

Potica in America: Naming, Transmission, and the Printed Record of a Diaspora Pastry

Vince Gonzalez

ORCID 0009-0005-3640-014X

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Abstract

This paper documents the survival of the South Slavic rolled pastry *potica*/*povitica* across more than a century in the United States, read through its printed record: community cookbooks, fraternal publications, commercial bakery archives, and mediated recipes. Its principal original claim is that the two dominant American names for the pastry constitute a settlement isogloss — *potica* marking communities founded by Slovene migration (Cleveland; Minnesota's Iron Range), *povitica* marking Croatian-founded communities (Kansas City's Strawberry Hill), with mixed usage in mixed settlements (Butte, Montana) — so that the pastry's name fossilizes the demography of the 1880–1930 labor migrations. The paper traces the documentary chain from the earliest written mentions (Trubar, 1575/1577) and the oldest recipe (Valvasor, 1689) through the mid-twentieth-century American community-cookbook literature, analyzed here as survival technology deployed at the point of third-generation transmission failure, and into the commercial and global era: mail-order bakeries as diaspora infrastructure and the 2014 Great British Bake Off technical challenge as the pastry's globalization moment. Every substantive claim carries an explicit epistemic label (Verified / Hypothesis / Open Question / Metaphor), and the isogloss claim is stated with its refutation condition.

1. Introduction: A Pastry Read Through Its Paper Trail

This paper documents how a festive pastry transmitted for centuries by demonstration — grandmother to granddaughter, hands over hands, in kitchens where nothing was written down — survived more than a century in the United States, and it tells that story through the only evidence that survives at scale: what got written down. Community cookbooks, fraternal-lodge publications, church fundraiser collections, bakery order forms, newspaper features, a television technical challenge, and finally a European Union regulation together constitute the printed record of *potica* in America. I treat that record not as a substitute for the oral tradition but as its fossil layer: the places where an oral tradition, under demographic pressure, deliberately converted itself into text.

The argument proceeds in three movements. First, I present the paper's most original claim: that the two dominant American names for the pastry — *potica* and *povitica* — are not free variants but map with striking regularity onto the geography of settlement, which is to say onto the source populations of the migrations that carried the recipe. Cleveland and Minnesota's Iron Range, settled predominantly by Slovenes, say *potica*. Kansas City, whose Strawberry Hill neighborhood was settled predominantly by Croatians, says *povitica*. Butte, Montana, which drew both populations into its copper mines, is mixed. I state this as a strong hypothesis rather than a settled finding, and I specify below exactly what evidence would refute it.

Second, I trace the documentary chain: from the earliest written mentions in the works of the Slovene Protestant reformer Primož Trubar (1575, 1577), through Valvasor's 1689 recipe and the

nineteenth-century cookbook tradition, across the Atlantic with the 1880–1930 labor migrations, and into the American community-cookbook literature of the mid-twentieth century — a literature written, in several cases explicitly, for readers who no longer had a grandmother to ask. Third, I examine the commercial and mediated afterlife of the pastry: mail-order bakeries as diaspora infrastructure, and the 2014 Great British Bake Off technical challenge as the moment the pastry entered global circulation detached from any community that had carried it.

The method throughout is observational and documentary. I propose no new theory of foodways. I catalogue, date, and connect a printed record, and I label the epistemic status of every substantive claim using a four-tier vocabulary — Verified, Hypothesis, Open Question, Metaphor — described in the Note on Method at the end of this paper. The subject deserves that discipline. A paper about what a community chose to write down before its memory failed should itself be careful about what it claims to know.

2. One Verb, Many Names: The Potica/Povitica Isogloss

Both names descend from a single South Slavic verb. Poviti means to wrap, to wind, to swaddle — the same root that gives Slovene its word for swaddling an infant. Povitica is the older nominal form: the wrapped thing, the wound thing. The Slovene potica is a contraction of that older form; the standard etymological account runs povitica → povtica → potica, a compression that occurred within Slovene over centuries, while Croatian and Serbian usage retained the longer form. The two names are therefore not two words but two chronological and geographic stages of one word — a fact with direct consequences for reading the American record. (Verified: the poviti etymology and the povitica-to-potica derivation are standard in the Slovene lexicographic literature and are restated in the EU registration documents and in Slovene national heritage materials.)

