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„Who Will Turn Me Away from the Sheep?“: Present State and Development Trends of Transhumant Pastoralism in Eastern Herzegovina in the 21st Century*

Abstract: The paper presents the results of a field study of transhumant pastoralism which was carried out in June and July 2022 on the Zelengora, Volujak and Lebršnik mountains, on the Morine plateau, i.e. in the areas of the municipalities of Ljubinje, Nevesinje, Kalinovik and Gacko (Republic of Srpska-Bosnia and Herzegovina). The goal of the research was to determine the present state and development trends of transhumant pastoralism in the areas of eastern Herzegovina at the beginning of the 21st century. The paper gives an overview of the previous (ethnological) studies of transhumant pastoralism, and then presents the methodological procedures used in this research. The ethnographic section summarizes interviews with interviewees and field guides. The observed problems, both those that were talked about by the interviewees and those that were independently observed, were jointly expressed in the separate section as development trends that describe and at the same time shape the current state of transhumant pastoralism in the studied area. The problems in question are: the transformation of pastoralism into an individual economic strategy, and in some cases a form of personal leisure; changes in the directions and manner of livestock routes; the persistence of the basic production technology, along with the modernization of its individual elements; the weakening and dissolution of elements of the traditional cultural idiom; legal changes in property rights and the method of making compensations for rights of use;

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multiple consequences of war; increasingly pronounced neoliberal economic relations and withdrawal of the state; strengthening of personal motivation to engage in pastoralism; growing interest in zoological, ecological and climate topics. In almost all of the aforementioned trends, it is possible to recognize adaptation to the risks that come with changes in the environment, both natural and social. These are changes in the economy, demography, social relations, climate and ecology. The interviewees found ways to more or less successfully manage the mentioned risks.

Key words: transhumant pastoralism, present state and development trends, history of anthropology, Eastern Herzegovina, 21st century

Introduction

Among the once significant and in the modern age almost abandoned issues of Serbian ethnology, the problem of (transhumant) pastoralism stands out by the scope and quality of research that was done.¹ Many ethnological sub-disciplines, such as legal ethnology, have touched upon this particular problem. Other socio-humanistic scientific fields, most notably history, anthropogeography and archaeology, also paid attention to the study of pastoralism, but since 1980s, the interest has started to wane. However, within the international and regional literature (Bollig 2006; Arnold and Greenfield 2006; Dominguez, Zorondo-Rodríguez and Reyes-García 2010; Juler 2014; Nitsiakos 2016; Palladino 2018; Scoones 2020; Colombino and Powers 2022, Bindi 2022; Belaj 2004; Rajković 2005; Gorišek 2017; Pijović 2018, 85–106; Filak 2019; Filak and Gorišek 2022), interest in the problems of different forms of pastoralism is growing again, among other things, because research in those areas provides an opportunity to combine the traditions of anthropology (social-humanities), and natural sciences, such as biology, animal husbandry science, ecology, etc. Among the reasons for the resurgence of scientific interest in the issues of transhumant pastoralism one might point to the realization that in times of crisis, this form of farming can offer a lot in terms of risk reduction in the areas of environmental protection, food safety, biodiversity protection, responsible management of natural resources, as well as providing new employment opportunities (FAO UN 2021).

Transhumant pastoralism can be roughly defined as a form of animal breeding combined with a system of knowledge and practices based on mobility, more precisely the seasonal movement of people and livestock in search of pastures (Porčić 2007). Such movements can be within the same altitude (horizontal),

¹ The authors would like to express their gratitude to the editors and anonymous reviewers whose useful suggestions and comments considerably improved this text. Understandably, the authors are responsible for eventual remaining errors in the article.

from lower to higher pastures and back (vertical), and may also include multiple combinations of these movements. Transhumant pastoralism connects different forms of land use and vegetation with knowledge about socially constituted spaces, landscapes and possible directions of movement between them, climatic conditions, as well as the knowledge about different animal species and ways of processing and using the materials that these animals make, so that they become available to people in many parts of the world (Bindi 2022, 1). There are, of course, many areas where (transhumant) pastoralism is still represented today in the Republic of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Serbia, Montenegro, the Republic of North Macedonia, the Republic of Albania, the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Bulgaria. In this sense, we believe that the issue of (transhumant) pastoralism in these areas can be approached again in the 21st century on the example of studying eastern Herzegovina, as part of a larger region (Herzegovina), within the present country of Bosnia and Herzegovina.² The historical importance of dealing with pastoralism in this region, that is, the centuries-old continuity of such practices that have been preserved to this day, provides a good starting point for dealing with this topic today. The problems of the mentioned area in terms of determining its borders, as well as historical and cultural peculiarities, have been dealt with in more detail elsewhere (Dražeta 2023a, 2023b). In this article, we tried to observe the case of eastern Herzegovina in broader regional and global perspective of pastoralism, hoping to discern in it relevant development trends.

Previous (ethnological) Studies of Transhumant Pastoralism

The way in which the problem of pastoralism was approached depended on scientific directions and theoretical orientations, as well as, to a certain extent, on the ideological perspective of the authors (Naumović 1999). In this sense, one could talk about successive waves in pastoralism research in these areas, and perhaps even about phases in the establishment and replacement of schools of thought. Authors of the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century mentioned (transhumant) pastoralism in passing within their comprehensive historical and anthropogeographical studies. The historian Stojan Novaković was one of the first local scholars to set very broad frameworks of reflection on transhumant pastoralism in his work „The Village (Selo)”. In the

² On this occasion, we would like to thank the people from the local community whose knowledge and good will had a great impact on the conduct of our research, in terms of the selection of interviewees, research locations and assistance in visiting those locations. They are Rade Likić from Ljubinje, Rade Kovačević from Nevesinje, Željko Supić and Evgenija Milinković from Gacko.

first chapter of his study on the names and organization of the medieval state, Novaković approaches the issue of the Vlachs as inseparable from the issue of pastoralism, as it was one of the two main economic foundations of the Serbian state at that time, and later from the issue of state organization, state legislation and tax policies. At the very beginning, Novaković draws attention to the processes of gradual Slavization of Romanic populations in the Balkans, writing about the „Romanic name and Slavic nationality” of the Vlachs (Novaković 1943, 7). The thesis which Novaković adapt from Konstantin Jireček (Jireček 1879) and François Pouqueville (Pouqueville 1826) is particularly important for his work. He also mentions Henry Holland (Holland 1819), Milan Đ. Milićević (Milićević 1876), as well as Sima Trojanović (Trojanović 1889), according to which for many years there were unsettled Vlach herders in the Balkans, often side by side with already settled herders. Shedding light on what we could today call the practices of transhumant herding, Novaković does not hesitate to connect the provisions of the Serbian legislation in the 14th century and observations about the „contemporary remains of the old Vlach herders”. Thus, the Vlachs from Pindus, about whom Pouqueville writes, are „the last remnant of a very old life form on the Balkan Peninsula, which, even in the Middle Ages, encompassed the larger mountains all over the Balkan Peninsula, characterizing the peninsula as strange and original, half nomadic and half settled” (Novaković 1943, 24).

Further on in his study, Novaković states that „the uninhabited Vlachs, who spent their lives erratically with livestock in winter and summer camps, were not only from the Romanic tribe, but also from the Slavic, whether they were native Slavs, or the Romanic people converted to Slavs” (Novaković 1943, 27). Novaković calls the indicated processes „ethnographic history”, and believes that we can observe „ethnographic development” in it, since: „(...) we see in us the settled Vlachs, who have their specific settlements and differ from others only in their actions, and Vlachs who travel from place to place” (Novaković 1943, 27). In the fact of the comparative existence of two categories of Vlachs, Novaković recognizes „the process of their gradual settlement”, by which „in the largest expanse of the Balkan Peninsula, the nomadic shepherd life was completely exterminated, which, until the 12th century, and perhaps even later, was much more widespread than its last remains show” (Novaković 1943, 27-28). In Novaković’s work, it is possible to recognize the transition from the stage of romanticist scientific exoticism to that of historiographical scientism. From the „strange” and „original” way of life, one quickly moves on to „ethnographic history” and deliberation on the influence that the state through its tax policies had on the life of Balkan herders. Novaković’s theoretical concepts and thoughts regarding the Vlach herding population have been written about in more detail elsewhere (Pijović 2018; Rudić 2018; Mišić 1996, 2019; Bačanović 2022).

In addition to observing historical processes of a large scale and long duration, Novaković seems to sense the future ideological implications of Jireček's insights made by reading historical sources from Dubrovnik. According to Jireček, the sources indicate that the Vlachs lived „divided into brotherhoods or tribes, which lived in villages or in groups of huts ('bačija'), which were called 'katun',„. Jireček draws such a conclusion from the fact that names of *katun* are „usually surnames or family names” (Novaković 1943, 30). There we can recognize the outlines of the conception that will later be known as the „Vlach-Katun” theory of the origin of the Dinaric tribes (Kovačević 1978, 89–102; Pavković 1982, 448–451). Very early connections were established between the topic of pastoralism and the issue of ethnicity, and thus ideological and political implications, which will remain relevant regardless of the passage of time and changes in scientific paradigms (Marković 2003, 18–19). In Novaković's work, important topics have been opened up, some of which, such as the question of the influence of the state, state policies and state borders on transhumant pastoralism, will unfortunately be neglected in the following period. On the other hand, issues that will become crucial in the coming period, such as the types and directions of livestock movements, issues of ownership and right to use pastures or the organization of livestock social life, as well as the ethnographic description of livestock herders' everyday life, were not discussed in detail by Novaković.

The next major synthesis, albeit on quite different scientific grounds, is offered by Jovan Cvijić (Matić, Prelić and Pišev 2016). Behind that synthesis are systematic studies of a large geographic scope, which for the first time put a large amount of diverse material on the life of Balkan societies into public view. Cvijić's approach testifies to geographical determinism in explaining pastoralism in Herzegovina and the wider Dinaric mountain zone. More precisely, he emphasizes the absence of water for cattle grazing in the area of Humina, i.e. the surroundings of Stolac, Ljubinje and Ljubuški as a key factor. Because of the lack of water, people and livestock go to the mountains three to four days away from their permanent settlement (Čvrtnica, Zelengora, Treskavica, Volujak and Maglić, Prenj and Glogovo, etc.), staying in summer apartments, *katun*, from the end of May/beginning of June to the beginning of September, at an altitude of 1400 to 1600 meters. Such movements are called *izdig* or *zdig* and belong to periodic or seasonal migrations, and are found throughout the Balkan Peninsula (Cvijić 1987a, 75–83; 201–208; Cvijić 1987b, 159–160).

