

IVAN ČAKAN

OVČARSTVO VOJVODINE

oblici udruzivanja ovčara

TRADICIONALNO



Ivan Čakan

TRADICIONALNO OVČARSTVO VOJVODINE
– OBLICI UDRUŽIVANJA OVČARA –

TRADITIONAL SHEEP KEEPING IN VOJVODINA
– FORMS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE SHEEP KEEPERS –



MUZEJ VOJVODINE / THE MUSEUM OF VOJVODINA

Novi Sad,
2011



Ivan Čakan

**Tradicionalno ovčarstvo Vojvodine – oblici udruživanja ovčara
Traditional sheepkeeping in Vojvodina – forms of associations of sheep keepers**

Izdavač / Publisher

Muzej Vojvodine / The Museum of Vojvodina

Za izdavača / For publisher

Mr Uglješa Belić / Uglješa Belić, M.A.

Urednik / Editor

Mr Lidija Mustedanagić / Lidija Mustedanagić, M.A.

Recenzent / Reviewer

Dr Mirjana Maluckov / Mirjana Maluckov, Ph.D.

Lektor / Copyeditor

Branka Lugonja

Oprema knjige i ilustracije / Equipment and book illustrations

Dragan Jerinić

Saradnik u projektu / Project associate

Gordana Jolić

Priprema za štampu / Prepress

Penpro, Novi Sad

Prevod na engleski / Translation into English

Ljubica Jankov

Fotografije / Photographs

Mila Bosić, Ivan Čakan, Milenko Filipović, Milica Đukić,

Bratislava Idvorean-Stefanović, V. Latinkić, Mirjana Maluckov, Rajko Mamuzić,
Milivoje Milosavljević, S. Mirković, Vera Milutinović, Šandor Nađ, Boris Nedvidek, Rajko Nikolić

ISBN 978-86-87723-11-5

Tiraž / Circulation

500

Publikaciju je podržao Sekretarijat za kulturu i informisanje AP Vojvodine.

This publication was supported by Ministry of Culture
and Information of AP of Vojvodina.





Čopor ovaca na slatini, Jazovo – Banat, 1996 (photo I. Čakan) Herd of sheep on mineral spring, Jazovo

1. UVOD

Istraživanje ovčarstva u Vojvodini je jedan od projekata Etnološkog odeljenja Muzeja Vojvodine kojem je posvećivana posebna pažnja. Razlozi za ovu programsku orientaciju Muzeja su višestruki. Ovčarstvo je značajna grana stočarstva, u okviru koje su se zadržale karakteristike tradicionalnog gajenja stoke. Na tu specifičnost je, pre svega, uticala činjenica da su, za razliku od drugih stočara, koji su prešli na stajski sistem čuvanja stoke (u zatvorenim prostorima), ovčari zadržali viševkovni ekstenzivni, pašnjački način stočarenja. Čopori ovaca veliki deo godine (po osam i više meseci) provode van naseљa, da bi u kraćem periodu, tokom zime, bili sklonjeni po zimskim objektima. Pašnjačko stočarenje uticalo je na očuvanje običaja udruživanja vlasnika ovaca i stvaranja zajedničkih čopora, prilikom kojih se, po raznim običajnim sistemima, vrši deoba dobiti, troškova i gubitaka nastalih uginućem ili krađom ovaca, jagnjadi, čobanskih pasa, posebno pulina, a ponekad i magaraca i čobanske opreme. Upućeni jedni na druge, čobani su razvijali i druge odnose, prenoсеći znanja o čuvanju, lečenju, obeležavanju ovaca. Značajni su i različiti oblici zabave: pesme, igre, muzika.¹

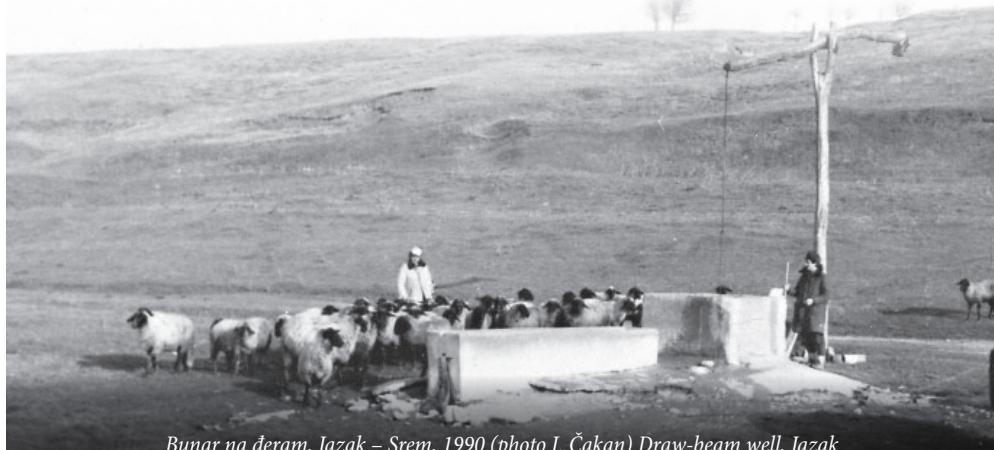
1. INTRODUCTION

The research of sheep keeping in Vojvodina is one of the projects of the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina, to which has been devoted special attention. The reasons for this programme orientation of the Museum are manifold. Sheep keeping is an important branch of cattle breeding, within which the traditional characteristics of cattle breeding have been retained.

This specificity has primarily been influenced by the fact that, unlike other farmers, who moved to the stable system of keeping cattle (indoor), the sheep keepers have preserved the centuries long extensive, pasture cattle breeding method. The herds of sheep, most part of the year (for eight months or more) spend outside the village, and for just a short period of time, during winter, they are moved to winter facilities. Pasture cattle breeding has influenced the habits of the association of sheep owners and the creation of the common herd, in which, according to various customary systems, the profit, expenses and losses, caused by the death or theft of sheep, lambs, shepherd's dogs, especially Pulins, and sometimes even donkeys and shepherd's equipment are divided. Focused on each other, shepherds

Kao profitabilna grana privrede, ovčarstvo je tokom 20. veka bilo izloženo različitim negativnim uticajima i njegov značaj je neprestano opadao. Broj čopora se drastično smanjivao, pa je ovčarstvo gubilo

developed the other relationships as well, conveying knowledge about storage, treatment and marking the sheep. Various forms of entertainment are significant: songs, games, music.¹



Bunar na đeram, Jazak – Srem, 1990 (photo I. Čakan) Draw-beam well, Jazak

svoje izvorne karakteristike, koje su i u vreme istraživanja bile izmenjene, prevaziđene ili zaboravljene. Obrađivanjem ovčarstva odnosno stočarstva obrađuje se i sistem stočarenja i dobija slika o funkcionisanju seoskih, ali i gradskih, naselja pretežno poljoprivredne Vojvodine.

Ova monografija o ovčarstvu u Vojvodini napisana je na osnovu građe sakupljene od 1982. do 1991. godine. Dopunska istraživanja obavljena su 2002., 2003. i 2004. godine, a delimično i kasnije – do 2009. godine.

O ovčarstvu u Vojvodini tokom 20. veka pisano je do Drugog svetskog rata, i to u stručnim radovima vezanim za privredu. Usled razvoja etnologije u Vojvodini, ova problematika se nakon rata počinje obrađivati i sa etnološkog stanovišta. Pomenuta literatura se prvenstveno odnosi na pojedine regije, a zatim na pojedine segmente ovčarstva, ili je pak reč o većim etnološkim i drugim monografijama kojima je obuhvaćena i ova problematika. Prvi rad iz ove grupe tekstova je „Rad oko stoke“ Rajka Nikolića,

As a profitable branch of industry, sheep farming during the the 20th century was exposed to various negative impacts and its significance was constantly declining. The number of herds was drastically reduced, so the sheep keeping has lost its original characteristics, which even at the time of the survey have been changed, outdated or forgotten. By processing the sheep farming or cattle breeding, we are processing the system of cattle breeding and at the same time getting the picture of functioning of rural and urban settlements, predominantly of agricultural Vojvodina.

This monograph on sheep keeping in Vojvodina was written based on the material collected from 1982 to 1991. Additional research was conducted in 2002, 2003 and 2004, and partly later – until 2009.

During the the 20th century about sheep keeping in Vojvodina has been written in professional papers related to the economy until The Second World War. Due to the development of ethnology in Vojvodina,

objavljen u zborniku *Banatske Here*.² Milivoje Milosavljević iz Narodnog muzeja u Kikindi se u svojim radovima o stočarstvu služi arhivskim materijalom, literaturom i terenskom građom. On se bavi problematikom stočarstva, i to pretežno u Banatu, gde je ovčarstvo bilo značajan izvor privredovanja. Problemu pristupa istorijski, vezujući ga za zbivanja u pomenutom regionu, česte ratove i nesređeno stanje u turskom periodu, koje je u Banatu trajalo od 1552. godine do 1716. godine.³ Arhivske dokumente i istorijske činjenice upotpunjaju terenskom građom i originalnim fotografijama, zaokružujući sliku o tradicionalnom stočarstvu 19. i 20. veka.

U knjizi „Pastirska terminologija Srema”, Žarko Bošnjaković daje leksičko-semantičku analizu pastirske terminologije. On se bavi terminima vezanim za stočarski pribor i stočarske stanove, daje nazive domaćih životinja nastale prema njihovim fizičkim karakteristikama, obeležjima i nedostacima itd. Mada se rad odnosi na Srem, većina stočarskih termina iz ovog rečnika koristi se na teritoriji cele Vojvodine.⁴

Problematika ovčarstva obrađena je i u etnološkoj monografiji „Rumuni u Banatu”,⁵ kao i u nekolicini radova koji se nalaze u go-dišnjaku *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja*.⁶ Nekoliko kraćih radova o ovčarstvu objavljeno je u poslednjoj deceniji 20. veka, i to u sveskama posvećenim izložbama „Iz istorije poljoprivrede”, koje su održavane na Novosadskom poljoprivrednom sajmu, i u ediciji *Proleće na čenejskim salašima*. Tokom 1982/83. godine je, u okviru naučnog projekta „Pastirska terminologija u južnom Banatu”, koji je rađen na Institutu za pedagogiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, sakupljana komparativna građa o ovčarstvu kod Srba i Rumuna. Sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina 20. veka prikupljana je građa za izradu „Etnološkog atlasa Jugoslavije – sektor za Vojvodinu”. Tada je obrađeno 168 mesta.⁷

these issues started being processed after the war from the ethnological point of view. The aforementioned literature is primarily related to certain regions, and then to the individual segments of sheep keeping, or as a part of larger ethnological studies and other monographs in which this issue has also been covered. The first paper from this group of texts is a “Work about Cattle,” by Rajko Nikolić, published in the journal *Banatska Hera*.² Milivoje Milosavljević from the National Museum of Kikinda in his work on cattle breeding uses archival material, literature and terrain material. In his work, he deals with issues of cattle breeding mostly in Banat, where sheep farming was an important source of economic activity. He has historical approach to the problem, linking it to the events in the mentioned region, frequent wars and unstable situation in the Turkish period, which lasted in Banat from 1552 to 1716.³ The archival documents and historical facts are completed with the terrain material and original photographs, circling the image of traditional cattle breeding in the the 19th and the 20th century.

In the book “Shepherd’s terminology of Srem”, Žarko Bošnjaković provides lexical and semantic analysis of shepherd’s terminology. He deals with terms related to cattle equipment and cattle breeder’s housing, gives the names of domestic animals caused by their physical characteristics, features, shortcomings and so on. Although it refers to Srem, most cattle breeding terms in this glossary have been used on the whole territory of Vojvodina.⁴

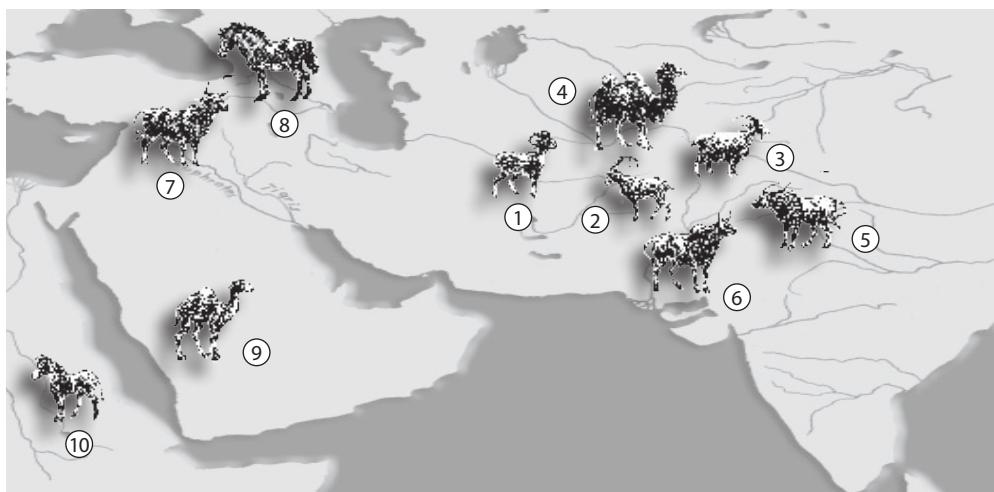
The author of the ethnological monograph “Romanians in Banat” has been dealing with this issue, as well as several works that are part of the almanac *Work of the Museums in Vojvodina*.⁶ A few short papers on the sheep keeping were published in the last decade of the 20th century, in volumes dedicated to the exhibitions “From the History of Agriculture”, which were held at the

Običaji vezani za stočarstvo najopširnije su obrađeni u monografiji „Godišnji običaji Srba u Vojvodinu“ autorke Mile Bosić.⁸

Kao značajna privredna grana, ovčarstvo je vekovima razvijano u Vojvodini, a gajenje ovaca na ovim prostorima traje milenijuma. Smatra se da je uzgajanje ovaca u Evropi započeto u 7. milenijumu pre nove

Novi Sad Agricultural Fair and in the edition *Spring on the Farms in Čenej*.

During 1982/83, within the scientific project “Pastoral Terminology in Southern Banat,” which was performed at the Institute of Pedagogy of the Faculty of Humanities in Novi Sad, where collected comparative material is presented on sheep keeping among



Poreklo domaćih životinja: 1) muflon; 2) uralska ovca; 3) koza; 4) dvogrba kamila; 5) bivo; 6) zebu; 7) goveče; 8) konj; 9) jednogrba kamila; 10) magarac.

The origin of domestic animals: 1) musk ox, 2) Ural sheep, 3) goat, 4) two-humped camel, 5) buffalo, 6) zebu, 7) ox, 8) horse, 9) dromedary, 10) donkey.

ere, u predgrnčarskom neolitu, kada su ovce iz jugozapadne Azije prenete na Balkansko poluostrvo. Ono se odatle širilo prema severu i severozapadu. Na uzgoj ovaca na Balkanskom poluostrvu i u Karpatskom basenu uticali su i geografski i klimatski uslovi, mada gajenje ovaca, koza i drugih životinja prvobitno nije imalo mnogo veći značaj od lova i sakupljanja plodova. O razvoju stočarstva na Dunavu piše S. Bokoni, koji kaže da su u rimskim provincijama uz reku Dunav postojala dva tipa stočarenja. Jedan tip stočarenja bio je primitivan, nastao pod uticajem karakteristika lokalnog praistorijskog stanovništva, a drugi je bio veoma razvijen, nastao pod uticajem rimske civilizacije, koji se može tretirati kao osmišljen uzgoj stoke, sa dobro planiranom selekcijom vrsta u cilju

Serbs and Romanians. In the seventies and the eighties of the 20th century, the material was gathered for making the “Ethnological Atlas of Yugoslavia – the sector of Vojvodina.” At that time 168 places were processed.⁷

Customs related to cattle breeding are discussed comprehensively in the monograph “The annual customs of the Serbs in Vojvodina” written by the author Mila Bosić.⁸

As an important branch of industry, sheep keeping has been developed for centuries in Vojvodina, and sheep keeping in this region has been going on for millennia. It is believed that sheep keeping in Europe started in the seventh millennium BC, in the Pre-potter Neolithic, when the sheep were transferred from Southwest Asia to the Balkan Peninsula. It was spread from there to the north and

povećanja produktivnosti. Ovaj tip je poredazumevaо i odgovarajuću kvantitativnu i kvalitativnu ishranu stoke. Rimski tip stočarenja potpuno je transformisao pomenutu delatnost u oblasti Dunava.⁹ Planski uzgoj je i danas jedna od karakteristika tradicionalnog vojvođanskog ovčarstva. Ovčari sami vrše odabir i ukrštanje grla – nezavisno od veterinara, dakle stručnih lica, vodeći računa o rasi, izgledu i veličini grla, povećanju mlečnosti, kvalitetu vune, jaganjaca itd. Oni vode računa i o ishrani ovaca, a njihova iskustva se prenose sa kolena na koleno. Pokazalo se da su najbolji oni čobani koji potiču iz tradicionalnih ovčarskih porodica.

U literaturi postoji mišljenje po kojem je u prošlosti, za vreme Turaka, ovčarstvo odnosno stočarstvo bilo razvijeno zbog toga što je stoka predstavljala pokretni imetak, sa kojim se vlasnik mogao lakše skloniti ispred neprijatelja. Na ekspanziju ovčarstva u turskom periodu su, možda, uticali muslimanska vera, koja zabranjuje korišćenje svinjetine u ishrani, klimatski uslovi povoljni za uzgoj ovaca, pašnjaci u tada močvarnoj Vojvodini, pogodnoj za razvoj stočarstva, kao i činjenica da je postojbina ovaca, Azija, predstavljala prostor veoma blizu srcu islama, gde je ova životinja milenijumima bila bliska stanovništvu.

Ovčarstvo je dobijalo odgovarajuće mesto i u velikim planovima o reorganizaciji privrede koju je vršila austrougarska vlast.¹⁰ Ono je predstavljalo značajan segment stočarstva 19. i 20. veka, da bi u drugoj polovini 20. veka zapalo u težak položaj, pre svega zbog politike stvaranja velikih poljoprivrednih dobara i područtvljavanja zemljišta, kada su zaorani pašnjaci velikog broja naselja. Takvu politiku vodila je i lokalna i državna vlast.

Ovim istraživanjem ovčarstva nastojalo se što obuhvatnije zabeležiti i sadašnje stanje ovčarstva na teritoriji Vojvodine, i to kod svih naroda koji u njoj žive. Jedan od osnovnih zadataka bio je sagledavanje

northwest. The sheep farming on the Balkan Peninsula and in the Carpathian Basin was influenced by geographical and climatic conditions, although keeping sheep, goats and other animals originally did not have much more important role than hunting and gathering fruit. S. Bocconi writes about the development of cattle breeding in the Danube region, who says that in the Roman provinces along the Danube there were two types of cattle breeding. One type of cattle breeding was primitive, done under the influence of local characteristics of the local prehistoric population, and the other one was highly developed, created under the influence of Roman civilization, which can be treated like thought out cattle breeding with well planned selection of species in order to increase productivity. This type included appropriate quantitative and qualitative nutrition of the cattle. Roman type of cattle breeding completely transformed already mentioned activity in the Danube region.⁹ Planned breeding is still one of the characteristics of traditional sheep keeping in Vojvodina. Sheep keepers themselves carry out the selection and cross keeping the heads – regardless of the vets, so experts, taking care of race, appearance and size of animals, increasing the milk production, quality of wool, lambs and so on. They take care of the nutrition of the sheep, and their experience is handed down from generation to generation. It turned out that they the best shepherds are those who come from the traditional sheep keeping families.

There is the opinion in the literature according to which in the past, during the Turks, sheep keeping in other words cattle breeding was developed because the cattle represented the movable property with which the owner could easily hide in front of the enemy. The expansion of sheep keeping in the Turkish period, perhaps, was influenced by the Muslim faith, which prohibits the use of pork in the diet. In addition, climatic conditions were favorable for sheep, pastures, at

svih oblika stočarenja i udruživanja ovčara. Obuhvaćene su sve značajnije teme vezane za život čobana i čuvanje ovaca, prirodni uslovi, udruživanje vlasnika, raspodela dobara i dr.

Istraživanjem u Bačkoj obuhvaćena su naselja uz reku Dunav, na obodu Telečke visoravni, oko Subotice i uz reku Tisu. Što se tiče Banata, istraživanjem je bio obuhvaćen južni Banat (naselja koja se nalaze na obodu Deliblatske peščare), krajnji jugoistočni brdski Banat, nekoliko naselja u blizini Dunava, deo srednjeg Banata koji gravitira prema Tisi i severni Banat, odnosno naselja Ostojićevo, Jazovo, Padej, Čoka, Srpski Krstur itd. U Sremu su obuhvaćena naselja uz reku Dunav, naselja na Fruškoj gori, odnosno obo du Fruške gore i nekoliko naselja u donjem Sremu.



Čobanin sa štapom, Banatska Palanka

– Banat (photo R. Nikolić)

A shepherd with a stick, Banatska Palanka – Banat

that time, in marshy Vojvodina, were suitable for cattle breeding, as well as the fact that the homeland of sheep, Asia, represented area very close to the heart of Islam, where this animal for the millennia was close to the population.

Sheep keeping received the proper place in the great plans about reorganizing the economy undertaken by the Austro-Hungarian authority.¹⁰ It represented a significant segment of the cattle breeding in the 19th and the 20th century, and in the second half of the 20th century, it came into a very difficult position, primarily because of the policy of creating large farms and the social formation of the land, when meadows of large number of settlements were ploughed. Both local and national government led such policy.

This research seeks to make more comprehensive record of the present conditions of sheep keeping on the territory of Vojvodina, with all the nations living on this territory. One of the main tasks was to review all forms of cattle raising and merging of sheep keepers. All major topics are included related to the life of shepherds and sheep keeping, natural conditions, the owners' association, the distribution of goods and other matters.

The research, which was undertaken in Bačka, covers the settlements along the river Danube, on the edge of the plateau Telečka, Subotica and around the river Tisa. As for Banat, the survey included southern Banat (settlements located on the edge of Deliblat sandy terrain), utmost southeastern highland Banat, a few settlements near the Danube, part of the middle Banat, which gravitates towards the river Tisa and the northern Banat and settlements Ostojićevo, Jazovo, Padej, Čoka, Srpski Krstur etc. In Srem, settlements along the river Danube, settlements on Fruška gora, or the edge of Fruška gora and a few settlements in the lower Srem are included.

Sheep keepers in Vojvodina have always maintained contacts among themselves, in other words they were focused on each

Vojvođanski ovčari su oduvek održavali međusobne kontakte, odnosno bili upućeni jedni na druge, pre svega zbog toga što su jedni od drugih kupovali ovce i razmenjivali ih. Oni su, takođe, poznavali život i način ovčarenja u naseljima udaljenim od njihovih mesta boravka. Ovčari redovno učestvuju na većim i manjim stočarskim vašarima i sajmovima (npr. na Novosadskom poljoprivrednom sajmu), te i na taj način održavaju kontakte. To je omogućilo da se ovim istraživanjem dobije realnija slika o pojedinim, većim ili manjim, regionima u kojima je ovčarstvo bilo razvijeno, ili je još uvek razvijeno.

Tekst je ilustrovan sa preko 200 fotografija, koje su, kao foto-dokumentacija, integrisane u njega. Osim fotografija snimljenih tokom istraživanja, date su i fotografije iz bogate fototeke Etnološkog odeljenja Muzeja Vojvodine. Foto-dokumentacija i crteži čine paralelnu vizuelnu informaciju. Na osnovu njih, kao i teksta jasno se vidi kojim su se temama bavili etnolozi Muzeja Vojvodine i njihovi saradnici tokom druge polovine 20. veka. Fotografije iz ranijeg perioda potiču iz drugih izvora. Pošto su snimatelji uglavnom bili etnolozi – istraživači, većina tih fotografija predstavlja pouzdan i autentičan izvor.

Fotografijama se u ovoj knjizi dokumentuju karakteristike vojvođanskog prostora i ljudi: geografska sredina, pejzaži, široke ravnice, priobalja ravničarskih reka, slatine, dine Deliblatske peščare itd., graditeljsko nasleđe stočara, detalji iz svakodnevnog života ovčara – od načina gajenja ovaca do organizacije međuljudskih odnosa, fiziološke karakteristike ovaca, materijalna kultura ovčara itd. Njima je vizuelno predstavljen jedan segment života vojvođanskog sela od sredine 19. veka do savremenih dana. Mnoge od njih su jedinstvena svedočanstva o načinu života koji je odavno izobičajen.

other, primarily because they bought sheep from one another and exchanged their sheep. They also knew sheep keeping way of life in the villages out of their residence. Sheep keepers regularly participate in large and small cattle fairs and exhibitions (for example, agricultural fair in Novi Sad), and thus maintain their contacts. This has enabled this research to gain more realistic picture of the individual, larger or smaller regions where the sheep keeping was developed, or is still developed.

The text is illustrated with over 200 photographs, which are, as a photo-documentation, integrated into it. In addition to the photographs taken during the research, the photographs from the rich photo library of the Ethnological department of the Museum of Vojvodina are included as well. Photo documentation and drawings make the parallel visual information. Based on them, as well as on the text, it is clear what issues the ethnologists and their associates of the Museum of Vojvodina have been dealing with during the second half of the 20th century. Photos from the earlier period come from other sources. Since the photographers were mostly ethnologists – researchers, most of these photographs represent a reliable and authentic source.

Photographs in this book record the characteristics of the environment and the people of Vojvodina: the geographical environment, landscapes, and wide plains, onshore parts of the plain rivers, mineral springs, and dunes of Deliblat sandy terrain. They also testify about the architectural heritage of farmers, the details of everyday life of sheep keepers – from the way of keeping sheep to the organization of human relations, the physiological characteristics of sheep, material culture of the sheep keepers. Using them, we managed to represent visually one segment of village life in Vojvodina from the mid 19th century to modern days. Many of them are unique testimonies of the life that has long been out of use.



Čopor na dinama Deliblatske peščare, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1962.
Herd on the dunes of Deliblat sandy terrain, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1962.

2. PAŠNJACI

U Vojvodini gotovo i nisu postojala naselja u kojima nije bilo čopora ovaca, počev od velikih gradova, kakvi su Novi Sad, Sombor, Senta, Kikinda, Zrenjanin, Vršac, Pančevo, Sremska Mitrovica, Ruma, Stara Pazova itd., do najmanjih mesta. Ovce su napasane na većim i manjim pašnjacima, koji su se uglavnom nalazili u blizini naselja, kao i po manjim travnatim površinama i obalama reka. Bavljenje ovčarstvom oduvek je bilo jedan od izvora prihoda zemljoradničkog stanovništva Vojvodine. Situacija se znatno izmenila poslednjih decenija, i to na štetu ove značajne poljoprivredne grane. Tome je doprinela politika preoravanja pašnjaka i njihovog pretvaranja u obradive površine. Preoravanje kvalitetnog zemljišta započeto je u 18. veku, nekoliko decenija posle kolonizacije. Bečki dvor je 1781/82. godine počeo da rasprodaje banatsku zemlju. Tada je veći deo zemlje i pašnjaka prešao u vlasništvo privatnih lica i opština. Kupci velikih poseda su, pre svega, bili nemački i mađarski plemiči, koji su najbolje pašnjake pretvarali u oranice za gajenje žitarica, duvana i drugih kultura.¹¹ Vrlo brzo su preorane mnoge pašnjačke površine, koje su sredinom 18. veka bile veoma velike. U Banatu je ostalo malo takvih pašnjaka, a seoski pašnjaci više

2. PASTURES

In Vojvodina, there are almost no places in which there was no a herd of sheep, from big cities such as Novi Sad, Sombor, Senta, Kikinda, Zrenjanin, Vršac, Sombor, Sremska Mitrovica, Ruma, Zemun, etc, to the smallest places. Sheep had been grazed onto smaller or bigger pastures, which were mainly near the settlements, as well as on the smaller lawns and the riverbanks. Living of the sheep keeping has always been one of the sources of income of agricultural population in Vojvodina. The situation has changed considerably in recent decades to the detriment of this important agricultural industry. The policy of ploughing the pastures and their conversion into arable land has contributed to this. Quality land ploughing began in the 18th century, several decades after the colonization. Viennese court started selling the land in Banat in 1781/82. At that time, private entities and municipalities had owned major part of the land. Customers of the large estates were primarily German and Hungarian nobles who had the best pastures turned into fields for growing crops, tobacco and other cultures.¹¹ Very soon many pastures had been ploughed, which were very large in the mid-18th century. Banat was left with very few

nisu mogli da zadovolje potrebe sela. Tako su, na primer, pašnjaci u Velikokikindskom dištriktu bili izdašni samo za krupnu stoku. Zbog toga je jedan od uslova za arendiranje pustara bio onaj po kojem su se one mogle koristiti samo kao pašnjaci, a ne kao oranice. Besplatno napasanje ovaca i drugih domaćih životinja na seoskim pašnjacima bilo je ograničeno brojem grla. Uz novčanu nadoknadu, zemljoradnici su mogli da povećaju svoje čopore, ali je broj grla i tada bio ograničen. Sredinom 19. veka se u Velikokikindskom dištriktu bez nadoknade moglo držati 6 ovaca, a sa nadoknadom maksimalno 50. U suštini, ovčarstvo nije bilo razvijeno u 18. veku. Ovce su držane samo za domaće potrebe. Situacija se izmenila tek u 19. veku, i to pre svega zbog skoka cene vune.¹² Sve do kraja 18. veka stoka je tokom cele godine bila na pašnjacima, pa su vlasti branile prezimljavanje, pošto je ono bilo štetno i za pašnjake i za stoku.

such pastures and village pastures were no longer able to meet the needs of the village. Thus, for example, pastures in the Velikokikindski district have been sufficient only for large cattle. Therefore one of the requirements for leasing the wastelands was one by which they can be only used as pastureland, and not as arable land. Number of heads of cattle limited free grazing of sheep and other domestic animals in rural pastures. By monetary compensation, farmers were able to increase their herds, but even then, the number of animals was limited. In the mid 19th century in the Velikokikindski district one could keep six sheep without compensation, and with compensation maximum of 50. In fact, the sheep keeping had not been developed in the 18th century. Sheep were kept just for domestic purposes. The situation only changed in the 19th century, primarily due to the increase in the price of wool.¹² Until the late 18th cen-



*Čopor ovaca na pašnjaku pored sela, Aradac – Banat, 1960.
Herd of sheep on the pasture next to the village, Aradac – Banat, 1960.*

Novosadski trgovci i bogati ljudi – vlasnici ovaca su u 18. veku iznajmljivali pustare širom Vojvodine. Tada su bile poznate pustare oko Paraga, Pivnica, Kulpina, Topole, Kucure itd. Međutim, planskim kolonizacijama su nastala nova naselja, usled čega je došlo do preoravanja velikog broja pustara. Zbog toga su vlasnici ovaca bili prinuđeni da uzimaju u zakup pašnjake oko samog grada, uglavnom čenejske pustare Mrtvajoš

tury cattle throughout the year was kept in the pasture, and the government banned the overwintering, as it has been damaging both for pastures and for the cattle.

Novi Sad traders and rich people – the owners of sheep in the 18th century leased wastelands throughout Vojvodina. At that time, well-known wastelands were around Parage, Pivnice, Kulpin, Topola, Kucura etc. However, by planned colonization

i Kamendin. Usled močvarnog terena, na teritoriji grada nije bilo pašnjaka, izuzev na Sajlovu i Klisi. U tom periodu se pominju i štete koje su čopori nanosili gazeći useve. Takve štete se u narodu zovu potrice.



Čopor ovaca na Đačkom igralištu u Novom Sadu, Bačka, 1940.
Herd of sheep on Students' Playground in Novi Sad, Bačka, 1940.

Uzgajanje ovaca i domaćih životinja na pašnjacima bilo je veoma važno za zemljoradničko stanovništvo, jer im je omogućavalo nesmetano obavljanje drugih poljoprivrednih poslova. Uprkos tome, proces preoravanja površina pod travom traje i danas. Često se preoravaju i pašnjaci čija zemlja nije dobra za gajenje biljnih kultura, što se obično pokaže posle nekoliko eksperimentalnih godina. Trava se ne obnavlja na tako preoranim površinama, već niče bilje koje nije za ishranu ovaca. Na opadanje značaja ovčarstva utiču i administrativne zabrane u vezi sa napasanjem ovaca kraj puteva i po šumama, vođenjem i prevođenjem ovaca preko velikih saobraćajnica itd. Ovčari su, zbog toga, vezani za određene površine, na koje mogu da odvode svoje čopore. Pod pašnjacima je, u suštini, ostavljena samo zemlja slabije ili skoro nikakve rodnosti, kakva je slatina. Takvo stanje dovelo je do toga da u većini vojvođanskih mesta u kojima je bilo

new settlements were created, resulting in ploughing large number of wastelands. Therefore, the sheep owners were forced to take over the lease of the pastures, mainly wastelands near Čenej called Mrtvajoš and Kamendin. Due to the swampy terrain, there were no pastures on the territory of the city, except Sajlovo and Klisa. During this period, the damages are mentioned, which were made by the herds trampling the crops. Such damages are traditionally called potrice.

Keeping sheep and domestic animals on the pastures was very important for the agricultural population; for it enabled them to go freely for other agricultural tasks. Nevertheless, the process of ploughing the areas under the grass continues even today. The pastureland, which is not good for growing crops, is often being ploughed, which is usually shown after a few experimental years. The grass is not renewed on the ploughed land, but the plants, which are not good for feeding sheep, are sprouting. The decline in importance of sheep keeping is also influenced by the administrative prohibitions related to sheep grazing near the roads and in the forests, taking and leading the sheep over the major roads and so on. Therefore, sheep keepers are tied to the particular area, they can lead their herds to. The only land that remained under the pastures, in fact, is just the land of very poor or almost no fertility, such as salt marsh. This lead to the situation that in most places in Vojvodina in which sheep keeping was quite developed today there are only five – six herds of sheep.

Sheep in Vojvodina are traditionally taken to large pastures. Because of these already mentioned altered conditions of keeping and the severe reduction of the herds, now there has been a tendency for gradually reviving and developing this branch of agriculture, so that people would have to switch from pasture keeping to

razvijeno ovčarstvo danas postoji samo pet-
šest čopora ovaca.

Ovce se u Vojvodini tradicionalno vode na velike pašnjačke površine. Zbog ponemutih izmenjenih uslova gajenja i zbog ozbiljnog smanjenja čopora, danas postoji tendencija da se ova grana poljoprivrede ponovo oživi i postupno razvije, i to tako što bi se sa pašnjačkog uzgoja ovaca prešlo na gajenje u ograđenim i zatvorenim prostorima – ovčarama.

Na opadanje značaja ovčarstva u nekim mestima Srema uticala je pojava i upotreba veštačkih đubriva. Lošu zemlju su zemljoradnici morali često prehranjivati stajskim đubrivom, a naročito torenjem. Bez torenja njiva prihodi su bili veoma mali, skoro nikakvi. Kada se pojavilo, veštačko đubrivo je zamenilo prirodno đubrivo i stanovništvo takvih krajeva omogućilo da se, umesto ovčarstvom, bavi zemljoradnjom.

U Bačkoj su bile poznate šume i pašnjaci pored Dunava, kao i ritovi oko Gardinovaca i Kovilja i takozvani Bukinski rit pored Mladenova. Pored njih, poznati pašnjaci bili su: Labudnjača i Kamarište – severno od Mladenova, Bakulja – oko Bogojeva, Staklara – između Sonte i Apatina, Kalantoš i Siga – kod Bačkog Monoštora, Karapandža – iznad Bezdana. Na severoistoku Bačke je poznat pašnjak Veliki jaroš. Manji pašnjak, ali sličan po kvalitetu zemljišta, nalazi se pored Žablja. Središnji delovi Bačke uglavnom su preorani i naselja nemaju svoje pašnjake. To se naročito odnosi na mesta koja se nalaze na Telečkoj visoravni i oko nje, ali i na gotovo sva naselja oko kojih je zemlja izuzetnog ili dobrog kvaliteta: Sterijino Selo, Utrine, Obornjaču, Kevi, Novo Orahovo, Pačir, Gunaroš itd. Pašnjaci koji su pripadali tim naseljima preorani su krajem 19. i početkom 20. veka. Čak ni najstariji čobani iz ovih mesta ne pamte kada se to dogodilo. Zbog toga, ovčari svoje čopore i danas vode na udaljene pašnjake. Tako čobani iz Novog Orahova svoje ovce vode do Velebita, pored

keeping them in closed spaces – called "ovčare".

Bačka was known for its forests and pastures along the river Danube as well as the marshes around Gardinovci and so-called Bukinski marsh next to Mladenovo. Besides these, the famous pastures were: Labudnjača and Kamarište – north of Mladenovo, Bakulja – around Bogojevo, Staklara – between Sonta and Apatin, Kalantoš and Siga – near Bački Monoštor, Karapandža



Sava Stojinov Stanaš pred salašem u svojoj kući,
Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1954 (photo R. Nikolić)
Sava Stojinov Stanaš in front of the farm in
his own house, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1954

–above Bezdan. In the northeast of Bačka there is well-known large pasture called Jaroš. A small pasture, but similar in quality of land, is located next to Žabalj. The central parts of Bačka are mostly ploughed and villages do not have their own pastures. This is especially true in places that are on Telečka plateau and around it, but almost in all the villages in the vicinity, the land is of great or good quality: Sterijino Selo, Utrine, Obornjača, Kevi, Novo Orahovo, Pačir, Gunaroš etc. Pastures that belonged to these settlements were ploughed in the 19th and early 20th century. Even the oldest sheepherds from these places do not remember

Senčanskog Trešnjevca. Ranijih godina su ih vodili u Padej u Banatu i u Bač na jugozapadnom delu Bačke. Ovce se čuvaju i pored puteva. Vlasnici ovaca iz Novog Orahova zakupljuju salaše, a ovčari iz Bačkog Petrovog Sela svoje čopore vode u Đurđevački rit, gde se nalazi pašnjak Bela bara, i u šumu Hrljak, koja se nalazi pored Kovilja. Čobani iz Mileševa išli su u Senčanski Trešnjevac.

Adski pašnjak preoran je 1970. godine, a nalazio se u ritu pored Tise. Tamošnji ovčari i danas vode svoje ovce u sajanski atar i na jazovački pašnjak. Ovce izvode od 1. do 15. aprila, u zavisnosti od vremena, i ostaju do septembra, jer ađanska zadruga ne dozvoljava čuvanje čopora na strnjikama. Imče, ovce su se vodile na strnjike do 1982. godine. Ovčari su čopore vraćali u avgustu, ali nisu odmah išli svojim kućama, već su boravili na salašima. Od salašara su dobijali vodu i slamu, a za uzvrat su im đubrili zemlju.

Novosadski ovčari su krajem 19. i u prvoj polovini 20. veka napasali ovce na pašnjacima pored aerodroma, na Sajlovu i Limanu, pašnjacima pored dolme (do gradske plaže *Štrand*), kod „mornarice“, na Klisi, u Šumariji – gde se danas nalazi naselje Šangaj, na terenu Slane bare i pored stare železničke stanice.¹³

when it had happened. Therefore, sheepherds take their herds, even today, to the most remote pastures. Therefore, the sheepherds from Novo Orahovo take their sheep to Velebit, near Senčanski Trešnjevac. In the previous years, they took the sheep to Padej in Banat and to the southwestern part of the Bač in Bačka. Sheep are tended beside roads as well. The owners of the sheep from Novo Orahovo rent the farms and sheep keepers from Bačko Petrovo Selo take their herds to the marsh in Đurđevo where there is a pasture Bela Bara, to the forest Hrljak, located next to Kovilj. The shepherds from Mileševa went to Senčanski Trešnjevac.

The pasture near Ada was ploughed in 1970, and was located in the marsh next to the river Tisa. Local sheep keepers still take their sheep to the Sajan district and to the Jazovac pasture. They take sheep from the 1st to 15th April, depending on the weather and they stay there until September, because Adjansa cooperative farm does not allow keeping the herd on the stubble. Otherwise, the sheep were taken to the stubble until 1982. Herds of sheep were taken back in August, but did not immediately go to their homes but stayed on the farms. They received water and straw



Ispaša pored puteva, Selenča – Bačka, 1961 (photo M. Bosić)
Grazing along the roads, Selenča – Bačka, 1961



Čoban Milorad Komnenov sa čoporom u koviljskom ataru, Gornji Kovilj – Bačka, 1928.
Shepherd Milorad Komnenov with the herd in Kovilj district, Gornji Kovilj – Bačka, 1928.



Čopor ovaca na „džombama” – posle berbe
kukuruza, Kovilj – Bačka, 1987 (photo I. Čakan)
Herd of sheep on „bumps” – after maize
harvest, Kovilj – Bačka, 1987

from the farmers, and in return, they fertilized the land.

Sheep keepers from Novi Sad, by the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century used to graze sheep in the pastures next to the airport, on Sajlovo and Liman. The pastures next to the river bank (up to *Štrand*, town beach), near the “Navy”, on Klisa, in Šumarija- where the settlement Šangaj is today, on the terrain of Slana Bara and near the old railway station.¹³

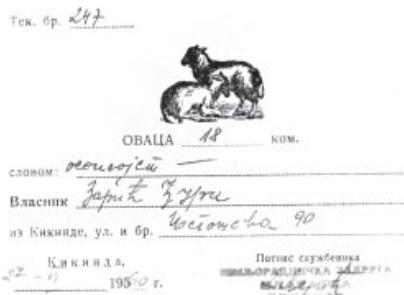


Ispaša ovaca pored gradske plaže Šstrand, Novi Sad – Bačka, 1972 (photo B. Nedvidek)
Grazing sheep near the town beach Šstrand, Novi Sad – Bačka, 1972

Titelčani su svoje ovce vodili na Busiju, breg pored Titela. Titelski pašnjak razoran je 1959. godine.

Čobani iz Selenče išli su u Deronje, tj. deronjsku šumu.

U Banatu su poznati slatinasti tereni pored reke Tise. Na pašnjake oko Ostojićeva, Jazova, Padeja i dr. mesta svoje čopore vode i ovčari iz Bačke. Poznati su i pašnjaci oko reke Tamiš, koja se zimi izliva i plavi ih, tako da trave ima i usred leta.



Potvrda o plaćenoj pašarini, Kikinda – Banat, 1960.
Confirmation of payment made for using
pasture, Kikinda – Banat, 1960.

U Kumanima se nalazi veliki pašnjak, koji ima preko 200 ha. Za razliku od mnogih seoskih pašnjaka, koji su preorani, kumanovski pašnjak je proširen posle Drugog svetskog rata, i to zbog velikog stočnog fonda ovog sela. Tada je u mestu bilo preko 10.000 ovaca. Kumančani nemaju potrebu da sa čoporima idu iz sela, niti u Kumane dolaze drugi ovčari.

Čobani iz Sakula su svoje ovce vodili u Mužlju, a išli su i u Šurjam i Mesić.

Pašnjaci u južnom delu Banata nalaze se oko naselja. Slična situacija je i sa naseljima oko Deliblatske peščare, gde ovčari sezonski vode svoje čopore.

Pored Dunava u Sremu ima nekoliko pašnjaka. Jedan od najboljih nalazi se kraj Čerevića. Pošto je neposredno pored Dunava, trava je izdašna u sezoni. Slična situacija bila je i u Suseku. Čobani su svoje čopore vodili na pašnjak Vagan i u šumu pored Dunava.

People living in Titel used to take their sheep onto Busija, a hill near Titel. The pasture in Titel was ploughed in 1959.

The shepherds from Selenča used to go to Deronje, i.e. the forest of Deronje. In Banat are known mineral spring terrains by the river Tisa. The sheep keepers from Bačka also took their herds to the pastures around Ostojićevo, Jazovo, Padej and other places. The pastures around the river Tamiš are also famous, which overflows and floods in winter, so that there is a grass on them even in the middle of summer.

There is a large pasture in Kumani, which has over 200 ha. Unlike many rural pastures, which were ploughed, the pasture in Kumani was expanded after The Second World War, due to the large cattle fund of the village. At that time, there were more than 10,000 sheep in the settlement. People living in Kumani do not need to go with their herds out of the village, nor the other sheep keepers used to come to Kumani. The sheep keepers from Sakule took their sheep to Mužlja, and used to go to Šurjam and Mesić.

Pastures in the southern part of Banat are located around the village. Similar situation is with the settlements around Deliblat sandy terrain, where sheep keepers take their herds seasonally.

There are several pastures next to the Danube in Srem. One of the best is located near Čerević. Since it is next to the river Danube, the grass is abundant in the season. A similar situation was in Susek. Shepherds lead their herds to the pasture Vagan and to the forest next to the Danube. Vagan was plentiful because it was often flooded by the Danube. In the fifties of the 20th century, the collective farm ploughed the pasture.

On the mountain of Fruška gora the inhabitants of the communities located on its periphery mainly deal with the sheep



Ispaša ovaca na peščanim dinama u okolini Vračevog Gaja, Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Grazing sheep on the sand dunes in the vicinity of Vračev Gaj, Banat, 1989

Vagan je bio izdašan jer ga je često potapao Dunav. Pedesetih godina 20. veka zadruga je preorala ovaj pašnjak.



Slobodno čuvanje ovaca (bez čobanina) na pašnjaku pored Dunava, Susek – Srem, 1990 (photo I. Čakan)
Free sheep keeping (without a shepherd) on the pasture next to the Danube, Susek – Srem, 1990

Na Fruškoj gori se ovčarstvom uglavnom bave stanovnici naselja koja se nalaze na njenom obodu. Napasanje čopora vrši se oko naselja, pored potoka, po voćnjacima itd. Vođenje ovaca u šumski predeo Fruške gore je zabranjen. Uprkos zabranama i materijalnim

keeping. Grazing herd is undertaken around the villages, next to the streams, in the orchards and so on. Taking sheep to the woods of Fruška gora is prohibited. Despite bans and financial sanctions, the shepherds take their sheep to Fruška Gora, for two reasons: because in the forest the grass grows earlier and because after ploughing the pastures, they remained without grassland for their sheep.

In Vizić there was a forester until 1961, but the shepherds, however, took their herds to Fruška Gora. When they could not do it, they took them onto the ploughed fields, where the black mustard and other grasses used to grow. However, the owners of the fields did not like their ploughed fields to be trampled, so this was not allowed. The "Field keepers" used to guard the land in the district (Poljari).