2.1 The claim

The claim is this: where an American community says potica, its founding migration was predominantly Slovene; where it says povitica, the founding migration was predominantly Croatian; where both populations settled together, both names persist. The name is a settlement fossil. It records, a century later, which valley the grandmothers came from.

The pattern, community by community. Cleveland, Ohio, home to the largest Slovene settlement in the United States, uses potica; the word appears throughout the publications of the city's Slovene fraternal organizations and parish cookbooks. Minnesota's Iron Range — Hibbing, Chisholm, Ely, Eveleth — where Slovenes formed one of the largest immigrant cohorts in the iron mines, likewise says potica; it is the form used by the Range's commercial bakeries, its newspapers, and the Slovenian Union of America materials produced there. Kansas City, Kansas, is the reverse case: the Strawberry Hill neighborhood was settled after the 1903 flood by Croatian packing-house families, and there the pastry is povitica — the name under which it was baked domestically for eight decades and commercialized in 1984. Butte, Montana, drew Slovenes and Croatians (with Serbs and others) into the same copper-mining parishes and lodges, and Butte's printed record uses both forms, sometimes on facing pages of the same community cookbook. (Hypothesis, strong: the community-level pattern is documented in the sources cited in Sections 5 and 7; a systematic census of all potica-publishing communities has not yet been completed, and I flag that census as the paper's principal outstanding verification task.)

2.2 What would refute it

The hypothesis is falsifiable, and I state the refutation condition in advance. A predominantly Slovene-founded community whose printed record consistently uses *povitica*, or a predominantly Croatian-founded community consistently using *potica*, would break the mapping. Partial mixing does not: intermarriage, shared parishes, and pan-Slavic lodges make some interpenetration inevitable, and Butte demonstrates it. What the hypothesis forbids is a clean crossover. The test is a census of community cookbooks and fraternal publications keyed to the settlement demography of each town — a finite, tractable documentary exercise. Until that census is complete, the isogloss stands as the best available reading of the communities examined here, at the standard of preponderance rather than certainty. (Open Question: the full census.)

2.3 Why it matters

If the mapping holds, the American names constitute linguistic evidence about migration that is independent of ship manifests and parish registers. A pastry name is a low-prestige, high-fidelity carrier: nobody standardized it, no institution enforced it, and so it preserved exactly what the founding population brought. The isogloss also explains an otherwise puzzling feature of the American record — why the same pastry entered American print culture under two names that food writers spent a century treating as a spelling dispute. It was never a spelling dispute. It was two migrations, visible in a word.

3. The Old-World Record

The European documentary chain is long, and its length matters to the American story: the pastry the migrants carried was already, by 1880, a food with three centuries of written testimony behind it — even though almost none of the migrants had read any of it.

The earliest written mentions appear in the works of Primož Trubar, the Protestant reformer and author of the first printed books in Slovene, who refers to *povitica* in works of 1575 and 1577. The oldest known recipe appears in 1689, in Johann Weikhard von Valvasor's monumental topography of Carniola, *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain* (The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola). The modern name gains ground in Valentin Vodnik's cookbook of 1799, and the recipe is standardized for the domestic kitchen in the nineteenth-century Slovene cookbook tradition — most influentially in Magdalena Knafelj Pleiweis's *Slovenska kuharica* of 1868, the ancestor of the Felicita Kalinšek editions that remained the standard Slovene kitchen reference deep into the twentieth century. (Verified: the Trubar mentions, the Valvasor recipe, the Vodnik and Pleiweis dates are the account given in the Slovene national heritage documentation supporting the EU registration, and in the register materials themselves.)

The chain closes, for now, in Brussels. On 21 April 2021 the European Commission entered *Slovenska potica* in the register of Traditional Specialities Guaranteed under Implementing Regulation (EU) 2021/656. The registration specifies the protected form with legal precision: a rolled pastry of thin leavened dough, one of five traditional fillings (walnut; walnut and raisin; raisin; tarragon; tarragon with cottage cheese), baked in the round fluted mould called a *potičnik*, ring-shaped with a central hole, minimum diameter fourteen centimetres. Notably for this paper's argument, the registration was opposed by Austria on behalf of producers of *Potize* and *Putize*, and the settlement expressly declined to protect the bare word *potica* — a tacit legal acknowledgment that the name, like the pastry, had long since escaped any single jurisdiction. (Verified: Regulation (EU) 2021/656, Official Journal L 137, 22 April 2021, directly consulted.)

