Od druge polovice 16. stoletja so morali imeti krošnjarji pisna dovoljenja oblasti, največkrat zemljiških gospodov. Do leta 1806 so potovali zlasti po deželah Svetega rimskega cesarstva. V poročilih iz začetka 18. stoletja so krošnjarji prek Koroške, Salzburga in Nürnberga odhajali tudi na Nizozemsko. Z graditvijo komercialnih cest in železnic v 19. stoletju so se njihove možnosti zmanjšale, vendar nikoli ugasnile. Tako je obrtni zakon iz leta 1859 vseboval krošnjarski patent, ki je ohranil stare pravice.¹

¹ Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja. V: Kronika, letnik 55, številka 3, Ljubljana, 2007, str. 391; Mitja Ferenc, Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 36

² Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja. V: Kronika, letnik 55, številka 3, Ljubljana, 2007, str. 393

vrste blaga, ki je bilo lažje za prenašanje, in za katerega so vedeli, da bo šlo bolj v promet kot suha roba. Bližina morja (Reka in Bakar) jim je omogočila stik z novimi vrstami blaga. Dvorni odlok, izdan 14. aprila 1785, dovoljuje Kočevarjem še naprej krošnjariti z laškim oljem, pomarančami, limonami, citronami, granatnimi jabolki, datlji, smokvami, rozinami, mandlji, lešniki, rožiči, kostanjem, koprom, lovorjem, rižem, sardelami, želvami, ostrigami, vinom itd. Tihotapili so tudi sol.³

Postali so tudi kostanjarji po velikih mestih v deželah Avstro-Ogrske in v južni Nemčiji. Moški so se s »havziranja«, s katerim so si omogočili razmeroma visok življenjski standard, enkrat letno vračali k družinam, v času košnje in drugih večjih kmečkih opravil, ter nato konec avgusta spet odhajali v tujino. Krošnjarjenje, ki je bilo do 20. stoletja značilna gospodarska dejavnost, je pospešilo obrt in trgovino, čeprav je imelo zaradi opuščanja poljedelstva in izseljevanja v poznejših obdobjih škodljive posledice. Izdelke domače obrti so Kočevarji prodajali po vseh cesarskih deželah. S trgovino so se odprle prometne poti čez Kočevsko v razne smeri, prva na jug od Kočevja čez Kostel proti Kolpi, druga na jugovzhod od Kočevja čez Knežjo Lipo do Vinice, tretja na sever od Kočevja prek Ribnice, na zahod prek Cerknice proti Trstu ali prek Rakitnice in Velikih Lašč proti Ljubljani. Ob teh in drugih cestah oz. poteh so nastale mitnice.⁴

Večina si je s krošnjarstvom izboljšala skromno življenje na skopih kraških tleh, redki so bili taki, ki so obogateli. Med njimi je bil Janez (Johann) Kosler II., ki je krošnjaril s pomarančami in drugim južnim sadjem. Z devetnajstimi leti se je odpravil na Dunaj. Tu je odprl trgovino z južnim sadjem in kožami. Kot sposoben in iznajdljiv trgovec si je v času Napoleonovih vojn (1800–1814), še posebej pa med dunajskim mirovnim kongresom, pridobil precejšnje bogastvo. Takrat so veliki snežni zameti onemogočili pot čez Alpe. Kljub temu je njegovim tovornikom uspelo pretvoriti na Dunaj sveže južno sadje iz skladišč v Trstu. Tako je bil v času kongresa edini trgovec s pomarančami na Dunaju.⁵ Po nekaterih podatkih naj bi kar polovica moških s Kočevske krošnjarila. Hugo Grothe za leto 1869 omenja 3841 krošnjarjev, Adolf Hauffen pa ob koncu stoletja okoli 4000.⁶ V domačem okolju je bila njihova dejavnost protislovna, saj so jim branili pot od doma, svarili pred oddaljenostjo od domačega praga, odorganostjo od zemlje, po drugi strani so bili v očeh vaščanov spoštovanja vredni in zaželeni ženini.⁷

Poleg pozitivnih strani krošnjarjenja, kot je na primer višji standard družin, novosti, ki so jih prinašali iz tujine in s tem napredek, se srečamo tudi z mnogimi negativnimi posledicami. S tem se je ukvarjal Marjan Drnovšek⁸, ki je preučil vidik dojemanja krošnjarjev v javnosti. V preteklosti so bili krošnjarji velikokrat označeni kot prekupčevalci, goljufi in barantači. Očitano jim je bilo, da so že v 18. stoletju v svoje kraje prinašali razvade, nagnjenost k brezdelju, delomrznost, alkoholizem. Nekateri pisci so krošnjarstvo zelo črnoobarvali in krošnjarjem očitali moralno sprijenost. Zanjo naj bi bili odgovorni meščani

³ Prav tam

⁴ Ferenc, Mitja: Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 36–38

⁵ Kordiš, Ivan, Škulca, Irena: Peter Kozler in prvi zemljevid slovenskega ozemlja. Kočevje, 1996, str. 14–15

⁶ Ferenc, Mitja: Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 45–47

⁷ Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja. V: Kronika, letnik 55, številka 3, Ljubljana, 2007, str. 390

⁸ Prav tam, str. 387–404

avstrijskih in nemških mest, kjer so trgovali. V tem tonu so kočevarskim krošnjarjem očitali nezanesljivost, nepoštenost in poudarjali malovrednost moške populacije zaradi zapuščanja kmetij in odhajanja v tujino v odnosu do marljivih žensk, ki so ostajale doma. V Novicah iz leta 1872 je neznan pisec v svojem prispevku obravnaval problematiko krošnjarjenja in njegovih posledic. Kočevski okraj je označil kot bolnika, ki je podlegel bolezni, ki se ji reče »pohišna kupčija ali hauziranje«. Opozoril je na negativne posledice v zvezi s šolstvom, kmetijstvom in obrtništvom. Zaradi prvega očita, da na stotine šoloobveznih otrok med 10. in 14. letom starosti spremlja očete, brate ali sosedе v »rajh« (Nemčijo) ali madžarski del Avstro-Ogrske, kjer jim pomagajo pri nošnji »cajn« s pomarančami, pri peki kostanja in drugih opravilih, nihče pa ne ve, če sploh hodijo v solo. Zanje zahteva, da se jim prepove odhod od doma, razen v primerih, da njihov oče, brat ali sosed dokaže, da je »fantalina« na tujem res pošiljal v solo. Pisec očita tudi, da se v »zveličanem nemškem rajhu« mladi naučijo raznih razuzdanosti, nesramnega govorjenja, zmerjanja, preklinjanja, itd. Posledica odhajanja na tuje so bile vidne tudi v kmetijstvu, predvsem na opustošenih poljih, zapuščenih sadnih drevesih, slabo prehranjeni živini. S krošnjarstvom naj bi se ukvarjala tudi cela vrsta županov, razen tistih, ki imajo krčmo, trgovino ali kak drug »kšeфт«. Ocenjuje, da jih kar tri četrt leta ni doma in to slabo vpliva na občinske posle. Zato svetuje deželnim oblastem, naj previdno omejijo »hauziranje«.⁹

⁹ Prav tam, str. 394–395

¹⁰ Prav tam

¹¹ Prav tam, str. 396

Ena od pomembnih smeri kočevskih, ribniških in belokranjskih krošnjarjev so bile nemške dežele. V teh krajih so bili krošnjarji predstavniki družbenega roba, zlasti skozi oči urbaniziranih prebivalcev. To so bili ljudje na cesti, ki so predstavljeni socialno dno, ki so bili nevarni, saj so bili navezani na določeno obvladljivo živiljenjsko okolje, povrh vsega so bili tujci.¹⁰ Pri Kočevarjih je bila dodana še posebna etiketa tujosti oziroma drugačnosti zaradi jezika, noše, običajev in drugačnega živiljenja na splošno. Brez dvoma lahko pritrdimo misli, da so bili krošnjarji prinašalci drugih kulturnih vrednost, kar se je kazalo v zunanjji podobi kočevsko-ribniške pokrajine (večje število zidanih hiš). Naletimo celo na misel pred drugo svetovno vojno, da krošnjarjenje v Nemčiji prinaša lepe tisočake. O tej plati dela na tujem se je bolj malo govorilo.¹¹

Že v tem času, in tudi pozneje, je dobila Kočevska vedno bolj pusto podobo zaradi opuščanja skromnih delovnih površin, zapuščenih hiš in celo vasi. To naj bi bila, po mnenju kritikov izseljevanja, posledica krošnjarjenja in množičnega izseljevanja v ZDA. Če se omejimo na krošnjarjenje, se v strokovni literaturi in publicistiki pojavljajo očitki, da je bila Kočevarjem »Handel und Wandel« (kupčija in potovanja) najljubša preokupacija, celo razvada, ki jim je dvigala samozavest, ponos, krepila izkušenost in hkrati domišljavost, kar se je kazalo na zunaj v tem, da so bili lepše oblečeni kot Slovenci, v večjem pitju in uživanju hrane, v bolj lagodnem in veseljem živiljenju. Kmetije v ženskih rokah pa so propadale kot posledica iskanja lahkega zaslužka njihovih mož. Vse to pa

kaže na enostransko slojevitost prebivalstva. Na eni strani so bile ženske, ki so predstavljale delovno populacijo, na drugi strani pa so bili otroci in starejši ljudje.¹²

Med negativne posledice krošnjarjenja za domače prebivalstvo lahko uvrstimo tudi širitev nacistične miselnosti med kočevskimi Nemci. Tako kot v drugih krajih Slovenije se je tudi na Kočevskem razmeroma hitro začelo širiti nacistično gibanje, zlasti po letu 1933. Pojavljati so se začele ilegalne vaške knjižnice z nacistično literaturo, politično vzgajanje kočevskih mladincev v Nemčiji pod pretvezo strokovnega študija, pojavljanje klukastih križev na kočevskih hišah, skupinsko poslušanje nemških radijskih poročil in Hitlerjevih govorov v zasebnih hišah, organiziranje domačih vaških večerov, tajnih sestankov, izletov. Na Kočevskem je nacistično gibanje širila dijaška zveza. Posebno vlogo pri širjenju nacističnih idej so nacisti namenili kočevskim krošnjarjem, ki so bili v ta namen tudi skrbno izbrani. Krošnjarji so po 1. svetovni vojni v večjem številu krošnjarili po Nemčiji, saj so jim vrata v naslednice Avstro-Ogrske monarhije ostala zaprta. V Nemčijo, predvsem v Dresden in München, so odhajali na posebne nacistične tečaje. V letih 1937 in 1938 so v Ulmu ustanovili šolo namenjeno kočevskim kmetovalcem, da bi jih strokovno in idejno izšolali ter usposobili za prihodnje vodstvo kočevskih Nemcev, po vrnitvi pa bi se strokovno uveljavili, dobili vpliv na prebivalstvo in ga vzgajali v nacističnem duhu, kar se je nato deloma tudi uresničilo.¹³

Z odhodom kočevskih Nemcev je zamrlo tudi krošnjarstvo na Kočevskem, ki pa je po koncu druge svetovne vojne svoje nadaljevanje doživelno v Osilniški in Poljanski dolini.

»Satove popravljam!«

Krošnjarje iz zgornej Kolpske doline lahko v grobem razdelimo na dve skupini. Prvi so bili tako imenovani »urmoharji«, urarji samouki, ki so s svojimi koši oprtanimi na ramah hodili popravljati ure, drugi pa so bili »žagmojstri«. Prvi so bili v večini. Zgovoren je že podatek, da so nekoč območje od Gašparcev preko Bosljive Loke, Grintovca, Ribjeka in Osilnice do Pleščev imenovali »mala Švica«. Še med vojnama je bilo tu okrog 40 urarjev.¹⁴ Krošnjarstvo je prehajalo iz roda v rod, v mnogih družinah so se urarskega poklica kasneje lotili profesionalno, končali urarske šole in po večjih krajih odprli urarske delavnice.

Tudi popravljanje žag se je prenašalo iz roda v rod. »Žagmojstri« so prav tako kot »urmoharji« sezonsko brusili žage po številnih krajih in vaseh.

Medtem ko so krošnjarji nemškega jezikovnega otoka krošnjarili skozi vse leto in so se domov vračali v spomladanskih mesecih, so krošnjarji Osilniške doline odhajali večkrat za največ dva ali tri mesece, lahko tudi manj. Od doma so

¹² Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja. V: Kronika, letnik 55, številka 3, Ljubljana, 2007, str. 396; Mitja Ferenc, Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 87

¹³ Ferenc, Mitja: Kočevska – pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev. Ljubljana, 2005, str. 108

odhajali, ko je bila pospravljena košnja, narejeno vse na polju in pripravljena drva za zimo. Domov jih ni bilo do božiča. Preden se je pričelo spomladansko delo so navadno šli še za kakšen mesec »hauzirat«. Marca in aprila, ko se je oralo in sadilo, so bili nazaj. S krošnjarskimi poti so prinašali denar za naj-nujnejše: sol, sladkor, petrolej ali oblačila.

Krošnjarji so velikokrat vzeli na pot tudi svoje sinove. Dečki, ki so dopolnili komaj 12 let, so skupaj z očetom zapustili dom in si nabirali izkušnje za kasnejše samostojno delo. Do Delnic ali Broda Moravice so šli peš, naprej pa z vla-kom. Hodili so v različne smeri od Avstrije, Madžarske, Romunije in Bačke. Prevlađovalo pa je območje od Zagreba do Beograda in Vojvodine, pozimi so hodili v Temševkar. Krošnjarji iz Osilniške doline so se podajali na pot tudi na različne konce v Vojvodini in Sremu, kjer so bile nemške vasi, zato so, ko so prišli v vas, začeli kričati: »Uhre reperiren!«¹⁵

Včasih so se vračali v isto vas, če se jim je zdelo, da bi lahko še kaj zaslužili. Na dan so prehodili tudi do 20 kilometrov. Na hrbtu so v lesenem košu nesli od 20 do 25 kg bremena. Po vojni je marsikdo tako dobro zaslužil, da je lahko kupil kravo ali celo zemljo. Zlasti po vojni je šlo več krošnjarjev hkrati na pot. Preden so se razšli, so se dogovorili, kje se bodo spet dobili. Zgodilo se je, da so se na svojih krošnjarskih poteh tudi kdaj srečali. Ko se je zvečerilo, pa so krošnjarji prosili za prenočišče.

Redki so bili krošnjarji, ki so prodajali manufakturno blago. Največ jih je popravljalo ure. To so bili samouki, ki se nikoli niso učili urarske obrti. Bosljiva Loka je sploh slovela po številu takih urarjev. Pri njih je bilo to, kot da jim je prirojeno. Na hrbtu so nosili omaricam podobne škatle z mnogimi predali in predalčki. V njih je bilo polno urarskih delov za vse vrste ur, pa razna povečevala in ustrezno orodje. Popravljalci so vse, od stenskih do žepnih in ročnih ur.¹⁶ »Urmoharske« koše je izdeloval mizar iz Turkov. V spodnji predal je krošnjar spravil srajco in hlače za preobleč. Pri kakšni hiši, kjer je že večkrat prespal, so mu perilo zvečer oprali, posušili na peči, zjutraj pa je imel sveže perilo. Večina »urmoharjev« je imela s sabo palico. Nanjo so se opirali med potjo, z njo so lahko odgnali kakšnega psa, kadar so počivali, pa so jo postavili pod koš. Tako je bilo tudi takrat, ko so na začetku vasi kričali: »Satove popravljam!«¹⁷

Višje iz hribovskih vasi so prihajali mojstri samouki za popravilo žag. To so bili večinoma gozdni delavci, ki so imeli bogate izkušnje z žagami. Ob pogostem brušenju so se zobje na žagah izbrusili in potrebno je bilo vsekati nove. To so naredili z manjšimi ročnimi sekalnimi strojčki, ne preveč težkimi, ki so jih skupaj še z drugim orodjem nosili na hrbtu od vasi do vasi. Pri tem svojem delu so uporabljali razne vložke, da so lahko vsekali navadne zobe ali zobe za amerikanke.¹⁸ Na hrbtu so »žagmojstri« nosili lesen koš, v katerem so imeli orodje, kot na primer stroj za zobce delat, sekač za izsekati zobce, pile za brušenje in nakovalce. V manjšem predalu so imeli perilo in obleko. Brusili so žage

amerikanke, čavlarice, ročne žage in sploh vse vrste žag. V kakšni vasi so se zadržali tudi po dva dni, če je bilo dovolj dela. Ko so šli čez vas so kričala: »Pile brusit! Pile sekat!« Ljudje so prišli in navadno že kar s seboj prinesli žage. Če so se dogovorili za ceno, so se usedli na klop, nanjo pritrdili orodje in začeli z delom. Ponekod so hoteli plačati z vinom, ker je primanjkovalo hrane. Tudi prenočišča so navadno odslužili z brušenjem žag. Ponekod so zahtevali za prenočišče nabrušene kar tri ali štiri žage, kar je vzelo veliko časa. Že samo brušenje je zahtevalo več kot eno uro trdega dela.¹⁹

Krošnjarji so dobrote le redko nosili domov. Otroci so vsake toliko časa dobili kakšno pomarančo ali bombone, igrač niso nosili.

Od krošnjarskega zaslužka in domačih pridelkov so lahko kar dobro živelii. Po vojni je marsikateri krošnjar nadaljeval s svojim delom, zlasti v obmorskih hrvaških mestih [Krk, Rab, Cres, Hvar], kjer so veliko zaslužili tudi od turistov.

»Na Hrvaškem odsotni«

Marija Makarovič²⁰ v Poljanski dolini razločuje tri vrste krošnjarjev, za katere so domačini pravili, da »so imeli marsikdaj ožulen hrbet in noge.« Krošnjarji so nosili prodajat razno galanterijsko blago, ki so ga nabavili sami, največkrat so ga dobivali pri trgovcih, za katere so prodajali. Hodili so od hiše do hiše po območjih, ki so bila za vsakega krošnjarja določena. Druge vrste krošnjarji so hodili od hiše do hiše kupovat ščetine, živalske kože in vinski kamen. Njihovi kraji kupovanja niso bili omejeni. Tretja vrsta krošnjarjev pa je nosila naprodaj lastne suhorobarske izdelke in so jih zato poimenovali s popačeno nemško besedo »antreharji«. S prodajanjem raznih izdelkov so si prav tako kot drugi krošnjarji skušali zaslužiti nekaj denarja. Predvsem v zimskem času, ko ni bilo dela na polju, so izdelovali sodčke, kadi, pinje, brente, žbanjke, zibelke, rešeta, male in velike nečke, razne žitne mere in drugo. Na splošno so »antreharji« prodajali robo ali pa jo zamenjevali za razne vrste žita. Zato so prihajali trgovci iz črnomaljske kotline otvorjeni z žitom (ajdo, koruzo, prosom), da so ga zamenjali za posode. Žito so, kolikor ga niso zamenjali, prodajali v vasi, največkrat osibenikom in bajtarjem, ki ga sami niso pridelali.²¹

Krošnjarstvo, ki so ga na tem delu Kočevske imenovali »auziranje«, je delu predgrajskoga prebivalstva pomemben vir preživetja. Predgrajci, med njimi osibeniki, bajtarji in tisti kmečki gospodarji, ki so kmetovali, so le stežka preživljali svojo družino. Ti so se že vsaj v 18. stoletju ukvarjali s krošnjarstvom, po nepreverljivem ustnem izročilu pa že za časa Turkov. Uradno dovoljenje za krošnjarjenje, ki so ga moralni še med svetovnima vojnoma enkrat letno obnoviti na okrajnjem glavarstvu v Črnomlju, so dobili predvsem družinski očetje.²²

Marija Makarovič pravi, da so resnejši podatki o predgrajskih krošnjarjih zelo skromni, na splošno se omenjajo v mlajših virih, kjer so le občasno vpisani v

¹⁴ Dva bregova eno srce.

Živiljenjske pripovedi iz doline Kolpe in Čabranke, Kočevje, 2002, str. 295

¹⁵ Prav tam, str. 395

¹⁶ Prav tam, str. 275

¹⁷ Prav tam, str. 203–205

¹⁸ Prav tam, str. 275

¹⁹ Prav tam, str. 312

²⁰ Makarovič, Marija: Predgrad in Predgrajci. Narodopisna podoba belokranjske vasi. Kočevje 1983, str. 165–169

²¹ Prav tam, str. 167

²² Prav tam, str. 165

matičnih knjigah, mrliških knjigah in družinskih popisih. Tako lahko v družinskih popisih iz sredine 19. stoletja najdemo za nekatere moške pripis, da so odsotni v Nemčiji (in Deutschland absens). Zanje lahko po ustnem izročilu sklepamo, da so bili tamkaj kot krošnjarji. Podobno je v družinskih popisih za obdobje od 1838 do 1856 pri 35 Predgrajcih pripisano, da so »na Hrvaškem odsotni«. Zanje lahko skoraj z gotovostjo trdimo, da so bili tamkaj s krošnjo ali na začasnem delu. Nekajkrat so med odsotnimi vpisane tudi matere z otroki, ki so se verjetno na pobudo moža krošnjarja, ko se je razgledal po primernejšem okolju, tja preselile.²³

Ozemlje, po katerem so krošnjarili Predgrajci, je bilo precej obsežno. Segalo je tudi preko meja Avstro-Ogrskga cesarstva, kjer je bilo sicer uradno dovoljeno krošnjariti. Tako naj bi sprva krošnjarili le po Hrvaškem in Bosni, v 19. stoletju pa so domačini krošnjarili po Koroškem, Bavarskem, Gornjeavstrijskem, Švici in Nemčiji. Eden od krošnjarjev je bil celo v Španiji, drugi v Benečiji. Nekateri krošnjarji so se ponekod tudi stalno naselili. Zato še zdaj živi nekaj predgrajskih rojakov v Švici, Avstriji, Nemčiji in na Češkem, kjer so se naselili njihovi pradedje. Krošnjarili so tudi po celi Jugoslaviji, razen na Kosovem.²⁴

Kot je zapisano v Novicah iz leta 1852, so poljanski krošnjarji lahko prekupčevali tudi z drugimi, prehrambenimi stvarmi. »V nekaterih krajih, kjer revščina prebivavcev to nanese, se sme čez to postavo dovoliti, da smejo tudi moški in ženske, ki še niso 30 let, vendar pa popolnoma 24 let stari za celo cesarstvo pohišno kramarjenje dovoliti. Taki so v naših krajih Kočevarji, Poljanci in Ribničanje, ki smejo z ostrigami, laškim oljem, rožiči, pomerančami, lemonami, datelji, smokvami, kostanjem, rajžem in takom blagom kakor dozdej po svetu kramariti, ako dovoljenje k temu zadobe.«²⁵

²³ Prav tam, str. 166

²⁴ Prav tam

²⁵ Prav tam, str. 167

²⁶ Prav tam

²⁷ Prav tam, str. 167–168

Krošnar je lahko postal le tisti, ki je imel svoj kapital ali svojo posest, da je z njim lahko jamčil za blago, ki ga je dobil od trgovcev. Sčasoma so zanje lahko jamčili tudi poroki, vendar le takšni, ki jih je poznal tudi trgovec. Po izročilu so potniki nemškega veletrgovca nabirali »hauzirarje« tudi v Predgradu. Vendar se je moral vsakdo za prvo robo, ki jo je dobil na upanje, obvezati, da bo potem, ko bo povrnal račun zanjo, tudi vedno kupoval pri istem podjetju. Robo, ki jo je kupil sam, je dobil s popustom.²⁶

Gmotni uspeh krošnjarjev je bil različen. Sporočilo v Novicah iz leta 1847 pravi, da si Poljanci »po ti tergovini pridobe, da plačajo davke in si še kak mernik žita v Karlovcu kupijo za dom«. Nekateri, ki so krošnjarili po Nemčiji, so se redkeje vračali, zato pa so denar pošiljali domov.²⁷

Medtem ko je krošnarstvo kočevskih Nemcev izumrlo z začetkom druge sestovne vojne in njihovim odhodom s Kočevske, pa je po koncu vojne v Poljanski dolini in v Osilniški dolini zopet zaživelo za vsaj dve desetletji. S pojavom in odprtjem novih trgov ter nekonkurenčnostjo pa je tudi tu krošnjarska dejavnost

začela zamirati. Moški, ki so krošnjarili skoraj celo svoje življenje, so si delo poiskali v bližnjih tovarnah in trgovinah ali se upokojili.

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Mojca Šifrer Bulovec

višja kustosinja, Loški muzej Škofja Loka



Kje in kako so ribniški lončarji prodajali svoje »piskre«?

*Vre, vre , vre,
mi smo Ribnčanje!
Po svejt okul furamo
in lonce tam ponujamo,
kulker moč dragu.¹*

Lončarstvo je bilo poleg »sühe robe« dolga stoletja najpomembnejša domača obrt v Ribniški dolini. Razvilo se je v njenem južnem delu in to v vseh Rakitnica, Blate, Dolenja vas, Prigorica in v Lipovcu, medtem ko so se v Nemški vasi ukvarjali s pečarstvom. Ledinsko ime za vse te vasi je »u lončarijah« ali »u lončariji«. V svoji diplomske nalogi Lončarstvo v Ribniški dolini, ki sem jo zaključila leta 1988, sem skušala osvetliti osnove za nastanek lončarske obrti, njen razvoj skozi stoletja in počasen zaton po drugi svetovni vojni. V pričajoči publikaciji pa je objavljen del te naloge, ki opisuje prodajo ribniške lončenine.

Ribniški lončarji so prodajali svoje lončene izdelke kot krošnjarji, ki so smeli prodajati le doma izdelano blago. Za tako prodajo so morali imeti dovolilnico, t.i. krošnjarski list, med obema svetovnima vojnoma imenovan domovinski list. Svoje blago so ponujali od kraja do kraja, od hiše do hiše in na sejmih.²

V začetku 19. stoletja so lončarji iz Ribniške doline prodajali svojo posodo po novomeškem, postojnskem in goriškem okrožju, na Hrvaško, Primorsko ter v Trst.³ Anton Lesar v svojem članku Ribniška dolina, objavljenem leta 1864, poroča, da so lončarji razvažali lonce, »piskre«, sklede, kozice, itd. po vsem Dolenskem, Kranjskem, Goriškem, v Trst in Istro.⁴

Stanje je ostalo nespremenjeno vse do časa po prvi svetovni vojni, natančneje do 12. 11. 1920, ko je bila podpisana Rapalska pogodba.⁵ Z njo je onstran nove državne meje ostala Istra, Primorska, Trst ter velik del Notranjske. S to novo mejo so ribniški lončarji izgubili velik del svojega nekdanjega tržišča. Poslanec Škulj se je trudil, da bi uvedli v Italiji prosto prodajo »naših domačih izdelkov«, a v Italiji niso hoteli ratificirati te pogodbe. Posledica te nove politične situacije je

vplivala na zmanjšanje števila lončarjev ter upadanje zanimanja mladih za to obrt.⁶

Med obema svetovnima vojnoma so lončarji prodajali svoje izdelke po Dolenjski, posebno po Suhi krajini, delno po Beli krajini, po jugoslovenskem delu Notranjske (Bloke, Loški potok) ter po sosednji Hrvaški (Grobničko polje pri Reki, Crikvenica, Sušak, Senj, Kastav, Trt, Brebir, Novi ter vse do Karlovca).⁷

V prometu je na slovenskem ozemlju vse do začetka 18. stoletja prevladovalo predvsem tovorništvo, kajti ceste so bile slabe, nevzdrževane in tako neprimerne za prevoz z vozovi.

Tovorništvo je bilo razvito tudi v Ribniškem gospodstvu, priča podatek, da so od začetka prve polovice 17. pa do konca 18. stoletja morali ribniški podložniki poleg drugih fevdalnih dajatev opravljati tudi tovorniško tlako.

Na svojih tovornih konjih so Ribničani poleg žita, vina ali soli tovorili tudi svoje lonce. Konje so osedlali s posebnim sedlom, na katerem sta bili obešeni dve pleteni košari, v njih pa je bila zložena v slamo zavita posoda.

Valenčič piše, da so morali mali kmetje in kajžarji, ki niso imeli konj, lesene izdelke za prodajo prenašati na svojem hrbtu.⁸ Da so morda revnejši lončarji sami prenašali tudi lončenino, nas opozarja slika, ki jo hrani Muzeju Ribnica. Narisal jo je Janko Trošt, dober poznavalec življenja v Ribniški dolini. Pre-našanje lončenine v košu na hrbtu je datiral že v čas 15. stoletja.

Sčasoma se je tovorništvo vse bolj umikalo vozarstvu – furmanstvu. Časopis Novice leta 1858 za Ribniško dolino poroča takole: »Konj je bilo pri nas veliko videti, posebno po tistih vaseh po katerih prebivalci se z lončarijo pečajo, da ž njimi lončeno posodo po svetu vozijo, pa tudi nosijo.«⁹

Lonce so v drugi polovici 19. stoletja tovorili s konji v glavnem le še po hribovitem terenu. Leta 1907 Ivan Merhar poroča, da samo še starejši ljudje vedo pojasniti, »kako se je imenovalo nalašč za to pritejeno sedlo in kako se je blago nakladalo.«¹⁰

Toda v Ilustriranem Slovencu iz leta 1927 še vedno najdemo fotografijo takega tovornika. Mislim, da so ta tovor pripravili posebej za to priložnost, saj neznani avtor v nadaljevanju piše: »Odkar so se ceste in pota izboljšale je izginil tudi tovor. Sedaj pa lončarji naložijo robo obloženo s slamo na voz, pa gresta s fuksom po svejti.«¹¹ Da to trditev še podkrepim, naj omenim, da se danes starejši ljudje ne spominjajo več tovorjenja posode.

Med obema svetovnima vojnoma so lončeno robo prevažali na vozovih, »lojtrnikih«, v katere so vpregli konja, »fuksa«. Vsi pa konj ali vozov niso imeli. Marija Oražen iz Lipovca se spominja, da sta njen tast in tašča izdelovala samo

¹ Kumer, Zmaga: Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini. Maribor, 1968, str. 106

² Bogataj, Janez: O slovenskem lončarstvu. V: Likovni odsevi, 1986, št. 4–5, str. 36–38

³ Smole, Majda: Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja. V: Kronika, 1956, št. 3, str. 170

⁴ Lesar, Anton: Ribniška dolina. Ljubljana, 1864, str. 19

⁵ Zgodovina Slovencev. Ljubljana, 1979, str. 626

⁶ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. V: Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, št. 41, str. 340

⁷ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. V: Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, št. 41, str. 340

⁸ Valenčič, Vlado: Tovorništvo na Kranjskem. V: Zgodovinski časopis, 1981, letnik 35, str. 255–256

⁹ Kratek popis kmetijstva po ribniškem okraju. V: Novice, 13. 10. 1858, list 41, str. 322–323

¹⁰ Merhar, Ivan: Gospodarsko življenje naših dedov v zadnjih stoletjih. V: Naši zapiski, 1907, letno 1, str. 93, 103

¹¹ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. V: Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, št. 41, str. 340

igračke, ki sta jih z majhnim vozom in oslom vozila na sejme.¹² Neža Pogorelc iz Dolenje vasi pa mi je pripovedovala, da je njen mož prodajal lončene igračke. Naložil jih je v nahrbtnik in dve košari ter se z vlakom odpeljal v Ljubljano.¹³ Najstarejši pa se še spominjajo, da so pozimi s sanmi vozili svoje lonce prodajat v Loški Potok.¹⁴

Pred odhodom so lonce zložili na voz, obložen s slamo in žaganjem, očistili so konja in ga dobro nahranili za dolgo pot. Kako so lončenino zložili na voz? Na dno voza so natresli slamo, ob straneh so naložili vreče napolnjene z žaganjem. Potem so vsako posodo na zgornjem robu zavili v slamo in vanjo položili drugo. Lončenino so položili v dolgih vrstah na dno voza in ko je bilo dno z njim prekrito, so prek nje naložili slamo in nanjo, na isti način, naložili drugo plast posode in tako naprej, vse do vrha.¹⁵ Tako so na voz zložili toliko lončenine, kolikor so jo ožgali v eni »ožagi« (lončarski peči), od 800 do 1200 kosov.

¹² Marija Oražen, Lipovec 10, Ribnica

¹³ Neža Pogorelec, Dolenja vas, Hrib 9

¹⁴ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109 in Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

¹⁵ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109 in Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

¹⁶ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109

¹⁷ Marija Hočvar, Blate 5 in Leopold Zobec, Blate 2

¹⁸ Smole, Majda: Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja. V: Kronika, 1956, št. 3, str. 170

¹⁹ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. V: Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, št. 41, str. 340

²⁰ Lesar, Anton: Ribniška dolina. Ljubljana, 1864, str. 20

²¹ Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10

²² Rus, Jože: Suha roba ali ribniški mali človek. Ljubljana, 1941, str. 8

**Mož le tisti je,
ki po svetu ve,
kdor doma tiči
pač nič vreden ni.
Kdor po svet bil ne
se še žent ne sme.**²⁰

Vsak lončar je včasih imel »svoj rajon«. Leopold Bojc mi je povedal: »Veš, včasih je bilo veliko lončarjev in je bilo težko prodati lonce in ne kot danes, ko prodamo vse sproti.«²¹ Ribniška pesem pa poje:

**Vsak mora bit učen,
prodajat robo sam;
če modro govori,
si že kaj pridobi.**²²

Pred odhodom od doma so »... pred konji z bičem svet križ naredili in izgovorivši besede »križ božji« ... Zdomar je pred odhodom še naročil svoji družini: »Zdravi ostanite, pridno delajte, skrbni bodite, za nas molite, vi otroci pa le ubogajte mater.« Domači so odgovorili: »Srečno hodite, zdravi bodite, lep hlebec nam od zdomu prinesite.«²³

Kot sem že omenila, so pred prvo svetovno vojno lončarji svoje izdelke prodajali v Istri, na Notranjskem ter na Primorskem, v Trst in Gorico ter celo v Furlanijo.

Žal na terenu podatkov o prodaji lončenine pred prvo svetovno vojno nisem dobila, ker je ta generacija ljudi že pomrla. Zato sem se moralna pri raziskovanju opreti na razpravo Josipa Miličeviča: »Veze seoske proizvodnje i trgovine Slovenije i Istre«, v kateri opisuje tudi prodajo lončenine ribniških lončarjev v Istri.²⁴

Vse do začetka 19. stoletja je bil promet v Istri zelo otežkočen zaradi slabih prometnih razmer. Toda leta 1835 so zgradili t.i. »Kranjsko cesto«, ki je peljala od Podgrada preko Buzeta, Motovuna in Pazina. Ta cesta naj bi močno poživila promet med Slovenijo in Istro. Povečala se je trgovina z oljem in vinom, pa tudi z ribniško lončarijo. Sem pa naj bi iz Slovenije prihajali tudi lončarji iz Kemente pri Kamniku. Slovenski lončarji so svoje lonce, ki so jih Istrani imenovali »kranjice«, trgovce pa Kranjce, prodajali na sejmih in od vasi do vasi.

Sejmi so se vrstili več dni skupaj, tako je npr. v Rovinju sejem trajal 7–10 dni, v glavnem pa so bili dvodnevni. Kako živahnja je bila trgovina med Istrom in Slovenijo potrjuje tudi podatek, da so bili po prvi svetovni vojni mnogi sejmi ukinjeni.

Ribniški lončarji so prodajali lončenino tudi po istrskih vaseh. V vasi Bateli so se starejši ljudje še spominjali, kako so lončarji že ob prihodu v vas klicali: »Ala, ala ženske, ala sitniceeee! Za svaku sitnicu jednu ritnicu (riticu)!«. Na sploh so bili ribniški lončarji v Istri znani kot veseljaki, šaljivci ter spretni pri vzpostavljanju hitrih in srčnih stikov z ljudmi, kar pa je bil seveda pogoj za uspeh pri prodaji.²⁵ Prav tako se je Istra našim lončarjem sila prikupila: »Tam so fejst idje in fejst vino, pa proda se lahko.« Ena od starejših informatork se je še spominjala: »Moj oče je hodil v Istro. Samo tega se spominjam, da je domov pripeljal veliko košaro grozinja in fig.«²⁶

O prodaji ribniških »piskrov« na Primorsko oz. na Notranjsko žal nisem dobila podatkov.

Ribniški lončarji so med obema svetovnima vojnoma svojo lončenino prodajali na domu, na sejmih in po vseh kot krošnjarji.

Doma so prodajali posodo svojim najbližnjim sosedom za denar. Domačini se ne spominjajo, da bi kakšno delo plačevali z lonci, edinole ženskam, ki so

²³ Lesar, Anton: Ribniška dolina. Ljubljana, 1864, str. 19

²⁴ Miličević, Josip: Veze seoske proizvodnje i trgovine Slovenije i Istre. Zgodovinske vzporednice slovenske in hrvaške etnologije. Portorož, 1984, str. 76–87

²⁵ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. V: Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, št. 41, str. 340

²⁶ Marija Kaplan, Rakitnica 44

prenašale lonece na lesenih »policah« do »ožag« (lončarskih peči), so včasih dali kakšnega.²⁷ Marija Bojc iz Dolenje vasi pa se še spominja, da je k njim na dom prišel grof Auerpserg. Stopil je v hišo in opazoval očeta pri delu. Zanj je oče izdelal lonec s pokrovom in jih še posebno lepo okrasil. Le-te mu je grof plačal z denarjem.²⁸

Ribniški lončarji so hodili prodajat svoje izdelke za denar tudi na sejme, tako v Novo mesto, Kočevje, Žužemberk, Sodražico, Ribnico in Loški Potok. Iz arhivskih virov za trg Ribnico izvemo, da so smeli lončarji ob nedeljah in praznih prodajati svoje izdelke »od 9. ure predpoldnan«. Tržni dan v Ribnici je bil ponedeljek, če ta dan ni bilo praznika. »Ob tržnih dneh sme se vsakteri živež prodajati kakor sadje, frišnoba, moka, kruh, žito itd. ... Razen živeža sme se prodajati lesenina, lončenina, semena, prašiče in drugo majhno klavno živino.« Za prodajo lonecov so imeli določeno posebno mesto pred šolo nasproti cerkve; za eno partijo le-te pa je bilo treba leta 1883 plačati 3 K (krone)²⁹, leta 1921 pa 12 K³⁰, za ceno v medvojnem času pa ni bilo podatkov.