The pasture was ploughed in Divoš in 1961, so the shepherds lead their sheep on the barren fields, the so-called pisaruše, lukewarm and stubbles. Some of the pastures among Fruška gora settlements are Donji paški – Stejanovci; Jaroš,

sankcijama, čobani vode svoje ovce na Frušku goru, i to iz dva razloga: zato što u šumi pre izraste trava i zato što su nakon preoravanja pašnjaka ostali bez paše za svoje ovce.

U Viziću je do 1961. godine postojao šumar, ali su čobani, ipak, svoje čopore vodili na Frušku goru. Kada to nisu mogli, vodili su ih na preorane njive, na kojima je rasla gorušica i druge trave. Međutim, vlasnici njiva nisu voleli da im se gazi preorana zemlja, pa je i to bilo zabranjeno. Zemlju u ataru čuvali su poljari.

Pašnjak u Divošu je preoran 1961. godine, te su čobani svoje ovce vodili na jalove njive, takozvane pisaruše, mlake i strnjike.

Neki od pašnjaka fruškogorskih naselja su: Livadnji do, Donji paški – Stejanovci; Jaroš, Livade – Vizić; Kišelev (blizu stare Bingule), Krušedolski dol – Krušedol; Ilijaš, Vranješ oko Jezera – Mandelos; Stubljina – Neštin; Selski dol – Maradik.

Mesta u donjem Sremu koja su bila obuhvaćena ovim istraživanjem nemaju svoje pašnjake. S obzirom na to da je dobrog kvaliteta, tamošnja zemlja je preorana i zasejana poljoprivrednim kulturama. U mnogim mestima nema ovaca, a u nekim postoji samo nekoliko čopora.

Livade – Vizić; Kišelev (near old Bingula), Krušedolski dol – Krušedol; Ilijaš, Vranješ around the Lake – Mandelos; Stubljina – Neštin; Selski dol – Maradik.

Settlements in the lower Srem that were included in this study do not have their pastures. As the soil was of good quality, local land was ploughed and crops were planted. In many settlements, there were no sheep, and in the others only a few herds.

According to the fact whether they have their own pastures or not, in Vojvodina, we can distinguish two types of settlements, regardless their size: a) settlements that have their own pastures, b) settlements that don't have their own pastures. a) Although the importance of sheep keeping is decreasing significantly, it has been, to a greater or lesser extent, preserved in the villages, which have their own pastures. In the places that

Čopor ovaca sa čobaninom na pašnjaku, Kikinda

– Banat, oko 1960 (photo M. Milosavljević)

A herd of sheep with a shepherd on the pasture, Kikinda – Banat, around 1960



Prema tome da li imaju svoje pašnjake ili ne, u Vojvodini možemo razlikovati dva tipa naselja, bez obzira na njihovu veličinu:

- a) naselja koja imaju svoje pašnjake,
- b) naselja koja nemaju svoje pašnjake.

a) lako značaj ovčarstva znatno opada, ono se, u manjoj ili većoj meri, održalo u naseljima koja imaju svoje pašnjake. U mestima blizu kojih se nalaze veliki pašnjaci je razvijeno ovčarstvo i u njima ima stočara sa velikim čoporima (od 200, 300, 500 i više ovaca), dok su u naseljima sa malim pašnjacima čopori mali i često su vlasništvo udruženih ovčara. Ovu grupu naselja karakteriše to što njihovi čobani koriste obližnje pašnjake, odnosno ne udaljavaju se od svojih mesta.

b) U drugu grupu naselja spadaju ona koja odavno nemaju svoje pašnjake i ona koja su posle Drugog svetskog rata ostala bez pašnjaka. Mesta koja se nalaze na kvalitetnoj zemlji, kao što su pomenuta naselja oko Telečke visoravni, ostala su bez pašnjaka pre više od 90 godina. U tim naseljima nema ovaca. Ovčarstvom se intenzivno bave samo stočari čije su se porodice generacijama bavile ovim zanimanjem. Oni najčešće imaju velike čopore ovaca, sa kojima idu na udaljene pašnjake – u Bačkoj i Banatu. U naseljima koja su u posle-ratnom periodu ostala bez pašnjaka očuvano je ovčarstvo, ali u smanjenom obimu; vlasnici ovaca zakupljuju pašu oko kanala, pored sporednih puteva, u šumarcima, vode čopore između useva itd.

3. NAPAJANJE OVACA – BUNARI, POJILA

Napajanje čopora je važan segment uzo-ja ovaca. Kopani bunari predstavljali su osnovni izvor vode. Nalazili su se u dvorišti-ma, po ulicama, putevima, atarima i seoskim pašnjacima. Korišćeni su ne samo za napaja-nje ovaca već i krda krava, konja, čopora svi-nja i jata peradi. Treba istaći da su ti bunari nekada bili veoma čisti, te je voda iz njih korišćena za piće i kućne poslove. U Vojvodini

are located near large pastures the sheep keeping is developed and in them there are cattle keepers with large herds (200, 300, 500 or more sheep), while in settle-ments with small pastures the herds are also small and are often in the property of the associated sheep keepers. This group of settlements is characterized by the fact that their shepherds use nearby pastures, in other words they are not going away from their own settlements.

b) The second group of settlements includes those that have long been with-out their pastures and those that after The Second World War lost their pastures. The settlements that were built on good ground, such as the aforementioned settlements around Telečka plateau re-mained without their pastures for more than 90 years. In these settlements, there are no sheep. Sheep keeping is exten-sively practiced only with the farmers whose families for generations have been deal-ing with this job. They, most frequently, have large herds of sheep, which they take to distant pastures – in Bačka and Banat. In the settlements that remained with-out pastures in the postwar period the sheep keeping has been preserved, but to a smaller degree; the owners of sheep lease the pastures near canals, or the land next to minor roads, small woods, they take the herds between crops and so on.

3. SHEEP WATERING – WELLS, WATERING PLACES

Watering the herd is an important part of growing sheep. Dug wells were a main source of water. They were in yards, on streets, roads, fields and rural pastures. They were used not only for watering the sheep but also herds of cows, horses, herds of pigs and poultry herds. It should be noted that these wells used to be very clean so the water was used for drinking

su gotovo sve kuće, pa i one najsirošnije, imale svoje bunare. Narod je govorio da se prilikom gradnje kuće prvo napravi nužnik, pa bunar, a onda se počinje zidati kuća.

Prema načinu vađenja vode razlikujemo tri vrste kopanih bunara: bunare na đeram, bunare na vreteno i bunare na čekrk.

Bunari na đeram koriste se tamo gde voda nije duboko u zemlji, jer đeram ima ograničen hod. Vojvodina je, inače, karakteristična po tome što je voda veoma blizu površine zemlje; izuzetak čini Deliblatska peščara, gde se ona nalazi na većoj dubini, kao i brdoviti predeli, gde se javlja na dubini od 20 do 30 m, pa i više metara.

Bunar na đeram sastoji se od **soje**, **đerma**, na kojem se nalazi teret (*pretega*), i **šibe**, o koju je okačeno vedro. Oko samog bunara je ograda – **sek**.

Soja je visok stalak, na čijem se gornjem delu nalaze raklje. Donji deo je ukopan u zemlju. Ako se nagori donji deo soje – **panj**, onda drvo sporije truli. U rakljama se nalazi metalna ili drvena prečka – **vratilo**, na kojoj se klacka đeram. Soja se, zbog trajnosti, najčešće pravi od bagremovog drveta, a može da bude i od hrasta, duda itd.

Đeram je dugačko poprečno deblo čiji je središnji deo pričvršćen za vratilo na vrhu soje. Njegova dužina zavisi od dubine bunara, jer se njime, zajedno sa šibom, mora dohvati voda. On se, takođe, najčešće pravi od bagremovog drveta. Ovaj tip bunara je i nazvan po njemu. Inače, đeram je svojevrsni simbol vojvođanske ravnice.

Šiba je dugačka motka koja se brzo spušta u vodu i vadi iz nje. Na jednom njenom kraju se nalazi kuka, o koju je okačeno lime-no ili drveno vedro. Zapremina vedra zavisila je od njegove namene. Po kućama su korišćena mala vedra, a na pašnjacima velika, jer su čobani u toku dana, pojeći čopore, morali da izvade više hiljada litara vode, što je zavisilo od veličine čopora.

Kod **bunara na vreteno**, tj. **vito** se, umesto đerma, javlja okruglo deblo, odnosno



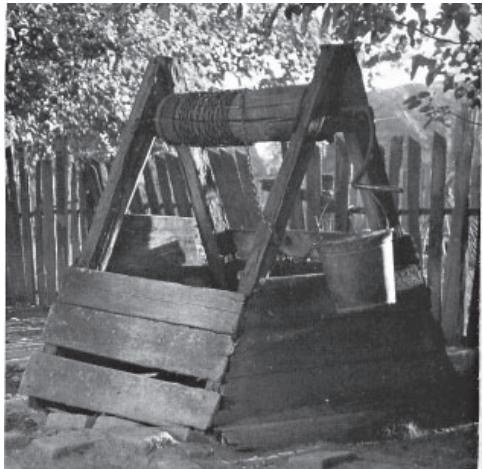
Bunar na đeram pored puta, Debeljača – Banat, 1956 (photo V. Milutinović)
Well on a sweep next to the road, Debeljača – Banat, 1956



Bunar na đeram, Sonta – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Well on a sweep, Sonta – Bačka, 1988



Seoski bunar na točak, Irig – Srem, 1954 (photo R. Nikolić)
Village well on the wheel, Irig – Srem, 1954



Bunar na vreteno u dvorištu, Boljevci
– Srem (photo R. Mamuzić)
Well on the spindle in the yard, Boljevci – Srem



Bunar na pašnjaku – deram, vratilo i soja,
Sonta – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Well on the pasture – a sweep, a shaft
and a soy, Sonta – Bačka, 1988



Vedro ili kabao na bunaru, Deronje –
Bačka, 1968 (photo V. Miltutinović)
Bucket or scoop on the well, Deronje – Bačka, 1968

and household chores. In Vojvodina, nearly all the houses, even the poorest, had their own wells. People used to say that when building a house you make the toilet first, then the well, and then you begin to build a house.

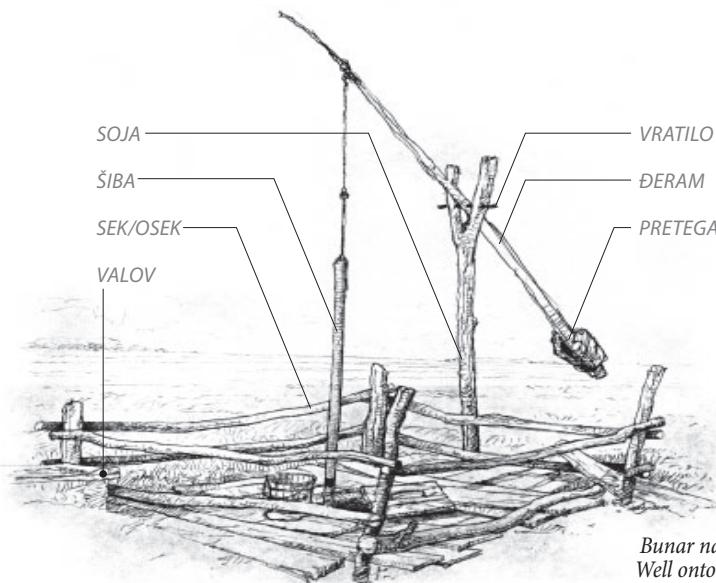
According to the way of water extraction we can distinguish three types of dug wells: draw-beam wells, the wells on the spindle and wells on the winch.

Wells on a sweep are used where the water is not deep in the ground, because a sweep has a limited swing. Vojvodina is, anyhow, characterized by the fact that the water is very close to ground level; the exception is Deliblat sandy terrain where the water is located at greater depth, as well as hilly areas, where it occurs at a depth of 20 to 30 m, or more meters.

Well on the sweep consists of a **soy**, a **sweep**, on which there is a freight (overweight), and a **cane**, on which a bucket is suspended. Around the well itself there is a fence – called **sek**.

Soy is a high stand, on whose upper part there is a prong. The lower part is dug in the ground. If you burn the lower part of soy – **stump**, then the process of rotting the wood is slowed down. There is a metal or wooden crossbar in the prong – **the shaft**, on which the sweep is toggled. Soy is, due to the durability, usually made of locust tree wood, and can also be made of oak, mulberry and so on.

Sweep is a long cross-trunk whose central part is fixed to the shaft at the top of soy. Its length depends on the depth of the well, because when using it, together with a cane, we must fetch water. It is usually made of locust tree wood. This type of well is named after him. Otherwise, the sweep is a symbol of the plain in Vojvodina. The cane is a long rod that is quickly dipped into the water, and taken out of it. At one end of it there is a hook, on which the tin or wooden bucket is suspended. The volume



Bunar na đeram
Well onto a sweep

vreteno, postavljeno pomoću stalaka. Ono se okreće uz pomoć ručice ili točka. Vađenje vode vretenom je sporije, ali se ono postavlja na bunare koji su dublji od bunara na đeram. Vedro se kačilo na kanap ili lanac.



Bunar na vito – sa sekom od dasaka,
na imanju Milenovića, Crvena Crkva
– Banat, 1950 (photo R. Nikolić)

Well on the winder – with sek made of boards, on
the farm Milenović, Crvena Crkva – Banat, 1950

Bunari na čekrk imaju točak sa žlebom, koji je okačen iznad bunara. Na točku se nalazi lanac sa dva vedra. Prilikom vađenja vode, jedno vedro se spušta u bunar, a drugo podiže. Čekrk se najčešće koristi kod dubokih bunara.

of the bucket depends on its purpose. In the houses were used small buckets, and large ones on the pastures, as shepherds during the day, watering their herds, had to take out thousands of gallons of water, which depended on the size of the herd.

For **wells on the spindle**, i.e., winder, instead of a sweep there is a round trunk or spindle, set on a stand. It rotates with



Bunar na vito, Crvena Crkva – Banat, 1962.
Well on the winder, Crvena Crkva – Banat, 1962.

the lever or wheel. Extraction of water with spindle is slower, but it is set on the wells that are deeper than the draw-beam well. The bucket is attached to the rope or chain.

Wells on the winch have a wheel with the groove, which is hung above the well. On the wheel there is a chain with two buckets. When taking water, one bucket is lowered into the well and the other is being



*Bunar na čekrk
Well on a winch*

U krajevima Vojvodine gde se nalazila na velikoj dubini, voda je izvlačena u velikim posudama, i to pomoću vretena sa dobošem, koji je okretan snagom životinja, najčešće konja i magaraca.

Voda se u nekim krajevima Vojvodine načini veoma blizu površine zemlje, ponegde čak i na dubini od jednog ašova. Interesantan primer zabeležen je u Selenči i Doroslovu, gde je svaki čoban imao bunar pored svoje kolibe. Bunari su bili različite veličine,



*Poklopljen bunar sa sekom od pruća na bačiji,
Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1950 (photo M. Filipović)
Covered well with sek made of thin sticks on
bačija, Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1950*



*Kopani bunar sa stočnom zapregom
na Titelskom bregu, Bačka
Dug well with animal-drawn cart
on Titelski breg, Bačka*



*Kopani bunar na stočni pogon. Ispred bunara
nalazi se bure „saka” za prenos veće količine vode
Cattle driven dug well – barrel „saka” for carrying
larger quantities of water in front of the well*

lifted. Winch is most often used in deep wells.

In the regions of Vojvodina, where water was located at great depth, the water was drawn in large pots, using the spindle with the drum, which was turned by the animal power, mostly horses and donkeys.



Plitak bunar bez sek pored čobanske kolibe, Bački Petrovac – Bačka, 1949 (photo R. Nikolić)
Shallow well without sek next to the shepherd's hut, Bački Petrovac – Bačka, 1949

što je zavisilo od veličine čopora. Oni su kopani na početku sezone, a zatravani na kraju, kada su ovce vraćane u zimovnike.

Kopani bunari su ogradiđani ili na neki drugi način zaštićivani, kako živila i druge životinje ne bi upale u njih. Ograda bunara zove se **sek**, tj. **osek**. Ona se pravi od različitih materijala. Na pašnjacima u ravničarskim krajevima može da bude napravljena od pletera, a u šumskim oblastima od izdubljenih panjeva ili samo tankih dasaka, koje se poređaju jedna do druge, u obliku četvorougla. Za sek se koriste i daske i kamen; zida se od cigala, a može biti i od betona. Sek može biti četvrtast ili okrugao. Na mnogim pašnjacima postoje bunari bez klasičnog sek-a, sa širokom ogradom od debala, koja ih samo štiti od krupnije stoke. Takvi bunari pokriveni su daskama; na sredini poklopca od dasaka se nalazi mali otvor, kroz koji se protura vedro. Ograda je podizana oko bunara, a mogla je dosezati i do dva metra, s tim što su debla zakivana vodoravno i na većim razmacima, da bi se čovek mogao provući između njih i stati na bunar iz kojeg će vaditi vodu.

Bunare kopaju bunardžije, a u mestima gde voda nije duboko u zemlji i sami seljani. Za kopanje bunara dubokog 10 m potrebno je raditi tri dana. Prilikom

In some parts of Vojvodina the water is located very close to ground level, sometimes even at a depth of spade. An interesting example was reported in Selenča and Doroslovo, where each shepherd had a well next to his cottage. Wells were of different sizes, which depended on the size of the herd. They were dug at the beginning of the season, and filled in at the end of the season, when the sheep were returned to their winter quarters.

Dug wells were fenced or otherwise protected so as poultry and other animals would not have fallen into them. The fence around wells is called **sek**, i.e. **osek**. It is made from different materials. On the pastures in the lowland areas, they may be made from wattle and in the forest areas of hollowed stumps or just thin boards, which are lined up next to each other in the shape of the quadrilateral. For making the sek can be used planks and stone, it can be built of bricks and may be made of concrete. Sek can be either square or round. On many pastures, there are wells without classic sek, with a fence of wide trunks, which only protects them from larger animals. Such wells are covered with boards, in the middle of the lid, which is also made of boards, is a small opening through which the bucket goes. The fence is erected around the well, and could be up to two meters, with trunks nailed horizontally with greater space between them, so that a man could squeeze between them and stand next to the well and draw water from it.

The wells are dug by artisans called "bunardžija" and in places where water is not deep in the ground by the villagers themselves. To dig the well of 10 m deep it is necessary to work for three days. For determining the place in which to dig the well it is important to keep in mind that it should be as far from the toilet, stables and manure as possible. Next to the well, too, one should not plant trees because their root system can damage the well and create channels through

određivanja mesta na kojem će se kopati bunar vodi se računa o tome da ono bude što dalje od nužnika, staje i đubrišta. Pored bunara se, takođe, ne sme saditi drveće, jer ono svojim korenskim sistemom može da ošteti bunar i stvori kanale preko kojih se zagađuje voda. Kopani bunari mogu biti ozidani u celini, ili samo u gornjem i donjem delu. U gradnji bunara učestvuju najmanje tri čoveka. Bunardžija kopa, a dvojica pomoćnika izvlače zemlju napolje. Zemlja se, zbog uzanog prostora, kopa ašovima i lopatama sa skraćenim drškama. Ako se prilikom kopanja nađe na krečnjak, on se razbija krampom. Veće kamenje se opkopava i vadi u celosti, a velike kamene ploče se razbijaju čuskijama. Na vodu se može naći pri samoj površini zemljишta – na 3 do 4 m dubine, ili na većim dubinama – na 10, 20 i više metara, što zavisi od karakteristika zemljишta. Zemlja se vadi pomoću čekrka, u velikim sudovima („kablovima“, „šavoljima“), zapremine oko 80 l. Ti sudovi su u obliku bureta, a napravljeni su od duga; okovani su gvozdenim obrućima i imaju gvozdene drške za koje se vezuje kanap – pajvan. Za kopanje bunara se koristi specijalan kanap od čiste kudelje, čija se debljina kreće od 6 do 7 cm – pošto se njime izvlači težak teret. Vađenje zemlje iz bunara je veoma odgovoran posao, jer se mora paziti na to da se sud kojim se zemlja vadi ne otkači, ne izvrne ili ne ispusti, što bi značilo sigurnu smrt za bunardžiju. Kada se dođe do vode, bunar se kopa i dalje, do željene dubine, odnosno do dubine kojom će se obezbediti željeni nivo vode. Najbolja voda za piće je voda iz bunara čiji je nivo 2–2,5 m, jer ona u takvim bunarima stalno cirkuliše, dok se u dubljim bunarima, tj. onim čiji nivo vode iznosi oko 4 m ustoji. Takvi veliki bunari uglavnom su korišćeni za snabdevanje parnjača prilikom vršidbe i na železnici – za snabdevanje lokomotiva. Kada se dođe do vode, u bunar se spušta takozvani santrać. Santrać je drveni prsten

which the water can be polluted. Dug wells can be completely built or only at the top and bottom. At least three men must take part in digging the well. "Bunardžija" digs and two assistants take the soil out. The soil is, due to the narrow space, dug by spades and shovels with shortened stems. If while digging they come across the limestone, they break it using a pickaxe. Larger stones are dug out and removed completely, and large stone blocks are broken by jimmies. The water may be encountered at the very surface of the land – at the depth of 3 to 4 feet, or at larger depths – at 10, 20 or more feet, depending on the characteristics of the soil. The soil is extracted using a winch, in large containers ("buckets", "šavolji"), volume of about 80 l. These containers are barrel-shaped and made of wood; shackled with iron hoops and have the iron handles to which the rope is tied – "pajvan". For digging wells a special rope made of pure hemp is used, whose thickness ranges from 6 to 7 cm – because it has to draw very heavy load. Removing the soil from the well is a very responsible job, as you have to be careful that the container by which the soil is taken out does not unfasten, turns over or drops, for that would mean certain death for 'bunardžija'. When they come to the water, the well is dug further to the desired depth, or to the depth that provides the desired water level. The best water for drinking is from wells with a level of 2 to 2.5 m, because in such wells the water is constantly circulating, while in the deeper wells, i.e. in those whose water level is about 4 m it turns into backwater. Such large wells are mostly used to supply steam engines during the threshing and at railways – to supply locomotives. When they find water, into the well is put the so-called santrać. Santrać is a wooden ring with a diameter equal to the diameter of the well. It is made of pine planks that are cut so that, when put together, or nail, form a ring. The thickness of santrać is about 5 cm. When lowered into the well, the bricks are built over it to the height

čiji je prečnik jednak prečniku bunara. Pravi se od jelovih dasaka, koje se iseku tako da, kada se spoje, odnosno zakuju, formiraju prsten. Debljina santraća iznosi oko 5 cm. Kada se spusti u bunar, na njega se nazidaju cigle do visine 2–2,5 m. Posle zidanja se kopa ispod vode. Zemlja iz središnjeg dela bunara i ispod santraća vadi se zajedno sa vodom. Težina cigli potiskuje santrać, usled čega se i one spuštaju. Kada se dođe do željene dubine bunara, kopanje je završeno. Nakon toga se napravi skela od dve grede, koje se zaglave izme-

of 2 to 2.5 m. After building it, they start digging below the water level. The soil from the central part of the well and below the santrać is being taken out together with water. The weight of the bricks suppresses the santrać, so they are being pulled down as well. When one reaches the desired depth of the well, digging is complete.

After that scaffolding with the two beams is made, which are stuck between the bricks and the building is continued (to the top). Part of the well below the water must be walled, while the upper part does not have



Cevni bunar sa pumpom na pašnjaku, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Pipe well with a pump on the pasture, Jazovo – Banat, 1983



Ispaša i pojenje ovaca na Tisi, Mošorin – Bačka, 1951 (photo R. Nikolić)
Grazing and watering the sheep on the river Tisa, Mošorin – Bačka, 1951



Čobanin sa ovcama na Mrtvaji, Tisa kod Matejskog brega, Novi Bečeј – Banat, 1950 (photo R. Nikolić)
Shepherd with his sheep on the river Mrtvaja, Tisa near Matejski breg, Novi Bečeј – Banat, 1950

đu cigala, i nastavlja se sa zidanjem (do vrha). Deo bunara koji se nalazi ispod vode mora biti ozidan, dok gornji deo ne mora biti ozidan ciglama ili kamenom, zbog sastava i kvaliteta zemljista. Kod nekih bunara su ozidani samo delovi ispod vode i pri vrhu, da ne bi došlo do obrušavanja. Cigle se u bunaru ne vezuju malterom, već se između njih nabija zemlja. Između cigala koje su u vodi nabija se šumska mahovina, jer ona ne truli i sprečava cirkulaciju peska. Kopanje bunara u čvrstom materijalu i pesku se razlikuje od kopanja bunara u živom pesku. Ako nađe na živi pesak, bunardžija mora da napravi dva santraća, koja su sa spoljne strane spojena daskama

to be built of brick or stone, due to the composition and quality of soil. Some wells have been built just below the water and certain parts at the top, to avoid collapsing. Bricks are not tied with mortar in the well, but with the beaten soil. Between the bricks that are in the water the moss is beaten, because it does not rot, and also prevents the circulation of sand. Digging wells in solid material and the sand is different from digging wells in the quicksand. If you come across the quicksand, "bunardžija" must make two santrać, which are from the outside connected to the planks of length of 2, 2.5 or 3 m, depending on the thickness of quicksand. In fact, "bunardžija" makes a long barrel, without the opening and

dugačkim 2, 2,5 ili 3 m, što zavisi od debljine sloja živog peska. U stvari, bunardžija napravi dugačko bure, bez otvora i dna. Takav santrać-bure spusti se u bunar i oziđa sa unutrašnje strane. Nakon toga se nastavlja sa vađenjem živog peska i vode. Kod ovakvih bunara santrać-bure ostaje između živog peska i cigala. Postupak koji sledi je isti kao onaj koji se primenjuje prilikom kopanja bunara kroz tvrdu podlogu.

O čistoći bunara se vodi posebna briga. Voda u bunarima stalno cirkuliše i nanosi talog, koji smanjuje njen nivo. To je tako-

the bottom. This santrać – barrel is dropped in the well and it is built from the inside. After that the extraction of live sand and water can be continued. In these wells santrać -barrel remains between the quicksand and the bricks. The procedure that follows is the same as the one that is applied during the digging of wells through the hard surface.

About the purity of the water in wells is taken special care. The water continuously circulates in the wells and carries the sediment, which reduces its level. This is the so-called natural backfill of the well. Sediment



Čopor na pojilu na reci Neri,
Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1962
A herd on the watering place on the river
Nera, Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1962



Cisterna za vodu i valov za
napajanje ovaca u ataru, Ratkovo
– Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Water tank and troughs for watering
sheep in the field, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988



Čopor ovaca na njivi i cisterna
za vodu, Ratkovo – Bačka,
1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Herd of sheep in the field and the
water tank, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988

zvano prirodno zatrپavanje bunara. Talog se vadi s vremena na vreme, što zavisi od prirode i sastava zemljišta. Bunari na peškovitim terenima se češće čiste jer pesak lakše prodire između cigala.

Osim što se prirodno zatrپavaju, bunari se i zagađuju. Bez obzira na mere predustrožnosti (pokrivanje i zatvaranje bunara), u njih mogu da upadnu razne životinje. Zagađeni bunari se obavezno čiste i peru. Prilikom čišćenja, iz bunara se prvo izvlači voda, a zatim talog i pesak. Bunar se čisti do santraća.

Pored bunara se obavezno nalaze **valovi**, u koje se sipa voda. Veći valovi su za krupnu stoku, a manji za sitnu, u koju

is removed from time to time, depending on the nature and composition of the soil. Wells on the sandy terrain are cleaned more often because the sand easier penetrates through the bricks.

Apart from being naturally backfilled, the wells are polluted as well. Regardless of the precautions (cover and closure of wells), various animals may fall into them. Polluted wells must be cleaned and washed. When cleaning, the water must be drawn out of the well first, and then comes sediment and sand. Well is cleaned up to santrać.

Next to the wells are **troughs**, in which water is poured. Larger troughs are for bigger cattle, and smaller for little ones, which also

se ubrajaju i ovce. Oni se prave od drveta, lima i betona.

U kopanim bunarima je hladno, pa su ih čobani leti koristili za čuvanje namirnica i pomuzenog mleka. Namirnice su spuštane pomoću kanapa, i to do 50 cm iznad vode, gde su bile zaštićene od raznih insekata, posebno muva, i od topote. Namirnice su se u bunaru mogle održati nekoliko dana.

Pomuzeno mleko koje se nije odmah nosilo kući se, takođe, držalo u bunaru. Neki čobani bi popodnevnu „mužu“ celo noć držali u bunaru, da bi je, sa mlekom iz prepodnevne „muže“, odnosili kući za spravljanje sira, ili bi ga predavali mlekari. Ovakav način čuvanja mleka i namirnica je izobičajen.

Kopani bunari su svoju funkciju najpre izgubili u naseljima u kojima su bili zastupljeni cevni bunari, a zatim i u mnogim naseljima u kojima je uveden vodovod.

Pored kopanih bunara, na pašnjacima se javljaju i cevni, takozvani nortonovi bunari, kod kojih se voda izvlači pomoću pumpe.¹⁴

O zajedničkim, seoskim bunarima brigu vode opštinske vlasti.

Čopori ovaca se, radi napajanja, vode na reke (Dunav, Savu, Tisu, Tamiš, Begej, Krivaju, Mostongu itd.), ali i kanale i bare koje nastaju od podzemnih voda. Sredinom 20. veka ovčari su pored izvora na Fruškoj gori kopali duže jarkove („valove“), u koje je uticala izvorska voda.¹⁵

Kada se ovce vode u atare u kojima nema bunara, ili su zapušteni i zagađeni, što je bila česta pojava, pogotovo posle Drugog svetskog rata, čobani su primorani da sa sobom vuku cisterne.

4. STOČARSKI STANOVI

Ovce se tokom godine čuvaju i na pašnjacima i u objektima u selima. Zbog toga, ovčari moraju da grade takozvane stočarske stanove – skloništa za čobane i

includes sheep. They are made of wood, tin and concrete.

The dug wells are cold, so the shepherds used them in summer to store food and milked milk. The food was lowered by the rope, up to 50 cm above the water, where they were protected from a variety of insects, especially flies, and from the heat. Food could be kept in the wells for a few days.

Milked milk that was not immediately taken home, it was kept in the well too. Some shepherds would the afternoon “milking” keep all night in the well, and then, together with the milk from the next morning “milking”, would take home for making cheese, or would sell it to the dairy plant. This way of keeping milk and food is not used any more.

Dug wells first lost their function in the settlements in which pipe wells were present, and then in many settlements in which water system was introduced.

In addition to dug wells, on the pastures appeared pipe wells, called Norton's wells, where water is drawn using pumps.¹⁴

The municipal government is taking care of the common, village water wells. Herds of sheep were, in order to be watered, taken to the rivers (Danube, Sava, Tisa, Tamiš, Begej, Krivaja, Mostonga etc...), but also to the canals and ponds that are formed from ground water. In the mid 20th century, shepherds dug longer ditches (“troughs”) beside the springs at the mountain of Fruška gora, which were filled by the spring water.¹⁵

When the sheep are taken to the area where there are no wells or they are neglected and polluted, which was frequent, especially after the Second World War, the shepherds were forced to draw tanks with them.

4. CATTLE BREEDER'S HOUSING

During the year, the sheep are kept on pastures and in the objects within the villages. Therefore, the sheep keepers have to build so-called cattle breeder's housing – shelters for

za ovce. Ta staništa odlikuju jednostavne konstrukcije i prirodni građevinski materijali, karakteristični za određenu geografsku oblast. Najzastupljeniji materijali su drvo i trska, zatim pleter, tuluzina, trska oblepljena blatom, čerpić, cigla, kamen.

Stočarski stanovi na pašnjacima („salaši“) sastoje se od sledećih objekata:

- kolibe za čobanina,
- tora za ovce,
- zaklona za mužu,
- evedre i
- velikih objekata za zaštitu i čuvanje ovaca – na stalnim salašima.

Stočarski objekti u naseljima, odnosno pored kuća vlasnika ovaca su:

- ovčare,
- senici, šupe za hranu za ovce i druge domaće životinje (detelinu, osušenu travu, pasuljinu, soju i dr.),
- ambari,
- zakloni za mužu.

4.1. Salaši

Kada se pomene reč *salaš*, obično se pomisli na stalno poljsko imanje izvan sela sa kućom i ekonomskim objektima, gde porodica boravi tokom letnjeg perioda. Takvi salaši karakteristični su za Vojvodinu.

Ovčarski salaši su jednostavni. Oni su, pre svega, prilagođeni jednostavnom životu čobanina. Njih čini koliba i objekti za zaštitu i čuvanje ovaca. Za ovakve salaše postoji više naziva: „salaš“ ili „bačija“ – u južnom Banatu; „tor“, „obor“ ili „korlat“ – u Bačkoj; „korlat“, „tor“ ili „salaš“ – u severnom Banatu. Isti nazivi odnose se i na ogradien prostor iz kojeg se ovce isteraju kada se mazu. Tako se, na primer, na ovčarskom salašu u Banatu nalaze: koliba za boravak čobanina, muznica, salaš za mužu, torina i evedra (ako je ima). Reč *tor* se u Bačkoj odnosi na čobansku kolibu i ogradu od letava iz koje se ovce isteruju na mužu, koja se, takođe, naziva *tor*.

shepherds and sheep. These habitats are characterized by simple design and natural building materials, specific for a particular geographical area. Most common materials are wood and reed, then wattle, tuluzina, reeds plastered with mud, adobe, brick and stone.

Cattle breeder's housing on the pastures ("farms") consist of the following objects:

- The huts for shepherds,
- The folds for the sheep,
- Shelters for milking,
- Evedra
- Large objects for the protection and keeping the sheep – on permanent farms.

Cattle facilities in residential areas or next to the house of the owner of the sheep:

- Ovčare,
- Sheds for food for sheep and other domestic animals (clover, dried grass, beans pods, soybeans, etc...)
- Barns,
- Shelters for milking.

4.1. Farms

When we mention the word *farm*, we usually think of permanent field property outside the village with the house and economic buildings, where families stay during the summer period. These farms are typical for Vojvodina.

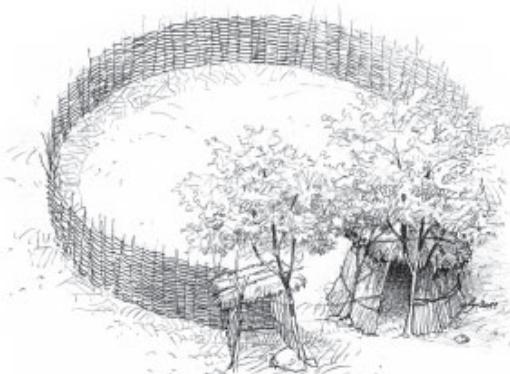
Sheep farms are simple. They are primarily adapted to the simple life of a shepherd. They consist of huts and buildings for protection and keeping the sheep. For these farms there are several different names: "farm" or "bačija" – in southern Banat, "tor", "pen" or "korlat" – in Bačka, "korlat", "tor" or "farm" – in northern Banat. The same terms are applied to the enclosed space from which sheep are being driven to be milked. Thus, for example, on the sheep farm in Banat there are: a hut for a shepherd to stay, muznica, farm for milking, torina or evedra (if any). The word *fold* in Bačka refers to shepherd's hut and fence made of rails, from which the sheep are being driven for milking, which is also called the fold.



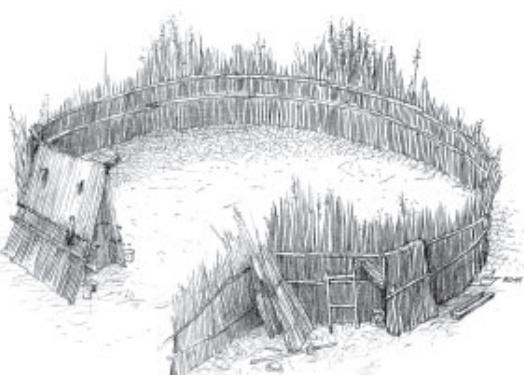
Salaš i koliba, Banatska Palanka –
Banat, 1950 (photo M. Filipović)
A farm and a hut, Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1950



Trščani tor, odnosno evedra za zaštitu ovaca od
vetra, Seleuš – Banat, 1964 (photo M. Maluckov)
Reed fold, i.e. evedra for protecting the
sheep from wind, Seleuš – Banat, 1964



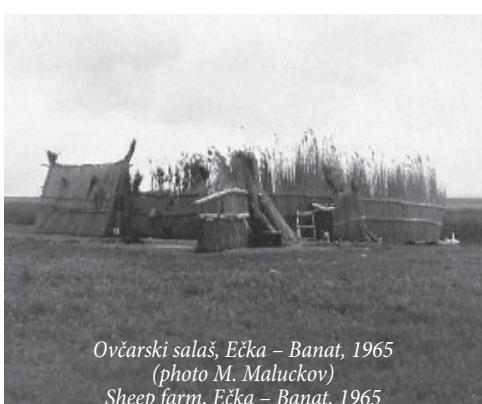
Salaš od pletera na pašnjaku, severni
Banat, 80-e godine 20. veka
Wattle farm on the pasture, north Banat,
the eighties of the 20th century



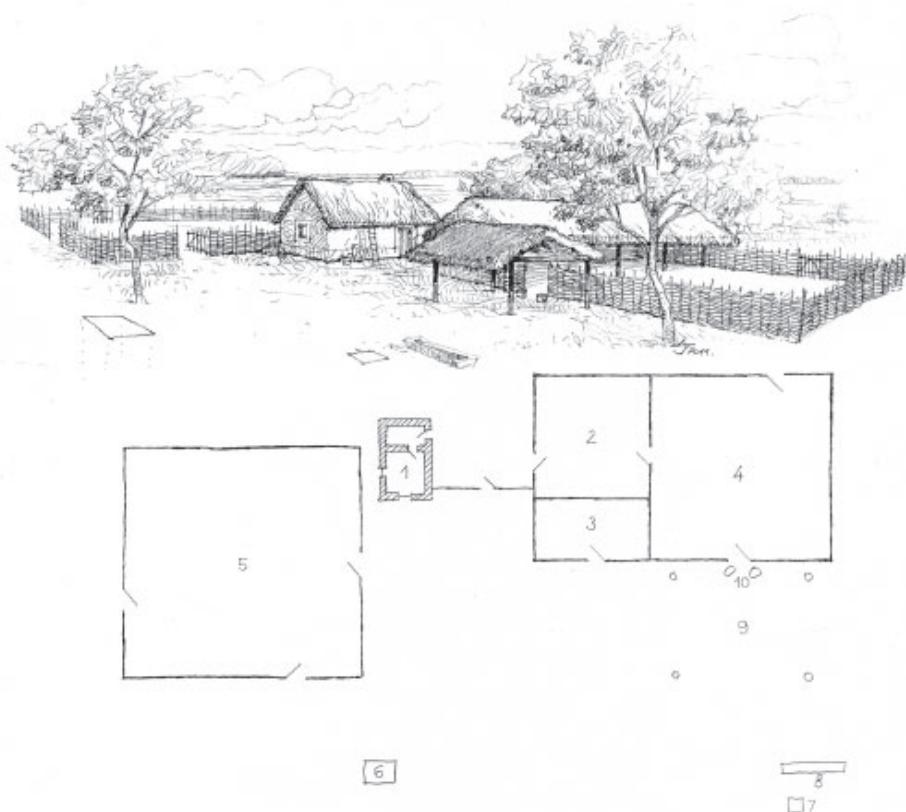
Salaš od trske, severni Banat, 80-e godine 20. veka
Reed farm, north Banat, the eighties of the 20th century



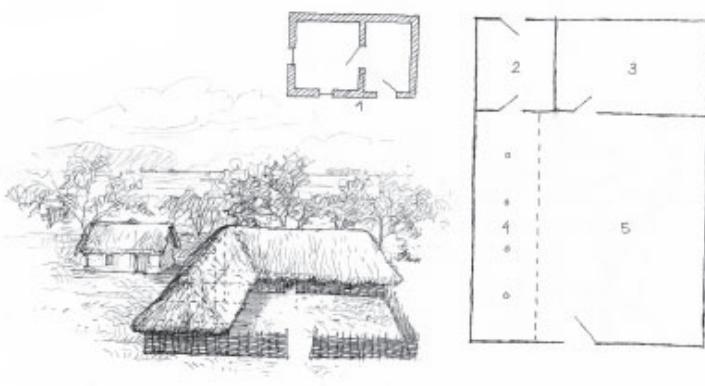
Ovčarski salaš, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Sheep keeping farm, Jazovo – Banat, 1983



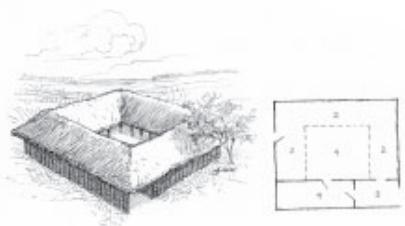
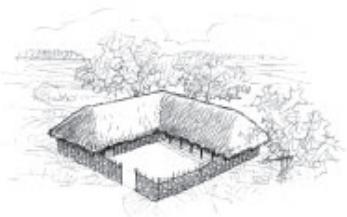
Ovčarski salaš, Ečka – Banat, 1965
(photo M. Maluckov)
Sheep farm, Ečka – Banat, 1965



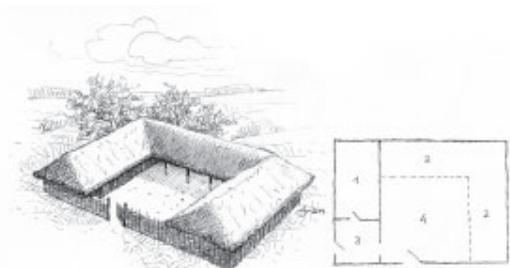
Stamatošićev salaš, Banatske Here, Banatska Palanka, Banat, oko 1950. 1) koliba; 2) košara; 3) jaganjčar; 4) salaš odakle se ovce nateruju za mužu; 5) noćni salaš za ovce; 6) kočina; 7) bunar; 8) valov; 9) pokriven prostor za mužu; 10) panjevi na kojima sede čobani prilikom muže
Stamatošić's farm, Banatske Here, Banatska Palanka, Banat, oko 1950. 1) Hut; 2) wicker basket; 3) lamb area; 4) farm from where the sheep are driven for milking; 5) night farm for sheep; 6) kočina; 7) well; 8) trough; 9) covered space for milking; 10) stumps onto which shepherds sit while milking.



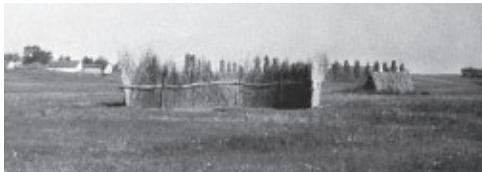
Salaš na Vaganu kod Vračevog Gaja, Banatske Here, Banat, oko 1950.
 1) kuća za čobane;
 2) prostor za mužu;
 3) jaganjčar;
 4) kosara; 5) tor
Farm on Vagan near Vračev Gaj, Banatske Here, Banat, around 1950.
 1) Kuća za čobane;
 2) prostor za mužu;
 3) jaganjčar;
 4) kosara; 5) tor.



Salaši na bunarištu kod Vračevog Gaja,
Banatske Here, Banat, oko 1950.
Farms on Bunarište near Vračev Gaj,
Banatske Here, Banat, around 1950.



Salaš sa najednostavnijim sistemom za odbranu od vukova, Banatske Here, Bunarište kod Vračevog Gaja, Banat, oko 1950. 1) jaganjčar; 2) košara (šupa) za ovce; 3) prostor za mužu; 4) salaš u užem smislu tor
Farm with the simplest system for defending from wolves, Banatske Here, Bunarište near Vračev Gaj, Banat, oko 1950. 1) space for keeping lambs; 2) košara (shed) for sheep; 3) milking area; 4) farm in more narrow sense (fold).



Evedre pored čobanske kolibe,
Durđevo – Bačka, 1949 (photo. R. Nikolić)
Evedre next to the shepherd's hut,
Durđevo – Bačka, 1949



Salaš ili bačija za čuvanje ovaca u letnjem periodu,
Dupljaja – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Farm or bačija for keeping the sheep in
summer, Dupljaja – Banat, 1989



Tor za ovce na seoskom pašnjaku, Jazovo
– Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Fold for the sheep on the village
pasture, Jazovo – Banat, 1983



Bačija – stočarski stan, Vračev Gaj –
Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Bačija – cattle breeder's housing,
Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1989



„Koliba” za pastire – preteča kolibe na dve vode, Veliki Radinci – Srem, 1946.
„A hut” for shepherds – forerunner of the gabled roof hut, Veliki Radinci – Srem, 1946.

4.2. Čobanski zakloni – kolibe

Kada su sa ovcama na pašnjacima, čobani borave u kolibama, napravljenim od različitih materijala. Prema vrsti materijala razlikujemo nekoliko tipova koliba. Istraživanjem ovčarstva u zapadnoj Bačkoj rekonstruisan je razvojni put čobanskih koliba, i to na osnovu svedočenja kazivača koji su se čobanovanjem počeli baviti kada nije bilo koliba, već se spavalо pod vedrim nebom. Preteče koliba su, u stvari, bili zakloni napravljeni od dasaka. Dimenzije tih zaklona, tj. ploča bile su 2×2 m. Ploča od dasaka podupirana je pomoću dva štapa i okretana na stranu odakle je duvao vетар.

U sledećoj fazi razvoja čobanskih koliba su pravljene dve ploče, koje su naslanjane jedna na drugu. Koliba sa dve ploče bila je otvorena sa prednje strane, a „zaevedrena” sa zadnje – trskom odnosno granjem. Osim u Bačkoj, takve kolibe možemo naći u Sremu, a verovatno i u Banatu. Od pomenutih ploča čobani su kasnije pravili kolibe na dve vode, sa vratima na prednjoj strani.

Vojvođanski čobani su najčešće pravili kolibe od trske, na dve vode, koje su bile zatvorene sa svih strana. Na prednjoj strani tih koliba su se nalazila vrata. One su pravljene i od tuluzine, slame i drugih materijala. U kolibi se nalazio ležaj za čobanina i njegov pribor.