Two features of the old-world record deserve emphasis. First, it is almost entirely elite and retrospective: Trubar mentions the pastry, Valvasor describes it, the cookbooks codify it, but the transmission itself — the actual teaching of hands — left no European paper trail at all, because it needed none. Second, the record is Slovene. The Croatian *povitica* tradition, equally old as a practice, is thinner in early print. That asymmetry crosses the Atlantic intact, and it shapes which American communities wrote their recipe down first.

4. Migration and the Map, 1880-1930

The pastry crossed the Atlantic inside the great Austro-Hungarian labor migration. Between roughly 1880 and the restriction acts of the 1920s, Slovenes and Croats left the Habsburg lands in the hundreds of thousands, and they went where the recruiting agents and the chain letters sent them: to industries that wanted strong backs and asked no English. The resulting settlement map is the base layer of everything in this paper.

Slovenes concentrated in Cleveland — which by the early twentieth century held the largest Slovene urban population outside Ljubljana — and in the mining regions: the iron ranges of northern Minnesota, the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Kansas, and southern Colorado, and the copper city of Butte, Montana. Croats followed adjacent routes into the same industrial ecology: the Pittsburgh steel district, the Chicago and Kansas City packing houses, and the same western mining camps. In Kansas City the sequence is unusually well documented because a disaster punctuated it: the flood of 1903 destroyed the immigrant quarters in the West Bottoms and pushed the Croatian packing-house families uphill into the Kansas-side neighborhood they renamed Strawberry Hill — the neighborhood whose name, eighty years later, would travel on a *povitica* box. (Verified at the level of settlement geography; the standard immigration historiography and the local records cited in Section 7 agree.)

Butte deserves a paragraph of its own, because Butte is the natural experiment. The richest hill on earth recruited without ethnic discrimination and housed without ethnic buffer: Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs worked the same shifts, joined overlapping fraternal lodges, married across the lines their home villages would have policed, and buried their dead from the same parishes. Where Cleveland and Kansas City preserved their source populations in relative separation, Butte mixed them within a single generation — and Butte's printed record, alone among the communities examined here, mixes the pastry's names accordingly. If the isogloss of Section 2 is a settlement fossil, Butte is the stratum where two deposits interleave, and its heritage cookbook is where the interleaving is visible on the page. The mixed case is not noise in the data; it is the control condition that makes the clean cases legible. (Hypothesis, strong: grounded in Butte's documented settlement history and the nomenclature of its community publications.)

What the migration did to the pastry was subtle and decisive. In Europe, *potica* was a calendar food embedded in an intact transmission system — a village of practitioners, a *potičnik* in every household, a filling dictated by what the region grew. In the mining and packing towns it became something else: a portable proof of identity, baked in whatever pan the company store sold, from whatever nuts the American market offered, by women who were now the sole local carriers of the entire technique. The transmission system had been reduced from a village to a household. Every subsequent development in this paper — the community cookbook, the lodge recipe collection, the mail-order bakery — is a response to the fragility of that reduction. (Hypothesis: the characterization of transmission narrowing is an inference from the settlement pattern and the later documentary behavior, not a directly documented claim.)

5. Cookbooks as Survival Technology

The heart of the American record is the community cookbook, and the community cookbook is not, in this tradition, a casual genre. It is the moment an oral tradition looks at its own actuarial table and decides to write itself down.

The founding generation did not need recipes. The women who carried potica to Cleveland, Hibbing, and Butte had learned it by standing at a table, and for as long as they lived, the technique lived in them. The crisis arrives with the third generation: American-born granddaughters, English-speaking, often living away from the settlement towns, who inherited the obligation of the pastry — it remained mandatory at Christmas and Easter — without inheriting the apprenticeship. The community cookbooks of the mid-twentieth century are engineered precisely for this reader. They are survival technology: text deployed to replace a teacher who is no longer available.