Cvijić's student and collaborator, Jevto Dedijer, in his capital study of Herzegovina, tried to see pastoralism as a direct result of geomorphological influences, in the spirit of anthropogeographic assumptions. Dedijer explained the absence of agriculture by the lack of water and the existence of a karst structure of gravelly and sandy soil (Dedijer 2001, 30–31). In another study dedicated to

Herzegovina and the people of Herzegovina, Dedijer also talks about pastoralism. People and livestock from areas lower than 750 meters above sea level have to adapt to the above natural conditions, moving five to six days from south to north in the sixth month („before Saint Vitus Day”) and staying in the mountains higher than 1800 meters above sea level where there are many water sources in periods of two to four months (Dedijer 2003, 11–13). Life in the mountains, as stated by Dedijer, „is of immeasurable benefit to the health of the people and livestock” (Dedijer 2003, 12). In the section on pastoralism and nomadic movements of Dedijer’s anthropogeographical study, an ambitious goal was set:

„Take into account all the connections between climate and plastic on the one hand and pastoral life on the other hand, to study in detail and distinguish which things were created by the influence of natural forces, and which became under the influence of cultural and administrative circumstances or by imitation” (Dedijer 2001, 35).

In the conclusion of that key section, Dedijer again links rigid geomorphological determinism with a broadly based comparative scientific vision, the like of which will be rarely encountered in times to come:

„From our studies, one can sense a whole cycle of creative factors that determined the places for nomadic life, the type of nomadic life, as well as the directions and times of nomadic movements. Tectonic processes in the earth’s crust were the factors that determined the original place of nomadism. The geographical position and the annual movement of air currents determined the main types of nomadic life, and various altitude and plastic conditions in connection with the annual fluctuation of the climate caused the mentioned deviations in the nomadic life of various mountain systems. Only in the circumstances created in this way could a person influence the movements and the method of exploitation of grazing. After such circumstances come influences of secondary importance such as: the general economic condition of the country, the state administration and the culture of the population.

In this way, we can understand the reason behind the existence of such a way of life in the great mountains along the edges of the Mediterranean Sea throughout the entire historical period and why all the peoples who lived in those mountains had this form of economy” (Dedijer 2001, 50).

In the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, ethnology, along with the paradigm of geographic determinism, dealt with pastoralism as part of the already mentioned proof of the continuity of the institution of tribes in the territory of today’s Montenegro and eastern Herzegovina. The Serbian ethnic background was attributed to the tribes, from the arrival of the Slavs until the beginning of the 20th century. The ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović reacted to the supposed implications of Jireček’s conclusions of „Vlach-Katun theory”, formulating the „theory of continuity” of the Dinaric

tribes (Erdeljanović 1907, 1911, 1921, 1926). Erdeljanović considered pastoralism to be the economic basis of the tribes, „necessary as the main source of national survival” (Erdeljanović 1921, 75). In this sense, he claimed that the brotherhood (clan, „bratstvo”), as an integral part of the tribe, is an „economic community”, because its members help each other materially and morally and own common pastures and forests, the so-called tribal commune. Furthermore, among the Serbian people, according to the author, the main „economic basis” until the beginning of the 20th century was „primitive pastoralism”, which formed the social basis of the community during the period of several centuries of Ottoman rule (Erdeljanović 1921, 69; 72; 77). Similar to the work of Stojan Novaković is the research of Croatian ethnogenesis by Milovan Gavazzi, who mentions „one specific ethnographic stratum” in the hinterland of the Balkans, called Paleo-Balkan. As he states, „these are the elements carried by the Balkan Aromanians or Vlachs. They are the descendants of a part of the ancient Balkan Romans and the Romanized natives of the Balkans and as such distinct representatives and bearers of pastoral culture and way of life, usually peasant, semi-nomadic life” (Gavazzi 1928, 131). Gavazzi also arranged the publishing of thematically linked studies based on research of his students. Two of them, Fra Franjo Nimac and Ivan Perišić, described life and tradition of pastoralists from Dalmatia who seasonally migrate from their permanent dwellings to nearby Bosnian mountains (Nimac 1940; Perišić 1940), while the third student dealt with sheep-farming in the neighbouring Lika region (Hećimović 1940).

While conducting research in Vasojevići in today’s north-eastern Montenegro, Svetozar Raičević mentions common mountains, communes or communes, the process of raising a mountain where the places where people and livestock live are called katuns and within which each householder has his own apartment. The author provides detailed terminology related to the construction of apartments in katuns, animals, the process of producing dairy products, then describes the responsibilities of mountain women and shepherds in the matter of caring for livestock and performing other tasks and states certain beliefs (Raičević 1931, 55–72). As an anthropogeographer, Milisav Lutovac dealt with the economic foundations of mountain pastoralism in the area of Sinjajevina, Prokletije, the Pešter Plateau, Šara, Rtanj and other mountains in today’s Montenegro and the Republic of Serbia, noting the important production, defense and every other potential of pastoralism for the state (Lutovac 1932, 1948, 1961, 1974, 1977, 1978; Vlahović 1981).

After the Second World War, the studies of pastoralism in the Yugoslavian territories were colored by somewhat different ideological positions, among which the issue of *gens* is still of particular importance, as it was posed by Friedrich Engels, elaborating on the ideas of Lewis Henry Morgan (Engels 1973; Morgan

1981; Gorunović 2007a). Such ideological directions were felt both in ethnology (Kulišić 1963) and in historiography (Đurđev 1965-1966). Ideological issues notwithstanding, systematic ethnological studies of pastoralism were carried out in the regions, such as Stari Vlah (Petrović 1961), Jadar (Tomić 1964), upper Resava (Tomić 1962, 1965-1966) and the wider area of eastern Serbia (Tomić 1975, 1978). Those studies, together with the later and more extensive work of Milisav Lutovac, belong to the next research period that we associate with the time of socialism, i.e. the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, when (transhumant) pastoralism was distinguished as a separate topic. A significant breakthrough was achieved by Bogumil Hrabak with further studies of materials from the Dubrovnik archive. The author hints at an „exact study of all sides of the past of the Herzegovinian Vlachs” in a comprehensive study of „social history” that he expects to appear (Hrabak 1956). Although such a study was never published, Hrabak authored several texts on different aspects of pastoralism in eastern Herzegovina, among which of particular interest is the one on the origins and transformations of katuns during the middle ages (Hrabak 1981). Approaches to the study revolve around property issues, customary law and social organization and social life of pastoral communities. The example of Herzegovina is given, where families have their own individual land (forests), but certain types of land (pasture) are still shared, which is related to the transition from collective to private property (Vukosavljević 1953; Popović 1955; Barjaktarović 1958).

The aforementioned problems have more increasingly been coming under the scrutiny of ethnological (Popović 1963; Ilić 1970), historical (Kovačević 1963; Đurđev 1965-1966; Ćirić-Bogetić 1966), geographical (Kanaet 1955) and legal sciences, within which customary rules on the use of the mountain, that is, the regime of the mountain (Krstić 1976, 1983). Some of these texts focused not just on eastern Herzegovina (Podveležje), but also southern and western parts of the mentioned area. The work of Croatian historian, geographer and cartographer Mirko Marković is particularly relevant here. He opened several crucial problems concerning specific routes used by pastoralists, by bringing comparative Balkan perspective (Marković 1971). In a relatively short period of time, several significant scientific conferences dedicated to various aspects of the study of medieval *katun*, transhumant pastoralism and provisions of customary law related to pastoralism were organized. Such a concentration of intellectual potential around a clearly defined set of questions speaks of the interest of the scientific community. Also, in a certain sense, the interest of the socialist state in issues related to unresolved scientific problems, the fate of pastoralism, ethnic (national) relations, as well as attempts to revitalize pastoralism as an economic branch.

The symposium on medieval *katun* organized in Sarajevo in 1961 (Filipović 1963a) touched upon the basic problems that we believe have not been resolved even today, and are directly related to pastoralism. At issue are the already mentioned plot related to the existence of different theories about the origin of tribes, the issue of different meanings attached to the expressions *Vlachs* and *vlachs* (Filipović 1963a, 5–7), *katun* and other forms of social and territorial organization in the area of the Southern Slavs (Filipović 1963b, 45–120). According to Milenko S. Filipović in the preface to the collection of papers from the said symposium, the issue of *Vlachs* and *vlachs* is one of the central issues of „Balkanology“, as well as other disciplines, but also an open topic on which the solution of other scientific problems depends. The problem of *Katuns* and *Vlachs* connects all Balkan peoples to a greater or lesser extent and is crucial, as Filipović says, for their „ethnogeny“ (Filipović 1963a, 5). The symposium on medieval *katun* led to significant shifts primarily in the domain of syntheses created on the basis of the dialogue between the sciences and the uses of different types of materials. Using historical materials, Filipović reconstructs the transfer of the ethnic name „Vlach“ to the social category of the pastoral population „Vlachs“ (Filipović 1963b, 45–120). With this, he manages to reconcile some of the theses advocated by Erdeljanović with the knowledge and theoretical approaches developed by authors like Đurđev, who create within the discipline of historiography (Đurđev 1963, 143–170). The result of the aforementioned activities is a synthesis that contributed to mitigating one of the great disagreements between Serbian and Yugoslav ethnology and historiography. The collaboration trends between disciplines and consideration of different types of materials continued at later conferences.

In 1974, the 21st Congress of the Union of Yugoslavian Folklorists' Associations was organized in Čapljina with a broad theme of the traditional culture of herders from various Yugoslav regions. This volume is particularly important for the region of Herzegovina as a whole, because in part resulted from regionally focuses fieldwork (Rihtman 1974). During the congress, a step forward was made in the form of observing the ecological foundations of the Dinaric Mountains. In academician Dušan Nedeljković's opening speech at the conference, it was possible to recognize an attempt to root the achievements of the socialist revolution in the folk epic tradition, whose prominent representatives were pastoralists from the explored areas of socialist Yugoslavia (Nedeljković 1974, 14–15). In 1976, a conference named „Provisions of positive legislation and customary law on the seasonal movements of herders in Southeast Europe throughout the centuries“ (Čubrilović 1976) was organized in Belgrade. At this interdisciplinary conference (law, historiography, geography, ethnology, architecture), the topics are set even more broadly and range from the relationship between positive legislation and customary law, through folk architecture, eco-

conomic relations and ritual practices, to property law and gender issues, as well as the revitalization and ecological foundations of pastoralism.

At that time, both domestic and foreign researchers from various disciplines have already shown great interest in transhumant pastoralism (Mušović 1980; Matley 1968). Nikola Pavković conducted extensive research in central Bosnia (the mountains of Vranica, Zec and Šćit) and dealt not only with property and legal issues, but also with the social life of Muslim and Croatian herders, including the festive life (teferič). This text as well as some others (Pavković 1976) can be considered as examples of comprehensive syntheses of previous knowledge about the social life of herders (Pavković 1981). Dragoslav Antonijević focused on the customary-ritual component in the life of the Vlach population in Greece and the former SR Macedonia, which is influenced by livestock movements, i.e. livestock nomadism (Antonijević 1982). Mirko Marković conducted field research along the entire Dinaric mountain area (mountains Velebit, Dinara, Biokovo, Šator, Klekovača, Vitorog, Cincar, Vranica, Raduša, Bjelašnica, Prenj, Čvrstica, Treskavica, Bioča, Maglić, Durmitor, Sinjajevina, Komovi, Prokletije). This resulted in numerous publications, including a recent compilation of major importance (Marković 2003). Tomo Vinšćak described in detail routes used by pastoralists in Velebit Mountain, both from Lika and Bukovica, trying to categorize it as the transhumant mode of animal husbandry in the Alps (Vinšćak 1989).