4.2. Shepherds' shelter-huts

When they were with the sheep in the pastures, shepherds lived in the huts made of different materials. According to the type of material, we distinguish several types of huts. Through the study of sheep keeping in western Bačka the development of shepherds' huts has been reconstructed, based on the testimony of the sayings of the people who started to deal with sheep keeping when there were no huts, but they used to sleep in the open space. Fore-runners of the huts were in fact, shelters made of boards. The dimensions of these shelters i.e. plank boards were 2×2 m. The plank boards were sustained with two rods and turned to the side the wind was blowing.

In the next phase of the development of shepherds' huts the two plates were made, which were leaned onto each other. Hut with the two plates was open from the front side, and “zaevedrena” on the back – with a reed or tree branches. Except in Bačka, these huts can be found in Srem, and probably in Banat. From these plates, shepherds subsequently made huts with gabled roof, with doors on the front. Shepherds in Vojvodina usually made huts of reed, with gabled roof, which were closed on all sides. On the front side of the cottage, the door was located. They were also made of tuluzina, straw and other materials. In the cottage, there was a bed for shepherd and his accessories.



Trščana čobanska koliba na dve vode i tor,
Dolovo – Banat, 1958 (photo M. Maluckov)
Shepherd's hut made of reed with gabled
roof and a fold, Dolovo – Banat, 1958



Trščana čobanska koliba pravougaone
osnove sa krovom na dve vode i evedra,
Mužljanski rit – Banat, 1954
Shepherd's hut made of reed of a rectangular base with
gabled roof and evedra, Mužljanski rit – Banat, 1954



Trščana čobanska koliba kružne osnove i evedra,
Ostojićev - Banat, 1964 (photo R. Nikolić)
Shepherd's hut made of reed of round base
and evedra, Ostojićev - Banat, 1964



Čobanska koliba od kukuruzovine, Jablanka
– Banat, 1981 (photo M. Maluckov)
Shepherd's hut made of corn leaves,
Jablanka – Banat, 1981



Čobanska koliba pokrivena slamom,
Margita – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut covered with straw,
Margita – Banat, 1982



Čobanska koliba pokrivena slamom i travom,
Seleuš – Banat, 1955 (photo M. Maluckov)
Shepherd's hut covered with straw and
grass, Seleuš – Banat, 1955



Pastirska kulača i „korlat” u pozadini,
Idoš – Banat (photo M. Milosavljević)
Shepherd's kulača and „korlat” in the
background, Idoš – Banat



Čobanska koliba, zaklon za mužu i salaš,
Vojvodinci – Banat, 1959 (photo M. Maluckov)
Shepherd's hut, shelter for milking and
a farm, Vojvodinci – Banat, 1959

Čobanske kolibe su, u stvari, kolibe sa krovom na dve vode. Prave se od pletera i naboja, a u novije vreme i od cigala. Veličina takvih koliba je različita: širina im se kreće između 2 i 3 m, a dužina između 2 i 4 m. U kolibama ovog tipa, koje nisu pokretne, nalazi se krevet za čobanina ili samo dušek, sto, stolice, opaklja ili bundaš za pokrivanje, sudovi za hranu i ostali čobanski pribor. Neki čobani imaju i peć, koju koriste za kuvanje i grejanje u toku noći.

Shepherd huts were, in fact, huts with gabled roof. They are made of wattle and beaten earth, and more recently, of brick. The size of these cottages is different: their width ranges between 2 and 3 m, a length of between 2 and 4 m. In the cottages of this type, which are not movable, there is a bed for the shepherd or just a mattress, table, chairs, opaklja or bundaš to cover, food pots and other shepherd accessories. Some shepherds have a stove, which is used for cooking and heating during the night.



Čobanska koliba od naboja, Padej – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut of beaten earth, Padej – Banat, 1991

Trščana čobanska koliba, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut made of reed, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

Čobanska koliba – baraka od dasaka i trske, presvučena ter-papirom, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut – shack made of planks and reed, covered with tarpaper, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

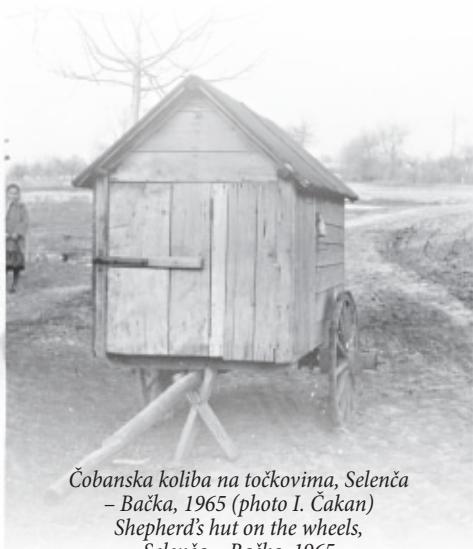


Koliba za stalni boravak čobana, Sanad – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Hut for shepherd's permanent residence, Sanad – Banat, 1983

U Bačkoj i Sremu su se između dva svetska rata pojavile kolibe na dva točka, koje se i danas koriste. One se prave od dasaka i imaju krov na dve vode, pokriven ter-papirom. Na prednjoj strani kolibe se nalaze mala vrata i ugrađena ruda, pomoću koje se ona vuče na njivu; na sredini je osovina sa dva točka (točkovi seoskih kola). Dimenzije

In Bačka and Srem the cottages that were made between the two wars were on two wheels, and are still used today. They are made of planks and have a gabled roof, covered with tarpaper. On the front side of the hut, there is a small door and a built-in ore, which is used when the hut is being pulled into the field, in the middle is the axle with

kolibe su: širina 120 cm, dužina 2 m, visina bez točkova 150 cm.



Čobanska koliba na točkovima, Selenča
– Bačka, 1965 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut on the wheels,
Selenča – Bačka, 1965

U južnom Banatu se, po funkciji, razlikuju dve vrste čobanskih koliba: kolibe muznice¹⁶ i obične kolibe.

Koliba muznica ima jednu prostoriju pravougaonog oblika. Na prednjoj strani se nalaze vrata za čobanina, a na zadnjoj mala vrata, kroz koja se uteruju ovce kada se muzu. Vrata su najčešće pravljena od dasaka. Na ovoj kolibi nema otvora koji bi odgovarali prozorima, niti otvora kroz koji bi išao dim. Pod je od nabijene zemlje. Osnovna konstrukcija kolibe je od drvenih greda, a zidovi mogu biti od pletera, kukuruzovine ili trske. Trska i kukuruzovina se, sa spoljne strane, učvršćuju poprečnim gredama. Krov može biti od trske, kukuruzovine, granja i šiblja. Da ga vетar ne bi odneo, preko njega se prebacuju drvene motke i veće grane. U kolibi se nalazi krevet za čobanina i njegov lični pribor, kao i dve „stolice”, dva panja ili dve gajbe za pivo, koje se koriste prilikom muže. „Stolice” su pravljene od drvenih kočića, koji su kružno zabijani u zemlju, i to u dva reda, a prostor između kočića se punio zemljom.

two wheels (wheel wagons). Dimensions of the hut are: width 120 cm, length 2 m, height without wheels 150 cm.

In the southern Banat, according to their function there are two different types of



Čobanska koliba na točkovima, Tovariševo
– Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's hut on the wheels,
Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988

shepherd's huts: milking huts¹⁶ and ordinary ones.

Milking hut has one room of rectangular shape. On the front side, there is a door for the shepherd and on the backside, there is a small door, through which the sheep are being driven into the hut for milking. The doors are usually made of planks. There are no holes on the hut to match the windows, nor the openings through which the smoke would go out. The floor was made of beaten earth. The basic construction of the hut is made of wooden beams and walls can be made of wattle, corn leaves or reed. Reed and corn leaves, are from the outside, fixed by the crossed beams. The roof can be made of reed, corn leaves, branches and twigs. That the wind would not blow it away, the wooden poles and larger branches are put over it. In the hut, there is a bed for shepherd and his personal accessory, as well as two "chairs", the two stumps or two crates for beer, which are used during milking. The "chairs" are made of wooden pegs, which are circularly clenched into the ground, in two rows and the space between them is filled with earth.



Koliba muznica, Jablanka – Banat, 1959.
The milking hut, Jablanka



„Stolice” za mužu u kolibi muznici, Straža – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
„Chairs” for milking in the milking hut, Straža – Banat, 1982



Koliba „muzara” sa salašem – torom od drvenih oblica, Straža – Banat, 1958 (photo M. Maluckov)
The hut „muzara” with the farm-sheepfold made of round logs, Straža – Banat, 1958

U novije vreme čobani sve češće koriste karoserije automobila kao svoja boravišta. Oni takođe koriste kombije, autobuse, ili pak velike drvene kolibe na četiri točka u obliku vagona.

In recent times, shepherds are increasingly using car bodies as their own residence. They also used vans, buses, or large wooden huts on four wheels wagon-shaped.



Vagon koliba, Glogonj – Banat, 1957 (photo M. Maluckov)
Wagon hut, Glogonj – Banat, 1957



Kombi kao čobanska koliba, Gaj – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Van as shepherd's hut, Gaj – Banat, 1989



Vagon koliba, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Wagon hut, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988



Autobus u funkciji čobanskog staništa, Jazovo Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Bus in the function of shepherd's residence, Jazovo – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)



Kontejner u funkciji čobanske kolibe, Mošorin, Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Container in the function of shepherd's hut, Mošorin, Bačka, 1988



Salaš sa kombijem umesto kolibe, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Farm with a van instead of a hut, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

4.3. Zaklon – salaš za mužu

Salaš za mužu je ograden prostor u koji se uteruju ovce prilikom muže. Sa jedne njegove strane se nalaze vrata kroz koja se uteruju ovce, a sa druge je spojen sa muznicom. Ograda salaša pravi se od dasaka, letava i bagremovih oblica. Sastavljena je od pet, šest ili više delova, koji su dugi oko 4 m, a visoki 120 cm. Oni se nazivaju krila, zgrade, platna, ploče. Kod zadružnih čoporaša se često dešava da više vlasnika donese po jedno krilo, pa zajednički podižu i ruše salaš.



*Zaklon za mužu u okviru salaša na kraju sela, Kruščica – Banat, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Shelter for milking within the farm at the end of the village, Kruščica – Banat, 1988*

4.4. Muznica

Muznica je zaklon koji se koristi za muž ovaca. Pravi se od istih materijala od kojih i koliba. Ima pravougaonu ili kvadratnu osnovu. Prednja strana muznice je potpuno otvorena, dok se na zadnjoj strani nalaze vratašca, kroz koja se uteruju ovce prilikom muže. Pored vrataša se, sa obe strane, stavlja po jedna stoličica, na kojoj čobani sede dok muzu.



*Prednja strana trščane muznice i tor,
Potporanj – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Front side of muznica made of reed and a
sheepfold, Potporanj – Banat, 1982*

4.3. Shelter-milking farm

Milking farm is the enclosure in which the sheep are driven into during milking. On one side of it there is the door through which the sheep are driven into, and the other is connected with milking part. Farm fence is made of boards, planks, and locust tree logs. It is composed of five, six or more parts, which are about 4 metres long and 120 cm high. They are called the wings, screens, panels. In cooperative herd keepers it often happens that more owners bring the one wing, and together they raise and demolish the farm.



4.4. Muznica

Muznica is a shelter that is used for milking sheep. It is made of the same material of which the hut is made. It has a rectangular or square base. Front side of muznica is completely open, while on the backside there is the door, through which the sheep are being driven into during milking. Beside the small door, on both sides, there is one stool, on which shepherds are sitting while milking.



*Zadnja strana trščane muznice, Potporanj
– Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Backside of muznica made of reed,
Potporanj – Banat, 1982*



Prednja strana muznice, tj. „mlekara”, Gaj – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Front side of muznica, i.e.
„mlekara”, Gaj – Banat, 1989



Vrata „mlekara”, kroz koja se uteruju ovce prilikom muže (snimci sa spoljašne i unutrašnje strane), Gaj – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
The door of „mlekara”, through which the sheep are driven into during milking (from the inside and outside), Gaj – Banat, 1989



4.5. Veliki objekti za čuvanje ovaca

Veliki objekti na pašnjacima su specifični i uglavnom se nalaze u Banatu. Oni se sastoje iz dva dela – pokrivenog i nepokrivenog. Različitih su dimenzija (dužine do 50 m) i prave se od lakih materijala, kao i drugi ovčarski objekti na pašnjacima.

4.5. Large objects for keeping sheep

Large objects on the pastures are specific and are mainly located in Banat. They consist of two parts – covered and uncovered. They are different in size (up to 50 m) and made of lightweight materials, as well as other objects on the pastures.



Stočarski stan za čuvanje ovaca na pašnjaku, Padej – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Cattle-keeping lodging for keeping sheep on the pasture, Padej – Banat, 1991



Stočarski stan za čuvanje ovaca pored sela, Jazovo – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Cattle-keeping lodging for keeping sheep near the village, Jazovo – Banat, 1991



Ovcara na pašnjaku na obodu Deliblatske pešćare, Gaj – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Ovcara on the pasture on the edge of Deliblatska sands, Gaj – Banat, 1989

4.6. Tor

Tor („obor”, „salas” ili „letve”) predstavlja ograđen prostor u koji se uteruju ovce prilikom plandovanja, noćnog čuvanja, torenja njiva i muže. U Bačkoj ga zovu i letve. Ograda se najčešće pravi od letava, bagremovih oblica, dasaka.

4.6. Sheepfold

Sheepfold (“pen”, “farm” or “battens”) represents an enclosure in which the sheep are driven into during they lay idle, kept at night, “torenje” of the fields and milking. In Bačka it is also called battens. Fences are usually made of battens, locust tree logs and planks.

4.7. Evedra

Evedra je zaklon koji se podiže na otvorenom prostoru. Ona štiti ovce od vетра. Ovaj zaklon se pravi od bagremovih oblica, koje se na kraćim odstojanjima ukopavaju u zemlju. Između stubova se postavlja trska. Najefikasnije su evedre u obliku slova T – sa tri krila, jer se tako ovce uvek mogu skloniti od vетра, bez obzira na to sa koje strane duva.



Evedra sa tri krila – ojačana drvenim oblicama, Banatsko Aranđelovo – Banat, 1960 (photo M. Milosavljević)

Evedra with three wings – boosted by round wooden logs, Banatsko Aranđelovo – Banat, 1960

4.7. Evedra

Evedra is a shelter, which is raised in the open. It protects the sheep from the wind. This shelter is made of locust tree logs, which are dug into the ground on the short distances. Between the pillars, the reed is inserted. The most efficient evedras are T-shaped – with three wings, because the sheep can always hide from the wind, regardless from which side it is blowing.



Krilo evedre – sistem učvršćivanja ušivanjem trskom, Jazovo – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)

A wing of evedra – system of boosting by sewing the reed, Jazovo – Banat, 1991



Ovce na solištu, Potporanj – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Sheep on troughs with salt, Potporanj – Banat, 1982



Valovi sa kamenom solju, Potporanj – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Troughs with the stone salt, Potporanj – Banat, 1982



Valov na pašnjaku, Jazovo – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Trough on the pasture, Jazovo – Banat, 1991

4.8. Ovčare

U selima se ovce čuvaju u takozvanim ovčarama, salašima, naslonima, košarama. Ovi termini se, u principu, odnose na dve vrste građevina: zgrade koje su u potpunosti zatvorene i imaju jedna vrata, a ispred njih se nalazi ogradien prostor; zgrade koje su otvorene sa prednje strane i ogradiene

4.8. Ovčare

In the villages, the sheep are kept in so-called ovčare, farms, rests, košare. These terms, in principle, refer to two types of buildings: buildings that are fully enclosed and have one door and with a fenced off area in front of it and the buildings that are open on the front and enclosed by battens. Ovčare are



Salaš za zimsko čuvanje ovaca, Straža – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Farm for keeping sheep during the winter, Straža – Banat, 1982



Ovčara delimično obložena „ogrezinama”,
Sombor – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Ovčara partly covered by „maize
stalks”, Sombor – Bačka, 1988

Širenje slame u ovčari, Sombor – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Spreading the straw in ovčara, Sombor – Bačka, 1988



Objekat za čuvanje ovaca, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
A place for keeping sheep, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

letvama. Ovčare se prave od raznih materijala. Najstarije ovčare pravljene su od bagremovih stubova, između kojih se postavljala tuluzina, granje i trska. Krov ovih objekata je na dve vode ili na jednu vodu i najčešće je pokriven tuluzinom. U južnom Banatu se ovčare prave od pletera, koji se oblepili blatom, a u novije vreme od cigala. Unutrašnjost čini prostor pregrađen za jaganjce („jagnjačara“) i veći prostor za ovce, gde se nalaze valovi za zrnastu hranu i merdevine. Pod je od nabijene zemlje, koja se stalno pokriva slamom.



Jasle za kukuruzovinu i seno, Pivnica – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Mangers for maize stalks and hay,
Pivnica – Bačka, 1988

made of various materials. The oldest ovčare were made of locust tree poles, between which tuluzina, branches and reeds were inserted. These buildings had a gabled roof or single-sloped roof and are usually covered by tuluzina. In the southern Banat ovčare are made of wattle, covered with mud, and more recently with the bricks. The interior consists of a separated part of room for the lambs ("jagnjačara") and larger part for the sheep, where there are troughs with grain food and a ladder. The floor is made of beaten earth, which is constantly covered with straw.



Valov za zrnastu hranu i so, Đurđevo – Bačka, 1987 (photo I. Čakan)
Trough for grained food and salt,
Đurđevo – Bačka, 1987



Ove jedu iz valova za zrnastu hranu i so, Izbište – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
The sheep eating from troughs for grained food and salt, Frombište – Banat, 1982



Jasle, Izbište – Banat, 1982 (photo M. Maluckov)
Mangers, Frombište – Banat, 1982

5. EKONOMSKI OBJEKTI

Tokom godine ovčari pripremaju zimsku hranu za ovce, koja se drži u objektima u okviru kućnih placeva. Takvi objekti su koševi, ambari za pšenicu i kukuruz, senici, nasloni, šupe za seno, detelinu, pasuljinu, baliranu soju i sličnu hranu.



Skladište za kukuruz – „košnjica”, napravljena od stabljika kudelje i kukuruzovine, Pivnice – Bačka, 1965 (photo M. Bosić)

Pantry for corn – „košnjica”, made from hamp and maize stalks, Pivnice – Bačka, 1965

5.1. Koševi

Najjednostavniji objekti za čuvanje pšenice i kukuruza su koševi, vrsta ambara. Njihovo pletenje i kompletna izgradnja opisani su na sledeći način:

Za pletenje koša potrebno je pruće od vinjage, bele loze, lešnika, neke vrste hrasta i vrbe. Pletenje koša je slično pletenju korpe za kukuruz u klipu. Samo koš je drugačijeg oblika u dimenzijama. Koš ima dve duže i dve uže strane i ravno dno. Pletenje obično počinje od dna. Postavi se osnova od više

5. ECONOMIC FACILITIES

During winter, shepherds prepare food for the sheep that is held in the facilities within the home lots. Such objects are baskets, barns for grain and corn, bowers, rests, sheds for hay, clover, beans pods, baled soybeans and similar food.

5.1. Wicker baskets

The simplest storage facilities for wheat and corn are the baskets. Their weaving and complete process of making is described as follows:

For weaving the basket, you need brushwood of wild vine, white vine, hazelnut, some kind of oak and willow. Weaving the wicker basket is similar to weaving the basket for corncobs. Just the wicker basket is of different shape and the dimensions. The wicker basket has two long and two narrow sides and a flat bottom. Weaving usually starts from the bottom. The base is set by using a few thick sticks or chopped locust tree. Transverse ribs are tied to them, also of chopped locust tree or brushwood. The twigs are mutually tied, and then one should start interweaving the brushwood between the ribs. When the bottom is finished, you reinsert the brushwood for the ribs for making the sides of the basket. At the saddle, from the bottom to the sides of the basket, you weave the crown made of the 3–4 rods so as the bottom and sides would be more strongly connected. Weaving now goes towards the top of the basket.

When you come to the middle, you weave the wreath to strengthen the walls. When you finish weaving the walls or sides, the wicker basket is finished with strong wreath, or edge. Then you start making bedding of the basket. For the bedding is used locust tree or oak tree, cut or chopped. You make the rectangle from strong beams for the bottom. There lies the basket. This is actually the carrier of full weight of the

debelih prutova ili od cepane bagremovine. Na njih se vežu poprečna rebra, takođe od cepane bagremovine ili debelog pruća. Međusobno se vezuju prućem, potom se otpočne sa proplitanjem pruća između rebara. Kada se oplete dno koša, ponovo se uvlači pruće za rebra sa strane koša. Na tom prevoju, od dna prema stranama koša, proplete se venac od po 3–4 pruta, kako bi dno i strane bile jače spojene. Proplitanje sada ide prema vrhu koša. Kada se stigne do sredine, tu se plete venac radi ojačanja zidova. Kada se završi pletenje zidova, ili strana, koš se završava jačim vencem, ili rubom. Zatim se pristupa pravljenju ležaja koša. Za ležaj upotrebljava se bagremovo ili hrastovo drvo, sečeno ili cepano. Za dno načini se od jačih greda pravougaonik. Na njemu koš leži. To je ustvari i nosač težine punog koša. Na ovu osnovu užljebi se po tri, ili više gredica, a završava se poprečnim gredama, u koje se takođe užljebe, ili prikuju, uspravne grede. Opleteni koš se uglavljuje u ležaj. Na gornje vodoravne grede postave se rogovi koša, a preko njih letve za šindru, trsku, rogoz, a kasnije i crep, kao pokrivač koša. Zabati koša zatvaraju se daskama. Na jednoj čeonoj strani su mala vrata za prolaz u unutrašnjost koša. Kada je sve gotovo, unutrašnjost se oblepiti blatnim malterom, koji se osuši i okreći krečnim mlekom. Ima koševa koji su oblepjeni samo iznutra, a neki i iznutra i sa spoljne strane.¹⁷



Ambar od pletenog pruća i blata na saonicima, Bački Monoštor – Bačka, 1954 (photo R. Nikolić)
Barn of weaved brushwood and mud on the sledge, Bački Monoštor – Bačka, 1954

basket. To this basis are grooved three or more small beams, and it is finished with crossbeams, to which vertical beams are also grooved or nailed. Weaved basket is fit into the bedding. To the upper horizontal beams are set the horns of the basket, and over them battens for the shingles, reed, rush, and later the tiles, as covering for the basket. Gables of the basket are closed with the boards. On the front side, there is a small door for getting into the basket. When it is all finished, the inside is covered with the mud plaster, which is painted by lime milk when dry. There are baskets that are covered with some material only from inside, and some both from inside and outside.¹⁷



Pleteni čardak za kukuruz, Nadrljan – Bačka, 1955 (photo R. Nikolić)
Weaved crib, Nadrljan – Bačka, 1955

A weaved wicker basket is covered with reeds, tuluzina and roof tiles. The wicker baskets were in use in the 18th and 19 century, as well as in the first half of the 20th

Ispletten koš pokrivan je trskom, tuluzinom i crepom. Koševi su bili u upotrebi u 18. i 19. veku, kao i u prvoj polovini 20. veka. U retkim domaćinstvima su sačuvani do danas. Koševe su pleli korpari i vešti zemljoradnici. Kao i drugi proizvodi od pruća, oni su prodavani po vašarima.

„Koševi za žito i kukuruz duže su se održali nego kuće od pleteri. Još pedesetih godina 19. veka su naši vašari izgledali kao neka čudna sela. Koševi za žito i kukuruz su vozili kolima na vašare, pa gde se takvih sto i više kola naređalo, tu je bilo malo selo, s pravim ulicama i pijacama“.¹⁸

*Ambar opleten od pruća i oblepљen blatom,
Čoka – Banat, 1956 (photo R. Nikolić)
Brushwood woven barn covered
with mud, Čoka – Banat, 1956*



5.2. Ambari

Ambari su ekonomski objekti za čuvanje pšenice i kukuruza. Oni su veoma raznoliki po konstrukciji, vrsti materijala od kojih se grade i funkciji, te imaju više naziva:

- **čučavac**, ambar neposredno iznad zemlje (ima drvenu konstrukciju i najčešće je zatvoren okastom žicom);
- **brvnjak**, ambar od brvana;
- **kotobanja**, ambar za kukuruz;

century. In very few households, they are still preserved today. Baskets were weaved by basket weavers and skilled farmers. Like other products of brushwood, they were sold at fairs.

“Wicker baskets for grain and corn were preserved longer than houses made of wattle. Even in the fifties of the 19th century, our fairs used to look like strange villages. Wicker baskets for grain and corn were taken by carts to the fairs, and where more than a hundred such carts were found in one place, it looked like a small village, with real streets and markets”¹⁸.



*Ambar za kukuruz, Belo Blato –
Banat, 1967 (photo M. Bosić)
Barn for corn, Belo Blato – Banat, 1967*

5.2. Barns

Barns are economic facilities for storing wheat and corn. They are very diverse by design, the type of materials they are built of and function, and have multiple names:

- **čučavac**, barn just above the ground (has a wooden structure and is usually closed with loop wire);
- **brvnjak**, barn made of logs;
- **kotobanja**, barn for corn;
- **okno**, barn for wheat;

- **okno**, ambar za pšenicu;
- **košnjica**, ambar od kukuruzovine
- **čardak**, ambar od pleteri

Pored osnovne funkcije, koja se odnosi na čuvanje žitarica, ambari imaju i druge namene. Ispod njih mogu da budu svinjci, letnje kuhinje, kokošnjaci, ostave za krompir, burad za rakiju i vino i štale. S obzirom na to da su izgrađeni od čvrstih materijala (cigala, drveta) i pokriveni crepom, oni liče na stambene objekte. Stari ambari imaju saonike, na kojima su posle vršidbe prevlačeni sa polja do kuća.



Ambar na saonicima od drvenih dasaka, Stapar – Bačka, 1955 (photo M. Bosić)

Barn on a sledge made of wooden planks, Stapar – Bačka, 1955



Ambar za žito na saonicima (opleten od pruća i oblepljen blatom), Tavankut – Banat, 1959.

Grain barn on a sledge, (weaved of brushwood and covered by mud), Tavankut – Banat, 1959.



Ambar za kukuruz, Jasenovo – Banat, 1959 (photo V. Latinkić)

Barn for corn, Jasenovo – Banat, 1959

5.3. Senici i šupe

Senici u šupe služe za kabastu hranu, seno, sušenu detelinu i dr. Oni mogu biti deo ovčara, ali i samostalni objekti.



Šupa za seno, Deronje – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)

Shed for hay, Deronje – Bačka, 1988



Ovčara za zimsko čuvanje ovaca (objekat za dvadesetak grla), Bogojevo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)

Ovčara for keeping sheep in winter (facility for about twenty animals), Bogojevo – Bačka, 1988



Ovčara za zimsko čuvanje ovaca, Deronje – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)

Hrana za ovce čuva se i pod vedrim nebom, u takozvanim kamarama.

Ovčara for keeping sheep in winter, Deronje – Bačka, 1988

Food for the sheep is sometimes kept under the open sky, in the so-called heaps.

- **košnjica**;
- **čardak**.

In addition to the basic function related to storing grain, barns have other purposes as well. Pigsties, summer kitchens, hen-houses, potato larders, barrels for brandy and wine and stables can be located below them. Taking into the account the fact that they are built of solid materials (bricks, wood) and covered with roof tiles, they look like the residential buildings. The old barns have slider, which was used to take the barn home from the fields after the harvest.



*Seno za ishranu ovaca, Vračev Gaj –
Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Hay for feeding the sheep, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1989*



*Tuluzina za ishranu ovaca, Grgeteg –
Srem, 1990 (photo I. Čakan)
Tuluzina for feeding the sheep, Grgeteg – Srem, 1990*

6. ČOBANI

Čopore ovaca čuvaju čobani – radnici kojima je čobanstvo osnovno zanimanje. Čuvanje ovaca uslovljava specifičan način života, koji je tokom većeg dela godine vezan za čobansku kolibu na pašnjaku odnosno strnjici. Život čobana je, takođe, vezan za čopor. Bez obzira na udaljenost pašnjaka od naselja, većina čobana je leti stalno pored čopora. Dešava se da oni i po osam meseci godišnje budu sa ovcama van naselja. Period od aprila do decembra smatra se letnjim periodom za čuvanje ovaca. U zimskom periodu se ovce ne čuvaju. Nakon razlučivanja čopora, one se predaju vlasnicima. Čuvanje ovaca je odgovoran posao; on iziskuje znanje, koje se može stići samo uz čopor. Dobar čobanin treba da je vredan i da zna musti. Ako se ne mužu kako treba, ovce daju sve manje mleka, dok u potpunosti ne zasuše. Čobanin mora da zna i neke veterinarske poslove. Nekada mora brzo da reaguje, pošto u datom momentu nema dovoljno vremena za čekanje veterinara. Torovi su obično udaljeni od sela, a za pronalazak veterinara je potrebno izvesno vreme. Dobar čobanin vodi računa o higijeni ovaca: ne dozvoljava da se ošugaju, da budu prljave i sl.

6. SHEPHERDS

The shepherds -workers whose main occupation is shepherding, tend herds of sheep. Looking after the sheep causes a specific way of life, which means that most part of the year it is tied to the shepherd's hut on the pasture or stubble field. Life of a shepherd is also bound to the herd. Regardless of the distance to the village pasture, most shepherds are constantly next to their herd in summer. It happens that for eight months a year shepherds are outside the village with their sheep. The period from April to December is considered the summer period for keeping the sheep. In winter, the sheep are tended. After sorting out the herd, they returned to their owners. Keeping sheep is a responsible job; it requires knowledge that can only be gained by being and living with the herd. A good shepherd must be hard working and need to know how to milk. If not properly milked, sheep give less milk until they are completely stoned. The shepherd has to know some veterinary skills as well. Sometimes he must react very quickly, since at certain moments there is not enough time to wait for



Rada Čolović – odgajivač rasnih ovaca,
Pivnica – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Rada Čolović – pedigree sheep
breeder, Pivnica – Bačka, 1988



Čobanin, Bač – Bačka, 1958 (photo M. Bosić)
A shepherd, Bač – Bačka, 1958

Svi dobri čobani su najpre bili „bojtari”, deca koja od desetak godina pomažu čobanima. Kada bi napunili 16 godina, bojtari su postajali „samadovi”, čobani koji samostalno čuvaju čopor. Dešavalo se da su bojtari išli u armiju od ovaca. Bojtar nije odgovoran za čopor. On donosi vodu i hranu (na magarcu) čobaninu, nosi mleko, nateruje ovce prilikom muže, čuva čopor dok je čobanin u selu itd. Bojtare su čobani plaćali od svojih prihoda, ako su se tako pogodili, ili su ih, kao i čobane, plaćale gazde.

Samadove, čobane koji sami čuvaju tuđe ovce, plaća gazda ili združeni ovčari. Čobani odgovaraju za čopor i svaku izgubljenu ovcu. Gazde ih plaćaju na različite načine – u hrani, novcu i sl. Ovčari ih pogadjaju najčešće na godinu dana – od Nove godine do Nove godine ili od Đurđevdana do Mitrovdana i obrnuto; čobanska plata nije ista u periodu kad se muze i kad se ne muze.

a veterinarian. Sheepfolds are usually far from the village so it takes some time for the vet to come and help. A good shepherd takes care of the hygiene of sheep: does not allow sheep to get scabies, to be dirty and so on.

All good shepherds were the “bojtari” first, children of ten years, who are helping the shepherds. When they were 16 years old, they became bojtari “samadovi”, shepherds who looked after a herd of sheep by themselves. It happened that bojtari went to the army from *the sheep*. Bojtar is not responsible for the herd. It brings water and food (on the donkey) to the shepherd, carries milk, drives the sheep to be milked, looks after the herd while the shepherd is in the village and so on. Bojtare were paid by shepherds from their income, if they agreed so, or were, as the shepherds, paid by the masters.

Zabeleženi su i sledeći načini plaćanja čobana:

Čobani u Bačkom Brestovcu pogađali su se ili na godinu dana ili od marta do Božića. Od gazde su dobijali na korišćenje opakliju i kabanicu, a opanci su im kupovani. Svakodnevno su dobijali hranu, kao i vinu i rakiju. Ostatak zarade dobijali su u novcu.

Čobanin u Obrovcu je za godinu dana dobijao 15 kg žita, 15 kg kukuruza, 100 dinara po ovci i 2 kg sira po muzari, ili pak *dan mleka* na dve muzare (od 100 muzara pripadalo mu je 50 l mleka).

U Futogu se čobani pogađaju na godinu dana – od Nove godine do Nove godine. Ako je reč o jednom vlasniku, čobanin se pogađa đuture za ceo čopor. Sa udruženim vlasnicima se pogoda po ovci. Jedan ovčar iz Futoga je 1990. godine svog čobanina plaćao 7.000 din. mesečno, davao mu hranu i jedno svinjče od 150 kg, dok je 1988. godine čobaninu dao dva svinjčeta i jednog ovna, a 1989. godine mu je othrario tri svinjčeta i plaćao ga u novcu. Seoski čobani se plaćaju samo u novcu, i to po ovci, na godinu dana.

Čobanin u Pačiru je između dva rata plaćan žitom i kukuruzom. Za godinu dana je dobijao 30 kg žita i 70 kg kukuruza po ovci, kao i novac.

U Suseku je između dva rata godišnje dobijao: „12 metri žita, 12 metri kukuruza, dva nazimeta od 60 kila i 'bašću' (komad

Samadovi, the shepherds who tend other people's sheep by themselves are paid by the master, or by joint sheep owners. The shepherds are responsible for the herd and any lost sheep. Masters pay them in different ways – food, money, etc... Sheep owners usually arrange to employ them for a year – from New Year to New Year or from St George to St Demetrius, and vice versa; shepherd's wage is not the same in the period when the sheep are milked, and when they are not milked.

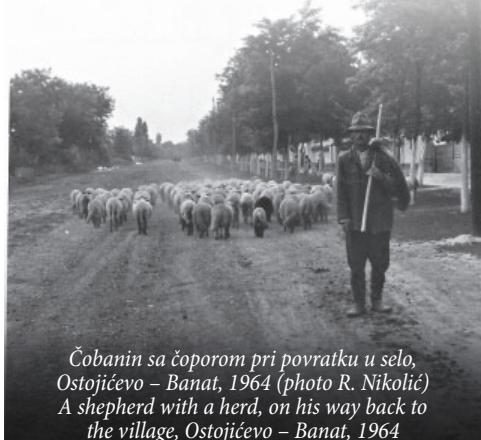
Folowing ways of payment of the shepherds are recorded:

The shepherds in Bački Brestovac were arranging to work for a year or from March to Christmas. The master gave them to use opaklja and a raincoat, and they bought opanci for the shepherd. Every day they received food as well as wine and brandy. The rest of their wages they received in cash.

The shepherd in Obrovac received 15 kg of wheat for a year, 15 kg of corn, 100 dinars per sheep, and 2 pounds of cheese from dairy sheep, or even *a milk day* on two dairy sheep (out of 100 dairy sheep he was supposed to get 50 l of milk).

In Futog the shepherds made arrangements to work for a year – from the New Year to the New Year. If it is one owner, a shepherd negotiates to be paid for the whole herd all together. With the joint owners, he negotiates to be paid per sheep. One sheep keeper from Futog was paying his shepherd 7,000 dinars per month, was giving him food and a pig of 150 kg in 1990, while in 1988 he gave the shepherd two pigs and a ram, in 1989 he fattened up for the shepherd three pigs and paid him in cash. Village shepherds are paid only in cash, per sheep, for a year.

The shepherd from Pačir between the two wars was paid in wheat and corn. For a year, he received 30 kg of wheat and 70 kg of corn per sheep, as well as money.



Čobanin sa čoporom pri povratku u selo,
Ostojićevo – Banat, 1964 (photo R. Nikolić)
A shepherd with a herd, on his way back to
the village, Ostojićevo – Banat, 1964



Čobanin sa štapom sa kukom, Sonta – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
A shepherd with a stick with hook,
Sonta – Bačka, 1988

zemlje da može da seje povrće) i u mužu ranu (hranu) i cipele i opanke i džak soli, dve pole slanine i 12.000 novaca”.

Čobani se u Gaju pogaćaju na godinu dana – od Đurđevdana do Mitrovdana i obrnuto. U letnjem periodu se plaćaju po pogodbi, odnosno po ovci, i to u novcu, a hrani im daje onaj gazda čije se mleko muze. Kada nema muže, čobanin se, takođe, plaća u hrani i novcu. Tako je 1989. godine čobanin Tisa Petrić bio unajmljen na sledeći način: za zimski period, koji je trajao šest meseci, dobio je 15 miliona dinara (5 miliona prilikom pogaćanja, 5 miliona za Novu godinu i 5 miliona na Đurđevdan) i jednu ovcu, koju su platili svi udruženi ovčari. U udruženju ovčara su bile 32 gazde. Na 10 ovaca čobanin je nedeljno primao tri kilograma kukuruza u zrnu, 10 kg hleba, 6 kg krompira, 1 l pasulja, 1 kg crnog luka, 1 kg brašna i 1 kg soli. Ako se uzme u obzir činjenica da pola godine čini 26 nedelja, onda bi se podelom čopora od 260 ovaca na 10 ovaca dobila tačna količina mleka. Ukoliko je čopor bio veći, čobaninu se doplaćivala razlika u novcu. Neki čobani nisu žeeli da im se daje hrana, već su tražili da im se celokupna zarada isplati u novcu.

Posle Drugog svetskog rata, vlasnici ovaca imali su problem u vezi sa pronalaženjem

The shepherd from Susek between the two wars received: “12 meters of wheat, 12 meters of corn, two pigs than 60 pounds and a ‘garden’ (a piece of land for the vegetables to be sown), food, shoes and opanci and a sack of salt, two halves of bacon and 12,000 of money.”

The shepherds in Gaj negotiate to be hired for a year – from St George to St Demetrius, and vice versa. In summer, they are paid according to the deal they make, i.e. per sheep, in cash; the master, whose milk is milked, gives food to them. When there is no milking, shepherd, too, is paid in food and cash. Thus, in 1989 the shepherd Tisa Petrić was hired in the following way: for winter period, which lasted for six months, he received 15 million (5 million during the negotiating, 5 million for the New year and 5 million on the day of St George) and one sheep, for which all associated sheep keepers have paid. In the association, there were 32 masters. For 10 sheep shepherd received weekly three kilograms of corn, 10 kg of bread, 6 kg of potatoes, 1 l of beans, 1 kg of onion, 1 kg of flour and 1 kg of salt. If we take into account the fact that half of the year consists of 26 weeks, then by dividing the herd of 260 sheep in 10 sheep we would be able to calculate the correct amount of milk. If the herd was larger, the shepherd was paid the difference in cash. Some shepherds did not want to be given food, but they asked for their entire wage to be paid in cash.

After The Second World War, the owners of sheep had a problem with finding and hiring a good shepherd, since there were fewer and fewer of them, especially in the late 20th century. At that time, in fact, there were very few professional shepherds, who were mostly elderly people. Therefore, the shepherds had to hire bad shepherds as well. By the end of the 20th century in most places in Bačka

i angažovanjem dobrih čobana, pošto ih je bilo sve manje, naročito krajem 20. veka. Tada je, u stvari, bilo veoma malo profesionalnih pastira, koji su uglavnom bili u podmaklim godinama. Zbog toga su ovčari morali da angažuju i loše čobane. Krajem 20. veka su u većini mesta u Bačkoj čobani pogađani na mesec dana, i to za platu u novcu, jer se često dešavalo da su napuštali čopor. Savremeni sremski ovčari uglavnom sami čuvaju svoje ovce, ili imaju čobane koje meščeno plaćaju – u novcu. Čobani u Banatu se još uvek najčešće pogađaju na godinu dana. To je posebno izraženo u južnom Banatu.

Velike čopore u Vojvodini često čuvaju sami vlasnici. Pošto se u takvim čoporima ovce ne muzu, rad oko njih je olakšan, te jedan čobanin može sam da čuva i čopor od 800 ovaca, posebno na slatini, gde ovce ne mogu da nanesu štetu ulazeći u njive.

Nedostatak profesionalnih čobana utiče na smanjenje broja čopora, što znači i broja ovaca. U mnogim mestima su zemljoradnici držali po nekoliko ovaca, te su se udruživali, odnosno formirali zajedničke čopore. Zbog pomenuog problema, u pojedinim naseljima danas uopšte nema ovaca. Takav primer zabeležen je u Plavni. Jedno od obeležja ovčarstva, koje se razvilo usled nedostatka čobana, jeste čuvanje ovaca čiji vlasnici žive u susednim selima. Tako je u Pivnicama jedan čobanin oformio čopor sa više od 600 ovaca, čiji su vlasnici iz Lalića, Despotova, Ratkova, Savinog Sela, Silbaša itd. Meštani ljubomorno čuvaju dobre čobane i dobre ovčare, koji primaju na čuvanje i tuđe ovce. U Bogojevu postoji samo jedan novoformljeni čopor. Vlasnici koji imaju po dvadesetak ovaca su, zbog toga, primorani da ovce daju na čuvanje u okolna mesta, najčešće u Doroslovo, iako se meštani Doroslova tome protive. Ovčar Andraš Stipić, rođen 1934. godine, primio je malo ovaca iz okolnih mesta, a i to je učinio gotovo kradom, jer je bio prinuđen da odbije uslugu koju su tražili meštani Doroslova.

shepherds were paid for a month, in cash, as it often happened that they left the herd. Modern shepherds from Srem mostly looked after their own sheep, or they have shepherds who are paid monthly – in cash. The shepherds in the Banat still negotiate to be hired for a year. This is particularly evident in southern Banat.

Big herds are frequently tended by the owners themselves. As in these herds sheep are not being milked, the work is easier, so the shepherd can tend the herd consisting of 800 sheep, specially on the mineral spring, where sheep cannot make any damage entering the fields.

The lack of professional shepherds has an impact on reducing the number of herds, which means reducing the number of sheep. In many places, farmers kept a few sheep, and joining formed a joint herd. Due to the aforementioned problem in some settlements, there are no sheep at all. Such an example was noted in Plavna. One of the characteristics of sheep keeping, which was developed due to the lack of shepherds, is keeping sheep whose owners live in neighbouring villages. Thus, a shepherd from Pivnice formed a herd with more than 600 sheep whose owners live in Lalić, Despotovo, Ratkovo, Savino Selo, Silbaš etc. Locals jealously watch over the good shepherds and good sheep keepers, who agree to take care of other people's sheep. In Bogojevo there is only one newly formed herd. The owners who have twenty sheep each were therefore forced to give their sheep to be tended in the surrounding areas, mostly in Doroslovo, although residents of Doroslovo opposed the idea. Andraš Stipić, born in the 1934, received a few sheep from the surrounding villages, and it was done almost secretly, as he was forced to refuse the service he was asked for from the residents of Doroslovo.

6.1. Ishrana čobana

Ishrana čobana ne razlikuje se od ishrane karakteristične za stanovništvo Vojvodine. Tradicionalna vojvođanska kuhinja je jedinstvena, iako postoje male razlike, vezane za nasleđe različitih nacionalnosti. Karakteriše je komplikovanija priprema hrane. Kuvanjem se, pre svega, bave žene. Domaćice svakodnevno pripremaju hranu koja se nosi čobanima na pašnjake u blizini naselja. U suštini, čobani jedu onu hranu koju jedu i ovčari – vlasnici ovaca. Njima se priprema i takozvana torba – suva slanina i meso, hleb, povrće, manja količina rakije (litra ili dve litre nedeljno), pivo ili vino.



Pastirski ručak, Gospodinci – Bačka,
1995 (photo Š. Nadž)
Shepherd's lunch, Gospodinci – Bačka, 1995

Ovčari ili čobani pripremaju jela od ja gnjećeg i ovčijeg mesa. Jela uglavnom gotove na pašnjacima, a retko u naseljima – kada su čobanske slave (Đurđevdan, Mirovdan), formiranje i rasformiranje čopora, striža ovaca.

Od namirnica se, pored mlečnih proizvoda, najčešće koristi slanina – nezamenljiv suvomesnati proizvod, koji je svakodnevno na trpezi. Čobani nose sa sobom dimljenu slaninu i jedu je nepripremljenu ili pečenu na vatri, sa hlebom i povrćem, najčešće sa crnim i belim lukom, paradajzom i sl. Ona je praktična jer može da se nosi u torbi, a, kada se istopi, daje masnoću neophodnu

6.1. Shepherd's diet

Shepherd's diet does not differ from the typical diet for the population of Vojvodina. Traditional cuisine of Vojvodina is unique, although there are small differences, related to the heritage of different nationalities. It is characterized by complicated food preparation. Women mostly do the cooking. Every day housewives prepare food that is carried to the shepherds to the pastures near the settlements. In fact, the shepherds eat the same food that the sheep keepers- the owners of sheep eat. For the shepherds are prepared so-called bags – bacon and dried meat, bread, vegetables, small amount of brandy (a liter or two liters per week), beer or wine.



Kuvanje ručka ispred kolibe, Gospodinci
– Bačka, 1995 (photo Š. Nadž)
Cooking lunch in front of the hut,
Gospodinci – Bačka, 1995

Sheep keepers or shepherds prepare dishes of lamb and mutton. They prepare meals mainly on pastures, and rarely in the villages – when the shepherds celebrate their patron saints (St George, St Demetrius), forming and disbanding the herd, shearing the sheep.

Of food, in addition to the dairy products, bacon is most frequently used – indispensable cure meat product, which is on the table every day. The shepherds carry smoked bacon and eat it either unprepared or fried on fire with bread and vegetables, most frequently with onion and garlic, tomatoes and the like. It is practical because it can be carried in a bag, and when it is melted, it gives the fat necessary

za pripremu gotovo svih jela koja se kuju u kotliću.

Za spremanje jela se koristi kotlić. Ukoliko se u njemu priprema hrana za jednu osobu, on ima malu zapreminu (dve-tri litre), a, ukoliko se priprema za više ljudi, ima veću zapreminu. Kotlić se u kolibi kači na verige, a na pašnjacima se koristi kriva grana – „kotlenjača”, koja se ukopa u zemlju. Kuvana jela se jedu kašikama, viljuškama i noževima – iz tanjira. Sir se drži u drvenom zastrugu, a so u malim slanicima.