²⁷ Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10 in Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

²⁸ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109

²⁹ ZAL, Ribniški arhiv, fascikel 2518

³⁰ ZAL, Ribniški arhiv, fascikel 808

³¹ Trdan, Tone: Od Ribn'ce do Rakitn'ce. V: Mlado jutro, 12. 2. 1939, št. 7, str. 50

³² Jože Kaplan, Rakitnica 4, Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

³³ Vincencij Gorše, Dolenja vas 70 in Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10

Tone Trdan nam leta 1939 v mladinskom časopisu Mlado jutro takole opisuje kako sta Ribničana prodajala lonece: »Razložila sta robo na tla. Sklede na eno stran, lonec pa na drugo.« Svoje blago sta ponujala: »Kupite gospa! Prav pocen za mal dinar!« »Koliko stane lonec?« »Pet dinarjev. Gospod derektor!« »Za štiri dinarje boste dali, ali ne oče.« »Hja, pa naj bo, no!« Naprej opisuje, da sta poleg lonecov in skled prodala tudi konjičke in »šparovčke«, ki so jih tržani pokupili za svoje otroke. S seboj na sejem sta vzela tudi malico, kruh, salamo ali klobaso.³¹

Na sejme v Crikvenico, Sušak, Senj, Kastav, Trt, Brebir in Novi so odhajali za več dni. Od doma so odšli že v zgodnjih jutranjih urah (ob 3. uri zjutraj) in prišli prvi dan do Delnic. Na poti so se hranili v gostilnah in s hrano, ki so jo vzeli s seboj. V Delnicah so največkrat prespali kar na vozu ali ob njem in obenem pazili na lončenino, da bi je kdo ne ukradel. Naslednji dan so pot nadaljevali do sejmišča. Na sejmu so ostali 2–3 dni in se nato vrnili domov. Tu so lonece prodajali za denar. Na sejmišču so lončarji zložili lončeno posodo na tla pred voz. Z ljudmi so se pogovarjali v hrvaškem jeziku. Ob Kvarnerski obali so na sejem večkrat prihajali tudi kupci z otokov. Le-ti so kupovali lonece v večjih količinah in jih nato sami prodajali po otokih. Če na sejmu vsa lončenina ni šla v prodajo, so jo po nižji ceni prodali v tamkajšnje trgovine. Z morja so prinesli otrokom južno sadje (pomaranče, grozdje, fige), olivno olje (»oče je z morja vedno pripeljal tri zelenke«, to so steklenice iz zelenega stekla, ki držijo 1,5 litra), vino, neprajozeno kavo in iz Italije »prešvercano« emajlirano posodo.³²

V Dolenji vasi se najstarejši ljudje še spominjajo lončarja Primoža Goršeta (1854–1919), ki je v višino meril približno en meter in je sam izdeloval lončene igačke. Lončarji so ga radi jemali s seboj na morje, ker je s svojo pojavo pritegnil splošno pozornost. Ljudje so ga hodili gledati, obenem pa so kupovali lončenino in lončene igačke.³³ Leopold Merhar iz Blat mi je povedal, kako sta z očetom

prodajala lončenino v Kastvu nad Reko. Ženske so prišle gledat lonece ter so počepnile na tla ob posodo. Ko je oče pogledal stran, so hitro porinile lonec pod široko črno krilo in ga podale sovačanki, ki je stala zadaj. Oče pa je rekel: »Več bodo pokradle, dražji bodo!«³⁴

Ribniški lončarji so svoje lonece prodajali tudi po Dolenjski od vasi do vasi. Tja so šli dvakrat na leto. Prvič poleti, ko so ljudje že poželi pšenico, drugič pa, ko so pobrali koruzo. Betka Kic iz Korit v Suhi krajini se spominja: »Oh, Ribnčani so fejst ljudje. Najprej je sredi vasi pripeljal konja in voz. Nato pa je šel po vasi in vpil: »Ribnčan! Posoda, pridite pogledat sklede, lonec, latuce, piskre, piščalke!« Nato je lončenino zložil na tla pred voz, da so ženske lahko zbirale. Ko so izbrale, je šel z vsako na dom, kjer mu je z izbrano lončenino namerila določeno količino žita. Ko je odhajal iz vasi, je vsa otročad piskala za njim!«³⁵

Koliko žita so morale dati, je bilo odvisno od velikosti posode. Če je bila velika, so zajeli žito enkrat, če je bila manjša, pa dvakrat. Koliko žita so dobili, je bilo odvisno tudi od vrste posode in vrste žita.³⁶ Včasih so lončenino zamenjevali tudi za suhe slive.³⁷ Ponekod, na primer v vasi Basiljevo pri Vinici, je bila navada, da so ženske s seboj prinesle kar vreče z žitom in so nato menjali kar na prodajnem mestu samem.³⁸

Po trditvah lončarjev in kupcev so prodajali vedno samo lončenino in nič drugačega. Zanimiv pa je podatek povzet iz časopisa Slovan leta 1884, kjer piše: »Dolenjci tudi dobro pomnijo, da so jim prinesli pred 100 leti najprvi krompir ribniški lončarji. Gospodinji, ki je kaj od njih kupila, dali so ga jeden ali več kosov za seme s poukom vred kako ga je treba saditi in gojiti.«³⁹ Verjetnost tega podatka potrjuje Marjan Britovšek v svojem delu Razkroj fevdalne agrarne strukture, kjer omenja, da se je okoli Ribnice s krompirjem preživilo okoli 510 družin. Nadalje piše: »Ribniška vrsta krompirja se je začela uveljavljati celo na področju Celjskega okrožja.« Nadalje pravi: »Na Kranjskem je bil najbolj razširjen t.i. rumeni ribniški krompir, ki je prišel v letih 1810–1815 iz okolice Reke na Ribniško.«⁴⁰

Lončarji so obhodili okoli pet vasi na dan. Ker so obiskali vedno iste kraje, so že dobro poznali hiše, v katerih so lahko prenočili. Tako so mi v Koritih pri Dobrniču povedali: »Pri nas so velikokrat prenočili ribniški lončarji. Bili so že tako domači, da so konje, če nas ni bilo doma, peljali kar v štalo in jih nakrmili. Jedli so nato z nami, pač kar smo mi jedli, so še oni. Spali so v senu, jeseni pa najrajsi na peči. Nič nismo hoteli od njih za to. No, včasih so dali kakšen pisker!«⁴¹ Lončar Leopold Bojc pa je dejal: »Najraje sem spal v senu, če je bil mraz, pa na peči, v postelji le nerad, ker sem potem dobil bolhe. Ampak luštno je bilo! Včasih si šel počasi z vozom in konji, pa si si sproti vse ogledal, pa ustavil in se pogovoril z ljudmi. Sedaj pa gre vse tako hitro, nič več ni luštno.«⁴²

V začetku 19. stoletja naj bi 250 lončarskih družin zaslužilo s prodajo »piskrov« 10 000 goldinarjev letno, vsaka družina povprečno po 40 goldinarjev.⁴³

³⁴ Leopold Merhar, Blate 6

³⁵ Betka Kic, Korita nad Dobrničem

³⁶ Jože Kaplan, Rakitnica 4, Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

³⁷ Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

³⁸ Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

³⁹ Trdina, Janez: Dolenjci. V: Slovan, 15. 5. 1884, št. 20, str. 158–159

⁴⁰ Britovšek, Marjan: Razkroj fevdalne agrarne strukture. Ljubljana, 1964, str. 193, 195, 200

⁴¹ Betka Kic, Korita nad Dobrničem

⁴² Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10

⁴³ Smole, Majda: Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja. V: Kronika, 1956, št. 3, str. 170

Drugi vir, ki piše o zaslužkih lončarjev, je šele iz začetka 20. stoletja in poroča, da so od loncev, ki so se ožgali v 4–5 »ožagah«, letno dobili 200 K (kron).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Jovan, Janko: Domače obrti na Kranjskem. V: Dom in svet, 1903, letn. 16, str. 291

⁴⁵ Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47

Za medvojni čas nisem dobila tako natančnih podatkov, kajti lončarji neradi govore o zaslužkih. Vendar so mi povedali, da so lahko s prodajo loncev, ki so se ožgali v eni lončarski peči, kupili kravo, slabšega konja ali pa manjšo njivo. Denar so porabili za popravilo hiš, plačevanje davkov, za nakup novih zemljišč, živine ali pa so ga shranili v banki. Kadar pa lončenina na sejmu ni šla v prodajo, »si zasužu le za cirngo« (toliko, kolikor si potrošil na poti).⁴⁵

Viri

- Marija Oražen, Lipovec 10, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Neža Pogorelec, Dolenja vas – Hrib 9, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Marija Hočvar, Blate 5, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Leopold Zobec, Blate 2, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Vincencij Gorše, Dolenja vas 70, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Marija Kaplan, Rakitnica 44, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Betka Kic, Korita 5, Dobrnič
- Jože Kaplan, Rakitnica 4, Ribnica na Dolenjskem
- Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana, Ribniški arhiv, fascikel 2518
- Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana, Ribniški arhiv, fascikel 808

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Krošnjarstvo v luči prodaje suhe robe

Obravnavana tema je do prve svetovne vojne zastopana v okrajinem glavarstvu oziroma političnem okraju Kočevje, t.j. nekdanji ribniški sodni okraj skupaj s sodnima okrajema Kočevje in Velike Lašče. V času od izgradnje železnice leta 1893 do konca druge svetovne vojne je poudarek na krošnjarstvu, ki se navezuje na Avstro-Ogrsko monarhijo. Po njenem razpadu se nadaljuje po nekdanjih avstro-ogrskih deželah ter Srbiji in Romuniji.

Po drugi svetovni vojni se z izselitvijo kočevskih Nemcev konča kočevsko in kočevarsko krošnjarjenje. Ribničani svoje delo nadaljujejo doma in po vsej Jugoslaviji.

Krošnjarstvo se začne po drugi svetovni vojni močno spremenjati in je obravnavano kot sodobno krošnjarstvo, ki se pojavlja kot prodaja s kombiji v središču velikih mest.

Tema krošnjarjenja je prisotna v muzejih, v pesmih, v likovni umetnosti in v elektronskih medijih. Lik krošnjarja se danes pojavlja na protokolarnih dogodkih v domačem kraju, na državnem nivoju in v tujini.

Krošnjarstvo je način prodaje najrazličnejšega blaga in opravljanje različnih storitev, ki sega vsaj v 15. stoletje. Omogočile so ga nekatere razvite oblike domače obrti in pravice do tovrstnega trgovanja. V Evropi je krošnjarstvo ostalo značilen pojav do uveljavite stalnih prodajaln in tudi še po tem, vse do druge svetovne vojne.

Potupoča trgovina brez stalnega prodajnega mesta je bila do razvoja trgovin nekaj vsakdanjega, saj trgovin v današnjem pomenu besede ni bilo ali pa so bile le v večjih središčih. Sejmi so bili tedenski ali letni, vendar lahko precej oddaljeni od posameznih vasi, medtem ko je krošnjar prišel v vsak zaselek. Potupoči trgovci so bili vsakdanji obiskovalci domačij in načeloma brez vrednostnega predznaka. S pojavljanjem trgovin in čedalje pogostejšimi spori s trgovci s stalnim prodajnim mestom pa so začeli v 19. stoletju pridobivati negativen predznak.

Do obdobja pred pojavom trgovin so nekateri krošnjarji blago le prodajali, drugi pa tudi izdelovali, popravljali ali zamenjavalni za kaj drugega. Bili so potupoči trgovci brez stalnega mesta, hodili so od hiše do hiše, iz kraja v kraj, po sejmih in iz ene države v drugo. Krošnjariti so začeli v začetku pomladi. Domov so se vračali ob dnevnu mrtvih, nekateri pa so si, predvsem na Dunaju, poiskali začasno delo, lahko kot kostanjarji.

Krošnjarstvo povezujemo tudi z migracijami. Migracije krošnjarjev so bile neorganizirane, prostovoljne, s prostorskega vidika pa notranje, zunanje in medcelinske. Glede na trajanje sodijo med začasne, toda le pogojno, saj so nekateri ostajali v novem okolju dlje časa ali pa se sploh niso več vrnili domov, zato bolj spadajo med trajne migracije. Ker so krošnjarji svoj dom zapuščali zaradi gospodarskih razlogov, sodijo tudi med ekonomske migracije.

Krošnjarji so bili družbeno-poklicna skupina, ki je povezovala obrt in trgovino. Pogosto so bili marginalni del družbe. Bili so del vsakdanjega življenja, pozornost pa so vzbujali že s tem, ker so prihajali z drugega območja, so drugače govorili, nosili s seboj potujočo trgovino in bili tudi drugače oblečeni.

Prvotno so rešetarji, kot že beseda pove, prodajali rešeta in sita, ki so jih pozimi izdelovali, poleti pa prodajali. Rešeta so tudi popravljali. Ta dejavnost je bila zelo donosna dokler ročnega načina obdelovanja zemlje ni zamenjala tehnologija. Prelomnica je gotovo čas po drugi svetovni vojni, ko se pojavi kombajn, ki je nadomestil ročno žetev in mlatev.

Krošnjarji v poimenovanju nosijo različna imena, ki so povezna s krajem, načini in tipi prodaje (krošnjar, zdomar, zdumar, kočevar – figovec, ribničan, kranjec, sitar, rešetar, billige jakob krainer, reitermacher, siebmacher, hauzirar, hausirar, hauziravec rešetar, ambulantni trgovci, pohišni trgovci, pohiševavec, pohišni kramar, antrehar, kaufrufer, kaufruitypen, street criers, Wiener typen, reiterträger)¹

Skozi zgodovino krošnjarjenja ločimo na Kočevskem in Ribniškem več tipov krošnjarjenja:

- krošnjarstvo s suho robo,
- krošnjarstvo z lončenino,
- krošnjarstvo kostanjarjev,
- krošnjarstvo jajčaric²,
- kočevsko in kočevarsko krošnjarstvo z mešanim blagom, predvsem s sladkarijami in južnim sadjem,
- kočevsko krošnjarstvo z lastno suho robo (škafarstvo).

Tako kot se je ohranilo več imen za prodajalce, poznamo tudi več imen za prodajo, in sicer krošnjarstvo, reštarstvo, zdomarstvo, hauziranje, pohišno kramarjenje, pohiševanje.

Krošnjarji s kočevsko-ribniškega območja so obšli vso srednjo Evropo in del Balkanskega polotoka. Poleg območij nekdanje Habsburške monarhije so hodili tudi v države, ki so mejile nanjo. Delo krošnjarja je bilo dinamično in se ni gibalo le znotraj določenih okvirjev.

¹ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana, 1999, str. 32–38

² Jajčarice so bile ženske, ki so vse do druge vojne hodile od hiše do hiše in od gospodinj kupovale predvsem jajca pa tudi perutnino, pri tem pa že na pragu opozarjale nase z glasnim vpitjem. Jajca in perutnino so prodale v mestu npr. v Trstu, Ljubljani.

Krošnjarji so bili poznani kot zelo prilagodljivi tako pri assortimanu izdelkov kot po območju prodaje in tudi po načinu prodaje. Skozi čas se je zamenjalo več načinov prodaje, poznana pa so:

- krošnjarjenje peš s krošnjo in kanonom,
- krošnjarjenje s kolesom,
- krošnjarjenje s konjsko vprego,
- krošnjarjenje z vlakom,
- krošnjarjenje z avtomobilom,
- krošnjarjenje s pomočjo raznih vozičkov, s kulami, »garnom«,
- krošnjarjenje s kombiji in poltovornimi avtomobili.

No in ti Ribončanə, so bli pa rešetarjə, so prvotnu predajalə rešjeta, rajte pa tako stvar, pol so svuj assortiman popestrilə pa še z drugomə artiklə, so ble kuhaunce interesantne, kə jih je vsaka nucala, polentarji so bli takrat še, kə se je takrat dosta žgancu pojelj. Ja no in potlej so pa recimo tut valer, kladivu vzelo, tu je blu že tešku na ramə nosət. So pol začielə žie s kuojnsko uprego, da so pol tud mau več naluzlə, kə pa tu naj blu dovolj, so pršlə pa žie na avtomobilizem. Zdaj, po drugə vojskə so pa ti našə taku zvanə krošnjarji, kə so učasəh bli rešetarji, nəstalə takurekoč Ribončanje k predajajo suho ruobo, ampak zdaj z avtomobilə, pa s kombiji gredo okul.³

Krošnjarska dovoljenja

Za svoje delovanje je krošnjar potreboval dovoljenje, ki ga je pridobil na podlagi krošnjarskih patentov in različnih obrtnih zakonov skozi zgodovino.

V skladu s krošnjarskim patentom je dobil krošnjarsko dovoljenje tisti posameznik, ki se je ravnal po določenih pravilih.

Po zakonu iz leta 1852 je bilo krošnjarjem določeno, da so morali biti starci vsaj štiriindvajset let in podložni Avstriji, niso smeli imeti očitne bolezni, niso smeli biti kaznovani zaradi sodelovanja na črni borzi ali biti krivi težjih prestopkov, niso smeli biti politično oporečni in so morali imeti državljanke pravice.

Dovolenje je bilo veljavno leto dni, vendar so tri mesece pred iztekom lahko zaprosili za podaljšanje. Osebe, ki so krošnjarile več let in niso prekršile zakonov, vendar zaradi telesnih okvar niso mogle same nositi krošnjarskega blaga, so lahko imele pomočnika. To so bile osebe, ki so morale biti stare 14 let, takorekoč otroci.⁴

Oče je imu pa tu dovoļejne in jest sem zraven pərpisan, k sem biu z očjetam na Dunajə, de səm muogu poleg njaga hodi, pa de səm lahku predajau z očjetam. K jest ku mladoletnik najsəm dobiu dovoļjena. Al pa potnə list səm dobiu za prehod čez mejo, səm bil tut pərpisan.⁵

Ribniško krošnjarstvo

Na Ribniškem srečujemo dva tipa krošnjarjev, krošnjarje z leseno in krošnjarje z lončeno robo. Če spremljamo življenje ribniških krošnjarjev skozi vse leto, vidimo, da jih določata krošnjarjenje in domača obrt, prodajalce lesene robe pa na nek način tudi potupoča obrt, saj so na željo strank lesene izdelke na licu mesta tudi popravljali. Prav to je ribniške krošnjarje najbolj ločevalo od kocevskih in poljanskih krošnjarjev.

V Ribnici so bili krošnjarji gotovo eden od bogatejših družbenih slojev, čeprav med domačini velkokrat prepoznani kot bahači. Po socialnem statusu so bili v glavnem mali in srednji kmetje ter kajžarji. Krošnjar je prinesel s svojih zdomarskih poti v domači kraj novosti in napredek. Nemalokrat je izboljšal življenjsko raven družini in s tem omogočil napredek celemu kraju. Jože Rus opisuje v svojem delu Suha roba, brihtna Ribnica in široki svet iz leta 1930 krošnjarje s pozitivnimi in negativnimi lastnostmi. Te lastnosti prikaže v odnosu do tedanjih družbenih razmer, kažejo pa se v dvigu njihove samozavesti, ponosu, prinašanju vedenja iz sveta, izkušenosti, lahko celo domišljavosti, lepših oblekah v primerjavi z ostalimi prebivalci, večjemu pitju in uživanju hrane, bolj lagodnemu in veselemu življenju, ohladitvi verskih čustev. Vse te lastnosti so ozadje, iz katerega izhaja razvpiti lik Ribničana Urbana, ki je postal predmet posplošenih predstav.

Zanimiv je še en vidik krošnjarstva, ki mu lahko sledimo še danes. Poleg že omenjenih kulturnih dobrin in znanja, pridobljenega v tujem okolju, so krošnjarji s seboj domov prinesli tudi potrebe in želje strank. S tem so neposredno vplivali na izdelovanje lesenih izdelkov v svojem okolju, saj so bili prav krošnjarji tisti, ki so vedeli, kaj se da najbolje prodati.

Krošnjarstvo je imelo na ribniškega človeka velik kulturni in ekonomski vpliv. Ribniška dolina navzven ni kazala, da je imela dve tretjini kajžarjev. Po svoji socialni ravni se je izkazovala nad povprečjem v primerjavi z ostalimi kraji v Sloveniji.

Način življenja obravnavane socialno-poklicne skupine ni bil enoplasten in nespremenljiv, spremenjal se je tekom dneva, tedna, sezone, leta, v zgodovinskem toku, pa tudi glede na geografske, politične in gospodarske značilnosti območja, ki so ga izbrali za krošnjarski cilj. Socialno-poklicna hierarhija je bila ostro razdelana.⁶

³ Govž, Anton: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju, Ribnica, 2006

⁴ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, str. 41–45

⁵ Marn, Alojz: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju, Ribnica, 2006

⁶ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, str. 293

Lik krošnjarja stereotipno označuje Ribničane kot zanimive, vedre, šaljive, prebrisane, razposajene in podjetne ljudi.

Prodaja suhe robe

Blago, s katerim so trgovali, so bili leseni izdelki vseh suhorbarskih panog: obodarstva, podnarstva, rešetarstva, posodarstva, žličarstva in kuhalničarstva, ročnega mizarstva, orodjarstva, strugarstva, pletarstva, zobotrebčarstva in spominkarstva. Vrsta prevladujočih izdelkov, ki so jih imeli naprodaj, je bila odvisna od kraja in časa, kjer so delovali. Potencialnim strankam so se prilagajali. Tisti, ki so prodajali po mestnem in trškem okolju, so prodajali tudi igrače. Želja po čim večjem zaslužku je narekovala tiste izdelke, ki so šli v prodajo in je bila eden izmed glavnih vzrokov in posledic njihove odločitve za to dejavnost. Prodajali so za denar, včasih za prenočišče, včasih pa je šlo za menjavo, največkrat z žitom ali tudi z vinom. Oblika menjave za žito je bila prisotna v Slavoniji, Sremu, Bački in Banatu.

Na ravni prodaje izdelkov moramo govoriti tudi o izdelovanju izdelkov domače obrti, s katerimi so krošnjarji obhodili vse domače in tuje dežele. Izdelki so rezultat znanja domačega izdelovanja in prilaganje potrebam in željam strank iz tujega okolja.

Za ribniško krošnjarjenje je bila značilna poslovna poteza, da so na vprašanje, kako jim gre trgovina, odgovarjali negativno, radi so se pritoževali nad zaslužkom. V želji za večjim zaslužkom pa so skušali svoje blago čim bolj hvaliti, govoriti čim več in spraviti potencialne kupce v dobro voljo. Če upoštevamo še naravo njihovega dela, ki je bilo zelo dinamično, nas ne preseneča veliko število ohranjenih smešnic z motivom njihovega dela.⁷

⁷ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, str. 180

⁸ Kos, Bartol Lucija: Suha roba v življenju Ribničanov. Filozofska fakulteta. Diplomska naloga. Ljubljana, 1998, str. 102

⁹ Šilc, Ludvik: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Ribnica, 2006

Suho robo so Ribničani prodajali od vrat do vrat ter na sejmih doma (v Ribnici in sosednji Sodražici) in v tujini. Na prehodu iz 18. v 19. stoletje so se že pojavili prvi večji posredniki s suho robo. Med njimi je bil Anton Rudež, upravitelj in kasneje lastnik ribniške graščine. Število posrednikov je zraslo predvsem po uveljavitvi obrtne svobode leta 1860. V začetku 20. stoletja je v Ribniški dolini s suho robo trgovalo okrog 20 trgovcev. Do druge svetovne vojne je bilo zelo uspešno podjetje družine Ivanc iz Sodražice. Trije bratje so vodili odkup in prodajo suhe robe ter izdelovanje žičnih tkanin. Prodajo so širili predvsem po območju takratne Jugoslavije, v manjšem obsegu pa so zalagali zdomarje.⁸

Muja tjata je bla u Starə Pazovə pər Beogradə. So tam kəpilə eno staro hišo in tam ostalə, pa na sejme hodilə in okulə obžiralə. Təkrat je bla rešetarija edina muožnost, de se je kaj zəsləžilə, tam je bla tut velika dəržina. S Slovenijo in z namə so stalnu imajlə stike, kə so hodilə po ruobo.⁹

Med obema vojnoma so krošnjarje oskrbovali: Zveza lesnih domačih obrti, Janez Mihelič, Konikarjev iz Kota, Lovšin iz Sajevca in drugi. Robo so pošiljali po pisnem naročilu.

Prou stalnə odjemauc je biu u starə Jugoslaviji, še u Austriji, Adolf iz Suodrašće, pa Konikar iz Kuota. Ta dva sta odkəpvala pa nəpraj pre-dajala. Konikar Antuon je biu u majnšəm obsiegə, Adolf iz Suodrašće, ta je biu pa u viečjəm. Tu so bli Ivancə, trije bratje, kə so se z ruobo ukvarjalə. Adolf je imu skladišće u Suodrašćə, pa stroje zə mrajže dajlat. Dobiu je naročilu, pa cajle vaguone ruobe u Austrijo pošilou.¹⁰

V začetku 20. stoletja so imeli Ribničani v večjih mestih tudi trgovine s suho robo (Ljubljana, Koper, Ptuj, Celje, Trst, Maribor, Pazin, Dunaj).

Lajta dvainpesetga, kə səm biu jəst star petnajst, šesnajst lajt, je oče umru zə rakam in səm pol tut jəst še nadaljevou s tuo trgovino, tok de səm hodu na sejme, pa trgovino smo imejlə v Pazinə, magacin smo imajlə u Vodnjanə pa u Rovinjə. In səm hodu jəst ke, tekrat, kə so bli viečə sejmə pa taku nəpraj, səm jəst hodu ke.¹¹

Po drugi svetovni vojni so odkup prevzele kmetijske zadruge v Sodražici, Ribnici in Velikih Laščah. Zadrugam se je odprlo veliko tržišče po celi Jugoslaviji. Uspešna poslovna povezava s podjetjem Dom iz Ljubljane je izdelkom ribniške domače obrti odprla dodatne tržne poti.

Muj brat kə je biu pər Domə, tu je tam, kə so bli pokuojnə Ivancə, je bil za glaunəga, də je nabaulou robo, ne, in mjane je pol koməndirou: »Daj začnə kakšno drugo stvar dajlat, bəl donosno.«¹²

Robo so od domačinov še vedno kupovali zdomarji. V obdobju od šestdesetih let 20. stoletja do osamosvojitve Slovenije pa tudi trgovci iz Srbije, Bosne in Makedonije, ki so bili med domačini poznani kot ta črni.

So ti šiptarjə pəršlə sem dol po našo ruobo. Pol sem muogu pjalat u Ortnek, na vlak, pa so šlə. Enə so bli z Bosne, enə z Makedonije, pa so po təh krajəh hodilə.¹³

Ribniško rešetarstvo je bilo do druge svetovne vojne usmerjeno predvsem na domači trg, v avstrijske dežele, delno tudi v Italijo in na Balkan. Po drugi svetovni vojni pa se je z novo politično situacijo v Evropi spremenila tudi prodajna pot ribniškega krošnjarstva in se preusmerila pretežno na območje takratne države SFR Jugoslavije. Center prodaje je bil takrat osredotočen na žitnice države Bačko, Baranjo in Banat, kamor so s svojim trgovanjem posegli že v obdobju med

¹⁰ Levstek, Jože: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Ribnica, 2006

¹¹ Gregorič, Martin: Življenjska pripoved ob raziskavi Kultura in način življenja Velikih Poljan. Velike Poljane, 2012

¹² Šilc, Ludvik: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Ribnica, 2006

¹³ Levstek, Jože: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorbarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Ribnica, 2006

vojnama. Po vojni, predvsem v obdobju 70-ih let 20. stoletja, se je assortiman izdelkov suhe robe zaradi uveljavljanja mehanizacije v kmetijstvu precej spremenil.

To obdobje je ključno za preobrazbo družbe iz pretežno kmetijske v industrijsko in pozneje v storitveno. Potreba po sitih, rešetih in retah, ki predstavljajo osnovne prodajne izdelke za Ribničane, se je s tem spremenila. Na trg so pričeli množično prihajati spominki. Razcvet spominkarstva je značilen za obdobje 60-ih in 70-ih let 20. stoletja. Potreba po uporabnih prodajnih izdelkih (kuhalnice, žlice, sklede) je pričela rasti v 90-ih letih 20. stoletja. V začetku 21. stoletja so leseni in lončeni uporabni izdelki znova pridobili na pomenu zaradi ekološke osveščenosti ljudi. Pojavil se je nov dizajn in nove vrste lesa. Močno je prisotna prodaja suhe robe na debelo, z grosističnimi odkupi predvsem v Nemčijo, Avstrijo, od vzhodnih držav pa na Japonsko. Prodaja se širi z naročili preko elektronske pošte in z vzpostavljivo spletnimi trgovinami.

¹⁴ Pred letom 1900 je priden zdomar prinesel domov 100 goldinarjev zaslužka. S Hrvaške je pripeljal poln voz pšenice. Zadnja leta pred drugo svetovno vojno je zaslužil 50.000 din. S tem zaslužkom je poravnal dolg za les in oblekel ter prehranil družino.

¹⁵ Ravnik, Mojca: Iz hiše v svet. V: S.E.D. 47/1,2, Ljubljana, 2007, str. 85–87

Fran Levstik je v Popotovanju od Litije do Čateža zapisal: »*Saj vemo, da šaljivi Ribničan obide križem svet.*« Konec 19. st. so bili po Taussovih podatkih med cilji krošnjarskih poti naslednje dežele: Štajerska, Ogrska in Hrvaška, spodnja Avstrija, Salzburg, v manjši meri pa Kranjska, Primorska, Tirolska, Češka in Moravska.

Pred drugo svetovno vojno je po svetu krošnjarilo preko 600 zdomarjev. Do leta 1940 je krošnjarilo po Jugoslaviji okrog 300 krošnjarjev, po Primorski in zgornji Italiji 23, po Avstriji pa 230.

V petdesetih letih 20. stoletja se je število rešetarjev zmanjšalo na četrtnino predvojnega števila. Po Jugoslaviji jih je krošnjarilo 140, po Avstriji pa le še 40.¹⁴

Družina

Za razvoj krošnjarstva je nedvomno zelo pomemben nosilec te dedičine družina, oziroma posameznik v družini. Vendar se družine ne da ločiti od širše skupnosti. Lik Ribničana ne sloni na lastnostih posameznika, ampak je odsev gospodarske dejavnosti širše skupnosti.

Krošnjarstvo povezujemo s kulturnimi oblikami in kulturnimi sestavinami, predvsem v povezavi z preživetvenimi strategijami suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin.¹⁵

Družinsko gospodarstvo je potrebno obravnavati v povezavi z delovanjem državnih, političnih, družbenih in gospodarskih procesov. Iz tega sledi, da je bilo družinsko gospodarstvo suhorobarjev in zdomarjev odvisno od spletja možnosti, ki jih opredeljuje povezanost med državnim in lokalnim okoljem. Etnološki raziskovalni pristop k tej problematiki je torej nujno celosten: družino lahko

obravnavamo tudi z vidika življenjskih strategij, ki potekajo v skupnosti, zlasti skozi prizmo vrednot. Slednje so zajete v simbolni oziroma kulturni sistem pomenov, kamor uvrščamo šege in odnos med spoloma ter z njima povezane moralne in religiozne norme. Na podlagi povedanega smemo razlike v načinu življenja družin pripisati kulturnim razlikam med različno opredeljenimi družbenimi entitetami. Način življenja zdomarskih družin na Ribniškem je posledica gospodarskih in socialnih razlik, ki pa je vpet v širši družbenozgodovinski kontekst.

Krošnjarstvo je eden od vidikov družinske ekonomije oziroma gospodarjenja. Suhorobarstvo in zdomarstvo sta bili predvsem dopolnilni gospodarski dejavnosti, temelj družinske ekonomije pa je bilo kmetijstvo, zlasti živinoreja in gozdarstvo. V kmetijstvo, torej tudi v nakup zemlje, so vlagali ves dohodek od suhe robe in zdomarstva, s čimer so si nekatere družine znatno dvignile življenjsko raven. To še posebej velja za uspešne zdomarje, kar odseva tudi v njihovi bivanjski kulturi, ki je bila v primerjavi z bivanjsko kulturo suhorobarjev praviloma na višji ravni. Življenje ribniških ljudi je bilo zaradi suhe robe in zdomarstva bistveno kvalitetnejše. To kaže, kako pomembni sta bili ti gospodarski dejavnosti. S tega vidika bi bilo bolj natančno, da govorimo o ribniškem vaškem gospodarstvu kot o mešanem gospodarstvu, saj je bilo čistih suhorobarjev, zdomarjev ali kmetov le peščica. Donosnost vseh dejavnosti, med katere se uvršča tudi izseljevanje, je bila odvisna od gospodarskih tokov na državni in krajevni ravni in od vsakokratnih družbenih, političnih ter ideoloških razmer. Na primer po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so se tudi v Ribniški dolini začeli ustanavlјati tovarniški obrati, so se družine manj intenzivno ukvarjale z izdelavo suhe robe in zdomarstvom, pač pa so se intezivno zaposlovali in vlagali v kmetijstvo, živinorejo. To zlasti drži za sedemdeseta leta 20. stoletja, ki tudi pri domačinah v gospodarstvu veljajo za zlato obdobje socializma. Z osamosvojitvijo je veliko delavcev – kmetov izgubilo zaposlitev, hkrati je začelo nazadovati tudi kmetijstvo. Zato so se nekatere družine vrstile k tradicionalnemu delu, suhi robi in zdomarstvu, ki jim še danes zagotavlja preživetje.¹⁶

Nemalokrat so bili rešetarji krošnjarji in kmetje. Zdomali so od zgodnje po mladi, nekateri že od svečnice, ki je 2. februarja, do začetka prve košnje, ki je bila v juniju, pa vse do dneva mrtvih. Pozimi so zdomarske družine navadno izdelovale podne za rešeta. Sodelovali so vsi družinski člani. Za prodajo pa so suho robo kupovali tudi od drugih, npr. obode. Ženske so vodile kmetijo in skrbele za družino. Pogosto so imeli pri hiši tudi deklo ali hlapca, saj so bile te družine navadno premožnejše. Zaradi odsotnosti moških je bila medsebojna pomoč med sosedji življenjskega pomena. Tipično moško delo, košnjo, so na Ribniškem opravljale ženske, ker so moški opravljali dela, ki so prinašala denar. Ženske so bile prisotne tudi pri vseh tipičnih moških delih: gozdarjenje, furanje, oranje, sekanje lesa, celo krošnjarjenje. Preživetje je bilo odvisno tudi od gospodarske povezanosti več družin. Skupaj so krošnjarili bratje ali prijatelji,

¹⁶ Rožman, Irena: Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Poročilo o terenski raziskavi. Novo mesto, 2006

skupaj so dali zasluženi denar in ga razdelili. Pomembna oblika preživetja družin je bil sistem poročanja, ki govorji v prid socialni in teritorialni endogamiji. V Ribniški dolini so pri vseh socialnih plasteh soobstajale različne kombinacije načinov preživetja: kmetijstvo, domača obrt, krošnjarstvo, izseljeništvo, po drugi svetovni vojni pa tudi delo v industrijskih obratih.

Zdomarske družine so zaradi stika s tujimi svetovi prej kot drugi Ribničani uvajale razne novosti, ki so izboljšale gospodarstvo in dvignile bivanjsko raven, zaradi tega je bilo njihovo življenje praviloma boljše od življenja kmetov in izdelovalcev suhe robe.

V svoje družine so pogosto prinašali tuje navade, predvsem so jih učili gostoljubnosti.

Kot je dober zaslužek lahko povzročil pomembno napredovanje domačega gospodinjstva in gospodarstva, je neuspešno krošnjarjenje privedlo do nujnega propada. Družini neuspešnega krošnjarja je prineslo sramoto v domačem okolju in jo lahko potisnilo na rob preživetja. Posledice so bile torej prav nasprotne od pričakovanih. Ni bilo nujno, vendar pa pogosto, da je neuspešnemu delovanju botrovala odvisnost od alkohola. Pri poudarjanju gmotnih koristi, ki jih je omogočilo krošnjarstvo, moramo upoštevati tudi možen finančni zlom, ki so jih v dejavnosti imeli nesposobni in/ali neprevidni posamezniki (nepremišljeno ravnanje z denarjem v novem okolju brez socialnega nadzora, pretirano kupovanje blaga na upanje, prodajanje blaga pod ceno itd.).¹⁷

Kvartir

¹⁷ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doktorska naloga. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, str. 290

V času zdomanja so krošnjarji živelji v svojem rajonu, na območju prodaje, na kvartirju. Kvartir je bil začasno bivališče v novem okolju, kjer so shranili tudi blago za nekaj mesecev. Velikokrat je bila kvartir kar gostilna, ki je že več generacij priateljevala z zdomarjevo družino. Na kvartirju so prespali tudi sorodniki in prijatelji, ki so lahko tudi skupaj krošnjarili. Imeli so kakšno stransko ali podstransko sobo in bili v času prisotnosti tudi na hrani. Na kvartirju so nekateri zdomarji skozi celo leto spravljali denar. Med tednom so hodili po vseh, konec tedna pa so se vrnili na kvartir, da so pripravili novo robo. V Avstriji so hodili po gorskih kmetijah, ki so bile med seboj zelo oddaljene. Kmetje so jih že poznali in krošnjarji so med tednom pri njih tudi prespali. Nemalokrat pa so morali prespati kar v hlevu ali na seniku. Za plačilo so kmetom popravili kakšno robo ali pa novo prodali ceneje. V mestih so morali biti bolj urejeni kot na podeželju, morali so imeti primerno obutev in obleko za pot. Nosili so splošna oblačila, kakršna so imeli ljudje v določenih obdobjih. Nekateri so nosili predpasnike, da si niso umazali hlač, pa tudi lajblc, kamor so spravljali denar. Njihova prehrana je bila večkrat nerедna. Hrano so si zgovorili pri ljudeh, kjer so prespali. V deželah, kjer so zdomali, so se seznanili z različnimi prehrambenimi navadami.

