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## SEASONAL PASTORAL EXPLOITATION OF FORESTS IN THE AREA OF SUBCARPATHIA IN THE 15<sup>TH</sup> AND 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

GRZEGORZ JAWOR

**ABSTRACT.** *Seasonal pastoral exploitation of forests in the area of Subcarpathia in the 15th and 16th century*  
The arguments included in the article were based on a small number of information preserved in the sources, which concern a seasonal presence of the Wallachian shepherds in the areas situated north of the line designating the scope of permanent (year-round) rural settlements founded on the Wallachian law. It was practised both in forests belonging to the king as well as in private estates throughout all seasons. This research resulted in the thesis stating that groups of the Wallachian shepherds led a seasonal grazing of their herds in the submontane areas already in the 15th century. Various factors, primarily of an economic nature, made these pastoral activities disappear or, at least, made them significantly limited at the turn of the 16th and 17th century. Pastoralism of a transhumance type existed throughout the entire period under discussion, in modern sources referred to as *kozarnictwo* (transhumance herding), consisting in periodic migrations of pastoral groups from permanent villages. Similarly to what I have claimed in my previously published research on the Wallachian pastoralism in the Carpathian areas, there are no indications in the sources, which would justify a thesis for a long time widespread in historical studies, on the presence of a nomadic phase in the history of the Wallachian colonization in the Polish areas. Also in the case of the areas currently studied, its existence can be given no confirmation.

**Autor:** Grzegorz Jawor, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Institute of History, [grzegjaw@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:grzegjaw@poczta.onet.pl)

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Seasonal presence of the Wallachian shepherds in a strip of the Subcarpathians' subjacent ranges in the area of Lesser Poland and western ends of Red Ruthenia, north of the proper, montane borderline of their ecumene, has been for a long time present in the historical literature on this subject matter. Relatively few and succinctly worded references in the sources from the 15<sup>th</sup> century did not, however, encourage scholars of the history of the Wallachian colonization to make a more thorough study on this problem. Kazimierz Dobrowolski, inspired by the views of a Czech historian, Karel Kadlec, on the existence of a nomadic phase of the Wallachian colonization in the northern slopes of the Carpathians<sup>1</sup>, has introduced and spread them in the Polish stu-

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<sup>1</sup> K. Kadlec, *Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských. S úvodem podávajícím přehled teorii o vzniku rumunského národa*, [Vlachs and the Wallachian Law in the Slavic and Hungarian

dies. One of the arguments addressed by K. Dobrowolski in support of this thesis was the information from the sources, the subject of our inquiry as well, which was considered by this scholar as the evidence of the existence of cyclical migrations of the Wallachian nomads – in summer towards the mountains, while in winter to the sub-jacent areas. The process of a gradual settlement of parts of the Wallachian groups in permanent rural settlements was to take place during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The seasonal migrations to the forests were then limited only to the participation of a specialised pastoral team, thus obtaining a typical form of transhumance. The abovementioned hypothesis therefore assumes that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there simultaneously existed communities of sedentary Vlachs, but also those more conservative, maintaining the nomadic lifestyle of a group<sup>2</sup>. Thus formulated research perspective, dominant until now in the Polish scholarship, did not however find a confirmation in the light of the results of my published research on the seasonal mountain pastoralism in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. As it turned out, mountain pasturing took various forms in the studied period. At the same time, there is no doubt that it was based on the functioning of permanent villages founded on the Wallachian law in the submontane areas, while typically nomadic pastoralism in the area in question did not exist or played an entirely marginal role. There are serious indications in the sources, which allow to introduce the so-far accepted later forms of pasturing, like *koszarnictwo*, *szalaśnictwo* or winter mountain-pasturing, to the oldest and late medieval phase of the Wallachian settlement in the areas of Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia<sup>3</sup>.