After a period of intense interest in the key issues of (transhumant) pastoralism, from the mid-eighties of the 20th century to the second decade of the 21st century, came a phase during which research on the aforementioned topic dispersed into the studies of large number of specific themes. Even then, in Serbian and other Southern Slavic ethnology and anthropology, as well as in other disciplines, the research on (transhumant) pastoralism is carried out as part of complex investigations of a singular geographical area (for example, the Sjenica-Pešter plateau) and related topics such as the origin of the population (Mušović 1989), customary law (Gavrilović 1989), toponyms related to livestock production (Kale 1989), or traditional agriculture (Maslovarić 1985, 1992). In his study about a medieval land of Hum (present-day Herzegovina), historian Siniša Mišić devotes a chapter to pastoralism. In it, he introduces a distinction between pastoralism as an additional type of peasant economy and professional pastoralism as practiced by Vlachs. He describes two types of pastoralist seasonal movements – to the mountains in the summer and towards the sea shore in the winter – both in times of peace and war (Mišić 1996, 202–208). A similar distinction was made by historian Đuro Tošić in his analysis of pastoralism in medieval land of Travunija (present-day Trebinje and its surroundings). He distinguishes pastoralism as profitable type of peasant economy and „mountain pastoralism”, and then goes on to describe in detail the first type (Tošić

1998, 160–171). There is similar research on the rural architecture of Bjelašnica, a mountain on the border between Herzegovina and Bosnia, where pastoralism was the main economic branch (Bugarski 1989; Nikolić and Šarančić Logo 2011). Review of the work of Milenko S. Filipović in the field of studying cooperatives in Bosnia, Metohija and Macedonia, showed that the socio-economic basis of the said institution is pastoralism (Filipović-Fabijanić 1991), as he himself claimed that the basic feature of a cooperative is „joint production based on the principle of division of labor“ (Filipović 1991, 7).

In recent times, pastoralism has also been mentioned within the analysis of the wider socio-cultural context of two rural communities in northwestern and southwestern Bulgaria (Gorunović 2006, 2007b), the traditional economy in eastern Serbia (Medić 2010), the culture of social relations in the rural area of Mount Tara in western Serbia (Matić 2018). Issues related to the migration of Gorani (Đorđević Crnobrnja 2020), as well as problems concerning agricultural heritage in the museological practice of ethnographic museums (Stojanović 2020) also treat pastoralism as important social and theoretical disciplinary theme. In works that hint at a renewal of interest in the given topic, pastoralism is thoroughly treated in the context of the ethnogenesis of Bunjevci ethnic group on Velebit Mountain in the area of Lika (Belaj 2004), as well as in the context of seasonal migrations in the area of Krivi Put in the hinterland of Senj in today's Croatia (Rajković 2005). The renewal of said interest is also recognizable in related disciplines such as archaeology, in which important theoretical and methodological questions are raised, (Porčić 2007) and historiography, where the problems of the daily life of medieval Vlach herders and their movements are discussed (Pijović 2018, 85–106). In a recent historically minded comparative overview of the self-government institutions of nomadic and semi-nomadic livestock breeders in the Balkans and Carpathian Regions, the legal scholar, linguist and historian Miloš Luković offers the most thorough recapitulation of research done of transhumant pastoralism in the Balkans. This is one of the first cases in which the comparison is provided between Southern Slavic-Balkan and Western Slavic regions (Luković 2016). Contemporary research in the field of pastoralism and pastoral terminology in Vojvodina (Čakan 2017) and partly related studies of cultural landscapes in southeastern Albania, i.e. Mala Prespa (Carnevale, Dimitrova and Dražeta 2021) shift the focus towards our research direction. Complex issues of the relationship between pastoralism, the development of tourism, social memory and the possibility of researching pastoralism with the help of a visual anthropology approach are also raised (Gorišek 2017; Filak 2019; Filak and Gorišek 2022).

Based on the comprehensive literature overview that was supplied on the previous pages, we can note that pastoralism in Herzegovina has not been in the focus of systematic ethnological research from the end of the 19th to the

beginning of the 21st century. Even in the studies dedicated to Herzegovina as a whole (Dedijer 2001, 2003) or a part of a larger Balkan frame (Cvijić 1987a, 1987b), pastoralism did not receive central coverage. While an exhaustive list of traits of transhumant pastoralism in Herzegovina is indeed supplied, Dedijer devotes his attention to a general theory of pastoralism that encompasses the Mediterranean basin. A detailed scenario of pastoralist movements is supplied and forms the core of many of listed works. Other authors from disciplines such as historiography (Đurđev 1965-1966; Mišić 1996, 2019; Tošić 1998; Pijović 2018; Pekić 2019; Bačanović 2022), legal ethnology (Vukosavljević 1953; Barjaktarović 1958), geography (Kanaet 1955; Matley 1968) focus on specific topics or problems, such as historical documentation that testifies about the ethnic origin and development of pastoral dwellings (katuns) in Herzegovina (Hrabak 1956, 1981). Continuing in the similar historiographical vein, but providing a deeper historical time frame of several centuries, Wayne Vucinich reflects how pastoralism in his region of origin (*Bilećke Rudine*) was transformed by the onslaught of different economic and political regimes (Vucinich 1975). One more all-encompassing regional study made by the scholar originating from Ljubinje and its surroundings brought data on almost every aspect of natural habitat and social life, along with a detailed historical overview including Herzegovinian tribes (Mihić 1975).

This brief review of works on Herzegovina partially reflects what can be observed in general in pastoralist studies. What distinguishes broader regional research from those focused only on Herzegovina is the fact that the former have a more pronounced presence of schools of thought. Here one can recognize the succession of theoretical frameworks such as romanticist scientific exoticism (Holland 1819; Pouqueville 1826), historiographical scientism (Novaković 1943), positivist legal scholarship (Bogišić 1867), anthropogeographical and geomorphological determinism (Dedijer 2001, 2003; Cvijić 1987a, 1987b), and the paradigm of national science (Erdeljanović 1921; Gavazzi 1928). Things become more complex after the Second World War, when we can discern a multitude of different approaches. Different social sciences focus on similar problems, among which pastoralism is recognized as an important topic (Kanaet 1955; Đurđev 1965-1966; Lutovac 1974; Krstić 1976; Pavković 1981). The interest to transhumant pastoralism decreased from the mid-eighties of the 20th century to the second decade of the 21st century, when it was dispersed into comprehensive of specific themes of minor scope or molded into complex investigations of a singular geographical area (Gavrilović 1989; Kale 1989; Mušović 1989; Maslovarić 1992; Belaj 2004; Rajković 2005; Filak and Gorišek 2022). There is no single, all-encompassing approach to the study of transhumant pastoralism. The approach should be chosen depending on the type of question the researcher wants to ask.

The Methodology of the Study of Pastoralism: From *the Cast-iron Concept of Folk Life* to the Search for Key Problems

We can notice that the majority of studies in the domestic area, with the exception of field research from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, as well as some more recent developments, involved a short-term fieldwork. The main goal of such fieldwork was to examine whether pre-determined elements were present („the cast-iron concept of folk life“) and ascertain any changes that occurred between the two stays in the field (Kovačević 2015, 71-74). It is also noticeable that some methodological procedures or directions of research had only one or a few proponents, and then became more or less neglected. Thus, the extremely significant contribution made by Radivoj Simonović, a physician and amateur ethnographer, in the field of photographic recording of various aspects of (transhumant) pastoralism, has remained relatively neglected. The full significance of his oeuvre, as well as the cooperation he achieved with domestic and foreign researchers, has only recently been properly evaluated (Šekarić 2014, 2019, 2022; Grčić 2018). That particular type of approach favors a corresponding group of questions, whose formation is also influenced by the temporal and social context, leaving other and different questions aside. Such an approach was based on the creation of questionnaires that sought to exhaustively list the elements of certain domains of social reality, for example, customary law (Bogišić 1867) or village life (Cvijić 1896).

The goal of our research was to determine the state and trends of transhumant pastoralism in the area of eastern Herzegovina at the beginning of the 21st century. Stationary field research was not carried out in the sense of long-term stay among the studied community and „coexistence“ with it to a certain degree. Rather, our research was based on the approach of field reconnaissance (Drljača 1987). We entered the research of (transhumant) pastoralism without formally defined thematic guidelines or questionnaires, but through conducting field research and searching for key problems, we established the existence of a wide range of topics. The observed problems are somewhat different from the key problems examined in previous research in eastern Herzegovina, such as livestock movement, property relations and production technology. Thus, in the region where we conducted research, the questions that were raised in the early age of the discipline no longer seem relevant as before. Somewhat different themes now come to the fore, such as personal survival strategies, choice of lifestyles, environmental topics, etc. When compare to the previous research results, it is now possible to speak of a gradual transition from collective cultural practices to individualized economic strategies and personal deeply felt motivations for action. From the insistence on mapping collectively binding customs,

traditions, norms, „rules” and „regimes”, we are moving towards paying more attention to the life histories, personal lifestyles and deep motivation of individuals. The trend towards narrativization of individual life experiences began in domestic historiography, folkloristics, linguistic anthropology and sociology, and gradually spread in ethnology and anthropology, reaching its peak with life biographies (Malešević 2004; Gorunović 2014).

Our fieldwork was carried out in June and July 2022 on the Zelengora, Volujak and Lebršnik mountains, on the Morine plateau, i.e. in the areas of the municipalities of Ljubinje, Nevesinje, Kalinovik and Gacko (Republic of Srpska-Bosnia and Herzegovina), although our interviewees live in almost all municipalities of Eastern Herzegovina. The population of eastern Herzegovina has been present there for many centuries. Even though people are constantly moving out from this area, there is a continuity of habitation and internal migration of a smaller scale (Dedijer 2001, 80–81; Vlahović 1974, 97–107). The locations where the research was carried out were selected based on conversations with local knowledgeable residents about the conditions related to pastoralism in the Herzegovinian mountains. Interviews were conducted with 15 informants, 10 of whom were male and 5 of whom were female. The oldest interviewee was born in 1944 and the youngest in 1984, while the majority were born in 1960s and 1970s. The selection of respondents was made on the basis of the recommendations of the aforementioned well-informed people and with their presence and assistance during the interviews. All conversations were recorded with a video camera. However, some of them were not filmed due to the lack of consent of the interviewees, so the data was drawn from the field diary (Vučinić Nešković 2013, 136–137; 351–354). In three cases, the interviews were not visually recorded because the informants refused to be taped due to previous negative experiences with representatives of electronic media.³ Most of the information

³ The complex consequences of informants’ contact with representatives of electronic media open up the topic of the mediatization of transhumant pastoralism in the eastern Herzegovina. In slightly less than twenty years, more than 30 visual materials were published on the internet (now primarily on the YouTube platform). Most of them incorporate the narrative about the „hard life” of pastoralists who live in katuns on the Morine plateau, as well as the Zelengora, Volujak and Lebršnik mountains. Due to these romanticizing and exoticizing media reports, our informants became hesitant and suspicious not only in their contacts with journalists, but with researchers as well. Furthermore, the exposing of intimate details about pastoralists’ life experiences created two main research obstacles. On the one hand, stereotypical notions about „arduous pastoralists life” and on the other equally oversimplified images about „Eden-like living conditions” and pristine nature resulted in the reduction of complexity of pastoralists’ everyday life. However, mediatization has its positive sides as well. Not only is visual information about transhumant pastoralism in the Balkan region easily accessible, but so

was obtained on the basis of conversations, and not through observation and other methods, which to a certain extent limits the scope of the research.