 **U Austriji smo jejlə veliku knjedlu, mlajčne župe in sir. Smo pa po druga vojska šlo po Jugoslaviji, tam pa sama rakija, pa kofé, pa špeh in kruh. Zame je blu bule u Austriji.**¹⁸

¹⁸ Marn, Alojz: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Muzej Ribnica, 2006

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Vesna Pačlin
kustosinja, Muzej Ribnica



Ribniškega krošnjarja srečamo še danes

Ribniški krošnjar je pustil velik pečat v slovenskem prostoru. Tudi danes je prisoten v več oblikah.

V glasbi ...

Krošnjar ali zdomar je bil navdih za prenekatero pesem, tako ljudsko kot narodnozabavno. Najbolj znani ljudski pesmi z motivom krošnjarja sta Vre, vre, vre, mi smo Ribnčan in Səm Ribnčan Urban. Slednjo so Ribničani sprejeli za svojo himno, njena 14. kitica pa je bila tudi navdih za naslov pregledne razstave ob 520-letnici krošnjarskega patentu. O krošnjarjih – prodajalcih glinenih izdelkov – v četrtri kitici spregovori tudi ljudska pesem Od Ribnčence do Rakitnčence. Omenjene pesmi danes poustvarjajo različne vokalne skupine in pevski zbori po Sloveniji.¹

Krošnjarji navduhujejo tudi današnje glasbenike, predvsem v narodnozabavnih glasbi. Pesem Veseli Ribnčan je prvič zapel Alpski kvintet, danes pa je bolj znana v izvedbi Ansambla Franca Miheliča. Ansambel Franca Miheliča poje o krošnjarjih tudi v pesmih Zdomar, Ribniški veseljaki in Dekle iz Ribnče. S pesmijo Lepu je blu so Prifarski muzikanti zmagali na Festivalu narečnih popevk leta 2008. Najnovejša pesem je Sramežljivi Ribnčan, s katero si je ansambel Ribniški pušeljc leta 2012 na Festivalu domačih viž in smeha v Sodražici prislужil nagrado občinstva. Krošnjarja-zdomarja pa najdemo tudi v imenu ansambla Zdomarji.

¹ Kumer, Zmaga: Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini. Maribor: Obzorja, 1968, str. 102–109

V likovni umetnosti ...

Krošnjar s svojim življenjskim slogom ni navdihoval le glasbenikov, temveč tudi likovne ustvarjalce. Krošnjarja je upodobil že Hinko Smrekar, ko je leta 1919 ilustriral Suh robo Frana Milčinskega. Krošnjarsko motiviko je v svojih delih uporabil tudi slikar France Mihelič, ki je ilustriral vse kitice ribniške himne oz. ljudske pesmi Səm Ribnčan Urban. Krošnjarja je upodobil tudi na freski hiše na Kolodvorski ulici 9 v Ribnici – hiša Posojilnice v Ribnici. Krošnjar je bil velik navdih tudi Janezu Boljki, ki je v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja izdelal serijo kipov, Ribnčanov. Kasneje, v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih, se je Boljka lotil upodobitve Ribničana še v grafiki, sliki in risbi. Miki Muster je ustvaril v širšem slovenskem prostoru znano karikaturo krošnjarja, ki

so jo Ribničani takoj vzeli za svojo. Karikatura danes krasi pročelje hiše na Škrabčevem trgu 23 v Ribnici, pogosto pa jo zasledimo tudi na pokrovu rezervne pnevmatike kakšnega terenskega vozila. Leta 2007 je doživel veliko medijsko odmevnost umetniško delo Saše Sedlačka Urban – avtomat za suho robo, ki je danes del zbirke Galerije Miklova hiša.

V medijih ...

Ribniški krošnjarji so na svojih poteh marsikaj videli in veliko doživeli, tako dobrega kot slabega. Njihove življenjske zgodbe so izjemno pestre in zato vedno znova hvaležna tema za pisanje.

▮ *Ribniški rešetarji so s kanonom in krošnjo hodili po vsem svetu; moški so tako preživljali več lačnih ust, zasluk od sit, rešet, vilic, žlic, ret, čebrov, zobotrebcev in druge robe, ki so jo raznosili po avstrijskih deželah, pa tudi ni bil tako majhen. Po drugi svetovni vojni so krošnjarji še nekaj let hodili do Voivodine in na hrvaške otroke, od leta 1950 dalje pa suho robo razvažajo z vozili.²*

▮ *Samo enkrat v življenju je nosil krošnjo. Bilo je, ko je šel prvič z očetom. Star je bil 14 let in čeprav je bil velik in močan za svoja leta, je bila prva krošnjarska izkušnja ena najhujših v vsem njegovem življenju. »Oče, jaz tega ne bom delal,« mu je rekел. »O, pa boš, boš!« mu je odgovoril oče in skušal sina prepričati, da se bo navadil na težko krošnjo, hojo od vrat do vrat, burjo, ki se je zažirala do kosti, kratke počitke in spanje včasih tudi kar na prostem pod vedrim nebom.³*

Pregled člankov v časopisju in revijah, nekje od leta 1991 naprej, nam daje vpogled v to, kako se ribniškega krošnjarja predstavlja širši slovenski publik. Lahko bi povzeli, da novinarji, ko pišejo o ribniškem človeku, radi pišejo o njegovi že kar pregovorni šegavosti, pa tudi neverjetnem smislu za dobro kupčijo.

▮ *Ribničan je hvalil uporabnost in večnamembnost robe, ki je krasila njegovo krošnjo. Tako je hvalil tudi reto, kot pravijo velikemu rešetu z mrežo iz leseni viter: »Za vse je dobra, najboljši pa so krofi, ki jih damo odteči na tako rešeto.« Ljudje so poslušali njegov nasvet in množično odcejali krofe, ki so jih pobirali iz vroče masti. Vitre so se napile maščobe, in ko so rešeta spet spravili na skedenj, so miši zavohale pojedino in razgrizle vitre. Ribničan pa je naslednje leto spet prodal nova rešeta.⁴*

▮ *Pred stoletji so namreč Ribničani napravili za turškega sultana tako veliko rešeto, da je z njim leve lovil po puščavi. V rešeto so nametali peska in ga toliko časa presipavali, da so na dnu rešeta ostali le še lev.⁵*

² Glavonjić, Milan: Urbani računajo na Evropo. V: Slovenske novice, 15. 3. 2003

³ Leskovšek-Svete, Mojca: »Oče, jaz tega ne bom delal!« Krošnjarji. V: Živa – priloga Dolenskega lista, 29. 4. 2004

⁴ Zrnec, Janez: Od širočih ust smo mero vzel. V: Jana, 27. 3. 1991

⁵ Kaučič, Mojca: Z rešetom je sultan leve lovil. V: Več, 30. 4. 2004

Do hudomušnih ter prebrisanih krošnjarjev imajo novinarji pozitiven odnos. V člankih radi izpostavljajo njihovo prilagodljivost ter s tem povezane sila domiselne prodajne prijeme ribniškega človeka.

7 *Ribničani so se znali skozi stoletja, vse od pridobitve patenta v srednjem veku do današnjih dni, spremenjenim potrebam ljudi vedno prilagajati. Dokaz za to so še živa suhorobarska obrt in dolgoletni ribniški sejmi suhe robe.⁶*

7 *Takoj ko smo se poslovili, je zavihtel ragljo in pozdravljal morebitne kupce z glasnim vabljenjem: »Pridite, pridite po rostfrei robo. Če plăcate rešeto, dobite luknje zastonj.«⁷*

7 *Krošnjarji, ki so prodajali suho robo, so bili posebni ljudje. Morali so biti zelo zgoverni, da so gospodinje in gospodarje prepričali, kako nujno potrebujejo kakšnega od njihovih izdelkov, ki so jih tovorili na hrbitih. Morali so znati tudi prepričljivo lagati, če morda niso smeli povedati vse resnice, in morali so biti izredno spretni.⁸*

⁶ Leskovšek-Svete, Mojca: Sejem v znamenju petstoletnice. V: Dolenjski list, 10. 9. 1992

⁷ Kramberger, Ludvig: Luknje prodaja zastonj. V: Slovenske novice, 11. 4. 1996

⁸ Kaučič, Mojca: Z rešetom je sultan leve lovil. V: Več, 30. 4. 2004

V muzejih ...

Zaradi svoje prepoznavnosti srečamo krošnjarja tudi v drugih slovenskih muzejih, ne samo v domačem muzeju, Muzeju Ribnica. V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju je na stalni razstavi Jaz, mi in drugi na ogled odlomek iz dokumentarnega filma S'm z Ribn'ce Urban. V Tehniškem muzeju Bistra, na oddelku Lesarstvo, srečamo krošnjarja v naravni velikosti. V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju, v Muzeju novejše zgodovine Slovenije in v Pokrajinskem muzeju Kočevje hranijo na temo krošnjarstva bogato fototečno gradivo. V Pomurskem muzeju Murska Sobota so opozorili, da ribniškega krošnjarja srečamo med liki borovega gostovanja, zelo znane prekmurske pustne šege. Izdelke suhe robe in lončarstva pa najdemo skoraj v vseh etnografskih zbirkah slovenskih muzejev.

Pri prodaji ...

Po slovenskem podeželju še lahko srečamo zdomarja, ki z osebnim avtomobilom ali manjšim tovornjakom prodaja suho robo od hiše do hiše. Pretežno pa današnje krošnjarstvo poteka na sejmih, lokalnih tržnicah in v sodobnih nakupovalnih središčih. Zdomarji prevažajo suho robo s tovornjaki, ki jim ob

večdnevnih sejmih služijo tudi kot prenočišče. Ribničani so šli vedno v korak s časom in tako so danes osvojili še svetovni splet. Sedaj deluje že pet spletnih trgovin s suho robo, ki predstavljajo najnovejšo obliko prodaje suhe robe in lončarstva.

- Spletna trgovina Rokodelskega centra Ribnica
<http://www.rokodelskicenter-ribnica-trgovina.si/>
- Spletna trgovina Ribničan <http://www.ribnican.si/>
- Spletna trgovina Silvo <http://www.silvo.si/>
- Spletna trgovina Suha roba <http://www.suharoba.com/>
- Spletna trgovina Zdumar <http://www.zdumar.si/>

Pa tudi drugje ...

V Slovenski turistični organizaciji so se leta 2001, v sklopu projekta Na lepše, odločili, da turistično pot, ki vodi čez naše kraje, pojmenujejo Krošnjarska pot. Tej odločitvi je verjetno botrovala prav velika prepoznavnost ribniških krošnjarjev, ki jih tudi sicer pogosto srečamo na turističnih sejmih po Sloveniji, kjer vabijo obiskovalce v deželo suhe robe.

Ime Ribnice danes nosijo v svet ribniška podjetja, kot so Inles, d.d., Inotherm, d.o.o., Riko, d.o.o., Yaskawa Ristro, d.o.o. in Yaskawa Slovenija, d.o.o.

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dr. Mojca Ravnik

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Srečanje z Ivanom Debeljakom in zgodba podjetja z ribniško suho robo v Beogradu

Ianku želim najprej na kratko očrtati zgodovinski okvir življenja Slovencev v Beogradu od nastanka skupne države Jugoslavije do danes, nato pa predstaviti srečanje z gospodom Ivanom Debeljakom, zanimivo zgodbo njegove družine in podjetja s suho robo v Beogradu.¹

Naj povem, da ne gre za izsledke obsežne raziskave, ampak le za povzetek gradiva o beograjskih Slovencih, ki sem ga zbrala kot sodelavka raziskave o Slovencih v Srbiji marca 2008.² Želela sem se srečati in se pogovarjati s čim več ljudmi in se vsaj na splošno seznaniti z njihovo preteklostjo in načinom življenja v tem mestu. Glede na to, da nisem imela veliko časa, ni imelo smisla, da bi sogovornike izbirala po kakršnemkoli vzorcu, zato sem tukajšnje znance, ki imajo sorodnike v Beogradu, prosila za naslove ljudi, ki bi jih lahko obiskala. Obrnila sem se tudi na Društvo Slovencev »Sava« v Beogradu. Kmalu sem imela kar dolg seznam naslovov in pozneje sem spoznala, da je bil naključni izbor, čeprav gotovo ne reprezentančen, vseeno dober, saj je vsak sogovornik pripadal drugemu zgodovinskemu in socialnemu segmentu slovenskega prebivalstva Beograda.

¹ Skrajšano in prirejeno besedilo avtoričnega članka z naslovom Nekaj pogledov v preteklost in sedanost beograjskih Slovencev, *Traditiones* 39, 1, 2010, str. 167–193. Ker je bilo v članku nekaj napak, na katere me je prijazno opozoril Ivan Debeljak, sem objavila popravke v naslednji številki v članku z naslovom Slovenci v Srbiji. Popravki in dopolnila, *Traditiones* 40, 3, 2011, str. 179

² Bilateralni projekt Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost R Slovenia »Slovenci v Srbiji – Srbi v Sloveniji« (2006–2007), sklenjen med Inštitutom za slovensko narodopisje Znanstveno-raziskovalnega centra SAZU v Ljubljani, kjer sem bila zaposlena do leta 2008, in Etnografskim inštitutom Srbске akademije znanosti in umetnosti (Institut za etnografiju SANU) v Beogradu.

³ Terensko gradivo (zvočni posnetki in prepisi pogоворov in fotografije) je shranjeno v arhivu avtorice na Inštitutu za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.

Pogovarjali smo se o vzrokih in načinih priselitev v Beograd, njih samih ali njihovih prednikov, o zaposlitvi, stanovanju, družini, družabnih stikih in odnosu do večinskega okolja v Beogradu pa tudi o odnosu in stikih z domačim krajem. Vsi so me zelo prijazno sprejeli in ob ogledovanju slik in dokumentov, ki jih hranijo, izčrpno razpravljal ob mojih vprašanjih.³

Gospoda Ivana Debeljaka sem spoznala na rednem tedenskem srečanju društva »Sava« in takoj je povedal kar nekaj zanimivosti, med drugim tudi, kar me je najbolj presenetilo, da je nasledil in da nadaljuje s suhorobarstvom, ki v Beogradu obstaja že več desetletij. Vesela sem bila njegovega povabila in res sem ga naslednji dan obiskala. V lepem zelenem salonu njihove hiše v Gružanski ulici, ki je udobno opremljena še s prvotnim pohištvo, sem v pogovoru z njim in v družbi njegove družine, spoznala enkratno zgodbo ribniške podjetniške, delovne in sorodstvene skupnosti ter vsestransko osebnost gospoda Debeljaka. V njegovi priповedi so se podrobnosti o izdelovanju in prodaji suhe robe prepletale s spomini na družino in sorodnike ter komentiranjem zgodovinskih dogodkov v skoraj stoletni dobi. Razkazal mi je hišo in v delavnici prikazal način dela. Čez

nekaj dni sem šla na tržnico, kjer je na stojnici prodajal svoje izdelke in izdelke drugih proizvajalcev.

Po povratku v Slovenijo sem o njem pričevala etnologini Poloni Rigler Grm iz Muzeja Ribnica. Navezala je stik z njim in ga obiskala v Beogradu. Z Dragomirjem Zupancem in sodelavci so posneli film o njem.⁴ Zelo sem vesela in upam, da je tudi Ivanu Debeljaku v zadovoljstvo, da sta njegovo delo in kulturna dediščina, ki jo spoštljivo hrani in nadaljuje, tako celovito predstavljena.

Slovenci v Beogradu v času skupne države in po njenem razpadu

Zgodbe, ki so mi jih pričevali sogovorniki, so zajemale skoraj stoletno obdobje, v katerem je bil Beograd prestolnica stare in nove Jugoslavije (od 1918 do 1991), Zvezne republike Jugoslavije (od 1992), Srbije in Črne gore (od 2003) in Srbije (od 2006). V tem času so se zgodovinske in politične okoliščine večkrat korenito spremenile, odnosi med Slovenijo in Srbijo oz. Beogradom pa so nihali od naklonjenosti in privrženosti do odklanjanja in sovražnosti. Zgodovinska usoda tega mesta je vpletena v življenjske zgodbe beograjskih Slovencev, ki se razlikujejo glede na čas in motiv njihovega prihoda in trajanje bivanja, starost, poklic, družbeni položaj in mnoge druge dejavnike. A ne glede na to, da so bili tako vzdvoj priseljevanja, kot poklicni in socialni položaj Slovencev v Beogradu v stari in novi Jugoslaviji ter po njenem razpadu različni, je bilo v vseh obdobjih življenje Slovencev v Beogradu zaznamovano z dejstvom, da je bilo to mesto državna prestolnica z veliko koncentracijo politične in gospodarske moči, križišče in stičišče različnih kultur in nacionalnosti, in je privlačilo priseljence z vseh strani. V primerjavi z drugimi kraji v državi je nudilo več možnosti za preživetje in poklicno kariero. Zgodovinarka Vera Kržišnik-Bukić navaja, da je že od preloma 19. stoletja v 20. stoletje »mogoče Slovence v Srbiji spremljati na dveh ravneh: eni so bili kmetje – kolonisti, rudarji in drugi različni delavci ter strokovnjaki v notranjosti Srbije, drugi pa Beograjdanci«.⁵

V Beogradu je bilo Slovencev, v primerjavi z drugimi območji in mestni v Srbiji, vedno največ: leta 1921 1059, čez desetletje že 5986, po prvih treh popisih po drugi svetovni vojni blizu 10 000, pozneje pa je uradno število padalo, celo na 3628 leta 1991.⁶

Obdobje med obema vojnoma

Leta 1932 je v Beogradu izšla knjiga Slovenci v Beogradu. Socialno-kulturna slika.⁷ Gre za kratek, dragocen prikaz življenja Slovencev v Beogradu v obdobju prve skupne države. Avtor uvodoma predstavi selitvena gibanja Slovencev po

⁴ Sita in rešeta mojstra Debeljaka. Scenarista Polona Rigler Grm in Dragomir Zupanc, režiser Dragomir Zupanc. Rokodelski centar Ribnica in Društvo Sava Beograd, 2012

⁵ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: Slovenci v Hrvaški, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji. V: *Traditiones*, 2003, letnik 32, št. 2, str. 125

⁶ Prav tam, str. 126

⁷ O piscu Bolčetu Žvanu klub poizvedovanju še vedno ne vemo ničesar, le sklepamo, da je bil pesnik, saj je kot moto k svojemu delu zapisal stihe, kot navaja, »iz še neobjavljené zbirke 'Zemlja'«, o kateri tudi ničesar znanega.

koncu prve svetovne vojne v čezmorske države. Ko so te zaprle meje, prikaže izseljevanje in evropske države in kasneje, v času gospodarske krize, izseljevanje Slovencev v Beograd ter njihov položaj v tem mestu. Najprej poseže v čas pred prvo svetovno vojno in pove, da so takrat, ko je pisal knjigo, v Beogradu še živeli Slovenci, politični emigranti iz Avstro-Ogrske. Potem, ko je Beograd postal prestolnica skupne države, sta bila za dotok Slovencev najpomembnejša razloga nameščanje državnih uslužbencev in osebna iniciativa. Priseljeni »po narodnom ujedinjenju« so bili predstavniki v centralni upravi, železničarji, ostalo uradništvo, odvetniki, zdravniki, umetniki, podjetniki, trgovci, obrtniki, delavci in služkinje. Žvan spregovori tudi o šoli, cerkvi, domu, o gospodarskih prizadevanjih beograjskih Slovencev, potrebi po organiziraju, o društvenih in pogledih v prihodnost.⁸ O priseljencih v času med obema vojnoma so mi pripovedovali pripadniki druge generacije, katerih starši so se priselili, da bi v Beogradu našli delo in zaslужek. Nekateri moji sogovorniki so bili rojeni slovenskim staršem (ti so se priselili v paru ali pa je najprej prišel fant in mu je deklet sledilo, mnogi pa so se spoznali v Beogradu), drugi so iz mešanih zakonov. Veliko Slovenk in Slovencev se je zaposlilo v beograjskih bolnišnicah. Tam je tedaj delalo veliko sester usmiljenk iz Slovenije⁹ in marsikomu so pomagale, da je dobil delo v bolnišnici. Slovenska dekleta so delala tudi kot služkinje. Priše so same ali pa z družinami gospodarjev, ki so se preselili v Beograd. Tudi te so pripomogle k slovesu o slovenski pridnosti, menda so jih imeli najraje.

⁸ Tu tega dela ne moremo podrobneje predstaviti, le opozorimo lahko nanj kot na najverodostojnejši tiskani vir o Slovenih v Beogradu v času med obema vojnoma.

⁹ Usmiljenke iz Družbe hčera krščanske ljubezni Sv. Vincencija Pavelskega, ki je bila ustanovljena v Ljubljani leta 1919. O življenju in delu sester usmiljenk je TV Slovenija 2009 posnela dokumentarni film Sestre scenarista Petra Peršeta in režisera Jerneja Kastelica.

¹⁰ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: Slovenci v Hrvaški, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji. V: Traditiones, 2003, letnik 32, št. 2, str. 125–126

¹¹ Politični funkcionarji se, kot pravijo stari priseljenci, niso vključili v slovensko skupnost, ker so se ob koncih tedna vozili domov, v Slovenijo.

Obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni

Po koncu druge svetovne vojne je bila v Beogradu navzočnost Slovencev močna »na prav vseh področijh, od preprostejših poklicev do vrhunskih strokovnjakov, umetnikov in seveda politikov«.¹⁰ Del te navzočnosti so predstavljeni ljudje, priseljeni pred vojno, ki so se do tedaj že ustalili, si ustvarili družine, dobili otroke in vnuke. V Beograd so tudi v tem času prihajali novi priseljenci, ki pa so imeli – glede na spremenjeno politično in gospodarsko situacijo – drugačne poklice in motive. Med njimi ni bilo več mladih ljudi iz revnih krajev, ki bi, kot v času stare Jugoslavije, tu iskali delo in zaslужek, ki ju doma ni bilo, ampak je bilo več različnih strokovnjakov, umetnikov, glasbenikov in znanstvenikov, ki so jih potrebovala nova državna podjetja, ustanove, državna uprava in politika.¹¹ Mnogi so bili v Beograd nastavljeni in na začetku niso imeli namena ostati, potem pa so se vživelji v novo okolje, in če so dobili otroke, ki so šli tu v solo, je Beograd postal njihov dom. V tem času se je veliko ljudi priselilo iz Slovenije v Beograd tudi zaradi poroke (zdi se, da je bilo med njimi več Slovenk kot

Slovencev), saj so vsakovrstni stiki med republikama na najrazličnejših področjih omogočili številne priložnosti za spoznavanje in medsebojne simpatije. V drugi polovici 20. stoletja se je povečalo tudi število sester usmiljenk, saj so jih v Sloveniji leta 1948 odpustili, delovna mesta zanje pa so se odprla na Hrvaškem, v Makedoniji, na Kosovu in v Srbiji, tudi v Beogradu.¹² Povsod so jih bili veseli, saj so bile poznane kot najboljše negovalke bolnikov z velikim strokovnim znanjem.

V tem obdobju so bili med Slovenci v Beogradu že »stari« Beograjčani in novi priseljenci. Številne slovenske družine so že v stari Jugoslaviji imele ugleden družbeni položaj in so ga ohranile ali ponovno pridobile tudi v povojnem času. V njihovem načinu življenja, stanovanjih in notranji opremi se občuti meščanska kontinuiteta, skupaj z ritmom vsakdanjega življenja, praznikov, z vzdrževanjem katoliške in spoštovanjem pravoslavne tradicije, z odprtostjo do nacionalnih in kulturnih razlik, družabnostjo in jugoslovanstvom v smislu občutenja Jugoslavije kot domovine. Ne glede na to ali je bil zakon povsem slovenski ali mešan, je večnacionalna mreža sorodnikov in prijateljev v Beogradu in na drugem koncu države s priložnostmi za stike, z obiski in potovanji dajala njihovemu življenju nekakšno svetovljansko širino. Pri tem ne gre spregledati, da je že sam Beograd kot prestolnica večnacionalne države ponujal številne možnosti za uspešno poklicno pot in družabne stike. Zdi pa se, da je k urejenemu in prijetnemu družinskemu življenju pripomoglo tudi to, da je bilo, v primerjavi s Slovenijo, manj žena zaposlenih, da so pogosto ostajale doma in skrbele za dom in družino.

Beograjski Slovenci so pogosto hodili na počitnice v Slovenijo, na kmetih so pomagali pri kmečkih delih. Na počitnicah in z obiski so obnavljali znanje slovenščine, naučili pa so se tudi njihovi otroci. V drugi polovici stoletja je na splošno zrasel življenjski standard, več družin si je lahko omislilo lasten avto in zato je bilo vse lažje vzdrževati stike z domačim krajem.

Pred razpadom Jugoslavije in po njem

V zadnjih dveh desetletjih prejšnjega stoletja se je zaradi jugoslovanske politične krize z rastočimi medrepubliškimi trenji položaj Slovencev v Srbiji korenito spremenil. V stari in novi Jugoslaviji so bili, vse do njenega razpada, le eni od številnih priseljencev v prestolnico. Res je sicer, da so prihajali iz drugačnega kulturnega okolja, da njihovega jezika večinsko okolje ni razumelo, da niso imeli šole v materinem jeziku¹³ in da so bili zato v marsičem v podobnem položaju kot izseljenici (obiskovali so verske obrede v slovenščini, peli so v zborih, ustanavljali so društva, obiskovali so gostilne, kamor so zahajali Slovenci ipd.), vendar so bili v svoji državi. Z osamosvojitvijo Slovenije leta 1991 so postali tujci, tako kot Slovenci v drugih bivših republikah, a položaj Slovencev v Srbiji je bil težji, še posebej v Beogradu, zaradi nasprotij med Slovenijo in Srbijo oz. beograjskim

¹² Zdravnik prof. dr. Izidor Papo je menda izrecno želel, da se z nego bolnikov zaposlijo sestre usmiljenke.

¹³ Ivan Debeljak je povedal, da se je leta 1948 vpisal na slovensko šolo, ki je delovala med letoma 1946 in 1948.

režimom. Beograjski Slovenci so bili od vseh Slovencev zunaj Slovenije verjetno najbolj prizadeti zaradi razpada Jugoslavije, saj so bile osti nasprotovanj, sankcij in bombardiranj najostreje uperjene v Beograd. Porušena je bila tudi dotedanja usklajenost med njihovo jugoslovansko državno in slovensko nacionalno pripadnostjo in identiteto, prejšnja sprejetost in dober položaj v večinski družbi sta se obrnila v svoje nasprotje. Čeprav se v pogovorih z beograjskimi Slovenci nismo ukvarjali s politiko, pa se ji nismo mogli ogniti, saj se je moj obisk marca 2008 ujemal z najnovejšim sporom med Slovenijo in Srbijo po slovenskem priznanju Kosova, nekaj dni po uličnih protestih. Kljub temu pa je najtežavnejši čas že izzveneval. Sogovornikov nisem spraševala o njihovem odnosu do vprašani, ki so v temelju razdvajala slovensko in srbsko politiko. Ne želim posploševati, vendar na podlagi izjav sogovornikov lahko zapišem, da so bili beograjski Slovenci zagotovo navezani na vrednote bratstva in enotnosti med jugoslovanskimi narodi. Posredno so izrazili svoje nestrinjanje z marsikatero potezo slovenske politike, ne v smislu podpiranja srbske, ampak obžalovanja nad celotnim potekom dogodkov. Dolga 90. leta so, tako kakor vsi prebivalci Srbije, trpeli zaradi posledic ekonomskih sankcij Združenih narodov proti ZR Jugoslaviji in splošnega pomanjkanja in bombardiranja sil NATO leta 1999. Marsikdo je menil, da so bile sankcije do Srbov krivične. Čeprav mnogi med njimi niso podpirali Miloševićevega režima, niso mogli povsem razumeti in se strinjati s stališči Slovenije, ki se mu je upirala in se osamosvojila. Vera Kržišnik-Bukić je zapisala, da je gotovo k temu pripomogla tudi enostranska informiranost s strani srbskih medijev.¹⁴ Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije in med vojno na Hrvaškem so stiki in potovanja v Slovenijo postali strahovito oteženi. Potovanji niso mogli privoščiti, saj so se borili za golo preživetje. Za pridobitev vize za Slovenijo je bilo treba dolgo čakati in imeti garancijsko pismo. To je popolnoma onemogočilo prejšnje spontane stike z domaćim krajem. Postopke za pridobitev slovenskega državljanstva pa je slovenska država zavlačevala in mnogim so prošnje zavrnili. Veliko ljudi je bilo zelo razočaranih, ker jim je Slovenija odrekla državljanstvo, imeli so občutek, kakor da bi se jih želela znebiti.¹⁵ Stanje se je normaliziralo šele z odpravo vizumov za potovanja Srbov, Makedoncev in Črnogorcev v schengenski prostor 19. 12. 2009.

¹⁴ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: Slovenci v Hrvaški, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji. V: Traditions, 2003, letnik 32, št. 2, str. 127

¹⁵ Gl. Odprto pismo Vladu Republike Slovenije, Uradu Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu, Ministrstvu Republike Slovenije za notranje zadeve. Podpisana so društva Slovencev v Novem Sadu, Zrenjaninu, Subotici, Beogradu, Vršcu, Nišu in Kragujevcu. (Bilten 2005: 6)

Podjetje in družini Cvar in Debeljak

Kmalu po koncu prve svetovne vojne je šel Edvard ali Edo Cvar, doma iz Slatnika pri Ribnici, s skupino avstro-ogrskih vojakov iz ruskega ujetništva prek Karpatov in Banata peš proti domu. Prispel je v Beograd. Srbija je poznal že od prej, ko je hodil v Banat s starejšimi zdolomarji. Bil je tudi že navajen srbskega, madžarskega in nemškega jezika. Mesto mu je bilo všeč, najel je sobico in počasi začel delati, po materialu pa je šel domov, v Slatnik. Doma je spoznal lepo vdovo svojega v vojni padlega prijatelja, se z njo poročil in se skupaj z njo vrnil v Beograd. Ustanovil je podjetje za izdelavo in trgovino s siti. Tako se je začela

izredno zanimiva, lahko bi rekli enkratna beografska zgoda suhorobarskega podjetja, dejavnosti in ljudi, ki so se z njo ukvarjali.

Podjetje je kmalu zacvetelo in Edo Cvar je postal največji proizvajalec sit v Srbiji. Njegovi delavci so bili iz Ribniške doline. Edov nast je zbiral mlade fante, da so prišli v Beograd k Cvaru delat, se učit obrti in zasluzit. Med njimi je bil tudi Ivan Debeljak st., ki je prišel v Beograd leta 1929, star 13 let. Ker je bil sposoben in zanesljiv, ga je Edo Cvar kasneje izbral za mojstra in delovodjo, za ženo pa mu je priporočil svojo nečakinjo, ki je bila prav tako iz suhorobarske družine. Fant in dekle sta si bila všeč in sta se poročila. Tako sta bili gospodarjeva in mojstrova družina v sorodstvu, mojstrovi otroci so gospodarja klicali stric, gospodinjo pa teta.

Leta 1936 je Edo Cvar v mestu na Gružanski ulici postavil lepo, sodobno stanovanjsko hišo, ki je imela v kleti delavnico in sobo s pogradi za delavce, na dvorišču pa je zgradil še hišico s stanovanjem za mojstrovo družino in skladišče. Izdelovali so v glavnem rešeta za čiščenje zrnja in to iz polfabrikatov, tj. obodov in mrež, ki so jih kupovali v Ribnici in vozili v Beograd z vlakom. Vsak teden je šel vagon iz Beograda v Ribnico in nazaj. Ta vagon je vozil izdelke tudi po Srbiji. Imeli so kočijaža, ki je dostavljal robo na železniško postajo. Delavci pa so razvažali sita po Beogradu s kolesi. Tako sta sobivali proizvodna enota in družinsko-sorodstvena skupnost. Delali so od širih zjutraj do mraka. Kuhali sta gospodarjeva in mojstrova žena, slednja je tudi prala za vse in pomagala v delavnici.

Edo Cvar ni bil pomemben samo v gospodarstvu, temveč tudi v družbenem življenju tedanjega Beograda. Na njegovem domu so se zbirali imenitni Slovenci. Salon, kjer nas je sprejel Ivan Debeljak ml., je bil namenjen izbrani družbi. Tu so bili tudi sestanki slovenskega društva »Slovenski fantje«,¹⁶ pri katerem je bil Edo Cvar tajnik ekonomu. Z družino je hodil k maši v bližnjo farno cerkev sv. Antona, zgrajeno po Plečnikovih načrtih leta 1932, ki jo danes upravlja frančiškanska provinca »Bosna srebrena«. Bil je zvest župljan in je cerkvi tudi veliko pomagal.

S spremembou političnega sistema, z gospodarskim in družbenim prevratom po koncu druge svetovne vojne, so se življenske razmere popolnoma spremenile. Kmalu po koncu vojne se je Ivanov brat Franc, ki je živel in delal pri njih v Beogradu, vrnil ranjen s sremske fronte.¹⁷ Želel se je vrniti domov v Slovenijo, saj sta njegova starša ostala sama na kmetiji. Ko se je odpravil, je za spremstvo vzel s seboj nečaka, starega komaj tri leta in pol. Ivanov spomin na to pot je še danes živ. Šivilja mu je sešila partizansko uniformo. Na poti sta prepevala partizanske pesmi, Ivan je igral tudi na orglice. Jedla sta, kar sta kje dobila. Ponekod sta naletela še na boje, a po več kot enem mesecu sta srečno prispeila. Najprej sta šla na očetov dom na Mali Slevici, kjer sta bila stara starša vsa iz sebe od veselja, potem pa še na mamin dom v Slatnik, kjer so ga mamine sestre

¹⁶ Žvan tega društva v svoji knjigi ne omenja.

¹⁷ Formirana je bila po osvoboditvi Beograda, ob koncu oktobra 1944, in je trajala do aprila 1945.

objemale in poljubljale in zdihovale, kakšen da je, ves garjav. Govoril je srbsko, prepeval, preklinjal in bil pravo čudo za domače ljudi. Na maminem domu je ostal dve, tri leta. Takrat se je naučil govoriti slovensko.

Cvarova nista imela otrok, v družini mojstra Ivana Debeljaka st. pa jih je bilo šest. Najstarejšega mojstrovega sina Ivana sta imela kot za svojega in gospodar ga je izbral za naslednika. Podjetje je preživljalo težke čase. Zasebna lastnina je bila odpravljena in podržavljena, lastniki podjetij in njihovi delavci so se morali zaposliti v državnih podjetjih ali zmanjšati dejavnost na obseg, ki je komaj ali pa sploh ni zadoščal za preživetje. Tako se je zgodilo tudi s suhorobarskim podjetjem Eda Cvara. Sam ješe delal, dokler je mogel, mojster pa je stopil v zadrugo. Kasneje je znova začel sam, a je šlo vse slabše, kljub temu, da so živel gospodarno in delavno.

V družini so se lepo razumeli, vsako nedeljo so šli v kino, poslušali so radio, gospod Cvar pa je prebiral o politiki in bil o vsem na tekočem. Ivan ml. je imel veselje do glasbe, že majhen se je sam naučil igranja orglic, potem pa ob poslušanju plošč, še harmonike. Leta 1948 je začel hoditi v slovensko šolo, ki je istega leta prenehala delovati, zato je šolanje nadaljeval na šoli Filipa Višnjića. Ko je bil že večji, sta se z gospodom Cvarom velikokrat vozila z vlakom v Ljubljano, od tod pa s kočevanjem¹⁸ v Ribnico. Potovanja so bila zabavna. Ivan je na vlaku igrал harmoniko, Cvar pa je od kupeja do kupeja s klobukom pobiral, kar so ljudje dali. V restavracijah na postajah mu je reklo: »Ajde, Nino, daj, čmrlje!« In fant je igrал popularne, poznane po Jugoslaviji in slovenske, da je bilo zmeraj veselo. Tako so hodili po obode. Ivan je vsako poletje odhajal v Slatnik na mamin dom, kjer je kot edini moški pri hiši opravljal vsa kmečka dela od prvega do zadnjega dne dopusta. Oče pa je hodil v Slovenijo, v času kolin, da je pomagal. Bilo je lepo, delali so, peli in igrali.

¹⁸ Tako se je imenoval vlak, ki je vozil iz Ljubljane v Kočevje.

¹⁹ Ob deseti obletnici društva je bil posnet film Sava v Beogradu, režija Dragomir Zupanc, proizvodnja Društvo Slovencev v Beogradu 2011. Nastopa tudi Ivan Debeljak s svojo harmoniko.

Po očetovi upokojitvi je s sistarstvom nadaljeval Ivan ml., saj je z njim živel že od malega. Z delavnostjo in podjetnostjo je vztrajal pri suhorobarstvu, kolikor je bilo mogoče. Imeli so stojnico na tržnici Stari Čeram ob Bulevarju kralja Aleksandra, a so jo opustili, ker se s tem ni dalo preživljati družine. Ivan se je zaposlil kot mojster galvanizer v letalski industriji v Rakovici in je manj delal v domači delavnici. Od obrti se ni dalo živeti.