Kotlić okačen na drvenu
kotlenjaču - kokaju
Kettle hanged onto wooden
kotlenjača - kokaja



Ognjište kraj čobanske kolibe,
Bački Petrovac – Bačka,
1949 (photo R. Nikolić)
Fireplace next to shepherd's hut,
Bački Petrovac – Bačka, 1949



Ognjište u kolibi, Klenak
– Srem, 1959.
Fireplace in a hut, Klenak
– Srem, 1959.

6.2. Jela

Najčešća čobanska jela su:

Ada

Tarana

Crni luk se izdinsta na masti i posoli, a zatim se stavi tarana i naliće voda. Sve se kuva.

Bački Brestovac

Tarana i krompir

U kotliću se isprži iseckana slanina. Doda se sitno isečen crni luk, isečen krompir i voda. Kada je krompir skuvan, ubaci se tarana, koja se veoma kratko kuva (tarana se donosi iz sela).

for the preparation of almost all dishes that are cooked in the kettle.

Kettle is used for preparing the food. If the food is prepared for one person, it has a small volume (two to three liters), and, if the food is prepared for more people, it has larger volume. The kettle is hung on the hangers in a hut, and on pastures is used curved branch – “kotlenjača”, which is buried in the ground. Cooked meals are eaten with spoons, forks and knives – from the plate. The cheese is kept in a wooden ‘zastrug’, and salt in small saltshakers.

6.2. Meals

Most frequent shepherd's meals are:

Ada

Dough pellets

Onions are stewed on the fat, seasoned with salt, and then added the dough pellets, and water is poured. Everything is cooked.

Bački Brestovac

Dough pellets and potatoes

In the kettle, you fry chopped bacon. Add finely chopped onion, sliced potatoes and water. When the potatoes are cooked, the dough pellets should be put, which are cooked very briefly (dough pellets are brought from the village).

Mekano kašikom

Valjušci se tvrdo umese – od brašna, vode i malo soli. U kotlić se sipa brašno umućeno sa vodom i malo soli. Doda se isečen krompir, koji se kuva dok ne omekša. Valjušci se iskidaju i stave pored krompira. Jelo je gotovo kada su valjušci kuvani.

Bačko Petrovo Selo

Po pašnjacima se nije kuvalo. Ako se išlo na udaljenije pašnjake, dva-tri dana se jeo isti hleb, slanina, kobasica, suvo meso, crni i beli luk, paprika i paradajz.

Deronje

Čobanac

Na masti se izdinsta crni luk. Nakon toga se skine sa vatre i doda mu se mlevena paprika. Ta masa se dobro promeša. Na dno praznog kotlića se stavi raspolućena jagnjeća glava, preko koje se stavi red luka i red mesa; tako se ređa dok se glava ne prekrije. Poslednji red treba da bude red luka. Nakon toga se naspe voda i sve posoli i pobiberi. U čobanac se ne sipa vino i sok od paradajza.

Futog

Krompir i tarana

Crni luk se nasecka i ostavi sa strane, a slanina se sitno iseče. U kotlić se stavi malo masti, pa slanina. Kad slanina požuti na vatri, doda se luk, koji se dinsta dok i on ne požuti. Potom se doda krompir, koji se prži; kad požuti, sipa se voda i doda tarana.

Tarana

Kuva se u mleku i jede za doručak.

Melenci

Čobanac

U kotlić se stavi veća količina isečenog jagnjećeg mesa pomešanog sa iseckanim lukom. Zatim se doda onoliko vode koliko je potrebno da bi meso bilo prekriveno, jer ono pušta tečnost. Od začina se dodaje

Eating tender with a spoon

Make dumplings from hard-kneaded dough – flour, water and a pinch of salt. Flour beaten with water and a little salt should be put in the kettle. Then sliced potatoes that are cooked until tender should be added. Dumplings are made and put next to potatoes. Food is ready when the dumplings are cooked.

Bačko Petrovo Selo

Cooking wasn't done on the pastures. If the shepherds went to distant pastures, they ate the same bread for two or three days, bacon, sausage, smoked meat, onion, garlic, peppers and tomatoes.

Deronje

Shepherd's stew

The onion is stewed on the fat. After that, you remove it from heat and add ground pepper. The mixture is stirred well. At the bottom of an empty kettle, you put lamb's head cut in two, over which you put a layer of onion and a layer of meat; you keep on doing it until the whole head is covered. It should be finished with a layer of onion. After that, you pour some water and season with salt and pepper. You do not pour wine or tomato juice into shepherd's stew.

Futog

Potato and dough pellets

Onions are chopped and left aside, and bacon is finely cut. In the kettle, you put a little fat and bacon. When bacon becomes yellow on the fire, add the onions, stew them until they become yellow as well. Then add the potatoes, which are fried until yellow, you pour the water and add the dough pellets.

Dough pellets

Boiled dough pellets in milk are eaten for breakfast.

samo so. (Kažu da je čobanac spravljen na ovaj način izuzetno ukusan.)

Obrovac

Za doručak se jede tarana skuvana u mleku.

Ratkovo

Tarana

Na masti od istopljene slanine se izdinsta crni luk, tako da bude žut. Doda se malo aleve paprike, isečen krompir i so. Ta smesa se dinsta na masti. Potom se sipa voda, koja treba da prekrije krompir, i kuva dok krompir omeke. Doda se tarana i sačeka da voda provri. Tarana je gotova za tri minuta.

Pasulj

Opran pasulj pomešan sa isećenim crnim lukom prelje se vodom, posoli i kuva. Kad je skuvan, napravi se zaprška. Na isecanoj suvoj slanini se proprži beli ili crni luk. Ako je pasulj beli, u zapršku se stavlja crni luk, a, ako je žuti, koristi se beli luk. Kad luk požuti, stavi se malo mlevene paprike. Čim malo zapeni, zaprška se sipa u kotlić sa pasuljem. Pasulj se može kuvati i sa suvim mesom.

Sakule

Jagnjeći paprikaš

Meso se iseče po zglobovima, a veća količina crnog luka se dinsta (pirjani) na slanni. Izdinstanom luku se doda so, mlevena paprika i manje ili više ljute paprike. U tu smesu se doda malo vode, u kojoj se kratko kuvaju začini, pa se dodaje meso. U čobanski jagnjeći paprikaš se ne stavlja biber, beli luk, lorber i krompir.

Valjušći sa sirom

Najpre se pripremi zaprška: istopljena slanina, brašno i aleva paprika. U nju se zamešaju valjušći i sir. Valjuške žene pripremaju kod kuće, a čobanin ih nosi na pašnjak.

Melenci

Shepherd's stew

You put large amount of chopped lamb mixed with chopped onions in the kettle. Then add as much water as is needed for the meat to be covered, because it releases fluid. You just add salt from all the spices. (They say that the shepherd's stew prepared in this way is very tasty.)

Obrovac

Boiled dough pellets in milk are eaten for breakfast.

Ratkovo

Dough pellets

On the melted fat from the bacon, the onion is stewed, to become yellow. Add a little cayenne pepper, chopped potatoes and salt. This mixture is stewed on the fat. Then the water is poured, which should cover the potatoes and cook until potatoes soften. Add the dough pellets and wait for water to boil. Dough pellets are cooked for three minutes.

Beans

Washed beans are mixed with chopped onions and then water is poured, all is seasoned with salt and cooked. When cooked, make a roux. On chopped dry bacon, fry garlic or onion. If you have white beans then you put onions in the roux, and if it is yellow, use garlic. When onion turns yellow, put a little ground pepper. As soon as it starts foaming, the roux is poured into the kettle with beans. Beans can be cooked with dry meat.

Sakule

Lamb stew

The meat is cut at the joints, a large quantity of onions is stewed (braised) on bacon. Salt is added to stewed onions, ground red pepper and more or less hot pepper. Add a little water, to this mixture, in which you

Selenča

Čobanac

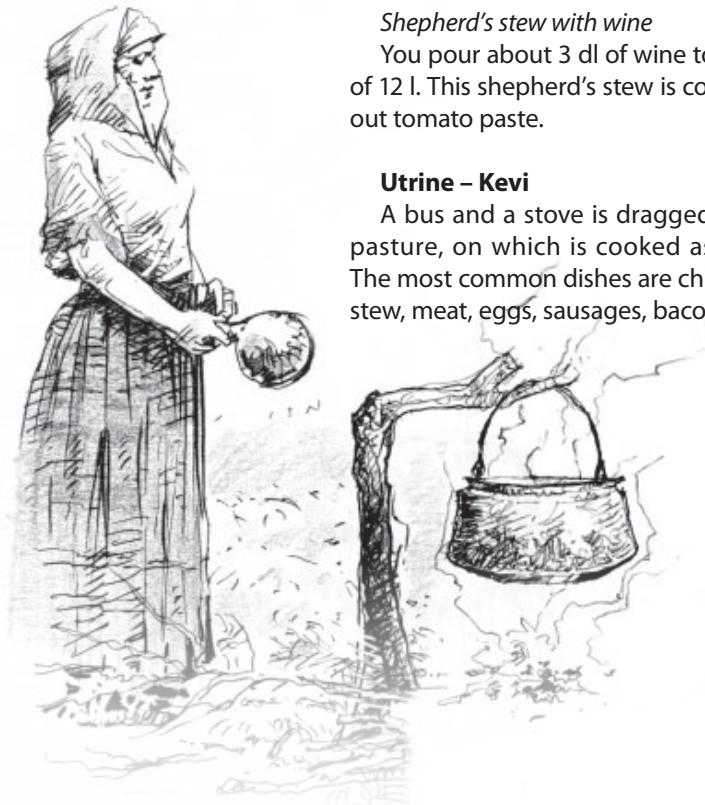
U kotlić se stavi isečeno jagnjeće meso pomešano sa crnim lukom. Začini su so i biber. Kada je meso dopola skuvano, doda se kuvari paradajz (na kotlić od 12 l se dodaje 1/2 l paradajza). Na kraju se sve začini slatkim i ljutim mlevenom paprikom. Ako se u paprikaš sipa paradajz, onda se ne dodaje vino.

Čobanac sa vinom

Na kotlić od 12 l se doda oko 3 dl vina. Ovaj čobanac se kuva bez soka od paradajza.

Utrine – Kevi

Na pašnjak se odvuče autobus i šporet, na kojem se kuva kao kod kuće. Najčešća jela su: supa od kokošaka, paprikaš, pečeno meso, jaja, kobasice, slanina i dr.



cook spices for a short while, and then add meat. In the shepherd's lamb stew, you do not put pepper, garlic, bay leaf and potatoes.

Dumplings with cheese

First, prepare the roux: melted bacon, flour and red pepper. There you mix cheese dumplings. Women prepare dumplings at home, and shepherds carry them to the pasture.

Selenča

Shepherd's stew

Put cut lamb mixed with onions in the kettle. Spices are salt and pepper. When the meat is half cooked, add cooked tomatoes (for the kettle of 12 liters is added 1 / 2 l of tomato paste). At the end, it is all seasoned with sweet and hot ground pepper. If tomato paste is poured into the stew, then wine is not added.

Shepherd's stew with wine

You pour about 3 dl of wine to the kettle of 12 l. This shepherd's stew is cooked without tomato paste.

Utrine – Kevi

A bus and a stove is dragged off to the pasture, on which is cooked as at home. The most common dishes are chicken soup, stew, meat, eggs, sausages, bacon, etc...



Formiranje čopora udruženih stočara, Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Formation of a herd by the associated cattle breeders, Kruščica – Banat, 1989

7. UDRUŽIVANJE VLASNIKA OVACA

Vojvođanski stočari – ovčari održavaju međusobne kontakte, jer su, kada je reč o ekonomskim odnosima, upućeni jedni na druge. U svim vojvođanskim naseljima u kojima postoji tradicija gajenja ovaca prisutno je udruživanje ovčara odnosno formiranje čopora ovaca koji su vlasništvo nekoliko domaćinstava.

Udruživanje ovčara karakteristično je za domaćinstva sa malo ovaca, mada se udružuju i vlasnici velikih čopora – ako imaju zajednički interes. Čopori se formiraju udruživanjem dva-tri vlasnika ili više njih. Međutim, postoje i čopori, posebno u zapadnoj Bačkoj, formirani udruživanjem više od pedeset domaćinstava. U Vojvodini gotovo i nema čopora koji je vlasništvo samo jednog domaćinstva. I u najvećim čoporima (od pet ili šest stotina ovaca), koji su obično u posedu jednog gazde, postoji bar nekoliko ovaca koje su vlasništvo nekog drugog domaćina. Stočari se udružuju zbog lakšeg i ekonomičnijeg čuvanja ovaca. Osnovni razlog za udruživanje je taj što vlasnici ne moraju posebno čuvati svoje ovce. Zbog grubljenja vremena i zapostavljanja drugih

7. FORMS OF SHEEP OWNERS ASSOCIATIONS

Cattle breeders in Vojvodina- sheep breeders maintain contacts among themselves, because when it comes to economic relations, they are directed onto each other. In all the settlements in Vojvodina in which the tradition of sheep breeding is present there is the association of sheep breeders i.e. formation of a herd of sheep owned by several households.

Shepherd association is characteristic for households with a few sheep, although the owners of big herds get together – if they have common interest. The herds are formed by joining two, three, or more owners. However, there are herds, especially in western Bačka, formed by joining more than fifty households. In Vojvodina, there is hardly a herd that is owned by only one household. Even in the biggest herds (consisting of five or six hundred sheep), which are usually owned by one master, there are at least a few sheep that are the property of another host. Cattle breeders get together for easier and more economic way of keeping sheep. The main reason for joining is that the owners do not have

poljoprivrednih poslova, čuvanje manjeg čopora je nerentabilno.

Ovčari zapošljavaju čobanina, koji vodi brigu o čoporu, pomaže prilikom muže, jagnjenja, lečenja ovaca i dr. Čuvanje ovaca zahteva celodnevno angažovanje, pa i noćno. Udrženi ovčari dele troškove: pašarinu, pravljenje kolibe i torna za ovce, kupovinu lekova, soli i dr.

Na sistem udrživanja vlasnika ovaca uticalo je nekoliko faktora. Jedan od njih je upravo činjenica da pretežno siromašno zemljoradničko stanovništvo poseduje mali broj ovaca. Drugi razlog su već pomenute administrativne mere kojima je regulisana zabrana čuvanja velikih čopora ovaca u vlasništvu jedne porodice na seoskim pašnjacima.

Udrživanje stočara je i put ka uvećanju i osamostaljivanju čopora, odnosno stvaranju čopora koji može da podnese sve troškove i donese dobit jednom vlasniku. To su čopori od kojih se dobijaju prihodi (od mleka, sira, vune, mesa) kojim se mogu isplatiti čobanin, pašarina, hrana za zimu, veterinar, pravljenje stočarskih stanova i dr. Smatra se da jedan



Formiranje čopora udrženih stočara (čobanin beleži koliko je ovaca i jaganjaca primio na čuvanje), Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)

The formation of a herd of associated farmers (the shepherd is writing down how many sheep and lambs he received to look after),
Kruščica – Banat, 1989

to keep their sheep individually. Due to the loss of time and neglect of other agricultural activities, keeping a small herd is unprofitable.

Sheep keepers employ a shepherd who tends the herd, assist in milking, lambing, sheep treatment and some other things. Tending the sheep requires all-day engagement, as well as night. The associated sheep breeders share expenses: pasture tax, building huts and fold for sheep, buying medicine, salt, etc...

The system of sheep owners association is influenced by several factors. One of them is the fact that poor, predominantly agricultural population has a small number of sheep. Another reason mentioned above are the administrative measures governing the prohibition of keeping large herds of sheep owned by a family on the village pastures.

The association of cattle breeders is the way of increasing the independence of the herd and creating a herd that can abide all expenses and make a profit for the owner. These are the herds that make income (from milk, cheese, wool, meat) from which a shepherd, pasture tax, food for winter, the vet, cattle breeder's housing and other things can be paid. It is believed that a shepherd can successfully tend up to 300 sheep.

The owner of one sheep can become a member of the association of sheep breeders and thus provide another source of income. Considering the fact that very few farmers buy large numbers of sheep, herd is usually enlarged through common association. An important fact is that there are no households that are only engaged in sheep breeding, with the exception of shepherds, who earn their living that way. Regardless of the number of animals that sheep breeder possesses, sheep keeping is always related to agriculture – either

čobanin može uspešno čuvati maksimalno 300 ovaca.

Vlasnik jedne ovce može postati član udruženja ovčara i tako dobiti još jedan izvor prihoda. S obzirom na to da malo zemljoradnika kupuje veliki broj ovaca, čopor se najčešće uvećava putem zajedničkog čuvanja. Važna činjenica je i to da ne postoje domaćinstva koja se bave samo ovčarstvom, izuzimajući čobane, kojima je to zanimanje. Bez obzira na broj grla koji ovčar posede, gajenje ovaca je uvek u vezi sa zemljoradnjom – ili je obrada zemlje dopuna ovčarstvu, ili je ovčarstvo dopuna zemljoradnji.

Od ove tradicije odstupaju samo novi doseljenici – stočari iz Bosne. Ti nomadski stočari su se od davnina zimi spuštali sa bosanskih planina i prelazili Savu i Dunav, da bi napasali čopore u ravnici. Oni se i danas kreću sa svojim čoporima. Tako je, na primer, zabeleženo da ovi nomadski stočari kupuju imanja i kuće u Mošorinu i tu se nastanjuju. Takvi ovčari žive isključivo od ovčarstva. Oni i dalje žive nomadski, povremeno se vraćajući kući. Imaju velike čopore, od 600 i više ovaca, sa kojima se kreću po celoj Vojvodini. Za njih je karakteristično to što ne pripremaju mnogo hrane za svoje ovce, već veliki deo godine provode sa čoporom napolju. Za razliku od starosedelaca, koji najčešće gaje ovce rase cigaja, nomadi imaju ovce otpornije na hladnoću – pramenke.

Vlasnici velikih čopora (od preko 500 ovaca) poseduju i obrađuju zemlju, kao i druga zemljoradnička domaćinstva. Bavljenje zemljoradnjom im omogućava proizvodnju vlastite, jeftine hrane, odnosno osigurava im veću dobit.

Važan razlog za udruživanje je efikasna deoba mleka u periodu muže i torine. Suština je u tome da se svakom gazdi pruža mogućnost da u kratkom periodu dobije onu količinu mleka koju bi mu njegove ovce dale tokom čitavog perioda muže. Takvu mogućnost dobijali su i kada je u pitanju torina, odnosno torenje njiva.

working on the land is the supplement to sheep keeping, or vice versa.

Deviation from this tradition is only with the new settlers – cattle breeders from Bosnia. These nomadic cattle breeders have always been descending in the winter from the Bosnian mountains and crossing the rivers Sava and the Danube, to graze herds in the valley. They still migrate with their herds. Thus, for example, is noted that these nomadic cattle breeders buy the land and houses in Mošorin and settle down there. Such sheep keepers live only on the sheep. They still live a nomadic way of life, occasionally returning home. They have large herds of 600 or more sheep, with which they travel all over Vojvodina. It is characteristic that they do not prepare much food for their sheep, but most part of the year, they spend living out with the herd. Unlike the natives, who often grow the sheep breed Cigaja, the nomads keep the breed, which is more resistant to cold – Pramenka.

The owners of large herds (of more than 500 sheep) own and cultivate the land as well as other agricultural households. Dealing with agriculture enables them to produce cheap food, and thus provides them greater profits.

An important reason for joining is the efficient division of milk during milking and torina. The point is to give each master a chance to get in a short period, the quantity of milk that he would have got from his sheep during the entire milking period. They have obtained such a possibility and when it comes to torina, i.e. folding the fields...

The association of shepherds, both milking the herd and sharing the profit has transformed into a tradition in certain regions of Banat, Bačka and Srem, with specific characteristics in different regions. The differences are sometimes huge, regardless of proximity or distance

Udruživanje ovčara, muža čopora i deoba dobiti su se u pojedinim regionima Banata, Bačke i Srema pretvorili u tradiciju, i to sa obeležjima specifičnim u različitim krajevima. Razlike su ponekad velike, bez obzira na blizinu ili udaljenost naselja i međusobne kontakte čobana.

Po sastavu čopora i razlozima udruživanja ovčara razlikuje se nekoliko tipova čopora.



Formiranje čopora udruženih stočara, Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
The formation of a herd of associated cattle breeders, Kruščica – Banat, 1989

I. Seoski čopor. Seoski čopor je čopor koji su formirali ovčari iz jednog naselja. On ima svog, seoskog čobanina, koji čuva po nekoliko ovaca iz više domaćinstava. Ovakvi čopori se i danas javljaju u naseljima koja imaju svoje pašnjake. Princip čuvanja je isti kao kod čuvanja seoskih goveda. Čobanin svako jutro sakupi ovce i izvede ih na pašu. Sa njima je na pašnjaku tokom celog dana, da bi ih uveče „razlučio“ po kućama. U periodu muže, vlasnici ovaca sami muzu svoje ovce, i to kod kuće, pre odlaska na pašnjak i posle povratka sa paše. U Suseku u severnom Sremu je za ovakve čopore zabeležen naziv „krparoški čopori“. Dužnost čobanina je da čuva ovce u dogovorenem periodu, za koji dobija nadoknadu (po ovci). Vlasnici plaćaju pašarinu (takođe po broju ovaca), pripremaju hranu za zimu, šišaju ovce i dr.

of the village and mutual contacts among shepherds themselves.

According to the structure of the herd and reasons for the association of the sheep keepers, we can sort out several types of herd.

I. Village herd. Village herd is a herd of sheep keepers that is formed from a single village. It has its own, village shepherd, who tends a few sheep from several households. We still have these kinds of herds in the villages that have their own pastures. The principle of tending the sheep is the same as with looking after the village cattle. Shepherd gathers the sheep every morning and takes them out to pasture. He is with them on the pasture during the day, in the evening he “delivers” them to the right homes. During the period of milking, sheep owners milk their sheep by themselves, at home, before going to the pasture or after returning the sheep from the pasture. In Susek in the northern Srem these herds are called “krparoški herds.” The duty of the shepherd is to tend the sheep for an agreed period, for which he receives the

Ukoliko nastane neka šteta, kao što je npr. nestanak grla, čobanin ne snosi odgovornost ako se dokaže da nije kriv, ali, ako se ustanovi da je šteta nastala njegovom krvicom, mora je nadoknaditi. Za formiranje ovakvih čopora je karakteristično i to što broj ovaca nije bitan, kao ni čije su ovce.

II. Čopor formiran udruživanjem nekoliko vlasnika. Za razliku od seoskih čopora, ovi čopori nastaju udruživanjem nekoliko vlasnika ovaca. Takva udruženja funkcionišu po određenim pravilima. U formiranju čopora može da učestvuje mali broj ovčara sa većim brojem ovaca, ali i veliki broj vlasnika. Udruženi ovčari zajednički podižu stočarski stan na pašnjaku, biraju čobanina, određuju redosled muže i između sebe biraju „glavnog gazdu”, koji uz određenu nadoknadu vodi posebnu brigu o čoporu. Vlasnici ovaca udružuju se na godinu dana.

III. Čopor oko jednog vlasnika. Ovakvim čoporom upravlja ovčar koji je vlasnik stočarskog stana („salaša”, „bačije”), a ima malo ovaca, te mu se njihovo samostalno čuvanje ne isplati. Glavni gazda, odnosno vlasnik određuje koga će primiti u udruženje, kao i principe kojih se svi udruženi članovi moraju pridržavati.

IV. Samostalni čopor. Vlasnici 200 i više ovaca sami vode brigu o čoporu. Oni imaju svoje stočarske zgrade – u selu i van naselja, tj. na pašnjaku, svoje kolibe za čobanina, čobanski pribor, ogradu za tor, magarce, pse i dr. Ukoliko u svom domaćinstvu nemaju radnu snagu koja bi čuvala ovce, oni zapošljavaju čobanina. U ovakvim čoporima gotovo uvek postoji izvestan broj grla drugih zemljoradnika, koja se čuvaju za određenu nadoknadu. Međutim, nekada se udružuju i dva ili tri ovčara, vlasnika velikih čopora (od 200, 300 i više ovaca). Tada se formiraju čopori od 600 do 700 grla. Zajednički interes tih ovčara je naizmenično čuvanje ovaca – na nedelju ili više dana (po dogovoru). Time se postiže ušteda u vremenu, neophodnom za obavljanje drugih poslova.

compensation (per sheep). The owners pay pasture tax (also according to the number of sheep), prepare food for winter, shear sheep and other things. If any damage happens, such as loss of an animal, the shepherd is not responsible unless he is proven guilty, but if it is proved that the damage was caused by his fault, he must compensate for it. For forming such a herd, it is also typical that the number of sheep is not important, or whose sheep are in the herd.

II. A herd formed by joining a few owners. Unlike rural herd, these herds are formed by joining several sheep owners. Such associations operate following certain rules. In forming the herd, a few shepherds can participate with a large number of sheep, but also we can have a large number of owners. Associated shepherds together build lodging for the shepherd on the pasture, choose the shepherd, determine the schedule of milking and elect the “main master” among themselves, who for some reimbursement takes special care of the herd. Sheep owners join up for a year.

III. A herd around one owner. A sheep owner who possesses the shepherd lodging (“farm”, “bačija”) and has just few sheep tends this herd, because tending just his few sheep does not pay up for him. The main master or the owner determines who will be accepted to the association and the principles, which all members must adhere to be able to join.

IV. Independent herd. The owners of 200 or more sheep take care of the herd by themselves. They have their own cattle breeder housing – in the village and outside the village, that is in the pasture, their own huts for a shepherd, shepherd’s equipment, fence for the fold, donkeys, dogs and other things. If in their household they have no labour force that would look after the sheep, they employ a shepherd. In these herds, there are usually a number of other farmers’ animals, which are tended for the compensation. However, sometimes two or three sheep keepers join,



*Čobani ispred evedre, Mali Žam – Banat,
1966 (photo M. Maluckov)
The shepherds in front of evedra,
Mali Žam – Banat, 1966*

Za čopore formirane na ovaj način karakteristično je to što se ovce ne muzu; one se uzgajaju zbog proizvodnje mesa i vune. Ta karakteristika se, u stvari, odnosi na sve velike samostalne čopore. Glavni izvor prihoda vlasnika velikih čopora je ovca, pa se, bez obzira na to što se oni bave i zemljoradnjom, kao dopunskim zanimanjem, i što ne žive samo od ovčarstva, može reći da im je ovčarstvo osnovno zanimanje.

V. Čopori formirani davanjem ovaca na čuvanje. Čopori ovaca formiraju se i takozvanim davanjem ovaca na čuvanje. Poseban tip davanja ovaca na čuvanje je čuvanje „na pola“. Ovce se na ovaj način mogu čuvati godinu dana ili tri godine.

Čuvanje ovaca „na pola“ godinu dana. Kada se ovce daju na dvanaest meseci, pašu, obrok, hranu za zimu, so, lekove, veterinara i dr. plaća čobanin kome su ovce date na čuvanje. Za uvrat, njemu pripada mleko i novac dobitjen od torenja njive, kao i polovina dobijene vune i polovina jaganjaca. Dakle,

the owners of large herds (200, 300 or more sheep). Then they form the herds of 600 to 700 animals. The common interest of these sheep keepers is tending the sheep alternately – for a week or more (by arrangement). The result is in saving time, necessary to perform other tasks.

For herds formed in this way it is characteristic that sheep are not milked, they are bred for meat and wool production. In fact, this characteristic can be applied to all large independent herds. The main source of income for owners of large herds of sheep is a sheep, so, no matter that, they also deal with the agriculture, as a supplementary job, and that they do not live only from sheep keeping, it can be said that their main occupation is sheep.

V. Herds of sheep formed by providing the care for them. Herds of sheep can also be formed by the so-called giving sheep to be tended. A special type of giving them to be kept and tended is on “the half”. In this way sheep can be tended for a year or three years...

vlasniku ovaca pripada polovina jaganjaca i polovina vune. Ovakvim čuvanjem ovaca omogućava se uvećanje čopora ili zarade u mesu i vuni. Vlasnici ovaca ne moraju imati svoje prostorije za zimsko čuvanje i ne pripremaju hranu za zimu. Time je i građanima omogućeno da budu vlasnici izvesnog broja ovaca.

Čuvanje ovaca „na pola“ tri godine.

Kada isteknu tri godine ovakvog čuvanja ovaca, sve se deli: jaganjci, vuna i stare ovce. U toku godine se dva puta vrši selekcija jaganjaca – u proleće i u jesen. Muški jaganjci se prodaju; dobijeni novac se deli, ili se kupuju ženski jaganjci. Ženski jaganjci se ostavljaju zbog uvećanja čopora. Mleko dobijeno od ovaca od kojih su odbijeni jaganjci pripada čobaninu, a vuna se deli na dva dela. Torina pripada čobaninu. On je dužan da pripremi hranu za zimu, odnosno „obrok“, da plati pašarinu i sve što je potrebno za održavanje čopora. Vlasnik ovaca nema nikakvih troškova oko čopora. Čuvanje tuđeg čopora „na pola“ tri godine omogućava čobaninu stvaranje vlastitog čopora, a ovčaru uvećanje njegovog čopora. Kada žele da formiraju svoj čopor, čobani najčešće uzimaju ovce na čuvanje „na pola“ na tri godine. Šteta koja nastane u toku čuvanja čopora se deli, sem ako nije nastala zbog nemarnosti čobanina. Ukoliko je kriv, čobanin je mora nadoknaditi.

Obično davanje ovaca na čuvanje.

U čoporima se obično nalaze i ovce koje su u vlasništvu nekoliko gazda. One se daju na čuvanje tako što se ovčaru koji brije o čoporu plaća po broju ovaca. Pored toga, vlasnik je dužan da plati pašarinu, a u zimskom periodu ih preuzima i sam hrani. Korist od ovaca ogleda se u vuni i jaganjcima. Mleko i torina takođe pripadaju ovčaru koji brine o čoporu. Ovce se ovako čuvaju godinu dana.

VI. Čopori pod zakupom. Pored čopora formiranih udruživanjem ovčara,

Keeping sheep on the “half” for a year.

When the sheep are given for twelve months, the pasture, food, food for winter, salt, medicine, veterinarians and other things are to be paid by the shepherd who they are given to for tending. In return, the shepherd gets the milk and the money received from torenja fields, as well as the half of received wool and the lambs. Therefore, half of the lambs and half of the wool belongs to the owner. Such way of keeping the sheep enables increase in the heard or on the earning provided on meat and wool. The owners of sheep need not have their own facilities for winter keeping and do not have to prepare food for winter. This way, citizens are also allowed to own a certain number of sheep.

Keeping sheep “on half” for three years.

When the three years of such tending of sheep expire, everything is shared: lambs, wool and old sheep. During the year, the selection of the lambs is performed twice – in spring and in autumn. Male lambs are sold, the money is shared, or female lambs are bought. Female lambs are being kept due to the increase of the herd. Milk obtained from sheep that stopped milking their lambs belongs to the shepherd and the wool is divided into two parts. Torina belongs to the shepherd. He is due to prepare food for winter, or “meal”, and to pay pasture tax and everything it takes to maintain the herd. The owner of the sheep has no expenses about the herd. Tending someone else’s herd “on half” for three years enables the shepherd to form his own herd, and for the sheep keeper this means increasing his own one. When they want to form their own herd, most shepherds take sheep to look after them “on the half” for three years. The damage that has been done during tending the herd is divided, unless caused by negligence of the shepherd. If guilty, the shepherd has to pay.

Ordinary way of giving sheep to be tended.

In the herds there are usually the sheep owned by a few masters. They are

seoskih čopora i samostalnih čopora, ovce se mogu dati i „u arendu”, tj. pod zakup. Ovce se zakupljuju na godinu dana. Vlasnik ovaca čitav čopor daje na čuvanje čobaninu. On za svaku ovcu dobija od 12 do 14 kg jagnjećeg mesa, u zavisnosti od pogodbe. Čobaninu pripada mleko, vuna, ostatak jaganjaca i torina. Vlasnik i čobanin se pogadaju i oko štete. Gazde obično priznaju do 5 % štete. Čobanin koji je uzeo ovce u arendu plaća pašarinu, spremi hranu za zimu i sve što je potrebno za čuvanje ovaca.

7.1. Primeri udruživanja

U zapadnoj Bačkoj se razvio izrazito komplikovan vid udruživanja vlasnika ovaca, koji praktikuju, ili su ga praktikovali, ovčari uz reku Dunav, od Obrovca do granice sa Mađarskom. Isti način udruživanja je, i to u nekoliko varijanti, zabeležen u Deronjama, Doroslovu i Selenči – kod Srba Mađara i Šokaca. Jedan od najzanimljivijih primera zabeležen je u Deronjama.

7.1.1. Deronje

Sistem udruživanja ovčara u Deronjama spada u II tip udruživanja (v. čopor formiran udruživanjem nekoliko vlasnika). Vlasnici ovaca se, po dogovoru, okupe određenog dana (obično sredinom ili krajem novembra). Broj ovčara nije ograničen, ali se vodi računa o tome da ukupan broj ovaca koje poseduju i od kojih se formira čopor ne bude veći od 300. Tako su, na primer, postojala udruženja sa preko 60 vlasnika koji su, u proseku, imali po pet-šest ovaca. Oni između sebe biraju „kasira – blagajnika”, čoveka u koga svi imaju poverenja, sposobnog i obrazovanog. Zadatak kasira je da obezbedi odnosno zakupi što izdašniji pašnjak. Za zakup dobrog pašnjaka su potrebna poznanstva, pa se vodi računa o tome da kasir bude ugledna ličnost. Kasir vodi brigu o finansijama: kupuje so za ovce, lekove; angažuje veterinara; kupuje drvenu građu, eksire i

given for tending so that a shepherd who takes care of the herd is paid according to the number of sheep he tends. In addition, the owner is due to pay pasture tax, and in winter, he overtakes them and gives them food. The benefits of sheep can be seen in wool and lambs. Milk and torina also belong to the shepherd who tends the herd. Sheep are being tended this way for a year.

VI. The herds under the lease. In addition to the herd formed by joining sheep keepers, village herds and individual herds, the sheep can be given “for rent”, i.e. lease. Sheep are rented for one year. The owner of the herd gives his sheep to shepherd for tending. He gets from 12 to 14 kg of lamb meat for each sheep, depending on the deal. Milk, wool, the rest of lambs and torina belong to the shepherd. Owner and shepherd negotiate about the damage. The masters usually admit 5% of the damage. The shepherd who took the sheep under the lease pays the pasture tax; prepare food for winter and all that is necessary for keeping the sheep.

7.1. The examples of associations

In western Bačka has been developed highly complex form of association of sheep owners that is practiced or has been practiced by the sheep keepers along the Danube, from Obrovac to the border with Hungary. The same way of association is, in several variants, reported in Deronje, Doroslovo and Selenča – both with Hungarian Serbs and Šokci. One of the most interesting examples was reported in Deronje.

7.1.1. Deronje

System of sheep keepers association in Deronje belongs to the type II association (see herd formed by joining several owners). The owners of the sheep, as agreed, gather on certain day (usually mid to late November). The number of sheep keepers is not limited, but they take care that the total number of sheep which form the herd is not larger

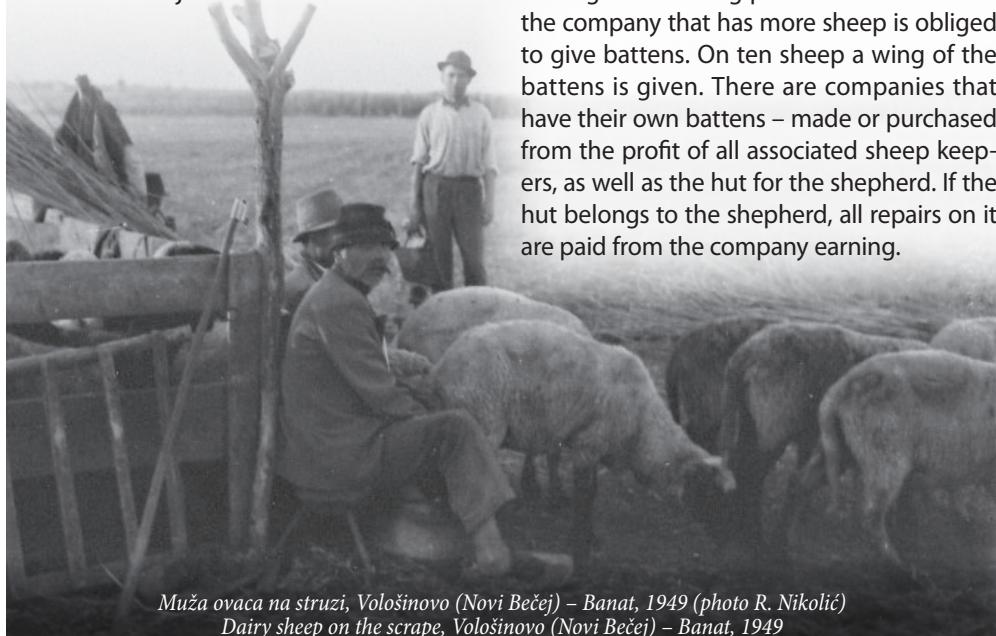
sve što je potrebno za popravku kolibe i letvi za tor; sopstvenim kolima prenosi letve i čobansku kolibu na pašnjak ili strnjiku i dr. Najznačajniji posao kasira je vođenje brige o novcu koji se zaradi prilikom prodaje mleka i torenja njiva i precizno vođenje evidencije o vlasništvu ovaca i jaganjaca.

Ovako udruženi ovčari, sa kasirom na čelu, nazivaju se kompanija, društvo, čopor. Kompanija angažuje čobanina koji ravno-pravno učestvuje u svim poslovima i deljenju zarade. Svaki član kompanije koji ima više ovaca dužan je da da letve. Na deset ovaca daje se jedno krilo letava. Postoje društva koja imaju svoje letve – napravljene ili kupljene od zarade svih udruženih ovčara, kao i kolibu za čobanina. Ako je koliba vlasništvo čobanina, sve popravke na njoj se plaćaju od kompanijske zarade.

Kompanijski čopori formiraju se početkom proleća, najčešće krajem marta ili početkom aprila. Ovce su izvan naselja do kraja novembra ili početka decembra, odnosno do prvog snega, kada se „ljuče“ i vraćaju kući. Toga dana se izvodi konačna računica i vrši razdruživanje vlasnika.

than 300. Thus, for example, there were associations with over 60 owners who had, on average, five to six sheep. They elect, among themselves, "Cashier – Treasurer", a man in whom they all have confidence, capable and educated. The task of this person is to provide, i.e. lease the abundant pasture possible. For leasing a good pasture are required good contacts, so when electing the cashier they take care that the person is notable. Cashier should take care of finances: purchases salt for the sheep, medicines, engages veterinarian; buys timber, nails and all that is needed to repair the huts and battens for fold; with his own car, he transfers the battens and shepherd's hut on the pasture or stubble and others. The most important task of the cashier is taking care of the money that is earned on selling milk and torenja fields and keeping accurate records of the ownership of sheep and lambs.

Joined shepherds in this way, with the cashier at the front, are called the company, society, and herd. The company hires the shepherd who participates equally in all the dealings and sharing profit. Each member of the company that has more sheep is obliged to give battens. On ten sheep a wing of the battens is given. There are companies that have their own battens – made or purchased from the profit of all associated sheep keepers, as well as the hut for the shepherd. If the hut belongs to the shepherd, all repairs on it are paid from the company earning.



Muža ovaca na struzi, Vološinovo (Novi Bečeј) – Banat, 1949 (photo R. Nikolić)
Dairy sheep on the scrape, Vološinovo (Novi Bečeј) – Banat, 1949

Od momenta kada se ovce izvedu na pašnjak društvo počinje da funkcioniše po određenim pravilima. Jaganjci se odbijaju od majki dva puta. Prvo odbijanje vrši se između 15. i 20. maja, a drugo posle žetve. Čobanin odlučuje kada će se pojedini jaganjci odbiti od sise, ali se, u principu, ne odbija jagnje koje ima 30 kg. O odbijanju odlučuje čobanin, pošto on snosi odgovornost za jaganjce. Ako jagnje ugine zato što je odvojeno od majke dok je bilo slabo, ta šteta ide na račun čobanina. U aprilu je broj ovaca muzara mali, pa mleko od prvih majki od kojih su odvojeni jaganjci pripada čobaninu. On dobija mleko sve dok broj muzara ne bude 25, a nakon toga se mleko prodaje na licitaciji.

Mleko se prodaje samo u okviru kompanije, odnosno udruženja, te niko van nje ne može učestvovati u kupovini. Prodaja mleka vrši se jednom nedeljno, i to u nedelju, tačno u dva sata posle podne. Za mleko se licitira unapred, tj. za period od šest dana; sedmi dan je čobaninov, jer on muze ovce. Mleko kupuje onaj ovčar koji ponudi najveću cenu; ne plaća ga odmah, već na kraju sezone, odnosno na dan razdruživanja, kada se svode svi računi. Dakle, ovčari u toku sezone kupuju mleko u okviru kompanije, ali ga ne plaćaju odmah, već na kraju, kada se ustanovi koliko su ovce muzare pojedinačno zaradile. Kasir vodi računa o svim finansijama. U kupovini mleka ravnopravno učestvuju svi članovi kompanije koji dođu na licitaciju i čobanin, koji obaveštava prisutne o tome koliko će otprilike biti mleka u nedelji koja se licitira. Prema dogovoru članova kompanije, kompletno mleko, tj. mleko koje će se dobiti u toku cele sezone može kupiti svako – ako ima mogućnosti i ako ga izlicitira na nedeljnim licitacijama. Na kraju sezone, kada se svode računi, celokupna zarada na mleku deli se sa brojem muzara u čoporom i dobije se zarada svake ovce. Ako je neko u kompaniji kupio više mleka nego što su njegove ovce zaradile, on mora da isplati

The company herds are formed in early spring, usually late March or early April. Sheep are outside the settlement by the end of November or early December, or until the first snow, when they are “disbanded” and returned home. On that day, they make the final calculation and the owners disunite.

From the moment you bring the sheep to the pasture, the company begins to operate following certain rules. Lambs are weaned from their mothers twice. The first weaning is performed between the 15th and 20th May, and the second one after the harvest. The shepherd decides when certain lambs should be weaned, but, in principle, the lamb that weighs about 30 kg is not weaned. A decision about weaning makes the shepherd, as he takes responsibility for the lambs. If a lamb dies because it was separated from the mother while it was still weak, the damage goes onto the shepherd. In April, there is a small number of milking sheep, so the milk of the first mothers from whose lambs were separated belongs to the shepherd. He gets the milk until the number of dairy sheep is 25, after that the milk is sold at the auction.

Milk is sold only within the company or association, and no one outside it can participate in the purchase. A sale of milk is organized once a week, always on Sunday, exactly at two o'clock p.m. One should bid for milk in advance, i.e. for a period of six days; shepherd's day is the seventh day, as he milks the sheep. The sheep keeper who offers the highest price buys the milk, he does not have to pay immediately, but at the end of the season, or on the dissolution day, when all accounts are resumed. Therefore, the sheep keepers during the season buy milk within the company, but do not have to pay for it immediately, but at the end, when it is considered how many dairy sheep individually have earned. Cashier takes care of all finances. In the purchase of milk, all the members of the company who come to the auction and a shepherd, who informs the audience

razliku u novcu. S druge strane, ako neko uopšte nije kupovao mleko, ili je izlicitirao manje mleka nego što je zaradio na svojim ovcama muzarama, on dobija novčanu razliku. Članovi društva se, s jedne strane, trude da postignu što veću cenu mleka, a, s druge, tj. kad kupuju odnosno licitiraju mleko za sebe, što manju.

Cena mleka razlikuje se od nedelje do nedelje, u zavisnosti od potraživanja. Kad je nekom potrebno mleko, jer hoće da napravi sir za slavu i sl., on je spreman da plati i veću cenu; to ide u prilog svim članovima kompanije, koji žele da ovce muzare što više zarade u sezoni. Licitaciji mora da prisustvuje kasir, koji beleži ko je kupio mleko i po kojoj ceni, kao i čobanin, koji prisutne članove kompanije obaveštava o tome koliko će otprilike biti mleka. Prisustvo ostalih ovčara nije obavezno. Na licitaciju dolaze samo oni koji su zainteresovani i znatiželjni, koji hoće da vide kako će se odvijati licitacija.

Torenje njiva se, takođe, licitira u okviru kompanije. Đubrenje njiva pomoću čopora ovaca se veoma ceni, jer njivu nakon takvog torenja ne treba đubriti čak ni posle tri godine (toliko je jako ovčje đubrivo). Kompanioni organizuju prvu licitaciju torine odmah

about how much milk approximately, will be in the week, which ought to be auctioned, equally participate. According to the agreement of the members of the company, the whole quantity of milk, i.e. milk that will be available throughout the whole season can be bought by anyone – if there is a possibility and if he is bidding it on the weekly auctions. At the end of the season, when the accounts are resumed, the entire earnings of milk is divided according to the number of dairy sheep in the herd and in this way is calculated the earning of each sheep. If someone in the company bought more milk than his sheep earned, he must pay the difference in cash. On the other hand, if someone did not buy milk or he bidden less milk than he earned on his dairy sheep, he gets a monetary difference. Members of the association, on the one hand are trying to reach the higher price of milk, and, on the other, i.e. when bidding or buying milk for themselves, are trying to reach the lowest possible price.

Price of milk varies from week to week, depending on the claims. When one needs milk, because he wants to make cheese for his patron saint and the like, he is willing to pay a higher price, which is in favour of all the members of the company, who want their dairy sheep to earn as much as possible during the milking season. The cashier must be present at the auction, who notes who bought how much milk and at what price, and the shepherd, who informs the members of the company how much milk will be about on that occasion. The presence of other sheep keepers is not compulsory. On the auction are present just those who are interested and curious, who want to see how the auction will go.