In this situation it seems appropriate to make an attempt to confront the aforementioned view, which acknowledges the pasturing of animals in the sub-jacent areas as the evidence of a nomadic lifestyle of shepherds who were running these activities, with the preserved sources. The unique nature of the analysed information results mainly from the specificity of this activity, which was run in secluded areas (vast forest complexes, wetlands), distant from rural settlements and administrative centres of individual landed estates. Imposing relevant fees on the newly arrived on acco-

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Lands. With the Introduction on the Overview of Theories on the Creation of the Romanian Nation], Praha 1916, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską w Karpatach północnych. Typologia wędrówek pasterskich od XIV–XX wieku*, [Studies on the Pastoral Culture in the Northern Carpathians. Typology of Pastoral Movements from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century] “Wierchy”, vol. 29: 1960, pp. 32–33, 45; idem, *Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach polskich*, [Wallachian Migrations in the Polish Lands] Lwów 1930 (Odbitka z Pamiętnika V Zjazdu historyków polskich), p. 11; idem, *Die Haupttypen der Hirtenwanderungen in den Nordkarpaten vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Viehzucht und Hirtenleben in Ostmitteleuropa. Ethnographische Studien*, Budapest 1961, pp. 131–133.

<sup>3</sup> Grzegorz Jawor, *Le pastoralisme valaque dans les Carpates Polonaises au XV<sup>ème</sup> et XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle (l'exemple de Bieszczady)*, “Banatica”, 2014, vol. 24, II, pp. 151–166; idem, *Gospodarka i osadnictwo w strefie bieszczadzkiej polonin w XV i XVI wieku*, [Economy and Rural Settlement in the Region of Bieszczady Mountain Meadows in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century] in: *Region i regionalizm w archeologii i historii*, ed. J. Hoff and S. Kadrow, Rzeszów 2013, pp. 143–154; idem, *Pasterstwo na obszarach górskich Rusi Czerwonej i Małopolski od XIV do połowy XVI wieku*, [Pastoralism in the Mountain Areas of Red Ruthenia and Lesser Poland from the 14<sup>th</sup> to mid-16<sup>th</sup> century] in: *Кризь століття. Студії на пошану Миколи Крикуна з нагоди 80-річчя*, Львів 2012, pp. 35–42.

unt of pasturing was also obstructing their irregular, and difficult to predict, arrival and the duration of their stay in the respective forest complexes. The number of animals brought by the Vlachs is also highly implausible. This irregularity and unpredictability of revenues is visible in chronologically the oldest information, dated back to 1473, concerning the distribution of hereditary estates in the areas around Lesser Poland's Myślenice: Skrzydlina, Stróże and Wola (Skrzydlańska) between brothers: Marek, Ratold, Jerzy and Jan. In fact, the document contains a reservation regarding the division of the revenues in case the Vlachs bring over their bovine herds into the forests, which belonged to the brothers: *Si vero Valachi in silva peccora impellerent, extunc prefati fratres equaliter de eisdem utilitatem habebunt*.<sup>4</sup> Not much has changed in this respect in the next century (1564–1566) since the inspectors describing the revenues from the royal village of Bratkowice (former Pilzno township, in the vicinity to Rzeszów) stated that: *The Vlachs rent pasture in these forests, sometimes there are more of them, sometimes less*.<sup>5</sup> The authors of the sources (acts of distribution of estates, inventories, inspections), which are useful for further discussion, were interested only in the fiscal aspect of the problem under consideration. Consequently, it is more difficult to find in them the information going beyond this pattern.

These shepherds were treated as strangers (outsiders) and thus as coming from other landed properties<sup>6</sup>. For in contrast to the local people, who usually had the right to use local pastures at no additional charges, they had to make a payment in coins or animal, which was referred to as *paszne*, *wkupy* or *dań barania*<sup>7</sup>. Depending on the customs predominant in the respective districts (*starostwo*) and the results of negotiations with shepherds, the level of payment varied. In Borek Wielki (near Ropczyce): *They make a deal with them, the best they can: per florenis 3, et 4, et cum aliis per 5, facit fl. 12*<sup>8</sup>, while in the district of Lanckorona they paid a tribute typical for the

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<sup>4</sup> *Wyciągi z najstarszych ksiąg sądowych ziemi krakowskiej* [Records from the Oldest Court Books of Cracow Land] in: *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, vol. II, ed. A. Z. Helcel, Kraków 1870, no. 4101.

<sup>5</sup> *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego 1564–1565*, [Inspection of Sandomierz Voivodeship] ed. W. Ochmański, Wrocław 1963, [later cited as:] LWS, p. 79. All the passages from the sources written in Old-Polish language were translated into English for the purpose of this article.