Tudi Ivan Debeljak ml. je bil, tako kot pred njim Edo Cvar, pomembna oseba v družabnem življenju beograjskih Slovencev. Bil je pobudnik ustanovitve društva »Sava« leta 2001, ki je nastalo iz povečane potrebe po povezovanju, skupnem reševanju težav, ohranjanju jezika in kulture¹⁹. Danes poje v istoimenskem kvartetu in na društvenih srečanjih igrá harmoniko. Člani društva so povezani z mnogimi prijateljskimi vezmi, nekatere trajajo že odkar so se njihovi starši priselili v Beograd. Nekatere vezi se ustvarjajo tudi z obiskovanjem istih cerkva, pri petju v cerkvenih zborih in na društvenih srečanjih.

Danes je Ivan Debeljak upokojenec in ponovno izdeluje sita iz stare zaloge obodov in prodaja suho robo, svojo in robo drugih izdelovalcev, na različnih krajin, tudi na tržnici v Mirijevu in Konjarniku. Z avtom pripelje s seboj blago, zložljivo stojnico in senčnik. Na njegovi stojnici najdemo gospodinjske drobnarije, sita za belo in koruzno moko, pasirko za pasiranje šipka za marmelado, *kačamar*²⁰ za pripravo črnogorskega *kačamaka*²¹, žlice in kuhalnice srbskih izdelovalcev, *radio* za rezanje *blečičkov*,²² krpic iz testa za zakuhino, nože za izrezovanje semen iz paprik, lesena jajčka v stojalčkih za barvanje za veliko noč, ribežne in *vanilce*²³, ščetke in metle, pripravo za izdelovanje *tulumbe*, turške slaščice in princeskinih krofov. Pokazal nam je približno dvajset let staro žlico za ribjo *čorbo*, ki jo je izdelal še njegov oče. Nekaj izdelkov še vedno dobi iz Slovenije, npr. mišolovke dela nekdo v Sodažici, aluminijaste pa izdeluje tukajšnji *limar* (cinar, prev. a.).

Povpraševanje po njegovih izdelkih upada. V preteklosti si je zelo prizadeval, da bi na novo spodbudil prodajo po Srbiji, vendar zaradi spremenjenega načina življenja ni šlo, saj kot pravi, družine ne živijo več skupaj, ne kuhajo in teh izdelkov ne potrebujejo. Prelomnica je bila prekinitev stikov s Slovenijo zaradi vojne na začetku 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja. Povedal je, da so takrat začeli v Kruševcu izdelovati kuhalnice, žlice, deske, valjarje in druge drobne izdelke za gospodinjstvo, v Vojvodini pa metle. S temi izdelovalci menja svoje izdelke za njihove, pa tudi kupuje pri njih, tako da ima stojnico dobro založeno.

Ivan Debeljak je pravi Ribničan, vajen dela, nadarjen za glasbo, dober pevec in harmonikar, duhovit pripovedovalec, ki povsod prinaša dobro voljo in vztraja s suho robo iz veselja do dela in spoštovanja do predhodnikov, ki so tako podjetno prinesli in ohranili ribniško tradicijo v Beogradu.

²⁰ Kačamar je lesena kuhalnica za mešanje kačamaka.

²¹ Kačamak je jed iz kuhanje koruzne moke, krompirja in sira, v številnih različicah znana v mnogih balkanskih deželah.

²² Ribniški izraz za krpice.

²³ Ribniški izraz za modelke za pecivo.

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Ribniški krošnjar – suhorobar in lončar – v ljudski in umetni pripovedi ter pesmi

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Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujajo

Dregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujajo

Dregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patent in 1492 to the Present

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The Period between the 15th and 16th Century – the Time of a New Religion, the Scourge of God and Peddling

The period between the 15th and the 16th century was an extremely turbulent time, both in terms of world history, as well as history of the local area, which this paper is focused on. As far as world history is concerned, this is a time of important discoveries, new trade routes and people's migrations. At this time, Europe was threatened by wars between aristocratic families, wars against the Turks, which were weakening the central European region for over 200 years, and religious wars. The uncertain situation gave rise to dissatisfaction among the country population too, which was in the Slovene territory demonstrated in 1515 as the great Slovenian Peasant Revolt. The aim of this paper is to outline the situation during the time when the Peddler Patent was issued, with a focus on the local environment.

Emperor Frederick III and His Reign

From the time of Emperor Frederick III onwards the imperial crown was worn by provincial lords from the House of Habsburg. The period of Frederick's reign was enviably long: from 1440 to 1493. During his time he was often criticized for being different. The Viennese were of the opinion that he would have been more suitable for a monk than a sovereign. He was a very modest man. Although he was not made for an army leader, he was reigning during a time that was anything but peaceful. In addition to aristocratic wars, the fraternal strife with Albrecht VI and the war against Hungarians (Matthias Corvinus), Vienna was now also starting to be threatened by the Turks.

Frederick III became part of the Slovene history as the founder of the Diocese of Ljubljana, established in 1461. Pope Pius III confirmed the foundation of the diocese a year later, by means of which the first independent ecclesiastical centre subordinate directly to the pope was created in the middle of the Slovene territory. On account of Turkish plundering raids, Kočevje (1471), Lož (1477), Višnja Gora (1478) and Krško (1477) were granted town privileges. Without doubt of key importance for the Ribnica and Kočevje region was the free trade privilege granted in 1491 – the so-called Peddler Patent.

Frederick III spent most of the final years of his life in Linz. He died on 19 August 1493 and the imperial crown was taken over by his son Maximilian I (1493–1519). During the time of Frederick III, Austria was on the road to becoming a superpower and during the time of his son it actually became one.

Maximilian I was a complete opposite of his father, a determined ruler with a vision, who during his reign fought major battles against the Turks and at the same time set up the framework of a new state, by adopting administrative-political reforms. In the war with Venetians territorial acquisitions in the territory of Slovenia were finally delineated.

From the late 15th century onwards, two things were taking place at the same time: political development and the process of economic changes. And on top of this a political crisis set in, which was most noticeable in the countryside.¹

The Ribnica Dominion

Both the Ribnica and the Kočevje dominions passed into the ownership of the House of Habsburg after the death of the last count of Celje, as defined by the contract of inheritance; their supremacy was consolidated by the end of 1457.

Inhabitants of the market town of Ribnica voluntarily submitted to the Emperor and pledged allegiance to the House of Habsburg on 9 July 1457. To repay this loyalty, the Emperor Frederick III, who thus became the lord of the Ribnica dominion, established the Benefice of Corpus Christi in Ribnica and gave it half of the estate as a present.²

The emperor managed the Ribnica and the Kočevje dominion through his caretakers. The first two known caretakers were brothers Jurij and Andrej pl. Lamberg, but they did not live in Ribnica together for long, as Andrej had a castle built in Breg and moved there; the Lamberg family lived there for an entire century. The other branch of the Lamberg family with Jurij Lamberg moved to Ortnek Castle near Ribnica, given to Jurij by the Emperor in 1462 as a way of giving thanks for having supported him during the time of the war between the Emperor and his brother Albrecht.

After the Lamberg family, the castle and the office in Ribnica were taken on lease by Andrej, who fell in the war against the Turks in 1473. After him the Ribnica Castle was given to Žiga Pirš, who married the daughter of the noble Lamberg from Breg. In 1478, Pirš also bought the provincial court in Kočevje from the Emperor, whereby he secured an additional source of income in the Kočevje region. In 1492, he became a governor in Metlika. No exact date is mentioned in the work 'Zgodovina Ribnice and Ribniške pokrajine' (The History of Ribnica and the Ribnica Province) by Anton Skubic, however, it was most likely in the same year as the year when Pirš was appointed as the governor in Metlika that Gašper Ravbar became the lord of the Ribnica Castle.

This was a very difficult time for Ribnica: burdening the serfs with taxes, which Pirš was supposedly very good at, and constant Turkish plundering raids reduced this region to such poverty that on 29 October 1493 the Emperor Maximilian gave Ravbar the warrant to lend the people of Ribnica the seeds for the sowing, because people have suffered great poverty as a result of Turkish invasions and a terribly poor harvest at the time.³

¹ Štih, Peter; Simoniti, Vasko: *Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kulturo do konca 18. stoletja*. Ljubljana 2010, p. 214.

² Ribnica was therewith given another clerical position, which was a much needed addition because of the size of the Ribnica Parish. At the time it encompassed the following later-time parishes: Gotenica, Grčarice, Dolenja vas, Stara cerkev, Gora, Sodražica, Velike Poljan, Ribnico, Ravne na Blokah.

Skubic, Anton: *Zgodovina Ribnice in Ribniške pokrajine*. Buenos Aires 1976, p. 338.

³ Skubic, Anton: *Zgodovina Ribnice in Ribniške pokrajine*. Buenos Aires 1976, p. 344.

This measure was taken a year after the Emperor's privilege had been granted, which leads to a perfectly legitimate conclusion that the improvement in living conditions had as a result of this new right granted to the people with the privilege a year before not been reflected yet. Given the circumstances this was undoubtedly impossible. However, it did partly relieve the current situation as it enabled the peasant trade to be carried on.

In this strained atmosphere between town trade and guild associations, which had from the late 14th century onwards managed to consolidate their exclusive right to handicraft, the peasant trade was without doubt jeopardized.

Ravbar had the Ribnica dominion on lease until 1499, when it was given to brothers Žiga and Volbenk Hodiski, followed by Bernardin Ričan, Jožef pl. Lamberg, Franc Gall, Adam Moškon. Just over one hundred years later, in 1618, the Emperor sold the Ribnica dominion to the new owners – the Khisel barons.

Peasant Trade and Animal-Powered Transport

Provincial craft and trade were from the 14th century onwards gaining on importance and extent, which was a result of an increased number of people living in villages as crofters and their ways of making a living.

The issue of peasant trade became especially delicate when feudal lords got involved in this trade in the second half of the 15th century too. The Emperor took the side of towns and prohibited feudal lords from forcing their serfs to sell their livestock, wine, oats and animal skins to them only. However, by supporting the townspeople the Emperor was merely protecting his own benefits. As a result of a decrease in town trade towns had it more difficult paying the taxes and the income earned by tollgate fees in towns was likewise lower.

In 1492, clerical dignitaries and the nobility signed a contract with towns in the Carniola region, which partly permitted rural craft and trade. This agreement included a number of provisions; to them sum up: craft was restricted to a certain zone around towns and market towns⁴, peasants were only allowed to sell their surplus in town and market town squares and at parish fairs, while long-distance free trade was allowed for salt, wine, grain, livestock, linen and other cottage industry products. This agreement between the nobility and towns and market towns in 1492 confirmed how strongly involved peasants were in trade.

Townspeople were mostly successful in their battle against aristocratic trade in the produce and livestock of their serfs. However, the fight for rural trade was far from over. A large number of prohibitions against peasant trade prove that their purpose was not achieved. Peasants were namely not alone in their disobedience – they were supported by their lords. The introduction of these bans was weakening serfs' economic and consequently tax power. And this is why this trade and craft was under the protection of the nobility gaining ground further without much disturbance in spite of all the prohibitions.⁵

Of course, bans on peasant trade were imposed at a later time as well, but in spite of everything trade kept making progress.

The Ribnica – Kočevje region was located beside some very important trade routes, leading towards Ljubljana – as a point of departure for further routes, and especially Trieste and Rijeka, two large ports. An important grain trade route was also passing through this region.

The karst soil provided inhabitants of the area with rather poor conditions for life, but trade improved their earnings, so they were never stricken with much hunger or poverty.⁶

Peasants were engaged in trade because of their need for survival and income. Peasant trade was often closely associated with animal-powered transport, which was generally a form of transporting goods for sale, and people involved in this type of transport were hired to do so by merchants. Animal-powered transport was also a form of feudal duties. There were between 6,000 and 8,000 horses involved in animal-powered transport in Carniola and the trade in salt in the second half of the 16th century amounted to as many as 90,000 loads annually. These data without doubt attest to how widespread peasant trade was.⁷

According to a declaration of Carniolan assemblies of estates from the year 1553, many a farm in Carniola was too small to be able to make a living through farming only. In places where people were unable to sell their produce because the soil was not fertile enough, they were compelled to sell cottage industry products, a typical example of which is Ribnica Valley.⁸

In the Ribnica region, peasant trade was combined with animal-powered transport, which is quite obvious from a large number of horses used for this. No older data is unfortunately available, but the data from the Theresian cadastre speak volumes about the role of animal-powered transport in this region.

According to the Theresian cadastre, the dominion of Ribnica encompassed 500 peasant subjects, whereof 277 owned 321 horses. In some villages almost all farmers owned a horse, some of them even two. In the village of Dolenja vas, there were 65 peasants, who owned 76 horses, in Prigorica there were 34 peasants with 38 horses, in Rakitnica 32 peasants with 30 horses and in Goriča vas 12 peasants with 14 horses.⁹

In the territory of Ortnek dominion, there were 210 peasant subjects, 80 of whom had 84 horses. These horses were used for transportation and were also marked as such.¹⁰

In the Kočevje area there was a relatively large number of horses too for the same reason, but in proportion to the number of peasant subjects they were fewer than in the area of Ribnica. The largest number of horses was in the territory of Kočevje Parish, where wood cottage industry was most widespread according to Valvasor's data, and a relatively large number of horses were also owned by peasants in Mozel Parish.¹¹

⁴ One mile from large towns (Ljubljana, Kranj, Kamnik and Novo Mesto) and half a mile from other market towns and towns in the region of Carniola.

⁵ Grafenauer, Bogo: Zgodovina Slovenskega naroda. Doba prve krize fevdalne družbe na Slovenskem od začetka kmečkih uporov do viška protestantskega gibanja. Volume III. Ljubljana 1956, p. 19.

⁶ The area was most affected precisely at the time referred to because of the aforementioned situation.

⁷ Štih, Peter, Simoniti, Vasko: Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja. Ljubljana, 2010, p. 218.

⁸ Grafenauer, Bogo: Zgodovina Slovenskega naroda. Doba prve krize fevdalne družbe na Slovenskem od začetka kmečkih uporov do viška protestantskega gibanja. Volume III. Ljubljana, 1956, p. 19.

⁹ Valenčič, Vlado: Tovorništvo na Kranjskem. Tovorništvo v zgodovinopisu in njegova problematika. In: Zgodovinski časopis 35, year 1981, p. 255.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 256.

In addition to other transport-related duties serfs from the Ribnica area were also required to transport grain, which the lords had sold to assemblies of estates for Vojna krajina, for the mines and for the imperial stud farm in Lipica. Most of serfs within the Kočevje dominion had the feudal duty of transporting 400 'star' units of wheat ('star' is an old cubic measure for grain, it amounts to approx. 100 litres) from Kočevje to Rijeka annually, which supposedly did not only apply to the delivery of wheat to Vojna Krajina, but to other buyers as well.¹²

In the Dolenjska region in particular, many peasants were involved in livestock reselling, in the Ribnica and Kočevje region wood cottage industry was the most widespread occupation and woodenware was transported by animal-powered transport to other countries to be sold as well.

The Scourge of God and a New Religion

In that period the peasant trade and everyday life were severely limited and jeopardized by Turkish invasions, which were after 1469 a constant threat to people's lives and property. In 1471, for example, the Turkish army consisting of between 15,000 and 16,000 mounted soldiers advanced on the Ribnica area. They set up their encampment in Rašica, from where they dispersed in all directions and plundered the nearby area.

Sources dating back to 1473 report that Carniola was half burnt down because of Turkish plundering raids. In 1476, the Turks were plundering around Carniola for four months, followed by ravaging expeditions in 1480, 1491 and 1497. The worst year of all was 1528, when four attacks were targeted at Carniola. During one of these raids, the Turks conquered Ribnica and continued their plundering expedition in the direction to Ortnek, Lašče, Turjak and Ig, capturing 4,000 captives on the way.¹³ The border to the Turkish state was now a mere two days of horse-riding away from the Slovene territory.

Apart from these large-scale attacks, there were also a number of small ones carried out by units of Turkish border troops – the so-called martolozzi. These were small groups that settled in the forests around Ribnica, Loški Potok and the Poljane and Kočevje dominions. They were attacking the local population the whole time, ravaging towns and villages in the area. Between 1525 and 1530 Carniola was subjected to 50 attacks, which completely devastated all border areas, including the region of Ribnica¹⁴.

From the start of the 15th century onwards, Europe was shaken by a severe religious crisis within the highest circles of the church, who served as a role model for the low-level clergy. The priests were living the life of leisure, which was in contradiction to the Christian teachings, and for a suitable price a full remission of sins was available even to the worst criminals. The sale of indulgences was one of the main causes for people starting to feel disgusted by this situation. Ribnica was undoubtedly one of the focal points and centres of the Reformation movement in this part of Slovene Lands.¹⁵ The propagation of the

Reformation movement in the Ribnica region was primarily affected by the dissemination of the news brought into the local environment by people who had been crossing borders because of their trade-related travels. The nobility in the Ribnica region and market town inhabitants were favourably disposed to the Lutheran movement, whereas the population in the countryside got organized in various different groups, whose members sought consolation and God's protection by going on various pilgrimages; they also had their own rituals and set up their own churches ('štiftarji', 'skakači', 'prekrševalci'). The very beginning of fierce criticism of the church in the Ribnica region can be traced back to the work of a group of Croatian painters. Their most famous work is the depiction of a fox going on a pilgrimage wearing cardinal's robes and carrying a walking stick, silence and a throttled hen.¹⁶ The fresco can be seen at the Church of St. Ulrich at Marišiči above Ortnek.

Besides the Turks and the religious crisis the country was also impaired by revolts of the serfs, who in 1515 united for the great Slovenian Peasant Revolt, demanding to be given back the old rights. The peasant revolt, which started in Carniola, also spread out to southern Styria (Štajerska) and Carinthia (Koroška). In the Ribnica region the peasants revolted against Jožef pl. Lamberg, who was at the time ruling at Ortnek Castle.

From Christopher Columbus to Ribnica Peddlers

In October 1492, Christopher Columbus set foot in the New World for the first time and the new age of discoveries, explorations and migrations started. The world acquired new dimensions.

In the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century, a number of events took place that in themselves clearly proclaimed a new beginning.

Christopher Columbus and the impact of his discovery for the world at the time relate to macro history, the history of great events, great personalities. However, in the same year and even the same month, an important event took place at the micro-historical level of the Kočevje-Ribnica region, which provided this area with an important additional source of survival.

On 23 October 1492, the following deed was signed by Frederick III in Linz:

I, Frederick, by the grace of God the Holy Roman Emperor, the eternal expander of the empire, the Hungarian, Dalmatian, Croatian etc. King, the Duke of Austria, Styria etc., hereby give our loyal, dearly beloved townspeople of Kočevje, our grace and benevolence, that our people and subjects in offices there, people settled and residing in Kočevje, who were brought about the devastation by the Turks, who occupy our farms there and give us steady tax, are allowed to trade in their livestock, linen and all the rest that they breed and produce to Croatia and all

¹² Ibid., p. 261.

¹³ Voje, Ignacij: Slovenci pod pritiskom turškega nasilja. Ljubljana 1996, p. 82.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁵ Gestrin, Ferdo: Reformacija v Ribnici in okolici. In: Kronika Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino, year 1982, No. 2, p. 95.

¹⁶ The idea behind this fresco is primarily to criticise and warn against the hypocrisy in the highest secular and ecclesiastical positions.

other lands. By our further order they are allowed and encouraged to trade in whatever brings in money. We give this order (with a favourable disposition) and request that you place no obstacles or interventions in the way of these people and subjects with regard to this furtherance of ours and the permission to engage in their trade; you are instead requested to allow them to practice their trade peacefully, in accordance with their needs. We hereby give you our opinion, issued in Linz on a Tuesday after the day of St. Ursula in the year of our Lord ninety-two, year forty-one of our empire. (23 October 1492)¹⁷

In relation to this privilege it is mistakenly quite often stated that the Emperor granted it to the people of Ribnica, but this is not completely accurate. The emperor allowed the inhabitants of Kočevje, all subjects of the Kočevje land-registry office, so indirectly also the people of Ribnica, to trade without any additional taxes, because of the damage they had been inflicted by Turkish attacks; as a result of this farms would be better cultivated and occupied and the taxes would be paid regularly. This measure remained in effect only until revoked.

So it was only a temporary measure to help all subjects of the Kočevje region, however, with validations in the 16th and the 18th centuries it did serve as the basis for peddling in this area.¹⁸

For the micro level of the Kočevje – Ribnica region this privilege signified »the discovery of a new world«, new trade routes and means of improving the life on the barren karst soil.

A written record of this privilege was preserved in a document dating back to 1571, in which Archduke Charles II confirmed free trade once again by means of a copy of the old provision and his own appendix. The rights were validated again in 1596, when the privileges were certified by Emperor Ferdinand III. In 1774, the Peddler Patent was signed by the Empress Maria Theresa, whereby she announced that for subjects of the Kočevje dominion it was – as had been the case until then – still allowed and made possible to freely and without hindrance trade in and peddle dates, oranges, lemons, figs, bay leaves, linen, almonds, grapes and other similar fruit¹⁹. Her son Joseph II certified peddler privileges in 1780 and this confirmation was the first time that the licence was explicitly mentioned in relation to subjects of the Ribnica dominion, giving them the right to peddle pottery, sieves, riddles and other woodenware of the same kind, dormouse skins, as well as citrus fruits, in the same way this had been permitted to inhabitants of the Kočevje dominion.²⁰

The last patent or privilege of this kind was the 1852 patent by Franz Joseph, whereby the people from Kočevje, Poljane and Ribnica were allowed to sell oysters, table oil, carob pods, lemons, dates, wine from Draga, figs, pomegranates, hazel nuts, capers, chestnuts, lemons, bay leaves, almonds, clams, oranges, anchovies, tortoises, grapes, raisins and other goods that had been permitted even prior to this.²¹ This patent remained in force in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia up until the time when the Craft Act was passed in 1931 and in the

Republic of Austria until the Craft Act in 1973. The Austrian Craft Act of 1859 included the Peddler's Patent too.

It was the geographic position itself that made trade predestined for the Kočevje – Ribnica region, some of the most important trade routes had namely been set up here in the past. Emperor Frederick's privilege made it possible for peddlers' trade in this area to thrive and also stimulated the development of various different forms of peddling: there were peddlers from Kostel and Predgrad, as well as Ribnica, where sellers of cottage industry goods, i.e. woodenware and pottery, were predominant; but there were also chestnut sellers, egg sellers and other types of peddlers characteristic of the entire area discussed in this paper.

While other forms of peddling in the Kočevje – Ribnica region died away after World War II, the distinctive feature of Ribnica peddling remains its preserved tradition. Even today, 520 years after the Emperor's privilege, peddlers from Ribnica can still be seen in front of modern shopping centres, at fairs and travelling from one house to another, trying to talk people into buying their handicrafts.

¹⁷ Part of the peddlers' privilege confirmation deed from 1571, which also includes the text of the original document from 1492. Translation by Dr Matevž Košir and Brane Kozina, MA.

¹⁸ Otopec, Božo: Doneski k zgodovini Ribnice in okolice v srednjem veku. In: KRONIKA Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino, year 1982, No. 2, p. 83.

¹⁹ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doctoral dissertation. Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo FF. Ljubljana 1999, p. 40.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 42.

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Trade vs. Peddling

Trade is one of the most essential segments of the economy as it plays the part of the middleman between producers and consumers, as well as supply and demand. It took on a large dimension at the time when the consumer society was being shaped – in the area of what is today known as Slovenia this took place at the turn of the 20th century. Because of a relatively small amount of (industrial) production, buyers' needs had prior to that mainly been satisfied by producers (most of the time craftsmen) themselves in direct contact with their customers. An important part at the time was thus still played by fairs and, of course, peddling.¹ This line of business was based on Austrian legislation: on the basis of Craftsman Rules from the year 1859², door-to-door selling was only permitted to persons who had been granted a Peddler Licence (§ 51). Just short of a quarter of a century after Craftsman Rules had been laid down, an amending act to the Rules was introduced³, in accordance to which craftsmen were given the right to sell their goods either themselves or through agents; goods were permitted to be solved directly, from one place to another, only by peddlers, who were allowed to do so owing to the Peddlers Act. However, in individual municipalities, political provincial authorities had the option of temporarily banning this type of sale for specific reasons.⁴

The conflict between merchants, who conducted their business in accordance with the legislation as part of permanent sedentary shops, and peddlers, who sold goods door-to-door, is an old one. It goes back to the time of the mercantile resistance to liberalization in bourgeois trade, when merchants opposed petty tradesmen, peddlers and peasant trade even more persistently than usual. The town merchants perceived the non-townspeople's trade as unjustified interference in their rights. And so peddling as such also clashed with the town merchants' benefits. It was not permitted in Ljubljana, but it did thrive in the countryside, where there were no stores or small shops. Petty tradesmen from Ljubljana practiced peddling in the villages and at fairs, the licence for which had been given to them by administrative authorities. They were selling all sorts of

¹ Erjavec, Fran: Slovenci. Zemljepisni, zgodovinski, politični, kulturni, gospodarski in socialni pregled, Ljubljana, 1923, p. 219.

² Mayerhofer, Ernst: Handbuch für den politischen Verwaltungsdienst in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern ..., Vol. 3, pp 567-626; Craftsman Rules translated in: Žižek, Zbirka obrtnih listin 1692-1932.

³ Postava od 15. marca 1883, s katero se obrtni red izpreminja in dopoljuje, Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele v državnem zboru zastopane, year 1883, Vol. XII, 29. 3. 1883.

⁴ Obrtni red. Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele v državnem zboru zastopane, year 1907, Vol. LXXXIX, 16. 8. 1907.

Between World War I and II, the network of stores in the area of what is now Slovenia was most developed in larger towns, where the population density was at its highest. In towns, shops were to a large extent already specialized, i.e. shoe shops, fancy goods shops, textile shops, colonial goods shops, delicatessen, novelties shops etc.). However, in the countryside trade was developed just as well and mixed good stores were predominant here. All sorts of goods that were in free circulation were sold here, i.e. anything from foodstuffs, novelties, hardware, textiles to building materials and farming tools; and the shops also dealt with the buying-in of farmers' produce.⁵

In this period, in particular in the early 1930s, at the time of the economic crisis, merchants were still being agitated by foreign merchants' salesmen and peddlers' competition.⁶

In the period between World War I and II, many a merchant was most annoyed by the illicit door-to-door sales, which were most common in the countryside, but in towns they were not immune to it either. Having said that, in that period peddling was – on account of shops with mixed goods being present in smaller places and towns as well – slowly losing on importance, it did however remain a noticeable and non-negligible activity, as perceived by both merchants (i.e. peddlers' competition) and buyers (i.e. their customers).

Peddling was the type of sale that took place without any permanent point of sale; a peddler only had the amount of goods with him that he was able to carry and that he had the licence for. There were different types of peddling, depending on special regional characteristics of individual provinces and people. In the Slovenian ethnic territory, peddling was mainly practiced in the margin area, from Venetian Slovenia (Slavia Veneta) and Rezija, the Goriško region, the hinterland of Trieste and Rijeka, and all the way to Dolenjska Region (the Ribnica-Kočevje area) and Bela Krajina, but also existed in the Prekmurje region.⁷

As a form of rural trade, peddling had in the area of Slovenia been known at least since the 15th century, when communications between individual places were still far from developed, it did however last well into the later times, when the road and rail networks were developed much better.⁸ To help the area that had been ravaged by the Turks, the Austrian Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg issued a peddler patent in 1492, which – although updated several times – remained in force up until the end of the monarchy and even between both world wars. With this patent Gottschee Germans were given the right to export livestock, as well as home-made linen and woodenware. In the course of time, differences among peddlers arose in terms of the goods they were selling: peddlers from Ribnica were selling home-made woodenware, whereas peddlers from the Kočevje region as well as Bela Krajina only the goods that had been purchased.⁹ Peddling, which later resulted in people giving up agriculture and relocating elsewhere, was an important economic activity for the local

⁵ For more on Slovenian trade see: Marija Počivavšek, En gros et en détail. Trgovina v Sloveniji do druge svetovne vojne: trendi, strukture, prakse, Celje, 2012.

⁶ For some aspects of merchants' complaints about peddlars see: Šega, Polona: Pritožbe nad krošnjarji na Slovenskem med svetovnima vojnoma, in: Traditiones, 28/I, 1999, pp 401-408.

⁷ Drnovšek, Marjan: Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja, in: Kronika, No. 3, 2007, p. 390.

⁸ Drnovšek, Marjan: Belokranjski krošnjarji in Ameriki, in: Slovenska kronika XIX. stoletja, Vol. 1, p. 233.

⁹ Drnovšek, Marjan: Kočevarski krošnjarji in nacistična propaganda, in: Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, Vol. 1, 2007, p. 86.

population, peddlers were namely selling their goods in all of the monarchy lands. They were small merchants who made a living selling textile goods, citrus fruits and dried fruits, as well as woodenware door-to-door, from one village to another. After the trade in home-made goods started to decline, they also started trading in purchased goods. They would sell roasted chestnuts,¹⁰ as well as sweets and candies.¹¹ Throughout the monarchy they became famous for carrying a 'krošnja' (literal meaning a crown, a treetop – peddler's pack with all of the goods piled together resembled as crown), their wares piled high and carried on their backs. As the Craftsman Rules did not allow for them to do the sale in the usual way, they used other means to offer their goods, for instance the lottery. The peddler had wooden carved numbers in a little bag and the buyer pulled out three; if their sum was under one hundred, it was the buyer that won and got all of the goods he wanted, and vice versa, if the sum was over one hundred the peddler won and got to keep all of the staked money. This way, peddlers from Kočevje would sell carvings, goods for everyday use, glassware, citrus fruits, baked goods, Turkish delight etc. Before Christmas they would come home for the first time and help their families with the money they earned. They would hit the road for the second time after the New Year and then come back in the spring to stay at home until autumn, so they could help do the farm work in the mean-time. It comes as a surprise that peddling in the Kočevje area managed to be preserved for almost five hundred years in virtually the same form. Gottschee Germans never attempted to, for instance, establish their own business bases or to set up import-export commercial establishments on a larger scale.¹²

According to the law, peddling was a craft that craftsmen were only allowed to practice on the basis of a formal licence or a permit issued by the first-level administrative body (the district authorities) in the region of the peddler's permanent residence. Licenses were issued to producers of home-made goods, e.g. to woodenware makers from Ribnica, the disabled and other persons unfit to do work, as well as inhabitants of individual passive regions, e.g. Gottschee Germans.¹³ To get an additional source of income besides farming, inhabitants of these areas mainly turned to crafts and trade. A special position was held in particular by woodenware vendors from Ribnica. Peddling was also the domain of people living in Bela Krajina, Croatia and Dalmatia, who would buy fancy goods from large-scale merchants at discounted prices and then sell them at fairs and door-to-door at a higher price. »Besides beggars and sometimes the gypsies it was also sieve-makers selling sieves and other types of woodenware that called by our house. They were very enterprising handicraftsmen from the Ribnica Valley who travelled offering their goods far and wide, even around Austria, all the way to Vienna and even further. Peddlers from Bosnia and Dalmatia were also regular visitors; their packs ('krošnje'), which they carried in front of them fastened with a wide leather belt, were brimful of small goods, such as male and female combs and hair clips, shoelaces, lighters and lighter flints, small mirrors, sometimes also the sweetener saccharin and all sorts of different belts, razors and other small consumer items. We, the kids, were always happy to see them, as we could see what they had crammed in their packs, which they carried on their chest. We used to call them »bozjanarji«¹⁴ Janez Trdina mentions that

vendors from Bela Krajina used to peddle in the eastern part of the Štajerska region, where they were selling small wares that they got from merchants on credit: thread, needles, small knives, soap, ribbons, handkerchiefs, pencils, holy cards, linen, trousering and cloth. Also a well-known group of peddlers were peddlers from Kostel, who were selling sweets along the route to Vienna, as well as roasted chestnuts sellers from Kočevje. For all of them peddling was an important source of income, a supplement to the money made from small and fragmented farms.¹⁵

In the years after World War I, the Nova doba newspaper from Celje reported that there were plenty of peddlers with wicker baskets and rucksacks around who were involved in the sale of all sorts of goods, such as fabric, thread, soap, tobacco, coffee, matches, tea, yeast etc. »These days, every farmhand, vagabond or idler dabbles in trade, in chain deals, to be more specific. Country merchants get neither matches, no Franck coffee or yeast etc. from the factory, while peddlers go about selling such things around the country at prices that are extortionately high (1/2 kg of yeast at 30-40 K, a box of matches 1 K). Where do these people get the goods?.../ There must be some stolen goods involved, that's for sure.¹⁶ Trade associations were appealed to to oppose this sort of unfair competition, and merchants to report any of this happening. Two years later, the word had it again that peddling had proliferated around the country and merchants once again appealed to the authorities to hand over all peddlers to the court or to even confiscate all of their wares.¹⁷ But since the number of peddlers did not decrease in the slightest, the great mayor of the authorities in Maribor sent out a circular letter in January 1928 following an intervention of the Trade, Craft and Industry Chamber, addressed at all district governors and the city administrative authorities in Celje and Maribor, ordering them to follow the regulations of the Peddler Patent strictly, but to no avail. A few days later, they did notice a negligible decrease in the number of peddlers, but afterwards there were even more of them. Although according to § 12 of the Peddler Patent (of the year 1852), which was in Slovenia still fully in force, the goods sold by peddlers were supposed to be of domestic origin and accompanied with a delivery certificate, most of the items for sale were of foreign origin. The merchant circles were especially outraged at provisions of the act against the increasing cost of living being adhered to, whereas no one was controlling whether stipulations of the Peddler Patent were being followed as well.¹⁸ In 1928, Rudolf Stermecki, the chairman of the Guild of Merchants from Celje, wrote a letter to the great mayor of the authorities in Maribor, saying that the measures taken against the peddlers were to no avail. Their numbers are on the increase again and »we have spotted nine of them in a single day. We have established that they are selling razors, knives, scissors, igniters, shaving tools and other mostly metal products that are not produced in our country yet and should not be peddled.¹⁹ In principle, the authorities did persecute peddling, they were however unable to do away with it completely. To alleviate unemployment in economically passive regions, peddlers were allowed to sell by retail, but they were prohibited from selling material goods and grocery items, beverages, medicines, cards, works of art and mineral oil.²⁰

¹⁰ For further information see: Polona Šega, Slovenski kostanjarji na Dunaju. Prebivalci nekdanjega velikolaškega okraja kot kostanjarji v cesarskem mestu, Novo mesto, 1997.

¹¹ Ferenc, Mitja: Kočevska – pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po odselitvi Nemcev, Ljubljana, 2005, pp 37–47.

¹² Gauss, Karl-Markus: Umirajoči Evropejci, Ljubljana, 2006, pp 54–55.

¹³ Dr. Nemo Hugo Uhlir, Trgovsko-gospodarski leksikon; Part 1: A-K, Ljubljana, 1935, p. 626.

¹⁴ Borovnik, Jernej: Vrnitev, Šentjur, 2006, pp 239–240.

¹⁵ Bučić, Vesna: Urarske krošnje in krošnjarjenje, in: Argo, 1992, p. 8.

¹⁶ Za redno in proti zakotni trgovini, in: Nova doba, No. 32, 5. 4. 1919.

¹⁷ Beseda o krošnjarjih, in: Nova doba, No. 87, 28. 7. 1921.

¹⁸ Proti krošnjarjem, in: Nova doba, No. 43, 18. 4. 1928.

¹⁹ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Prestopki krošnjarskega patentu.

²⁰ Trgovci in krošnjarstvo, in: Slovenski trgovski vestnik, Vol. 6, 1907.

In the 1920s, merchants' demands for the unfair competition to be stamped out were getting more and more exacting. Above all, they wanted the state to adopt a special law and thus protect the affected merchants, similarly to what had previously been done in Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia. Unfair competition had namely taken »the measures that are disrupting merchants' morals and integrity, cutting the ground from under solid, healthy trade and are causing considerable harm to consumers as well.«²¹ As far as the concern about the morals is concerned: the district governor of Ljubljana, Dr Rudolf Andrejka sent out a circular letter to all police stations appealing to them to be double careful and check peddlers thoroughly to see if they might have some banned items or images on them. »Not long ago, it has in relation with such, especially Dalmatian peddlers, been established at one of the stations that they had been selling items that are detrimental to one's health and morals, such as sheaths, the Spanish fly, etc.«²² The demand for peddling to be banned was in 1925 submitted to the Ministry of Trade and Industry also by the great mayor of the authorities in Maribor, Dr Pirkmajer. He proposed a ban on peddling in the towns of Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, as well as in the tourist destination towns of Radenci, Dobrna and Rogaška Slatina.²³ In the summer of 1928, the Trade, Craft and Industry Chamber called upon the great mayors of the authorities in Ljubljana and Maribor; they stated that recently there had been a large increase in the peddling of textiles and fancy goods, whereby great damage had been inflicted on the merchants. All attempts to set bounds to this had been unsuccessful. They emphasized that there was absolutely no need for this at a time when there were over 10,000 trade establishments in Slovenia, whereof more than a half were selling general goods, so nearly every place had its own store. The Chamber thus asked both great mayors to send out a circular letter to all of their subordinate craft authorities, including instructions who and in what way was allowed to seek orders from merchants and private customers, that it was prohibited to look for foreign merchants' orders and how to restrict peddling. As a matter of fact in September of the same year, both of the great mayors did issue the circular letter and sent it out to the district governors and city administrative authorities. As far as peddling was concerned, the circular letter stated that within the area governed by the authorities of Ljubljana and Maribor peddling was regulated by the Patent dating back to 1852 and the 1925 Decision by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. According to these regulations, peddling was only allowed to citizens of Yugoslavia and only for domestic goods. The licence was valid in the territory of the entire state, it had to, however, be certified by the heads of the district where peddling activities would be carried out.²⁴ But none of their endeavours to set bounds to peddling were successful. The civil governor (ban) Dr Ivan Marušič sent a circular letter to all district and city administrative units and police directorates in Ljubljana, Maribor and Celje in 1931, wherein he established that in spite of the imposed penalties violations of the peddling ban were anything but few and far between. The number of peddlers was extremely high and despite the ban they practiced peddling on Sundays and weekday nights, when the stores were already closed, as well.²⁵ According to the civil governor's ordinance of 1937, selling goods and peddling in the streets was namely prohibited between 18.00 and 7.30, as well as on Sundays and public

²¹ Pretnar, I.: Vprašanje umazane konkurence, in: Trgovski tovaris, Vol. 5, 1927.

²² AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Vsem orožniškim postajam.

²³ SI_ZAC/0024/002 Mestna občina Celje (1850–1941), AŠ 66, Ukinitev krošnjarjenja v mestu, 1924.

²⁴ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Detajlno potovanje in krošnjarjenje.

²⁵ Peddlers must not be mistaken for sales representatives who carried samples with them and were as far as the sale of goods was concerned only allowed to contact merchants and no private customers. AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Krošnjarjenje in detajlno potovanje.

holidays, except for the sale of newspapers, flowers, boiled sausages and roasted chestnuts, as well as the so-called Kočevje wares (§§ 9, 33).²⁶ After that, the Federation of Trade Associations of the Dravska Subdivision (banovina) also issued an anti-peddling pamphlet in Ljubljana in 1938.²⁷ Peddling in the traditional sense of the word was thus not on the decrease – as would have been expected on account of the expansion of the trade network – but it was being adapted to the new circumstances. With the emergence of new state borders and the new legislation, the geographical range of peddlers' routes was being diminished and partly what peddling was all about and how it was practiced also changed. It turned into the occupation of people that were poor and who thereby acquired a certain level of social security.²⁸

It was not all that easy to become a peddler. Each applicant had to submit a photograph, list his personal details and include a personal description in the application form, and also provide a number of other documents, i.e. the certificate of baptism, certificate of citizenship, character reference, the tax office certificate, evidence of no criminal history and a medical report. After his application had been approved, the peddler was given the »Licence to practice a craft without a permanent point of sale«, which he was required to carry on him at all times. The largest number of licences was issued for the craft administrative units of Kočevje, Črnomelj and Murska Sobota.²⁹ Peddler books issued by district administrative units gave peddlers the right to peddle within the entire state.

The unfair competition was also pointed out at the meetings of subdivision councillors (banovina councillors). In 1931, Jakob Ramovž, a councillor and the parish priest in Velike Lašče, called the attention to Italian merchants who had been travelling around the villages and whose business was untaxed. He also exposed peddlers, who had been offering to people »some sort of rubber items for the prevention of conception. These were the cause of a great corruption of morals, both in terms of nationality and religion.« He appealed to the subdivision administration to put a stop to their doings, as »people in the countryside would not even know about such products, had they not been distributed by these peddlers.« With regard to these doubts, the subdivision councillors reached a consensus that according to the Peddler Act in some parts of the country peddling was allowed to be practiced; if peddling was banned, this would namely also harm Slovenian peddlers who had been peddling elsewhere in the state. And as for the sale of these »immoral« items or even propagation of communist ideas, it was the task of the police to prevent it.³⁰ The subdivision councillor from Kočevje, Dr Ivan Sajovic, also pointed up the fact that in spite of a negative attitude towards peddling an exception had to be made: in Slovenia there were namely two districts where it was impossible to make a living with either farming or craft, and there was no industry there either – these were the Kočevje and Črnomelj districts. The people there mostly earned their living by means of peddling, so it was necessary to view this phenomenon from the social point of view as well. In this sense they aimed to make an exception regarding peddling-related regulations.³¹ They endeavoured to apply the extenuating circumstances to peddling, as they viewed it as a special type of handicrafts;

²⁶ Naredba o odpiranju in zapiranju trgovinskih in obrtnih obratovalnic v dravski banovini, Službeni list kraljeve banske uprave Dravske banovine No. 35, Ljubljana, 1937. A similar provision was previously included in 'Naredba o odpiranju in zapiranju trgovinskih in obrtnih obratovalnic v dravski banovini' dated 6. 5. 1930.

²⁷ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Vsem trgovskim združenjem.

²⁸ Traven, Janko: Dvajset let razvoja slovenskega obrtništva, in: Spominski zbornik Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1939, p. 391.

²⁹ Drnovšek, Marjan: Kočevarski krošnjarji in nacistična propaganda, in: Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, No. 1, 2007, p. 91, 87.

³⁰ AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, No. 77, f. 1, Stenografski zapisnik I. zasedanja, January 1931.

³¹ AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, No. 77, f. 4, Stenografski zapisnik III. zasedanja, February 1933.

insofar as peddling involved the sale of home-made goods the subdivision council's standpoint was that it was necessary to stimulate it.³²

For the state authorities to »stamp out this harmful-to-the-economy peddling and the intolerable agents' shenanigans with all of the determination they possess «, was also demanded by the trade society Merkur.³³ One of the reasons – according to the contemporaries – for the trade to have been unable to rise to a higher level was namely peddling, which was – in particular when it came to hand-made goods – spread across all parts of the state, both in towns and even more so in the countryside. But all of these merchants' entreaties were to no avail. The government directives were not implemented in the way they should have been. »The consumer public must not fall for the enticing words of peddlers, who generally only sell bad-quality goods and goods of unknown origin«.

In 1933, Dr Ivan Marušič, the subdivision governor (ban), sent out a circular letter to all district and city administrative units and police headquarters in Ljubljana, Maribor and Celje and called for the control over peddlers to be tightened. The customs authorities had namely often come across goods that originated from smuggling – what is referred to here is both monopolistic goods (unstamped lighters, tobacco and rolling papers), as well as »morally questionable« ones (condoms, pornographic items). People caught with such goods gave the excuses of having bought them from people they did not know. In accordance with a decree from the year 1928 peddling was prohibited in Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, as well as in tourist destination towns (Bled, Rogaška Slatina, Dobrna and Radenci). Only inhabitants of the Duvno, Livno and Imotski Districts were allowed to peddle here, but not even they were permitted to do so in border districts. Peddling throughout the area was only allowed to the so-called privileged peddlers (from Kočevje and Črnomelj), who were only permitted to sell the so-called Kočevje goods – citrus fruits and sweets.³⁴

A large number of violations of peddling-related regulations may partly be attributed to small fines, which had been set in 1852 and had in the course of time lost on worth and now equalled negligible amounts of money. The taxation of peddlers was likewise unsuitable. Peddling, which had in the past played a more important role, was losing on importance. At this time, there were approximately 10,000 holders of craft licences for different types of commercial trade in Slovenia, whereof around 2,500 were general goods stores – so there was virtually no need for travelling vendors of goods any longer.³⁵

In May 1940³⁶, peddling was thus prohibited by means of a subdivision governor's (ban's) decree in some districts of Dravska subdivision (banovina).³⁷

³² AS_77 Banski svet Dravske banovine, No. 77, f. 8, Stenografski zapisnik VI. zasedanja, February 1935.

³³ Windischer, Fran: *Zadeve naše trgovine*, in: *Trgovski tovariš*, No. 4, 1928.

³⁴ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Okrožnica Kraljevske banske uprave Dravske banovine, 1933.

³⁵ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42, Petovar, Omejitev in obdavčenje krošnjarstva, 1923.

³⁶ Službeni list 40/715 of 18 May 1940.

³⁷ AS_448 Zbornica TOI, f. 42.

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Nadja Kovacič
curator, Kočevje Regional Museum

Peddlers from Kočevje Region

»Handel und Wandel«

Kočevje Region has throughout history been spared hardly any of numerous distress situations, such as the plague, conflagrations and in the 15th and 16th centuries Turkish raids, which ravaged the region on a number of occasions. Turkish invasions resulted in the centre of Kočevje being relocated to a safer place on the right bank of Rinža River. For the sake of defence against the Turks, forts were built around churches and other protective measures were taken. Another consequence of Turkish invasions was partial displacement of the areas around Kostel and along the Kolpa River, and the settlement of Uskoks in the area that had been vacated.

With the aim of helping the economy of the impoverished areas desolated by the Turks, the Austrian Emperor Frederick III on 23 October 1492 issued the so-called Peddler Patent (*Hausierpatent*), whereby peddlers from the Kočevje Region were allowed to export livestock, as well as home-made linen and woodenware. At first this right was limited to Croatia and the border area only, while later the distances covered by peddlers got increasingly longer. At a later time, this privilege was validated several times and peddlers' activities were also regulated by police regulations. From the second half of the 16th century onwards, peddlers were required to hold written permits issued by the authorities, most often their landowners. Up until the year 1806, peddlers mostly travelled around the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. According to the reports dating back to the early 18th century, they peddled through Koroška Region (Carinthia), Salzburg and Nürnberg, from where they also headed off to the Netherlands. With commercial roads and railways being constructed in the 19th century, their options did decrease, but never ran out completely. The Small Business Act (*Craft Act*) from the year 1859 thus also included the Peddler Patent, whereby the former privileges were preserved.¹

Peddler Patent retained its economical significance up until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and throughout the period between World War I and II as well. With it the Emperor granted the citizens the right to free trade in their own woodenware, livestock and linen. The peddling licence attests that even back then part of the population in Kočevje region was involved in and was making a living from the cottage industry and peddling. When farming alone no longer sufficed to make a living for the population, which had greatly increased, they started looking into earning their living from crafts and trade. They mostly practised a craft for which raw materials were readily available at home, i.e. woodworking. The wide-spread occurrence of woodenware making in the villages of Kočevje region in the 17th century was also reported by J. W. von Valvasor. In his work *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* he wrote that many had taken up woodworking, the making of wooden vessels, sieves, sifters, plates,

¹ Drnovšek, Marjan: *Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja*, in: *Kronika*, year 55, No. 3, Ljubljana 2007, p. 391; Ferenc, Mitja: *Kočevska pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 36.

bowls and mugs, which they exported and took far away to foreign lands.² Other cottage industry crafts were likewise well developed: spinning, weaving, cloth making, hat making, as well as leather trade and furriery. After the trade in home-made goods had started declining, they took up trade in purchased goods. As early as the 18th century, they turned to goods that were easier to carry and which they were sure would sell better than woodenware. The close proximity of the sea (Rijeka and Bakar) made it possible for them to get in contact with new kinds of goods. The court ordinance issued on 14 April 1785 gave Gottschee Germans (German settlers of the Kočevje region) the right to carry on peddling edible oil, oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, dates, figs, raisins, almonds, hazel nuts, carob pods, chestnuts, dill, bay leaves, rice, anchovies, tortoiseshell, oysters, wine, etc. Salt was also one of the goods smuggled.³

They also became roasted chestnut sellers in large cities of the Austro-Hungarian lands and in southern Germany. Men would come back from their peddling trips, which enabled them a relatively high standard of living, to their families once a year, at the time of haymaking and major farm chores, and would then head off again at the end of August. Peddling, which was up until the 20th century a typical economic activity, stimulated crafts and trade, even though it later led to negative consequences in the form of farming being given up and people relocating elsewhere. Gottschee Germans were selling handicrafts everywhere, in all imperial lands. Trade resulted in traffic routes across the Kočevje region opening up in many different directions: the first route was south-bound leading from Kočevje via Kostel towards Kolpa River, the second route was southeast-bound connecting Kočevje with Vinica via Knežja Lipa, and the third was leading north from Kočevje via Ribnica, to the west towards Trieste via Cerknica or in the direction of Ljubljana via Rakitnica and Veliče Lašče. Tollbooths were set up along all of these and other roads/routes.⁴

² Ibid., p. 393.

³ Ibid., p. 393.

⁴ Ferenc, Mitja: *Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev*, Ljubljana 2005, pp 36–38.

⁵ Kordiš, Ivan; Škufoča, Irena: *Peter Kozler in prvi zemljevid slovenskega ozemlja*, Kočevje 1996, pp 14–15.

⁶ Ferenc, Mitja: *Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev*, Ljubljana 2005, pp 45–47.

⁷ Drnovšek, Marjan: *Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja*, in: *Kronika*, year 55, No. 3, Ljubljana 2007, p. 390.

In addition to many positive things about peddling, such as a higher standard of living for families, innovations brought from abroad and consequently progress, peddling also brought about quite a few negative ones. This in particular was what Marjan Drnovšek⁸ was interested in and he studied the way peddlers were perceived by the public. In the past peddlers had often been characterized as being dealers, swindlers and hagglers. They were reproached for having brought over bad habits, inclination to idleness, workshyness and alcoholism back in the 18th century. Some writers painted a very black picture of peddling and accused peddlers of being depraved, which could supposedly be attributed to citizens of Austrian and German towns, where peddlers were doing their business. In this sense the writers reproached Gottschee German peddlers for being unreliable, dishonest and pointed up the worthlessness of the male population for abandoning their farms, leaving for foreign lands and their attitude to the women who stayed behind. In an article published in the newspaper Novice in 1872, an unknown author discussed the issues of peddling and its consequences. He described the district of Kočevje as a patient who had succumbed to a disease called »door-to-door business or peddling«. He also dealt with the negative consequences related to schooling, agriculture and craftsmanship. As far as schooling is concerned, he reproaches peddling for being the reason why hundreds of school-age children between the ages of 10 and 14 accompany their fathers, brothers or neighbours to Germany or the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, helping them carry wicker baskets loaded with oranges, roast chestnuts and other chores, while nobody knows if they go to school in the first place. He demands for children to be forbidden from leaving home, with the exception of cases when their father, brother or neighbour is able to prove that the kid was abroad indeed sent to school. The author also claims that in the »blessed German Reich« the young learn all sorts of debauched things, foul language, scolding, swearing, etc. Consequences of leaving for foreign lands were also visible in agriculture: there were desolate fields, abandoned fruit trees and poorly fed livestock. Supposedly also involved in peddling was a large number of mayors, expect for those who owned taverns, stores or any other businesses. The author estimates that they were away from home for as much as three quarters of a year, which had a negative effect on municipal work. He therefore suggested to the provincial authorities to cautiously set bounds to peddling.⁹

⁸ Drnovšek, Marjan: *Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja*, in: *Kronika*, year 55, No. 3, Ljubljana 2007, pp 387–404.

⁹ Ibid., pp 394–395.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 395.

One of the most important destinations for peddlers from Kočevje, Ribnica and Bela Krajina were the German lands. There, peddlers were viewed as representatives of the fringes of society, especially through the eyes of people living in urban areas. They were street people and the epitome of the rock bottom of the society; they posed a real danger as they were used to a certain manageable everyday environment and on top of it all they were foreigners.¹⁰ And as for Gottschee Germans, they were additionally labelled as being foreign and different because of their language, national costumes, customs and a different way of life in general. The notion that they were conveyors of other cultural values can without doubt be confirmed, which was reflected in the way the landscape in the area of Kočevje and Ribnica looked like (a bigger number of

houses built of stone). Prior to World War II one could even come across the thought that by peddling in Germany it was possible to earn quite a bit of money. However, there was not much talk about this side of working abroad.¹¹

During this time and also later, the Kočevje Region was looking increasingly dreary because the already meagre farmland was being left uncultivated and because of deserted houses and even villages. According to the migration critics, this was a consequence of peddling and mass migration to the USA. Looking at peddling only, professional literature and journalistic articles from this field include some reproach that for Gottschee Germans »Handel und Wandel«, i.e. trade and travel, was their favourite preoccupation, even a bad habit, but on the other hand it boosted their self-confidence and pride, strengthened both their experience and vanity, which was on the outside visible as them wearing better clothes than Slovenians, in consumption of larger amounts of drinks and food and in a more leisurely and merry lifestyle. Farms run by women were falling into ruins after their husbands had gone looking for easy money. All of this points to one-sided stratification of the population. There were women as representatives of the working population, and then there were children and the elderly.¹²

Another negative consequence of peddling for the local population was the spread of the Nazi mentality among Gottschee Germans. Like elsewhere in Slovenia, the Nazi movement started gaining ground in the Kočevje region relatively fast too, in particular after 1933. Illegal village libraries featuring Nazi literature were springing up, the youth from the region underwent political training in Germany under the pretext of professional education, swastikas appeared on houses in the area, groups of people would listen to German radio news and Hitler's speeches together, and local village evenings, secret meetings and trips were organized. In the Kočevje region, the Nazi movement was propagated by the Students' Union. The Nazis assigned a special role in propagating the Nazi ideology to regional peddlers who had been selected very carefully. After World War I, a large number of peddlers peddled around Germany, the door to the successors of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had namely remained closed for them. They travelled to Germany (Dresden and Munich in particular) to attend special Nazi courses. In 1937 and 1938, a school for farmers from Kočevje was established in Ulm; the aim was to provide them with professional and ideological education and to train them for future leadership of Gottschee Germans; after coming back they would win professional recognition, gain influence of the population and raise people in the spirit of Nazism, which came true to some degree.¹³

With the departure of Gottschee Germans, peddling in the Kočevje region died away, it was however carried on after World War II in Osilnica and Poljanska Valleys.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 396.

¹² Drnovšek, Marjan: *Podoba kočevskih in belokranjskih krošnjarjev v očeh javnosti do začetka 20. stoletja*, in: *Kronika*, year 55, No. 3, Ljubljana 2007, p. 396; Ferenc, Mitja: *Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 87.

¹³ Ferenc, Mitja: *Kočevska - pusta in prazna. Nemško jezikovno območje na Kočevskem po izselitvi kočevskih Nemcev*, Ljubljana 2005, p. 108.

»I Repair Clocks and Watches!«

Peddlers from the upper Kolpa Valley can, roughly speaking, be divided into two groups. The first group consisted of the so-called »urmoharji«, self-taught clock- and watchmakers, who travelled around with wicker baskets on their backs repairing clocks and watches, while the second group consisted of »žagmojstri«, saw masters. The first group was in the majority. The fact that in the old days the area around Gašparci across Bosljiva Loka, Grintovec, Ribjek and Osilnica all the way to Plešce was called »Little Switzerland« speaks for itself. In the period between WWI and II there were still around 40 clockmakers living there.¹⁴ Peddling was handed down from one generation to another. In many a family they later took up the clock- and watchmaker's trade professionally, finished relevant schools and set up clock and watchmaker's workshops in larger villages and towns.

Saw repairing was likewise handed down through the generations. Like clockmakers, saw masters travelled around villages during the season, sharpening saws.

While peddlers from the German language island peddled throughout the year and would only come back in the spring, peddlers from the Osilnica Valley left several times a year for two or three months at a time, sometimes less. They would leave home after haymaking was over, when all of the field work had been done and when firewood was ready. They did not come home until Christmas. Before work started in the spring, they usually headed off again, to peddle for another month or so. They came back by March or April, when fields had to be ploughed and planted. From their travels they would bring back money for the basic necessities: salt, sugar, paraffin and clothing.

¹⁴ Dva bregova eno srce. Življenjske pripovedi iz doline Kolpe in Čabranke, Kočevje 2002, p. 295.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 395.

Peddlers would often take their sons to join them on their peddling trips. Boys, who had just about turned 12, left homes together with their fathers and gathered experience for independent work at a later time. They would go to Delnice or Brod Moravice on foot and then continued by train. They travelled in different directions, towards Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bačka. However, in the winter they most often headed off towards Zagreb, Belgrade, Vojvodina, and also Temševac. Peddlers from the Osilnica Valley also set out to various parts of Vojvodina and Srem; German villages were located there, so whenever they arrived in a village they would start calling out »Uhre reperieren!« (clock repairing).¹⁵

If they thought they could earn some more, they sometimes went back to the same village. They walked up to 20 km in a single day and carried from 20 to 25 kg in a wooden shoulder basket on their backs. After the war, many a peddler earned so much money that he was able to buy a cow or even some land. After the war in particular, several peddlers would set out together and then they would go their separate ways to different places. Before they parted, they would arrange where to meet. They did stumble upon one another during their peddling trips occasionally. When it got dark they went around looking for accommodation for the night.

Peddlers selling fancy goods were few and far between. More of them repaired clocks and watches. They were self-taught and had never learnt the clock- and watchmaker's trade. Bosljiva Loka was in particular well-known for a large number of such clock- and watchmakers. They seemed to have been born for this sort of thing. On their backs, they would carry locker-resembling boxes with many bigger and smaller drawers, which contained all sorts of clock and watch parts, various magnifying glasses and the tools they needed. They would repair anything, from clocks, to pocket watches and wristwatches.¹⁶ The shoulder baskets they carried were made by a joiner from the village of Turki. In the bottom drawer they would store their change of shirts and trousers. In some houses, where a peddler had spent the night on several occasions before, they would also do his laundry and let it dry on the farmhouse stove, so he had it clean in the morning. Most clock- and watchmakers would carry a cane to lean on while walking, to scare off dogs and then put it under their basket while they were having a rest. They also put it there when they walked into a village calling out: »I repair clocks and watches!«¹⁷

Self-taught saw repair masters came from higher up in the hilly villages. They were mostly forest workers with wide experience in anything saw-related. Repeated sharpening resulted in saw teeth getting smoothed out, so new ones had to be cut in. They did this with small hand-held hewing machines, which were not too heavy, so they were able to carry them from one village to another together with the rest of their tools. They used various different inserts, so they could hew ordinary saw teeth or special forest saw teeth.¹⁸ They would carry a wooden shoulder basket on their back, for storing their tools, such as teeth-making machines, cut-out machines, saw files and little anvils. The smaller drawer was used for storing their underwear and clothing. They would sharpen special saws (such as 'amerikanke' and 'čavlarice', saws with teeth sharpened in a special way), hand saws and any other kind of saws. If there was plenty of work, they sometimes stayed in the same village for two days. Walking through a village, they would shout out: »Files to sharpen! Files to cut out!« People came over and usually already had saws with them. If they agreed on the price, the saw masters would sit down on a bench, fasten their tools and start working. In some places, people wanted to pay for the service with wine as there was lack of food. To get accommodation saw repairers usually worked it off by sharpening saws too, but sometimes as many as three or four sharpened saws were asked for in return. But this took too much time, sharpening alone took more than an hour of hard work.¹⁹

Only rarely would peddlers bring home any treats. Every now and then children would get an orange or two or sweets, but no toys.

They were able to live on the money earned from peddling and from home produce quite comfortably. After the war, many peddlers carried on in Croatian coastal towns (Krk, Rab, Cres, Hvar), where they could make a lot from tourist as well.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp 203–205.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 312.

»Away in Croatia«

In Poljanska Valley, Marija Makarovič²⁰ draws a distinction between three different kinds of peddlers, for whom the locals would say that »their backs were often sore and their feet blistered.« The first group of peddlers would sell all sorts of fancy goods that they purchased themselves; most times they got them from merchants that they were selling goods for. They focused on door-to-door sales in the areas that had been selected for every peddler individually. The second type of peddlers would walk from one house to another purchasing bristles, animal skins and tartar. They were not limited to any specific places. And the third type of peddlers travelled around selling their own woodenware and was thus called »antreharji«, which was the Slovene version of a German word meaning craftsmen. Like other peddlers they were selling different kinds of goods trying to earn some money. In the wintertime mainly, when there was no field work to do, they were making small barrels, tubs, churns, tall wooden tubs, water barrels, cradles, sieves, large and small wooden vessels, various grain scoops, etc. In general they would either sell their goods or trade them for different kinds of grain. This is why merchants from Črnomelj Basin would come over loaded with grains (buckwheat, maize, millet); they could barter them for the containers and vessels. They would sell the grains that they did not end up bartering in the village to poor people and crofters, who did not produce them themselves.²¹

For part of the Predgrad population, peddling – in this part of the Kočevje region called »auziranje« - was an important source of making ends meet. People from Predgrad, including the poor, crofters and farmers, had a very hard time making a living for their families. They practiced peddling even as early as the 18th century, if not even earlier; according to the unverified oral tradition this goes back to the times of Turkish raids. The official peddling licence that they were in the period during the world wars required to renew once a year at the district board in Črnomelj was mostly granted to men who had families.²²

²⁰ Makarovič, Marija: Predgrad in Predgrajci. Narodopisna podoba belokranjske vasi, Kočevje 1983, pp 165–169.

²¹ Ibid., p. 167.

²² Ibid., p. 165.

²³ Ibid., p. 166.

Marija Makarovič says that any substantial details about peddlers from Predgrad are anything but readily available; in general they are mentioned in newer sources and they are only occasionally listed in civil registers, registries of death and family census records. In some of these records dating back to the mid 19th century, annotations are included about some men being absent, away in Germany ('in Deutschland absens'). Judging from the oral tradition it may be assumed they were there as peddlers. Similarly, in family census records for the 1838–1856 period, there are annotations for 35 men from Predgrad, stating that they are »away in Croatia«. For them it may almost certainly be asserted that they were travelling around there carrying their wares or doing temporary work. Some of those listed as absent are mothers with children, who had most likely moved there on the initiative of their husbands, who had looked around and found a more suitable living environment.²³

The territory where peddlers from Predgrad used to peddle was quite extensive, it even stretched past the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where peddling was allowed in the first place. In the beginning they presumably only peddled around Croatia and Bosnia, while in the 19th century peddling was also

practiced in the Koroška region (Carinthia), Bavaria, Upper Austria, Switzerland and Germany. One of the peddlers even made it as far as Spain and another to Venetia. Some peddlers settled permanently in other places, so even today there are some people of Predgrad origin living in Switzerland, Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia, where their forefathers settled long ago. They also peddled all over Yugoslavia, with the exception of Kosovo.²⁴

According to a piece of information published in the newspaper Novice dating back to 1852, peddlers from Poljanska Valley were also allowed to resell other things, like foodstuffs: »In some places where poverty has gotten the better of people it may in spite of the law be allowed for men and women who are not yet 30, but are over 24, to go peddling door-to-door throughout the Empire. So there are some people from Kočevje, Poljane and Ribnica who may peddle oysters, edible oil, carob pods, oranges, lemons, dates, figs, chestnuts, rice and such goods, if they get a permit to do so.«²⁵

People who were allowed to become peddlers were those who had their own funds or property, so they were able to guarantee for the goods acquired from merchants. Later it was also possible for guarantors to vouch for them, however it was necessary for the merchant to know the guarantor personally. Word has it sales representatives of German wholesale merchants, who were looking for »hauzirarji«, the peddlers, went around Predvor recruiting as well. But for the first load of wares they got on credit they all had to pledge that after they had settled the bill for it they would always buy from the same company. For the wares that they bought themselves they were given a discount.²⁶

In terms of financial success there were considerable differences between peddlers. In a piece of news published in the newspaper Novice in 1847 it is mentioned that peddlers from Poljane »earn enough money to pay the taxes and to buy a scoop of grain or two in Karlovac to take home«. Some of those who peddled around Germany did not come home quite so often and would thus send money home.²⁷

Peddling practiced by Gottschee Germans died out when World War II started and they left the Kočevje Region, whereas in Poljanska and Osilnica Valleys it came back to life after the war ended and was carried on for at least two more decades. However, with the emergence of new markets and because it was not competitive enough peddling here started to die away too. Men who had spent almost their whole lives peddling found work in local factories and shops or got retired.

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Where and How Did Potters from Ribnica Sell Their Ware?

**Hey, hey, hey,
we're peddlers from Ribnica!
We travel around the land,
our pottery always at hand,
we sell it for as much as we can!**¹

Introduction

In addition to woodenware, pottery was for centuries the most important cottage industry in the Ribnica Valley. It originated in its southern part, in the villages of Rakitnica, Blate, Dolenja vas, Prigorica and Lipovec, whereas in Nemška vas people were mostly engaged in kiln making. The microtoponym for all of these villages was »u lončarijah« or »u lončariji«, which means 'in the land of pottery'. The aim of my undergraduate thesis *Pottery in the Ribnica Valley*, which I completed in 1988, was to shed light on the foundations for the emergence of pottery, its development throughout centuries and a slow decline after World War II. This publication includes part of my thesis which is focused on the sale of the pottery.

¹ Kumer, Zmaga: *Ljudska glasbila med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini*. Maribor 1968, p. 106.

² Bogataj, Janez: *O slovenskem lončarstvu*. Likovni odsevi, 1986, No. 4–5, pp 36–38.

³ Smole, Majda: *Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja*. Kronika, 1956, No. 3, p. 170.

⁴ Lesar, Anton: *Ribniška dolina*. Ljubljana 1864, p. 19.

⁵ Zgodovina Slovencev. Ljubljana 1979, p. 626.

Ribnica potters would sell their pottery as peddlers, who were only allowed to sell home-made goods. To practice this sales method they were required to hold a permit, the so-called Peddler Certificate, which was in the period between WWI and II called the Certificate of Origin. They were selling their wares travelling from one place to another, from door to door and at fairs.²

In early 19th century, potters from the Ribnica Valley were selling their pottery around the districts of Novo mesto, Postojna and Gorica, as well as in Croatia, Primorska region and Trieste.³ In his article *Ribniška dolina* (Ribnica Valley) published in 1864, Anton Lesar reports that potters distributed their pots, bowls, pans etc. all over Dolenjska, Kranjska and Goriško regions, to Trieste and Istria.⁴

The situation remained unchanged until the time after World War I, more specifically until 12.11.1920, when the Treaty of Rapallo was signed.⁵ In accordance with this treaty, Istria, Primorska region, Trieste and a large part of Notranjska region were left outside of the new state border, whereby Ribnica potters lost a considerable part of their former market. Delegate Škulj strived to achieve free trade of »our home-made ware« in Italy, however the Italians refused to ratify the agreement. This new political situation resulted in a

decrease in the number of potters and a decline in young people's interest in this craft.⁶

In the period between World War I and II, potters were selling their ware all over Dolenjska region, in particular in Suha krajina and partly Bela krajina, around the Yugoslav part of Notranjska region (Bloke, Loški potok) and in the neighbouring Croatia (Grobničko polje near Rijeka, Crikvenica, Sušak, Senj, Kastav, Trt, Brebir, Novi and all the way to Karlovac).⁷

In the Slovenian territory, animal-powered transportation was the predominant means of transport up until the early 18th century, roads were namely in poor condition, hardly maintained and as such not suitable for cart transport.

Animal-powered transportation was well-developed under the rule in Ribnica as well, which is attested by the information that from the start of the first half of the 17th century and until the end of the 18th century serfs in Ribnica were in addition to other feudal duties also required to do compulsory labour in the form of animal-powered transportation. People from Ribnica used packhorses to transport grain, wine and salt, but also their pots. They would saddle a horse with a special pack saddle to which two woven basket panniers were fastened and then pottery wrapped in straw was placed inside. Valenčič mentions that small peasants and crofters who owned no horses had to carry woodenware for sale on their backs.⁸ The fact that poorer potters quite possibly had to carry pottery themselves is also attested by a drawing at the Museum of Ribnica. It was drawn by Janko Trošt, an authority on the life in the Ribnica Valley. According to him pottery was transported in baskets carried on one's shoulders and back as early as the 15th century. Gradually animal-powered transportation gave way to horse and cart driving. A 1858 report on the Ribnica Valley published in the newspaper *Novice* says: »There are lots of horses to be seen around here, especially in those villages where pottery is engaged in, so they can cart around their ware, but also carry it.⁹

In the second half of the 19th century, the only place left where pots were still transported around on horses was in hilly areas. In 1907, Ivan Merhar reported that only the elderly were still able to tell you »what the special saddle was called and how the goods were loaded.¹⁰

The newspaper supplement *Ilustrirani Slovenec* from the year 1927 still features a photograph of a person transporting goods on a horse. I believe the load had been prepared especially for this purpose; the unknown author namely mentions: »Ever since the roads and paths were improved, the horse-transported load is nowhere to be seen. Potters now load their goods on straw-covered carts, and off they go, them and the horse into the wide world.¹¹ To prove this further let me mention that nowadays elderly people no longer remember pottery having been being transported around on horses.

In the period between World War I and II, pottery was transported around on hay carts to which horses were harnessed. But not everyone owned a horse or a cart.

⁶ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. *Ilustrirani Slovenec*, 1927, No. 41, p. 340.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Kratek popis kmetijstva po ribniškem okraju. *Novice*, 13. 10. 1858, paper 41, pp 322–323.

¹⁰ Merhar, Ivan: *Gospodarsko življenje naših dedov v zadnjih stoletjih*. *Naši zapiski*, 1907, year 1, pp 93, 103.

¹¹ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. *Ilustrirani Slovenec*, 1927, No. 41, p. 340.

Marija Oražen from the village of Lipovec remembers her father and mother-in-law making toys, which they would take to fairs using a small cart and a donkey.¹² Neža Pogorelc from the village of Dolenja vas told me that her husband used to sell clay toys. He would load them in a rucksack and two baskets and take them to Ljubljana by train.¹³ And the eldest people still remember that in the wintertime people would take their pottery to Loški potok on sledges.¹⁴

Before leaving they would load their pots on the cart covered with straw and sawdust, clean the horse and feed it well for the long way ahead. So, how did they pile all of their pottery on the cart? They scattered straw on the bottom and placed sacks full of sawdust along the sides. Then they covered the brim of every single container with straw and placed another one on top of it. They arranged the pottery in long rows on the bottom of the cart and when the whole of it was full, they scattered straw around and put another layer of pottery on top in the same way; and so on and so forth until they reached the top.¹⁵ This way they could load the amount of pottery that equalled all of the pottery fired in a kiln in a single go, between 800 and 1,200 pieces.

¹² Marija Oražen, Lipovec 10, Ribnica.

¹³ Neža Pogorelec, Dolenja vas – Hrib 9.

¹⁴ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109 and Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Marija Bojc, Dolenja vas 109.

¹⁷ Marija Hočvar, Blate 5 and Leopold Zobec, Blate 2.

¹⁸ Smole, Majda: Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja. Kronika, 1956, No. 3, p. 170.

¹⁹ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, No. 41, p. 340.

²⁰ Lesar, Anton: Ribniška dolina. Ljubljana 1864, p. 20.

Every potter had its own territory to take care of. Leopold Bojc told me: »You know, in the old days, there were lots of potters around and it wasn't easy to sell the ware, unlike today when we are able to sell it all straight away.«²¹ There is a poem from Ribnica that goes like this:

**You're only a man,
if you travel can,
if you're home all the time,
your worth's in decline.
And if you haven't been away,
you're single to stay.**

**We all need to know a lot,
so goods will be bought;
if you talk wisely,
you're bound to sell nicely.²²**

Before leaving home a peddler would »...make the sign of the Cross with the whip in front of his horse saying out loud »God Almighty« ... And just before heading off he would tell his family to »stay healthy, work hard, act with care, pray for us and you, children, do as your mother says.« To which his family would say »Best of luck to you and good health and bring us a nice loaf of bread.«²³

It has already been mentioned that prior to World War I, potters used to sell their wares in Istria, in the Notranjska region, in Trieste, Gorica and even the Friuli region.

While doing field research I was unfortunately unable to get any specific information about the sale of pottery before World War I, as the relevant generation of people had already passed away. I was therefore compelled to rely on a paper by Josip Miličević in which the sale of pottery by potters from Ribnica in Istria is also described.²⁴

Up until the early 19th century, transport in Istria was impeded because of poor road conditions. But in 1835, the so-called »Kranjska Road« was constructed, connecting Podgrad with Buzet, Motovun and Pazin. A considerable increase in the traffic between Slovenia and Istria was supposedly noticed, as was a rise in the trade of oil, wine, as well as Ribnica pottery. From elsewhere in Slovenia it was potters from Komenda near Kamnik who also made it over there. Slovenian potters would sell their pots at fairs and travelling from one village to another; Istrians used to call the pots »kranjice« and the potters selling them »Kranjci«. Fairs took place for several days in a row, the fair in Rovinj, for example, lasted 7-10 days, but most of them were two-day fairs. After World War I many fairs were discontinued, which speaks to the fact how brisk trading between Istria and Slovenia was.

As previously mentioned, Ribnica potters would sell their pottery around the Istrian villages too. In Istria they were generally considered as being jolly fellows, jokers and as being very good at making quick and heartfelt contact with people, which was naturally a prerequisite for being successful.²⁵ But Slovenian potters themselves »took a liking to Istria too: there's very nice people there, and wine too. And the sales are not bad either.« One of the older people I talked to recalled: »My father used to go to Istria. The only thing I remember is that he brought home a big basket of grapes and figs.«²⁶

I was unfortunately unable to get any information about the sale of Ribnica pottery to Primorska or Notranjska regions.

In the period between the two world wars, potters from Ribnica were selling their pottery at their homes, at fairs and travelling from one village to another as peddlers.

²¹ Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10.

²² Rus, Jože: Suha roba ali ribniški mali človek. Ljubljana 1941, p. 8.

²³ Lesar, Anton: Ribniška dolina. Ljubljana 1864, p. 19.

²⁴ Miličević, Josip: Veze seoske proizvodnje i trgovine Slovenije i Istre. Zgodovinske vzporednice slovenske in hrvaške etnologije, Portorož 1984, pp 76–87.

²⁵ Naša slovenska domača obrt, lončarstvo v ribniški dolini. Ilustrirani Slovenec, 1927, No. 41, p. 340.

²⁶ Marija Kaplan, Rakitnica 44.