Torenje of the fields is also auctioned off within the company. Fertilization of the fields with the sheep herd is very much appreciated, because after that such a field should not been manured even for three years (so strong is the sheep manure). The companions



Čoporaš i čobanin nazdravljuju,
1962 (photo B. Milošević)

A sheep keeper and a shepherd are toasting, 1962



*Ovce u toru prilikom planskog torenja njiva,
Bukovački Salaši – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Cakan)
Sheep in the fold during the planned „torenje“
of the fields, Bukovački Salaši – Bačka, 1988*

posle žetve, kada se počinje sa torenjem. Njive se tore do kraja sezone, odnosno do razlučivanja čopora. Torenje traje oko 150 dana, od sredine jula do sredine novembra. Torina se, takođe, kupuje na nedelju dana – od nedelje do nedelje, i licitira kada i mleko. Kao i kod kupovine mleka, ovde nema ograničenja, tj. jedan kompanjon može da izlicitira kompletну torinu ako ponudi najveću cenu. Torenje njiva se, takođe, ne plaća odmah, već na kraju sezone, kada se izvodi račun. Godišnja zarada od torenja njiva deli se na broj ovaca u čoporu, s tim što se jaganci ne računaju. Od zarade na torenju se plaćaju svi kompaniji troškovi:

- kasir (za njegov rad i vođenje evidencije dobija 14 dana besplatnog torenja njive),
- ovnovi (da ne bi trpeli štetu zbog toga što drže ovnove, a ne ovce muzare, vlasnici ovnova dobijaju duplu torinu za svakog ovna i duplo mleko; u nekim kompanijama se za ovna dobijalo jedno jagnje od 30 kg – za sezonu),
- popravka letvi, popravke kolibe za čobanina, so, lekovi itd.

Nakon isplate svih zajedničkih troškova, ostatak zarade čopora se podeli sa brojem ovaca i dobija se tačan iznos zarade po jednom grlu za godinu dana.

organize the first auction of torina immediately after the harvest, when torenje starts. The fields are being tored right after the harvest, or until disbanding of the herd. Torenje takes about 150 days, from mid July to mid-November. Torina is also purchased weekly – from Sunday to Sunday, at the same time when the milk bidding. As with the purchase of milk, there is no restriction, i.e. one companion may bid the complete torina if he offers the highest price. Torenje of the fields is also not paid immediately, but at the end of the season, when the accounts are settled. The annual earning from torenje the fields is divided onto a number of sheep in the herd, but the lambs are not counted. All costs of the company are paid from the earning from torenje:

- Cashier (for his work and record keeping gets 14 days free torenja of fields)
- Rams (in order not to sustain a damage for keeping the rams, and not dairy sheep, rams, owners of the rams get a double torina for each ram, and double quantity of the milk and in some companies for a ram one would receive a lamb of 30 kg – for the season),
- Repairing the battens, repairing the shepherds' huts, salt, medicines and so on.

After payment of all common expenses, the rest of the earnings of the herd is divided by the number of sheep and in that way is calculated the amount of income per head for a year.

The sheep keepers associated in companies share the profit earned on the milk and torina, while the profit from wool and lambs is a matter of each individual within the company. Owners only shear their own sheep and sell the lambs according to their own will.

A very important person in a society is a shepherd, who milks the herd, takes care of the sheep, moves battens during the process of torenje etc. He keeps his own records on the number of sheep and lambs (according

Ovčari udruženi u kompanije dele zaradu dobijenu na mleku i torini, dok je dobit na vuni i jaganjcima stvar svakog pojedinca u okviru kompanije. Vlasnici šišaju samo svoje ovce i prodaju jaganjce po volji.

Veoma važna ličnost u društvu je čobanin, koji muže čopor, vodi računa o ovcama, prenosi letve prilikom torenja i dr. On vodi svoju evidenciju o broju ovaca i jaganjaca (po vlasnicima) i, kao i kasir, beleži koliko se mleka i torine prodalo pojedinim članovima društva. Evidencija koju vodi čobanin mora da se slaže sa evidencijom kasira. Čobanin odlučuje o tome kada će se čopor razlučiti i kada će se praviti krajnji račun. Kasir obično pita čobanina: „Kada ćemo, čobane, da pravimo račun?“

Onog dana kada se izrađuje završni račun i vrši deoba celokupne godišnje zarade moraju da budu prisutni svi članovi kompanije, na čelu sa kasirom i čobaninom. Kasir podnosi izveštaj o tome koliko je utrošeno za zajedničke potrebe i koliko je zarađeno na mleku i torini. Osim podmirivanja svih kompanjona, tog dana se vrši razduživanje čobanina. On je dužan da vrati sve ovce i jaganjce koje je primio na čuvanje. Ukoliko je u toku godine nastala šteta za koju je odgovoran, čobanin je isplaćuje na dan razdruživanja sa ovčarima. Evidenciju o šteti koja je nastala u sezoni vodi kasir i on opravdava čobanina za izgubljene ovce ili jaganjce (ukoliko čobanin ne snosi krivicu). Nakon podnošenja izveštaja i razduživanja, kompanjoni se razilaze. Ponovno udruživanje ovčara u Deronjama obavlja se posle Aranđelovdana (krajem novembra). Tada se pravi takozvana čobanska večera, na kojoj se pogada čobanin za narednu sezonom i bira kasir.

Za čuvanje čopora i mužu ovaca čobanin je 1946/1947. godine dobijao 5 kg žita po ovci, 5 kg kukuruza po ovci i 25.000 dinara, a u toku muže mu je svake nedelje pripadalo mleko dobijeno od svih ovaca u čoporu. Čobanin je sebi obezbeđivao hranu, sam se oblačio, plaćao bojtara, kupovao pse i

to the owners) and, as well as a cashier, writes down how much milk and torina is sold to the individual members of the society. The records kept by the shepherd have to match the cashier's records. Shepherd decides when the herd is to be disbanded when the right time is to make the final bill. The cashier usually asks the shepherd: "When are we, shepherd, going to settle the account?"

On the day the final account is settled and the division of the entire annual income made all members of the company must be present, headed by the cashier and the shepherd. Cashier reports on how much was spent for the common needs and how much was earned on milk and torina. Apart from paying off all the companions, this is the day for the shepherd to be released. He is obliged to return all the sheep and lambs that he received to tend. If during the year any damage was made for which he is to be responsible, the shepherd pays for it on the day of separation from the sheep keepers. The evidence of the damage that occurred during the season that the cashier has recorded and on the very day he justifies about the shepherd's loss of sheep or lambs (if the shepherd is not guilty). Following the submission of reports and discharge, companions depart. Re-association of sheep keepers in Deronje takes place after the Archangel Michael (late November). Then the so-called shepherd's dinner is made, on which the shepherd is bargained and the cashier elected for the next season.

To tend the herd and milk the sheep the shepherd in 1946/1947 used to get 5 kg of grain per sheep, 5 kg of corn per sheep and 25,000 dinars, and during milking season all the milk obtained from all the sheep in the herd on Sunday. The shepherd provided the food for him, bought clothes for himself, and paid bojtar, bought dogs and paid all the other expenses. Today, the shepherds are paid in cash – per sheep, because sheep are no longer milked. In 1988, the shepherd received one million dinars per sheep for the season.

snosio ostale troškove. Danas se čobani plaćaju u novcu – po ovci, pošto se ovce više ne muzu. Godine 1988. čobanin je za sezonu dobijao milion dinara po ovci.

Deronjski ovčari se i danas udružuju na ovaj način. Početkom osamdesetih godina 20. veka su prestali da muzu ovce, pa se na licitaciji kupovala samo torina. Dok su se ovce muzle, čopori su imali oko 250 ovaca. U današnjim čoporima ima i više od 500 ovaca.

7.1.2. Doroslovo

U Doroslovu, gde žive Mađari, takođe je zabeležen zanimljiv sistem udruživanja. Ovčari se udružuju u kompanije sa kasirom, koji vodi brigu o finansijama. Za razliku od deronjskih ovčara, doroslovski kompanioni su na licitaciji prodavali samo torinu, a mleko su delili između sebe. Muža ovaca trajala je od 1. juna do 1. septembra (oko 90 dana). Ovce je muzao samo čobanin, a mleko se kompanjonima delilo prema utvrđenom redosledu, odnosno prema broju ovaca muzara. Sistem utvrđivanja redosleda sastojao se u određivanju broja muzara koje su *nosile* jedan dan muže. Ako je, na primer, u čoporu bilo 89 muzara i ako su se ovčari dogovorili da 6 muzara *nosi* jedan dan, onda bi jedan red muže trajao 15 dana ($6 \text{ muzara} \times 15 \text{ dana} = 90 \text{ muzara}$; jedna muzara se zanemaruje).

Primer

Čopor od 89 muzara, 6 muzara *nosi* jedan dan mleka od celog čopora

I vlasnik	8 muzara	1 dan i 1/3 narednog dana
II vlasnik	17 muzara	3 dana
III vlasnik	60 muzara	10 dana
IV vlasnik	4 muzare	2/3 jednog dana

Jedan red muže završava se nakon 15 dana.

Sheep keepers from Deronje unite this way even today. In the early eighties of the 20th century, they stopped milking the sheep, so just torina was bought at the auction. While the sheep were milked, herds used to have about 250 sheep. In today's herds, there are more than 500 sheep.

7.1.2. Doroslovo

In Doroslovo, inhabited by Hungarians, an interesting system of association is also reported. Sheep keepers are joined in the company with the cashier, who takes care of the finances. Unlike sheep keepers from Deronje, the companions from Doroslovo sell only torina at the auction whereas milk they share between themselves. Milking the sheep lasts from 1st June to the 1st September (90 days). Only the shepherd milks the sheep and milk is shared among the companions according to the certain order, according to the number of the dairy sheep. The system of determining the order that was made according to the number of dairy sheep that *take* a day of milking. If, for example, in the herd there are 89 dairy sheep and if the shepherds agreed that 6 dairy sheep *take* one day, then a line of milking would last for 15 days ($6 \text{ dairy sheep} \times 15 \text{ days} = 90 \text{ dairy sheep}$, one dairy sheep is ignored).

Example

A herd of 89 dairy sheep, 6 dairy sheep *take* complete quantity of milk of one day of the whole herd

I owner	8 dairy sheep	1 day and 1/3 following day
II owner	17 dairy sheep	3 days
III owner	60 dairy sheep	10 days
IV owner	4 dairy sheep	2/3 of one day

One line of milking ends after 15 days.

Vlasnici koji su imali malo ovaca u čoporu najčešće su udruživali odnosno spajali svoje dane za mužu. Tako bi I i IV vlasnik iz navedenog primera za svoje ovce muzare zajedno dobili dva dana muže i mleko bi podelili. Nakon jednog reda muže, tj. posle 15 dana, ovčar koji je poslednji muzao započinjao je novi red. Za manje čopore određivao se i manji broj muzara koje su *nosile* dan, dok je za veće određivan veći broj muzara (6, 7, 9 ili 10 muzara na jedan dan muže). Obično je određivan onaj broj koji, kad se množi sa brojem dana, daje broj približan broju muzara. Za mužu i čuvanje ovaca pogađan je čobanin, kojem je pripadalo 15 kg kukuruza po ovci i manja suma novca, a za vreme muže i dva dana nedeljno.

Torenje njiva pomoću čopora započinjano je odmah posle žetve. Udruženi ovčari su torinu javno prodavali, jednom nedeljno. Svake nedelje su, nakon službe u crkvi, putem dobošara obaveštavani o tome gde će se i kada prodavati torina za narednu sedmicu. Torinu je mogao da kupi ko god je htio u selu, kao i članovi kompanije, koji nisu imali prioritet. Zarada od torenja njiva nije deljena odmah, već na kraju sezone. Ona je deljena na pet delova. Jednu petinu dobijao je čobanin – za prenošenje letava sa njive na njivu i za prenošenje letava na njivi koju je torio. Ostale četiri petine su se delile na broj ovaca i ovnova. Tako je svaki vlasnik dobijao onoliko novaca koliko su mu ovce zaradile. Za vođenje evidencije u toku sezone kasir je dobijao četrnaest dana torenja, koji su mu mogli biti isplaćeni u novcu ili u torenju njiva. Ako je isplaćivan u novcu, onda su se sabirale zarade od dve nedelje torenja, najskuplje i najjeftinije u sezoni.

7.1.3. Selenča – Bač

U Selenči, gde žive Slovaci, praktikovana je posebna varijanta udruživanja u kompaniju. Na čelu kompanije je bio kasir. Udruženje su, osim kasira, činili čobanin i vlasnici ovaca. Kasir je imao zadatak da

The owners who have few sheep in the herd often merged or united or joined their days for milking. So that the first and the fourth owner of the above example would get for their dairy sheep together two days of milking and they would share the milk. After one line of milking, i.e. after 15 days, the sheep keeper who was last to milk would be the one who begins the new line. For smaller herds, the small number of dairy sheep would take a day, while for the larger ones more dairy sheep would be determined (6, 7, 9 or 10 dairy sheep for a day of milking). Usually was determined the number which when multiplied by the number of days, gives the approximate number of the dairy sheep. For milking and tending the sheep the shepherd was bargained, who received 15 kg of corn per sheep and a smaller sum of money, and during milking season, even two days of milking per week.

Torenje of the fields with the herd would start immediately after the harvest. Associated sheep keepers would publicly sell torina, once a week. Every Sunday, after the service at church, through drummers people would be informed where and when the torina would be sold the following week. Anybody from the village could buy it, as well as the members of the company, who did not have the priority. Earnings from torenja were not shared immediately, but at the end of the season. It was divided into five parts. One-fifth goes to the shepherd – for taking the battens from field to field and for taking the battens to the field where torina is taking place. The other four fifths were divided according to the number of sheep and rams. Thus, each owner received as much money as his sheep earned. For record keeping during the season, the cashier received fourteen days of torenje, which could be paid in cash or in torenje the fields. If he was paid in cash, then the two weeks' earning from torenje was added, the most

ugovori pašnjak, premešta letve i kolibu za čobanina. Kod njega su se držali sastanci i radio račun. On je isplaćivao novac svakom članu kompanije. U periodu muže, mleko se svakodnevno nosilo u mlekaru na prodaju. Novac od prodaje mleka delio se jednom mesečno, na osnovu broja muzara.

Torenje njiva u Selenči odvijalo se na specifičan način. Period torenja počinjao je 20. jula i trajao do 1. decembra. Prema Selenčanima, ovce treba da leže oko 120 noći. Kasir je dobijao 10 dana torenja za svoj rad, a čobanin ili vlasnik kolibe je dobijao 5 dana torenja i 2 dana „nošenja valova“, odnosno napajanja ovaca za održavanje kolibe (uključene popravke). Prilikom torenja njiva se vodi računa o tome da ovce uvek imaju vode, koja se donosi u cisternama. Preostalih stotinak dana deli se sa brojem ovaca. Čopore u Selenči čini oko 300 ovaca, pa se prilikom deobe zarade dobija računica po kojoj tri ovce nose jednu noć ležanja čitavog čopora. Smatra se da je torina dobra ako na 20 m dužine i 20 m širine leži čopor od 300 ovaca. Ukoliko je čopor manji, pravi se manji tor, koji obuhvata manju površinu. Deljenjem broja ovaca sa brojem dana za torenje dobija se broj ovaca za jednu noć torenja. Tako se, na primer, za 200 ovaca dobiju 2 ovce za jednu noć torenja. Cena torine određuje se na osnovu konkurenkcije koja postoji u selu i ona važi za celu sezonom. Isti princip izračunavanja cene torine i deljenja mleka primenjivan je i u Baču.

Svi troškovi udruženja ovčara plaćani su po broju ovaca, a jaganjci se nisu uzimali u obzir. Čobanin je muzao sve ovce u čoporu i za to mu je pripadalo mleko dobijeno za dva dana u toku nedelje. Pored toga, čuvanje mu se plaćalo po ovci.

7.1.4. Bezdan

U Bezdalu je zabeležen najjednostavniji princip udruživanja sa kasirom, i to u okviru Mesnog odbora. Vlasnici ovaca su, u suštini, davali ovce na čuvanje od proleća do zime.

expensive and the cheapest ones in the season.

7.1.3. Selenča – Bač

In Selenča, inhabited by Slovaks, was practiced a special variant of association in the company. The head of the company was the cashier. The association, in addition to the cashier, consisted of a shepherd and the sheep owners. The cashier's task was to agree on renting the pasture, moving the battens and the shepherd's hut. The meetings were held and accounts settled at his place. He paid off each member of the company. During milking, the milk was carried daily to the dairy plant for sale. Money from the sold milk was divided monthly, based on the number of the dairy sheep.

Torenje of the fields in Selenča was carried out in a specific way. The period began on the 20th July and lasted until the 1st December. According to people from Selenča, sheep need to lie for about 120 nights. The cashier gets 10 days of torenje for his work, and a shepherd or the owner of the shepherd's hut gets 5 days of torenje and 2 days of "carrying troughs", i.e. for watering the sheep, for maintaining the hut (repairs included). During torenja of the fields the sheep must be thoroughly watered, the water is brought in tanks. The remaining one hundred days is divided by the number of the sheep. The herds in Selenča have about 300 sheep, so they make the calculation according to which three sheep take one night of lying of the entire herd. It is considered a good torina if herd of 300 sheep lies on a field that is 20 m long and 20 m wide. If the herd is smaller, the smaller fold is made, which covers smaller area. By dividing the number of the sheep with the number of days for torenje you get the number of sheep for one night of torenje. Thus, for example, for 200 sheep, you get two sheep for one night of torenje. The price of torina is determined by the competition that exists in the village, and is valid for the entire

Čobanin je muzao sve ovce u čoporu, pa je mleko pripadalo njemu. Torina je jednom nedeljno prodavana na licitaciji održavanoj u Mesnom odboru i svako je imao pravo da je kupi. Novac od torine čuvao se u kasi i kasir je vodio računa o njemu. Polovina sume zarađene na torini išla je na lekove, pašarinu, kolibu, letve itd., a druga polovina je pripadala čobaninu – kao nadoknada za čuvanje čopora. Kasir je primao platu od Mesnog odbora (od poreza), a vlasnici ovaca su dobijali samo jaganje i vunu. Za ovnove u čoporu se nije dobijalo ništa, jer se mleko nije delilo. Čobanin je pogodađan na Novu godinu, a po ovci mu je pripadalo 7–8 kg žita, mleko i deo novca od torine. On je plaćao bojtara, imao svoj pribor, kolibu, pse i dr. Ovakvim udruživanjem vlasnicima ovaca je bio obezbeđen čist prihod od vune i jaganjaca.

7.1.5. Južni Banat

Najrasprostranjениji vidovi udruživanja ovčara u južnom Banatu su „banda”, koja po određenim pravilima gradi zajedničke salaše na pašnjaku, i udruženja oko jednog vlasnika, koji ima stočarski stan („salaš”, „bačiju”). Ovakva udruživanja spadaju u II i III tip udruživanja (v. čopor formiran udruživanjem nekoliko vlasnika i čopor oko jednog vlasnika). Oba vida udruživanja ovčara – surađa funkcionisu na sličan način. Na isti način se čuvaju ovce, plaća čobanin, vrši deoba mleka i dr. Razlika je samo u tome što se kod prvog tipa udruživanja vlasnici ovaca dogovaraju o tome ko će biti „bandegazda”, prave zajednički stočarski stan (čobansku kolibu, salaš za mužu, evedru) i ugovaraju čobanina. Kod drugog tipa je bandegazda uvek vlasnik stočarskog stana na pašnjaku („salaša”, „bačije”); on često odlučuje o tome kog čobanina će angažovati, koga će primiti u udruženje i dr. Za stočarski stan dobija nadoknadu u torini. Ovčari u južnom Banatu se udružuju isključivo zbog zajedničke muže i deobe mleka.

season. The same principle of calculating is applied both for the price of torina and sharing the milk in Bač as well.

All the expenses of sheep keepers association were paid according to the number of sheep and lambs were not taken into account. A shepherd milked all the sheep in the herd, and for that, he got two days' milk per week. In addition, for tending the sheep he was paid per sheep.

7.1.4. Bezdan

In Bezdan is registered the simplest principle of association with the cashier, within the local board. Sheep owners, in essence, gave the sheep to be tended from spring to winter. Shepherd milked all the sheep in the herd, so the milk belonged to him. Torina is sold weekly at the auction held in the local council and everyone has the right to buy it. Money from torina is kept in the safe and the cashier takes care of it. Half of the amount earned on torina went for drugs, pasture tax, a hut, battens, etc... and the other half belongs to the shepherd – as compensation for tending the herd. The cashier is paid by the local board (from the taxes), and the owners of the sheep get only the lambs and the wool. For the rams in the herd, they did not get anything, because milk was not shared. The shepherd was bargained on New Year's Day, and he got 7–8 kg of grain per sheep, milk and some money from torina. He paid bojtar, had his own accessories, hut, dogs and other things. With this kind of merging, the owners of the sheep were provided by net income from the wool and the lambs.

7.1.5. South Banat

The most prevalent forms of association of sheep keepers in the southern Banat are so called “gangs”, which according to certain rules build farms on the pastures, and make the association around one owner who has a cattle housing (“farm”, “bačija”). These associations belong to the second and the third type

U Kruščici se zadržao veoma arhaičan način udruživanja i čuvanja ovaca. Ovcari se udružuju na godinu dana. Ovce su u čoporu samo šest meseci – od Đurđevdana do Mitrovdana. Narednih šest meseci – od Mitrovdana do Đurđevdana, borave u selu. Ako su povoljni vremenski uslovi i ako je pogoden čobanin, one se svaki dan isteruju napolje i vraćaju kući. Čopori se formiraju na Đurđevdan (6. maja). Ovce se tada predaju čobaninu. On ih prima od vlasnika, i to beleži zajedno sa bandegazdom. Formiranje zajedničkog čopora vrši se nakon prodaje jaganjaca. Nekoliko dana posle stvaranja čopora se, ugovorenog dana, vrši premer mleka. Ovčar čije su ovce dale najviše mleka započinje red muže. Za održavanje zgrade odnosno stočarskog stana vlasniku stočarskog stana, bandegazdi, pripada torina.

7.2. Udruživanje ovčara u Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj i užoj Srbiji

Mnogobrojni primeri svedoče o tome da u srednjoj i južnoj Evropi ovčarstvo predstavlja tradicionalno zanimanje. Organizacija poslova vezana za udruživanje ovčara je gotovo istovetna na svim prostorima gde je ovčarstvo prisutno.

Tako je, na primer, u oblasti Visokih Tatri u severnoj Slovačkoj organizacija jednog udruženja – bačje sredinom 20. veka izgledala ovako:

Na čelu salašarske, ovčarske družine bio je takozvani salašar. U većim udruženjima su bila po dva salašara – glavni i pomoći salašar. Salašari su bili zaduženi za preuzimanje ovaca od gazda i formiranje čopora, vođenje brige o tome da li su ovce i jaganjci na broju, vođenje brige oko hrane, kontrolisanje rasta jaganjaca, mlečnosti i pravilne raspodele mlečnih proizvoda i vođenje brije o pravilnom vraćanju ovaca i jaganjaca vlasnicima prilikom razlučivanja čopora.

Na godišnjem okupljanju ovčara radi formiranja čopora je, tajnim glasanjem, birani i takozvani bača. Baču su birali svi vlasnici

of association (see herd formed by joining several owners and a herd around one owner). Both forms of association of sheep keepers – surjaši function likewise. In the similar way the sheep are tended, shepherds paid and milk divided. The only difference is that with the first type of association sheep the owners agree on who will be the “bandmaster”, they build common cattle breeder’s housing (shepherd’s hut, milking farm, evedra) and contract the shepherd. With the second type the bandmaster is always the owner of cattle breeder’s housing on the pasture (“farm”, “bačija”), he often decides which shepherd will be engaged who will be admitted to the association and other things. He gets compensation for cattle breeder’s housing in torina. Sheep keepers in South Banat join solely for the common milking and milk division.

In Kruščica remained very archaic way of merging and keeping sheep. Sheep keepers join for a year. The sheep are in the herd just for six months – from St George to St Demetrius. Next six months – from St Demetrius to St George, they reside in the village. If weather conditions are favorable and if they have a good shepherd, the sheep are being taken out to the pasture every day and returned home. The herds are formed on St George (May 6th). Sheep are handed over to the shepherd. He takes them from the owner, and records the number together with bandmaster. Formation of a joint herd is made after the sale of lambs. A few days after the formation of the herd, on the day they agreed on, the milk is measured. Sheep keeper whose sheep gave the most milk starts the milking line. For the maintenance of the building and cattle breeder’s housing, torina goes to the bandmaster.

7.2. The shepherds' association in Slovakia, Hungary and central Serbia

Numerous examples attest to the fact that in central and southern Europe sheep keeping

ovaca, i to tako što su njegovo ime upisivali na listić. Čobanin koji je uživao najveće poverenje i dobio najviše glasova biran je za baču. Bača je brinuo o čoporu i snosio odgovornost za sve eventualne gubitke. Za svaku sezonu je morao da pripremi od 9 kg do 10 kg sira po ovci. Preostali sir je prodavao da bi isplatio pomoćne čobane. Bača je muzao ovce, pravio sir i ostale mlečne proizvode i vodio bačiju. Kada su čopori bili veliki, tj. brojali i preko 1.500 ovaca, bača je imao svog zamenika, „polubaču”, čija je funkcija bila istovetna bačinoj funkciji. Bača i polubača nikada nisu išli sa čoporima na ispašu. Oni su imali svoje pomoćnike (koji su muzli) – „ovnare”, „goniče” i „jaganjčare”. Bača je od vlasnika dobijao hranu i mesečnu platu za svoje radnike. Čopori su formirani krajem aprila, kada se išlo na sezonsku pašu, koja je, u zavisnosti od vremenskih uslova, trajala do sredine novembra. Ovce su postepeno vođene i do pašnjaka na vrhu planine. Čobani su svoje stočarske stanove i kolibe prenosili pomoću balvana, jer nisu imali stalne objekte. Čopori su pri kraju sezone, takođe postepeno, spuštani sa planinskih pašnjaka prema seoskim pašnjacima.¹⁹



Bača, ovčar i pomoćnici na salašu, Slovačka
Bač, sheep keeper and the assistants
on the farm, Slovakia

Na osnovu istorijsko-etnografske literaturе о stočarstvu u Mađarskoj lako bi se mogao dobiti pouzdan pregled razvoja stočarstva u Vojvodini, što znači i ovčarstva još od 16. veka. Za naša komparativna istraživanja

is a traditional occupation. Organization of jobs related to the association of sheep keepers is almost identical in all areas where sheep keeping is present.

Thus, for example, in the High Tatras area in northern Slovakia the organization of an association – bačja in the mid of the 20th century looked like this:

At the head of a farm, sheep-keeping company was so called farmer- (salašar). In larger associations, there were two of them – a chief and an assistant. Salašars were in charge of overtaking the sheep from the masters and forming the herd, taking care of the presence of all sheep and lambs, taking care of the food, controlling the growth of lambs and milk production and proper distribution of dairy products and taking care of the proper return of sheep and lambs to the owners during the disbanding the herd.

At the annual meeting of the shepherds who gathered in order to form a herd, by secret voting, the so-called bač is elected. All the owners of sheep elect bač, by writing his name on the piece of paper. The shepherd who enjoyed the greatest confidence and received the most votes was elected for the bač. Bač was taking care of the herd and was responsible for any possible losses. For each season, he had to prepare from 9 kg to 10 kg of cheese per sheep. He sold the remaining cheese to pay the shepherd's assistants. Bač milked the sheep, made cheese and other milk products and led bačja. When the herds were large, i.e. when counted more than 1,500 sheep, he had his deputy called "half bač", whose function was the same as bač's function. Bač and half bač never went out to pasture with the herd. They had their assistants (who used to milk) – "ovnare," "goniče" and "jaganjčare". Bač received from the owners a monthly salary and food for his workers. The herds were formed in late April, when they went to seasonal grazing, which, depending on weather conditions, lasted until mid-November. The sheep have been gradually taken up to the pastures towards the top of the mountain. The sheepherds had their housings and huts transported

je dovoljno samo nekoliko detalja iz oblasti terminologije i međucobanskih odnosa na panonsko-karpatskom prostoru. Tako nam je, na primer, značajan podatak da su u 16. veku postojala prezimena *Bacs* i *Coban*, te da su mađarski nazivi za čobane: *juhász* – ovčar; *juhásgazda* – glavni gazda, bandegazda; *számadójuhász* – kasir; *bascó* – bača, glavni čoban; *juh* – ovca; *bojtár* – pomoćnik čobana; *számado* – računopolagač; *szám* – broj; *számadás* – polaganje računa.

Čopori su čuvani po pašnjacima. Kada bi nestalo trave čopori su premeštani na takozvane: 'slatke pašnjake', jesenje pustare, plovne površine, pesak, gde im je trebalo uz pašu davati so.

Vlasnici velikih pašnjačkih teritorija rado su pašnjake davali u zakup, zbog koristi od torenja.

Čobani su u čoporima pored svojih ovaca imali ovce više vlasnika. Cena čuvanja krajem 19. veka bila je: 5 kg žitarica (pola pšenice, pola raži) i 10 krajcara (za slaninu) po ovcu.

Za svaku ojagnjenu ovcu vlasnici su dobijali 1,5 kg sira, 0,50 kg putera. U to vreme čoban je od subote uveče do ponedeljka ujutro muzao za sebe. Inače, čoban je svakog dana odnosio vlasnicima svo izmuženo mleko u jednom buretu. Na osnovu dogovora, čoban je dobijao po jedno jagnje (obično od slabijih). To se zvalo 'desetak'.

Na velikim, bogataškim, imanjima, postojao je i 'čoban-gazda', šef ostalih čobana koji nije terao ovce na pašu, već je vodio brigu oko spravljanja sira. Isto tako se zvao i čoban koji je držao više mladih čobana. Kod većih čopora bivao je i čoban koji je vodio brigu samo o jagnjenju ovaca, tj o jaganjcima.

Za čobane je obezbeđivan i smeštaj. To su bile kolibe od trske, kukuruzovine i sličnih prirodnih materijala, slame. Čobanske zgrade su se obično zvalе 'šupa', 'šopa'. Imali su i pomoćne prostorije, a za ovce ograde sa nastrešnicom, za slučaj kiše, zvane 'akol'. (tor, obor)... Često su takvim

by the logs, because they had no permanent facilities. The herds are at the end of the season, also gradually taken down from the mountain pastures towards the village pastures.¹⁹

Based on historical and ethnographic literature on cattle breeding in Hungary it would be easy to get a reliable overview of cattle breeding production in Vojvodina, which means the sheep keeping since the 16th century. For our comparative study, just a few details are enough in the field of terminology and relationships inter sheep keepers' relations in the Pannonian-Carpathian region. So, for example, a significant datum is that in the 16th century there were surnames such as *Bacs* and *Coban*, and the words for the shepherds in Hungarian were: *juhász* – sheep keeper; *juhásgazda* – the main master, bandmaster; *számadójuhász* – cashier; *bascó* – bač, the main shepherd; *juh* – sheep; *bojtár* – assistant shepherd; *számado* – accountant; *szám* – number; *számadás* – rendering the accounts.

The herds were kept in the pastures. If the grass was missing, the herds were moved to the so-called 'sweet pastures', autumn wilderness, flowing areas, sand, where they were supposed to get salt next to grazing.

The owners of large pasture territories were ready to let their pastures out, because of the benefits of torenje.

The shepherds, next to their sheep used to have sheep of different owners in the herds. Price of keeping in the late 19th century was 5 kg of grain (half wheat, half rye) and 10 copper coins (for the bacon) per sheep.

For each lambed sheep, the owners received 1.5 kg of cheese, 0.50 kg of butter. At that time, the shepherd milked for himself from Saturday evening until Monday morning. Otherwise, the shepherd had to take all milked milk to the owners in a barrel every day. Based on the agreement, the shepherd was given one lamb (usually the weaker one). This was called the "tithe".

On the large farms, which belonged to the wealthy people, a 'shepherd-master' who was a boss to other shepherds who did not take the sheep to the pasture, but took care of making

ovčarskim staništima nadevana imena velikih čobanskih porodica.²⁰

Udruživanje ovčara rasprostranjeno je i u užoj Srbiji. Organizacija jednog udruženja – bačije u istočnoj Srbiji izgledala je ovako:

Na velikim bačijama južno od Vratarnice ovce je preuzeo nekoliko ovčara: 'sagmaldžija' – 'ćaja', pomoćnik 'pokarač' – 'počanik' i 'poterač', koji nateruje ovce na mužu. Oni su čuvali ovce, napasali ih, muzli sudove i sirili. I njihove ovce su bile u stadu. Ovčari su bili iz porodičnih zadruga koje su imale dovoljno radne snage i bili su u mogućnosti da odvoje jednog člana za taj posao. Nepismeni ovčar beležio je na rabošu broj ovaca u svakom buljuku, kao i količinu mleka i sira koje treba da izda svakom domaćinstvu. Svaki bač je hranio ovčare kad je dolazio na bačiju da preuzme mleko i sir. Ovčare su plaćali u mleku i siru. Na nekim bačijama ostavljali su 'sagmaldžiji' da na kraju bačije tri dana muze sve bačijske ovce, a 'pokaraču' jedan dan (Borovac). Na pojedinim bačijama svaki je bač davao 'sadmalđiji' po vedro mleka za desetinu ovaca, tako da je ovaj dobijao po 10–18 vedara, a pomoćnik manje. Dok su bačije bile velike i trajale po tri meseca, bač je svaku ovcu davao ovčaru po 2 kg soli i za njega lično po 2 kg brašna. Danas se daje so za ovce, ali se plaća za čuvanje. U selima severno od Vratarnice bačijaši su muzli ovce sa 'ovčarom'.²¹



Bačija, Koželj, Srbija
Bačija, Koželj, Serbia

cheese? The same term was used for the shepherd who kept a few young shepherds. Large herds used to have a shepherd who took care only of lambing ewes, i.e. about the lambs.

The accommodation was provided for the shepherds. These were the huts made of reed, cornstalks and other natural materials, straw. Buildings for the shepherd were usually called 'shed', 'šopa'. They also had subsidiary facilities, and for the sheep fences with the eaves in case of rain, called 'akol' (corral, pen) ... Often these sheep habitats were given names of big shepherd's families.²⁰

Joining of the shepherds is widespread in central Serbia. The organization of the association – bačija in eastern Serbia looked like this:

On large bačija south of Vratarnica sheep were overtaken by several sheep keepers 'sagmaldžija' – 'ćaja', assistant 'pokarač' – 'počanik' and 'poterač', who drove the sheep for milking. They tended the sheep, grazed them, milked them and made cheese. Their own sheep were also in the herd. The shepherds were from family cooperatives that had enough labour so that they were able to single out one member of the family for this job. Illiterate shepherd recorded on a tally the number of sheep in every crowd, as well as the amount of milk and cheese that needs to be given to each household. Each bač fed the shepherds when came to bačija to overtake milk and cheese. The shepherds were paid in milk and cheese. In some bačija, 'sadmalđija' was allowed to milk all the sheep for three days and 'pokarač' was allowed to do it for one day (Borovac). On certain bačija, each bač gave to 'sadmalđija' a bucket of milk for the tenth of sheep, so that he got the 10–18 buckets, and his assistant got fewer. While bačije were large and lasted for three months, bač gave to the shepherd 2 kg of salt for each sheep and for him personally 2 kg of flour. Today the salt is given for the sheep, but the shepherds are paid in cash for tending the sheep. In the villages north of the Vratarnica bačijaši milk the sheep together with the 'shepherd'.²¹

Iz navedenih primera se vidi da između organizacija i udruživanja vojvodanskih ovčara i udruživanja ovčara iz drugih krajeva zemlje i inostranstva postoje sličnosti. Čopori sa više od 1.500 ovaca zahtevaju ozbiljnju organizaciju, odnosno više radnika. Vojvodanski čopori su mali; oni najčešće broje sto-dvesto ovaca (najviše 300). Veoma su retki čopori sa preko 500 ovaca, pa je za njih dovoljan jedan čobanin sa pomoćnikom – bojtarom.

Udruživanje ovčara moglo bi se podeliti u tri grupe:

1. seosko udruživanje,
2. udruživanje u nizijskim predelima,
3. udruživanje u brdsko-planinskim predelima.

Ako bi se prihvatile ovakva podela, moglo bi se ustanoviti zajedničke karakteristike tih udruženja, kao i njihove razlike.

Seosko udruživanje podrazumeva male čopore ovaca, koji su stalno pored naselja. Oni se, kao što smo već rekli, nikada ne udaljavaju, već su stalno u blizini naselja – na pašnjacima, strnjikama, kraj puteva, po voćnjacima itd. Čobani imaju kolibe, tor i prostor za mužu. Ovce su leti pored naselja, a zimi se vraćaju vlasnicima i sklanaju u zimske objekte – ovčare.

Nizijsko ovčarenje podrazumeva izlazak čopora na pašnjake čim nikne prva trava, u martu ili aprilu. Pašnjaci mogu biti pored naselja, ali i udaljeni. Čopori su na pašnjacima do jula, kada trava više nije izdašna. Tada se premeštaju na strnjike – posle žetve pšenice i berbe drugih kultura.

Kod **brdsko-planinskog ovčarenja**, koje nije zastupljeno u Vojvodini, čopori ovaca su tokom čitave letnje sezone po pašnjacima, tj. van naselja. Dakle, oni su ili u pokretu ili u stalnim stočarskim objektima – bez prisustva svih vlasnika ovaca.

Za Vojvodinu je karakteristično seosko udruživanje i udruživanje u nizijskim predelima. Organizacija čopora i udruživanje

From the above-mentioned examples, it is obvious that between the organizations and associations of shepherds in Vojvodina and other parts of the country and abroad there are certain similarities. The herds with more than 1,500 sheep require a serious organization, i.e. more workers. The herds in Vojvodina are small; they often count one or two hundred sheep (maximum 300). The herds with over 500 sheep are very rare; just one shepherd with an assistant – bojtar is enough to tend the sheep.

The association of sheep keepers can be divided into three groups:

1. Village association,
2. The association in lowland areas,
3. The association in mountainous regions.

If we accept such a division, we could identify common characteristics of these associations, as well as their differences.

Village association implies small herds of sheep, which are always next to the village. They, as we had already said, never move away, but always stay close to the settlements – on the pastures, stubbles, near the roads, in the orchards etc. The shepherds have huts, corrals and milking areas. Sheep are next to the village in summer and during the winter, they are returned to their owners who keep them in the winter facilities – ovčare.

Lowland sheep keeping means taking herd out to pasture as soon as the first grass sprouts, in March or April. Pastures can be the next to the village, and away. The herds are in the pastures until July, when the grass is not abundant any more. Then they are moved to stubble – after the harvest of wheat and the harvest of other crops.

With **highland sheep keeping**, which is not present in Vojvodina, the herds of sheep are throughout the summer season in the pastures, i.e. outside the village. Therefore, they either constantly move or stay in permanent cattle objects – without presence of all the owners of the sheep.

For Vojvodina are typical village association and the association in the lowland areas.

ovčara sa Fruške gore ne razlikuje se od udruživanja ostalih vojvodanskih stocara. To se odnosi i na obronke Karpata – Vršački breg. Vlasnici ovaca se u tim krajevima vezuju po raznim principima, kao i ovčari u drugim delovima Srema, Banata i Bačke.

Jedna od razlika između brdsko-plainskog i nizijskog, odnosno seoskog ovčarstva je u tome što se u prvom slučaju mlečni proizvodi spravljuju na pašnjacima. U Vojvodini nije zabeleženo da se mleko prerađuje van naselja. Proizvodnja sira, najuobičajenijeg proizvoda, i drugih mlečnih proizvoda vrši se po kućama, i to po utvrđenom redosledu udruženih vlasnika ovaca. Pomuzeno mleko se nosi sa pašnjaka. Ono se predaje mlekari, ili se pak od njega prave mlečni proizvodi. Na udaljene pašnjake, gde se proizvodio mlečni mrs, veoma retko se odlazilo. Takav slučaj zabeležen je samo u Vatinu i Banatskom Novom Selu, ali to ne isključuje mogućnost širok rasprostranjenosti običaja odlazaka na udaljene pašnjake.

Kada su odlazili na udaljene pašnjake, sa čoporima u kojima je bilo udruženo po više vlasnika, gazda, u izgonu ovaca učestvovali su svi vlasnici: novcem, lično ili kolima. Pre polaska dogovorili bi se o organizaciji izgona: o tome ko će terati ovce, ko dati novac, kola, konje. Od onih koji su u čoporu imali do tri ovce, uzimali su novac (prema kazivanju Georga Kićale, Ban. Novo Selo, 1965. godine), oni sa 6–7 grla određivani su, po potrebi, da gone ovce, a oni sa desetak i više grla davali su kola i konje. Kolima su prevozili trsku za salaš, posude (čabar, vedrice za mužu), jaganjce. Istovremeno se selilo više čopora, pa su se prilikom ovog prevoza uzajamno pomagali. Sa čoprom je išlo 5–6 ljudi, čobanin i bojtar. Seobom bi rukovodio čobanin ili onaj od vlasnika koji je izabran za gazdu čopora.

Organization of the herd and joining the sheep herds on Fruška gora does not differ from other associations of cattle breeders in Vojvodina. It can also be applied to the slopes of the Carpathians – Vršac hill. The owners of sheep in these areas are associated according to the various principles, as well as the shepherds in other parts of Srem, Banat and Bačka.

One difference between the highland and lowland or village sheep keeping is that in the first case the dairy products are made in the pastures. In Vojvodina, there is no record of milk being processed outside of the village. Cheese production, the most common product, and other dairy products are made at home, and according to the established order of joint owners of the sheep. The milked milk is taken from the pasture. It has been sold to the dairy plant, or dairy products were made from it. People went very rarely to the distant pastures where dairy products were made. Such a case was recorded only in the Banat Vatin and Banatsko Novo Selo, but that does not exclude the possibility of wider spreading the customs of visiting the distant pastures.

When they went to distant pastures, with a herd in which there were associated more than one owner, masters, all the owners took part in the upheaval of the sheep: with money, personally or by car. Before starting, they would agree on the organization of the expulsion: who chases the sheep, who gives money, cars, and horses. Of those who have up to three sheep in the herd, the money is taken (according to testifying of George Kićala, Ban. Novo Selo, in 1965), those with 6–7 animals were chosen, if necessary, to chase the sheep, and those with ten and more animals had to give a chariot and horses. They took the reed for farm, containers (water butt, buckets for milking), and the lambs. Several herds were moved at the same time so that during the transportation they helped each other. 5–6 people went with the herd, a shepherd and a bojtar. Either the shepherd managed the moving of the sheep or one of the owners who was elected for the master of the herd.

Ovce su gonili letnjim drumovima. U Pesku (Deliblatskom), gde sve doskora nije bilo asfaltiranih puteva, morali su da idu samo uobičajenim putevima, a ne van njih. Seoba na udaljene pašnjake trajala je po više dana.²²

Udruženi ovčari su se u Vojvodini nazivali salašari, čoporaši, bande. Termin *bačija* zabeležen je samo u južnom Banatu, oko Vračev Gaja i Gaja.

The sheep were chased along the summer roads. In Pesak (Deliblatsko), where until recently there were no paved roads, they had to go along usual roads, not outside them. The migration to distant pastures lasted for several days.²²

The associated sheep keepers were called salašar, čoporaš, gangs in Vojvodina. The term *bačija* was recorded only in southern Banat, around Vračev Gaj and Gaj.



Muža, Aradac – Banat, 1966 (photo M. Bosić)
Milking, Aradac – Banat, 1966

8. MUŽA I MERENJE MLEKA

Jedan od značajnih prihoda od ovaca je onaj dobijen od mleka. Ovce se u toku jedne sezone muzu oko četiri meseca, i to najčešće od aprila do septembra. Većina ovčara odvojeno drži ovnove i ovce, kako bi kontrolisali njihovo parenje, odnosno uticali na to da do jagnjenja dođe krajem decembra, januara ili februara. Ti jaganjci odbijaju se od majki krajem aprila i početkom maja, kada sve ozeleni i kada se izlazi na pašnjak.

Ovce muzu čobani i vlasnici ovaca. Smatra se da dobar čobanin može pomusti oko

8. MILKING AND MEASURING THE MILK

One of the significant incomes from sheep was obtained from the milk. During the season sheep have been milked for about four months, usually from April to September. Most sheep keepers keep rams and sheep separately, to control their breeding, which means that the lambing would occur in late December, January or February. These lambs are weaned in late April and early May, when everything becomes green and when the sheep are taken out to the pasture.

150 ovaca dva puta u toku dana. Zbog toga, čopore ovaca istovremeno muzu dva čoveka – čobanin i vlasnik ovaca. Čobani muzu ovce iz tora („korlata”, „salaša”). Na jednom delu tora se otvore krila. Oni koji muzu sednu na dva panja pored otvora i hvataju ovce koje im se nateraju; muzu jednu po jednu ovcu, a nakon muže ih puštaju. Ovce nateruju bojtari ili psi pulini. Muze se dva puta dnevno – ujutru i uveče, a pred kraj sezone jednom dnevno. Ovce se muzu u selu ili na pašnjaku, u zavisnosti od toga da li su preko noći bile u naselju, ili su stalno na pašnjaku.

Zabeleženi su sledeći primeri:

- U Sremu, u naseljima po južnom obodu Fruške gore, ovce se uglavnom muzu kod kuće: ujutru – pre isterivanja na pašnjak, i posle podne – oko 4 sata ili 5 sati. Posle muže se opet isteruju na pašu.
- U Martonošu u severnoj Bačkoj ovce se, takođe, muzu ujutru – pre izlaska na pašnjak, i posle podne – na pašnjaku.
- U Mandelosu se ovce muzu od marta do jula, odnosno do strnjika, kada se prestaje sa mužom. Svaki gazda muze svoje ovce, ujutru i posle podne.
- U Krušedolu se ovce muzu oko 8 sati ujutru i oko 4 sata posle podne, pa se posle muže ponovo isteruju napolje.
- U Novom Sadu su čobani muzli ovce oko 2 sata ili pola 3, jer je mleko moralo da bude kod kuće do 5 sati ujutru. Poslepodnevna muža bila je oko 5 sati.
- U Bezdaru se muzlo ujutru od 4 sata, a uveče oko 6 ili 7 sati. Večernje mleko držano je u bunaru na pašnjaku.
- U Futogu je prva muža bila ujutru oko 4 sata, a druga oko 4 ili pola 5 posle podne. Mleko od druge muže čuvano je u zemlji. Čobani bi iskopali rupu u zemlji i u nju sipali hladnu vodu. U tu rupu bi stavljali kante sa mlekom. Kanta je morala da bude malo otklopljena preko noći, da bi mleko imalo vazduha.