<sup>6</sup> Strangers in the Slovakian lands were referred to in the same way: *Valachi extranei, Walachi de aliis comitatibus, Walachi e partibus extraneis*; J. Beňko, *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, [Settlements of Northern Slovakia] Košice 1985, p. 137; V. Chaloupecký, *Valaši na Slovensku*, [The Vlachs in Slovakia] Praha 1947, pp. 21–23; J. Štika, *Moravské Valašsko. Jeho vznik a vyvoj*, [The Vlachs in Moravia. Origin and Development] Ostrava 1973, pp. 20–23.

<sup>7</sup> Different taxation system was applied towards the inhabitants of Ozanna, situated in the district of Leżajsk (Przemyśl Land). If the local Vlachs wanted to use the extensive primary forests' pastures they had to make additional payments on the same terms as strangers: *Жерела до історії України – Русь*. vol. III: *Описи королівщин в руських землях XVI віку*. [Inspections of Crown Lands in the Territories of Ruthenia] vol. II, ред М. Грушевський, Львів 1897, vol. II, L'viv 1897, (later cited as:) OK, p. 200, 1997: 200–202).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

Wallachian law, referred to as *vigesima*<sup>9</sup>. The inspection from 1564–1565 contains very valuable information for our further discussion, allowing for a closer pinpointing of the place of origin of these shepherds. In the case of the district of Lubaczów, the Vlachs were “strangers” from the neighbouring counties: *With the cattle buying into the pastures of the neighbouring villages, of Belz Land as well as of the county of Przemyśl, for there are large and sufficient forests there. And so the strangers purchase the feed for their cattle and sheep.* In this case, the possibility that they were nomads should be excluded since the source explicitly states their residence in the villages. Similarly, in the neighbouring district of Zamch the pasture was practised by the shepherds: *from Belz Land and other regions*<sup>10</sup>. It is worth noting that already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century a rather intensive settlement on the Wallachian law, based on permanent rural settlements with a pastoral production profile, but with a considerable share of rural activities associated with the exploitation of forests, was taking place in the areas of both of the aforementioned regions (Belz and Przemyśl)<sup>11</sup>. Shepherds arriving in the district of Lanckorona were also not nomads since they were exploiting the grazing terrains together with its inhabitants. They came from the nearby areas for the source defines them as “neighbours”<sup>12</sup>. More interpretational problems are caused by the reference about the Vlachs coming into the forests of the royal village of Borek Wielki (near Ropczyce and Pilzno). They were twice characterised as coming from the mountains: *The Vlachs come from the mountains with the flocks of sheep and they hire the feed in the forests, and: when sheep were driven from the mountains for the feed in the forests.* In contrast to K. Dobrowolski’s view, this kind of way of defining the origins of the visitors still does not indicate the fostering of their nomadic lifestyle<sup>13</sup>. Around 50 kilometres south of this town ran a line designating the range of an intensive and permanent Wallachian settlement, chronologically dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which was located in the areas of Sanok Land and the county of Biecz, be-

<sup>9</sup> *Lustracja województwa krakowskiego 1564*, vol. 1, [Inspection of Cracow Voivodeship] ed. J. Małecki, Warszawa 1962 (later cited as:) LWK, pp. 214–215.

<sup>10</sup> OK II, pp. 221.

<sup>11</sup> OK, ред. М. Грушевский, vol. III, L’viv 1900, p. 277. The Wallachian settlement in the voivodeship of Belz until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was discussed in details in the monograph by A. Janeczek *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo belskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.* [The Settlement on the Polish-Ruthenian Frontier. Belz Voivodeship from the End of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the Beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century] Wrocław 1991, map no. 14. Medieval phase of the Wallachian colonization in the areas of Przemyśl Land was discussed in the book by G. Jawor, *Osady prawa włoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu.* [Settlements on the Wallachian Law and their Inhabitants in Red Ruthenia in Late Middle Ages] 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, completed, Lublin 2004, pp. 101–111. In the next few years a map of this colonization in Europe will be published; at present it is under preparation by an international research team led by Prof. Czamańska from UAM as part of the project: *Wolosi w europejskiej i polskiej przestrzeni kulturowej. Migracje – osadnictwo – dziedzictwo kulturowe.* The results of this research will be published on the website: <https://vlachs-project.eu/>.

<sup>12</sup> LWK I, pp. 214–215.

<sup>13</sup> LWS, p. 114, and K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską*, pp. 32–33.

longing to Cracow Voivodeship<sup>14</sup>. The thesis, opposite to K. Dobrowolski's view, that the abovementioned "*Vlachs of the mountains*" were the inhabitants of permanent settlements, has equally strong foundations.