At home they would sell pottery to their closest neighbours for money. The locals do not remember any of the work being paid for with pots, only the women who used to carry the pots on wooden boards to pottery kilns, were sometimes given one or two.²⁷ Marija Bojc from the village of Dolenja vas still remembers the time when Count Auerserg came to their home. He got inside the house and watched her father work. Her father had made some pots with lids for him and decorated them especially beautifully; the count paid for the ware with money.²⁸

Potters from Ribnica would also go and sell their wares for money at various fairs, for example in Novo mesto, Kočevje, Žužemberk, Sodažica, Ribnica and Loški potok. Archival sources for the market town of Ribnica reveal that on Sundays and public holidays potters were allowed to sell their ware »from 9 am onwards.« Market days in Ribnica were on Mondays, providing Monday was not a public holiday. »On market days one can sell all sorts of food, such as fruit, fresh vegetables, flour, grains, etc. Besides food one is also allowed to sell woodenware, pottery, seeds, pigs and other little fat stock.« For the sale of pottery, there was a special place designated in front of the school opposite the church; one set of pottery would set you back 3 crowns²⁹ in 1883 or 12 crowns³⁰ in 1921. Prices for the time between WWI and II are not available.

In the youth newspaper Mlado jutro (Young Morning), Tone Trdina in 1939 describes how two potters from Ribnica were selling their ware: »They displayed their ware on the ground, bowls on one side, pots on the other.« They were offering their goods: »Buy it, ma'am! It's real cheap!« »Who much's this pot?« »Five dinars, doctor! « »That'll be four dinars, right, pop.« »Alright, alright, let's have it your way!« He also mentions that in addition to pots and bowls the two were also selling little clay horses and piggy banks that people liked buying for their children. They had some lunch too, bread, salami or sausages.³¹

Whenever they went to fairs in Crikvenica, Sušak, Senj, Kastav, Trt, Brebir, Novi they were away for several days in a row. They left early in the morning (at 3 am) and made it as far as Delnice on the first day. They would either eat at inns or the food they had with them. In Delnice they would mostly spend the night on their cart or next to it; this way they could keep an eye on their pottery, so nobody could steal it. The next days they would carry on to the fairground, where they would stay for 2-3 days and then come back home. They were selling their ware for money. They displayed their pottery on the ground in front of their cart and talked to people in Croatian. Fairs on the Kvarner Coast were often visited by customers from the islands, who would buy pots in large quantities and then resell them on the islands. If they failed to sell all of their pottery at the fair, potters would then sell it to local stores at discounted prices. They would always bring some fruit from the coast for their children (oranges, grapes, figs), some olive oil (»my father would always bring three green bottles home«; they were 1.5 litre bottles made of green glass), wine, unroasted coffee and some enamelled pots smuggled from Italy.³²

In the village of Dolenja vas the oldest people still remember the potter Primož Gorše (1854-1919), who was about a metre tall and was making clay toys on his

own. Potters loved taking him with them to the seaside, as his appearance was sure to attract people's attention. People would come over just to see him and then bought some pottery and clay toys at the same time.³³ Leopold Merhar from Blate told me about how he and his father used to sell pottery in Kastav above Rijeka. Women came over to have a look at the ware and squatted down next to the pottery. But when the father looked away, they quickly pushed a pot under their wide black skirt passing it on to another village woman who was standing behind. His father commented: »The more they steal, the costlier they'll get!«³⁴

Potters from Ribnica would also sell their pottery in the villages of Dolenjska region, where they went twice a year, for the first time in the summertime after the wheat harvest and for the second time after the maize harvest. Betka Kic from Korita in Suha krajina recalls: »Oh, the folks from Ribnica are good people. He would come to the centre of the village with his horse and cart and then go around calling out: Potter from Ribnica! Pottery, come and have a look at bowls, dishes, pots, whistles! Then he would display all of his ware on the ground in front of the cart, so women could choose. After they had taken their pick, he walked home with each of them, so they could measure out a certain amount of grain with the pot they had chosen. When he was leaving, all of the kids would whistle him off!«³⁵

The amount of grain that the women were supposed to give depended on the size of the vessel. If it was a large one, grain was scooped out once, if it was smaller, then twice. How much grain potters were given also depended on the type of the vessel and the variety of the grain.³⁶ On occasion pottery was traded for dried plums.³⁷ In some places, for example in the village of Basiljevo near Vinica, women were in the habit of bringing along grain sacks, so goods could be traded on the spot.³⁸

Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

33 Vincencij Gorše, Dolenja vas 70 and Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10.

34 Leopold Merhar, Blate 6.

35 Betka Kic, Korita nad Dobrničem.

36 Jože Kaplan, Rakitnica 4, Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

37 Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

38 Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

39 Trdina, J.: Dolenjci. Slovan, 15. 5. 1884, No. 20, pp 158-159.

40 Britovšek, Marjan: Razkroj fevdalne agrarne strukture. Ljubljana 1964, pp 193, 195, 200.

home so well that even if we weren't at home, they'd take their horses to the stable and feed them. They'd eat with us, whatever we had, they had it too. They'd sleep on the hay and in the autumn they liked it best on top of the farmhouse stove. We wouldn't take anything in return. Well, sometimes they did give us a pot or two!«⁴¹ The potter Leopold Bojc told me: »I liked sleeping on the hay best and if it was cold then on the stove; I didn't like sleeping in a bed as I'd get fleas. But it was nice! Sometimes you'd go on slowly with the cart and the horses, so you could take a good look at everything and stop and talk to people. And these days everything's happening so fast, it's not nice any more.«⁴²

In the early 19th century, 250 pottery families supposedly earned 10,000 forints annually selling pottery, each of them 40 forints on average.⁴³

The second source about potters' income dates back to as late as the early 20th century and reports that from the pottery fired in 4-5 kilns they would get 200 crowns annually.⁴⁴

I was unable to get any precise information about the period between World War I and II, potters are namely reluctant to talk about how much they earn. I was, however, told that for the money earned by selling the pottery fired in one kiln they were able to buy a cow, a horse of lesser quality or a small field. They would use the money for repairing their houses, paying taxes, buying new land and livestock or they kept it in a bank. And when the pottery sales at a fair were slow, »you'd only make enough money for 'cirnga'« (money spent getting there and back).⁴⁵

⁴¹ Betka Kic, Korita nad Dobrničem.

⁴² Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10.

⁴³ Smole, Majda: Gospodarski položaj ribniških podložnikov v začetku 19. stoletja. Kronika, 1956, No. 3, p. 170.

⁴⁴ Jovan, Janko: Domače obrti na Kranjskem. Dom in svet, 1903, volume 16, p. 291.

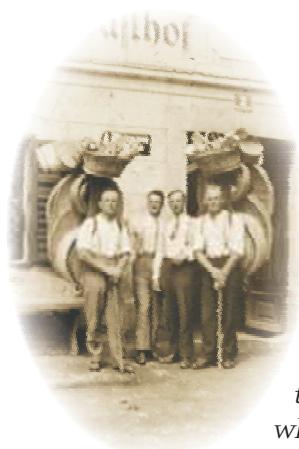
⁴⁵ Leopold Merhar, Blate 6, Leopold Bojc, Dolenja vas 10, Jakob Nosan, Prigorica 47.

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Peddling in the Light of Woodenware Selling

The subject matter discussed in this paper is in the period up until World War I represented in the district board – the political district of Kočevje, i.e. the former court district of Ribnica together with the court districts of Kočevje and Velike Lašče. In the period between 1893, when the railway was constructed, and the end of World War II the emphasis is on peddling associated with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the collapse of the monarchy, peddling is carried on in the former Austro-Hungarian lands, as well as Serbia and Romania.

After World War II and the eviction of Gottschee Germans, the Kočevje and Gottschee German peddling comes to an end. Peddlers from Ribnica carry on their work at home and all over Yugoslavia.

After World War II, peddling undergoes considerable changes and is dealt with as contemporary peddling practiced as the sale by means of vans in the centre of large towns. The subject of peddling is presented in museums, in songs, in fine art and in electronic media. The peddler character is nowadays also featured as part of protocol events at the local and state levels, as well as abroad.

Peddling is a method of selling different types of goods and providing various different services, which dates back to at least the 15th century; it was made possible by some previously evolved forms of cottage industry and licences to practice this type of trade. In Europe, it remained a typical phenomenon up until the time when permanent shops became popular and even after that, up to World War II.

Travelling vendors of goods without sedentary sales points remained an everyday thing until permanent shops sprang up, prior to this there had namely either been no shops in the modern sense of the word or they only existed in large hubs. Fairs took place yearly or annually, but they were far away from individual villages, whereas peddlers would come to every hamlet. Travelling vendors would call on people's homes regularly and in principle carried no connotations with an implied value judgment. However, with the emergence of shops and more and more frequent disputes with merchants who had permanent sedentary points of sale in the 19th century, a negative connotation was starting to get attached to them.

Before permanent shops started springing up, some peddlers had only been selling goods, while others had also been manufacturing, repairing or trading them for other things. They were travelling vendors without permanent sales points; they walked from one house to another and from one place to another, they went to fairs and around different countries. They would start peddling at

the beginning of spring and come back on All Saints' Day; some of them also found temporary work, mainly in Vienna, commonly as roasted chestnut sellers. Peddling is also associated with migrations. Peddlers' migrations were not organized, they were voluntary, and in terms of the migration area they were internal, external, and intercontinental. As for duration, their migrations are classified as temporary, but only conditionally, as some peddlers often stayed in a new environment for a longer time or did not come back home at all; these peddlers can therefore be listed as permanent migrants. Since peddlers left their homes for economic reasons, their migrations are also considered economic migrations.

Peddlers were a socio-occupational group that presented a link between craft and trade. They were often a marginal part of the society. They were part of everyday life, but they attracted a lot of attention simply because they were from another region, because they spoke differently, carried their travelling shop with them and wore different clothing.

Initially 'rešetarji' (one of Slovene expressions for peddlers, literal meaning: sieve- or riddle-makers/sellers) sold sieves and riddles, which is quite obvious from the name itself; they were making sieves and riddles during the winter and selling them during the summer. They also did repair jobs. This was a highly lucrative business until manual cultivation was replaced by technology. A real turning point was undoubtedly the time after World War II, when manual harvesting and threshing were replaced by combine harvesters.

There are many different names used for peddlers, all of them associated with the place, the method and type of selling (i.e. krošnjar (a person carrying a 'krošnja', a peddler's pack), zdomar or zdumar (a person away from home), kočevar – figovec (a person from Kočevje selling figs), ribničan (a man/peddler from Ribnica), kranjec (a man/peddler from Kranjska), sitar or rešetar (a sieve or riddle seller), billige jakob krainer, reitermacher, siebmacher, hauzirar, hausirar, hauziravec rešetar, ambulantni trgovec (a travelling merchant), pohišni trgovec, pohiševavec or pohišni kramar (a door-to-door salesman), antrehar, Kaufrufer, Kaufruitypen, street criers, Wiener Typen, reiterträger)¹

Several types of peddling are distinguished in the Kočevje and Ribnica areas throughout history:

- woodenware peddling,
- pottery peddling,
- roasted chestnut peddling,
- egg selling²,
- mixed goods peddling (mainly sweets and citrus fruit) in the Kočevje and Gottschee regions,
- Kočevje woodenware peddling (woodenware that they made themselves); wooden-pail making and peddling.

Similarly to the names given to sellers, there were also several expressions for the act of selling/peddling itself: krošnjarstvo (carrying around a 'krošnja', a peddler's

¹ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doctoral dissertation. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, pp 32–38.

² Egg sellers were women who were seen around until World War II; they went from one house to another to buy farmers' produce from housewives, mainly eggs, but also poultry, standing on the doorstep they had a habit of drawing people's attention to themselves by shouting out loudly. They later resold these eggs and poultry in towns, e.g. in Trieste and Ljubljana.

pack), rešetarstvo (sieve/riddle making and selling), zdomarstvo (being away from home), hauziranje, pohišno kramarjenje or pohiševanje (door-to-door selling).

Peddlers from the Kočevje – Ribnica region travelled all around central Europe and part of the Balkan Peninsula. In addition to the territory of the former Habsburg Monarchy they also travelled around the countries bordering the monarchy. Their work was very dynamic and was not limited by many constraints.

Peddlers were known for being very adaptable, in terms of the range of goods they sold, the territory they covered and the sales methods they used. Several modes of selling changed throughout time, the known ones being:

- peddling on foot carrying a 'krošnja' or a 'kanon' (some sort of a travelling shop carried on one's back; 'krošnja' means goods piled together resembling a 'krošnja', i.e. treetop, and 'kanon' goods piled together resembling a 'kanon', a cannon),
- peddling by bicycle,
- peddling using a team of horses,
- peddling by train,
- peddling by car,
- peddling by means of different carts,
- peddling using vans and light trucks.

³ Govž, Anton: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomasrih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju, Ribnica, 2006.

Well, these people from Ribnica, they were peddlers. They'd originally sold sieves and such things, but then they added others to spice up their assortment; kitchen spoons were popular, every woman needed them, and polenta spoons too. People ate lots of žganci in those days. Well, and then they'd also take for example a rolling pin, a hammer, but this was heavy to carry on one's back. So they started going around with teams of horses, so they could load a bit more, and when even this wasn't enough anymore, it was time for cars.³

Peddling Licences

To operate their business every peddler needed a licence that he was able to get on the basis of peddler patents and various different small business acts throughout history.

In accordance with the Peddler Patent, a peddling licence was granted to an individual who complied with certain regulations.

According to the law from the year 1852, peddlers were supposed to be aged no less than 24, they had to be subject to Austria, they were allowed to have no palpable diseases, they were allowed to have no criminal history of taking part in

the black market or be guilty of any major offences; they were also required to be politically irreproachable and had to be citizens of the empire.

The licence was valid for a year, however, three months before it expired they were allowed to apply for a renewal. Those who had been peddling for a number of years and had never violated the law, but were unable to carry their goods on their own because of physical impairments, were allowed to have an aide. Aides were persons that had to be aged at least 14; they were children so to speak.⁴

My father had this licence and my name was added to it when I was in Vienna with him, so I could walk by his side and go selling with him. Coz I was a minor and couldn't get a licence myself. And I also got a passport to cross the border, my name was added here too.⁵

Ribnica Peddling

There were two types of peddlers in the Ribnica region, i.e. peddlers selling woodenware and peddlers selling pottery. Following the life of peddlers from Ribnica throughout the year, one can see that they were defined by both peddling and the cottage industry, and woodenware sellers in a way also by the travelling craft, since they would also repair woodenware on the spot at their customers' request. And this was the biggest distinction between peddlers from Ribnica and those from Kočevje or the Poljanska Valley.

In Ribnica, peddlers were without doubt one of the more well-off social classes, although the local people often considered them to be boastful. In terms of their social status they were mostly small and middle-sized farmers and crofters. From their peddling trips they brought to their home villages many innovations and general progress. They often improved their families' standard of living and thus made it possible for the whole village to advance. In his work 'Suha roba, brihtna Ribnica in široki svet' (Woodenware, the Clever Ribnica and the Whole Wide World) from the year 1930, Jože Rus describes peddlers with both positive and negative traits. He presents these characteristics in the attitude to the social situation at the time, and they are exhibited as the rise in their self-confidence, pride, them bringing home world knowledge, in their experience, possibly even conceit, better clothing in comparison with other locals, increased consumption of drinks and food, a more laid-back and merry lifestyle and in becoming estranged from religious emotions. All of these characteristics make up the foundation for the famous peddler character 'Ribničan Urban' (Urban from Ribnica), who has turned into the subject of many generalized conceptions.

There is another interesting aspect of peddling that can be perceived even today. In addition to the aforementioned cultural benefits and the knowledge acquired in a foreign environment, peddlers also brought back home the needs and wishes of their customers. This way they had direct influence on woodenware making in their home environment, as it was them who knew best what customers were looking for most often.

⁴ Šega, Polona: Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju. Doctoral dissertation. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, pp 41–45.

⁵ Marn, Alojz: Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomasrih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju, Ribnica, 2006

Peddling wielded significant cultural and economic influence on the inhabitants of Ribnica. On the outside it was not obvious that two thirds of the people in Ribnica Valley were crofters. In terms of its social level, this area was above the average in comparison with other areas in Slovenia.

The way of life of the socio-occupational group that is being dealt with here, was multifaceted and changeable; it was changing over days, weeks, seasons, years and throughout history, and also in terms of the geographical, political and economic characteristics of the area peddlers had chosen as their target destination. The socio-occupational hierarchy was clearly delineated.⁶

The character of a peddler carries a stereotypical characterization of people from Ribnica being interesting, cheerful, humorous, cunning, boisterous and enterprising.

Woodenware Selling

⁶ Šega, Polona: *Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju*. Doctoral dissertation. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, p. 293.

⁷ Šega, Polona: *Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju*. Doctoral dissertation. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, p. 180.

Goods that peddlers were selling was woodenware produced as part of all woodenware-making branches: side-rim making, bottom making, sieve making, vessel making, spoon making, hand joinery, tool making, wood turning, wickerwork, toothpick making and souvenir making. The type of goods that they had the largest quantities of depended on the place and time they were operating in at a particular time. They were good at adapting to potential customers. Peddlers in towns and market towns were also selling toys. Their aspiration to earn as much as possible dictated the choice of goods for sale and was one of the main reasons and consequences for their decision to take up this type of work in the first place. They would mainly sell goods for money, sometimes also for accommodation, and occasionally they would barter, mostly for grain or wine. Grain was the only valid form of payment in Slavonia, Srem, Bačka and Banat.

In connection with this subject matter it is also necessary to discuss the making of handicrafts, which peddlers then carried around selling them locally and abroad. These goods were a result of the knowledge from their home villages and the needs and wishes of customers from a foreign environment.

If asked how business was going, peddlers from Ribnica would characteristically give a negative answer and complain about not earning enough. Striving to earn more, they tried to commend their goods and also talk as much as possible and cheer their potential customers up. Considering the nature of their work, which was a highly dynamic one, it comes as no surprise that a large number of funny stories about their work have been preserved.⁷

Peddlers from Ribnica were selling their woodenware door-to-door, at local fairs (in Ribnica and neighbouring Sodražica) and at fairs abroad. At the turn of the 18th into the 19th century, the first large-scale woodenware agents emerged. One of them was Anton Rudež, the manager and later-time owner of Ribnica Castle. The number of agents increased especially after freedom of craft had been carried into effect in 1860. In the early 20th century, there were about 20

woodenware merchants in the Ribnica Valley. One of very successful companies up until World War II was the company run by Ivanc family from Sodražica. The three Ivanc brothers managed the business of purchasing and selling woodenware and mesh wire production. Most of their sales were in the territory of then Yugoslavia and to a smaller extent also to peddlers.⁸

 **My aunt was in Stara Pazova near Belgrade. She bought an old house and ended up staying there; she'd go to fairs and sold the goods around. At the time peddling was the only way to make some dosh, there was a large family there too. They kept in touch with Slovenia and us, when they came over to get the ware.⁹**

In the period between WWI and II, peddlers were supplied by: Association of Wood Cottage Industries, Janez Mihelič, Konikar from Kot, Lovšin from Sajevec and some others. The goods were supplied by previous written orders.

 **A proper regular customer in the old Yugoslavia, still at the time of Austria, was Adolf from Sodražica, and Konikar from Kot. These two, they'd buy the goods and resell them, Konikar Anton small amounts and Adolf from Sodražica large ones. And then there was the Ivanc family, three brothers dealing in wares. Adolf had a warehouse in Sodražica and machines for making mesh wire too. He'd get an order and send carriage after carriage of goods to Austria.¹⁰**

In the early 20th century, people from Ribnica also ran woodenware stores in larger towns (Ljubljana, Koper, Ptuj, Celje, Trieste, Maribor, Pazin, Vienna).

 **In '52, when I was fifteen, sixteen, my father died of cancer and so I carried on this trading business by going to fairs. And there was also the store in Pazin, and another two in Vodnjan and Rovinj. And so I'd go there, whenever there was a big fair or something I went there.¹¹**

After World War II, the purchase of goods was taken over by agricultural cooperatives in Sodražica, Ribnica and Velike Lašče. A large market all over Yugoslavia had opened up for them. And through a successful business connection with the company Dom from Ljubljana additional market opportunities were created for Ribnica handicrafts.

 **My brother, who worked for Dom, that's where the late Ivanc used to be, was in charge of buying goods, so he'd boss me around »Come on, start making something else, something that brings in more money.«¹²**

Goods were from locals still being purchased by peddlers too and in the period between 1960s and Slovenia's independence also by traders from Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia, often referred to by the locals as the black ones.

 **So these šiptarji came over to get our ware. I had to take it all to Ortnek, to the train, and off they went. Some of them were from Bosnia, others from Macedonia, and they travelled around here.¹³**

⁸ Kos, Bartol Lucija: *Suha roba v življenju Ribničanov*. Filozofska fakulteta. Undegraduate thesis. Ljubljana, 1998, p. 102.

⁹ Šilc, Ludvik: *Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju*. Ribnica, 2006.

¹⁰ Levstek, Jože: *Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju*. Ribnica, 2006.

¹¹ Gregorič, Martin: *Življenjska pripoved ob raziskavi Kultura in način življenja Velikih Poljan*. Velike Poljane, 2012.

¹² Šilc, Ludvik: *Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju*. Ribnica, 2006

¹³ Levstek, Jože: *Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju*. Ribnica, 2006

Up until World War II, Ribnica peddling was mostly oriented towards the domestic market, the Austrian lands, and partly also Italy and the Balkans. However, with the new political situation in Europe after World War II, there was a shift in the trade destinations of Ribnica peddling too and the focus was now mostly redirected to the territory of the then state SFR Yugoslavia. The sale was at the time concentrated on the granaries, the provinces of Bačka, Baranja and Banat, where they had done some trade earlier, in the period between WWI and II. After the war, in particular in the 1970s, there was a considerable change in the range of woodenware goods, which was a result of mechanization being introduced to agriculture.

This period turned out to be of key importance for the transformation of the society from a predominantly agricultural one to an industrial one and a service-oriented one at a later time. The need for sieves, riddles and sifters, which are at the core of goods sold by peddlers from Ribnica, thus underwent a change. Large amounts of different kind of souvenirs came onto the market and souvenir-making and selling was most thriving in the 1960s and 1970s. The need for useful items for sale (kitchen spoons, table spoons, vessels) started increasing in the 1990s. At the beginning of the 21st century, useful items made of clay or wood gained on importance again, mainly on account of people's environmental awareness. New designs and new types of wood emerged. The presence of woodenware wholesale is strong, with most of the wholesale business done with Germany and Austria, and of the eastern markets, with Japan. The sale is also carried out by means of orders via electronic mail and through online shops.

¹⁴ Prior to 1900, a hard-working peddler brought home 100 florins. He also brought home a full cart of wheat. In the final years before WWII, he earned 50,000 dinars, which was enough to settle the debt for wood and to buy clothing and food for his family.

In his well-known work 'A Journey from Litija to Čatež' Fran Levstik wrote: »We know the jocular peddler from Ribnica travels far and wide.« According to Tauss, the peddling destinations in the late 19th century included the following lands and regions: Štajerska region (Styria), Hungary and Croatia, Lower Austria, Salzburg, and to a lesser extent Kranjska region (Carniola), Primorska region (The Slovenian Littoral), Tyrol, Czech state and Moravia. Prior to World War II, there were more than 600 peddlers peddling around the world. Up until 1940, there were approx. 300 peddlers travelling around Yugoslavia, 23 around Primorska region and upper Italy and 230 around Austria.

In 1950s, the number of peddlers decreased to a fourth of what their number was prior to WWII. There were 140 of them peddling around Yugoslavia and only 40 were left in Austria.¹⁴

Family

A highly significant part in the development of peddling is undoubtedly played by the bearer of this heritage, i.e. the family and individual family members. Family can, however, not be separated from a wider community. The character of the peddler from Ribnica is namely not based on characteristics of an individual, but is a reflection of economic activities of a wider community.

Peddling as such is associated with cultural forms and cultural components, in particular in relation to the survival strategies of woodenware-making and peddler families.¹⁵

The family economy needs to be discussed in relation to the activities of political, state, social and economic processes. The conclusion is that the family economy of woodenware makers and peddlers depended on a set of opportunities defined by the connection between state and local environments. It is thus necessary for the ethnological research approach to be comprehensive. The family can also be dealt with from the perspective of life strategies adopted in the community, in particularly with a focus on values. Values are encompassed in a symbolic or cultural system of meanings, which includes customs, the relationship between the sexes and the moral and religious norms associated therewith. Based on everything that has been said above, differences in families' way of life may be attributed to cultural differences among social entities defined in a different way. The way of life of peddler families in the Ribnica region is a consequence of economic and social differences that are part of an even wider socio-historical context.

Peddling is one of various aspects of family economy or husbandry. Woodenware making and peddling were predominantly supplementary economic activities, while the foundation of family economy was agriculture, in particular stock-breeding and forestry. The entire income earned by means of woodenware making and peddling was invested in farming, i.e. for the purchase of land, whereby some families could considerably improve their standard of living. This holds especially true of successful peddlers and is also reflected in their housing culture, which was in comparison to peddlers' housing culture generally on a higher level. The lifestyle of people from Ribnica was of a considerably higher quality, which can be attributed to woodenware making and peddling. This goes to show how important these two economic activities were. From this point of view it would be more accurate to talk about the village economy of Ribnica than mixed economy, because there was only a handful of woodenware makers, peddlers or farmers that engaged in their primary activity only. The profitability of these activities, including emigration, depended on economic patterns on the state and local levels, as well as on occurring social, political and ideological circumstances. After World War II, for instance, when factories were starting to be set up in the Ribnica Valley too, families tended to be less intensely involved in woodenware making or peddling; instead, an increasing number of people got employed and considerable investments were made in agriculture, cattle breeding. This holds particularly true of the 1970s, which are in terms of the economy considered (by locals too) to be the golden age of socialism. However, with Slovenia gaining independence many workers-farmers lost their jobs and agriculture started to regress too. As a result of this, some families turned back to traditional work, i.e. woodenware making and peddling, which remain a means of making a living even today.¹⁶

It was quite common for peddlers to be both peddlers and farmers. They were away from home peddling from early spring, some from as early as Candlemas

¹⁵ Ravnik, Mojca: Iz hiše v svet. In: S.E.D. 47/1,2, Ljubljana, 2007, pp 85–87.

¹⁶ Rožman, Irena: Življenje suhorobarskih in zdomarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju. Poročilo o terenski raziskavi. (Report on field research). Novo mesto, 2006.

Day on 2 February, and until the start of the first hay harvest, which took place in June, and even up until All Saints' Day. During the wintertime, peddler families would usually make bottoms for sieves and all family members took part in this. As for goods for sale, they would buy them from others as well, for instance side-rims. Women ran the farms and took care of their families. There was often a maid-servant or a farmhand working for them, as these families were mostly quite well-off. Because men were absent a lot, mutual help among neighbours was of big importance. Haymaking, otherwise typical male work, was in the Ribnica region done by women, because men were busy doing the work that earned the money. Women also took part in all other typically male chores: forestry, transportation, ploughing, wood cutting, even peddling. Survival also depended on families doing economy-related things together. Brothers or friends would peddle together, collect all the money and then share it out between themselves. An important form of families' survival was the system of marrying, which speaks in favour of social and territorial endogamy. Different combinations of means of survival co-existed in all strata of society in Ribnica Valley: farming, cottage industry, peddling, emigration, and after World War II also work in industrial plants.

¹⁷ Šega, Polona: *Način življenja krošnjarjev iz Ribniške doline v 19. in 20. stoletju*. Doctoral dissertation. Filozofska fakulteta. Ljubljana, 1999, p. 290.

As a result of being in contact with foreign worlds, peddler families were quicker at adopting different innovations than other people in Ribnica; these innovations improved the economy and their standard of living, on account of which their life was usually better than the life of farmers and woodenware makers.

They often introduced foreign habits into their families and above all taught them how to be hospitable.

Just like earning good money on the one hand was largely able to contribute to the improvement of households and the local economy, unsuccessful peddling on the other hand lead to inevitable downfall. It brought about shame for the family of an unsuccessful peddler in their local environment and was able to push the family on the edge of survival. The consequences were thus a complete opposite of what had been expected. Not necessarily the reason, but nevertheless a common occurrence, alcohol addiction was often responsible for lack of success. In emphasizing the financial gains made possible through peddling, it needs to be taken in consideration that the financial collapse was also possible, in particular for the incompetent and/or reckless peddlers (those who were extravagant with money in a new environment without any social control, those who indulged in excessive purchasing of goods on credit, underselling goods etc.).¹⁷

Lodgings

While they were away peddling, peddlers were living within their allocated territory, their trade zone, in their 'kvartir'. 'Kvartir' was what temporary lodgings in a new environment were called, where peddlers also stored their ware for a few months. These lodgings were often at inns, whose innkeepers' had been friends with peddlers' families for several generations. Relatives and friends also spent many a night there and sometimes did the peddling together. Peddlers

usually had one of the side or the attic rooms and also got food from the inn whenever they were around. Some of them stored goods at the premises of their lodgings for the entire year. During the week they would go round the villages and come back to their lodgings at weekend, to prepare the new ware. In Austria, they went from one mountain farm to another, but the distances between them were considerable. The farmers knew peddlers well by now, so peddlers were even able to spend the night at the farms during the week. But they often had to sleep in the stable or in the hay shed. To pay for accommodation they had to fix some wares for the farmers or sell them new ones at a cheaper price. In towns they had to be tidier than in the countryside, they had to wear suitable footwear and clothing for the journey. They wore ordinary clothing worn by people in specific periods. Some would also wear aprons, to avoid their trousers from getting dirty, and also waistcoats, where they could keep the money. Their nutrition was often irregular. They asked for food from people where they spent the night. In countries where they peddled they got familiar with many different dietary habits.

 **In Austria we ate a lot of dumplings, milk soups and cheese. But after the second war we went around Yugoslavia and there it was all brandy and coffee, bacon and bread. I was better off in Austria.**¹⁸

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¹⁸ Marn, Alojz: *Intervju ob raziskavi Življenje suhorobarskih družin v Ribniški dolini v 20. stoletju*. Muzej Ribnica, 2006.



Vesna Pavlin
curator, Museum of Ribnica

One Can See Peddlers from Ribnica Around Even Today

Peddlers from Ribnica have left an important mark in the area of Slovenia and are even today still present in a number of different forms.

In Music ...

Peddlers have inspired many a song, both folk and country music (*Obekrainer*) ones. The best known folk songs featuring the peddler motif are 'Vre, vre, vre, mi smo Ribnčanje' (Hey, hey, hey, we're from Ribnica) and 'Səm Ribnčan Urban' (I'm Urban from Ribnica). People of Ribnica certainly took a liking to this last one and consider it their own; its fourteenth stanza has been a source of inspiration for the title of a retrospective exhibition marking the 520th anniversary of the Peddler Patent. Peddlers – sellers of clayware – are also featured in the fourth stanza of the folk song 'Od Ribnčice do Rakitnčice' (From Ribnica to Rakitnica). These songs are nowadays recreated by various different vocal bands and choirs all over Slovenia.¹

¹ Kumer, Zmaga: *Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini*. Maribor: Obzorja, 1968, str. 102–109.

Peddlers have also inspired many contemporary musicians, in particular the *Obekrainer* ones. The song 'Veseli Ribnčan' (The Merry Peddler from Ribnica) was sung for the first time by Alpsi kvintet, while its currently best-known version is performed by Franc Mihelič Ensemble, which has also produced a number of other songs about peddlers, e.g. 'Zdomar' (Peddler), 'Ribniški veseljaki' (The Merry Peddlers from Ribnica) and 'Dekle iz Ribnčice' (The Girl from Ribnica). The Prijarski Muzikanti Ensemble won the 2008 Festival narečnih popevk (The Festival of Dialectal Songs) with its song 'Lepu je blu' (It Was Nice). The latest song is 'Sramežljivi Ribnčan' (The Shy Man from Ribnica), which earned the Ribniški Pušeljc Ensemble the audience award at the 2012 Festival domačih viž in smeha (Festival of Folk Tunes and Laughter). And also, the expression peddler has been used as the name of the Zdomarji Ensemble (zdomarji means peddlers in Slovenian).

In Fine Art ...

Peddlers and their way of life have not only inspired musicians, but also artists. They were depicted by Hinko Smrekar in 1919 in illustrations of a collection of stories 'Sūha roba' (Woodenware) by Fran Milčinski. Peddler motifs have also been used in the work of the painter France Mihelič, who illustrated all stanzas of the Ribnica anthem, the well-known folk song 'Səm Ribnčan Urban' (I am

Urban from Ribnica). He also depicted a peddler on a fresco on the wall of the house at Kolodvorska Street 9 – the Loan Bank house in Ribnica. Peddlers were also an important source of inspiration for Janez Bolka, who created a series of sculptures featuring people of Ribnica in the 1950s and 1960s. At a later time, in the 1980s and 1990s, Bolka also took up depicting peddlers from Ribnica in graphic arts, paintings and drawings. Miki Muster created a caricature of a peddler, which is well-known in a wider area of Slovenia and which people of Ribnica have immediately taken a liking to and adopted it as their own. Even today, the caricature still adorns the front of the house at Škrabčev Square 23 in Ribnica and can often be seen on spare tyre covers of some four-wheel drives. And in 2007, a lot of media attention was attracted by a work of art by Saša Sedlacka Urban – a woodenware vending machine, which is today part of the collection of Miklova Hiša Gallery.

In the Media ...

On their travels, peddlers from Ribnica saw all sorts of things and experienced a lot, both good and bad. Their life stories are anything but boring and as such a very rewarding subject to write about.

▮ **Peddlers from Ribnica travelled with their 'kanon' and 'krošnja' far and wide; this way men were able to feed a number of hungry mouths at home, the amount of money they earned from selling sieves, riddles, forks, spoons, sifters all around the Austrian lands was not at all negligible. For a few of years after the Second World War they would still walk all the way to Vojvodina and the Croatian islands, but since the 1950s they have been using vehicles to deliver their goods to different places.**²

▮ **Only once in his life has he carried a 'krošnja'. It was when he went away with his father for the first time. He was 14 and although he was tall and strong for his age, this first peddling experience turned out to be one of the worst of his life. »Father, I don't wanna do this.« he said. »Oh, but you're going to, you're going to!« replied his father, trying to convince his son that he would get used to the heavy 'krošnja', to walking from door-to-door, to the bora wind chilling him to the bone, to short holidays and to sometimes sleeping out in the open under the cloudless sky.**³

Articles published in newspapers and magazines since approximately the year 1991, provide insight into how peddlers from Ribnica are presented to a wider Slovene audience. To sum it up, when writing about them, journalists like to talk about their proverbial wit, as well as their incredible business sense.

▮ **A peddler from Ribnica was praising the usefulness and versatility of the ware adorning his 'krošnja'. One of the things he was commending was 'reto', a large sieve with a wicker net. »It's good for just about**

² Glavonjić, Milan: *Urbani računajo na Evropo*. In: *Slovenske novice*, 15. 3. 2003

³ Leskovsek-Svete, Mojca: »Oče, jaz tega ne bom delal!« *Krošnjarji*. In: *Živa – priloga Dolenskega lista*, 29. 4. 2004

anything, but the best thing of all is the doughnuts you leave lying on such a sieve to get them strained.» Loads of people took his advice and used one to strain the doughnuts after taking them out of hot fat. But the wicker soaked in all the fat and when people put the sieves away in the barn, the mice could smell a feast and gnawed holes through them. And so the year after, the peddler was once again seen selling people new sieves.⁴

▮ *Centuries ago, woodenware makers from Ribnica made such a big sieve for a Turkish sultan that he was able to chase after lions in the desert. They filled the sieve up with sand and kept sifting it for so long that only the lions were left on the bottom of the sieve.⁵*

Journalists' attitude to waggish and cunning peddlers is a positive one. In their articles they love pointing up peddlers' adaptability and the ingenious sales methods connected therewith.

▮ *Throughout centuries, ever since the Peddler Patent was granted in the Middle Ages, people from Ribnica have always known how to adapt to people's changing needs. The proof of this is the woodenware craft, which has remained alive until the present day, and the woodenware fairs of Ribnica, which go back a very long time.⁶*

▮ *As soon as we said our goodbyes, he started shaking his rattle and greeting potential buyers by calling out loudly. »Come on over, come and get some stainless ware. If you pay for a sieve, you get the holes for free.«⁷*

▮ *Woodenware peddlers were real characters. They had to be very talkative, so they could convince housewives and husbandmen of how essential it was for them to have one of the items they were carrying around on their backs. They also had to be very good at lying convincingly (in case they were not allowed to tell the whole truth) and be extremely skilful.⁸*

Peddlers do not only appear in the printed media, but are often invited to various different TV shows too, because they are so loquacious, sharp-witted and because they crack jokes like nobody's business.

In Museums ...

Because of their recognisability peddlers appear in other Slovene museums too, not just in their local museum, Museum of Ribnica. The permanent exhibition 'Jaz, mi in drugi' (I, We and Others) at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum presents a short part of the documentary film 'S'm z Ribn'ce Urban' (Tm Urban from Ribnica). The carpentry section of the Technical Museum of Slovenia in Bistra features a life-size peddler. Slovene Ethnographic Museum, National Museum of Contemporary History and Kočevje Regional Museum all keep a wealth of materials on the topic of peddling in their photo libraries. Pomurje

Museum Murska Sobota has also pointed out that the peddler from Ribnica is one of the characters of 'borovo gostovanje', a well-known Carnival tradition characteristic of the region of Prekmurje. And woodenware and pottery can be found in almost all ethnographic collections of Slovene museums.

Selling Their Ware ...