The studied locations were visited with local guides in their off-road vehicles. Faced with an unfamiliar milieu, we stepped out of our culturally defined roles and statuses, becoming open and receptive to understanding other forms of living. The way of life of people engaged in pastoralism in the mountains seemed to us like a manner of living in which a person does not fully obey cultural dictates, but largely lives according to his personal choice. Early one morning, while we were reviewing field notes, someone knocked on the door of our lodging. We were completely alone in our accommodation, which was located in an isolated grove, miles away from the nearest inhabited place. One of the cows from the herd that were grazing freely in the nearby field was knocking on the glass door with its horn. It seemed to us that the „hero” of our research was „literally” attracting our attention. In that sense, we succumbed to the tendency to exoticize the field itself, but also the lifestyle of our informants. Perhaps what had a sobering effect on us was the encounter with new technologies and the realization of their key importance. Here we refer to the importance of mobile phones, the use of solar panels for obtaining electricity, and off-road vehicles for communication and livestock transportation. The technicalities of everyday life of contemporary transhumant pastoralist dispelled the mists of romanticizing their imagined life.

In Search of Questions: From Field Reconnaissance to Understanding the Present State of Transhumant Pastoralism in Eastern Herzegovina

As previously mentioned, prior to the beginning of our research on transhumant pastoralism in Eastern Herzegovina no formally determined topics were set in advance. A set of relevant questions emerged while conducting the fieldwork itself. We shall deal with these topics in this section of our paper, trying to analyze the present state of transhumant pastoralism in the area of Eastern Herzegovina.

Our oldest informant from Ljubinje, who has direct knowledge of the practice since the 1950s, gave a comprehensive picture of transhumant pastoralism in the areas we visited during 2022. Comparing the period of socialism and the time after the 1992-1995 war, he noted the differences between the mentioned pastoralist practices. While it was an important economic activity of the people

is complex multidimensional content as well. Perhaps the best example is offered by the website „Dinarsko gorje” which offers maps, routes, images, literature, biographies, and other materials on transhumant pastoralism in the Dinaric region (Dinarsko gorje, n.d.).

of Ljubinje in the past, the interviewee states that in the latter period pastoralism is represents a supplementary economic activity and a form of leisure. In the past, moving from Ljubinje and its surroundings to the mountain in summer in the fifth or sixth month (after the holiday of the Holy Trinity, or „after the rains”) was carried out via Vlahovići (municipality of Ljubinje) and then Mount Crvanj (municipality of Nevesinje). On the third day, pastoralists would arrive at the Zelengora mountain (municipalities of Gacko and Kalinovik). The final destination could also be the Treskavica mountain (Trnovo and Kalinovik municipalities) or Pridvorica in the Borač microregion (at the foot of Zelengora, Gacko municipality), where individual families sometimes clashed over access to pastures. In the winter, one family even went from the village of Mišljen near Ljubinje in the opposite direction from the above mentioned, towards the Veliki Školj peninsula near Neum on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Families from the vicinity of Gacko went towards the Lebršnik Mountain, where families from today’s Montenegro, i.e. the microregions of Piva and Tara, came as well. According to the interviewee, these precisely determined paths are today crossed by motor vehicles, mostly trucks, while horses were once used. The return from the mountain was usually in the ninth month (after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on September 21st).

The informant then talked about the division of work and forms of recompensation between the mountaineers/*planištari* (pastoralists) and farmers/*po-bravičari* (owners of animals), whereby the former owes the latter a kilogram of cheese per milking sheep, a kilogram of melted butter for four sheep, a kilogram of corn and a kilogram of salt for one sheep. Such an exchange ratio was replaced by fixed monetary payments in the 1980s. In the modern period, the mountaineer is paid between 15 and 20 convertible marks (7 to 10 euros) per sheep kept at the seasonal level, i.e. for a period of three to four months. The roles in terms of work are also divided between the male (*planištar*) and female (*planinka*) mountaineers, with two shepherds as „helpers” – one in charge of the sheep, one in charge of the lambs. The interviewee pointed out that today „politics, music and women” dominate, i.e. that there are no more „male hosts” in Ljubinje, no more „men to promise you something” and that „women are now in charge and they hold the wallets”. When they grow up, children find other employment and are no longer engage in pastoralism. According to the interviewee „Herzegovina was an honest place until the war, until mafia took over, until everyone got a cut”. Before, there used to be „order, custom and tradition”. Further on, the informant gave a detailed terminology of wooden and other containers for making and storing cheese – storage vessels (*kablovi za čuvanje*), cauldrons for boiling (*kotlovi za varenje*) and containers for pouring milk (*škipovi za razlivanje mleka*), barrels (*burila, bačve, burad*) and vats for storing cheese (*kace za čuvanje sira*).

When it comes to land ownership, according to the interviewee, his family has been legally present on the pastures of Zelengora for about 300 years, although he claims his kin have been there since the Middle Ages. The claim was confirmed by our field guide, who stated the reference in which a name list for the Sandžak of Herzegovina can be found. The names of family members who spend the winter in the vicinity of Ljubinje and the summer in Zelengora are stated in the document (Aličić 1985). The interviewee claims that in the later period, during socialism, there existed so-called „pickets“ (*piketi*), markings that indicated who has the right to use certain pasture. Such markings were placed by the competent municipal commissions and foresters. The complexity of ownership relations, as well as the overlapping of jurisdictions, can be sensed in the statement according to which the fodder tax (*pašarina*) has been paid to one of the frequently changing state services. On the other hand, the right to use pastures was indisputable to each family individually. According to the informant, the synonym for family is tribe. He claims further that the tribes as a group of families disintegrated in Herzegovina after the arrival of the Ottoman rule. On that occasion, our field guide stated that Burmazi tribe lived in Ljubinje and its surroundings, as did Mirilovići tribe, not far from them. Like other Herzegovinian tribes, they disappeared immediately after the arrival of the Turks. However, in Montenegro, in the mentioned period, a reverse process took place, that is, the strengthening of the tribes (Erdeljanović 1921; Đurđev 1965-1966). More about Herzegovinian tribes was written elsewhere (Mihic 1975, 145–151).

The informants from the vicinity of Nevesinje, who bring cattle to the Morine plateau, first pointed out that they started practicing pastoralism after the end of the war in 1995, in the beginning with their parents, and later independently. The first interviewee stated that he had started the business together with his father, mother and sister (who in the meantime got married and stopped farming). His family did not deal with this business in the past. They started after the Dayton Agreement: „It was the post-war period, it was a time of scarcity; There was money to be made here [through pastoralism, added by the authors]; So, we started with it, and we found our way; One can earn solid money, if one wants to work“. Since his father and mother have passed away, the interviewee does business on his own. However, in further conversation, he mentions that he has two workers who look after the sheep. He herds between 550 and 650 sheep each year, not all of which are his. The next informant with whom we spoke refused to be recorded during the conversation. Based on the data from the field diary, we note that the interviewee owns 650 sheep. She also started doing this business after the war. None of her ancestors were involved in pastoralism before the war. The first interviewee noted that he goes to the *katun* in Javorje (Morine) on May 15th and transports animals by truck, and usually returns on September 21st („I drive them on foot“) to the surroundings of Nevesinje, when

the cattle is being distributed back to the owners. Although he did not describe the exact route, it is possible to reconstruct the trajectory from comments made by the field guide. The ascent (*izdig*) goes from the village of Biograd near Nevesinje towards Morine where pastoral dwellings (*katuns*) are located, via the Crvanj mountain. The same route is used during the descent (*zdig*). The absence of precise territorial rights to use the pastures was also stated. The interviewee can move freely with the sheep wherever he wants. His cows, on the other hand, are fenced off by the so-called „shepherds” (*čobanice*) – fences made of electrified wires.

In comparison before the 1992 war, it was known who could keep sheep on which pasture („you couldn’t just keep them anywhere”), because the Muslims/Bosniaks from Podveležje (a group of settlements on the Velež mountain) used to come to the nearby Crvanj mountain with their animals. This was confirmed by another interviewee who said that Muslim families also came from Borci, i.e. around Konjic, just as Croatian Catholic families came from around Neum. During the summer, according to interviewees, there are at present about 7,000 sheep in Morine, distributed among 10 to 12 mountaineers, mostly from Nevesinje (two are from Berkovići, Dabarsko polje). During the fieldwork, we could not ascertain the number of animals present at the Morine plateau was indeed correct. Two to three mountaineers bring sheep only for grazing, and all the others produce cheese. Our interviewee produces 40 sheepskin bags (*mješine*), each of which can weigh from 30 to 100 kilograms, which averages between a ton and a half and two tons during the four-month summer season.

When it comes to the production technology, the informant states that first the sheep/cows are milked, then milk is „poured into the cauldron, and rennet is added”. After that, the milk is placed at the corner of the wood-burning stove to heat up a little so that a lump forms. Then it is finally removed, drained and placed in a wooden container under a weight, so that it can be fully drained over a span of a day. After that, the newly formed cheese is transferred to a plastic barrel (*kaca, bačva*). After three to four days, when enough cheese has been collected, it is transferred to a sheepskin bags (*mješine*). Depending on the size of the sheepskin bag, the cheese is dried for a month and a half to two months and is then ready for sale. The amount produced depends on whether the year was dry or rainy. When there is more rainfall, there is more grass that the sheep graze, so there is more cheese. If there are more frequent droughts, there is less grass, and therefore less cheese. Between 10 and 15 people buy cheese stored in sheepskin bags for their families, while the rest of the sheepskin bags (between 25 and 30) are sold through intermediaries to hotels and restaurants in the area of Mostar and its surroundings. The interviewee emphasizes: „It doesn’t matter how much I produce, I could sell it all”. In addition, the interviewee points out that it is difficult to find assistant workers, even

though he offers a monthly salary of up to 1,500 convertible marks (about 750 euros). Interestingly enough, he mentioned earlier that he has two workers. He concludes that he loves his job: „If I wasn't satisfied, if I didn't earn a solid chunk of money, I wouldn't do this work.”