Three bodies of print anchor the record. First, the publications of the Slovenian Women's Union of America (SWUA), founded 1926, whose magazine *Zarja* — The Dawn (published from 1929) carried recipes, technique notes, and potica lore to a national membership for decades, and whose cookbook *Woman's Glory* — The Kitchen (first issued 1951, repeatedly reprinted) became the standard Slovene-American kitchen reference. *Woman's Glory* is explicit about its mission: it exists to preserve the recipes of the immigrant generation for descendants who would otherwise lose them. It is a pre-emptive rescue, compiled while the grandmothers could still be consulted. *Zarja* deserves particular attention as a transmission instrument, because a magazine does what a cookbook cannot: it iterates. Across decades of issues, the same recipe returns with corrections, reader letters supply regional variants, technique disputes are aired and adjudicated, and the potica of the printed page acquires something like the responsiveness of an oral tradition — a slow-motion conversation among practitioners conducted by post. The SWUA print operation is, in effect, the earliest large-scale attempt to rebuild the village of practitioners in a distributed medium; the digital communities of Section 8 are its direct descendants, running the same architecture at higher bandwidth. (Verified within the project's source records: publication dates and organizational provenance confirmed against SWUA materials; the reading of editorial intent is grounded in the publications' own front matter; the characterization of *Zarja*'s iterative function is Hypothesis pending issue-level citation.)

Second, the church and lodge cookbooks — the parish fundraiser collections and fraternal-society compilations produced by Slovene and Croatian communities across the settlement map. Individually modest, collectively they are the densest surviving census of what was actually baked, town by town, and under which name. They are also the primary evidence base for the isogloss of Section 2: a parish cookbook does not editorialize; it prints the word the community uses.

Third, and most consciously, Butte's *Heritage Cookbook* (1976), compiled under the direction of Jean McGrath for Butte's bicentennial project. Butte's *Heritage Cookbook* is the genre at its most self-aware: a mining city, its ethnic neighborhoods already emptying, deliberately archiving the foodways of every community that had worked its hill — Cornish, Irish, Finnish, Serbian, Slovene, Croatian, and more — with contributor names attached to recipes. In it the South Slavic rolled pastry appears in the mixed nomenclature that Butte's mixed settlement predicts, and the compilers treat the recipes explicitly as heritage to be saved rather than instructions to be followed. The book was written, in the plainest sense, for readers with no grandmother left to ask. (Verified within the project's source records: edition and compiler confirmed. The volume's South Slavic pastry content is independently corroborated in regional press: Montana Press's survey of

Butte's culinary history describes the cookbook's povitica recipes in production-level detail — ten-cup doughs stretched to the dimensions of a dinner table. The mixed-nomenclature observation itself rests on the project's working notes on the volume and is held at Hypothesis strength; page-level citation, requiring physical access to the book, remains this claim's named verification task.)

One methodological caution belongs here, because it cuts across everything the cookbooks seem to show. The printed record is survivor-biased twice over. It over-represents organized communities — those with a lodge, a parish, a women's union chapter wealthy enough to print — and it over-represents the moment of anxiety: communities confident in their transmission wrote nothing down. The towns most fluent in potica may therefore be the least documented, and the density of the printed record is partly a map of worry, not of practice. I read the cookbooks accordingly: as evidence of what communities feared losing, which is not identical to evidence of what they had.

6. Technique as Oral Tradition: What the Texts Could and Could Not Carry

A recipe is a list of ingredients and an ordered set of instructions. The potica technique is neither; it is a set of physical judgments — when the dough has been kneaded enough, how fast it can be stretched before it tears, how tight the roll must be to swirl without gapping. The American printed record is at its most interesting where it strains to encode these judgments in words, because the strain marks exactly where the oral tradition resisted textualization.

The clearest example is the thinness standard. Across the tradition, in kitchens an ocean apart, the test for the stretched dough is stated the same way: thin enough to read a newspaper through. The formulation appears in Iron Range usage, in Kansas City (Strawberry Hill's own materials state the dough must be thin enough to read a newspaper through it), and in the British recipe discussed below. It is a perfect specimen of oral-tradition engineering: a calibration standard that requires no instrument, travels in one sentence, and self-administers in any literate household. The newspaper test is the oral tradition writing itself a unit of measure. (Verified: the Strawberry Hill formulation directly consulted; parallel usage documented in the sources of Sections 5 and 7.)

The second example is the cloth method. The dough is stretched not on a board but on a floured cloth — in the domestic tradition, a clean bedsheet — because the cloth both carries the fragile sheet of dough and becomes the tool that rolls it: lift the cloth's edge and the dough rolls itself, tight and even, in a way hands alone cannot manage. The bedsheet detail survives everywhere the technique survives. In Kansas City, the founding family's account has the grandmothers washing bedsheets on Saturday morning specifically to stretch dough on them by afternoon; in Britain in 2014, Paul Hollywood's recipe instructed bakers to roll the dough on a clean bedsheet, to the visible bafflement of contestants. When a professional recipe in a television age still specifies household linen, the text is carrying a fossil of the kitchen that invented the method. (Verified: both instances directly consulted.)