In the Slovene countryside it is still possible to see peddlers selling woodenware from one house to another, travelling around by cars or in small lorries. However, nowadays peddling predominantly takes place at fairs, at local markets and in modern shopping malls. Peddlers transport their woodenware with lorries, which also provide them with a place to sleep whenever they are away at fairs lasting several days. They have always managed to be in step with the times and so they have by now also conquered the internet. At present there are five online woodenware shops, which is the newest method of selling wooden goods and pottery.

- Online shop of the Ribnica Handicraft Centre:
<http://www.rokodelskicenter-ribnica-trgovina.si/>
- Online shop Ribničan <http://www.ribnican.si/>
- Online shop Silvo <http://www.silvo.si/>
- Online shop Suha roba <http://www.suharoba.com/>
- Online shop Zdumar <http://www.zdumar.si/>

And Elsewhere ...

As part of the project 'Let's Go Somewhere Nice' (Na lepše), the Slovenian Tourist Board in 2001 decided to name the tourist trail leading across the region of Ribnica the Peddlers' Trail. This decision can most likely be attributed to the widespread recognisability of peddlers from Ribnica, who are otherwise often seen at tourist fairs elsewhere in Slovenia, inviting visitors to come to the land of the woodenware.

The good name of Ribnica is nowadays spread into the world by local companies, such as Inles, d.d., Inotherm, d.o.o., Riko, d.o.o., Yaskawa Ristro, d.o.o. and Yaskawa Slovenija, d.o.o.

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Meeting Ivan Debeljak and the Story of a Ribnica Woodenware Company in Belgrade¹

Introduction

In this article I would first of all like to give a brief outline of the historical background of Slovenians living in Belgrade since the time Yugoslavia was formed, give an account of my meeting with Mr Ivan Debeljak and present a very interesting story of his family and the woodenware company in Belgrade. I would like to point out that none of it is a result of any extensive research work, but only a summary of the material on Slovenians in Belgrade that I collected as a member of the team working on a study on Slovenians in Serbia in March 2008². My aim was to meet and talk to as many people as possible and to get at least general knowledge about their past and the way of live in this city. Since the timescale was too short, there was no point in choosing the people to talk following any sort of pattern; instead I contacted my acquaintances here, inquiring about their relatives in Belgrade and asking for the addresses of people I could visit. I also contacted the Sava Slovenian Society in Belgrade. Before long I had a relatively long list of addresses and I later realized that this random selection, although surely not representative, was nevertheless a good one; every person I talked to was namely a member of a different historical and social segment of the Slovenian population in Belgrade.

We talked about the reasons for them and their relatives before them moving to Belgrade and how they did it; and also about the employment, housing, their families, social interactions and the attitude to the majority environment in Belgrade, as well as the relationship and ties to their home towns. They all gave me a very friendly welcome and discussed my questions at length while looking at the pictures and documents they had in their keeping.³

¹ An abridged and adapted version of the author's article 'Nekaj pogledov v preteklost in sedanjost beograjskih Slovencev', *Traditiones* 39, 1, 2010, 167–193. Since the original article contained a few incorrect statements, kindly pointed out by Ivan Debeljak, corrections were published in the following issue, as part of the article 'Popravki in dopolnila', *Traditiones* 40, 3, 2011, 179.

² A bilateral project of Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) »Slovenians in Serbia - Serbs in Slovenia« / »Slovenci v Srbiji – Srbi v Sloveniji« (2006 – 2007),

After coming back to Slovenia, I talked to Polona Rigler Grm, an ethnologist from the Museum of Ribnica, and told her all about Mr Debeljak. She got in contact with him and also paid him a visit in Belgrade, where she made a film about him together with Drago Zupanc and his team⁴. I am delighted at this and I do hope Ivan Debeljak also gets pleasure from knowing that his work and cultural heritage, which he has been preserving and carrying on with so much respect, have been presented in such a comprehensive manner.

Slovenians in Belgrade during the Time of SFR Yugoslavia and after Its Breakup

The stories I was told by the people I talked to spanned over a period of almost one hundred years, during which Belgrade was the capital of the old and new Yugoslavia (from 1918 to 1991), Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–), Serbia and Montenegro (2003–) and Serbia (since 2006). During this time the historical and political situation underwent radical changes on a number of occasions, and the relations between Slovenia and Serbia / Belgrade swung from a favourable and devoted attitude to rejection and hostility. The historical destiny of the city of Belgrade is interwoven with the life stories of Slovenians in Belgrade, which differ in terms of the time and the reason for migrating, as well as in terms of duration of one's stay, age, occupation, social status and many other factors, all of which are impossible to include here. However, regardless of the fact that there were differences in the reasons for migration, differences in the professional and social status of Slovenians in Belgrade in the old and the new Yugoslavia and after its breakup, their lives were in all of these periods marked by the fact that Belgrade was the capital of the state with a large concentration of political and economic power. It was at a crossroads of various different cultures and nationalities, which attracted immigrants from all around and – in comparison with other places in the country – gave more opportunities for survival and professional career. The historian Vera Kržišnik-Bukić lists the people of Belgrade as a special category; she states that ever since the turn from the 19th into the 20th century it has »been possible to follow Slovenians in Serbia on two levels: the first being peasants – settlers, miners and various other workers and experts in the interior of Serbia, while others were the inhabitants of Belgrade«.⁵

The number of Slovenians living in Belgrade was compared to other areas and towns in Serbia always the highest: 1059 in 1921, 5986 a decade later, approx. 10,000 after the first three post-WW2 censuses, while at a later time the number was on the decrease and even dropped to 3628 in 1991.⁶

set up between ZRC SAZU Institute of Slovenian Ethnology in Ljubljana, where I was employed until 2008, and the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) in Belgrade.

³ Materials collected as part of fieldwork, i.e. audio recordings, conversation transcriptions and photographs, are stored in author's archives at the ZRC SAZU Institute of Slovenian Ethnology in Ljubljana.

⁴ *Sita in rešeta mojstra Debeljaka* (Sieves and Riddles by Master Debeljak). Screenplay by Polona Rigler Grm and Dragomir Zupanc, directed by Dragomir Zupanc. Ribnica Handicraft Centre and Sava Slovenian Society Belgrade, 2012.

⁵ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: *Slovenci v Hrvatski, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji*. In: *Traditiones*, 2003, 32, 2, p.125.

⁶ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: *Slovenci v Hrvatski, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji*. In: *Traditiones*, 2003, 32, 2, p.126.

The Period between World War I and World War II

In 1932, the book 'Slovenians in Belgrade. The Social-Cultural Picture' (*Slovenci v Beogradu. Socialno-kulturna slika*) was published in Belgrade. In spite of efforts to find information about the author of the book Bolče Žvan, nothing is known about him. It can only be concluded that he was a poet – as a motto of his work he namely shared some verses, as stated by him »from his previously unpublished collection 'Earth' (*Zemlja*)⁷«. It is a short, yet much-valued account of the life of Slovenians in Belgrade during the period of the first joint state. In the introductory part, the author presents migrations of Slovenians after the end of World War I to overseas countries and – after these countries closed off their borders – to European countries. He also writes about the emigration of Slovenians to Belgrade during the times of the economic crisis and about their position in the city. He first talks about the time prior to World War I and says that at the time when he was writing the book it was Slovenians that were political emigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who were still living in Belgrade. After Belgrade had become the capital of the joint state the most important reason for the influx of Slovenians was the appointment of state employees, as well as their personal initiative. Those who migrated to Belgrade after the national unification were representatives at the central administration, railway employees, other civil servants, lawyers, doctors, artists, entrepreneurs, traders, artisans, workers and servants. Žvan also touches upon the topics of school, church, home, business endeavours of Slovenians living in Belgrade and the need of organization, and discusses the societies and future prospects. We are unable to present his work in more detail, we would however like to point it out as the most credible written source of information about Slovenians in Belgrade between WWI and II.

⁷ Nothing is known about this collection either.

⁸ Sisters of Mercy from the Society of Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul's Christian Love, which was established in Ljubljana in 1919. In 2009, TV Slovenia made a documentary film called 'Sestre' (Sisters) about the life and work of Sisters of Mercy; the screenplay was written by Peter Perše and the film was directed by Jernej Kastelic.

It is interesting that many bonds of friendship and acquaintances among the Slovenians living in Belgrade still existing today go back to the time when their parents moved to Belgrade and made friends with other Slovenian immigrants. It is quite obvious that the ties made back then still bind their descendants together.

The Period after World War II

After World War II, the presence of Slovenians in Belgrade was strong »in all fields, from the simplest professions to top experts, artists and, of course, politicians.⁹ Part of this presence were people who had immigrated to Belgrade prior to the war and had by that time settled down, started their own families and had children and grandchildren. But at that time new immigrants were migrating to Belgrade whose professions and reasons for coming were – in view of the changed political and economic situation – different. Among them there were no longer any young people from poor areas who would be, as had been the case in the time of the old Yugoslavia, coming over there to look for work and money, which they had been unable to find at home; but there were all kinds of experts, artists, musicians and scientists needed by new state-owned companies, institutions, the state administration and politics.¹⁰ Many of them had been appointed to positions in Belgrade and at first had no real intention to stay, but then they got accustomed to the new environment. If they had school-age children, it was especially likely for Belgrade to become their home. Another common reason for people migrating from Slovenia to Belgrade at the time was to get married (it seems more of these migrants were women than men), as all sorts of connections between the two republics in various fields created plenty of opportunities for people to get to know one another and develop feelings. The second half of the century also saw an increase in the number of Sisters of Mercy, who had been dismissed from their service in Slovenia in 1948, while other positions were created for them in Croatia, Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia, including Belgrade.¹¹ They received a warm welcome everywhere, they were namely known as the best carers around with extensive professional knowledge.

So, among Slovenians living in Belgrade in that period there were both »old« Belgradians and new immigrants. Many Slovenian families had already obtained a respected social status in the old Yugoslavia as it was and either managed to keep it in the time after the war as well or regained it. In their lifestyle, their flats and furnishings one can perceive the continuity of living a town-life, combined with the rhythm of everyday life and holidays, maintaining Catholic and respecting Orthodox traditions, openness to national and cultural differences, sociability and the feeling of being citizens of Yugoslavia in the sense of perceiving Yugoslavia as their home. Regardless of whether a certain marriage was entirely Slovenian or mixed, the multinational network of their relatives and friends in Belgrade and in two different ends of the state with opportunities for connections, visits and trips gave their lives some sort of cosmopolitan broad-mindedness, whereby one must bear in mind that Belgrade itself as the capital of a multinational state provided plentiful opportunities for a successful career and social ties. It does however also seem that in comparison with Slovenia the orderly and pleasant family life could also be attributed to the fact that fewer wives were employed and that it was more common for them to stay at home taking care of their families and homes.

⁹ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: *Slovenci v Hrvatski, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji*. In: *Traditiones*, 2003, 32, 2, p. 125–126.

¹⁰ According to the old immigrants, government officials did not integrate into the Slovenian community, since they had a habit of going home to Slovenia at weekends.

¹¹ At the explicit request of Prof. Dr. Izidor Papo, a medical doctor, allegedly only Sisters of Mercy were to be employed for patients' care.

Slovenians living in Belgrade often went on holiday to Slovenia and helped do the farm work while there. When on holiday and visiting their friends and families they brushed up on their knowledge of Slovene, while their children could learn it as well. In the second half of the century, there was a general increase in the standard of living and more families could afford their own cars, which made it easier for them to keep in contact with their home towns.

Before and after the Breakup of Yugoslavia

In the final two decades of the previous century, the situation of Slovenians living in Serbia underwent some radical changes, which was a consequence of the Yugoslav political crisis and the growing conflict among individual republics. In the old and new Yugoslavia, up until its breakup, they had in the new environment been merely one of the nations among numerous immigrants in the capital. It is true that they were from a different cultural environment, that their language was not understood by the majority of the society, that they had no schools in their own mother tongue¹² and that their situation was in many ways similar to that of expatriates (they attended religious ceremonies held in Slovenian, sang in choirs, founded societies and went to pubs where other Slovenians would go to, etc.), but they were in their own country. With Slovenia gaining independence in 1991 they turned into foreigners, just like Slovenians living in other former Yugoslav republics did too, but the situation of Slovenians in Serbia, in particular in Belgrade, was more difficult, which was because of the opposing views between Slovenia and Serbia and the government in Belgrade. Of all of the Slovenians living outside of Slovenia, Slovenians in Belgrade were probably most affected by the breakup of Yugoslavia - it was namely Belgrade that was most severely targeted by the most critical aspects of the opposition, sanctions and the bombardment. The reconciliation between their Yugoslav state and their Slovene national attachment and identity, which they had previously managed to achieve, was disrupted; the former acceptance and a good position among the majority society turned to their complete opposites. Even though politics was not the focus of the conversations I had with Slovenians living in Belgrade, it was nevertheless impossible to avoid it completely, as my visit in March 2008 coincided with the most recent conflict between Slovenia and Serbia following Slovenia's recognition of Kosovo, a few days after the street protests. But in spite of all this, the most difficult of times were coming to an end. I was not asking the people I talked to about their attitudes to the issues whose core was disuniting Slovenian and Serbian politics. I would not want to make any generalizations, but based on what I have been told I can say that Slovenians living in Belgrade certainly felt very close to the values of brotherhood and unity among Yugoslav nations. They indirectly expressed their disagreement with many moves of the Slovenian policy, but not in the sense of supporting the Serbian one, but as in regretting the entire course of events. Throughout the 1990s, they – along with all other people living in Serbia – suffered from the consequences of UN's economic sanctions against FR Yugoslavia, as well as from general indigence and the NATO bombing in 1999.

¹² Ivan Debeljak told me that in 1948 he got enrolled in a Slovene school, which operated between 1946 and 1948.

Many believed that the sanctions against the Serbs were wrongful, saying they were honest people, who we had always had a good relationship with. Even though many did not support Milošević's rule, they could not quite understand and agree with the position of Slovenia, which had opposed it and gained independence. As stated by Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, partly the reason for this was the one-sided information provided by the Serbian media.¹³ After Slovenia's independence and during the war in Croatia, keeping in touch and travelling to Slovenia was becoming increasingly difficult; most of the people could not afford to travel anywhere as it was, as they were fighting for their subsistence. To be granted a visa for Slovenia one had to wait for a long time and had to have a letter of guarantee, which made previous spontaneous contacts with home towns virtually impossible. The Slovene state would delay procedures for acquiring Slovenian citizenship and many had their applications turned down. Many people were disappointed that Slovenia had refused to grant them citizenship; they felt Slovenia was trying to get rid of them.¹⁴ The situation did not get back to normal until citizens of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro were exempted from Schengen visa requirements on 19. 12. 2009.

The Company and the Cvar and Debeljak Families

Not long after the end of World War I, Edvard or Edo Cvar, who was from the village of Slatnik in the Ribnica Valley, arrived in Belgrade; to get there he walked with a group of other Austro-Hungarian soldiers from where he was held in Russian captivity across the Carpathians and Banat. He liked the city and he knew Serbia from before, when he had gone to Banat with some older peddlers, and got used to Serbian, Hungarian and German languages. He liked it there, so he rented a room and slowly started working. He would get the material from his home village of Slatnik. It was there that he met the beautiful widow of one of his friends who had fallen in the war, got married and returned to Belgrade together with her. He founded a company for the production and trade in sieves and this is how a very interesting – one could even say unique – story began, a story of a woodenware company from Belgrade, and the work and the people who were involved in it.

It did not take long for the company to start thriving and Edo Cvar became the largest producer of sieves in Serbia. His workers were from the Ribnica Valley – Edo's father-in-law was namely a very capable man, who would get young men together to go to Belgrade and work for Cvar, to learn the trade and to earn some money. One of these young men was Ivan Debeljak Snr, who came to Belgrade in 1929, when he was 13. He was good at his job and a reliable worker, so Edo Cvar chose him to be the master craftsman and foreman. He recommended his niece, who was also from a woodenware-making family, for Ivan's wife, and the two really did end up liking each other and got married. So the company owner's and the foreman's families were actually related; the foreman's family would call the owner 'uncle' and his wife 'aunt'.

¹³ Kržišnik-Bukić, Vera: *Slovenci v Hrvatski, Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji in Črni gori ter Makedoniji*. In: *Traditiones*, 2003, 32, 2, p. 127.

¹⁴ See 'Odprto pismo Vladi Republike Slovenije, Uradu Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu, Ministrstvu Republike Slovenije za notranje zadeve' (An Open Letter to the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, Office for Slovenians Abroad, Ministry of the Interior); the undersigned: societies of Slovenians in Novi Sad, Zrenjanin, Subotica, Belgrade, Vršac, Niš and Kragujevac. (Bilten 2005: 6).

In 1936, Edo Cvar built a beautiful modern residential house in Gružanska Street; it had a workshop and a room with bunk beds for workers in the basement, and there was a little house with a flat for the foreman's family and storage in the backyard. He thus brought the family, relatives, workers and manufacturing together in one place. The company mainly produced grain sieves from semi-manufactured products, i.e. side-rims and mesh wire, which they purchased in Ribnica and had them transported to Belgrade by train; every week a carriage went from Belgrade to Ribnica and back and was then also used to transport goods around Serbia. They had a coachman, who took goods to and from the station, and otherwise sieves were also transported around Belgrade by workers themselves on bicycles. This is how the production unit and the community of the whole family and relatives lived side by side. They worked from four in the morning until nightfall. Cooking was done by the owner's and the foreman's wives, i.e. the owner's wife and niece, who also did the washing and helped out in the workshop.

Edo Cvar was not only a prominent figure of the economy world, but also of the social life of Belgrade at the time. His home was a place where eminent Slovenians would meet; not everyone was allowed in the drawing room where Ivan Debeljak Jnr welcomed us, it was only intended for the chosen few. This was where meetings of the Slovenian society »Slovenian Boys« took place; Edo Cvar was namely secretary of the society's treasurer.¹⁵ With his family, Cvar would go to mass to the nearby parish church of St. Anthony, which was managed by the Franciscan province »Silver Bosnia« and had been constructed according to the design by the well-known Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik in 1932. Cvar was a loyal parishioner and supported the church as much as he could.

But with the change in the political system and with the economic and social turmoil after World War II, things changed drastically. Not long after the end of the war, little Ivan was in Slovenia for the first time, which was a very dramatic adventure. As it happened, the father's brother, uncle Franc, who had also been working and living with them in Belgrade, came back from the Srem Front¹⁶ injured. At home in Slovenia, Ivan's parents were thus left all alone on their farm, so he wanted to come back and took his nephew, who was only three and a half at the time, with him to keep him company. A seamstress made a partisan uniform for Ivan and he also learnt to sing and play partisan songs on the harmonica; so they walked home, ate whatever they could get – there was namely still some fighting going on in places – but after more than a month they got home safe. First they went to the father's home in Mala Slevica, where the old father and mother were overjoyed to see them, and then they went on to the mother's home in Slatnik, where the mother's sisters gave him plenty of hugs and kisses, while sighing with disbelief over how scabby he looked like; he spoke Serbian, and did a lot of singing and swearing, so local people would gaze at him in wonder. He stayed at his mother's home for two or three years, and it was during this time that he learnt to speak Slovenian.

¹⁵ There is no mention of this in Žvan's book.

¹⁶ It was set up after the liberation of Belgrade at the end of October 1944 and lasted until April 1945.

The company in Belgrade was going through some very difficult times. The owner and his wife had no children, while in the family of foreman Ivan Debeljak Snr there were six of them, so the owner and his wife treated Ivan, the oldest foreman's son, as if he was their own child and he was also chosen to be the successor. But private property was done away with and nationalized, so former company owners and their employees had to either start working for state-owned companies or cut down the volume of their business to such an extent that it was barely enough to make a living or not even that. And this is exactly what happened to Edo Cvar's woodenware company. He kept working for as long as he could; the foreman joined the cooperative, so Cvar started on his own again. But things were going from bad to worse. They lived an economical and hard-working life.

The all got along well in the family. Every Sunday they would go to the cinema, listen to the radio, while Cvar read about the politics and kept abreast of everything that was going on. Ivan Jnr took great pleasure in music, first he learnt how to play the harmonica himself, and later by listening to records also how to play the accordion. In 1948, he started the Slovenian school, but it was closed down that same year, so he carried on at the Filip Višnjić School. When he was a bit older, Cvar and he would travel to Ljubljana by train quite often and from then onward by 'kočevar'¹⁷ to Ribnica. Cvar carried Ivan's accordion and then Ivan was playing it during the train ride, while Cvar took his hat off and walked from one compartment to another, collecting money that people were willing to spare. At railway station restaurants, Cvar said to Ivan: »Come on, Nino, come on, you little bumblebee!«, and the boy played all sorts of hit songs, both those popular in Yugoslavia and the Slovenian ones; there was never a dull moment around. This is what their trips to fetch side-rims were like. Every summer, Ivan went to Slatnik to the mother's home, where he was the only male around and did all of the farm chores from the first to the last day of his holiday. And the father would go to Slovenia at the time of animal slaughter to help out too. But it was good times; they did work hard, but there was also lots of singing and playing going on.

After his father retired from sieve making, which he had been doing since his early age, Ivan Jnr carried it on, surrounded with his family, who made a living out of it. He tried to keep it up as much as possible, using his diligence and his entrepreneurial spirit. They had a stall at the Stari Đeram market, on the King Alexander Boulevard, but then they gave it up, as it was impossible to make a living out of it. Ivan got a job as a galvanizing foreman in the aircraft industry in Rakovica and did not work in the workshop as much any longer. There was no way one could have made ends meet through craft only.

Just like Edo Cvar, who had a finger in every pie, Ivan Debeljak Jnr is also an important figure in the social life of Slovenians living in Belgrade. In 2001, he was the initiator of the »Sava« society, which was established as a result of an increased need for people to connect and solve problems together and the need for the language and the culture to be preserved.¹⁸ Mr Debeljak sings in the Sava Quartet and plays the accordion at society meetings. There are many bonds of

¹⁷ 'Kočevar' was what the Ljubljana-Kočevje train was called.

¹⁸ To mark the tenth anniversary of the society, the film 'Sava v Beogradu' (Sava in Belgrade) was made; directed by Dragomir Zupanc, produced by Sava Slovenian Society in Belgrade in 2011. Also featured in the film: Ivan Debeljak with his accordion.

friendship among the society members; many friendships have lasted since their parents moved to Belgrade, while others were started when they went to church together, sang in the same church choirs and during society meetings.

Today, Ivan Debeljak Jnr is retired and has again taken up making sieves from the old stock of rims. He sells both his own and other producers' wares at different places, including the Mirijevo and Konjarnik markets. He uses his car to transport the goods and has a folding stall and a sunshade. All sorts of things can be found at his stall: household knick knacks, sieves for white and corn flour, strainers for pressing dog-rose berries, wooden kitchen spoons used for making the Montenegrin dish kachamak, tablespoons and kitchen spoons made by Serbian producers, radlo (a blade with wooden handle) for cutting out blečički (small dough pieces stirred into a soup), knives for cutting out pepper seeds, wooden eggs in Easter colouring stands, graters and vanilce (biscuit cutters), brushes and brooms, instruments for making tulumbe (a Turkish dessert) and cream puffs. He showed us a spoon for fish soup, which is about 20 years old and was made by his father. He still gets some of his goods from Slovenia, mousetraps are still being made by someone in Sodražica and the aluminium ones by a local tinsmith.

He has been noticing a decline in the demand for his goods. In the past he went to great lengths to stimulate the sales in Serbia again, but to no avail because the way of life had changed; he says families no longer live together, they do not do much cooking and hence do not need wares of this kind. The real turning point, however, was when contact with Slovenia was broken off because of the war in the early 1990s. He says that back then the production of kitchen spoons, tablespoons, cutting boards, rolling pins and other small household items was started in Kruševac, and of brooms in Vojvodina. He does a goods exchange with these producers and also buys from them, so his stall remains well-stocked. But he nevertheless says that the demand for the goods is on a decrease and that hardly any money is made out of it.

A genuine 'Ribničan', a local of Ribnica, used to hard work, a talented musician, a witty storyteller, a good singer and accordion player, who takes his good mood everywhere he goes, he perseveres in woodenware making and selling out of joy for this work and out of respect for the predecessors, who evolved the tradition of Ribnica woodenware in Belgrade in such an enterprising way.



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PUCER, Sonja: *Kako je Čapljič izumil suho robo;* illustrated by Barbara Koblar. - 1st edition - Ljubljana: Viharnik, 2008. - p. 24.: illustr.; 24 cm. - (Collection Čarobni jantar)

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujals

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Overview of Ribnica peddling in the Period from Peddler Patente in 1492 to the Present

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od pat

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patente in 1492 to the Present

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patente in 1492 to the Present

Razstava – Exhibition

Križem svajt so se podalə pa sujo ruobo ponujalə

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes



Trgovina, prodaja in povezanost s širnim svetom so določale ribniško-kočevski prostor skozi stoletja. Na Kočevskem je po drugi svetovni vojni ta oblika trgovine usahnila, medtem ko se je na Ribniškem le preoblikovala, našla nove prodajne poti in se na ta način, kljub času, ki ni bil naklonjen lesenim in lončenim izdelkom, ohranila vse do danes.



Na pričajoči razstavi obiskovalec spozna najbolj zastopane krošnjarje teh krajev: od ribniškega lončarja in suhorobarja, do kočevskega in kostelskega krošnjarja, kostanjarjev in jajčaric. Območja, kjer je bil kočevski in ribniški krošnjar najbolj prisoten, so prikazana s pomočjo zemljevida.

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patent in 1492 to the Present

Peddling, an otherwise traditional form of trade in the Middle Ages, had a particularly strong presence in the Ribnica – Kočevje region, which was a result of special privileges granted to inhabitants of this area following a period of turbulent times, Turkish plundering raids and restrictions on peasant trade in the 15th century. The Peddler Patent, the privilege granted by the Emperor Frederick III in 1492, was at the time only a temporary measure, but with confirmations at a later time it served as legal ground for the development of peddling in the Ribnica-Kočevje territory.

The aim of the exhibition staged at the Museum of Ribnica to mark the 520th anniversary of the Peddler Patent was to give an in-depth overview of the evolution and significance of peddling and to point up the mark that this means of making a living left on the people in both the local environment as well as in a wider area.

Trade, sale and the connection with the outer world have been the defining factors of the Ribnica – Kočevje region throughout centuries. In the Kočevje area, this form of trade died away after World War II, whereas in the Kočevje area it was merely transformed. It managed to find new sales methods and has thus been preserved up until the present day in spite of the times that were anything but favourable to woodenware and pottery.



The exhibition will make visitors familiar with the most represented peddlers from this area: Ribnica pottery and woodenware sellers, peddlers from Kočevje and Kostel, as well as roasted chestnut sellers and egg sellers. The areas where peddlers from Kočevje and Ribnica were present most commonly are shown by means of a map.

Na razstavi izstopa ribniški krošnjar, ki se je, kot pove že sam naslov razstave, **podal križem po svetu, da bi prodajal svojo robo**. Ravno po tem, da je prodajal izdelke, ki so bili narejeni na Ribniškem, je tudi poseben, in temu tudi pripisujemo obstanek tovrstne trgovine. Kajti s tem, da je prodajal ribniško robo, ni ogrožal novo nastajajočih trgovin z galerijskim in mešanim blagom, ki so se pričele razvijati konec 19. stoletja in v 20. stoletju.

Obiskovalec na razstavi spozna načine prodaje, različna poimenovanja, ki so jih naši krošnjarji dobivali po krajih, kjer so prodajali, predstavljena je družina ribniškega krošnjarja in njegov kvartir.

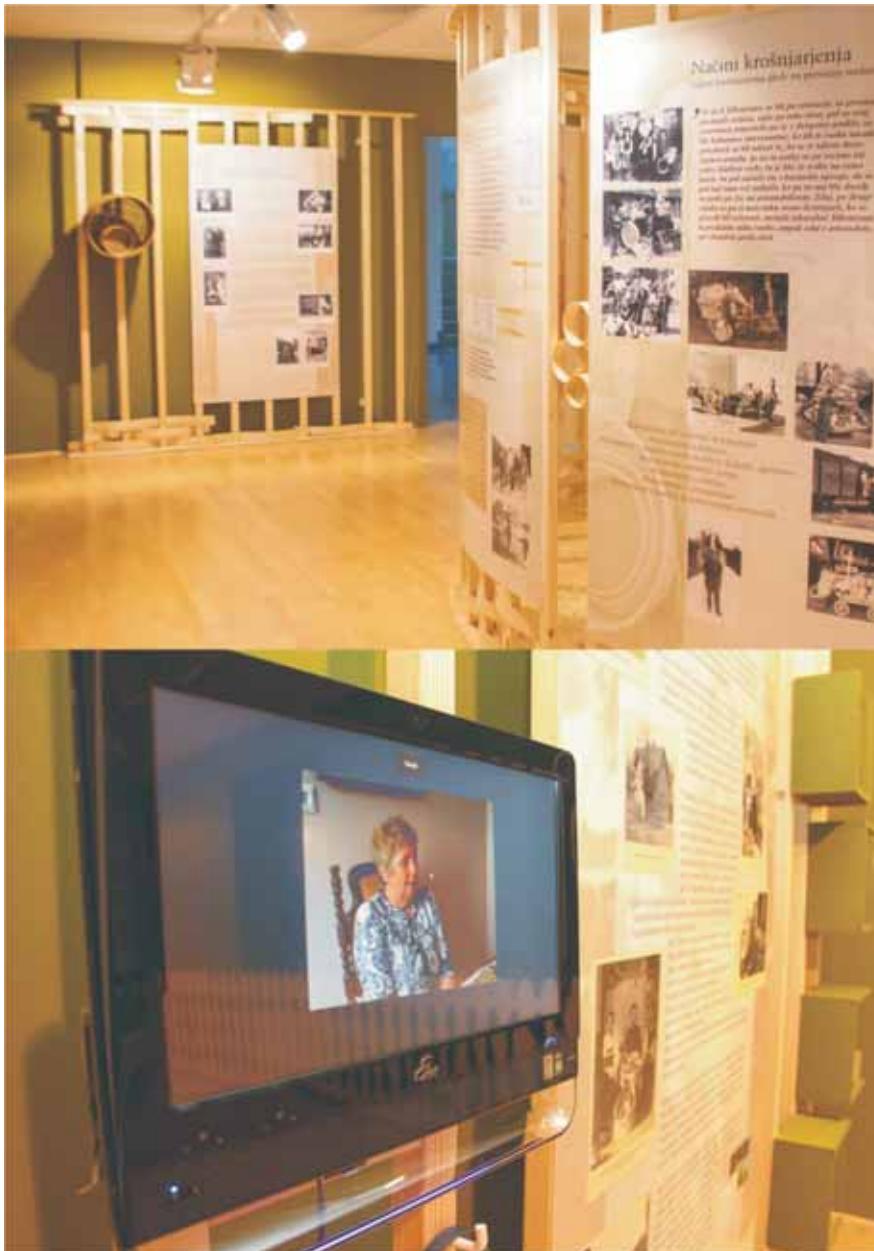
Posebej sta na razstavi izpostavljeni dve zgodbi, tako v sliki kot v besedi.

Zgodbo družine Cvar-Debeljak spremljamo skozi dokumentarni 45-minutni film. Osrednja oseba je gospod Ivan Debeljak iz Beograda, ki pripoveduje zgodbo svoje družine. Drugo zgodbo, o krošnjarju Janezu Prijatelju, spoznavamo skozi oči njegove hčerke

Metke Klun, ki se dobro spominja očetovih zdomarskih poti in družine v Amstettenu, pri kateri je njen oče imel svoj kvartir. Poleg multimedijskih vsebin omenjenih zgodb predstavljamo tudi

pogovor z Janezom Ambrožičem, krošnjarjem, ki še vedno zdoma s svojo robo po Avstriji. Obiskovalcem je na ogled tudi film o sestavljanju krošnje z

Rudijem Zajcem, ki je bil posnet v zgodnjih 90-ih letih 20. stoletja za arhiv Muzeja Ribnica, ter pesmi znanih narodno-zabavnih in zabavnih ansamblov ter Ribniškega okteta, ki pojejo o Ribničanah.



*As is quite obvious from the title of the exhibition, the main focus is on peddlers from Ribnica, who **travelled far and wide to sell their ware**. The fact that they were selling products made in the Ribnica region sets them apart from others, as the survival of this type of trade can also be attributed to it. By selling goods from Ribnica they namely posed no threat to the newly emerging stores with fancy and mixed goods that started springing up in the late 19th century and the 20th century.*

Visitors will learn about various sales methods, different names given to Slovene peddlers after the places where they travelled around peddling their ware. The family unit of peddlers from Ribnica and their temporary lodgings are also presented.

Special emphasis has been placed on two stories, both in pictures and words.

The story of the Cvar-Debeljak family is told through a 45-minute documentary film. The main protagonist is Mr Ivan Debeljak from Belgrade, who tells the story of his family. The other story, the story of the peddler Janez Prijatelj, is presented through the eyes of his daughter Metka Klun, who has a clear recollection of her father's peddling odysseys and the family in Amstetten where her father had his temporary lodgings. In addition to the multimedia contents of these stories, the exhibition also features a conversation with Janez Ambrožič, a peddler who is still travelling around, peddling his ware in Austria. Visitors can also watch a film about how the ware is piled in a 'krošnja' (peddler's pack), which features Rudi Zajc and was filmed in the early 1990s for the archives of the Museum of Ribnica, as well as songs about peddlers and other people from Ribnica performed by well-known Oberkrainer ensembles, popular bands and Ribniški oktet (Ribnica Octet).

S celotnim projektom smo poskušali odgovoriti na pomembno vprašanje, kje ribniške krošnjarje najdemo še danes, kje jih srečamo.

Na razstavi najdemo odgovor, da je Ribničan prisoten v medijih (številni časopisni članki so namenjeni Ribničanom, prav tako se pogosto pojavlja v filmih), v muzejih

(Tehiški muzej Slovenije, Slovenski etnografski muzej,

Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, Pokrajinski muzej Kočevje idr.), v umetnosti (Ribničan kiparja Janeza Boljka, ilustracije Franca Miheliča), v glasbi (Ribniški oktet, pesem Veseli Ribničan ansambla Alpski kvintet in Franca Miheliča, Prifarski muzikantje – Lepu je blu idr.). Pogosto srečamo

Ribničana na turističnih, etnoloških in protokolarnih prireditvah (sejem Turizem in prosti čas, turistična pot,

ki vodi čez naše kraje, se imenuje Krošnjarska pot, Ribniški semenj, zanimiv je pojav Ribničana na etnološki prireditvi borovo gostovanje).

... in ne nazadnje ga še vedno srečamo na poti, pa naj bo pred sodobnimi trgovskimi centri, sredi vasi, ko svoj poltovornjak spremeni v stojnico, na sejmih ali pa še vedno od hiše do hiše ...



With this entire project we aimed to provide an answer to the important question about where peddlers from Ribnica can still be found nowadays, where they can be seen. The answer provided by the exhibition is that peddlers are often presented in the media (numerous newspaper features about people from Ribnica and frequent appearances in films, e.g. Blossoms in the Autumn), in museums (Technical Museum of Slovenia, Slovene Ethnographic Museum, National Museum of Contemporary History, Kočevje Regional Museum etc.), in fine art (the Ribnčan sculpture by sculptor Janez Boljka, illustrations by France Mihelič), in music (Ribnica Octet, the song 'The Merry Peddler from Ribnica' by Alpski kvintet and France Mihelič, the Prifarski Muzikanti Ensemble with the song 'It Was Nice', etc.). Also, peddlers are often featured as part of tourist, ethnological and protocol events (the Tourism and Leisure Show fair, the tourist trail leading across the region of Ribnica is called Peddlers' Trail, Ribnica Fair, and also of special interest is the fact that the peddler from Ribnica is one of the characters of 'borovo gostovanje', a well-known tradition from the region of Prekmurje).

... and last but not least, peddlers can still be seen around, may it be in front of modern shopping centres, in the middle of a village turning their light vans into a stall, at fairs, or travelling from one house to another ...



Pomembno je, da so »mušterije« zadovoljne

Fotografije družinskega arhiva Debeljak, ki se nahajajo na razstavi

What matters most is that customers are happy

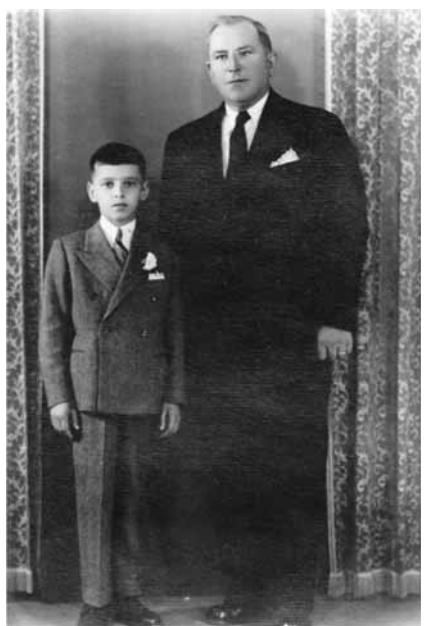
The exhibited photographs from the archives of the Debeljak family



Edo Cvar z ženo Ivanka.
Edo Cvar with his wife Ivanka.



Ivan Debeljak s staršema.
Ivan Debeljak with his parents.



Birmanec Ivan Debeljak z
botrom Edom Cvarom.
The confirmand Ivan Debeljak
with his godfather Edo Cvar.



Edo Cvar izdeluje sita, ki jim je obarval
»rajfe«, da so se ločila od drugih.

Edo Cvar making sieves; he made their
side-rims a different colour, so they
differed from others.



Cvarovi delavci v delavnici na Gružanski ulici,
Beograd.
Cvar's workers in the workshop on Gružanska
Street in Belgrade.



Železniški vagon Eda Cvara z ribniško suho
robo, ki je v času rasti podjetja tedensko vozil iz
Ribnice v Beograd.