Interviewees from Ljubinje and the surrounding area, a married couple, who take out their animals to the location of Vita bara on the Zelengora mountain (municipalities of Foča and Kalinovik), pointed out that they started to engage in pastoralism after the 1992-1995 war, just like the previous interviewees from the Nevesinje area. According to one of the informants, „After the war, we lost our jobs, we started to do a bit of pastoralism, we found ourselves in this. We did it so we could raise our children”. During the first year (2010), she and her husband stayed in someone else's building, but only temporarily. Next year, they built their own „hut” (*koliba*). According to the interviewee, if no one from the family continues with the pastoralism business after their death, the hut can be repurposed into a holiday home (*vikendica*). Going up and down the mountain is done by trucks and trailers, not on foot as was the case in the past. They usually depart after the Holy Trinity holiday that „brings the rains” in late May or early June, while the return is after three months spent on the mountain, in early or mid-September. The precisely established route from Ljubinje went through the village of Vlahovići, then the town of Berkovići all the way to the village of Pridvorica, after which there was an ascent over Junak-brdo to Zelengora (Vita bara). If the weather is warm, the first overnight stay (*konak*) was in the village of Trusina (Berkovići municipality), and if it's colder, a little further. The second night was in the village of Pridvorica, so the arrival at the Zelengora mountain was on the third day.

Our interviewees stated that in Vita bara and Zelengora there are weekenders who grow potatoes. During the summer, some of them come from Sokolac in the region of Romanija (Bosnia), while the rest are mainly from Ljubinje, as well as Berkovići, Bileća and Trebinje to a lesser extent. On the other hand, in the past, the people of Ljubinje and Bileća were traditionally engaged in pastoralism. According to the informant, the total number of all livestock on Zelengora (once a „famous pasture”) is at present about 3,000, distributed in four active summer dwelling (*katuns*). The interviewees, state that they have been working with a large dairy producer called „Pađeni” for the past eighth years. The producer buys their milk in Ljubinje, while they make cheese in Zelengora. The cows who stay in Ljubinje are milked by the sons, and the parents continue the cheese making process, with the cheese distributed in sheepskin bags. Each sheepskin bag weighs 70 to 75 kilograms, and a total of about one ton of cheese is produced in three months. Cheese is ripened in a darkened room with continuous air flow. As the interviewee points out, „we supply electricity by ourselves [solar panels, added by the authors], and we don't need a refrigerator!”

The whole process described by the interviewees in Zelengora is the same as the one in Morine, as is the fact that they sell their products to regular customers during their stay in pastoral dwellings (*katuns*). Our interviewee received her initial knowledge of cheese production to a somewhat lesser extent from her mother and mother-in-law. Furthermore, the interviewee states that, in addition to informal education in the form of seminars, life has „taught her and her husband everything”, and concludes: „We have found ourselves, we have a good income from this, we can live from this; One can live solidly, if one finds oneself; You have to find yourself in everything”. The terminology of wooden containers for making and storing cheese is known to the interviewees (*kabo* for collecting milk, *škip* for pouring milk and making cream), but they do not use it because they have plastic and steel containers („in my case, a stainless still pan”), a milking machine for cows, solar panels and an electricity generator. The housewife herself pointed out that she is „a mountaineer in leggings, not in a skirt.”

The informant from Bileća, whom we interviewed at the location of Gornji Borilovići (Kalinovik municipality) near Jugovo (Borilovačko) and Orlovačko lakes, has a great knowledge of the local topography and states that he has been engaged in pastoralism continuously since 1965. He took a break only on two occasions – when he served in the army in 1972 and during the first year of the war in 1992. Then, in the following 1993, he already went up to the mountain where he „drove other people’s cattle for money” for the next five years. After he got his own animals, he and his wife and neighbors produced up to several tons of cheese and cream a year, but today the children no longer want to do this work. That is why he now drives only about 40 animals, one part of which is not his but belongs to his neighbors from Bileća. Before and after the war, the interviewee walked from Bileća to Zelengora with his cattle, but in recent years he started using a car. While they could still sell everything they produce easily, he and his wife can no longer produce the amount of cheese and cream they used to. His parents were also engaged in this business in a passionate way. On his deathbed, his father even asked for water from Zelengora, because he „could never exist without it”. Furthermore, the interviewee points out that „there is no mountain with more water sources than Zelengora”. Water emerges from Zelengora and the surrounding mountains in the form of many springs, and so many lakes are located at the foot of mountain peaks and the water from them never drains. However, at the time of the fieldwork, the informant emphasized that the water on Zelengora had dried up in many places. Such a phenomenon had not happened before, as the air temperature was much higher than ever before.

He states that until the seventies of the 20th century, about 65,000 sheep grazed in the area of Zelengora, and that today that number has fallen to one thousand to two thousand sheep, distributed in four active huts. Pastoralism and livestock farmers, in his opinion, have been reduced to a minimum by „statesmen” who do not see the importance of this economic branch. As he states, „it

is a pity and an economic defeat that the mountains are not filled with cattle”, because the state and irresponsible individuals are looking at how to destroy the „natural habitat”. A concrete example is the recent parcelization of plots and their sale for the purpose of building cottages under municipal authority on one side of Zelengora. Therefore, „the mountain will survive” only if man starts appreciating nature, because at the moment he does not do so. All the natural disasters that occur in the world are the product of the human factor („man is to blame, man damaged nature and its natural appearance”).

The interviewee from the vicinity of Bileća, who used to drive cattle to the Lebršnik mountain, is no longer engaged in this business. He, however, is still familiar with the opportunities related to numerous aspects of pastoralism, which he began to engage in after retiring. He spent his childhood as a colonist in Vojvodina (village of Gajdobra), and his working life in Sarajevo and Trebinje. After retirement, motives for engaging in pastoralism were mainly related to leisure and an additional commercial activity (selling lambs). The acquiring the first three sheep was initiated by the interviewee’s wife, as we learned when she joined our conversation. At first, their *kumovi* (godparents) drove their cattle, but later they pulled out of the business. From that moment, the informant and his wife looked after 370 sheep. At one point they did it together with their children and grandchildren, and later independently. A few years ago, the number of sheep dropped to only eight, and soon after, due to husband’s health issues, they stopped. While they still drove the sheep to the mountain, the grandchildren competed to see who would come to visit their grandparents „in the hut” first. When asked if he engaged in pastoralism to „pass his time in a better way”, the interviewee answered affirmatively. However, with a touch of bitterness, he added that he pressed his wife and his children to drive the sheep to the mountain. He now thinks that he was wrong to do so, mostly because he took away the children’s free time. When asked on which holiday the animals were driven to the mountain, the informant answered that it usually happened at the beginning of the sixth month („when the children are dismissed from school”). Today, it is done usually without children after St. George’s Day (May 6), and mostly with trucks and cars. Before the war, the driving to and from the mountain was done on foot. The return from the mountain was when the children start going to school in September. However, the interviewee says that he once stayed alone with the animals until November 4.

The interviewee’s cottage is located on the site of the former pastoral dwelling (*katun*) where his mother, grandfather and great-grandfather drove out the cattle. The dwelling is located in the village of Gornje Čemerno, i.e. the location of Popove luke (municipality of Gacko). His father, a merchant during the socialist era, came to *katun* in his free time to help his mother. In allusion to the former dominance of pastoralism in the area of Eastern Herzegovina informant stated that „there was no other income than the one from the sheep”. An inter-

esting point was made by the interviewee, when he singled out the problem of land ownership. According to him, during the Ottoman period, local landlord Šaćir-bey gave land for use to the pastoralists. After the Berlin Congress in 1878 and the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration, the land would become the property of peasants, mostly from the area in the vicinity of Bileća called *Rudine* (the village of Baljci, where the interviewee is from) (Pekić 2019; Vucinich 1975). The interviewee mentions that part of the infrastructure on the pastures was built during the Austro-Hungarian period, specifically *čatrnje*, i.e. stone water tanks used for military purposes. In the study of Jevto Dedijer, it is possible to find confirmation for some of the statements of our interviewees (Dedijer 2001, 156–160).

As can be noted the interviewees have limited knowledge related to property relations, but still, even vaguely, remember some important data. Since the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Vrba also moved to Čemerno during the Austro-Hungarian administration, problems regarding grazing rights arose. As the informants state, during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there was a conflict in which native residents of Čemerno set fire to the pastoral dwellings (*katuns*) of occasional residents of the vicinity of Bileća. According to the interviewees, the gendarmes and the municipal authorities had to intervene and determined the pasture boundaries. After the intervention, Gornje Čemerno belonged to the people from Bileća and Čemerno to the „natives”. This story was recounted to us by the descendants of the once conflicting parties with humorous remarks. Our interviewee represented the occasional residents, and our field guide represented the „natives”. They also pointed out that the cattle of the residents of Bileća were called *skrpušari*. The cattle from Čemerno did not want to graze and move on the path of the cattle from Bileća. As stated by the interviewee from Čemerno, „until the first rain washes the scent, our *ajvan* [animals, added by the authors] will not go the same way as other animals do”. The two types of cattle from Bileća and Gacko sometimes even goaded each other, which an interviewee from Čemerno said was a „demonstration of force”, since Gacko oxen are significantly larger than those from Bileća. The interviewee from Bileća added that the sheep also do not want to graze where the cows used to stay. Furthermore, the informant mentions an example of joint keeping of animals by two to three households and the so-called „weighing of the milk on the eve of St. Elijah’s Day”. The pastoralists measured how much milk the sheep of each house gave, in order to determine the ratio on which the distribution of cheese and cream would be based at the end of the grazing period.

The informant described the functioning of the socialist cooperatives (*zadruga*) through an anecdote. Seeing that the president of the cooperative was eating the cream from the shared milk containers, the shepherds decided to sell the remaining hay and use that money to go to a pub. They decided that if anyone were to reproach them, they would threaten to tell what they saw. Since

the beginning of 1960s, less and less people from Bileća have been engaged in pastoralism because a carpet factory has been opened, so only one family continued to drive cattle to the Lebršnik mountain. However, even that family stopped doing it, because their descendants did not continue with the family tradition. In the 1960s, people returned the land to the municipality of Gacko, in order to „remove the tax” and receive child benefits. Later, their children could not restore ownership over the land. The interviewee states that at present eight families from Bileća, distributed in four locations (Popove luke, Pekove luke, Oštrikovac, Papin do) are engaged in pastoralism on the mountains of Lebršnik and Volujak. The route people and animals took was from Bileća through the village of Stepen near Gacko at the location Kameno brdo, where the first *konak* (overnight stay) was. On the second day, they arrived at Čemerno, i.e. mountain Lebršnik. Unlike the other interviewees, this informant pointed out that there was one family from Trebinje that came to Zelengora during the summer with livestock, along with other families mostly from Ljubinje. Next to Čemerno is the neighboring hill Živalj, to which Bosniaks from the vicinity of Bileća drove their cattle until the war in 1992. Building on what he said earlier about the distribution of land, the interviewee states that Bosniaks were also given land for use by local landlords (beys). Today Bosniaks only come over during the summer months to visit those places, since they live abroad. This is one of the reasons why the sale of sheep and lambs is no longer as frequent as it used to be. As the interviewee states, now only hotels and restaurants buy this type of animal. At the end of the conversation, the informant’s wife described how difficult life was on the mountain peaks in this part of Herzegovina: „Oh my poor Volujak, unfortunate Lebršnik, whining Lukavica; Cursed are we living amongst you, waiting for better days in the midst of such misery („Вољујаче јадијаче, Лебршнице несретнице, Лукавице кукавице, куку нама међу вама, у злу добро чекајући”)!