When resolving the issue of the nature of shepherds who were seasonally arriving to the subjacent areas, information included in the inspections of crown lands, which characterised the means of practising their activities, may also turn out to be quite helpful. First of all, our attention is drawn to the dates of their stay there, presented in the annual cycle. They arrive in the forests of Borek Wielki for winter: *they rent the feed in the forests throughout the winter*<sup>15</sup>. In the district of Leżajsk: *they pay for wintery admission to the large forests with sheep and cattle*, but they did the same also in summer since: *if someone there wants to pasture in summer as well as in winter then they pay for admission by giving a certain amount of money from hundred sheep*. This activity was practised during similar seasons in the district of Zamch<sup>16</sup>. Sheep were grazing throughout the entire year also in the areas of Porąbki (in the Duchy of Oświęcim)<sup>17</sup>, while in the forests belonging to Wadowice (district of Zator) only in summertime<sup>18</sup>. This information weakens the abovementioned conviction, commonly accepted in the scholarly literature, that the migrations of the Vlachs and their herds were dependent on seasons and were taking place in accordance with the pattern: towards the mountains in summertime, towards the lowlands in wintertime. What is more, the shepherds were staying for winter also in the typically montane areas of Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia. Additionally, there are serious indications in the sources suggesting that this was an old custom dating back to the Late Middle Ages, which was the time of the spreading of the oldest phase of the Wallachian colonization on the northern slopes of the Carpathians. The pastures were practised not by the nomads, but the inhabitants of permanent rural settlements<sup>19</sup>. In one case (district of

<sup>14</sup> Speaking in terms of territory, within the closest distance to the village of Borek Wielki were found the settlements situated in the area of Sanok Land: Wołodź (in 1373, referred to as Wołosze), Blizne (before 1402 Wołoch – Vlach – Laczko was its owner), Hadle Szklarskie (location on the Wallachian law in 1377), Łubno (the Wallachian *knez – kniaź* – was recorded in 1447, but the village is undoubtedly older) – Adam Fastnacht, *Słownik historyczno – geograficzny ziemi sanockiej w średniowieczu*. [Dictionary of History and Geography of Sanok Land in the Middle Ages] Prepared for printing by A. Fastnacht – Stupnicka and A. Gąsiorowski, part I, Brzozów 1991, pp. 44, 144; part II, Brzozów-Wzdow-Rzeszów 1998, p. 130; part III, Kraków 2002, p. 238 and idem, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340–1650*, [Settlements in Sanok Land between 1340 and 1650] Sanok, 2007, pp. 215, 233; J. Czajkowski, *Dzieje osadnictwa historycznego na Podkarpaciu i jego odzwierciedlenie w grupach etnicznych*, [Story of the Historical Settlement in Subcarpathia and its Reflection in Ethnical Groups] in: *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, ed. J. Czajkowski, part 1, Rzeszów 1995, p. 72.

<sup>15</sup> LWS, p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> OK II, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> LWK I, p. 244.

<sup>18</sup> The Vlachs who were arriving to this centre made a payment in a form of 3 rams and cheese for 100 sheep. The amount which was extracted from these payments in 1564 indicated that there were flocks of around 700 animals pastured in that place; *ibidem*, p. 221.

<sup>19</sup> G. Jawor, *Gospodarka*, pp. 143–154. For instance, there is mentioned an activity in the areas of the Bieszczady's mountain-meadows: *of strangers, who were herding their flocks into the mountain- mead-*

Zamch) the inspection explicitly refers to them as “*koszarnicy*” (herders)<sup>20</sup>. According to the studies on “*koszarnictwo*” in the montane areas of Red Ruthenia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this name was given to the specialised herdsmen-shepherds, who purchased the animals in the surrounding villages for the purpose of their pasture on the Carpathian mountain-meadows, particularly in winter. “*Koszarnictwo*” was also practised by the inhabitants of the submontane villages, which did not have their own designated areas for pasturing in the montane region, what in turn forced them to migrate and rent the pastures; hence, they were commonly referred to in the sources as “strangers” (*alieni, extranei*)<sup>21</sup>.

