

## **CATTLE RAISING AND SHEEP BREEDING SETTINGS AND SETTLEMENTS - EXPANSES AND TERMS USED**

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*At present, very often extensive research has been put on the traditional forms of stock breeding on the South Slav expanses (cattle raising and sheep breeding, with goat breeding in earlier periods, being of the greatest importance), the emphasis has mainly been put on the various ways of ensuring grazing on the season pastures. The study has been made of the observed differentiating elements, starting with the organisation of getting onto mountain pastures, with the organisation of life and work on them, all the way to the home villages and the distribution of the income. The research performed with this aim has been dependent on natural, physical and geographic characteristics of the terrain which was making the forms of transhuman cattle raising possible as well as on the cultural and historical circumstances.*

A little less researching has been dedicated to the pastures on close pastures (mainly in the valleys and close to the villages). In each of the cited cases, cattle settings (cattle settlements) as well as the cattle raisers abodes (individual objects for people and cattle housing) have been studied and described though most frequently sporadically and in connection with the direct work on the cattle at the time of the grazing. The same, common and similar elements of the life and work of herdsmen in cattle raisers abodes in all the areas and regions where they existed or can still be traced at the present moment require special kind of research. The forms of grouping for the grazing and milking (in the first place of sheep) on common settings are very different, and the forms are known under different terms in different areas.

The purpose of this work is to make the attention be turned to this kind of research relating it to the evident expanding of known cattle raising settings and housing and of those connected with an extensive sheep breeding (more expanded in the Dinarides, with cattle breeding more particular for the Alps area).

The expanses of such settings, with the numerous names given to them, have been determined by the processing of 3000 Questionnaires of the Centre for Ethnologic Cartography at the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Philosophy of Zagreb. The processing is based on the data obtained by the Questionnaires collected for the area of the former Yugoslavia.

The data have been adapted for the cartographic processing based on the computer data base and programmes of drawing ethnographic charts-maps.

All the available and recognized data, for 19th and 20th c., on cattle raisers settlements in the research areas are marked on the maps which are the integral part of the work and the basis for the analysis of the space spread of the occurrences.

The written (published or recorded) material, as well as my own field research have been used as traditional, comparative and even control material.

Under the common title **ISPAŠA I ČUVANJE STOKA** (Pastures and Stock Guarding) a number of ethnographic maps have been drawn, as:

I-1 Pastures outside the village and mountain pastures

I-2 Forms of joining

(several households, village, several villages)

I-3 Cattle raising settings and settlements

(abandoned and existing ones)

I-4 Durability of the settings/settlements

(permanent and temporary)

I-5 Ownership of the setting/settlements

(common permanent and common temporary ones)

I-6 Terms of the cattle raising settings/settlements - A

I-7 Terms of the cattle raising settings/settlements - B

The evidence that only those cattle raising settings/settlements which have been confirmed on the pastures outside the villages (at the greater or lesser distance, in the valley and hilly/mountainous areas) have been investigated is the only distinct fact. Such places do not usually represent the daily grazing spaces (one daily return or two returns to the village), they mean the several days or several months stay outside the village on one or more pastures on the spaces called e.g. "stan, stanarija, katun, dvor, kolibe, planina...". The grazing space on such a place is often given the name of the owner or of the most influential "stanar" (tenant) coupling it with the term most frequent in the area (e.g. Matičevići dvori, Jurića koliba), but just as well there may appear the term denoting the tribal or brotherhood belonging coupled with it as e.g. Kučki katuni (settings/settlements of Kući), but the names can also be compounded with the name of plants, types of ground they are situated on, as Lijeva Rijeka (Left River), Bare (Swamps), Rujevac, Plana ... The work does not consider the division of the cattle raising settings/settlements according to the bovine cattle (dairy or castrated one) and to the smaller size cattle, mixed stock.

The analysis of the maps (with elementary knowledge of climatic and geographic facts determining the spaces for the research) brings out the disbalance in the distribution of "stan" in some areas or the larger concentration of them in some other places. Economical and cultural-historical facts have been greatly influencing the leaving off

and disappearing of the forms of stock raising which were in direct connection or perhaps depending on the organisation of the life and work in cattle raising settings/settlements.

The distribution of settings/settlements can be followed in the continuity of several decades (even centuries) all over the whole area of the research, from the outermost northwest to the outermost southeastern areas.