The next interviewee, who also lives in the vicinity of Bileća (Podosoje village), stated that she is engaged in pastoralism because it is profitable, but also because the driving force behind this business is love. As she states, „this is what drives a man to work, and when he works, he can create something, he just has to work constantly.” In short, for her, transhumant pastoralism is „the only sublime freedom that other people lack”. She thinks that this practice will disappear in the future because young people do not want to „deal with sheep and cows”. However, everything would change if „the situation in the world was to reverse”. The interviewee points out that pastoralism provided her the opportunity to educate her two sons, and buy an apartment for the older son. The younger one is employed in a quarry and has a decent monthly income. Unfortunately, due to previous bad experiences with journalists, this interviewee and her husband were reluctant to share more information with us.

The next interviewee, also from the vicinity of Bileća, drove the animals to the Lebršnik mountain to the pastoral dwelling (*katun*) built by his great-grandfather in 1957. The interviewee's father, uncles, grandfather and great-grandfather also used to drive their animals there. After the informant's father got married, he started driving other people's animals to the Zelengora mountain until the big drought in 2000. Then the interviewee moved with his father to a *katun* owned by a family friend not far from the Oštrikovac location (Gacko municipality). He and his father „drove family friend's animals for seven years” (from 2000 to 2007), after which our interviewee got a job in a company. For the next fifteen years, he planted potatoes on his family *katun* built by his great-grandfather. He had renovated it, and from 2022 began to frequent it with his wife and children, starting again to engage in pastoralism. As he states, „I turn my wife and children towards it, I fell in love with it as a child and spent summers there (...) I have always loved the mountain, believe me that I love it above all else, if I could, I would never get down from the mountain.” The love for the mountain is reflected in the fact that the interviewee celebrates the Julian New Year every winter in his *katun*. The informant states that before the war, people and animals used to go on foot from Bileća to the Lebršnik mountain and would usually have one overnight stay (*konak*) on the way. Sometimes they would leave Bileća after midnight and arrive in Lebršnik in one day without spending the night on the way. After the war, motor vehicles replaced walking. As the interviewee points out, „now it's done with trucks”, referring to the transport of animals. His herd consists of 30 sheep (*brava*), four cows, one horse and 20 lambs. The rams are located at the Mučibabića gora location near the village of Kokorina (Gacko municipality), and the rest of the animals are at the Lebršnik mountain, i.e. location Oštrikovac, where we interviewed him. The informant and his family produce cheese and cream, potatoes, garlic, carrots and beets, mostly for personal use, while some cheese and cream are sold to regular customers.

The interviewee from the village of Podosoje near Bileća has been continuously driving his herd from his place to the Lebršnik mountain for fifty-five years. As he states, „I was three months old when my mother took me out to the mountain.” He did not stop coming to the mountain even during the 1992-1995 war. During the socialist period the interviewee's family took cattle to the Zelengora mountain, and then in 1967 when the informant was born, his grandfather bought a pastoral dwelling (*katun*) from a man from the village of Baljci near Bileća. Informant's grandfather did this to make job easier for his daughter-in-law', the interviewee's mother. Namely, the distance from Bileća to Zelengora is much longer than from Bileća to Lebršnik. The interviewee points to differences between pastoralism in the past and in the present. In the past, five or six children each slept on a wooden bed filled with straw, there were no telephones, the post office was located five kilometers away. As the interviewee emphasizes, „the worst thing was when someone was in love, then you had to wait for a letter for two months, the summer passes until

a letter arrives from the girl, and now it comes quickly.” In the past, livestock was driven on foot and necessary materials transported on horses, but today it is done with cars and trucks. The informant metaphorically states that modern pastoralists sleep „on a French bed”. In the same spirit, he concludes that in the present living in the *katuns* reminds him of summer vacation in the famous tourist center in the town of Herceg Novi (Boka Bay, Montenegro). Paradoxically, the interviewee still drives the livestock from Bileća to Lebršnik on foot, spending the night at the location of Glavice in the village of Dobrelji (Gacko municipality). When he returns the flock to Bileća from Lebršnik, he spends the night in the village of Korita (Bileća municipality), due to the difference in the length of the day. Usually, the informant goes to the mountain with the livestock in early June. He takes great care not to start his ascent on a Wednesday or a holy day (patron saint’s day), and he descends with his flock in the second half of September or early October.

The interviewee points out that he used to milk up to 22 cows manually during the whole summer, and now he does it with 12 milking cows. In addition, he takes care of 400 sheep and 20 goats. He showed us the facilities where he produces and stores cheese and cream. As for the distribution of roles in production, the interviewee’s sister (the mountaineer/*planinka*) curds the cheese, boils the milk and pours it, puts the cream in smaller sheepskin bags/*miješine*, and while he stuffs the cheese in larger ones because the task requires more physical strength. Also, the informant as the male mountaineer/*čoban* has the duty of looking after the sheep, cleaning the pen and milking the cows, while his sister as the female mountaineer/*čobanica* is looking after and milking the cows. The interviewee states that he always sent high-quality products to the market, and because of that, „no one ever asked for the price, they just bought it.” Every year, he sells everything he produces in advance to regular customers.

The interviewee also points out, „I have never returned to Bileća during the summer”, adding that he even celebrates his *slava* (patron saint’s day) on the Lebršnik mountain (Dormition of the Mother of God, on August 28). On the second day of celebration, his brothers and sisters from Bileća come to the mountain together with neighbors from other *katuns* (*planištaci*). The informant, who is a bachelor, keeps the animals together with his two married sisters. On the other hand, his sisters’ children are not interested in pastoralism. He expresses his love for pastoralism through several colorful statements: „Who will turn me away from the sheep, I wouldn’t leave them even if King Peter II came down from the heavens!” The informant continues: „My greatest pleasure and memory was kissing a young shepherdess in the deep shade, young shepherdess, the real cream girl, no make-up and short skirts, the real blushing one”. People from Bileća used to gather in bee (*sijela* form of traditional gatherings) on the Lebršnik mountain, „there were hundreds of people, they would dance *kolo* all night long”. At those events, the girls from Gacko usually sang „I’m counting the stars so that none of them are missing, I’m counting the boys, and my darling

is missing". The informant remembers that there was a huge girl („as big as a mountain") for whom it was sung: „Oh, if I could throw a mine, under Nikola's Gordana („Ех, да ми је бацит мину, под Гордану Николину")! Further comparing the past and the present, in a nostalgic vein the informant states that „life was more beautiful before than today, today there is nothing; Other people say these are the mountains, I say this is Herceg Novi." The informant ironically refers to the changed circumstances under which people visit and live in the mountains nowadays, mainly entangled with processes of commercialization and tourismization. Another interviewee joined the conversation and emphasized that his father used to date girls on top of the Volujak mountain (over 2300 meters above sea level). As he narrates: „Those were the times, meetings on the top of Volujak, while driving out the animals; Father would go straight to Volujak with the horse (...) and along the way he would find the time to meet with a girl on Volujak". In the further conversation, the first interviewee said: „Some say that I am weird, because I don't want to spoil these customs; Those that went away, they are modern, they all went to Europe, let them go, I'll do on my own."

Unlike in the past when the boundaries of pastures and *katuns* were precisely determined, today this is not the case because significantly fewer people are involved in pastoralism. As the interviewee says, „one who owns the sheep, he owns the mountains." When asked what happens if a sheep crosses someone else's pastures, the interviewee answers „now it's not forbidden". The process of the weakening of customary norms and of the very practice of pastoralism seems to have started even before the war, during 1980s. As the interviewee notes, „everyone ran to the factories, everyone left their houses, their properties, all their works and went to the factory in Bileća to work; And now what – there is no Bilećanka factory, nor salary, now there's nowhere to go back, it's all gone." The interviewee concludes: „I say, look, this here is sacred to me, because I benefit from it", adding that pastoralism will even prosper in the future. As he states: „Look, better times will come, I tell you." For him, the mountain is „the highest form of freedom that can be, no air spa in the world can compare to this (...) nature, air; I am not in the dust here, I love this, I enjoy it (...) this is how I was born, this is how I shall die."

The last interviewee from the vicinity of Berkovići, more precisely the village of Zasada (Bileća municipality) resides under the Volujak mountain at the Slano vrelo location, right on the border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. His father and grandfather were involved in pastoralism. He and his brother's family (total of 11 people) have been staying at the mentioned location for twenty years during the summer season. He owns about 1,000 sheep, with an additional 2,000 sheep for which he states that he „resells them". In just one year, the interviewee sold 200 sheep on the eve of Eid al-Adha to Bosniaks throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a total of 2,000 sheep from central Serbia and Kosovo and Metohija were resold. Furthermore, he keeps about 30 goats and a certain number

of calves. The informant states that there used to be a total of 3,000 sheep in that area „under Volujak”, and today it is not worth having more than 1,000 heads, because the state prevents it. Nevertheless, the interviewee believes that he can make a living from pastoralism: „There is work, I work from morning to night”. He states that he can sell everything he produces, especially to large restaurants and hotels. He corroborates that statement with the claim that he „held Podgorica for fifteen years” by which he meant supplying the city with sheep and goat products. The informant adds that the capacity of the Sinjajevina mountain in Montenegro is not large enough to meet the needs of the whole population in that country. On his way to the *katun*, our interviewee first goes from the vicinity of Berkovići to Čemerno by truck, and then by horse to his pastoral dwelling, since there is no road that leads to it. The informant and his family usually go to *katun* after the children are dismissed from school in June. His wife adds that those who keep other people’s sheep for money start ascending in May, while their family does it in June. The descending from the mountain is at the end of September, while the children return a little earlier because of school.

The sheep that the interviewee keeps are mainly of the autochthonous breed called *pramenka žuja*, which he claims is the „smartest” and „sweetest”. The informant explains that the breed was created by crossing three Balkan strains of sheep. One strain is from Kosovo („it used to be the sweetest sheep” in terms of taste), the second one is from Ulcinj and the third strain from Dubrave (the vicinity of Stolac). The informant believes that the climate has changed in the last few years because summers are getting drier. Due to „milder winters”, the meadow viper (*šargan*) is more widely spread. It is dangerous for the sheep because it that can kill up to seven animals a day. The informant opens another topic by stressing it is also unfavorable for the sheep if they graze in the same pasture every day („it is death for the sheep”). Out of that reason, the interviewee takes his flock to different pastures each day – the Volujak mountain on the first day, Ljubota on the second, Kuk on the third, Vlasulja on the fourth, Strana on the fifth, Poljana on the sixth and Majanovići on the seventh day. In that way, the sheep always graze on different pastures during one week. According to the interviewee, this is highly beneficial for the sheep. Furthermore, the informant boasts that his pastures are so rich with water, that there is water in holes every fifty meters. Thus, there are no obstacles in terms of watering the sheep.