Sheep are milked by shepherds and sheep owners. It is believed that a good shepherd can milk about 150 ewes twice a day. Therefore, two men milk herds of sheep at the same time – the owner of the sheep and a shepherd. Shepherds milk the sheep from the fold ("korlat", "farm"). On one part of the fold, the wings are open. Those who milk sit onto two stumps next to the opening and catch the sheep that are driven into; they milk the sheep one by one, and after milking let them go. Sheep are driven into by bojtar or dogs Pulin. Milking occurs twice a day – in the morning and in the evening, and at the end of the season once a day.

Sheep are milked in the village or in the pasture, depending on whether they were in the village overnight, or were constantly on the pasture. The following examples are recorded:

- In Srem, in the settlements along the southern edge of Fruške gora, sheep are mainly milked at home: in the morning – before taking them to the pasture, and in the afternoon – about 4 or 5 o'clock. After milking they are taken to the pasture again.
- In Martonoš in northern Bačka sheep are , also, milked in the morning – before going to the pasture, and in the afternoon – on the pasture.
- In Mandelos sheep are milked from March to July, i.e. until the stubble fields, when milking stops. Each master milks his sheep in the morning and in the afternoon.
- In Krušedol sheep are milked about 8 o'colck a.m. and about 4p.m., so after milking they are taken to the pasture again.
- In Novi Sad the shepherds milked the sheep about 2, 2.30 a.m, for milk had to be at home by 5 a.m. The afternoon milking was about 5 p.m.

- U Adorjanu (Nadrljanu) čobani su muzli ujutru i posle podne oko 6 sati. Mleko od večernje muže su, takođe, preko noći držali u iskopanoj rupi. Rupa je kopana u zadnjem delu kolibe, a njene dimenzije su bile: jedan dobar metar dubine, širina oko 60 cm, dužina oko 1,6 m. Kada se večernje mleko čuva na pašnjaku preko noći, ono se, zajedno sa jutarnjim mlekom, odnosi na magarcima kući, ili se predaje u mlekaru. Večernje mleko nije dobro mešati sa jutarnjim, jer se pomešano mleko moglo pokvariti od truckanja u putu. Zbog toga se večernja i jutarna muža posebno nosi, u odvojenim kantama. Mleko se meša tek kod kuće, pre pravljena sira.
- U Čičovima (u Bačkoj, salašu kod Sombora) čobani su ovce muzli tri puta na dan: ujutru, u podne i uveče. Mleko je konjima i kolima prenošeno sa paše do kuće, gde se podlivao sir.

Ovce se mogu musti na tri načina: sedeći (na stolici, panju ili gajbi), čučeći i stojeći. Kada se muze stojeći, natuče se šubara i ovca se podboči glavom.

8.1. Deoba mleka

Deoba mleka se kod udruženih ovčara vrši na nekoliko načina:

- I. Ukoliko se ovce uveče vraćaju kući, svaki domaćin muze svoje ovce.
- II. Ako su ovce stalno na pašnjaku, mleko i zarada na mleku dele se na sledeće načine:

1. Ako su udružena dva domaćina ili nekoliko njih, onda svako muze svoje ovce, ili se mleko deli na broj muzara.
2. Mleko se licitira između ovčara, ili ga pak udruženje prodaje na licitacijama organizovanim za sve zainteresovane. Zarada se deli na broj ovaca muzara.
3. Mleko se deli po utvrđenom redosledu. Svaki udruženi gazda muze ceo čopor po određenom redosledu.

- In Bezdan they milked sheep at 4 a.m., and in the evening about 6 or 7 o'clock. The evening milk was kept in the well on the pasture.
- In Futoğ the first milking was at 4 a.m. and the other one about 4 or 5 p.m. Milk from the second milking was kept in the ground. The shepherds would dig a hole in the ground and pour cold water into it. They would put buckets of milk into it. The bucket had to stay slightly uncovered during the night, so that milk could get some air.
- In Adorjan (Nadrljan) shepherds used to milk in the morning and in the afternoon about 6 o'clock. Milk from the evening milking was also kept overnight in a dug hole. The hole was dug in the back of the hut, and its dimensions were a good meter of depth, width of 60 cm, length about 1.6 m. When the evening milk is kept in the pasture during the night, it is, together with the morning milk, taken home on the donkeys, or is taken to the dairy plant. The evening milk was not supposed to be mixed with the morning one because the mixed milk could be spoiled by shaking on the road. Therefore, evening and morning *milking* is transported separately in separate buckets. Milk is mixed only at home, just before making cheese.

- In Čičovima (in Bačka, a farm near Sombor) shepherds milked the sheep three times a day, in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Milk was transported on horses and in the carriages from the pasture home where cheese was made.

Sheep can be milked in three ways: sitting (on a chair, a stump or a crate), squatting and standing. When the milking is done standing, one must put a fur hat on and support sheep with head.

4. Mleko se, takođe, deli po utvrđenom redosledu, ali po pogodbi – po jednoj ovci za celu sezonu.
5. Ovčari se dogovore sa čobaninom oko količine mleka za celu sezonu koju čobanin mora da im preda.

Primeri

1. U Bačkoj se redosled muže određuje prema broju muzara. Tako je, na primer, u Futoštu osnova 10 ovaca jedan dan muže celog čopora. Ako vlasnik ima 45 ovaca, onda on ovce iz čopora muže četiri i po dana. Mužu započinje gazda koji ima najviše „dana“. Kada se završi jedan red, mužu u narednom kruštu započinje onaj gazda koji ima najmanje mleka. U Tovariševu se pak redosled muže određuje po danima: odredi se koliko će jedna sezona imati dana i za svaku ovcu sleduje po jedan dan. Ako neko ima tri ovce, u sezoni mu sleduju tri dana muže, a, ako ima 53 ovce, sleduju mu 53 dana muže. Ovako se udružuju, odnosno dele mleko ovčari u čijem čoporu nema više od stotinak ovaca, jer toliko traje sezona muže. Takav način udruživanja postojao je i u severnom Banatu.

2. U severnom Banatu se mleko, takođe, deli na broj muzara. Pošto ima velikih čopora, osnova za dan muže čitavog čopora je 10 ili 20 ovaca. Jedan krug muže naziva se obođa. Redosled muže u Straži u južnom Banatu određuje se na sledeći način. Gazda koji ima najviše ovaca, takozvani bandegazda, odredi dan kada će se meriti mleko. Tog dana se, oko 13 časova, na salašu okupe svi vlasnici. Oni budu kod ovaca sve do narednog podneva. Tada svaki gazda pomuze svoje ovce. Mleko se meri kantarom, koji je pomoću kamjeniča podešen tako da meri na oke. Za svaku oku mleka u jednom redu muže dobija se deset oka, odnosno za svaki decilitar dobija se litra. Onaj ovčar koji ima najviše mleka počinje red, tj. prvi muze čitav čopor.

Kosta Turturja, rođen 1914. godine, ovčar iz Straže, kazuje: „Mleko se meri na sledeći način: određenog dana svaki vlasnik ovaca

8.1. Sharing the milk

Sharing the milk within the associated sheep keepers is undertaken in several ways: I. If the sheep are coming home the evening, each host milks his sheep. II. If the sheep are constantly on the pasture, milk and earnings on milk are shared in the following ways:

1. If two hosts are associated or several of them, then each of them milks his sheep, or the milk is shared according to the number of dairy sheep. 2. Milk is auctioned between the sheep keepers, or the association organizes the auction sale for all interested. The earning is divided according to the number of dairy sheep. 3. Milk is shared according to the established order. Each joint owner milks the whole herd following a specific order. 4. Milk is also shared according to the established order, but at a bargain – per sheep for the whole season. 5. Sheep keepers agree with the shepherd about the quantity of milk for the whole season the shepherd has to give them.

Examples

1. In Bačka the order of milking is determined by the number of dairy sheep. Thus, for example, in Futoš the calculation is the following 10 sheep means one day of milking the whole herd. If the owner has 45 sheep, he milks the whole sheep from the herd for four and half days. Milking starts with the master who has the most "days." When one line is finished, the milking of the next round starts with the master who has the least milk. In Tovariševu the order of milking is determined per day: they calculate how many days will the season have and for each sheep is reserved one day. If someone has three sheep, he will have three days of milking in the season, and if he has 53 sheep, he will have 53 days of milking. This is the way the sheep keepers join and share the milk in the herd in which there are no more than a hundred sheep; this is how

pomuze svoje ovce i to mleko se ne meri. Nakon muže stočari se razidu. Sledećeg dana u isto vreme predveče, ponovo se okupe i pomuzu ovce. Dobijeno mleko meri se na litre. Kada je dobra paša za jednu litru sleduje 30 l mleka, a za deci tri litre. Tako je u početku sezone dok je trava sočna. Kod četvrtog - petog reda, kada ovce daju manje mleka, za jednu litru sledi deset litara mleka, a za deci litra, da bi svi mogli da isteraju red".

U Potpornju, takođe u južnom Banatu, ovce se mazu od proleća do jeseni, dok ima paše. Merenje mleka vrši se tri-četiri puta, iako neki udruženi stočari mleko mere posle svakog reda. Mleko se meri na oke, pomoću raboša. Najčešće se koriste posude zvane oke, koje imaju malo veću zapreminu od jedne litre. Od zapremine oke zavisi i zapremina vedrice. Po pravilu, vedrica mora da ima deset puta veću zapreminu od oke. Ako zapremina oke iznosi 1 l, mleko se muze u vedricu od 10 l. Prilikom merenja mleka, svaki „surja” muze svoje ovce. Za svaku oku mleka vlasniku sleduje jedna vedrica. Preostalo mleko sipa se u oku i meri pomoću raboša.

Raboš je drveni štapić sa deset urezanih linija, kojima je zapremina oke podeljena na deset jednakih delova. Raboš se zamotići u mleko u oki i za svaku izmerenu liniju vlasniku sleduje jedna oka mleka. Ako ovčar prilikom merenja dobije sedam oka mleka od svojih ovaca i izmeri tri crte na rabošu, on ceo čopor, kada na njega dođe na red za mužu, muze onoliko dana koliko mu je potrebno da skupi sedam vedrica i tri oke mleka. Red započinje onaj vlasnik koji ima najviše mleka. Ovce mazu čobanin i surja čiji je red za mužu.

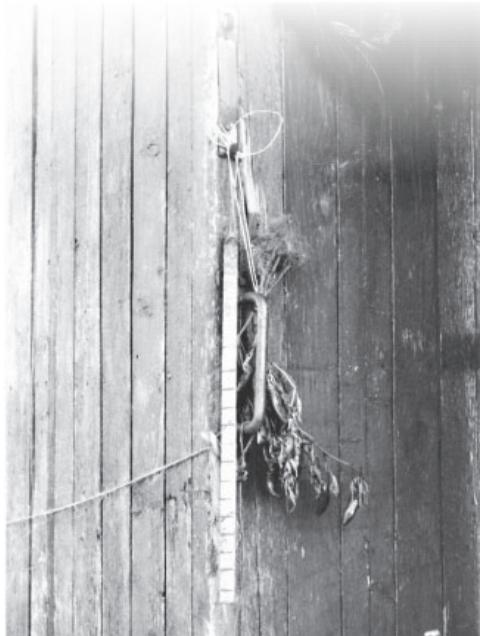
Ovčari u **Krušćici** takođe mere mleko na oke i pomoću raboša. Oni koriste vedrice čija je zapremina 16 l. Prilikom merenja, svaki gazda pomuze svoje ovce i za svaku oku mleka mu sleduje šesnaest oka ili jedna vedrica mleka. Mleko se meri tako što se iznad vedrice sipa u oku. Oka se svaki put prepuni, a višak mleka iscuri u vedricu. Kada se završi

long milking season lasts. Such a method of association used to exist in northern Banat.

2. In northern Banat milk is also divided according to the number of dairy sheep. Since there are large herds, the basis for the entire day of milking the herd is 10 or 20 sheep. One circle of milking is called obođa. The order of milking in Straža in the south Banat is determined as follows. The master who has the most sheep, the so-called bandmaster, determines the day when the milk is measured. On that day, about 1 o'clock p.m., all the owners gather on the farm. They stay with the sheep until the next noon. Then each master milks his sheep. Milk is measured by scales, which is set with stones so that it measures on oka. For each oka of milk in one line of milking is obtained ten oka, and for every deciliter is obtained a liter. The shepherd who has the most milk starts the line, i.e. he milks the whole herd first.

Kosta Turturja, born in the 1914, a sheep keeper from Straža, says: "Milk is measured as follows: on a certain day every owner of sheep milks his sheep and that milk is not measured. After milking the farmers depart. The next day in the evening at the same time, they re-gather and milk the sheep. This time milk is measured in liters. When grazing is good for a liter of milk they get 30 l, and for deciliter three liters. This is characteristic for the beginning of the season when the grass is juicy. In the fourth – fifth line of milking, when sheep are giving less milk, for one liter gets 10 litres of milk, and for a deciliter one litre, so that they could all have their line of milking."

In Potporanj, also in southern Banat, sheep are milked from spring to autumn, while they can be grazed. Measuring of milk is done three or four times, although some joint cattle breeders measure milk after each line. Milk is measured by oke, using tally. The most frequently used pot is called oka, which has a slightly larger volume than



Raboš za merenje mleka u vedrici, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Tally for measuring milk in a bucket, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988

sa sipanjem, jedan deo mleka ostane u vedrici, a drugi u oki. To mleko se meri rabošem.

Ovčari u Kruščici imaju raboše za merenje mleka u vedrici i raboše za merenje mleka u oki. Crte na rabošu za oku dele njenu zapreminu na deset delova, dok se urezanim crta ma na rabošu za vedricu zapremina vedrice



Raboš za svakodnevno merenje mleka, Potporanj – Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Tally for everyday measuring milk, Potporanj – Banat, 1982

one liter. The volume of a bucket depends on the volume of oka. As a rule, the bucket must have ten times the volume of oka. If the volume of oka is 1 l the milk is milked in the bucket of 10 l. When measuring milk, each "surjaš" milks his sheep. For each oka of milk owner gets a bucket. The remaining milk is poured in the oka and is measured using a tally.

Tally is a wooden stick carved with ten lines, by which the volume of oka is divided into ten equal parts. You dip a tally in milk in oka and for each measured line the owner gets one oka of milk. If the sheep keeper during measuring gets seven oka of milk from his sheep and measured three lines on the tally, then when his turn comes he milks the whole herd for as many days as is necessary to collect seven buckets and three oka of milk. The line starts with the owner who has the most milk. The sheep are milked by the shepherd and surjaš depending on whose turn is for milking.

Sheep keepers from Kruščica also measure milk in oka and with the tally. They use buckets with a volume of 16 l. During measurements, each master milks his sheep and for each oka of milk he gets sixteen oka or a bucket of milk. Milk is measured by pouring it over a bucket in the oka. Each time oka is overfilled and a surplus of milk is poured into the bucket. When pouring is finished, a part of milk is left in the bucket and the other in oka. This milk is measured by a tally.

The sheep keepers in Kruščica have tallies for measuring milk in the bucket, and tallies to measure milk in oka. The lines on the tally for oka divides its volume into ten parts, while the incised lines on the tally for the bucket is divided into 16 parts for the volume of the bucket. When milk is measured in the bucket, for each measured line sheep keeper gets a bucket of milk. In the same way is measured the milk in oka: for each line one gets one oka of milk. When the shepherds finish two lines, measurement is



Merenje mleka udruženih stocara, Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Measuring the milk of associated cattle breeders, Kruščica – Banat, 1989

deli na 16 delova. Kada se meri mleko u vedrici, za svaku izmerenu crtlu ovčaru sleduje jedna vedrica mleka. Na isti način se meri mleko u oki: za svaku crtlu sleduje jedna oka mleka. Kada ovčari završe dva reda, ponovo se vrši premera, jer tada ovce daju manje mleka. Tako se radi do kraja muže, tj. do avgusta. Kad otpočne muža, ako vlasnik koji je bio poslednji u redu namuze manje mleka, na primer za dve oke, to se beleži u svesku i u narednom redu mu sleduju dve oke više. Ako namuze više, u sledećem redu mu sleduju manje mleka.

U Kaluđerovu se mleko meri na kilograme, tj. kantarom. Za 1 kg mleka ovčaru sleduje 20 kg mleka u jednom redu. Prvo merenje obavlja se nekoliko dana posle Đurđevdana i tada se mleko meri na kantar. Kasnije, kada se završi red, ovčari ga mere na litre, pomoću raboša. Za 1 l sleduje 20 l mleka.

U Dupljaju se mleko takođe meri na oke. Za svaku oku ovčaru sleduju dve vedrice od 12 l. Jedna oka mleka nosi 24 oke. Za Dupljuju je karakteristično to što glavni gazda, tj.



Sipanje mleka u vedricu sa okom prilikom premere mleka, Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Pouring the milk into a bucket with oka during measuring milk, Kruščica – Banat, 1989



Merenje mleka u oki pomoću raboša,
Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Measuring the milk in oka using
tally, Kruščica – Banat, 1989

vlasnik salaša započinje red, a posle njega muže onaj ovčar koji ima najviše mleka. Nakon prvog merenja mleka, glavnom gaziđi se daje na poklon polovina mleka, druga polovina mu se računa u prvi red koji on i započinje.

Redosled muže se u Dupljaji određuje i na sledeći način. Na dan muže ovčari pomuzu svoje ovce. Pomuzeno mleko meri se na oke. Dogovorom se određuje koliko oka će *nositi* jedan dan muže svih ovaca iz čopora. Ako se, na primer, odredi da 2 oke *nose* jedan dan muže, onda domaćin koji, recimo, ima 11 oka mleka muže pet dana u prvom redu, a šest u drugom.

U Pločici u južnom Banatu se mleko meri i na oku i na kantar. Za jednu oku ovčaru sleduje 10 l mleka, tj. vedro od 10 l. Kada se meri na kantar, za 1 kg mleka sleduje vedro od 10 l. Pored ovakve premere mleka i utvrđivanja redosleda na osnovu količine

performed again, because the sheep give less milk then. This is repeated until the end of milking, i.e. until August. When milking begins, if the owner who was the last in line gets less milk, for example, for two oka, it is recorded in a notebook, so in the next line of milking he gets two more oka. If he milks more, in the next line he gets less milk.

In **Kaluđerovo** milk is measured in pounds, i.e. with scales. For 1 kg of milk shepherd gets 20 kg of milk in one line. The first measurement is performed several days after St George and then the milk is measured on scales. Later, when the line is complete, the sheep keepers measure it in litres, with a tally. For 1 l one gets 20 l of milk.

In Dupljaja milk is also measured on oke. For each oka the sheep keeper gets two buckets of 12 l. One oka of milk *carries* 24 oka. For Dupljaja is characteristic that the main master, i.e. the owner of the farm begins the line, he is followed by the sheep keeper who has the most milk. After the first measurement of milk, the main master is presented with *half* of milk and the second half is calculated in the first line that he starts.

The order of milking in **Dupljaja** is determined in the following way. On the day of milking, the sheep keepers milk their sheep. Milked milk is measured in oke. Through the agreement they determine how many oka will *carry* one day of milking of all sheep from the herd. If, for example, they agree that 2 oka *carry* one day of milking, then the host who, for example, has 11 oka milks for five days in the first line, and six in the second.

In **Pločica** in the south Banat, milk is measured on the oka and on scales. For one oka the sheep keeper gets 10 l of milk, i.e. a bucket of 10l. When measured on scales, for 1 kg of milk one gets a bucket of 10 l. In addition to this measuring the milk and determining the order based on the amount of milk, the dairy sheep also determine the

mleka, redosled muže se određuje i po ovaca muzarama. Tako se, na primer, odredi da na 10 muzara vlasniku sleduje 1 vedro od 10 l mleka.

U severnom Banatu je redosled određivan i po pogodbi, i to za čitavu sezonom. Ovčari su utvrđivali količinu mleka koju bi ovce trebalo da daju za godinu dana, i to su delili.

3. U Sremu su većinom samostalni čopori i svaki gazda muze svoje ovce.

9. TRANSPORT MLEKA

Mleko se svakodnevno nosi sa pašnjaka u selo, gde se prerađuje u mlečne proizvo-



Nošenje mleka u limenim vedricama – pomoći obramice, Jablanka – Banat, 1981 (photo M. Maluckov)
Carrying milk in tin buckets-using shoulder pole, Jablanka – Banat, 1981

order. Thus, for example, it is determined that the owner of 10 dairy sheep gets 1 bucket of 10 liters of milk.

In northern Banat the order is determined by the bargain, for the entire season. The sheep keepers agree on the amount of milk the sheep should give for one year, and they share it.

3. In Srem herds are mostly independent and each master milks his own sheep.

9. TRANSPORTATION OF THE MILK

Milk is on a daily basis transported from the pasture to the village, where it is pro-



Čeze za prevoz mleka sa pašnjaka, Dobanovci – Srem, 1951 (photo R. Nikolić)
Gig for transporting milk from the pasture, Dobanovci – Srem, 1951



Prenošenje mleka u limenim kantama na magarcu, Pavliš – Banat, 1982 (photo M. Maluckov)
Transporting milk in tin cans on the donkey, Pavliš – Banat, 1982



Prenošenje mleka traktorom, Kruščica – Banat, 1987 (photo I. Čakan)
Transporting milk by tractor, Kruščica – Banat, 1987

de. Ono se prenosi u limenim kantama ili vedricama, i to na nekoliko načina:

- ručno ili pomoću obramice, ako je pašnjak blizu sela;
- na magarcu (okačene o samaru);
- seoskim kolima, tj. konjskom ili magarećom zapregom;
- traktorom.

Sirevi i drugi mlečni proizvodi plasiraju se na gradskim pijacama. Ovčari su često prinuđeni da nose mlečne proizvode u udaljene veće gradove. Tako je, na primer, sir iz Suseka i drugih naselja na Dunavu između dva rata nošen u Novi Sad.

10. OVCE

Vojvodanski ovčari gaje ovce rase cigaja, koja predstavlja dominantnu vrstu na čitavoj teritoriji. U Bačkoj i Sremu je najrasprostranjenija somborska cigaja, a u Banatu takozvana banatska cigaja. Osim ove dve vrste, na severu Bačke se gaji ovca rase merino (uglavnom je gaje mađarski ovčari), kao i merino ovca pomešana sa cigajom. Neki čobani drže slavonsku cigaju, krupnu ovcu iz Slavonije. Posle ratnih zbivanja 1991. godine, čobani iz Bosne i Hercegovine došli su sa svojim ovcama – pramenkama.

Ovčari vode računa o ovcama koje gaje i sami vrše selekciju jaganjaca, trudeći se da dobiju što kvalitetniju i izdašniju jagnjad. Ženski jaganjci se ostavljaju od dobrih ovaca, koje imaju kvalitetnu vunu, daju velike količine mleka i odgovaraju rasu; takođe se vodi računa o tome da jagnje po dva mладунчeta. I o ostavljanju muških jaganjaca za rasplod se vodi računa. Dok sisaju (oko 100 dana), jaganjci treba da budu živahni, otporni i da dobro napreduju. Kada se ovce ne mazu, oni mogu da sisaju do mrkanja, što ponekad traje više od 5 meseci.

Da bi se očuvala čista krv, ovnovi se u jednom čoporu ne drže više od dve do tri godine. Posle tog perioda može doći do

cessed into dairy products. It is carried in tin cans or buckets, in several ways:

- Manually or with shoulder pole if the pasture is near the village;
- On a donkey (hanged on the herd-saddle);
- On wagons, i.e. horse or donkey-drawn carts;
- By tractor.

Cheese and other dairy products are sold in urban markets. Sheep keepers are often forced to carry the dairy products to distant cities. Thus, for example, cheese from Susek and other settlements on the Danube between the wars was carried to Novi Sad.

10. SHEEP

The sheep keepers from Vojvodina breed the sheep of cigaja race, which is the dominant species throughout the whole territory. In Bačka and Srem the most widely spread is Sombor cigaja and in Banat the so-called Banat Cigaja. Apart from these two species in northern Bačka merino breed is bred (mostly bred by Hungarian sheep keepers), merino sheep mixed with cigaja. Some sheep keepers breed Slavonian cigaja, big sheep from Slavonia. After the war, in 1991, the sheep keepers from Bosnia and Herzegovina came with their herds – pramenka.

The sheep keepers take care of the sheep they breed and perform their own selection of lambs, trying to get the best and the most abundant lambs. Female lambs are left from the good sheep, with high quality wool, that give large quantity of milk and match the breed; it is also very important that they lamb with two cubs. In addition, about leaving male lambs for breeding a good care is taken. While sucking (about 100 days), lambs should be lively, immune and well progressing. When the sheep are not milked, they can suck up to mrkanje, which sometimes takes more than 5 months.

In order to preserve the pure blood, the rams are not held for more than two to three

parenja ovnove sa njihovim čerkama. Ukoliko dođe do toga, ponekad se ojagnje sakati i deformisani mладunci. Zbog toga, ovčari međusobno menjaju dobre ovnove, koji su „u snazi”. Za oplođenju 25 ovaca je potreban jedan ovan, a neki čobani drže i do 50 ovaca na jednog ovna.

Dobri jaganjci imaju veliku cenu i ovčari ne žale novac za njih. Kupuju ih od vlasnika dobrih ovaca, tj. od poznatih odgajivača. Jedan od takvih odgajivača je Rada Čolović, ovčar iz Pivnica, od kojeg ovce kupuju ovčari iz cele Vojvodine.

10.1. Određivanje starosti ovaca

Starost ovaca određuje se po zubima. U prvoj godini života ovca dobija dva stalna zuba. Takva ovca se zove dvizarka i za nju se kaže da je u prvom mrkanju. U drugoj godini dobija još dva zuba, a za nju se kaže da je u drugom mrkanju.

10.2. Jagnjenje

Čobani često moraju da pomažu ovci prilikom jagnjenja, te moraju da znaju i posao veterinara, jer ovca ili jagnje mogu da uginu ako se ne reaguje na vreme. Kod pravilnog jagnjenja prvo izlaze prednje noge, pa glava i zadnje noge. Pri svakom naponu se vuku obe prednje noge. Kad izađe glava, lako se izvuku zadnje noge. Ako ovca ne izbaci „ložu” – posteljicu, čobanin daje injekciju ovci. Ukoliko pri jagnjenju izađe jedna nogu, onda čobanin mora da bude majstor: on mora da pronađe drugu nogu, da je izvuče napolje i zajedno sa prvom nogom vuče prilikom napona ovce. Najteže je kad se jagnje okrene i kad prvo izađe jedna zadnja nogu. Tada čobanin mora da nađe drugu zadnju nogu, a zatim da pri naponima vuče za obe noge. Veoma važno je znati pronaći onu nogu koja treba da se izvadi, jer se porođaj može iskomplikovati ako se pogreši, odnosno izvadi jedna prednja i jedna zadnja nogu.

years in one herd. After this period, it may happen that rams mate with their daughters. If this happens, sometimes maimed and deformed cubs are lambed. Therefore, sheep keepers exchange good rams, which are “in force”. For insemination of 25 sheep, you need one ram, and some shepherds hold up to 50 sheep on one ram.

Good lambs have high price and sheep keepers do not mind paying money for them. They buy them from the owners of good sheep, i.e. from well known breeders. One of these breeders is Čolović Rada, a sheep keeper from Pivnice, from whom the sheep keepers from all over Vojvodina buy their sheep.

10.1. Determining the age of sheep

The age of sheep is determined by their teeth. In the first year of life, a sheep gets two permanent teeth. This sheep is called dvizarka and it is said for her that it is in the first mrkanje. In the second year, it gets two more teeth, and it is said that it is in the second mrkanje.

10.2. Lambing

The shepherds often have to help the sheep during lambing; they need to know the job of veterinarians, as sheep or lamb may die if not treated on time. With normal lambing, the front legs go out first, then a head and then hind legs. At each contraction, both front legs are pulled. When the head is out, it is easy to get the hind legs. If the sheep does not eject the “loža” – the placenta, a shepherd gives an injection to the sheep. If during lambing just one leg comes out, then the shepherd must be an artisan: he must find the other leg, pull it out and pull both legs together while the contraction of a sheep. The hardest thing is when the lamb is turned over and when first comes out a hind leg. Then the shepherd must find the second hind leg, and then during the contractions to pull both legs. It is very important to know to find the leg that should be taken out, because the deliv-

10.3. Raspoznavanje i obeležavanje ovaca

Iskusni čobani i dobri ovčari poznaju sve ovce koje se nalaze u čoporu. Razlikovanje ovaca je jedna od veština kojom vladaju čobani. Dobar čobanin poznaje ovce po njihovoj fizionomiji; razlikuje ih kao što razlikuje ljudе. Neki čobani toliko dobro poznaju ovce da tačno znaju ko je jagnjetu majka, a ko otac, iako nisu prisustvovali ni parenju ni jagnjenju ovce.

Ovce se raspoznavaju na nekoliko načina. Najlakše se prepoznavaju one ovce čije su spoljašnje karakteristike upečatljive. Kada je pak reč o spoljašnjim karakteristikama, one se prepoznavaju po boji vune, boji glave, veličini vimena, nedostatku repa ili uva itd. Prema tim karakteristikama, ovce dobijaju nadimke:

čonka – ovca bez uva,
kusa – ovca bez repa,
bela – ovca bele glave,
gara – ovca crne glave,
laja – ovca crne vune,
kaluša – ovca sa belim oko očiju,
okeša – ovca sa crnim oko očiju.

Na osnovu pomenutih spoljnih karakteristika, koje su ponekad kombinovane, one se lako raspoznavaju.

Ovce se razlikuju i po naravi. Tako se, na primer, neke ovce uopšte ne boje pasa, druge idu za čovekom, treće za magarcem itd.

Lako je u Vojvodini razvijen sistem prepoznavanja ovaca, one se i obeležavaju. To se

ery may complicate if you make a mistake and take out one front and one hind leg.

10.3. Distinguishing and marking the sheep

Experienced shepherds and good sheep keepers know of all the sheep that are in the herd. The recognition one of the sheep is one of the shepherd's skills. A good shepherd knows the sheep by their physiognomy; he distinguishes them as he recognizes different people. Some shepherds know sheep so well that they know exactly who the lamb's mother is and who father, though they did not attend either mating or lambing the ewes.

Sheep are distinguished in several ways. The easiest way is to recognize those sheep whose exterior features are remarkable. When it comes to external features, they are identified by the colour of their wool, colour of their head, the size of the udder, absence of tail or ear, etc... According to these characteristics, the sheep are given the nicknames:

čonka – sheep without ear,
kusa – sheep without tail,
bela – sheep with white head,
gara – sheep with black head,
laja – sheep with black wool,
kaluša – sheep with white mark around its eyes,
okeša – sheep with black mark around its eyes.



Bela ovca sa crnim oko očiju – okeša, Pavliš – Banat, 1982
(photo M. Maluckov)

Sheep with black mark around its eyes – okeša, Pavliš – Banat, 1982



Bela ovca sa crnom glavom – gara, Pavliš – Banat, 1982
(photo M. Maluckov)

White sheep with black head – gara, Pavliš – Banat, 1982



„Gara” koja se zbog oblika rogova naziva i „kozasta”, Pavliš – Banat, 1982 (photo M. Maluckov)
„Gara” that could be called „kozasta”, for the shape of its horns, Pavliš – Banat, 1982

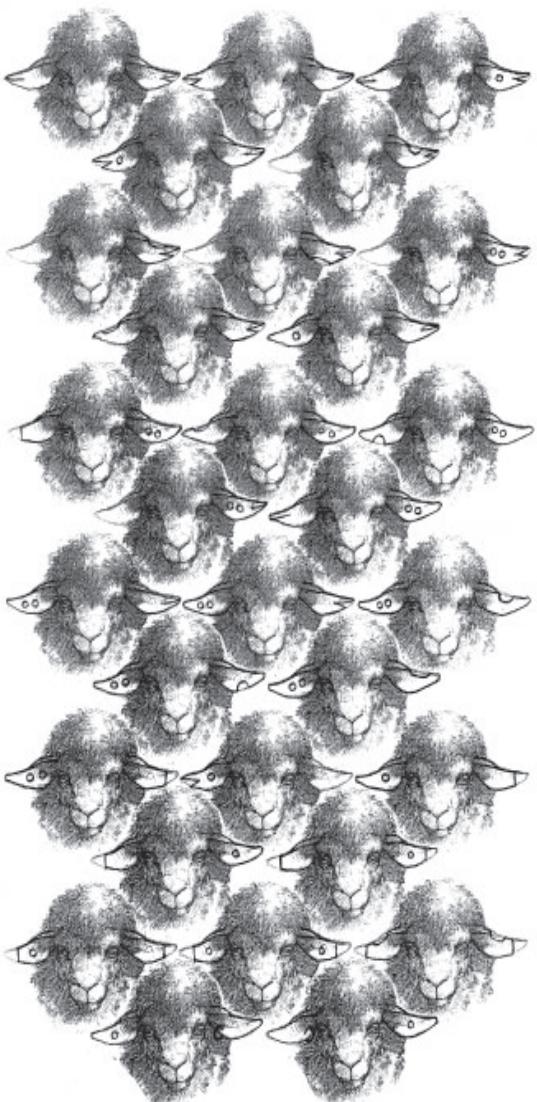
čini da bi se vlasnici zaštitili od krađe. Obeležavanje ovaca karakteristično je za združene ovčare. Ono se vrši na nekoliko načina: rovašenjem, žigosanjem (toplom ili hladnim žigom), bojenjem i stavljanjem brnjice.

10.3.1. Rovašenje

Rovašenje je obeležavanje ovaca odsecanjem delova ušiju. Postoje dva načina rovašenja: odsecanjem dela ujeta pomoću noža i probijanjem odnosno izbijanjem rupe na ujetu pomoći probodca. U čoporu sa nekoliko vlasnika rovaši se kombinuju, npr.: jedan gazda ima ovce sa probocem na levom uvetu, drugi sa probocem na desnom uvetu, treći sa dva proboca na levom i jednim probocem na desnom uvetu, četvrti obrnuto, peti sa zasećenim levim uvetom i probocem na desnom uvetu itd.²³



Rovašena ovca – odsečen deo desnog ujeta,
Selenča – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
The sheep with notching – part of the right
ear cut off, Selenča – Bačka, 1988



Obeležavanje ovaca - rovašenje, nožem -
odsecanjem delova ušiju, zarezivanjem, probijanje
ušiju probocem; stavljanjem alki na uši
Marking sheep by notching – amputation
of ears with a knife, cutting, piercing the
ears, and putting rings in the ears



Based on these already mentioned external characteristics, which are sometimes combined, they are easily distinguished.

Sheep also differ in nature. Thus, for example, some sheep are not afraid of dogs; the others go after the man, the third after the donkey and so on.

Although in Vojvodina the system for distinguishing the sheep is quite developed, they are also marked. This is undertaken to protect the owners from theft. Marking the sheep is characteristic of joint sheep keepers. It is done in several ways: by tallying, branding (hot or cold seal), painting and putting muzzles.

10.3.1. Notching

Notching is marking the sheep by cutting off parts of the ears. There are two ways of notching: cutting off a part of the ear with a knife and piercing i.e. making a hole in the ear with a piercer. In a herd with several owners, the technique of marking called notching is being combined. It has been conducted in the following way: one boss has a sheep with a left ear pierced, the other with the right one, the third with two piercing on the left and one in the right ear, the fourth the other way round, the fifth owner's sheep have the left ear cut and the right one pierced etc.²³

10.3.2. Žigosanje

Žigosanje ovaca se vrši toplim i hladnim žigom. Kod toplog žigosanja se koristi usijani žig. Njime se spaljuje deo kože njuške, ili ostavlja otisak na nosu, uvetu ili nekom drugom delu tela. Žigovi kojima se obeležavaju ovce su mali (3–5 cm) i obično predstavljaju početno slovo imena ili prezimena vlasnika.



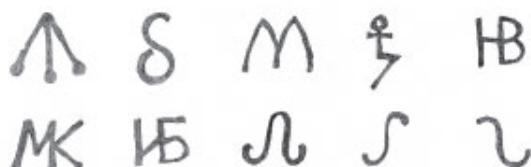
Obeležavanje vrućim žigom – inicijal „N” na njušci, Selenča – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Marking by using hot brand – the initial „N”
on the snout, Selenča – Bačka, 1988

10.3.2. Branding

Branding of the sheep is done by hot and cold brand. With hot branding, the red-hot brand is used. It burns part of the skin on the snout, or leave an imprint on the nose, ear or some other part of body. Brands used for marking sheep are small (3–5 cm) and usually represent the first letter of the name or surname of the owner.



Žigosana ovca – oznaka na njušci, Jablanka – Banat, 1981 (photo M. Maluckov)
Branded sheep – mark on the snout,
Jablanka – Banat, 1981



Obeležavanje ovaca katranom
Marking sheep by tar



Obeležavanje usijanim žigom
Hot brand marking



Hladno žigosanje ovaca vrši se tako što se žig umoči u katran ili neku boju i otisne na kožu ošišane ovce. Žigovi kojima se na ovaj način obeležavaju ovce su veći (10–15 cm, ali i više cm).

10.3.3. Brnjica

Brnjica je metalna karika koja se na različite načine stavlja na uvo ovaca.

10.3.4. Tajni rovaš

Pored vidljivog obeležavanja ovaca, čobani ih ponekad obeležavaju tajnim rovašem. Jedan od tajnih rovaša je tetoviranje ovaca na skrivenom mestu. Ovci se u unutrašnjosti uveta istetoviraju sitni inicijali ili broj, koji se zamaskira masnoćom iz uveta. Lopov ili onaj ko hoće da prevari vlasnika može da vidi tetovažu samo ako obori ovcu i dobro je pogleda.

Cold branding of the sheep is carried out by the mark dipped in tar or colour and put onto the skin of sheered sheep. Brands used for branding the sheep in this way are larger (10–15 cm, and more cm).

10.3.3. Muzzle

Muzzle is a metal ring that is in many different ways put the on the snout of sheep.

10.3.4. Secret mark

In addition to the visible marking of the sheep, shepherds sometimes mark them using secret marks. One of the secret marking is tattooing the sheep on a hidden place. The interior part of the ear is tattooed with small initials or a number, which is masked with the fat from the ear. A thief or someone who wants to trick the owner can see the tattoo only if he puts the sheep down and take a good look.

11. ŠTROJENJE OVNOVA

Ovnovi se u Vojvodini škope. Muški jaganjci koji se ne ostavljaju za rasplod škope se dok su mali, a ovnovi samo ako

11. CASTRATION OF THE RAMS

Rams in Vojvodina are castrated. Male lambs that are not left for breeding are being castrated while they are young, and they



Štrojenje ovna zubima, Kikinda – Banat, 1962 (photo M. Milosavljević)
Castrating the ram with teeth, Kikinda – Banat, 1962

ne treba da se pare i ako nisu čiste rase. Uškopljeni ovnovi brzo napreduju, a njihovo meso je veoma ukusno. Ovnovi se škope na nekoliko načina: uvrтанjem žila, presecanjem žila itd. Uvrtranje testisa vrši se na sledeći način. Najpre se nekoliko puta uvrnu žile testisa i testisi se gurnu u prepone. Oni se zavežu vunenim kanapom, tako da ne mogu pasti. U tom položaju oteknu i osuše se. Uvrtranje testisa je veoma bolno, zbog čega ovani teško hoda sedam-osam dana. Ovnovi se škope i *tucanjem*, tako što se, na panju, drvenim maljem istucaju žile. Danas se ovnovi štroje pomoću klešta, kojima se stisnu žile. Stari čobani su škopili ovnove i „zubima“ čak i šezdesetih godina XX veka. Štirojilo se na sledeći način: žile su presecane nožem, a testisi su vađeni Zubima.

12. TRADICIONALNO LEČENJE OVACA

Čobani su veoma često prinuđeni na to da sami leče svoje ovce, kao i ovce koje su primili na čuvanje. Danas ih najčešće leče uz pomoć lekova koje nabavljaju od veterinara i u poljoprivrednim apotekama. Čobani su donedavno lečili ovce na razne načine, upotrebljavajući sredstva koja su im bila dostupna.

12.1. Primeri lečenja ovaca

1. Kad ovca ne može da izbací „ložu“ posle jagnjenja, onda joj se da od pola litre do litre vina. Ona može dugo da se čisti, čak i do mesec dana. Loža se ne sme izvlačiti napolje, već se mora sačekati da sama izade.

Da bi bolje preživala, ovci se daje pola litre rasola. Jedan dan joj se daje raso, a drugi dan oko 2 dl zejtina.

2. **Gliste** se leče pomoću lekova. Na 10 kg hrane se stavlja jedna kafena kašika žutog praška. Kad imaju gliste, ovce budu pupave, a kad ih izbace, budu mršave. Gliste mogu

castrate the rams that are not used for mating and if they are not of pure breed. Castrated rams are growing fast, and their meat is very tasty. Rams are castrated in several ways: by twisting tendons, cutting them off and so on. Testicular torsion is carried out as follows. First, the testicular containers are twisted and testicles are pushed into the groin. They are tied with a rope, so they can not fall down. In that position, the swell and dry. Testicular torsion is very painful, causing ram trouble in walking for seven or eight days. Rams were also castrated by *pounding*, so that, on the stump, using mallet the tendons were pounded. Today, the rams are being castrated with pliers, which constrict containers. The old shepherds used to castrate rams using “teeth” even in the sixties. Castrating went as follows: containers were cut off with knife and the testicles were extracted with teeth.

12. TRADITIONAL TREATMENT OF SHEEP

The shepherds are often forced to treat their sheep by themselves, as well as the sheep that they took for tending. Today they usually treat them with medicines purchased from pharmacies, veterinarians and agricultural pharmacies. Recently the shepherds treated the sheep in different ways, using the resources that were available.

12.1. The examples of the sheep treatment

1. When sheep cannot eject the “lodge” after lambing, it is given half a liter to a liter of wine. It can be cleaned for a long time, even up to a month. The placenta is not to be drawn out, but one must wait for it to go out by itself. In order to survive, the sheep is given a pint of brine. One day she is given the brine, the other day about 2 dl of oil.

2. **Worms** are treated with medication. On 10 kg of food is put a teaspoon of yellow powder. When the sheep have worms, they have

da budu dugačke i po nekoliko metara. Kako bi se izlečile od glišta, ovcama se daje hrana u koju se stavlja sumpor i so.

3. Da se ne bi ožučile kada jedu mladu travu, ovcama se preventivno daje pepeo pomešan sa solju.

4. **Šuga.** Protiv šuge se koristi kreolin.

5. **Mastitis.** Kada boluju od mastitisa, ovcama se vezuje uvo.

6. **Naduvenost.** Dolazi od gorusice i deteline, ali i od žita. Ona je lečena tako što se u raširenu ovčiju vilicu vezivao klip kukuruzra. Dok bi hodala, ovca je rigala i izbacivala gasove. Da bi lakše izbacila gasove, nekada su čobani vadili i malo balege iz nje. Od naduvenosti ovci može puknuti bubreg. Ukoliko se to desi, ovca se oseća na travu. Ona mora da se zakolje i dobra je za ishranu. Ako počne da mokri i balega, znači da neće puknuti. Naduvenost je lečena i tako što je burak probadan šilom.

7. **Prišt.** Upala vimena naziva se prišt. Postoje tri vrste prišta. Prva vrsta se javlja kad se vime ne može izmesti. Druga vrsta nastaje kada tuđe – „prolazno“ jagnje izmuze ovcu. Treća vrsta je **prišt plavetnjak**, usled kojeg pola vimena pocrni i otpadne.

Upaljeno vime maže se svinjskom mašću u koju je stavljen sitno istucan plavi kamen. Međutim, ovakvo lečenje nije uspešno.²⁴ Vime brzo pomodri i ovca ugine. Stari čobani verovali su da vime otekne zbog ježa koji noću dolazi kod ovaca i sisa im mleko. Ovca koju sisa jež ne može da se otme, pa on dugo sisa i tako navuče krv u vime, koje se onda upali. Slično verovanje je vezano za zmiju, koja takođe noću sisa ovci mleko.

Upala vimena lečena je tako što bi se kanapom vezalo ono uvo ovce koje se nalazi na suprotnoj strani od upaljenog vimena. Uvo se vezivalo zato da ona ne bi mislila na vime već na bol od uvezanog uveta. U isto vreme bi se žuta zemlja (glina) pomešala sa sirčetom i time se mazalo, tj. hladilo vime. Posle hlađenja, vime se izmuze.

big stomachs, and when they throw them out, they are thin. Worms can be for several meters long. In order to get cured of worms, sheep are given food in which is put sulfur and salt.

3. In order to protect their gall while eating young grass, sheep are preventively given ashes mixed with salt.

4. **Scabies** Kreolin is used against scabies.

5. **Mastitis.** When suffer from mastitis the sheeps' ear is tied.

6. **Swollen state.** It comes from the mustard and clover, and cereals. It was treated so that corncob was tied into a widespread sheep's jaw. While walking, a sheep would burp and discharge gases. To discharge gases more easily, shepherds sometimes pulled the little of the dung out. From swollen state sheep's kidney may break. If this happens, the sheep smells of grass. It has to be slaughtered, and the meat is good for eating. If it starts to urinate and release dung, it will not break. Swollen state was also treated by making the puncture in a paunch by using an awl.

7. **Pimple.** The inflammation of the udder is called a pimple. There are three types of pimples. The first type occurs when the udder cannot be milked. The second type occurs when someone else's – "transient" lamb suckles the sheep. The third type is a **pimple plavetnjak**, which results in half of the udder turning black and falling off.

The pork fat should be anointed over sore udder, which is triturated with blue stone. However, this treatment is not very successful.²⁴ The udder turns blue quickly and the sheep dies. The old shepherds believed that the udder becomes swollen for the hedgehog coming to sheep at night and sucking its milk. Sheep sucked by the hedgehog can not get free, so the sucking lasts for a long time and during the process the blood gets into the udder, which then becomes inflamed. A similar belief is related to the snake, which also sucks sheep's milk at night.

The inflammation of the udder was treated by a string tied to the ear of sheep that is on

Upaljeno vime mazano je i svinjskom mašču pomešanom sa brašnom i solju.

Još jedan način lečenja vimena je, tako što se ispeče jež; čista mast se pomeša sa pepelom i sa tim se maže vime. Smatra se da upalu vimena ovce dobijaju od psećeg izmeta.