The given terms are showing the numbers and differences, and thus even enlarging domains of the research, and are not only limited to the narrowed linguistic researching. The areas of grouping particular terms are relatively easily discernible as well as the most frequent or the most used individual terms.

Some terms are in connection with the cattle raising in the valleys, the most frequent ones being "salaš" and "stina".<sup>1</sup> Several terms (kolibe, stanovi, torovi, pojate, trlo, mandre) are appearing in the valleys as well as in mountainous areas, and only the analysis of the contents and the structure of life and ways of earning could point to the more essential similarities or differences.

The characteristic distribution of some of the terms has been easy to notice. The more significant concentration of the term "stan" on several areas (western and southwestern Serbia, parts of Herzegovina, western Bosnia and Lika as well as the eastern Slavonia and Srijem) has been noticed as interesting result.

Then, there is the term "kolibe" known in larger areas of Bosnia, Herzegovina, western Serbia, Slavonia, Srijem and Voivodina.

The terms "pojate" and "trlo" are mainly limited to the outermost eastern areas, while the term "mandre" is found in the outermost southeast.<sup>2</sup> Characteristic for the

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<sup>1</sup> "Salaši" are generally characteristic for the Pannonian zones and are particularly numerous in Voivodina (Bačka and Banat) as well as being sporadically found in places in north-eastern Serbia. These are primarily agricultural areas with farm and housing buildings, partly adapted to the cattle raising. They are most frequently found outside the very centre of the villages and owners and the members of the family live there in the secondary settlements.

"Salaš" is of non/European, probably Asian, origin. According to the explanation of the P. Skok, the linguist, "salaš" is being mentioned in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Russia in the meaning of shepherd hut.

<sup>2</sup> "Pojate" in the zone of their spread designate the space and the farm buildings, the cattle raisers stay place, and when found in the western areas (among Serbs) they denote hay-barn - where the hay is put away with other kinds of fodder so called "pića".

"Mandra" is the Romance speaking term, according to some explanations of the old Balkan origins meaning herd, pack. On the map the term is found only in Macedonia (largely on the east of the river Vardar), but according to the literature and other written document sources we have learned that there are a number of place-names based on term (e.g. in Žepa in eastern Bosnia and Glasinac on the Sarajevo, but also far to the northwest in Veprinština, on the eastern slopes of Učka, in the interior of Istria near Završje and Materada). The term has been known on the islands: Korčula, Pag, Rab and Krk, and in the forms "medrija" and "mandrija", meaning fenced space, it has been noted in Slovenia on Goriške. The term has been known in Greek, and the Italian "mandracchino" is denoting landing space, shelter for ships.

The term "trlo" denotes the fenced in space - tor (sheep-fold) in which the stock of one or more households was sheltered, mainly in the vicinity of the village (summer or winter "trla").

pastures known as seasonal grazing (generally in the summer months) are terms as "katun", "planina" and "dvor" (With the earlier mentioned terms).

The maps are showing "katun" as having completely limited spread with only being sporadically mentioned outside the areas of Monte Negro and eastern Herzegovina.<sup>3</sup> However, numerous data of the literature, as well as my own field research are convincing us of direct connection with the cattle raising.

The place -names "katuni" or "katuništa" are frequent on the very lengthened space in the background of the Adriatic, starting from the southeast (eastern Herzegovina) to the outermost northwest (Istria).

Several localities have been known under the same names in the vicinity of the river Cetina, above the town of Omiš, (village Katuni), then "Katunari" in the Croatian Coastal Area (Primorje) and "katuništa" in Žumberak.

The stressed concentration of these or derived terms has been present in Istria, to mention the village Katun somewhere between Pazin and Motovun in the central Istria as well as Katune (Lindarski, Gradiški, Trviški, Grdoselski), then "katune" on the western slopes of Učka, but also Katunare near Baderna in Poreština, and near Brtonigla in Buještina.

The term "planina" is largely present in the northeastern Slovenia, but its presence in Herzegovina and northeastern Bosnia need not be un-interesting for us.

Though the cartographic survey does not have more numerous data which would be confirming the use of the term "dvor" and its spread, it is quite clear that it is appearing on a relatively narrow area - examples being found on the eastern coast of Istria, the peninsula, and its background.