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in all of the areas, both montane terrains as well as lowlands covered by the Wallachian pastoralism, the discussed activity was based on the same resources. The basis for farming in summer were grasses (particularly valued were natural, mid-forest and dry hayfields<sup>22</sup>), while in winter sheep were fed with mistletoe and branches of coniferous trees. In Borek Wielki: *the Vlachs together with their flocks of sheep rent the feed in the forests for mistletoes throughout winter*<sup>23</sup> and in Ożanna: *they chop the wood of mistletoe in winter and in summertime they take to pasture on grasses*<sup>24</sup>, while in the district of Zamch the visitors were arriving with the animals: *for the pasture, in winter for mistletoe and for chopping fir trees and in summertime for grasses*<sup>25</sup>. There is indirect evidence in the sources indicating that the practices recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were cultivated also in the previous century. For when in 1487 the heir of Laskowa (near Limanowa) deposited his estates, he simultaneously reserved the right for the Vlachs to pasture their animals in the nearby forests and to chop trees in them, which, as can be suspected, were intended for winter feed for the sheep<sup>26</sup>.

The so far conducted analysis of information from the sources, which for K. Dobrowolski were a basis for formulating the thesis that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century some of the

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*ows for the feed in winter and some other times; Lustracja województw ruskiego, podolskiego i belskiego 1564–1565*, [Inspection of the Voivodeships of Ruthenia, Podole and Belz 1564–1565] part 2, ed. K. Chłapowski and H. Żytkowicz, Warszawa 2001, p. 157, and also: *sheepherders, that is people soventes greges, from the neighbouring villages from the Kingdom as well as from Hungary, buy their way therein, into the pastures of the mountain-meadows* (OK II, p. 286).

<sup>20</sup> OK II, p. 221.

<sup>21</sup> В.Ф.Інкін, *Сільське суспільство Галицького Прикарпаття у XVI–XVIII століттях: історичні нариси*, [Rural Society in the Subcarpathia of Halicz in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Historical Outlines] Львів 2004, ed. H. Крикун, pp. 25 – 31.

<sup>22</sup> B. Baranowski, *Eksploracja łąk i pastwisk*, [Exploitation of Grasslands and Pastures] [in:] *Zarys historii gospodarstwa wiejskiego w Polsce*, vol. II, ed. B. Baranowskiego and J. Topolskiego, Warszawa 1964, p. 191.

<sup>23</sup> LWS, p. 114.

<sup>24</sup> OK II, p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> OK II, p. 221. By comparison, in the Bieszczady Mountains: *in winter they also buy their way into the mistletoe and they chop the wood for sheep* (OK III, p. 294).

<sup>26</sup> *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, [Dictionary of History and Geography of Cracow Voivodeship in the Middle Ages] part II, Wrocław–Kraków 1989–1993, p. 303.

Vlachs cultivated a nomadic (scavenger) lifestyle despite a gradual settlement in permanent villages<sup>27</sup>, finds no confirmation. In fact, the sources record only the existence of the Wallachian pastoralism of the transhumance type outside of the mountain areas, based on the seasonal movement of pastoral groups, operating from permanent rural villages. There is no evidence for the existence of the nomadic groups in them. At this point we should add that this type of pastoralism was widespread on the Romanian territories, which suggests its remote dating<sup>28</sup>.

The sources so far analysed, characterised by vagueness and chronological limitations between the years 1564–1565, and highlighting the problem of pastoralism, which was present almost exclusively in the areas of crown lands, did not bring any closer the answers to important questions about the time-frames of the seasonal Wallachian pastoralism outside of the areas of the ecumene typical for this colonizing trend. It seems that these migrations began to disappear at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, although their traces in a vestigial shape can be still observed in the areas of Silesian Beskids and Podhale in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>29</sup>. K. Dobrowolski found a distinctive information dated to 1615, which refers to the abovementioned village of Borek Wielki to where foreign shepherds were coming between 1564 and 1565. These shepherds ceased to utilise the neighbouring forests around 1603 because: *when the sheep were herded from the mountains into the forests for feed, 5 groszy was paid for 100 sheep. They have not been herded into the forests for 12 years*<sup>30</sup>. One can only assume that the aforementioned information demonstrates a broader trend and does not reflect the situation which took place in this one particular settlement. A factor which influenced the gradual spatial reduction of the movements of the Wallachian shepherds in the period in question was not only the constant increase in the profitability of agricultural production, but also the lasting prosperity in the better-quality wood and other goods produced in the forests<sup>31</sup>. The spatial sphere of the activities of the inhabitants living in the settlements based on the Wallachian law was gra-

<sup>27</sup> K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>28</sup> B. Jaworska, *Badania nad pasterstwem w Rumunii*, [Studies on Pastoralism in Romania] „Lud”, vol. 16: 1960, pp. 508–515.