The third example is a divergence rather than a survival: the potičník-to-loaf-pan shift. The European standard — now legally codified in the TSG specification — is the round fluted potičník, producing a ring with a central hole. The American commercial and domestic standard became the rectangular loaf pan, which was cheap, universal, stackable, and shippable. The loaf pan changed the pastry's geometry (a folded S of coils rather than a ring), its slice (the familiar marbled swirl), and eventually its packaging economics — a loaf fits a mailing box as a ring never

did. The divergence is thus not decay but adaptation: the shape of American potica is the shape of American hardware and American shipping. It is also, today, the most visible single difference between the protected European object and its diaspora descendant, and it means the strictest legal definition of Slovenska potica excludes most of what its American cousins have baked for a century. (Verified as to the TSG mould requirement; the loaf-pan account is documented commercial practice; the causal reading of shipping economics is Hypothesis.)

A fourth divergence completes the technical record: the fillings. The European tradition is plural — the TSG specification alone admits five fillings, and Slovene heritage documentation records over a hundred regional varieties, including savory ones; tarragon potica, protected in the 2021 registration, has no American commercial presence at all. The American tradition converged, hard, on the English walnut. The convergence has a plain material logic: walnut was the filling of the festive maximum in the old country, the migrants carried the festive version because the festive version was the identity-bearing one, and the American walnut supply made the maximum affordable year-round. The result is that the diaspora preserved the crown of the tradition while shedding its base — the everyday, the savory, the tarragon — so that the American record, read alone, would reconstruct potica as a richer and narrower food than it ever was in Carniola. Diaspora transmission is selective in a predictable direction: it keeps the version worth writing home about. (Hypothesis: the selection mechanism; Verified: the filling range of the TSG specification and the American commercial dominance of walnut.)

7. Commercial Preservation: Bakeries, Mail Order, and the Globalization Moment

When household transmission thins, commerce becomes an archive. The American potica record includes a small number of businesses that, without intending anything of the kind, became the tradition's institutional memory — because a bakery, unlike a grandmother, publishes its existence continuously: signage, order forms, catalogues, shipping labels, newspaper coverage.

On the Iron Range, the anchor institution is Sunrise Bakery of Hibbing, Minnesota, founded in 1913 by the Roman-born baker Giulio Forti. The founding date requires care, and the care is instructive: Sunrise began as an Italian bread bakery, and potica entered the business through marriage — Vincent Forti's wife Anna was the daughter of Croatian immigrants, and it was the postwar generation, above all Virginia (Ginny) Forti, who scaled the family holiday specialty into the bakery's signature commercial product. A 1991 Los Angeles Times food-page item on the bakery's potica triggered national mail-order demand and a supply contract with the Vermont Country Store, converting a Range delicacy into a product that displaced Rangers could order from anywhere. The institution is 1913; the commercial potica is a mid-century development with a 1991 inflection. Dating them separately is not pedantry — it is the difference between a bakery that always sold potica and a bakery that became a potica archive when the community needed one. (Verified: founding, family sequence, and 1991 episode directly consulted in the business-history record.)

In Kansas City, the sequence runs from domestic secrecy to open commerce in a single family. Povitica recipes on Strawberry Hill were guarded household property for eight decades after the 1903 resettlement; in 1984 Harley O'Leary incorporated the Strawberry Hill Povitica Company and put the neighborhood's name and its Croatian word on a shipped box. The company's subsequent scale — hundreds of thousands of loaves a year, overwhelmingly mail-order, overwhelmingly at the holidays — makes it the largest single engine of the word povitica in American English. One reported detail closes a loop this paper has been drawing all along: the

company has noted that among its largest concentrations of out-of-town orders is Butte, Montana — the mixed mining city, buying its Christmas pastry by mail from the Croatian bakery, under the Croatian name, a century after the migrations sorted the words. Mail order is diaspora infrastructure: it lets a scattered population keep a food after it has lost the kitchen that made it. (Verified: incorporation, scale, and the Butte order pattern directly consulted in reporting on the company.)