Edo Cvar's train carriage with woodenware from
Ribnica; during the time when the company was
thriving, goods were transported from Ribnica to
Belgrade weekly.



Delavci so robo, ki se je pripeljala iz Ribnice
nosili na hrbitih iz železniške postaje do
delavnice.

The workers carried the goods transported from
Ribnica from the railway station to the workshop
on their backs.

Robo pa sta z železniške postaje prevažala tudi
kočijaža.

There were also two cart drivers transporting the
goods from the railway station.

Je bila tudi ljubezen, ne samo denar

Fotografije družinskega arhiva družine Klun (Prijatelj), ki se nahajajo na razstavi

There was love too, not only money

The exhibited photographs from the archives of the Klun (Prijatelj) family



Domačija Prijateljevih na Vinicah pred drugo svetovno vojno.

Home of the Prijatelj family in Vinice prior to World War II.



Družina Fraunbaum in Höfingera na dvorišču svoje hiše v Amstettну.

The Fraunbaum – Höfinger family in the courtyard of their house in Amstetten.

Erika in sin Helmut Höfingera na obisku pri Prijateljevih na Vinicah.

Erika and her son Helmut Höfinger visiting the Prijatelj family in Vinice.



Janez Prijatelj in brata Lesar izdelujejo rešeta za prodajo v delavnici v Amstettnu.

Janez Prijatelj and the Lesar brothers making sieves for sale in the workshop in Amstetten.



Janez in Alojzij Prijatelj koljeta obodi za izdelavo sit in rešet. Fotografija posneta pred drugo svetovno vojno.

Janez and Alojzij Prijatelj splitting wood for side-rims to make sieves and riddles. The photo was taken prior to World War II.



Krošnjar Franc Prijatelj na začetku 20. stoletja.

Peddler Franc Prijatelj at the beginning of the 20th century.

Adon je imel skladisce u Suoarscë, pa stroje ze mražje dajlat. Dobiu je naročilu, pa cajle vagonne ruobe u Austrijo pošilou.

V začetku 20. stoletja so imeli Ribničani v večjih mestih tudi trgovine s suho robo (Ljubljana, Koper, Ptuj, Celje, Trst, Maribor, Pazin, Dunaj).

▶ Lajta dva in pesetga, ka sem biu jost star petnajst, šesnajst lajt, je oče umru za rakam in sam pol tut jost še nadaljevou s tuo trgovino, tok de sem hodu na sejme, pa trgovino smo imejla v Paziji magacin smo imajla u Vodnjana pa u Rovinju. In sem hodu jost ke, takrat, ka so bli vieča sejma pa taku npraj, sem jost hodu ke.



Po drugi svetovni vojni so odkup prevzele kmetijske zadruge v Sodražici, Ribnici in Velikih Laščah. Zadrugam se je odprlo veliko tržišče po celi Jugoslaviji. Uspešna poslovna povezava s podjetjem Dom iz Ljubljane je izdelkom ribniške domače obrti odprla dodatne tržne poti.

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Križem svajt so se podalo pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

Far and Wide They Went, Their Ware Always at Hand

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patent in 1492 to the Present

Overview of Ribnica Peddling in the Period from Peddler Patent in 1492 to the Present

Fototečno gradivo kulture in načina življenja krošnjarjev, ki ga hranijo slovenski muzeji

Photo Library Materials about Peddlers' Culture and Way of Life in the Keeping of Slovene Museums

Posneto nekje na Primorskem med leti 1960–1980. Fotograf: Edi Šelhaus.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
AŠ 2188_21



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_1



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_4



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_5



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_6



*The photo was taken somewhere in Primorska region in the 1960–1980 period.
Photo by: Edi Šelhaus.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, AŠ 2188_21*

Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_7



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_8



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_9



Ribničan v Ljubljani,
november-december 1957.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 105_10



Ribničani. Suha roba. Ribnica, maj 1955.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 398_5a



*A peddler from Ribnica in Ljubljana. 1957, November-December.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 105_7*

*A peddler from Ribnica in Ljubljana. 1957, November-December.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 105_8*

*A peddler from Ribnica in Ljubljana. 1957, November-December.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 105_9*

*A peddler from Ribnica in Ljubljana. 1957, November-December.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 105_10*

*Peddlers from Ribnica; Woodenware. Ribnica, May 1955.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 398_5a*

Ribničani. Suha roba. Ribnica, maj 1955.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 398_6a



Panorama Kamnika. Sodobni "Ribničan Urban" v avtomobilu. Kamnik, marec 1971.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 4634_4



Panorama Kamnika. Sodobni "Ribničan Urban" v avtomobilu. Kamnik, marec 1971.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 4634_5



Suha roba na trgu. Ljubljana, april 1979.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
DE 5858_1a



Suha roba na tržnici. Ljubljana, april 1979.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
DE 5858_3a



Peddlers from Ribnica; Woodenware.
Ribnica, May 1955.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 398_6a

Suha roba na tržnici. Ljubljana, april 1979.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
DE 5858_5a



Woodenware at the market. Ljubljana, April 1979.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5858_5a

A panoramic view of Kamnik; A modern-day "peddler Urban from Ribnica" in a car.
Kamnik, March 1971.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 4634_4

Suha roba na trgu. Ljubljana, april 1979.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
DE 5858_35a



Woodenware at the market. Ljubljana, April 1979.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5858_35a

A panoramic view of Kamnik; A modern-day "peddler Urban from Ribnica" in a car.
Kamnik, March 1971.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 4634_5

Suha roba na trgu. Novo Mesto, februar 1982.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 5905_4



Market, woodenware. Novo Mesto, Ljubljana, February 1982.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5905_4

Woodenware at the market. Ljubljana, April 1979.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5858_1a

Suha roba na trgu. Novo Mesto, februar 1982.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, DE 5905_5



Market, woodenware. Novo Mesto, Ljubljana, February 1982.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5905_5

Woodenware at the market. Ljubljana, April 1979.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 5858_3a

Panorama Kamnika. Sodobni "Ribničan Urban" v avtomobilu. Kamnik, marec 1971.
Fotograf: Svetozar Busić.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
DE 4634_01



A panoramic view of Kamnik; A modern-day "peddler Urban from Ribnica" in a car.
Kamnik, March 1971.
Photo by: Svetozar Busić.
The National Museum of Contemporary History, DE 4634_01

Reklamne fotografije Tomos, 1.7.1965.
Fotograf: Bogo Primožič.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, EP 1742c_1



*Tomos advertising photos. 1.7.1965.
Photo by: Bogo Primožič.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, EP 1742c_1*

Kmečka ohcet v Ljubljani maja 1973.
Fotograf: Edi Šelhaus.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, ES-229-16



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, May 1973. Photo by:
Edi Šelhaus.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, ES-229-16*

Sprevod pred Namo. Kmečka ohcet
v Ljubljani 1972.
Fotograf: Edi Šelhaus.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, ES-424-8



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, 1972. The procession in
front of Nama.
Photo by: Edi Šelhaus.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, ES-424-8*

Slavnostna povorka. Kmečka ohcet
v Ljubljani, maj 1971.
Fotograf: Edi Šelhaus.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, ES-537-18



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, May 1971. The festive
procession.
Photo by: Edi Šelhaus.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, ES-537-18*

Slavnostna povorka. Kmečka ohcet
v Ljubljani, maj 1971.
Fotograf: Edi Šelhaus.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, ES-537-54



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, May 1971. The festive
procession.
Photo by: Edi Šelhaus.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, ES-537-54*

Slavnostna povorka. Kmečka ohcet v
Ljubljani, maj 1970.
Fotograf: Marjan Ciglič.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
MC70- Kmečka ohcet



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, May 1970. The tourist
event Traditional Country Wedding in
Ljubljana, May 1971. The festive procession.
Photo by: Marjan Ciglič.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, MC70- kmečka ohcet*

Kmečka ohcet v Ljubljani, junij 1980.
Fotograf: Marjan Ciglič.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
MC80-Kmečka ohcet



*The tourist event Traditional Country
Wedding in Ljubljana, June 1980.
Photo by: Marjan Ciglič.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, MC80-Kmečka ohcet*

Ribničana oprtana z izdelki suhe robe. Na tak
način so Ribničani vabili na obisk prvega
ribniškega festivala. Ljubljana, 31. avgust 1961.
Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije,
MC610807_4



*Two peddlers from Ribnica carrying
woodenware on their backs. This is how
peddlers from Ribnica invited people to come
to the first Ribnica Festival. Ljubljana, 31
August 1961.
The National Museum of Contemporary
History, MC610807_4*

Krošnja položena na tla, ob njej na tleh košara holendarica in rešeta.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000001



Rešetar - krošnjar Franc Čampa izdeluje rajto.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000002



Krošnjar na poti, podpira se z gorjačo.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000003



Krošnjarja iz Zapotoka, brata Lojz in France Čampa.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000004



Ženska na kolenih na tleh vpenja poden k obodu.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000005



A 'krošnja' (peddler's pack) placed on the floor;
a 'holendarica' wicker basket and sieves are
next to it.

Museum of Ribnica, F-0000001

Sieve-maker - peddler Franc Čampa making a
'rajta', a large sieve.

Museum of Ribnica, F-0000002

A peddler on his way leaning on a cudgel.

Museum of Ribnica, F-0000003

Peddlers from Zapotok, brothers Lojz and France Čampa.

Museum of Ribnica, F-0000004

A woman kneeling on the floor, fastening a
bottom to a side-rim.

Museum of Ribnica, F-0000005

Rešetar Filip Cvar sedi v delavnici.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000112



Sieve-maker Filip Cvar sitting in the workshop.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000112

Desno na sliki stoji rešetar Dominik Bartol,
levo pa njegov pomočnik Franc Oražem.
Fotografija je bila narejena okoli leta 1938.

Muzej Ribnica, F-0000113



Sieve-maker Dominik Bartol standing on the
right, to the left his assistant Franc Oražem.
The photo was taken in approx. 1938.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000113

Starejši krošnjarji so prišli počakat novice na
dunajsko železniško postajo.

Muzej Ribnica, F-0000114



Some elder peddlers waiting for novice peddlers
at the railway station in Vienna.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000114

Krošnjarji z vozičkama ("garnom").

Muzej Ribnica, F-0000116



Peddlers with carts.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000116

Rešetarji iz Ribniške doline.

Muzej Ribnica, F-0000117



Sieve-makers from Ribnica Valley.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000117

Rešetarji iz Ribniške doline v nedeljski obleki.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000118



Sieve-makers from Ribnica Valley in their Sunday best.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000118

Vesela družba krošnjarjev na Dunaju. Skupaj so posneli ploščo z dvema slovenskima pesmima
Prav lejpa je Šedrška fara in Snoč pa dou je
slanca pala.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000400



A merry group of peddlers in Vienna. They recorded a record together, featuring two Slovene songs *Prav lejpa je Šedrška fara* ('It's Really Beautiful, our Šedrška Parish') and *Snoč padau je slamca pala* ('Last Night and This Morning There Was Hoarfrost').
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000400

Krošnjar na kolesu.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000983



A peddler on a bicycle.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000983

Krošnjarja, ki v naročju držita razne žlice,
kuhalnice, ribežne in druge izdelke suhe robe.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000991



Peddlers holding various spoons, kitchen spoons, graters and other woodenware items.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000991

Družina Holzer, pri kateri je imel krošnjar Anton Petek svoj kvartir.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001084



The Holzer family, where peddler Anton Petek had his 'kvartir', temporary lodgings.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001084

Poročna fotografija Rezike in krošnjarja Antona Petka iz Kota pri Ribnici.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001085



A wedding photo of Rezika and peddler Anton Petek, from Kot pri Ribnici.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001085

Na fotografiji sta krošnjar Anton Petek in njegova mati Neža Petek, slikana pred domačo hišo.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001086



Peddler Anton Petek and his mother Neža Petek, photographed in front of their home.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001086

Portretna fotografija krošnjarja Antona Petka.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001087



A portrait photo of Anton Petek, a peddler.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001087

Krošnjar Anton Petek iz Jurjevice na ramenih nosi krošnjo. Za njim stoji njegov nečak France, pomočnik.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001116



Peddler Anton Petek from Jurjevice carrying his 'krošnja' (peddler's pack). France, his nephew and assistant, is standing behind him.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001116

Gostilničarjeva družina in ribniški krošnjarji in Avstriji.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001118



An innkeeper's family and peddlers from Ribnica in Austria.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001118

Podnarji in rešetarji pri delu.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0001345



Bottom-makers and sieve-makers at work.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0001345

Lončar Leopold Bojc na vozu prevaža lončene izdelke. Ribniški sejem v začetku 80-ih let.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002175



Potter Leopold Bojc transporting his pottery on a cart; Ribnica Fair in early 1980s.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002175

Lončar Leopold Bojc prodaja lončene izdelke na Ribniškem sejmu v začetku 80-ih letih.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002177



Potter Leopold Bojc selling pottery at Ribnica Fair in early 1980s.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002177

Krošnjarji.
Fotografija posneta v Beljaku - Villachu.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002496



Peddlers; photo taken in Villach, Austria.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002496

Krošnjarji v Beljaku - Villachu,
kjer so imeli stanovanje.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002509



Peddlers in Villach, Austria, where they had their lodgings.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002509

Krošnjarji v Avstriji med praznovanjem v gostilni, kjer so imeli spravljeno robo.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002517



Peddlers in Austria, celebrating at an inn where they had their ware stored.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002517

Terezija Petek, žena krošnjarja Antonia Petka iz Jurjevice 14.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002523



Terezija Petek, the wife of peddler Anton Petek from Jurjevice 14.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002523

Krošnjar, ki ima v eni roki in na ramenih obešena sita, v drugi roki pa drži pleteno košaro, v kateri so leseni izdelki (žlice, kuhalnice).
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002525



A peddler with sieves hanging from his hand and shoulders; in his other hand he is holding a wicker basket full of woodenware (spoons, kitchen spoons).
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002525

Krošnjar Ignacij Pintar iz Ravnega Dola, fotografiran poleg svojega "kanona" v Lenartu okrog leta 1920.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0003020



Peddler Ignacij Pintar from Ravn Dol, photographed next to his "kanon" (peddler's pack) in Lenart in around 1920.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0003020

Izrezek iz časnika Slovenski dom iz leta 1926: članek o rešetarju Nacetu.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0003021



A clipping from the newspaper Slovenski dom from 1926; an article about peddler Nace.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0003021

Pavla Arko in Lojzka Rigler, slikani leta 1963 na živilskem trgu v Mariboru, kjer sta prodajali suho robo.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0003039



Pavla Arko and Lojzka Rigler; the photo was taken in 1963 at the food market in Maribor, where they were selling woodenware.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0003039

Poltovorni avto Franca Gregoriča, ki je imel v Pazinu trgovino s suho robo.
Muzej Ribnica, V-268



A light truck owned by Franc Gregorič, who had a woodenware shop in Pazin.
Museum of Ribnica, V-268

Trgovina s suho robo v Pazinu. Lastnik je bil Franc Gregorič.
Muzej Ribnica, V-292



A woodenware shop in Pazin. It was owned by Franc Gregorič.
Museum of Ribnica, V-292

France Gregorič med prodajo suhe robe na sejmu v Istri leta 1938.
Muzej Ribnica, V-301



France Gregorič selling woodenware at a fair in Istria, in 1938.
Museum of Ribnica, V-301

Krošnjarji v Avstriji fotografirani pred gostilno.
Muzej Ribnica, Vhod 1_2009



Peddlers in Austria. The photo was taken in front of an inn.
Museum of Ribnica, Vhod 1_2009

Obračanje sena s traktorjem in obračalnikom. Seno obrača zdomar Ludvik Ambrožič iz Dan. Fotografirano okoli leta 1975.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 AL09



Hay turning by means of a tractor and a hay tedder. Hay is being turned by the peddler Ludvik Ambrožič from Dane. The photo was taken in approx. 1975.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 AL09

Druženje v zdomarski družini.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 IG05



A peddler family spending time together.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 IG05

Zdomarska družina pri delu na kmetiji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 IG08



A peddler family doing farm work.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 IG08

Uvajanje motorizacije v zdomarske družine.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 KD10



Motorization in peddler families.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 KD10

Napredek in razvoj družine je bil povezan tudi z medsebojno pomočjo zdomarskih in suhorobarskih družin. Na fotografiji postavljanje kozolca.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LE12



Family progress and development was closely connected also with mutual help among peddler and woodenware-making families. The photo shows a haystack being set up.
Museum of Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LE12

Status družine se je pokazal tudi z lastništvom avtomobila. Fotografirano v začetku 60-let 20. stoletja.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH10



Medsebojna pomoč se je kazala tudi pri vzgoji otrok.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH11



Za delo so poprijele tudi ženske. Na fotografiji tast in snaha slikana ob odhodu na sečnjo v gozd. Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH13



Sušenje palic za grablje pri izdelovalcu Francu Lovšinu.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH14



Krošnjar Janez Lovšin s sinom; krošnjarila sta v okolici Dunaja. Na Dunaju sta si kupila kulo ali garnon, da sta si olajšala delo. Fotografirano okrog leta 1920.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH 27



The status of a family was indicated also through vehicle ownership. The photo was taken in the early 1960s.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH10

Mutual help was also an important part of children's upbringing.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH11

Women did all sorts of work too. The photo shows a father-in-law and his daughter-in-law leaving for the woods to do some woodcutting.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH13

Drying of rake handles at the place of the manufacturer, Franc Lovšin.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH14

Peddler Janez Lovšin and his son peddling in the vicinity of Vienna. They bought a bicycle or a cart there, to make their work easier. Photo taken in approx. 1920.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LH 27

Krošnjar Alojz Lušin se poslavlja od gospodinje, pri kateri je imel izgovorjeno prenočišče.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 LA02



Peddler Alojz Lušin saying goodbye to the housekeeper at the place where he had his lodgings.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 LA02

Krošnjar France Klun na svoji zdomarski poti v Avstriji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK15



Peddler France Klun on one of his peddling trips in Austria.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK15

Krošnjar France Klun s skupino krošnjarjev v Avstriji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK16



Peddler France Klun photographed with a group of peddlers in Austria.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK18

Krošnjarska družina Josipa Kluna v Čadjavici v Slavoniji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK17



Josip Klun's peddler family in Čadjavica, Slavonia.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK20

Prodaja suhe robe na tržnici v Čadjavici v Slavoniji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK18



The sale of woodenware at a market in Čadjavica, Slavonia.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK23

Skupina krošnjarjev, ki svojo robu prodajajo s kolesi.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK24



A group of peddlers selling their ware travelling around on bicycles.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MK24

Krošnjar France Mihelič iz Kota s konjem in polnim vozom suhe robe.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 MM10



Peddler France Mihelič from Kot with a horse and a cart loaded with woodenware.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 MM10

Krošnjar Šilc pri zdomanju v Slavoniji.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 ŠN11



Peddler Šilc peddling in Slavonia.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 ŠN11

Priprava obodi za rešeta.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 ŠN23



Preparation of side-rims for sieves.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 ŠN23

Krošnjar Anton Petek na kvartirju v Avstriji v Hüttlu pri Wienerdeutschstadt.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB01



Peddler Anton Petek at his lodgings in Austria - in Hüttlu near Wienerdeutschstadt.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB01

Krošnjar Anton Petek z očetom in mamo.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB05



Peddler Anton Petek with his father and mother.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB05

Status družine se je kazal tudi v oblačilni kulturi. Očetje so s krošnjarjenja prinesli otrokom oblačila, ki so se po kroju in materialu razlikovala od doma narejenih.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB12



The status of a family was also indicated through the clothes they wore. From their peddling trips fathers would bring their children clothes that differed from home-made ones in the cut and material.
Museum of Ribnica,
Digitalna CD 1_2006 ZB12

Ribniški zdomar pri prodaji suhe robe na osrednji ljubljanski tržnici pod Gradom.
Fotografirano leta 2012.
Fotograf: Luka Gorjup.
Muzej Ribnica, Digitalna V 465



A peddler from Ribnica selling woodenware at the main market in Ljubljana, below the Castle. The photo was taken in 2012.
Photo by: Luka Gorjup.
Museum of Ribnica, Digitalna V 465

Ribniški zdomar pri prodaji suhe robe pred nakupovalnim središčem Citypark v Ljubljani.
Fotografirano leta 2012.
Fotograf: Luka Gorjup. Muzej Ribnica,
Digitalna V 466



A peddler from Ribnica selling woodenware in front of the shopping centre Citypark in Ljubljana. The photo was taken in 2012. Photo by: Luka Gorjup.
Museum of Ribnica, Digitalna V 466

Ribniški sejem, september 2003.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0002382



Ribnica Fair, September 2003.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0002382

Ročno pletenje podna za reto.
Slikano pri družini Levstik v Globeli.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000014



Manual weaving of a sieve bottom. The photo was taken at the Levstik family's place in Globel.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000014

Strojno glajenje viter za pletenje.
Slikano v Podgori.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000016



Machine wicker smoothing. The photo was taken in Podgora.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000016

Ročno glajenje viter za izdelavo podna.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000017



Manual smoothing of the wicker for the sieve bottom.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000017

Kriviljenje obodi. Slikano pri družini Arko na Vinicah.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000027



A side-rim being curved. The photo was taken at the Arko family's place in Vinice.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000027

Razglednica Dolenje vasi.
Muzej Ribnica, INV-0000595



A postcard of Dolenja vas.
Museum of Ribnica, INV-0000595

Ribniške piščali v obliki konjička,
ki v riti piskajo.
Muzej Ribnica, F-0000102



Ribnica whistles shaped as horses that are whistled through the horse's backside.
Museum of Ribnica, F-0000102

Lončar Anton Merhar iz Blat prodaja svoje izdelke v Kastavu pri Reki. Fotografirano leta 1935. Mojca Šifrer, Lončarstvo v Ribniški dolini (diplomska naloga), Fototeka Muzeja Ribnica



Potter Anton Merhar from Blate selling his goods in Kastav near Rijeka. The photo was taken in 1935. Mojca Šifrer, Pottery in the Ribnica Valley (undergraduate thesis), Photo library of the Museum of Ribnica.

Ribniški lončarji demonstrirajo izdelavo posode na kolovratu. Fotografirano okoli leta 1900 v Ribnici. Mojca Šifrer, Lončarstvo v Ribniški dolini (diplomska naloga), Fototeka Muzeja Ribnica



Potters from Ribnica are demonstrating how pottery is made using a potter's wheel. The photo was taken in approx. 1900 in Ribnica. Mojca Šifrer, Pottery in the Ribnica Valley (undergraduate thesis), Photo library of the Museum of Ribnica.

Slika Lončar tovornik. Lončar ima na konju krošnjo naloženo z lončeno robo.
Naslikal Janko Trošt, 13. 8. 1966.
Muzej Ribnica, INV-0000410



*The painting 'The Potter Transporter'. A 'krošnja' (peddler's pack) with pottery is loaded on the potter's horse.
Painted by Janko Trošt, 13. 8. 1966.
Museum of Ribnica, INV-0000410*

Poljanski krošnjar s krošnjo
okoli leta 1930.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Urarski koš iz Mirtovičev.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Urarski koš iz Mirtovičev.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Urarski koš iz Bosljive Loke.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Urarski koš iz Bosljive Loke.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



A peddler from Poljanska Valley with his
'krošnja' (peddler's pack). In approx. 1930.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

A clockmaker's basket from Mirtoviči.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

A clockmaker's basket from Mirtoviči.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

A clockmaker's basket from Bosljiva Loka.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

A clockmaker's basket from Bosljiva Loka.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Urarski koš iz Bosljive Loke.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Žagmojster Valentin Štimec. Leto 1952.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Kočevarski krošnjari. Pred drugo svetovno
vojno. Original fotografijo hrani
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Kočevarski krošnjari. Pred drugo svetovno
vojno. Original fotografijo hrani
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Kočevarski krošnjari. Pred drugo svetovno
vojno. Original fotografijo hrani
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



A clockmaker's basket from Bosljiva Loka.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Saw master Valentin Štimec. Year 1952.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Peddlers from Kočevje. Prior to WWII. The
original photo is in the keeping of
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Peddlers from Kočevje. Prior to WWII. The
original photo is in the keeping of
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Peddlers from Kočevje. Prior to WWII. The
original photo is in the keeping of
Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional
Museum.

Kočevarski krošnjarji. Pred drugo svetovno vojno. Original fotografijo hrani Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Kočevarski krošnjarji. Pred drugo svetovno vojno. Original fotografijo hrani Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Fototeka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Krošnjarski koš.
Fotograf: Tomaž Lauko.
Zbirka Pokrajinskega muzeja Kočevje



Krošnjar s pomarančami na Dunaju, Josef Engelhardt, konec 19. stoletja.



Krošnjar s pomarančami na Dunaju, Josef Engelhardt, konec 19. stoletja.



Peddlers from Kočevje. Prior to WWII. The original photo is in the keeping of Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional Museum.

Peddlers from Kočevje. Prior to WWII. The original photo is in the keeping of Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Photo library of Kočevje Regional Museum.

A peddler with oranges in Vienna, Josef Engelhardt, late 19th century.

A peddler with oranges in Vienna, Josef Engelhardt, late 19th century.

Krošnjar na borovem gostovanju v Šalamencih, 15. 2. 2004.
Fotograf: Jelka Pšajd.
Fototeka Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota



Krošnjar na borovem gostovanju v Vučji Gomili, 3. 2. 2008.
Fotograf: Jelka Pšajd.
Fototeka Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota



Sprevod borovega gostovanja, zadaj dva krošnjarja. Bodonci, 2011.
Fotograf: Tomislav Vrečič.
Fototeka Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota



Krošnjar v gozdu. Bodonci, 2011.
Fotograf: Tomislav Vrečič.
Fototeka Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota



Krošnjar v gozdu. Bodonci, 2011.
Fotograf: Jelka Pšajd.
Fototeka Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota



A peddler character at borovo gostovanje in Šalamenci. 15. 2. 2004.
Photo by: Jelka Pšajd.
Photo library of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota.

A peddler character at borovo gostovanje in Vučja Gomila. 3. 2. 2008.
Photo by: Jelka Pšajd.
Photo library of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota.

The procession as part of borovo gostovanje; two peddler characters are at the rear.
Bodonci, 2011.
Photo by: Tomislav Vrečič.
Photo library of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota.

A peddler character in the woods.
Bodonci, 2011.
Photo by: Tomislav Vrečič.
Photo library of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota.

A peddler character in the woods.
Bodonci, 2011.
Photo by: Jelka Pšajd.
Photo library of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota.

Mihail Gorše vodi kupčijo po Gradcu l. 1899.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0000508



Oboda za rešeta. Sveti Gregor nad Sodražico.
Fotograf: Janko Skerlep.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0004539



Izdelava obodov.
Fotograf: Janko Skerlep.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0004544



Suha roba na semnju. Kamnik.
Fotograf: Janko Skerlep.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0004553



Ribničan prodaja suho robo. Medana, avgust 1953. Ekipa SEM, teren 10, Goriška Brda.
Fotograf: Milko Matičetov.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0009790



Mihail Gorše doing business around Graz
in 1899.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0000508

Side-rims for sieves, Sveti Gregor nad Sodražico.
Photo by: Janko Skerlep.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0004539

Making side-rims.
Photo by: Janko Skerlep.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0004544

Woodenware at a fair. Kamnik.
Photo by: Janko Skerlep.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0004553

A peddler from Ribnica selling woodenware.
Medana, August 1953. SEM team, field 10,
Goriška Brda.
Photo by: Milko Matičetov.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0009790

Ribničan s svojim blagom na sejmu.
Ljubljana, januar 1968.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011290



Izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011916



Ribniški rešetarji na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011917



Razni izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011918



Leseni izdelki na ptujskem sejmu. Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011919



A peddler from Ribnica and his woodenware at
a fair. Ljubljana, January 1968.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011290

Goods from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair. Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011916

Peddlers from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair. Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011917

Various products from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011918

Woodenware at Ptuj Fair. Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011919

Stojnica z avtohtonimi izdelki na ptujskem sejmu. Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011920



Razni izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011921



Ribničan s svojim blagom na sejmu.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011922



Pletarski izdelki in izdelki iz lesa na ptujskem sejmu. Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0011926



Ribničan na Jesenicah.
Fotograf: Slavko Smolej.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012493



A stall with indigenous products at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011920

Various products from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011921

A peddler from Ribnica and his woodenware
at a fair.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011922

Wickerware and woodenware at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0011926

A peddler from Ribnica in Jesenice.
Photo by: Slavko Smolej.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012493

Ribničan s 'kananom'. Leto 1948.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012494



Ribničan z vozom s škafi na Gorenjskem.
Objavljeno v 'Delo'. Razstava Lesne obrti.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012496



Ivan Gornik iz Kota pri Ribnici na ribniškem sejmu. Ribnica, 1978.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012497



Izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012526



Izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012527



A peddler from Ribnica with his 'kanon'
(peddler's pack). Year 1948.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012494

A peddler from Ribnica with a cart loaded with
pails in Gorenjska region. Published in the
newspaper Delo. Woodenware Craft exhibition.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012496

Ivan Gornik from Kot pri Ribnici at Ribnica Fair. Ribnica, 1978.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012497

Various products from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012526

Various products from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012527

Izdelki iz Ribnice na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012528



Ribniški rešetarji na ptujskem sejmu.
Ptuj, 1973.
Fotograf: Peter Rakuš.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0012529



Škafarski, 'pintarski' izdelki iz Ribnice.
Heimarbeit in Österreich - Krein, III, 1891.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0013004



Ivan Gornik s sinom Ivanom. Nekje na
Gorenjskem, 1946.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014131



Ivan Gornik na poti po Sloveniji. Leto 1968.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014132



Various products from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012528

Sieve-makers from Ribnica at Ptuj Fair.
Ptuj, 1973.
Photo by: Peter Rakuš.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0012529

Vessels, wooden pails etc. from Ribnica.
Heimarbeit in Österreich - Krein, III, 1891.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0013004

Ivan Gornik with his son Ivan. Year 1946,
somewhere in Gorenjska region.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014131

Ivan Gornik travelling around Slovenia.
Year 1968.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014132

Zdomarji iz Brež pri Ribnici, na stanovanju v
Liesingu pri Dunaju. Na desni Arko Janez, za
njim stoji njegov pomočnik. Dunaj, 1928.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014134



Peddlers from Brež near Ribnica, in their
lodgings in Liesing near Vienna. Arko Janez on
the right, his aide standing behind him.
Vienna, 1928.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014134

Ivan Gornik s sinom iz Kota pri Ribnici na
sejmu v Krškem. Krško, 1950.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014135



Ivan Gornik from Kot pri Ribnici with his son
at a fair in Krško. Krško, 1950.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014135

Ivan Gornik s sinom Ivanom z vozom in
izdelki na Bledu pri kupčiji. Bled, 1949.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014138



Ivan Gornik with his son Ivan and a cart loaded
with goods doing business in Bled. Bled, 1949.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014138

Ivan Gornik z izdelki pri kupčiji. Leto 1949.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014139



Ivan Gornik with his ware doing business.
Year 1949.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014139

Zdomarji, slikani na "kvartiranju" pri
gostilničarki v Hietzingu pri Dunaju. Na levi
strani sedi Janez Arko. Dunaj, 1928.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014140



Peddlers in their lodgings at an inn in Hietzing
near Vienna. Janez Arko is sitting on the left.
Vienna, 1928.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014140

Ivan Gornik z izdelki na vozlu na poti po Sloveniji. Leto 1968.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014142



Skupina zdumarjev iz okolice Ribnice pred "kvartirjem" na Dunaju. Med njimi je Janez Arko. Dunaj, 1928.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014143



Ivan Gornik s sinom Ivanom - z vozom po svetu. Leto 1940.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0014144



Rešeter - zdumar. Na desni je Franc Malešič iz Gorenje vasi pri Ribnici, rojen 1913, na levi njegov prijatelj Ivan. Bačka, 1938.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0015507



Obrt – rešeterstvo, okolica Ribnice. Kompanija osmil mož izdeluje lopate (šafle) v gozdu. Leto 1901. Heimarbeit in Krain 926/27 III.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0015518



Ivan Gornik with his goods loaded on a cart travelling around Slovenia. Year 1968.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014142

Obrt - rešeterstvo, okolica Ribnice. Izdelovalci lopat v okolici Ribnice. Leto 1901.
Heimarbeit in Krain 926/27 III.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0015519



Craft - sieve-making, the vicinity of Ribnica.
Shovel makers in the vicinity of Ribnica.
Year 1901. Heimarbeit in Krain 926/27 III.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0015519

A group of peddlers from the vicinity of Ribnica in front of their 'kvartir', temporary lodgings, in Vienna. One of them is Janez Arko.
Vienna, 1928.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014143

Obrt - obodarstvo, okolica Ribnice. Kompanija osmil mož izdeluje v gozdu obode. Leto 1901.
Heimarbeit in Krain 325/III.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0015521



Craft - side-rim making, the vicinity of Ribnica.
A group of eight men making side-rims in the woods. Year 1901. Heimarbeit in Krain 926/27 III.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0015521

Ivan Gornik with his son Ivan- travelling around with a cart. Year 1940.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0014144

Pri Križarjevih se je ustavil in zaprosil za prenočišče star Ribničan s suho robo.
Selce, 1981.
Fotograf: Inja Smerdel.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0020055



An old woodenware peddler stopped by Križnar's house asking for accommodation.
Selce, 1981.
Photo by: Inja Smerdel.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0020055

A sieve-maker - peddler. On the right: Franc Malešič from Gorenje vas near Ribnica, born in 1913; on his left: his friend Ivan. Bačka, 1938.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0015507

Gospodinja si ogleduje suho robo, ki jo je nosil po hišah Ribničan. Selce, 1981.
Fotograf: Inja Smerdel.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0020157



A housewife is looking at woodenware sold from door to door by a peddler from Ribnica.
Selce, 1981.
Photo by: Inja Smerdel.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0020157

Craft - sieve-making, the vicinity of Ribnica. A group of eight men making shovels in the woods. Year 1901. Heimarbeit in Krain 926/27 III.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0015518

Gospodinja si ogleduje suho robo, ki jo je nosil po hišah Ribničan. Selce, 1981.
Fotograf: Inja Smerdel.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0020160



A housewife is looking at woodenware sold from door to door by a peddler from Ribnica.
Selce, 1981.
Photo by: Inja Smerdel.
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0020160

Krampelj Frančiška s svedrom za vrtanje lesa. Z njim so izdelovali tudi oselnike. Pri hiši so že najmanj 200 let, sposojali so si jih tudi sosedje, in celo nekateri iz sosednjih vasi.

Gradež pri Turjaku, 1993.

Fotograf: Inja Smerdel.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0022343



Ribničan Pajnič Ludvik prodaja lesene izdelke na sejmu v Pivki. Pivka, 1993.

Fotograf: Inja Smerdel.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0022375



Trgovina z izdelki suhe robe Jožeta Marna v Metliki okoli leta 1935. Pred trgovino Alojzija Marn (žena) s hčerkjo Vero in služkinjo Alojzijo Brunskole iz Semiča. Metlika, 1935.

Brunskole iz Semiča. Metlika, 1935.
Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0025242



Pred gostilno Mihelič v Ribnici: Tone Petek in Janez Peček v slavnostni povorki ob 30. obletnici osvoboditve l. 1975.

Ribnica, 1975.

Fotograf: Drago Mohar.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0031929



Ribničan iz Dvorske vasi s suho robo na sejmu v Metliki. Prodaja keblice, kadice, čebre. Metlika, oktober 1965.

Fotograf: Milka Bras.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0033464



Krampelj Frančiška with a wood drill. It was used to make 'oselniki' (whetstone storage cases). The family has owned them for at least 200 years. Neighbours would often borrow them and some other people from neighbouring villages too.

Gradež near Turjak, 1993.

Photo by: Inja Smerdel.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0022343

Peddler Pajnič Ludvik selling woodenware at the fair in Pivka. Pivka, 1993.

Photo by: Inja Smerdel.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0022375

Pavel Kralj iz Predgrada in Jože Barič iz Sodevca s krošnjama v Sremski Mitrovici. Leto 1940.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0036665



Krošnjarja iz Predgrada na trgu v Zemunu. Zemun, 1925.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, F0036667



Suha roba - Moški s krošnjo.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, Vesel-4551



Pavel Kralj from Predgrad and Jože Barič from Sodevc carrying their 'krošnje' (peddler's packs) in Sremska Mitrovica. Year 1940.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0036665

Peddlers from Predgrad at a market in Zemun. Zemun, 1925.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0036667

Jožet Marn's woodenware shop in Metlika in approx. 1935. In front of the shop: Alojzija Marn (his wife) with their daughter Vera and the maid Alojzija Brunskole from Semič.

Metlika, 1935.

Photo by: Inja Smerdel.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0025242

In front of the Mihelič Inn in Ribnica: Tone Petek and Janez Peček at a procession to mark the 30th anniversary of the liberation in 1975.

Ribnica, 1975.

Photo by: Drago Mohar.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0031929

A peddler from Dvorska vas with his woodenware at a fair in Metlika. He is selling small pails, tubs and buckets.

Metlika, October 1965.

Photo by: Milka Bras.

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, F0033464



Regina

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Grodzica

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Stegoslavija

18. VI. 1972



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Kranj 24. XII. 1988

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besede, da bi se Ti moglo
kdaj zahvaliti, zato po
noj velja usoj' danoš to
čestitka. Iz Troj god
Ti želim mnogo sreće,
zdravja ter da bi
ostal še dolgo med
nami,

Troja hčerka Milly

Križem svajt so se podala pa sujo ruobo ponujalo

Pregled ribniškega krošnjarjenja od patenta leta 1492 do danes

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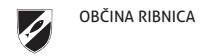
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