<sup>29</sup> K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską*, p. 33; B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, *Gospodarka pasterska w Beskidzie Śląskim*, [Pastoral Economy in Silesian Beskids] „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, vol. VIII–IX: 1951, pp. 248–250; S. Berezowski, *Problemy geograficzne pasterstwa wędrownego*, [Geographical Problems of Nomadic Pastoralism] [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr i Podhala*, vol. I, ed. W. Antoniewicz, Wrocław-Kraków-Warszawa 1959, pp. 77–145.

<sup>30</sup> K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>31</sup> The district of Drohobych (Red Ruthenia) included extensive mountain areas. It appears from the inspection of 1565 that the district governors used to agree to have the sheep herded into these areas and therefore gained revenues from the relevant fees. However, due to separating in the last few years a number of these forests from the district, in order to protect other forests, it was no longer allowed to let those people in: *who used to have their flocks there and who chopped the trees to feed them so that the trees started to get dry*; *Lustracja województwa ruskiego* [Lustration of the Voivodeship of Ruthenia], part II, eds. K. Chłapowski and H. Żytkowicz, Warszawa 2001, pp. 195–169 [later cited as:] LWR. I have discussed this problem in one of the monographs (G. Jawor, *Osady*, in particular pp. 165–170. Detailed bibliography on this problem was included therein).

dually limited by rural villages, both newly settled as well as those slightly older, but strengthening themselves through demographics and constantly extending the crop acreage cultivated on peasants' and manor farms. The area of primary forests was undergoing a constant regression and their owners or tenants were increasingly limiting access to them. In this new reality, the presence of the Vlachs and their flocks in the forests was increasingly less accepted due the devastation of forest resources (killing off the wildlife and destruction of trees)<sup>32</sup>. During migrations to the pastures it was increasingly more difficult to avoid conflicts with farmers, whose crops were threatened by the animals passing by<sup>33</sup>. Various aspects of this issue are illustrated by the decree of King Henry of Valois from 1574, which was an attempt to resolve the conflict between the Vlachs living in the settlements of the district of Zamch: Obsza and Zamch<sup>34</sup>, and the officials of Zamch's district councillor (starosta), Jan Zamoyski. The royal subjects complained, amongst other things, about the imposition of serfdom and the increase of tributes, but also the destruction of their beehives in the primary forests since Zamoyski introduced to these territories iron-smelting miners, and that these officials: *denied them access to the path running through the field while they were herding the cattle into the forests so that they had to go around for a mile or for a mile and a half*<sup>35</sup>. Apart from the concern over the condition of crops, the mentioned conflict could have also resulted from Zamoyski's aversion towards forest pastures practiced by the Vlachs.

<sup>32</sup> Here are the reasons for the expulsion of the Vlachs in 1532 from the forests near the currently non existing village of Czyżewo, in the district of Szydłów, situated in the back of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains: *Circa hanc villam sunt nemora que Valachis pastoribus ovium appreciabantur florenis 8 et interdum pluris, sed dominus olim castellanus Cracoviensis propter feras eos inde depulit, et nichilominus [s] dicunt neque feras ibi esse; Inwentarz starostwa albo Ekonomii Szydłowieckiej, województwo sandomierskie, powiat wiślicki. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, [Inventory of the District or Economy of Szydłowiec, Sandomierz Voivodeship, Wiślica County. Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Archives of the Crown Treasury] [later cited as:] ASK, vol. XVI, reference S. 6 II, book 22.*

<sup>33</sup> K. Dobrowolski, *Zderzenie kultury rolniczej z pasterską*, [Clash between Agricultural and Pastoral Culture] „Sprawozdania z czynności i Posiedzeń PAU”, 1939: 5 [printed:] 1945, pp. 191–194.