The commercial layer is wider than its two anchor institutions, and — for the first time in the tradition's American record — it is countable. A survey conducted for this project in July 2026 verified thirteen active commercial producers of potica or povitica in the United States, spanning the full production spectrum: century institutions (Sunrise, and Zoelsmann's Bakery of Pueblo, Colorado, established 1898, dated here with the same institution-versus-product care that Sunrise demands), family bakeries, a licensed cottage kitchen run by a fourth-generation Slovene-American baker, European-foods grocers, and national catalog retail. Each producer was confirmed through its own current commercial channels at the time of the survey, and the list is maintained as a living, publicly correctable census at poticas.com/makers/. The census's nomenclature is itself isogloss data: the Minnesota producers sell potica, the Kansas City producer sells povitica, precisely as Section 2 predicts. (Verified: the thirteen producers as of the survey date; Open Question: the census's completeness — it is published in order to be corrected.)

The globalization moment has a precise date. In 2014, in the quarter-final of the fifth series of The Great British Bake Off — an episode themed Advanced Dough — the technical challenge was Paul Hollywood's povitica. All but one of the bakers had never heard of the pastry (the exception, Chetna Makan, had by coincidence baked one as her signature that same morning). The episode did to potica what the format does: detached the recipe from every community that had carried it and delivered it, in one broadcast, to a global baking public as pure technique. The aftermath is measurable in the home-baking literature — a wave of povitica attempts, blog documentation, and recipe republication in communities with no South Slavic connection whatever. The bedsheet survived the broadcast; the grandmothers did not need to. Whether this constitutes transmission or merely circulation is the question Section 8 takes up. (Verified: series, episode theme, challenge, and the Makan coincidence directly consulted.)

8. Discussion: Third-Generation Failure and the Digital Continuation

The pattern this record documents is a general one in diaspora foodways, and I state it here as a hypothesis with named indicators rather than as a law. Call it third-generation transmission failure: the founding generation carries the technique bodily; the second generation learns it partially, under the founder's supervision; the third generation inherits the obligation without the apprenticeship, and it is exactly at this generational boundary that the tradition converts itself to text. The indicators in the potica record are datable. The SWUA, an organization of the immigrant generation's daughters, begins publishing recipes within three years of its founding; Woman's Glory appears in 1951, as the founding generation dies; Butte's Heritage Cookbook appears in 1976, as the mining economy that held the community together collapses; the commercial archives — Sunrise's mail-order potica, Strawberry Hill's incorporation — scale in the 1980s and 1990s, precisely when household production can no longer meet even reduced demand. Each written artifact marks a point where oral transmission was failing, and the sequence of artifacts traces the failure moving through the institutions of the community, from the lodge to the parish to the marketplace. (Hypothesis: the generational mechanism; Verified: the dates.)

What the record does not show is extinction. It shows substitution of medium. The pastry is baked today in more places, by more hands, than at any point in its history — but the transmission now runs through text, video, and commerce rather than through households: a TSG specification that fixes the European form in law, mail-order companies that fix the American form in cardboard, a television recipe that fixed a global form in ninety broadcast minutes, and an open digital layer of blogs, videos, and community sites (of which the present project, *poticas.com*, is one) that does at planetary scale what Zarja did by post. When the grandmothers died, the cookbooks became the grandmothers. The digital continuation is simply the newest edition of the same survival technology — and it inherits the same obligation the 1951 compilers understood: to write down not just the recipe but the judgments, the newspaper test and the bedsheet, the parts of the knowledge that die first.

The isogloss, finally, is what makes the American record more than nostalgia. If the *potica/povitica* boundary genuinely fossilizes settlement demography, then every parish cookbook is a data point in migration history, and the humblest genre in American print — the spiral-bound fundraiser cookbook — turns out to preserve evidence that the formal archives do not. Completing that census is the next task. The pastry kept the migrations' memory in its name for a hundred and forty years; the least the scholarship can do is read it.

9. Note on Method and Evidence

Every substantive claim in this paper carries one of four epistemic labels, applied in-line: Verified (supported by a primary or authoritative source directly consulted, citation chain closed); Hypothesis (well-supported, believed likely correct, not yet independently established — with strength noted); Open Question (identified, not yet supportable); Metaphor (an organizing frame doing intellectual work, not a factual assertion; the phrase 'survival technology' and the closing line of Section 8 are so labeled here). Claims attributed to the project's source records (McGrath 1976; SWUA 1951; Zarja) were verified in the project's documentary work preceding this paper; the Butte nomenclature observation is corroborated at volume level by independent press description (Montana Press) and held at Hypothesis strength; page-level citation, requiring physical access to the volume, remains its named verification task. No claim advances its category by rhetorical force.

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