When it comes to land ownership, the interviewee claims that „the mountains were given to the people”, as he believes most likely after the Second World War. Because of that, there were no conflicts between different families due to the eventual transfer of livestock from one pasture to another. In addition, the informant believes that the entire area under the Volujak mountain is his („whatever can be seen here is mine, who owns the sheep, owns the mountain”). It is interesting that this interviewee, who shows the most open and active attitude towards the possession and use of property, simultaneously raises the

largest number of sheep and uses a location that abounds of grass and water. As far as pathways are concerned, the informant mentions that people used to herd livestock on foot, from the vicinity of Berkovići (Dabarsko polje) through the villages of Plana, Korita, Avtovac, Miholjača, Dramešina to the Volujak mountain, with three to four overnight stays (*konaks*). In the past, the animals were also driven from Berkovići on foot to the Zelengora mountain, through the villages of Trusina, Kifino selo, Morine, Brnjac and Borač, making camp four times during the trip. People from Ljubinje went with their cattle via Vlahovići, reached Trusina and continued along the previously specified route and made camps five times during the trip. The interviewee concludes that people from eastern Herzegovina will continue being engaged in pastoralism in the future. It is, however, necessary for the government to start giving incentives to the younger generations, that is, to build a water supply network and stables for cattle in places where people live during the winter.

When the Sheep Return from Grazing: Reflections on Development Trends of Transhumant Pastoralism in Eastern Herzegovina

When the data communicated by our informants are carefully considered, and the comparison with previous research is made, it is possible to obtain several interesting insights. Understandably, it is necessary to approach the task carefully, because different types of materials are compared: statements (the views of the interviewees), insights (the conclusions of experts made in different temporal contexts), our personal notes and observations, and finally the conclusions reached through our own analyses.

In the first place, important questions that occupied the attention of various sciences that dealt with transhumant pastoralism from the very beginning go into the background or completely disappear, at least as far as our interviewees are concerned. This can be said for the issue of tribal organization, and consequently also for the issue of traditional collective forms of ownership, „various types of communities” (Dedijer 2001, 34–35) and the rights to use goods within such ownership. Informants rarely talk about these topics, unless they are specifically asked, and even then they have little to say. On the other hand, many issues remain in focus, or gain greater or different importance than they had before, while some completely new issues are being raised. We will try to jointly express the observed problems, both those that the interviewees talked about and those that we have noticed ourselves, as development trends, flows that describe and at the same time shape the present state of transhumant pastoralism in Eastern Herzegovina:

1. A complex and multifaceted transformation of transhumant pastoralism from a once significant economic branch to an individual economic strategy and form of personal leisure is perceivable. From the key economic branch that the majority of the Herzegovinian population practiced in the past, it has transformed into a personal choice through which the main or additional economic profit for one's own family is made. The sale of products today is aimed at regular private customers, hotels and restaurants. A general decline in the number of livestock is also noticeable. The interviewees state that until the 1970s, about 65,000 sheep lived in the area of Zelengora. That number has dropped to around 2000 sheep, distributed in four active pastoralist huts (*katuns*). On the other hand, the social relations that characterized traditional pastoralism are still preserved to a certain extent, mainly relations concerning the joint keeping of livestock and the division of labor. Despite the obvious reduction of production relations to family level, other forms of collective production cooperation (division of work between mountaineers/*planištari* and farmers/*pobravičari*) are still preserved.
2. There are noticeable changes in the way livestock movements are carried out, and partly also in their directions. The way in which movement is organized is gradually changing from walking and using horses to the use of motor vehicles and combined practices (vehicles and horses). Distances were shorter while movement was done on foot. Also, paths were physically different (absence of any roads). The construction of roads brings new directions of movement which are often longer, but can be crossed faster (by motor vehicles). In the past, the place where people would spend the night with their cattle (*konak*) depended on the length of the day. Also, partial movements towards the so-called „uppermost“, „middle“ and „lowermost“ grasses (Dedijer 2001, 49) are no longer performed, and only large seasonal movements, ascending (*izdig*) and descending (*zdig*), persist. On the long run, the reduction of partial movements could have negative ecological consequences in particular, if the new pattern becomes widely distributed (diminution of fertilization along the pathways and unbalanced degradation of grazing surfaces). In the past, temporal frames used to be attached to religious holidays in terms of going up the mountain (*izdig*) and coming down from the mountain (*zdig*). Namely, *izdig* and *zdig* were more closely connected with the religious calendar, while today it is noticeable that the school calendar has a greater influence, which applies both to families who stay without children on the mountain, and to families who have school-aged children who help them.
3. The durability of the basic production technology is noticeable (e.g. product ripening is done exclusively in sheepskin bags/*miješine*), while individual elements are modernized, such as containers for milk and cheese. Although most still use wooden vessels, some have switched from wooden to plastic and steel („in my case, a stainless still pan“). There was also a change in cow milking technology, that is, some interviewees introduced electric milkers. Changes can also be noticed in the field of electricity supply, which is obtained from solar panels. The same applies to the use of mobile phones which are now omnipresent. Finally, there are noticeable changes in the field of clothing („mountaineer in leggings“).
4. The informants point to the weakening and dissolution of elements of the traditional cultural idiom. It is often claimed that there used to be „order, custom and tradition“. These include gender relations, changes in gender relations (there are

no more „masculine” hosts, „women are in charge and they hold the wallet”, „a mountaineer in leggings, not a skirt”). Furthermore, interviewees talk about a general decline in trust relations and massive corruption. Today you cannot find „men to promise you something and hold the promise”; the territory of Herzegovina was „a fair place until the war, until mafia took over, everyone got a cut”, and there used to be „order, custom and tradition”. Finally, the most general topic of cultural degradation is occasionally brought up, among other things, the issue of the dissolution of the Herzegovinian tribes during the Ottoman period.

5. Some informants draw attention to the fact that there have been legal changes, in particular property rights and the method of compensation for rights of use. The transformation from the traditionally established right to use pastures, state-regulated rights of access and fees during the Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslav periods („you couldn’t just keep them [sheep, added by the authors] anywhere”), into unclear and incompletely regulated property relations („who owns the sheep, owns the mountain”), regime that remotely resembles the former American open range system (Hristić 2012).
6. All informants point to multiple consequences of the war. This refers to changes in the ethnic structure and forced migration that lead to a transformation of the property structure. It also refers to the loss of work and secure income, which prompts people to look for new sources of income („It was the post-war period, it was a time of scarcity. There was money to be made here [through pastoralism, added by the authors]. So, we started with it, and we found our way. One can earn solid money, if one wants to work”). Ultimately, crime and corruption, as well as dissatisfaction with the way funds are distributed in the Republika Srpska and, finally, regional economic differences were mentioned. These issues are connected to the theme of the dissolution of the traditional cultural idiom.
7. Increasingly pronounced neoliberal economic relations and the weakening or withdrawal of the state are noticeable (Ivanović 2008, 90–92; Simić 2008). Unresolved property relations lead to the opening of space for the uncontrolled tourismization of mountain areas (e.g. the recent parcelization of plots and their sale for the construction of cottages under municipal authority on one side of the Zelengora Mountain). This is precisely why some interviewees, especially larger owners, insist that transhumant pastoralism in today’s conditions cannot survive without systematic support from the state. There is already literature on such support in the countries of the European Union (Nori and Gemini 2011). The absence of state support leads, on the other hand, to the strengthening of individualism in the choice of strategies. It can be noted that there has been a monetization of payments. Informants claim that since 1980s, the replacement of payments in kind with payments in fixed monetary amounts has become increasingly noticeable.
8. Most of the interviewees point out their personal motivations for engaging in pastoralism. In the first place, the informants mention their own economic motivation („We found ourselves in this. We did it so we could raise our children”, „We found ourselves, just find yourself, you have to find yourself in everything”). It is noticeable that the attitude towards pastoralism is generational. Despite attempts to attract the younger generations, there is no deeper interest in pastoralism among them. More and more frequently, a completely new issue of transhumant pastoralism as a chosen lifestyle is being raised („the highest form of freedom

that can be, no air spa in the world can compare to this.”). For one informant, the driving force behind that work is love, as she states „it is what drives a man to work, and when he works he can create something, he just has to work constantly (...) the only sublime freedom that other people lack”.

9. Finally, the informants talk with great interest about zoological, ecological and climatic topics, finding ways to connect them with their thoughts on issues of personal and collective identity, as well as lifestyles. What is interesting is that pastoralists tend to transfer social relations between human communities to animal species (Pavković 2003), as it was previously described in the text where one sort of the cattle invades paths trodden by the other sort. Thus, the ethnicization and anthropomorphization of livestock is noticeable, which is understandable in a culture that does not view animals only as a means of production, but perceives them as a special part of its own community. The issue of biodiversity is brought up and the qualities of autochthonous varieties of sheep are discussed (the „smartest” and „sweetest” sheep breed called „pramenka žuja”). Furthermore, the insistence on recent climate changes is noticeable. The interviewee emphasized that the water on Zelengora has dried up in many places, as well as that the air temperature has increased, which had not happened before. The informant points to man as a factor in the destruction of biodiversity („man is to blame, man has damaged nature, its natural appearance”). Attention is drawn to the importance of access to water (Knežević 2006). In some localities, there is water every fifty meters, so there are no obstacles in terms of watering the sheep. On his deathbed, the interviewee’s father even asked for water from Zelengora, because he „could never exist without it”. Finally, it points to a strong connection between ecology, human health and the ideal of a healthy way of life („nature, air; I am not in the dust here, I love this, I enjoy it (...) this is how I was born, this is how I shall die.”).

A comprehensive and very thorough review of the recent literature on transhumant and nomadic pastoralism for which we have to thank Ian Scoones, can now be introduced (Scoones 2020). The author comes to the conclusion that there are seven key points that determine the position of pastoralists around the world (Scoones 2020, 22–29). His insights can position the case of eastern Herzegovina into broader regional and global perspective of pastoralism. Furthermore, by comparing two sets of generalization relevant development trends in contemporary pastoralism can eventually be discerned.

Scoones states that the key characteristic of livestock production strategies is „living with and from uncertainty”. This ability has always been crucial due to the variability of natural environments in pastoral areas (Scoones 2020, 24–25). In almost all of the nine trends in which we summarized our findings, it is possible to recognize adaptation to the risk that changes in the environment, both natural and social, bring with them. These are changes in the economy, demography, social relations, climate and ecology. Our interviewees found ways to more or less successfully manage the mentioned risks.

Scoones believes that mobility includes the adaptability and readiness of communities to respond to changes within the increasingly complex circum-

stances of the world, whereby spatial mobility is of key importance (Scoones 2020, 25). In our second trend, it is noticeable that movement is the basis of pastoralism and lifestyle. On the other hand, necessary adjustments are made, primarily in types of mobility, and partially in its directions.

Open and hybrid ownership systems contribute to production, accumulation and long-term sustainability. This is easier to achieve outside of standardized forms of ownership (Scoones 2020, 26). Within our fifth and seventh trends, it is possible to notice that the informants point to insufficiently specified ownership relations and rules for the use of pastures. At the same time, almost all the interviewees underlined the rule according to which the pasture belongs to the one whose livestock grazes on it. On the basis of the previously described situation in which pastures are used indiscriminately, pastoralists make a profit.