<sup>34</sup> The settlement Zamch appeared in the sources in 1426, but it certainly existed in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps already at that time it was subjected to the Wallachian colonization (S. Syty, *Starostwo zamechskie w średniowieczu*, [District of Zamch in the Middle Ages] [in:] *Na pograniczu kultur, języków i tradycji. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Doktorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. M. Mądzika and A. A. Witusika, Lublin 2004: pp. 97–98). In the light of the inspection in 1565 it was a large village, governed by the Ruthenian law. At the same time it was mentioned that some of the inhabitants paid the *vigesima*, which was a typical feature of the Wallachian law. In this case the Wallachian shepherds were most likely living in the part of Zamch and maintained large flocks since they paid the tribute at a rate of 25½ rams, which equals to a flock of around 500 sheeps. Moreover, in the neighbouring forests, as was already mentioned in the text, animals were herded by foreign herdsmen (*koszarnicy*), which triggered displeasure of the local population as it limited their opportunity for farming (LWR II, p. 226).

<sup>35</sup> *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego*, [The Archives of Jan Zamoyski] vol. 1: 1553–1579, ed. W. Sobieski, Warszawa 1904, no. 42.



Considerably more doubts arise while attempting to determine even a very approximate date of the beginning of the Wallachian migrations towards lowlands. The direct information concerning the pastures in the territories of crown lands is dated back only to the 1530s. In a detailed inventory from 1536 of the settlements in the county of Pilzno there is a description of the revenues from the village of Bratkowice, which we have already seen. There were also amongst them, similarly as in 1564, the amounts collected from the Vlachs who were grazing sheep and goats in the neighbourhood: *Preterea Valachi cum ovibus et capris solvunt etiam tributum a 100 ovibus 1 marc*<sup>36</sup>. It is symptomatic that in the village of Czyżewo, situated further away from the mountains, in Szydłów County (cf. n. 33), the Wallachian shepherds were removed already in 1533 due to the extermination of wildlife in the forests. This means that the Vlachs were arriving to the areas, which are the subject of our interest, at least from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the previous century this kind of source information is very few because it is limited to the references already mentioned above about the shepherds in the areas of Skrzydlna and Laskowa, which were in the hands of the nobility. It is therefore only a matter of conjecture whether the overnight and violent assault on Stary Sącz by the Vlachs in 1406 was not organised during their migration with the flocks to the lowlands<sup>37</sup>. Perhaps it was from these shepherds, who took their flocks away from the mountains into the pasture, that we hear of dramatic information about the unusually severe winter at the turn of 1490 and 1491, during which the Vlachs living in the mountain villages suffered from numerous damages, recorded in a remote from this area Pilzno in Lesser Poland<sup>38</sup>. The fact remains that the submontane territories were not unknown to them if only because of the obligation of delivering sheep to the royal court in Cracow or Nowe Miasto Korczyn<sup>39</sup>.

Our discussion comes to an end and, therefore, it is time to make a few comments of a more general nature. Rudimentary source information indicates that the groups of Wallachian shepherds practised a seasonal pasture of their flocks in the areas situated north of their actual ecumene already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Various factors, primarily of an economic nature, made these movements disappear or, at least, made them significantly limited in many territories at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout the entire period under discussion they were presumably of a pastoral nature and of a transhumance type, based on “*koszarnictwo*” and seasonal movements

<sup>36</sup> Cf. n. 6 and *Źródła Dziejowe*, vol. XV: *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym opisana przez Adolfa Pawińskiego*. *Małopolska*, [Poland of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Regard to Geography and Statistics Described by Adolf Pawiński. Lesser Poland] vol. IV, Warszawa 1886, p. 509.

<sup>37</sup> J. Długosz, *Vita B. Kunegundis*, In: *Opera omnia...*, Vol. I., eds. J. Polkowski and Z. Pauli, Kraków 1887, p. 320.

<sup>38</sup> *Spominki pilzneńskie 1486–1506*, [Annals of Pilzno] ed. A. Bielowski, [in:] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. III, Kraków 1887, p. 248: *In montibus autem et silvis alciior. Quo continuo casu nivis vero Valachi cum pecoribus obvallati periere in montibus aprique silvatici in gregem cumulati e silvis in villas et nivis mersione et inediis affluebant, necabanturque intra sepum vincula, dorcarumque multitudo nivibus pressa fuit.*

<sup>39</sup> AGAD, ASK, Vol. I, 21, book 58 from 1523.

of pastoral groups from permanent villages. Similarly to how I have addressed this issue in my previously published research on the Wallachian pastoralism in the areas of the Carpathians<sup>40</sup>, there are no indications in the sources validating the thesis, for a long time widespread in history, that there was a nomadic phase in the history of the Wallachian colonization in the Polish territories.

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