But there are more of such significant confirmations (what taken from literature, what found during field calls). The term "dvor" refers to the farm buildings (štala - stables, staja - cowshed), for sheltering of the cattle with perhaps the space reserved for the shepherds, then it is also used in the area of Kastavština, Veprinština (above the towns Rijeka and Opatija) and in that of Čičarija on Učka for the cattle raising settings/settlements which there include the quarters for different numbers of shepherds and cattle in the summer months.

Even in the western Istria (particularly between Pula and Barbane) there are extensive localities termed "dvori" (e.g. Bičići dvori, Drakarove dvori, Belasovi dvori, Kapovi dvori, Taškerovi dvori...).

The more extensive researching, for which there are all assumptions as a large number of materials have been gathered and processed and as the data basis has been organized and the program for the cartographic processing established, should take into consideration other relevant facts connected with stock raising in this areas as well as those unavoidable and specific cultural and historical facts.

Translated by Beatrice Mićunović

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<sup>3</sup>According to Skok, "katun" is the Balkan word, probably of Arbanasi origins, and the problem of the medieval "katuni" is of particular scientific interest and is still insufficiently investigated and not clear.

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## STOČARSKI STANOVNI - RASPOSTRANJENOST I NAZIVI

### Sažetak

U dosadašnjim, često i vrlo opsežnim istraživanjima tradicijskih oblika stočarenja na južnoslavenskim prostorima, ističu se uglavnom različiti načini sezonske ispaše. Pri tome su posebno obrađivani razlikovni elementi uočeni počevši od organizacije izlaska na planinske pašnjake, života i rada na njima, pa sve do povratka u matična sela i raspodjele prihoda. Istraživanja koja su provedena s tim ciljem prije svega su bila uvjetovana prirodnim, fizičko-geografskim karakteristikama terena koji je omogućavao različite forme transhumantnog stočarstva, ali i kulturno-povijesnim okolnostima.

Nešto manje istraživanja bilo je posvećeno ispaši na bližim pašnjacima (uglavnom u nizinskim krajevima i nedaleko od sela). U svakom od navedenih slučajeva, najčešće sporadično i u vezi s neposrednim radom oko stoke u toku ispaše, obrađivani su i opisivani i tzv. *stočarski stanovi (stočarska naselja)* i stočarske *nastambe* (pojedinačni objekti za ljude i blago).

Posebnu vrstu istraživanja zahtijevaju istovrsni, zajednički i slični elementi u životu i radu pastira u stočarskim stanovima u svim područjima i regijama gdje su postojali ili su u tragovima zadržani do našeg vremena. Tu prije svega mislim na konkretne oblike kao što su *planšarstvo* i *planištarenje*, *pobravičarstvo*, *sumjesništvo* i *suponištvo*, *bačijanje*, *salašništvo* i *kolibarenje*, *katunsko stočarenje*.

Svrha ovog rada je da skrene pozornost na tu vrstu istraživanja u suodnosu s evidentnom rasprostranjenošću poznatih nam stočarskih naselja i nastambi.

Rasprostranjenost takvih naselja s njihovim brojnim nazivima utvrđena je obradom oko 3000 Upitnica Centra za etnološku kartografiju pri Odsjeku za etnologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu. Obrada se temelji na podacima iz Upitnica prikupljenim za područje bivše Jugoslavije.

Podaci su prilagođeni kartografskoj obradi izvedenoj iz kompjutorske baze podataka i programa za iscrtavanje etnografskih karata.

Nazivi stanova također su prikazani kartografski i većina ih je u izravnoj vezi s pokretnim stočarenjem i ljetnim izdigom stoke na planinske pašnjake.

Takvi stanovi (stočarska naselja) najpoznatiji su pod nazivima: *planina*, *katun*, *staje*, *kolibe*, *pojate*.

Nazivi kao što su: *bačija*, *trlo*, *stina*, *salaš*, *mandra*, *dvor* pripadaju onoj skupini koja označava (u pravilu) dnevni izgon na pašu priplodne, jalove ali i muzne stoke, no isto tako odnose se i na duži boravak stoke u stanovima koji su bliži matičnim selima.

Etimologija samih naziva nije dostatna za pouzdana tumačenja i objašnjenja, pa je nužno u istraživanjima posebno imati u vidu njihov sadržaj.

Prostorna raširenost, stočarskih naselja i pripadajućih im naziva, samo je jedan dio u poželjnom sveobuhvatnom istraživanju više relevantnih čimbenika tradicijskog stočarstva na južnoslavenskim prostorima.