Scoones draws attention to the fact that reliance on social relations and networks is one of the most important among pastoralists' responses to uncertainty. Such reliance distributes the risk more evenly and builds bonds of solidarity that increase the possibility of making a profit (Scoones 2020, 26–27). In the examples we talked about (the first development trend), an important strategy can be recognized – a single pastoralist keeps both his own and other people's livestock on the mountain. Production relations and other forms of collective production cooperation within the family and between the mountaineers/*planištari* and farmers/*pobravičari* have been preserved.

Scoones states that in modern times, networks for building collective well-being rely more and more on the so-called „new moral economy” which crucially depends on the use of new technologies: the electronic transfer of money, the use of mobile phones and modern means of transport (Scoones 2020, 27–28). In our second and third development trend, it was shown that the interviewees use motor vehicles, solar panels and mobile phones, making their work activities and living conditions easier.

Scoones draws attention to the fact that in the conditions of the expansion of capitalist relations, the individuals who stand out as a new pastoralist elite, actors who are capable of dealing with the complex challenges of the market play, now play a key role (Scoones 2020, 28–29; Naumović 2013). Some of our informants show a high level of adaptability to the current order in which the role of the state is getting weaker, and uncertainty and regional differences are increasing, as evidenced by the sixth and seventh trends of our research findings. On the other hand, there is a noticeable longing for a „stronger” state in the sense of referring to the imagined past, to the time when the state was ready to provide various legal, economic and social forms of assistance (Naumović 2013, 17-42).

With the increasing prevalence of discussions about ecology and the environment, Scoones notes that interest in sustainable forms of pastoralism is becoming crucial in new agrarian policies that take climate issues seriously (Scoones 2020, 29). In our ninth trend, we note that the interviewees emphasized the im-

portance of the mentioned topics in connection with their own personal and collective identities, lifestyle choices, as well as issues of environmental survival.

Scoones, however, does not pay attention to some elements that we observed in this study, first of all to the personal attitude towards the environment and lifestyle. In this sense, the beliefs that people hold should not be neglected for the sake of consistency in ideological and political terms. A corrective to Scoones' focus primarily on political and economic aspects is provided by the authors of the study on the relationship between religious beliefs and the way pastures are used. Therefore, individual religious beliefs and belief systems should be taken seriously as an important element that sustains agricultural and pastoral communities (Dominguez, Zorondo-Rodríguez and Reyes-García 2010, 360). We believe that in our case the previous statement can also refer to the beliefs that people have about nature and its influence on man. Also, this insight refers to the importance of choosing the lifestyle that people live. Therefore, transhumant pastoralism can be considered a good lifestyle choice, which is more fulfilling than other available choices, under the given circumstances.

Perhaps it makes sense to reflect on the knowledge presented by Leticia Bindi in the introduction to her collection on „grazing communities“. Namely, the special way of raising different types of animals simultaneously determines the forms of knowledge, access and use of land and pastures. It is a relationship that is far more complex than simple exploitation. Not only are food and other animal-related products obtained within this relationship, but entire ecosystems are sustainably managed, the biodiversity of the soil and the animal species associated with it are preserved and maintained. It also supports the survival of forms of social organization within which knowledge about the responsible management of natural resources is transmitted. In this sense, the maintenance and strengthening of what Bindi calls *grazing communities* represents a valuable alternative to the system of industrial livestock raising and exploitation, which nowadays becomes increasingly difficult to sustain (Bindi 2022, 1).

The synthesis offered by Bindi's edited volume weaves together all the threads that have been mentioned in our paper. It establishes stronger connections between the knowledge of the binding geomorphological and ecological frameworks determined by the natural forces (Dedijer 2001), the understanding of complex historical flows, but also the mild romanticizing of the pastoral way of life (Novaković 1943), insights of legal ethnology on the workings of communal ownership systems (Pavković 2014) and contemporary ecological, biological and political ideas (Arnold and Greenfield 2006; Sharifian et al. 2022; Zanjani et al. 2023). A sober and unsentimental analysis of marginalized service nomads in India, offered early in his career by the American anthropologist Robert M. Hayden, could express similar approach without modern rhetorics and ideology. Therefore, the way of life of pastoralists should be supported, not forcibly changed (Hayden 1979, 306).

Concluding Remarks

As was demonstrated, contemporary pastoralist practices in eastern Herzegovina at the beginning of the 21st century differ considerably from the practices described in the reviewed literature. Changes that were discussed in the previous section resulted from observed developments in the field and transformations in the way that informants understand these processes. It is now difficult to even speak of „grazing communities” in eastern Herzegovina, in the sense employed in Bindi’s edited volume. While many practices persist, particularly those concerning the basic production technology, routes used by pastoralists, and the location of pastoral dwellings (*katuns*), the social basis of transhumant pastoralism, its customary framework regarding legal issues and whole collective ethos are on the way of dissolution. The question of routes used by pastoralists raises the ecological issues such as diminution of fertilization along the pathways and unbalanced degradation of grazing surfaces. Furthermore, new realities emerge – independent-minded actors develop pastoralism as an individual economic strategy. Complex consequences of war, the gradual neoliberalization of the economic and legal spheres, resulting in the so-called withdrawing of the state, are to be seen as the primary factors that induce previously mentioned changes. We are witnessing a particular historical moment in which individual pastoralists find themselves in a sort of cultural and legal „limbo”. Not constrained anymore by the collective ethos once characteristic of grazing communities, local pastoralists feel free to make new kinds of choices, or are perhaps forced to make them. This situation is also favorable for strengthening of personal motivation to practice transhumant pastoralism, among those who never practiced it before. Technological developments and resulting facilitation of work routines turn a once extremely difficult occupation into a form of leisure activity, at least in some cases. Zoological, ecological and climate topics which were once integrated into the ethos of grazing communities in a paradoxical way now return from the external cultural and media context, which contemporary pastoralists discuss with fervor and often watch on the internet.

Most of the mentioned issues have been emphasized in open discussions with our informants, precisely because we did not ask them predetermined questions. Following contemporary trends in ethnology and anthropology, in particular the giving of voice to the informants, we were interested in hearing what they have to say about their own way of life and how and why they live it. In a paradoxical way, we came closer to another neglected achievement within the tradition of local social sciences and humanities. Namely, in his work on the codification of the General Property Code for the Principality of Montenegro from 1888, Valtazar Bogišić paid special attention to what the informants said about their customary practice and how they voiced it, and tried to include those exact formulations in the text of the code itself (Luković 2009). As already

mentioned, the present state of transhumant pastoralism in eastern Herzegovina is historically very special and may, under certain circumstances, require the application of anthropological knowledge. What a review of the previously published literature testifies to is that the knowledge and social relationships described by the mentioned studies are no longer known by today's pastoralists. If correctly applied, science could perhaps offer forms of establishing continuity between the current generations of pastoralists and those described in the previously published studies.

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„Ко ће мене од оваца одвргнут”? савремено стање и трендови развоја трансхумантног сточарства у источној Херцеговини у XXI веку

У раду се износе резултати теренског истраживања трансхумантног сточарства које је обављено у јуну и јулу 2022. године на планинама Зеленгора, Волујак и Лебршник, на висоравни Морине, односно подручјима општина Љубиње, Невесиње, Калиновик и Гацко (Република Српска-Босна и Херцеговина). Циљ је био да се утврди савремено стање и трендови развоја трансхумантног сточарства на подручју источне Херцеговине на почетку XXI века. У раду се даје осврт на досадашња (етнолошка) проучавања трансхумантног сточарства, а затим представљају методолошки поступци коришћени у овом истраживању. У кључном етнографском одељку резимирани су разговори са испитаницима и теренским водичима. Уочени проблеми, како они о којима су говорили казивачи, тако и они који су самостално примећени, заједнички су исказани као трендови развоја сточарства, односно токови који описују, а истовремено и обликују данашње стање трансхумантног сточарства на проучаваном подручју. У питању су: прерастање сточарства у индивидуалну привредну стратегију и, у неким случајевима, облик личне разоноде; промене у правцима и начину вршења сточарских кретања; трајност основне технологије производње, уз модернизацију њених појединих елемената; слабљење и растакање елемената традицијског културног идиома; промена правно-својинског поретка и начина вршења надокнада за права коришћења; вишеструке последице рата; све израженији неолиберални економски односи и повлачење државе; оснаживање личне мотивације за бављање сточарством; пораст интересовања за зоолошке, еколошке и климатске теме. У скоро свим наведеним трендовима, могуће је препознати прилагођавање на ризике које са собом носе промене у околини, како природној тако и у друштвеној. У питању су промене у привреди, демографији, друштвеним односима, клими и екологији. Могуће је уочити намеру информаната да управљају наведеним ризицима, што и чине више или мање успешно. У овој студији уочен је, пре свега, лични однос према околини и стилу живота. То не би требало пренебрегавати због очувања доследности у

идеолошком и политичком смислу. У обзир треба узети веровања која људи имају о природи и њеном утицају на човека, с обзиром да је то тема о којој казивачи све више говоре. Такође, то се односи и на важност избора стила живота којим људи живе. Трансхумантно сточарство, стога, може да се сматра једним од добрих животних избора који у датим околностима испуњава више него други доступни избори.

Кључне речи: трансхумантно сточарство, савремено стање и трендови развоја, историја антропологије, источна Херцеговина, XXI век

« Qui va me détourner des moutons ? »: l'état actuel et les tendances de développement de l'élevage transhumant dans l'Herzégovine orientale au XXI^e siècle

Dans cet article sont présentés les résultats d'une recherche de terrain sur l'élevage transhumant, menée en juin et juillet 2022 sur les montagnes de Zelengora, Volujak et Lebrsnik, sur le plateau de Morine, c'est-à-dire sur le territoire des municipalités de Ljubinje, Nevesinje, Kalinovik et Gacko (République serbe de Bosnie-Bosnie-Herzégovine). L'objectif de la recherche a été d'établir l'état actuel et les tendances du développement de l'élevage transhumant sur les territoires de l'Herzégovine orientale au début du 21^e siècle. Dans ce travail est d'abord donné l'aperçu des études (ethnologiques) présentes sur l'élevage transhumant, puis sont présentées les démarches méthodologiques utilisées dans cette recherche. La partie ethnographique résume les interviews avec les informateurs et les guides de terrain. Les problèmes relevés, aussi bien ceux dont ont parlé les informateurs, que ceux qui ont été observés de manière indépendante, sont exposés en commun dans le cadre d'une section spéciale en tant que tendances de développement qui décrivent et en même temps façonnent l'état actuel de l'élevage transhumant sur le territoire étudié. Il est possible de reconnaître dans toutes les tendances l'adaptation aux risques qu'apportent les changements dans l'environnement, aussi bien naturel que social.

Mots clés: élevage transhumant, état contemporain et tendances du développement, histoire de l'anthropologie, Herzégovine orientale, XXI^e siècle

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