8. Ovca „pada na krv”. Ako ovca nije živahna i ne pase na uobičajen način, ako deluje pijano i ako su joj uši hladne, znači da „pada na krv”. Čobanin mora brzo da reaguje i da joj pusti krv. Ukoliko zakasni, ovca se mora zaklati pre nego što ugine. Krv se pušta iz uveta, koje se najpre dobro istrlja, a zatim se na njemu raseče vena. Tada krv, koja postane tamna, šikne i prska, čak i do dva metra u daljinu. Kada se otakanje krvi smanji, ovca se prutićem udara po uvetu, koje se tako zagreje, i krv počne normalno da teče. Neki čobani su ovcama presecali venu na nosu. Krv iz nosa bi polako oticala, a ovca bi je lizala. Ovce „padaju na krv” od jake hrane. Puštanje krvi je veoma efikasno ako se reaguje na vreme. Praktikuju ga čobani u celoj Vojvodini.

9. Vatra. Kad ovca nije živahna, čobanin joj šilom probuši rupu na koži ujeta i između hrskavice i kože uvuče drvce, odnosno stabljiku kukureka ili štapić. Štapić je obično debljine šibice, a dužina mu je 1 cm. Ako uvo otekne, znači da će ovca ostati u životu, a, ako je kukurek kasno uvučen u uvo, ovca će uginuti.

10. Šantavost. Kod ovaca se u poslednjih dvadesetak godina pojavila **šantavost**, i to



Ovca zaražena šantavošću
Sheep with lameness

the opposite side of the inflamed udder. The ear was also tied so that the sheep would not have thought of the udder, but of the pain of the tied ear. At the same time, vinegar would be mixed with the yellow soil (clay) and thus anointed, i.e. cooling the udder. After cooling, the udder was to be milked out.

Sore udder would also be anointed with pork fat mixed with flour and salt.

Another way of treating the udder was to bake a hedgehog, mix the ashes of it with pure fat and anoint the udder with the mixture. It is thought that the sheep get the udder inflamed from dog feces.

8. Sheep “falls on the blood.” If a sheep is not lively and does not graze in the usual way, if it looks drunk, and if its ears are cold, it means that it is “falling on the blood.” The shepherd has to react quickly and release its blood. If he is late, the sheep must be slaughtered before it dies. The blood is released from the ear, which is well rubbed first, and then the vein is cut. Then the blood, which is dark, hisses and sprays, even up to two meters in distance. When the flowing of blood is reduced, the sheep is hit on the ear by a stick, which is warmed that way, and blood begins to flow normally. Some shepherds used to cut veins on sheep's nose. Blood from the nose would flow slowly out and sheep would lick it. Sheep “drop on the blood” from a strong food. Releasing the blood is sufficient if one reacts in time. Shepherds in the whole of Vojvodina have practiced it.

9. Fire. When a sheep is not lively, the shepherd pierces a hole in the skin of the ear using an awl and retracts a piece of wood between cartilage and the skin or a stem of hellebore or a small baton. The usual thickness of baton is as of matches and length is about 1 cm. If the ear is swollen, it means that the sheep will stay in life, and if the hellebore is retracted in the ear lately, the sheep will die.

10. Lameness. Among the sheep, during the last twenty years **lameness** has appeared, most likely from pesticides. If the sheep eat

najverovatnije od pesticida. Ako ovce jedu *prskanu travu*, što se često dešava, papci im počnu truliti. Ova bolest se leči tako što se sa papka odseče sve što trune i ovci se da injekcija.

11. Šuga. Ako se ne vodi računa o čistoci ovaca, one dobiju **šugu**. Ova bolest je ranije lečena tako što bi se bolesna mesta mazala čorbotom od duvana. U nekim mestima je u tu čorbu stavljani i pileći izmet. Danas se bolesnim ovcama daju lekovi, ili se kupaju u specijalno napravljenim bazenima.



grass sprayed with pesticides, which often happens, their hooves begin to rot. This disease is treated so that the rotten parts from the hoof are cut off, and sheep is given the injection.

11. Scabies. If the shepherd does not take care of the purity of sheep, they get **scabies**. This disease used to be treated so that the soup of tobacco was anointed to the sick parts of the body. In some places the chicken feces were put in the soup. Today, the sick sheep are given medication, or they bathe in specially built pools.



Bazen za kupanje ovaca zaraženih šugom,
Kruščica – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
Bathing pool for the sheep infected by
scabies, Kruščica – Banat, 1989

Lečenje šuge posipanjem zaraženih mesta,
Doroslovo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Curing **scabies** by besprinkling the infected
areas, Doroslovo – Bačka, 1988

12. Rane od ujeda pasa obično se zagnoje i na takva mesta često pljune muva. Zagnojena mesta očiste se štapićem i namažu jodom.

13. Krpelj. Kod ovaca se u proleće javlja krpelj („krlja”), i to na prsim i repu. On se otkida, ili se maže vitriolom. Čobani smatraju da krpelji žive u mladoj travi.

Sve ovce se raspore posle uginuća, kako bi se ustanovalo od čega su uginule.

12. The wounds from dog bites are usually fester as such places are often spit by flies. Purulent places are cleaned with the small stick and iodine is spread over it.

13. Tick. Among sheep, the tick occurs in spring (so called “krlja”), on the chest and on the tail. It can be torn off, or anointed with vitriol. The shepherds believe that ticks live in the young grass.

When being sick, all sheep are ripped off after death, to determine what the cause of their death was.

13. TREPANACIJA

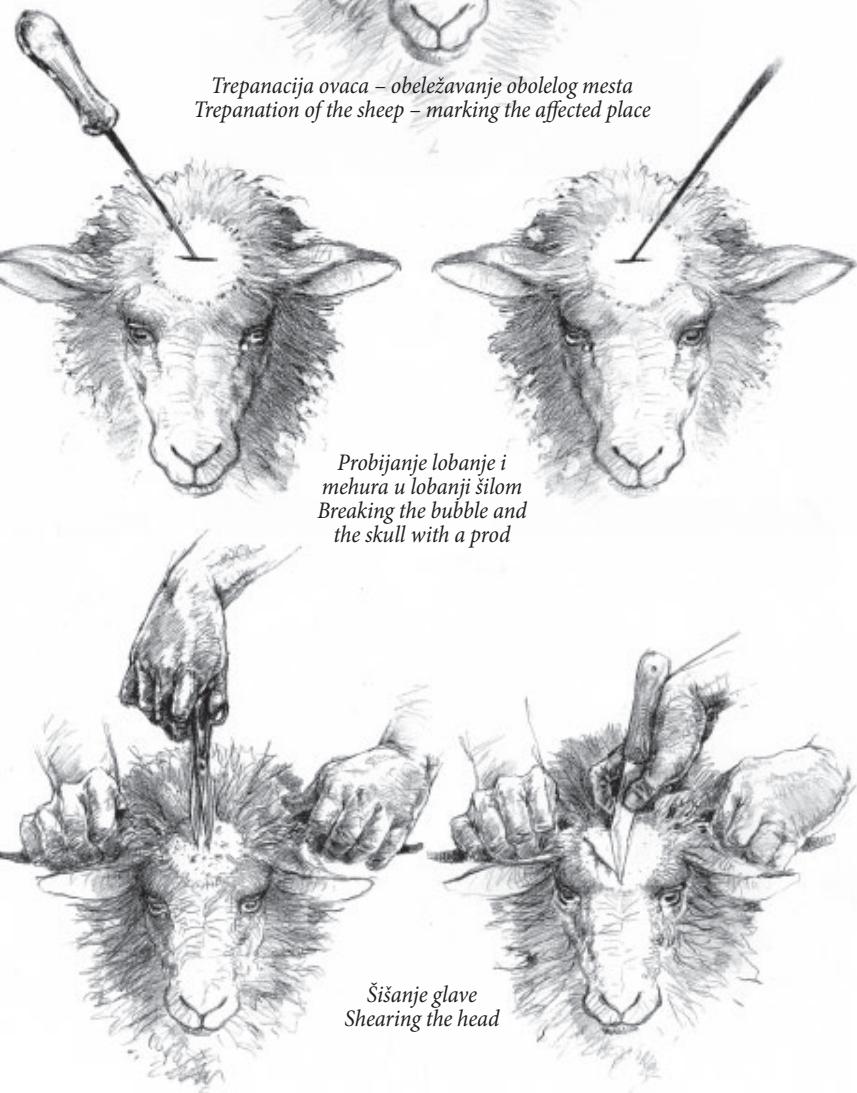
Pastiri iz više evropskih država poznavali su lečenje ovaca trepanacijom lobanje. Ona nije zabeležena u Vojvodini, ali je interesantno da je ovo pastirsko znanje bilo prisutno na veoma bliskim prostorima. Istraživanjima je ustanovljeno da je trepanacija primenjivana u Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj, Rumuniji, Bugarskoj, Grčkoj. Linija poznavanja trepanacije zauzimala je veliki geografski prostor i pretpostavka je da su, zbog blizine i međusobnih kontakata, čobani iz Srbije takođe poznavali ovu veštinu, ali da je ona vremenom zaboravljena.

13. TREPANATION

Shepherds from several European countries knew the treatment of sheep by skull trepanation. It is not recorded in Vojvodina, but it is interesting that this kind of shepherd knowledge was present in very close areas. The study found that trepanation was applied in Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece. Line knowledge of trepanation occupied a large geographical area and it is assumed that, because of proximity and mutual contacts, shepherds from Serbia also knew this skill, but that it was forgotten in time.

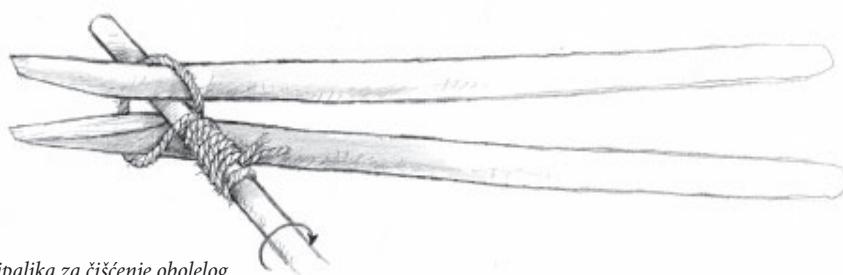


*Običajno oblikovanje oboleglog mesta
Marking the affected place*





Rasecanje i podizanje kože na glavi
Cutting and lifting the skin of the head



Štipaljka za čišćenje obolelog
mesta i čobanski nož
*Clip to clean the affected
place and shepherd's knife*



Vezivanje glave operisane ovce
Tying the head after the
operation of the sheep



Mapa raširenosti trepanacije na ovcama u širem okruženju Vojvodine
Map of the prevalence of trepanation on sheep in wider area of Vojvodina

Bolest „glave“ se kod ovaca manifestuje čudnim ponašanjem. Ovce se odvajaju od čopora, utučene su, nemirne, teturaju se, udaraju u predmete na koje najdu, škripe zubima. Bolest se u stručnoj literaturi naziva *brljivost, vrtičavost*. Izaziva je pantljičara koja živi u tankom crevu psa. Ovce se zaraze prilikom paše, unošenjem jajašaca u organizam. Iz jajašaca se u želucu formiraju larve, koje krvotokom dospevaju do mozga, gde se razvija mehur veličine trešnje ili oraha, pa i veći. Ovakav mehur čobani su uništavali trepanacijom, i to na tri načina: paljenjem usijanim gvožđem, probijanjem šilom i rasecanjem lobanje nožem i čišćenjem zaraženog mesta.

Brljivost je hronično oboljenje ovaca koje je prisutno u Vojvodini i poznato je vojvođanskim čobanima, ali većina ne zna za uzrok nastanka oboljenja. Čobani redovno kolju ovako zaražene ovce.

Verovanje vezano za brljivost:

Kad se ovca vrti u krug i napusti čopor, znači da je obolela od specifične bolesti, nastale usled pojave crva u glavi. Takva ovca mora da se zakolje i da joj se odseče glava. Narod veruje da se ova bolest više neće pojaviti ako se glava pre izlaska sunca zakopa na tromedi puteva. Neki čobani veruju da svaka ovca ima crva u glavi.²⁵

14. STRIŽA OVACA

Striža ovaca se vrši jednom godišnje – najčešće krajem maja i početkom juna, kad otopli. Za obavljanje ovog posla je važno da vreme bude lepo, tj. sunčano, bez kiše i vetra. Zabeležen je primer jednog čobanina koji je deset puta vodio ovce kući na šišanje, jer bi ga kiša svaki put omela, a ovce se šišaju samo kad im je vuna suva. Pošto su ovce veoma osetljive nakon striže, na pašnjacima se prave evedre. Ovce šišaju vlasnici ili čobani, koji za to dobijaju izvesnu novčanu nadoknadu. Da ne bi plačali šišanje, ovčari često pomažu jedni drugima. Običaj je da se

Disease of the “head” is manifested in sheep strange behavior. Sheep are separated from the herd, are despondent, restless, stagger up, hit the objects they encounter, grind with their teeth. The disease is called in the literature *confusion, fidgeting*. The tape-worm that lives in the small intestine of a dog causes it. Sheep become infected while grazing, bringing that way the eggs into the body. The larvae are formed from the eggs in stomach, which are taken to the brain through the bloodstream, where the bubble size of a cherry, a walnut, or even larger is developed. This bubble shepherds used to destroy by trepanation this in three ways: by burning with red-hot iron, breaking the skull using awl and opening the skull with a knife and cleaning the infected places.

Confusion is a chronic disease of the sheep present in Vojvodina, shepherds from Vojvodina are familiar with it, but most of them do not know the cause of the disease. Shepherds regularly slaughter the infected sheep.

Certain beliefs related to the disease:

When the sheep goes round in circles and leaves the herd, it means it is suffering from specific disease, caused by the occurrence of a worm in its head. These sheep must be slaughtered and its head must be cut off. People believed that this disease would not occur if the head was buried at sunrise, at the intersection of three roads. Some shepherds believe that each sheep has a worm in its head.²⁵

14. SHEARING THE SHEEP

Sheep shearing is done once a year – usually in late May and early June, when it gets warmer. For performing this task, it is very important that the weather is nice, i.e. sunny, without rain and wind. There has been an example of a shepherd who took his sheep ten times for shearing, because every time he was hindered by rain, and you can shear sheep only when their wool is dry.

ovce razdvoje pre striže, kako bi svaki gazda ošišao svoj čopor. Ovce se šišaju „čobanskim makazama”, a u poslednje vreme se koriste i električne makaze.



*Striža ovaca, Bečej – Bačka, 1959.
Shearing the sheep, Bečej
– Bačka, 1959.*



*Striža ovaca makazama, Jazovo
– Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Shearing the sheep with scissors,
Jazovo – Banat, 1991*



*Striža ovaca – uvrtanje vune u bale
i pakovanje u džakove, Gospodinci
– Bačka, 1955 (photo Š. Nadž)
Shearing the sheep with scissors,
Jazovo – Banat, 1991*



*Pranje vune na Savi, Kupinovo –
Srem, 1951 (photo R. Nikolić)
Washing the wool on the river Sava,
Kupinovo – Srem, 1951*

Because the sheep are very sensitive after shearing, evedras are made on the pastures. The sheep owners or shepherds, who get some money for that, sheer the sheep. To



*Uvijanje runa, Rimski šančevi, Novi Sad – Bačka
Twisting the wool, Rimski šančevi*

avoid paying for shearing, the sheep keepers often help each other. It is usual to separate the sheep before shearing, so that each boss could shear his own herd. Sheep are sheared with “shepherd’s scissors” and more recently with the electric scissors.

15. TORENJE NJIVA

Torenje ili đubrenje njive pomoću čopora ovaca bilo je na ceni. Period torenja počinje odmah posle žetve – od sredine juna, i traje do 1. decembra, odnosno do kraja sezone. Smatra se da je dobro ono torenje pri kojem čopor od 300 ovaca jedan dan leži na delu njive od 20 m dužine i 20 m širine. Ograda tora prenosi se svaki dan, jer nije dobro da se zemlja pređubri.

15. FOLDING THE FIELDS

Folding or fertilizing the fields with a herd of sheep was highly appreciated. The period of folding begins right after the harvest – from mid-June and lasts until 1st December, or until the end of the season. It is believed that good folding is when a herd of 300 sheep is lying for a day on the part of the field of 20 m length and 20 m width. Fence of

Organizovano torenje njiva i danas je najrazvijenije u Bačkoj. U Banatu i Sremu se plaćalo, ili su pak ovčari sopstvenim čoporima torili svoje njive. Prilikom planskog torenja, ovce su zatvarane u ograđen prostor („letve”, „krila”, „platna”). Na njivu su se pre torenja postavljalje letve određene dužine (4 m; visina im nije uvek ista – uglavnom iznosi oko 120 cm i 130 cm). Od broja ovaca je zavisilo koliko će se letava spojiti u ogradien prostor. Letve su se postavljalje ujutru i nisu se premeštale do narednog jutra. Pošto se pri pomeranju torna nije dirao prednji deo ograde, prenosile su se samo letve koje su činile stranice, a zadnji deo se pomerao napred. Premeštanje se vršilo svaki dan, dok se ne bi došlo do kraja njive. Nakon torenja jedne strane njive, ograda se pomerala ne drugu stranu, kako bi cela njiva bila torena. Dakle, letve su pomerane u stranu – za širinu ograde.

Torinom se u Vojvodini naziva i neograđen prostor na kojem ovce spavaju. Identičan naziv je i za tor. Na njemu se nalaze dva

the fold is moved every day, because it is not good for the soil to be over fertilized.

Organized folding of the fields even today is the most developed in Bačka. In Banat and Srem it was paid for, or the shepherds with their own herds folded the fields. With the planned folding, the sheep had been held in the enclosed area ("battens", "wings", "canvas"). Before folding, the battens were put on the field, 4 metres long (the height was not always the same – mainly about 120 cm and 130 cm). How many battens would be necessary to connect the enclosure depends on the number of sheep. The battens are placed in the morning and are not moved until the next morning. While moving the fold the front part of the fence was not touched, but only the battens that make up the sides are moved and the back of the fold was moved forward. Moving is done non-stop every day, until reaching the end of the field. After folding one side of the field, fence is moved to the other side, so that the whole field is folded. Thus, the battens are relocated to the side – for the width of the fence.



Zabijanje držača pri premeštanju letava radi torenja njive, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Nailing holders when moving the battens during folding the fields, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988



Premeštanje letava prilikom torenja njive, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Moving the battens during folding the field, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988

In Vojvodina, the unfenced areas where the sheep sleep are also called torina. The same word is used for fold. On it, here are two or more dug pillars, on which the sheep are scratching and a wooden trough or any other container in which an ordinary stone is put or



Tor na njivi posle berbe kukuruza, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Fold on the field after corn harvest, Tovariševo – Bačka, 1988

ukopana stuba ili više njih, o koje se ovce češu, kao i drveni valov ili neki drugi sud u koji se stavlja kamera ili obična jestiva so za ovce. Kamera so se u južnom Banatu stavljaju između rašlji.

Pri neplanskom torenju, ovčari su različito delili zemlju za torenje ili naplaćivali torenje, što se može videti iz sledećih primera:

1. Torenje se u Mandelosu plaćalo čobaninu, pošto je on torio njive; to mu je bio dodatak na platu. Svaki član udruženja ovčara je plaćao torenje.
2. U Neradinu je svako torio svoje njive, jer su čopori mali.
3. Krušedolski ovčari nisu svake noći premeštali obore. Premeštanje je zavisilo od veličine čopora. Manji čopori se nisu pomerali sa jednog mesta i po nedelju dana.
4. U Kruščici je čobanin torio zemlju, i to „za vino, rakiju i ručak“. Torenje je bilo neplansko, tj. ovce su slobodno išle po strnjikama. Vlasnici njiva su čobanima dozvoljavali da teraju ovce po skinutim kulturama bez nadoknade. Njima je trena njiva, a ovce su imale besplatnu ishranu.
5. Vlasnici velikih čopora iz Kusića su sami torili svoje njive, a udruženi ovčari su svoje njive torili po dogovoru. Ako glavni gazda nije htio da tori



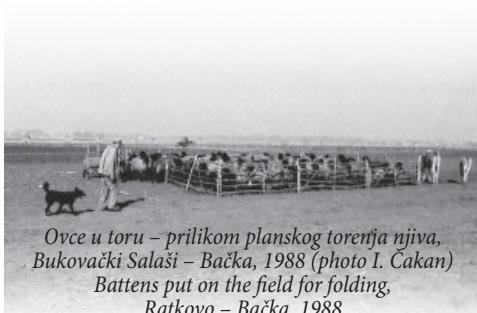
Letve postavljene na njivi radi torenja, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Battens put on the field for folding, Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988

ordinary edible salt for sheep. Rock salt in the southern Banat, is also put between the fork.

When the shepherds undertake the unplanned folding, they divide the land in various ways for folding or charge for it, as can be seen from the following examples:

1. In Mandelos folding was paid to the shepherd, as he folded the fields; it was the addition to his salary. Each member of the sheep keepers association paid for folding.
2. In Neradin everyone folded one's own fields, for the herds were small.
3. Sheep keepers in Krušedol didn't move folds every evening. The moving depended on the size of the herd. Smaller herd was not moved for a week.
4. In Kruščica the shepherd folded the land, for “wine, brandy and lunch”. Folding was without a plan, i.e. the sheep moved freely across the stubble. The owners of the fields allowed the shepherds to tend their sheep across the fields from which crops were recently taken off without compensation. They fields were folded and the sheep had free food.
5. The owners of large herds from Kusić folded their fields themselves, and joined sheep keepers folded their fields following the agreement. If the main master did not want to fold his field, then someone from the association

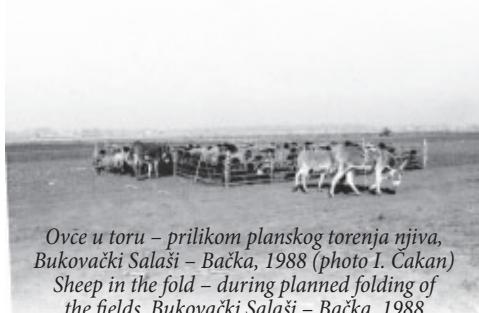
- svoju njivu, onda je neko iz udruženja torio svoje njive. U Kusiću se smatralo da je za đubrenje zemlje važnija mokraća.
6. Torinu je u Banatskoj Subotici dobijao onaj ko je čistio salaš. Ako niko iz udruženja nije htio da ga čisti, onda je to činio čobanin, te je torina bila njegova.
 7. Sviлоšani su, zbog čistoće, svoje torove premeštali svaki dan i torili su njive samo leti. Preko jeseni su ovce pasle po livadama, pošto na njima nije bilo blata. U Sviлоšu je jedna ovca imala vrednost jedne letve, odnosno jedne noći torenja (24 sata). Ako se torilo zimi, gazda ovaca je hranom i novcem plaćao čobanina.



*Ovce u toru – prilikom planskog torenja njiva,
Bukovački Salaši – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)*
*Battens put on the field for folding,
Ratkovo – Bačka, 1988*

folded their fields. It was thought In Kusić that urea is more important more important for fertilizing the land.

6. In Banatska Subotica torina was given to the person who cleaned the farm. If no one from the association wanted to clean it, then the shepherd did it, and torina belonged to him.
7. For the sake of hygiene they moved their folds every day and folding occurred just in summer. During the autumn sheep grazed on the meadows, as there was never any mud on them. In Sviлоš one sheep had a value of one batten or one night of folding (24 hours). If it was folded in winter, the owner of the sheep paid shepherd in food and money.



*Ovce u toru – prilikom planskog torenja njiva,
Bukovački Salaši – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)*
*Sheep in the fold – during planned folding of
the fields, Bukovački Salaši – Bačka, 1988*

16. OVČARSKI PRIBOR

Pored staništa, ovčari moraju da imaju i određena materijalna dobra (odeću, posuđe, različita pomoćna sredstva i dr.) koja im omogućavaju, tj. olakšavaju posao. Pod tim dobrima se podrazumeva pribor za rad sa ovcama i oko gajenja ovaca. Vojvodinski ovčarski pribor je, po svojim osnovnim oblicima i načinu ukrášavanja, specifičan, tj. njegove karakteristike su vezane za ove predele. U pastirski pribor se ubrajaju: štapovi, čobanske kuke i budže, klepetuše, vicigovi, bičevi, puta ili spone za sputavanje konja i dr. Redovni pratioci tj. pomagači pastira su čobanski psi – pulini ili veliki ovčarski psi. Žigovi se koriste za obeležavanje stoke, a

16. SHEPHERD'S EQUIPMENT

In addition to the housing, shepherds have to have certain material goods (clothing, utensils, tools and various aids) which enable them to do their job in an easier way. By these goods, we mean the equipment for work with sheep and sheep breeding. Shepherd's equipment in Vojvodina, according to its basic forms and way of decoration is very specific, i.e. its features are related to these regions. The shepherd's accessories include sticks, shepherd's hooks and cudgels, rattles, vicigov, whips, clamps, or braces for restraining the horses and some other. Shepherds' regular companions, i.e. their helpers are the dogs Pulins or

makaze za strižu ovaca. Za mužu ovaca, kao i za spravljanje i nošenje hrane i vode upotrebljavaju se razne vedrice (ranije drvene, kasnije metalne), kotlići, čobanje, čuture. Nekada je korišćen i „tarčulj”, posuda napravljena od ovčje kože. U njemu je nošena kuvana ili pečena hrana. Ova posuda je izobičajena. Za paljenje vatre se koristilo ocilo, trud i kremen. Čobanin je imao kaniju sa nožem, a vrlo često i pribor za pušenje – duvankesu i lulu.

Treba razlikovati predmete ovčara – vlasnika čopora, koji se gajenjem ovaca bave zbog porodične tradicije (ili ličnog opredeljenja), i predmete unajmljenih čobana. Unajmljeni čobani (ako su profesionalni čobani) obično poseduju predmete koji simbolizuju čobanstvo.

Za ovčarska domaćinstva se vezuju i žigovi, zvona, posude za mleko i sir, ali i psi i magarci. Vlasnik čopora često unajmljenom čobaninu obezbeđuje i određene delove odeće (npr. opakliju ili bundaš), koji ostaju u vlasništvu gazde.

Štapovi, bičevi i pribor za paljenje vatre (ocilo, kremen) bili su vlasništvo udruženja ovčara, dok su brojne sitnice vezane za svakodnevni život – npr. noževi i predmeti koje je čobanin izrađivao u dokolici, pripadale čobaninu (različiti rezbareni predmeti, frule, itd.).

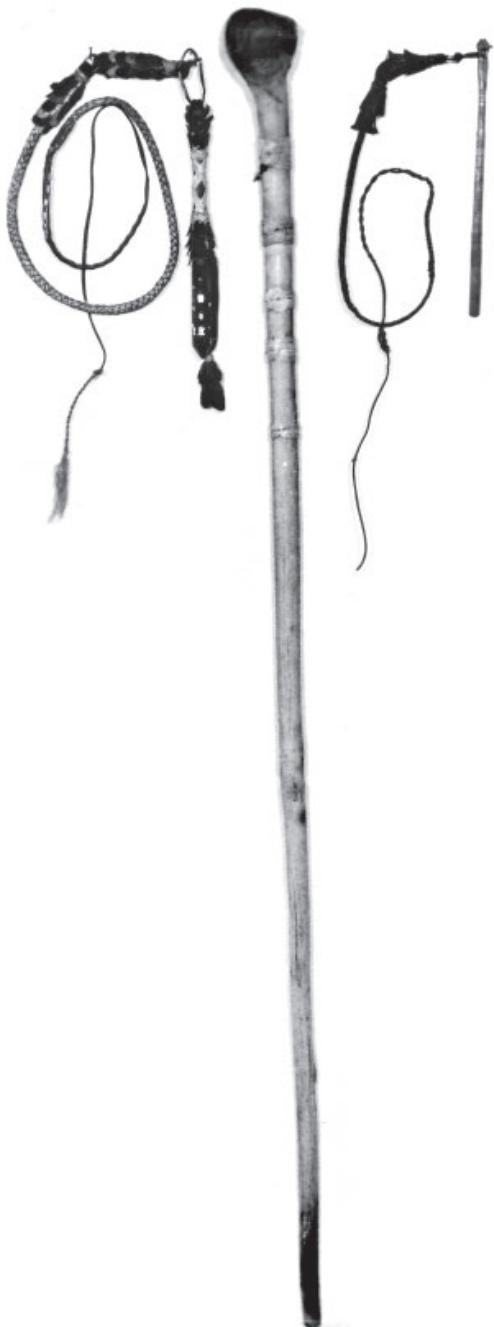
16.1. Čobanski štapovi i bičevi

Čobanski štapovi su neophodan deo pribora za čuvanje ovaca. Štapom se čobanin brani od pasa, njime se poštapa i na njega se oslanja kada želi da se odmori. On štapom diriguje, odnosno prilikom čuvanja čopora upućuje pse na to kuda treba da idu i na koju stranu da teraju ovce.

Štapove najčešće izrađuju sami čobani. Oni se prave od jasenovog, hrastovog, drenovog, bagremovog, trešnjevog i drugog drveta. Neki izrazito vešti čobani su, naročito u ukrašavanju, pravili štapove i za druge čobane.



Čobanski štapovi
Shepherds' sticks



Dva biča i čobanski štap
Two whips and shepherd's stick

large sheepdogs. The brands are used for marking the cattle and scissors for shearing the sheep. Various buckets (formerly wooden, and later metal), kettles, čobanje, flasks were used for milking the sheep, as well as for making and carrying food and water in them."Tarčulj" was also used, a container made of sheepskin. Boiled or fried food was carried in it. This container is out of use. Firesteels, trud, and flint were used for lighting fire. The shepherd had a sheath with a knife, and very often, smoking accessories – a tobacco tripe and a pipe. It is necessary to distinguish sheep keeper's objects – the owner of the herd, who is engaged in sheep breeding for a family tradition (or personal preference), and hired shepherd's objects. Hired shepherds (if they are a professional shepherd) usually have items that symbolize shepherdom.

For sheep keeper's household are related brands, bells, containers for milk and cheese, but also the dogs and donkeys. The owner of the herd often provides hired shepherd with specific parts of clothing (for example opaklja or bundaš), which remain in the property of the master.

Sticks, whips and accessories for lighting fire (firesteels, flint) were in the possession of the associations of sheep keepers, while many small things related to everyday life – e.g. knives and the objects that the shepherd made at leisure, belong to the shepherd (various carved objects, fife, etc.).

16.1. Shepherds' sticks and wipes

Shepherds' sticks are a necessary part of equipment for tending sheep. Stick is used to defend himself from the dogs; it can rely on it when he wants to rest. He conducts using a stick or when tending the herd to instruct the dogs where to go and which way to chase the sheep.

Shepherds usually make sticks by themselves. They are made of ash, oak, dogwood, locust, cherry and other trees. Some highly

Čobanska kuka je štap dug oko 1,5 m, na čijem se vrhu nalazi metalna ili drvena kuka. Kukom se hvataju jaganjci ili nemirne ovce. Stari štapovi imali su drvene kuke, a noviji metalne – mesingane ili gvozdene (zanatske proizvodnje).

Specifičan čobanski štap je „budža“. Na vrhu ovog štapa se, za razliku od onog sa kukom, nalazi okruglasta drška – budža. Čobani ga prave od mladog stabla. Odabranu mlado drvo se sa korenom isčupa iz zemlje. Nakon toga se orežu okrajci korenja, a stablo se oljušti, tj. skine mu se kora, i namaže se mašću, kako ne bi popucao prilikom sušenja.

Čobanski štapovi često se ukrašavaju urezima, opletanjem žicom i bagremovim korenjem, intarzijom itd. Rezbarenje štapova vrši se vrhom oštrog noža; urezi mogu biti plitki i duboki. Ornamenti su uglavnom geometrijski: kombinuju se kvadrati, trouglovi, riblja kost i kružne linije. Ornamentika je često prebogata. Štapovi su ukrašeni celom dužinom ili samo u gornjem delu. Intarzija se izvodi umetanjem metalnih i plastičnih pločica. Ukrasima nastalim ubacivanjem pločica najčešće su predstavljeni pojedini upotrebnici predmeti (nož, viljuška, kotlić, čaša, sto itd.), ili pak čitave kompozicije – čobanin sa čoporom ovaca, lovac okružen životinjama. Na dekorisanim štapovima često su urezani inicijali ili ime i prezime vlasnika i godina kada je napravljen.

Za teranje ovaca nakon striže se koriste bičevi sa kratkim držaljima (oko 50 cm). Bičevi mogu biti vuneni, kudeljni ili kožni. Kudeljne i vunene bičeve pletu sami čobani, dok su kožni bičevi zanatske proizvodnje. Gornji deo biča je širi, tj. sužava se prema kraju, a na kraju se nalazi švigar, kojim se puca. Za držalja je pričvršćen metalnom alkom ili kožnim remenom. Držalja bičeva često su ukrašena kao i čobanski štapovi.²⁶

skilled shepherds, especially in decoration, make sticks for other shepherds as well.

Shepherd's hook is the rod about 1.5 m long, on whose top there is a metal or wooden hook. The hook is used to catch the lambs, or fidgety sheep. The old sticks used to have wooden hooks, and the newer metal – brass or iron (of artisanship production).

Specific shepherd's stick is a "cudgel". At the top of the stick, unlike the one with the hook, is a round handle – budža. Shepherds make it from young trees. Selected young tree is pulled out of the soil together with a root. Then the stubs of the root are cut off, and the trunk is peeled off, i.e. the bark is peeled off, and smeared with grease, to avoid cracking during the drying.

Shepherd sticks are often decorated with incisions, braided wire and roots of locust trees, inlay, etc... The carving of sticks is made with the tip of sharp knife, cuts can be shallow and deep. The ornaments are mostly geometric: squares, triangles, herringbone and circular lines are combined. The ornamentation is often too rich. Rods are decorated in full length or just at the top. Inlay is performed by inserting metal and plastic plates. Decorations created by inserting plates usually present some household items (knife, fork, kettle, glass, table, etc...), or even the whole composition – a shepherd with a herd of sheep, a hunter surrounded by animals. The sticks were often decorated with engraved initials or name and surname of the owner and the year when it was made.

Whips with short handles are used for chasing the sheep after shearing (50 cm). Whips can be made of wool, leather, or hemp. Hemp and wool whips are weaved by shepherds themselves, while leather whips are of a professional production. The upper part of the whip is widening, i.e. narrowing towards the end, at the end there is švigar, which shoots. It is fixed with metal tilt or leather belt to the holder. The whip holders are often decorated like shepherd's sticks.²⁶

16.2. Zvona

Stočarima su od znatne pomoći bila različita zvona. Njima su obeležavani predvodnici čopora, pojedina grla u čoporu i stoka u zaprezi. Po zvuku zvona se pratilo kretanje čopora ili udaljavanje pojedinih grla. Zvona se razlikuju po materijalu od kojeg su izrađena, po obliku (otuda i razni nazivi – zvona, klepetuše, vicingovi) i po zvuku. Obično se vodilo računa o tome da zvuci svih zvona u čoporu ili zaprezi budu uskladeni. Nestajanjem velikih čopora ovaca i goveda i izbacivanjem iz upotrebe volovskih zaprega došlo je i do zamiranja proizvodnje i prometa raznih tipova zvona u Vojvodini. Međutim, veliki broj zvona je sačuvan do danas.

16.2.1. Klepetuše

Klepetuše su izrađivali seoski kovači, od gvozdenog pleha. Njihova veličina zavisila je od namene, tj. od toga kojoj stoci su bili namenjeni. Telo i otvor klepetuše mogli su biti različitog oblika (elipsastog, okruglog, četvorougaonog). Kroz dršku se provlačio kožni remen, kojim se vezivala oko vrata životinje. Od oblika klatna, kao i od oblika tela i otvora klepetuše zavisi kakav će zvuk proizvesti.



Vicingov – duplo zvono
Vicingov – double bell

16.2. Bells

Different kinds of bells were of considerable help to cattle breeders. The leaders of the herd were marked with them, some heads in a herd and cattle in a team. By the sound of bells shepherds could monitor the movement of the herd or moving away of the individual animals. Bells differ in material they are made of, in shape (hence the different names are used- bells, rattles, vicingovi) and by the sound. It is usually taken into account that all the sounds of bells in a herd or in a team comply. With disappearance of large herds of sheep and cattle, and putting an ox-cart out of use the production and trade of various types of bells in Vojvodina stopped being produced. However, a large number of bells is still preserved.

16.2.1. Rattles

Rattles were made by local blacksmiths, of iron tin. Their size depended on the purpose, i.e. which cattle they were intended to be used for. The body and the opening of the rattle could be of various shapes (elliptical, circular, a square). Through the handle was retracted a leather strap, which was tied around the neck of the animal. From the shape of the pendulum, as well as the shape of body and the hole depends the sound the rattle produces.



Klepetuša
Rattle

16.2.2. Vicigovi

Vicigovi su liveni od mesinga. Postoje zvona sa jednostavnim klatnom, ali i takozvana dupla zvona, kod kojih se u funkciji klatna javlja jedan manji vicigov. Ova zvona izrađivali su livci. Prema podacima dobijenim od čobana, u drugoj polovini 20. veka vicigovi su kupovani „negde na jugu, u Makedoniji”.

Neki ovčari su zvonima posvećivali posebnu pažnju. Postoje dve vrste zvona: klepetuše – uglavnom izrađene od bakarnog lima, i bronze – izrađene od mesinga i srodnih legura. Svaki primerak klepetuše je unikatan, dok se bronze liju. Velika klepetuša je „bućkoš” (Uljma), „bućka” (Zagajica).

Klepetuše i zvona su ranije nabavljeni u trgovinama, na vašarima, od proizvođača, a sada ih često prekupljuju jedni od drugih.

Ovčar koji ima mnogo zvona nastoji da ih kompletira po tonskoj skali. Komplet zvona naziva se banda ili muzika. Bandu čini 12 zvona, koja su složena po zvuku (Zagajica), ali ih može biti i 20 ili 50. Prvi zvuk kod zvona vrste brzona je vicigov (Izbište). U Margiti, gde žive Rumuni, mala klepetuša se naziva *clopotuša* (velika *clopot*), a mesingano zvono *bucie*. Ako se kod mesinganog zvona javlja malo zvono umesto klatna, onda se ono naziva *vijigov*. Srbi smatraju da reč „ficigov” (Vatin, inače i „vicigov”) označava žuto zvono u kojem se umesto klatna javlja još jedno zvono.

Koliki značaj ovčari pridaju zvonima, vidi se iz raznih životnih zgoda. Za jednog ovčara iz Zagajice pričaju da je imao običaj da o seoskoj zavetini ili nekom drugom prazniku stavi na ovce sva svoja zvona, prethodno očišćena i uglancana, i onda čopor protera kroz centar sela („kao usput mu je”), baš u vreme kada se u centru nalazi najviše sveta.

Sin poznatog pavliškog ovčara (porodice sa nadimkom Vagaž), takođe ovčar, pokušao je da objasni zašto sva zvona stavlja ovčama u jesen, a ne ranije (u kući imaju oko stotinu klepetuša i zvona). Mlad, staložen, čutljiv i

16.2.2. Vicigovi-double bells

Double bells were cast in brass. There are ringtones with a simple pendulum, but also so-called double bells, in which the function of pendulum plays a small vicigov. These bells were made by moulders. According to data got from the shepherds in the second half of the 20th century vicigovi were bought “somewhere in the south, in Macedonia.”

Some shepherds paid extra attention to the bells. There are two types of bells: rattlers – usually made of copper tin, and bronze – made of brass and similar alloys. Each piece of rattle is unique, while the bronze is cast. Big rattler is called “bućkoš” (Uljma), “bućka” (Zagajica).

Rattles and bells were previously bought at the stores, at fairs, from the manufacturers, and now they are often resold to each other.

Sheep keeper who has a lot of bells is trying to complete them following the sound-scale. The set of bells is called a band or music. Band consists of 12 bells, which are arranged by the sound (Zagajica), there can be either 20 or 50 of them. The first sound of the bell of bronze type is vicigov (Frombište). In Margita, inhabited by Romanians, small rattler is called *clopotuša* (and a large one *clopot*), and a brass bell *bucie*. If in the brass bell instead of a pendulum a little bell is present, then it is called *vijigov*. Serbs believe that the word “ficigov” (Vatin, also a “vicigov”) means a yellow bell in which there is another bell instead of pendulum.

What significance sheep keepers give to bells can be seen from various life occasions. It is said for a sheep keeper from Zagajica that he used to, during the village celebration or any other festival, put the bells on all his sheep, previously cleaned and polished, and then he used to drive the whole herd through the center of the village (“as it’s just on his way”), just in time when in the center there are most people.

dobronameran, on svakako nije bio svestan potpunosti, ali i poetičnosti svog odgovora: „Nema ničeg lepšeg nego kada padne tonja u jesenji dan nad selom i atarom; ovce se polako kreću, a zvona zvone i zvuci se šire kao da miluju svaki busen i travku, kao pritisnuti tonjom uz ravnicu”.²⁷ On je zvona stavljao ovcama u jesen, kada prođe muža, jer su tada imale više snage za njihovo nošenje.

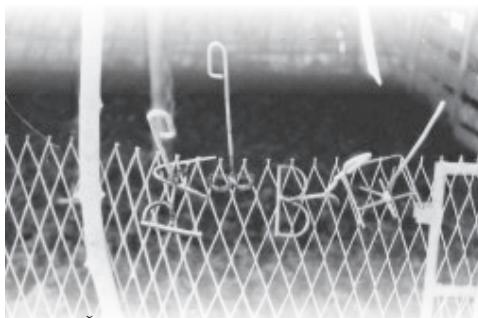
16.3. Žigovi

Stoka u Vojvodini se, kao što smo već rekli, obeležavala rovašenjem ili žigosanjem.

Žigosanje je vršeno pomoću gvozdenih žigova, koje su seoski kovači izrađivali od kovanog gvožđa. Žig se sastoji od pečatnog dela, gvozdenog vrata i drvene drške. Na pečatnim delovima najstarijih sačuvanih žigova se nalaze jednostavni znaci, u vidu polukružnih ili pravih linija. Noviji žigovi obično nose početna slova imena i prezime na vlasnika.

Stoka se mogla obeležavati na dva načina: toplim i hladnim žigosanjem. Pod toplim žigosanjem se podrazumevalo obeležavanje usijanim žigom, a pod hladnim obeležavanje žigom umakanim u katran ili boju, koji je otiskivan na kožu životinje. Žigovi kojima se spaljivala koža su mali (2–3 cm), dok su žigovi za obeležavanje katranom veći (10–15 cm).

Žigovi su se počeli koristiti još sredinom 18. veka, za vreme prvih kolonizacija.



Žigovi za obeležavanje ovaca, Padej – Banat, 1991 (photo I. Čakan)
Brands for marking the sheep,
Padej – Banat, 1991

A son of famous sheep keeper from Pavliš (family with nickname Vagaž), also a sheep keeper, tried to explain why he puts all the bells on his sheep in autumn and not earlier (in the house there are about a hundred rattlers and bells). This young man, calm, silent and well-intentioned, certainly was not fully conscious of his poetic response: "There is nothing more beautiful than when darkness starts falling over the village and on the fields in an autumn day and the sheep are moving slowly, and the bells are ringing and the sound is spreading as if caressing every blade of grass and hassock, as pressed by the darkness along the plain".²⁷ He put the bells on the sheep in autumn, after milking, because at that time they have more strength to carry them.

16.3. Brands

Cattle in Vojvodina, as we have said, was marked by branding or notching.

Branding was undertaken with iron brands, which village blacksmiths made of forged iron. A brand consists of the seal part, iron neck and wooden handle. On the sealing parts of the oldest preserved brands, there are simple signs in the form of semi-circular or straight lines. Recent ones usually have the initial letters of names and surnames of the owners.

Cattle could be marked in two ways: using hot and cold brand. Hot branding means marking by hot brand, and cold branding means marking with a brand, which was dipped in tar or paint, which is then printed onto the skin of the animals. Brands used for burning skin are small (2–3 cm), while the brands for marking using tar are bigger (10–15 cm).

Brands were used in the mid-18th century, during the first colonization.

The colonized people were given, in addition to the house and land the cattle as well, or some money for purchasing the cattle in semi-wild state, two oxen, or two

Kolonisti su, pored kuće i zemlje, dobili još i stoku ili novac za nabavku stoke, po dva vola ili dve kobile i jednu kravu sa ženskim teletom, kako bi odmah imali i mleka. Oni u ravnici (*Pferdbauer*) primili su kobile, a oni na brdima (*Ochsenbauer*) volove. Sem toga, primili su po jednu krmaču, a ovaca i koza po potrebi, i to sve na otplatu, po kupovnoj ceni. Erarski bikovi, pastuvi i veprovi pružali su im mogućnost da proizvode plemenitu rasu svake vrste stoke. Bez štala je to išlo teško, a među Rumunima skoro nikako, jer bi im ovi često krali stoku. Dešavalo se da su im Rumuni prodavali istu stoku koju su im ukrali. Tome se doskočilo uvođenjem žigova i pasoša, a protiv kradljivaca su se primenjivale drakonske kazne.²⁸

S obzirom na to da su krađe danas veoma retke, obeležavanje ovaca vrši se zbog prepoznavanja.

mares and a cow with a female calf, so that they could immediately have milk. Those on the plain (*Pferdbauer*) received the mares, and those in the hills (*Ochsenbauer*) oxen. Moreover, they received one sow, and sheep and goats as many as necessary, all that could have been paid in installments at the purchased price. Erar bulls, stallions and boars had provided them with opportunities to produce every kind of noble breed of cattle. Without stables, it was very hard and among Romanians almost impossible, because they used to steal their cattle. It happened that the Romanians sold the same cattle that they had stolen. Introducing the brands and passports was the idea of counteracting and stopping the theft, and draconian punishments were applied against the thieves.²⁸

As the thefts are very rare today, marking the sheep is done for distinguishing the animals.



Žigosanje ovaca, Padej – Banat, 1961
(photo M. Milosavljević)
Branding the sheep, Padej – Banat, 1961



Žigosanje ovaca, Čoka – Banat, 1961
(photo M. Milosavljević)
Branding the sheep, Čoka – Banat, 1961

17. PUTA

Za transport dobara vojvođanski ovčari uglavnom koriste magarce. U literaturi nije zabeleženo da su se u 20. veku koristili i konji, sem u seoskoj zaprezi, kada se išlo na udaljene pašnjake. Međutim, konji su bili prisutni tokom 18. i 19. veka, kada su bile učestale krađe kako ovaca i magaraca, tako i konja.

Za sprečavanje slobodnog kretanja konja prilikom ispaše korišćena je posebna sprava, koja je nazivana puto ili spone. Puto su konjima onemogućavala udaljavanje prilikom dnevnih i noćnih ispaša. Njima su obuzdani nemirni konji, a istovremeno su bila zaštita od krađe. Puto je konju stavljanu na prednje noge, ili su njime povezivana dva konja. Time nije potpuno onemogućavano kretanje konja, već je samo usporavano. Puto su izradivali seoski kovači – od kovanog gvožđa. Ona mogu biti različite veličine i težine. Puto se sastoji od dve bukagije i kratkog lanca koji ih spaja (6 do 7 karika). Bukagije podsećaju na gvozdene okove kružnog oblika. Neke su ukrašavane floralnim ili geometrijskim ornamentima. Postoje različiti tipovi puta. Najčešće je upotrebljavano puto sa bravom na jednoj bukagiji, a postojala su i puta sa bravama na obe bukagije, koje su se mogle otvoriti pomoću jednog ključa ili pomoći različitim ključevima. Puto sa posebnim mehanizmima za otvaranje bukagija i puta koja su zatvarana na lancu pomoći alke. Otvaranje tih puta nije bilo jednostavno i zahtevalo je poznavanje principa zatvaranja.

18. NOŠNJA

U prošlosti se čobanska nošnja nije mnogo razlikovala od muške radne odeće. Ona je bila usklađena sa nošnjom etničke zajednice kojoj je čobanin pripadao. Čobanin je leti nosio šešir, a zimi šubar. On je nosio čakšire od sukna ili kože, kao i opanke ili čizme.

17. PUTA

For transportation of goods, sheep keepers in Vojvodina mainly use donkeys. In literature, there is no record that in the 20th century the horses were also used, except in team when people went to distant pastures. However, horses were present during the 18th and 19th century, when there were frequent thefts of sheep and donkeys, as well as horses.

To prevent the free movement of horses while grazing a special device was used, this was called puta or bonds. It was used to obstruct the horses to go away during the day and night while grazing. Using it restless horses were chastened, and at the same time, it was also an anti-theft protection. Puto was put on front legs of a horse or two horses were tied together with it. The movement of horses was not totally restrained, but only slowed down. Puto was made by local blacksmiths – of forged iron.

They can be of different size and weight. Puto is composed of two fetters and a short chain, which connects those (6 to 7 links). Fetter remind of circle iron fittings. Some of them are decorated with floral or geometric ornaments. There are different types of puto. The most frequently used puto is a one with a lock on one fetter, and there are puta with locks on both fetters, that could be open with one key or by using different keys, puta with special mechanism for opening the fetters, and the ones that were closed with the chain with a ring. The opening of these puta was not easy and required knowledge of the principles of closing.

18. COSTUME

In the past, shepherd's costume was not much different from men's working clothes. It was adjusted to the costumes of ethnic community the shepherd belonged to. The shepherd was wearing a hat in summer and a fur hat in winter. He wore trousers of cloth

Specifična čobanska obuća bile su „mestve”. Pravljene su od mekane kože i nosile su se sa opancima, jer su pokrivale samo listove. Čobani su, takođe, nosili košulju od lana ili kudelje i grudnjak. Ogrtali su se kabanicama od valjanog sukna. Kabanicu su nosili preko cele godine. Ona je široka i duga (do listova) i ima kapuljaču. Kada je bilo hladno, čobani su nosili krznenu opakliju ili bundaš.

Vunom su pleteni: džemperi, puloveri, rukavice, čarape.

Današnji čobani nose staru, iznošenu odeću, a ogrču se gumenim kabanicama i kupovnim bundama. Oni nose gumene čizme, kao i šešir, šubar ili neku drugu kapu.

18.1. Opaklja

Opaklja je krzneni ogtač karakterističan za zemljoradničko stanovništvo Vojvodine. Tokom druge polovine 20. veka je, skoro u potpunosti, izašla iz upotrebe. Opaklja je bila zanatski proizvod. Izrađivale su

or leather, as well as opanke or boots. Specific shepherd's shoes were "mestve". They were made of soft leather and were worn with opanci, because they only cover calves. The shepherds, too, wore a shirt of linen or hemp and doublet. They cloaked the cloak made of rolled cloth. They wore the cloak over the whole year. It is wide and long (up to the calves) and has a hood. When it was cold, shepherds wore opaklja or special fur coat called bundaš.

Sweaters, pullovers, gloves and socks are knitted from wool.

Today's shepherds wear old, worn clothes, and cloak rubber raincoats and ready-made fur coats. They wear rubber boots as well as a hat, fur hat or other cap.

18.1. Opaklja

Opaklja is a furry cloak characteristic for the agricultural population of Vojvodina. During the second half of the 20th century, it is almost completely out of use. Opaklja was handicraft product. Ćurčija used to make them, who, starting from the preparation, cleaning, tanning, drying, colouring and cutting up the leather, was the creator of this piece of clothing. This garment is tailored from at least three large sheep leather, and there could be even more than twenty of them.

Opaklja symbolizes shepherd's winter clothing. Used as a protector from the coldness, it was not just a shepherd's clothing. In winter, due to the cold and snow, was indispensable, and after winter, it was used as a blanket (at night) or the mat – a place where you can lie down and sleep (during the day).

However, opaklja was not only winter clothes. It was worn throughout the whole year. All the shepherds had it and used it during the whole year. According to general opinion, fur clothing is classified as winter clothing. In the paper "Opaklja in Vojvodina", the ethnologist Vera Milutinović says:



Opaklja „piroškinja”, Kovilj – Bačka,
1950 (photo R. Nikolić)
Opaklja „piroškinja”, Kovilj – Bačka, 1950

je čurčije, koje su, počev od pripremanja, čišćenja, štavljenja, sušenja, farbanja i krojenja kože, bile kreatori ovog haljetka. Ovaj ogrtač je krojen od najmanje tri velike ovčije kože, a moglo ih je biti više od dvadeset.

Opaklja simbolise čobansku zimsku odeću. Kao zaštitnik od hladnoće, ona nije bila samo pastirska odeća. Zimi je, zbog hladnoće i snega, bila nezamenljiva, a nakon zime se koristila kao pokrivač (noću) odnosno prostirač – mesto na kojem se može ležati i spavati (danju).

Ipak, opaklja nije bila samo zimska odeća. Ona se nosila tokom cele godine. Svi čobani su je imali i koristili svih dvanaest meseci. Po ustaljenom mišljenju, krvnena odeća se ubraja u zimsku odeću.

U radu „Opaklja u Vojvodini“, etnolog Vera Milutinović kaže:

„Jedan od karakterističnih delova krznenog odela u Vojvodini predstavljava je opaklja, koja je danas skoro izašla iz upotrebe. To je veliki ogrtač napravljen od ovčijeg krvna, koji je bio neophodan pre svega čuvaru stoke na poljima i pu-starama Panonske nizije. Upotrebljavali su je za vreme dugih vožnji kolima trgovci i zemljoradnici u hladnim zimskim danima. Opaklige siromašnih pastira napravljene su od manjeg broja koža, sa malo ukrasa ili bez njih. Opaklige trgovaca i imućnih seljaka su načinjene od većeg broja koža i bogate ukrašene vezom i kožnim aplikacijama. Opaklja je ogrtač, sličan pelerini, bez rukava i bez proreza za džepove. Pravljena je od ovčijeg krvna i to od onoga sa dugom i gustom vunom. Ogrtala se preko ramena, a duga je bila do zemlje. Kože za njenu izradu krojene su u klinove, gore uže a dole šire. Njih su kožuhari nazivali ‘cvikle’ ili ‘talovi’. Smatralo se da dobro skrojena opaklja, postavljena na pod, treba da načini krug, ‘da se savije kao točak’, kako to majstori kažu.“²⁹

Deo opaklje bila je kragna, koja se pravila od mlade jagnjeće kože.

One of the most distinctive parts of fur garments in Vojvodina was the opaklja, which is now almost out of use. It is a large cloak made from sheep's fur, which was used primarily to protect cattle keeper in the fields and wastelands of the Pannonian plain. Traders and farmers also used it during the long rides on cartwheels in cold winter days. Opaklja of poor shepherds were made of a small number of leather, with little or no ornamentation. Opaklja of traders and rich peasants, were made of larger number of leathers and richly decorated with embroidery and leather applications. Opaklja is a cloak, similar to pelerine, without sleeves and without slots for pockets. It was made of sheep fur from the one with long and thick wool. It was cloaked over his shoulders, and its length was to the ground. The leather used for making it was cut in pins, narrow at the top and wider towards downwards. Jerkin makers called them ‘cvike’ or ‘talovi’. It was believed that well-tailored opaklja, placed on the floor needs to make a circle, ‘to bend like a wheel’, as the masters say.²⁹

Part of opaklja was a collar, which was made from young lamb leather. Opaklige were worn so that the fur was from the inside. If it snowed or rained, fur was turned to the outside, since it almost does not absorb water and raindrops slide easily down. Like other fur garments, opaklige were decorated with woolen embroidery and applications of thin lambskin painted in red, which was called the “ira”. They were painted in brown, with a paint obtained from mulberry mushrooms.

18.2. Bundaš

Bundaš falls within fur clothing. It reminds of a coat very much. Usual length of it is by mid-calves. It is a part of the folk winter clothing, typical for the rural population of Vojvodina. Unlike opaklja, bundaš has sleeves and pockets. It is made of sheepskin.

Opaklige su nošene tako što bi krvno bilo sa unutrašnje strane. Kada bi padao sneg ili kiša, krvno je bilo sa spoljne strane; pošto je teško upijalo vodu, kišne kapi su se lako slivale sa njega.

Kao i druga krvnena odeća, opaklige su ukrašavane vunenim vezom i aplikacijama od tanke jagnjeće kože ofarbane u crveno, koja se zvala „ira”. Farbane su u braon, i to farbom dobijenom od dudovih pečuraka.

18.2. Bundaš

Bundaš spada u krvnenu odeću. Veoma podseća na kaput. Obično je dug do sredine listova. Deo je zimske narodne odeće, karakteristične za seosko stanovništvo Vojvodine. Za razliku od opaklige, bundaš ima rukave i džepove. Izrađivan je od ovčije kože. Često je ukrašavan vezom. Čurčijski ukrasi su, verovatno, nastajali pod uticajem lokalnih nacionalnih i seoskih obeležja i mode tog vremena.

18.3. Kabanica

Nakon hladnih zima, tj. od proleća do jeseni se kao zaštita od vetra i kiše koristi suknena kabanica. Neke kabanice imaju rukave, a neke nemaju, tj. kod nekih kabanica

it is often decorated with embroidery. Ornaments that čurčija made were probably created under the influence of local national and rural characteristics and fashion of the time.

18.3. Raincoat

After cold winter, that is, from spring to autumn as protection from wind and rain is used a cloak made of cloth. Some cloaks have sleeves and some do not, i.e. some sleeves are sewn up to the raincoat. Sewn up sleeves were used as pockets (for small necessities). Shepherd's raincoat may have a hood or collar. Raincoats are used as cloaks. They can be as long as calves or ankles.

18.4. Vest-tucker

Vest is a folklore garment from sheepskin with fur from the inside, which is worn in both summer and winter. The vest has no collar and is buttoned on the side. It is dyed with the mulberry mushrooms, as well as other fur clothing. It can be decorated.

18.5. Trousers

Trousers are made of cloth or leather. Slot or slit in the front upper part of the trousers was closed without buttons. On the inside



Suknena kabanica, Banatska Palanka, Banat, 1950 (photo M. S. Filipović)
Cloth raincoat, Banatska Palanka, Banat, 1950



Čobanin u gumiranoj kabanici, Aradac, Banat, 1966 (photo M. Bosić)
A shepherd in rubbered raincoat, Aradac Banat, 1966



Čobanin u gumiranoj kabanici, Selenča – Bačka (photo M. Bosić)
A shepherd in rubbered raincoat, Selenča – Bačka

su zašivani. Zašiveni rukavi korišćeni su kao džepovi (za sitne potrepštine). Čobanska kabanica može da ima kapuljaču ili kragnu – okovratnik. Kabanice se koriste kao ogrtači. One mogu biti duge do listova ili do članaka.

18.4. Prsluk – pršnjak

Prsluk je nošnja od ovčije kože, sa krznom na unutrašnjoj strani, koja se nosi i leti i zimi. Prsluk nema okovratnik i zakopčava se sa strane. Farban je dudovim pečurkama, kao i druga krznena odeća. Može biti ukrašen.

18.5. Čakšire

Čakšire su bile suknene ili kožne. Prorez odnosno šlic na prednjem gornjem delu čakšira zatvaran je bez dugmadi. Sa unutrašnje strane čakšira – na sredini proreza je prišivan jezik, koji je podizan nagore i pokrivan stranama proreza na čakširama. One su, takođe, bile ukrašene vunenim vezom.

Kožne čakšire uglavnom se koriste u zimskom periodu. One veoma lako primaju vlagu, posebno kada su nove i kad se sedi na travi ili zemlji. Zbog toga su ih čobani mazali lojem i o njih brisali masne ruke; masnoća ih je štitila od vlage.

18.6. Šubara

Šubara predstavlja deo zimske narodne odeće od jagnjeće kože. Ona štiti glavu od hladnoće. Natiče se na glavu – do ušiju i preko njih. Šubara se nosi tako da je krzno sa spoljne strane. Krzno je najčešće crno, a veoma retko belo. Za šubaru ili kapu Rajko Nikolić kaže: „Kapa od jagnjeće kože nošena je na razne načine, ali je najčešće ‘na jendek’ (vrh kape je od polovine uvučen) ili da se vrh kape sa desne strane uvuče malo unutra. Naziv ‘šubara’ za kapu ovde se retko čuje. Šubarom nazivaju kapu stanovnici ‘Paorije’ (sela izvan bivše Granice)”.³⁰



Letnja odeća – šesir, košulja, pršnjak, Kusić
– Banat, 1962 (photo B. Milošević)

Summer clothes – hat, shirt, tucker, Kusić – Banat, 1962

of the trousers- in the middle of the slit a tab was sewn, which was raised up and covered with the sides of the slit on the trousers. They were also decorated with wool embroidery.

Leather trousers were mainly used in winter. They easily absorb moisture, especially when new and when sitting on the grass or earth. Therefore, the shepherds anointed them with suet and wiped their greasy hands with them; fat protected them from moisture.

18.6. Fur hat

Fur hat is part of people's winter clothing made from lambskin. It protects the head from the coldness. It is stuck on the head – to the ears and over them. Fur hat is worn so that the fur is turned to the outside. The fur is usually black, and very rarely white. For fur hat or cap, Rajko Nikolić says: “The cap from lambskin is worn in various ways, but it is usually ‘on the ditch’ (the top of the cap is half drawn) or that the top of the cap on the right side is drown a little inside. The term ‘fur hat’ for the cap is rarely used here. The residents of ‘Paorije’ (a village outside the former Border) call the cap a fur hat”.³⁰



Čobanin Baga Peruša – Stevan Košić u zimskom odelu (šubara, pršnjak, bena, kožne čakšire, opanci), Kovilj – Bačka, 1950 (photo R. Nikolić)
Shepherd Baga Peruša – Stevan Košić in winter clothes (fur hat, tucker, shirt-bena, leather trousers, opanci), Kovilj – Bačka, 1950



Čobanin sa pulinom, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1989 (photo I. Čakan)
A shepherd with Pully, Vračev Gaj – Banat, 1989

18.7. Kaputić

Ova kožna odeća duga je do pojasa, ima rukave, džepove i zakopčava se na prednjoj strani.

18.7. Small coat

This leather clothing comes to the waist, has sleeves, pockets and is buttoned on the front.



Čobansko odelo (šešir, košulja, kaputić, suknene čakšire, vunene čarape, opanci i suknena kabanica), Nikolinci – Banat, 1949 (photo M. Đurić)
Shepherd's clothes (hat, shirt, small coat, cloth trousers, woolen socks, opanci and cloth raincoat), Nikolinci – Banat, 1949

18.8. Openci

Openci su vrsta obuće. Ranije su pravljeni od kože, a u novije vreme od gume. Oni se natiču na noge i kožnim kaišićima ili kratkim kaišem sa kopčom pričvršćuju za noge iznad članaka. Na prednjoj strani opanka se nalazi jezik, koji se povlači kada se obuva. Openci su najpre pravljeni samo od kože, a kasnije se javljaju oni sa đonom od gume.



Openci sa kaišima i obojci, Lokve – Banat, 1967 (photo M. Maluckov)
Openci straps and obojci, Lokve – Banat, 1967

18.9. Rukavice

Čobanske rukavice su specifične jer pokrivaju celu šaku i ruke iznad članaka. One se šiju tako da su četiri prsta zajedno, a palac izdvojen. Pravljene su od ovčje kože, i to tako da se krzno nalazilo na unutrašnjoj strani. Korišćene su samo zimi.

19. ČOBANSKI PSI

Čuvanje ovaca je gotovo nezamislivo bez pasa. Ovce se brzo kreću i kad pasu, te se veoma brzo i nenadano udalje. Čobani ih čuvaju sa malim psima pulinima i velikim belim psima, koji su poznati kao „psi čuvari“. Pulini se u celoj Vojvodini koriste za čuvanje ovaca, a u mnogim mestima su se pojavili odnosno uobičajili tek početkom 20. veka. Veliki ovčarski psi čuvaju čopor od vukova i kradljivaca. Oni su obavezni pratioci banatskih ovčara, a ima ih i u Sremu i u Bačkoj (u

18.8. Openci

Openci are the kinds of shoes. In the past, they were made of leather, and more recently of rubber. They are stuck to the legs and with small leather straps or a short strap with a clasp fastened to the feet above ankles. On the front part of opanak there is a tab, which is pulled when putting on. Openci were first made only of leather, and later there are the ones with rubber soles.

18.9. Gloves

Shepherd's gloves are specific as they cover the entire hand and arm above the wrists. They are sewn so that four fingers are together and thumb is separated. They are made of sheepskin, and so the fur was turned inside. They are just used in winter.

19. SHEPHERDS' DOGS

Tending sheep is almost unthinkable without the dogs. Sheep are moving fast even when they're grazing, so they can move away very quickly and suddenly. The shepherds tend them with small dogs-Pulins and large white dogs, which are known as "guard dogs". Pulins are throughout the whole Vojvodina used for tending sheep, and in many places they have not appeared, i.e. have not been accustomed until the early 20th century. A large sheep dogs guard the herd from

manjoj meri), pošto u tim predelima vukovi ne predstavljaju opasnost za ovce.

Ovce je teško čuvati kada se vode po „lenijama“ atara. One lako mogu da uđu u useve i naprave štetu, a vole da pasu skoro sve što se zeleni – detelinu, papriku, kukuruz, bostan, luk i sl. Kada se ovce vode po „lenijama“, pas se šalje na jednu stranu čopora, dok se drugom stranom vraća. On mora stalno da pazi na ovce i da ih vraća na put, što je veoma naporno. Kada ide „lenijom“, čopor je razvučen, jer je put uzak i prav. Pošto je takvo čuvanje naporno za pse, čobanin ih često smenuje. Jedan dan čuva sa jednim psom, a drugi dan sa drugim, ili pak pre podne čuva sa jednim psom, a posle podne sa drugim. Na pašnjaku, gde je čuvanje jednostavnije, psi se menjaju posle nekoliko dana, ili se jedne nedelje čopor čuva sa jednim psom, a druge sa drugim itd.



Čobanski pas pulin, Potporanj –
Banat, 1982 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's dog Pulin, Potporanj – Banat, 1982



Čobanski pulin sa zatupljenim zubima,
Kovilj – Bačka, 1987 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's pulin with blunted teeth,
Kovilj – Bačka, 1987

wolves and the thieves. They are required companions of the shepherd in Banat, and there are some of them in Srem and in Bačka (to a lesser extent), since in these regions wolf does not represent a threat to the sheep.

It is difficult to tend the sheep when they are taken along “the lines” of the fields. They can easily enter the fields and damage crops, and they like to graze almost anything green – clover, bell peppers, corn, melons, onions and the like. When sheep are taken along “the lines” the dog is sent to one side of the herd, while on the way back it is on the opposite side. It must always take care of the sheep and take them back on the road, which is very hard. When the herd goes along “the lines”, it is stretched, because the road is narrow and straight. Since it is such a difficult chore for dogs, shepherd, often replaces them. One day he tends the sheep with one dog, and



Pulini, Deronje – Bačka, 1988 (photo I. Čakan)
Pulin dogs, Deronje – Bačka, 1988



Čobanin sa pulinom, Kovilj – Bačka,
1987 (photo I. Čakan)
A shepherd with Pulin,
Kovilj – Bačka, 1987

Dok čuva ovce, pas treba da bude iza čobanovih leđa. Zbog toga, kad želi da ga umiri, čoban izda komandu „za leđa” ili „za pete”. Ukoliko želi da pas vratи čopor, čoban se nagne na levu stranu ili na desnu. Pas ide na onu stranu na koju se čoban nagnuo. Dakle, čoban mu telom pokazuje kuda treba da ide. Ako treba da dotera ovce, psu se kaže „idi” i on poslušno vraća ovce. Čobani diriguju psima i pomoću štapa, mahanjem na levu ili desnu stranu. Kada se štap podigne visoko, to znači da pas treba da se vrati. Psima se komanduje i zvižducima.

Čobani neguju svoje pse. Oni vode brigu o čistoti rase. Keruše se pare sa dobrim pulinima. Psi se od malena uče čuvanju ovce. Štene se vodi na pašnjak sa starijim psom, od koga uči šta treba da radi. Kada se odbije od sise (sa oko tri meseca), ono se vodi sa ovcama jedan dan – od ujutru do uveče. Posle toga se odmara tri-četiri dana, pa se opet vodi jedan dan sa ovcama. Tako se postupa sa njim do pet meseci. Kad malo ojača, štene se naredna tri meseca vodi sa odraslim psom. Pas je posle tog perioda sposoban za čuvanje ovaca sa čobaninom. Smatra se da je pulin sa sedam-osam meseci fizički spreman za čuvanje ovaca.

Prvu obuku štenici dobijaju od svoje majke, ako ostanu uz nju u istom stаду. Dopunsku obuku štenici primaju od čobana, prema njegovim zahtevima i potrebama. Radne zadatke pulini obavljaju obično u paru, a njihov broj zavisi od veličine stada i broja ovaca u njemu. Najstariji pulin prima naređenje čobana, a ispunjavaju ga svi ostali, zajedno. Koristan rad pulina sastoji se od: upoznavanja stada, okupljanja stada, teranja, razdvajanja stada, izdvajanja pojedinih ovaca iz stada i drugih poslova. Pulini su za vreme paše ovaca uz čobana i nestrpljivo očekuju svaku njegovu zapoved, a prate ga u stopu, po čemu je i nastala narodna izreka „prati ga kao pulin čobana”.³¹

Novonabavljeni štenad, staru oko tri meseca, čoban navikava na to da se odaziva na

other day with another, or in the morning with one dog, and in the afternoon with the other. On the pasture, where the tending is easier, the dogs are changed after a few days or a shepherd tends the herd with one dog for a week, and then another week with the other and so on.

While tending the sheep, the dog should be behind shepherd's back. Therefore, when he wants to calm him down, shepherd issues the command "behind the back" or "behind the heel". If the shepherd wants the dog to bring back the herd, shepherd leans to the left or right side. The dog goes to the side to which the shepherd leaned. Therefore, the shepherd with his body gestures shows the dog where to go. If the dog needs to chase the sheep up, the shepherd says "go" to the dog and he obediently takes the sheep back. Shepherds command the dogs using a stick, waving to the left or to the right. When he raises the rod high, it means that the dog should return. The shepherd bosses the dog with whistles too.

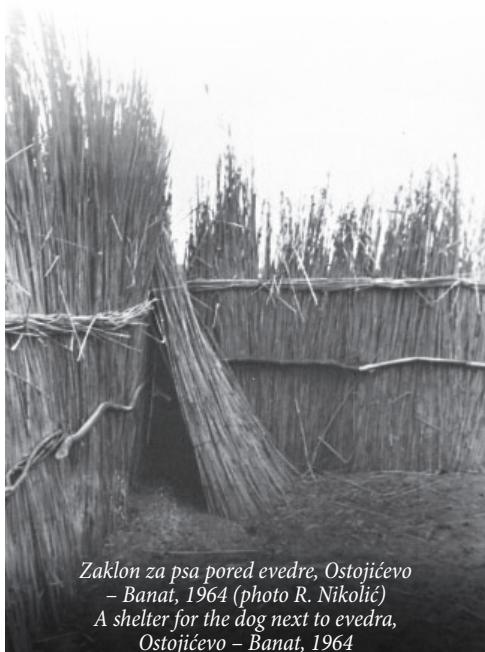
Shepherds care for their dogs. They take care about the purity of the breed. Female dogs are to mate with good Pulin. Dogs are taught from the early age to guard the sheep. A puppy is taken to the pasture with an older dog, from which it learns what to do. When weaning (about three months), it is taken with the sheep for a day – from morning until evening. After that, it rests for three or four days, and it is taken again for the whole day with the sheep. It is repeated until the puppy is five months old. When becomes a little stronger, a puppy is taken with the adult dog for the next three months. After that period the dog is capable of keeping the sheep with the shepherd. It is believed that when Pulin is seven or eight months old, it is physically fit for guarding the sheep.

The first training puppies get from their mothers, if they stay with her in the same herd. Additional training, puppies receive from the shepherd according to his needs

ime i da se za vreme kretanja drži uz njegovu nogu. Do sedam meseci se od šteneta ne očekuje neki ozbiljniji rad. Neobuzdanim pulinima čoban stavlja na ogrlicu „klečku”, parče okruglog drveta koje ga sprečava da se brzo kreće.

Zadaci odraslih pulina su:

1. upoznavanje sa čoporom – zajedno sa čobanom obilazi stado koje pase, i to nekoliko puta u toku dana;
2. okupljanje čopora – pre svakog pokreta čopora čoban komanduje „okupi stado” i štapom napravi krug u vazduhu; pulini tada, uz lavež, trče oko čopora i sabijaju ovce;
3. teranje čopora – na zapovest „teraj stado” i podizanje i spuštanje čobanskog štapa najstariji pulin se, lajući, kreće levo i desno i tako usmerava ovce u željenom pravcu; ostali pulini kreću se uz bokove stada; kretanje se nastavlja sve dok čoban ne pozove puline nazad;
4. razdvajanje čopora – čoban komanduje „polovi stado” i štapom pokazuje



*Zaklon za psa pored evedre, Ostojićev
– Banat, 1964 (photo R. Nikolić)
A shelter for the dog next to evedra,
Ostojićev – Banat, 1964*

and demands. Pulin performs tasks usually in pairs, and their number depends on the size of the herd and number of sheep in it. The oldest Pulin receives the commands from the shepherd, and they all together fulfill the task. The useful work of Pulin consists of learning about the herd, gathering the herd, pursuing the herd, separating the herd, separating the individual sheep from the herd and other activities. Pulin is next to the shepherd during grazing and eagerly waiting for any of his commands, it treads hard on shepherd's heels, and for this kind of behaviour it was created a folk saying "follow him as Pulin his shepherd.³¹

Newly acquired puppies, about three months old, shepherd teaches to respond to the name and to keep next to his legs while moving. A puppy up to seven months old is not expected any serious work. To rampant Pulis the shepherd puts "klečka" on a necklace, a round piece of wood that prevents it from moving quickly.

The tasks of grown up Pulins are :

1. Getting acquainted with the herd-visiting a grazing herd, together with the shepherd, few times a day;
2. gathering the herd-before each movement of the herd the shepherd commands "gather the herd" and makes the circle with a stick in the air; Pulins, then, barking and running around the herd get the sheep together;
3. driving the herd – hearing the command "drive the herd" and seeing raising and lowering the shepherd's stick the oldest Pulin starts barking and moving left and right and thus directing the sheep in the desired direction; other Pulins move along the sides of the herd; and the movement continues until the shepherd calls the dogs back;
4. the separation of the herd – the shepherd commands "split the herd," and moves the stick left and right, all Pulins enter the middle of the herd barking

- levo i desno; svi pulini lajući ulaze u sredinu čopora i razdvajaju ovce, tako da jednu polovinu čopora teraju, a druga ostaje na mestu; postupak se ponavlja ako se čopor želi razdvojiti na nekoliko delova;
5. izdvajanje pojedinačnih ovaca – jedan pulin izdvaja ovcu na zapovest „izdvoj ovu“ i na pokazivanje štapom koju ovcu treba izdvojiti; pulin polako, bez lajanja prilazi pokazanoj ovci i meko je hvata zubima za skočni zglob; zaustavi je i izdvoji iz stada, pa je, lajući, tera prema čobanu, koji je kukom štapa hvata za zadnju nogu;
 6. čuvanje čopora – pulin čuva ovce samoinicijativno, bez zapovesti čobana, tako što laje ili napada pridošle tuđe ovce, pse ili druge životinje;
 7. sporedni poslovi – u ove poslove spada vraćanje izgubljenih ili zalutalih ovaca, pronalaženje i čuvanje jagnjaca koji su neopaženo došli na svet; promenom ponašanja, uz nemirenjem ili civiljenjem nagoveštavaju dolazak vremenskih nepogoda (oluje, kiše, grada i dr.); oni takođe čuvaju kuću i saluš.

Pulini su privrženi čobanu: prate ga u stope; pogled im je stalno uperen prema njemu u očekivanju naređenja, koje s radošću ispunjavaju. Pri ispaši čopora, čobani su često osuđeni na samovanje danima, nedeljama i mesecima, pa im je pulin jedini drug za razgovor i razonodu. Oni dele obrok i zajedno podnose nepogode. Pulin nije proždrljiv i mirno čeka svoj obrok. Pravi pulin je onaj koji sa vrha oštrog noža uzme komad slaniće i pri tom ne dodirne nož, niti se poseče.³²

Pulinima koji „kidaju“ ovce se kleštima seku očnjaci. Sva četiri očnjaka se zalome. To se radi zato što pas koji „hvata“ ovce zna da otkine uvo ili rep. Pulini se štroje. Dobar pulin se štroji ako voli da ide za kučkama. Ukoliko se prilikom čuvanja ovaca pojavi kučka i pas je vidi, on ostavi čopor i ode za

- and separate the sheep, so that one half of the herd they drive, while the other remains in the same place, the procedure is repeated if the shepherd wants to split the herd in several parts;
5. isolating the individual sheep – Pulin hearing the command “isolate this” and pointing with a stick to the sheep that should be isolated; slowly comes to the particular sheep without barking and softly catches it with the teeth for the ankle, stops it and isolates from the herd, and, barking, drives it to the shepherd, who captures it using hooked-rod for the hind leg;
 6. Pulin guards the sheep on its own initiative, without shepherd’s commands, by barking or attacking other entrant sheep, dogs or other animals;
 7. side-line jobs – these activities include the return of lost or stray sheep, finding and guarding lambs who secretly came to the world, with the change of their behavior, anxiety, or whimpering they announce bad weather (storms, rain, hail, etc.); they also guard the house and a farm.

Pulin is loyal to the shepherd: it treads hard on his heels; its look is constantly pointed at him in anticipation of orders to be followed with joy. While the herd is grazing, shepherds are often doomed to loneliness for days, weeks and months, so Pulin is their only mate they talk to and entertain. They share a meal and submit disasters. Pulin is not greedy and quietly waits for its meal. The real Pulin is the one that takes a piece of bacon from the top a sharp knife without touching the blade or cutting itself.³²

The eyeteeth of Pulin that “tear” the sheep are cut with the pliers. All its four eyeteeth are broken off. This is done because when the dog “catches” the sheep it happens to tear off the ear or the tail. Pulins are also castrated. Good Pulin is castrated if he likes to go after the bitch. If a bitch appears while guarding

njom. Pas koji ide za kučkom bude odsutan i po nekoliko dana.

Pulinima se oko vrata veže klip, tj. parče drveta koje mu onemogućava brzo kretanje. Klip se vezuje zbog lovaca. Pas bez klipa lako može da uhvati zeca ili fazana, a lovci imaju pravo da ubiju psa bez klipa koji se udaljio od čopora ili hvata divljač. U principu, čobani ne vole kada psi hvataju divljač, te ih odvikavaju od toga. Pas zna da odluta za zecom i da se udalji od čopora i po pet kilometara. Kada se vrati, on je umoran i nije sposoban za čuvanje čopora.

Čobani vole svoje pse. Kada idu u atar u kojem nema bunara i pojila, oni nose flašu vode za svoje pse. Voda se psu daje u iskapanoj rupi u zemlji, ili se sipa u udubljenje na šeširu.

Jedan pas pulin ima vrednost ovce i jagnjeta.

Psi nemaju posebnu ishranu, već im se daje hrana koju jede i čovek.

Specifično pseće jelo su „trušnjaci”. Recept za to jelo zabeležen je u Sakulama: mekinje, kukuruzno i pšenično belo brašno se umese i ispeku u pećnici – kao hleb; ispečena smesa se istruni u „trušnjice”, koje se psima daju bez vode.



Trščana kućica za psa, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Dog house made of reed, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

the sheep and the dog sees it, he leaves the herd and follows it. A dog that goes after the bitch may even be absent for several days.

A piston is tied around Pulin's neck, i.e. piece of wood that prevents it from moving quickly. The piston is tied because of the hunters. A dog without a piston can easily catch a rabbit or pheasant and hunters have a right to kill a dog without a piston, which has moved away from the herd and catches the game. In general, the shepherds do not like the dogs to catch the game, so they try to unlearn them from than habit. The dog knows to wander off after the hare and move away from the herd up to five kilometers. When he returns, he is tired and not able to guard the herd.

Shepherds love their dogs. When they go to the area without wells and watering places, they carry a bottle of water for their dogs. The water is given the dog in a dug a hole in the ground or is poured into the hollow of his hat.

A dog Pulin has a value of a sheep and a lamb. Dogs do not have a special diet, but they are given food a man eats. Specific dog food is "trušnjaci". The recipe for this dish was recorded in Sakule: bran, corn and white wheat flour are kneaded and baked in the oven – like bread; the baked mixture is chopped up in "trušnjice", which is given to dogs without water.



Čobanski pas pulin sa klečkom oko vrata, Jazovo – Banat, 1983 (photo I. Čakan)
Shepherd's dog pulin with klečka around its neck, Jazovo – Banat, 1983

20. MAGARCI

Uz čopor ovaca često se mogu videti magarci, veoma važna transportna snaga za čobane. Pre Drugog svetskog rata su im služili za prevoz dobara.

Čobani su za ovčama jahali na magarcu. On je nosio vodu, čobanski pribor, hranu i dnevnu mužu, bolesne ovce i jagnjad. Kad se ovce ojagnje, naprave se dve torbe od kože, koje se zavežu i prebace preko samara. U torbama se nose jaganjci koji još nisu prohodali. Danas je znatno umanjena funkcija magarca, ali se još uvek često mogu videti uz čopor ovaca.

Prilikom paše, ovce uvek prate magarca. Kao i pas, on je dobar čuvan. Noću se ovce ponekad „objiju“, tj. sruše letve na toru i odu. Pošto je vezan za ogradu tora, magarac njače kad one odu, jer i on želi da ide sa njima. Njakanje budi čobanina i upozorava ga na to da su ovce otišle.



Pijaca u Indiji – transport poljoprivrednih i mlečnih proizvoda magarećim zapregama, Srem, 1953 (photo S. Mirković)

The market in Indija – transportation of agricultural and dairy products by donkey teams, Srem, 1953

20. DONKEYS

Donkeys can often be seen with a herd of sheep, an important transport power for shepherds. Before The Second World War, they were used for transportation goods.

Shepherds used to ride on a donkey after the sheep. It carried water, shepherd equipment, food and daily milking, the sick sheep and lambs. When the sheep are lambed, the two bags of leather are made, which are tied and put over herdsaddle. The lambs that have not begun to walk yet are carried in the bags. Today the function of the donkeys is significantly reduced, but they can still often be seen with a herd of sheep.

While grazing, the sheep are always followed by the donkey. Like a dog, it is a good guard. During the night the sheep sometimes “objiju”, i.e. tear down the battens of a fold and leave. Since it is tied to the fence of a fold, the donkey brays when they leave,



Magarac sa samarom, Pavliš – Banat, 1982 (photo M. Maluckov)
The donkey with a herdsaddle, Pavliš – Banat, 1982



Magarac na slatini, Kanjiža – Banat, 1983
(photo I. Čakan)

The donkey on the mineral spring, Kanjiža



Magarac sa samarom, Pavliš – Banat, 1982
(photo M. Maluckov)
The donkey with a herdsaddle, Pavliš – Banat, 1982
– Banat, 1983

Čobani su na magarca stavljali samar ili sedlo. Samari su pravljeni od drveta, ali i od metala. Bački čobani pak prave samare od kože. Kada se ovca odere nakon klanja, koža se posoli i osuši. Ona se savije napolj, tako da glatka koža bude sa unutrašnje strane, a vuna sa spoljne. Jedna strana savijene vune naleže na leđa magarca, a na drugoj strani se sedi. Kožni samar se pomoću kaiša veže za magarca.

Magarci se, takođe, štroje, a to često čine čobani. Neuštrojeni magarci znaju da budu nervozni i da ujedaju, pa čak i da zadave psa. Mirni magarci se ne štroje.

21. VUKOVI

U Vojvodini su se ponekad pojavljivali vukovi, posebno u Banatu, gde su se spuštali sa Karpati. Osamdesetih godina je zabeleženo da su došli čak do Margite. Na Fruškoj gori su se pojavili 1997. godine (moguće da su to i šakali). Po kazivaču, vukovi su 1955. godine udavili 16 ovaca, 2001. godine 1 ovcu, a 2003. godine 7 ovaca. Oni se pojavljuju kada su hladne zime; tada pokolju ovce ne ostavljajući ništa na kostima.

22. POSUDE ZA PIĆE

Svi pastiri imaju naviku da prilikom napajanja čopora piju vodu direktno izvađenu iz bunara – vedra ili čaše. Za nošenje manje količine vode i drugih tečnosti moraju imati posude poput čobanja ili čutura.

22.1. Čobanja

Jedna od neophodnih posuda za vodu je čobanje, koju su čobani nosili do kraja 20. veka. Čobanje su proizvodili pinteri i one su, pored buradi za vino i rakiju, bile redovni proizvodi ovih majstora. Kupovane su po vašarima. Male čobanje – čobanjice (od nekoliko litara), čobani su nosili sa sobom, dok su velike čobanje (od 10, 15 i više litara)

because it wants to go with them. Braying wakes up the shepherd and warns him that the sheep are gone.

The shepherds used to put a herdsaddle or saddle on a donkey. Herdsaddles were made of wood and metal. The shepherds from Bačka make herdsaddles of leather. When the sheep is skinned after being slaughtered, the skin is seasoned with salt and dried. It is bent in half, so that the smooth skin is on the inside, and the wool is on the outside. One side of the folded wool is leaned against the back of a donkey, and the other side is used for sitting. Leather herdsaddle is tied with the belt to the donkey.

The donkeys, too, are castrated, and it is frequently done by shepherds. The donkeys that are not castrated tend to be nervous and bite, and even choke the dog. Calm donkeys are not castrated.

21. WOLVES

In Vojvodina, the wolves sometimes appear, especially in Banat, where they came down from the Carpathians. In the eighties, it was reported that they even came up to Margite. They appeared on Fruška gora in 1997, (it is possible that those were jackals). According to the narrator, the wolves choked sixteen sheep in 1955, in 2001 one sheep, and in 2003 seven sheep. They appear when the winter is cold, and then they slaughter the sheep, leaving nothing on the bones.

22. DRINKING CONTAINERS

All shepherds have a habit of drinking water directly taken out from the wells either from the bucket or from a glass while watering the herd. For carrying small amounts of water and other liquids, they must have a container like čobanja or a flask.

ostavljali u kolibama. Veća količina vode ko-rišćena je za piće i pranje sudova.

Čobanje su okrugle i pljosnate. Izrađiva-ne su od duga, kao i velika burad. Prednja i zadnja strana čobanje je ravna i pomoću dva metalna prstena pričvršćena za duge. Na gornjoj strani se nalazi otvor sa „dudukom”, kroz koji se piće voda ili sipa u čašu. Sa obeju strana čobanje su prikovane alke za kaiš od kože, kanap ili gurtnu za noše-nje preko ramena ili kačenje za samar na magarcu.

22.2. Čobanja-lajter

Ova čobanja je u obliku kačice, čije je dno šire od poklopca. Pravi se od drvenih duga. Jedna duga, koja je šupljia, naziva se duga-duduk. Vrh te duge oblikovan je u

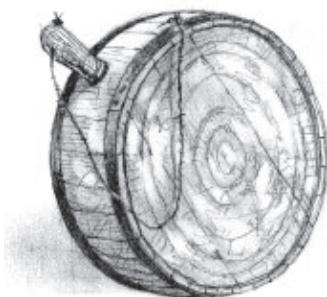


Čobanja-lajter – tipična posuda za nošenje vode
Čobanja-lajter – a kind of container for carrying water

duduk, kroz koji se piće voda. Duga-duduk je otvorena pri dnu, i to sa unutrašnje strane lajtera, tako da se sva tečnost iz njega može popiti bez naginjanja. Lajteri imaju zapre-minu veću od 10 l i namenjeni su većem broju ljudi. Na sredini gornje strane lajtera

22.1. Čobanja

One of the necessary water containers is čobanja, which shepherds used to carry until the end of the 20th century. Čobanje were produced by pinters and they were next to barrels for wine and brandy, the regular products of these artisans. They used to be purchased at the fairs. Small čobanje – čobanjice (several liters), shepherds used to carry with them, while large čobanje (10, 15 or more gallons) they left in the huts. A larger quantity of water was used for drink-ing and washing up.



Čobanja – posuda za nošenje vode
Čobanja – container for carrying water

Čobanje are round and flat. They are made of “duga”, like large barrels. The front and the backside of čobanja are flat, with two metal rings attached to “duga”. At the top, there is an opening with a “duduk”, through which one can drink water or pour it into the cup. With both sides of čobanja are riveted the rings to the leather strap, string or the webbing belt for carrying it over one’s shoulder or hanging onto the herdsaddle on the donkey.

22.2. Čobanja-lajter

This čobanja is in the form of a small tub, whose bottom is wider than the cover. It is made of wooden duga. One duga, which is a hollow, is called the duga-duduk. The top of this duga is in the shape of duduk through which the water is drunk. Duga-duduk is open

(poklopca) nalazi se gvozdena ručica za nošenje i okrugao otvor (3–4 cm), kroz koji se sipa voda.

22.3. Čutura

Za nošenje male količine vode, vina ili rakije korišćene su čture. Njih su proizvodili tokari, a čobani su ih kupovali po vašarima. Čture su gotovo uvek ukrašene: bojenjem, rezbarijom, presvlačenjem tekstilom, ovčijom kožom očišćenom od krvna ili na neki drugi način. One mogu biti pljosnate ili trbušaste. Po načinu ukrašavanja čture često se može odrediti nacionalna pripadnost njenog vlasnika.

Osim drvenih čutura korišćene su i gledoane keramičke čture vrsnih majstora grnčara.

22.4. Krčag

Krčag je bokasti glineni sud za vodu. Na šupljoj dršci se nalazi sisaljka – sisak, kroz koji se piće voda. Kroz grlić, koji se nalazi na kratkom vratu krčaga, sipa se ili piće voda. Krčazi mogu biti gledoani, sa šarama u vidu razlivenih boja, ili negleđosani, tonirani u pepeljastosivu boju, sa jednostavnim šarama ili bez njih.

at the bottom, from the inside of lajter, so that the liquid can be drunk from it without tilting. The lajter has a volume larger than 10l and is intended for many people. In the middle of the upper side of the lajter (cover), there is an iron handle for carrying and a round hole (3–4 cm), through which the water is poured.

22.3. Flask

Flasks were used for carrying small amounts of water, wine or brandy. Turners produced them, and shepherds bought them at fairs. Flasks were usually decorated, by dyeing, carving, dressing with the textiles, sheep leather free of fur or otherwise. They can be flat or paunchy. According to the way of decorating flasks, the nationality of its owner can often be determined.

Apart from wooden flasks glazed ceramic flasks were also made by skilled craftsmen potters.

22.4. Jug

A jug is a convex water container made of clay. On the hollow handle, the water is drunk through a suction-pipe-spout. Through the thin neck , which is on a short neck of a jug, the water is poured or drunk.



Ove posude proizvode grnčari, a kupovane su na vašarima.

22.5. Tikve – tikvice

Tikvice se prvenstveno gaje zbog ishrane ljudi i domaćih životinja. Pored toga, njihova upotreba je višestruka: osušene tikvice daju se deci kao zvečke. Tikve su koristili ribari za plovke na struku, a pomoću njih se učilo plivanje. Obradivanjem su prilagođavane različitim namenama u domaćinstvima: korišćene su kao kašike za vodu, posude za vodu i mlevenu papriku, nategače za vino, ukrasne elemente interijera i dr. Neki čobani su tikve sa zapreminom oko 1 l koristili za nošenje vode i u prvoj polovini 20. veka.

22.6. Tikvice za rakiju

Ove tikvice su specifične posudice za rakiju, zapremine 1,5–2 dl. One imaju okruglo telo, kratak vrat – grlić, sa otvorom i čepićem. Za upotrebu su pripremane tako što su postepeno sušene na promaji, u hladovini ili otvorenom odžaku. Sušenje tikvice trajalo je nekoliko meseci, sve dok se sadržaj ne bi u potpunosti osušio. Proveravanje osušenosti tikvice vršilo se protresanjem. Zveckanje

The jugs can be glazed, with patterns in the form of spilled paint, or unglazed, ash-toned in color, with simple patterns, or without them. These containers are produced by potters, and are purchased at the fairs.

22.5. Gourds – small gourds

Gourds are primarily grown for human consumption and animal food. In addition, their use is manifold: dried gourds are given to children as rattles. Gourds are used by fishermen for buoy, and they were also used to learn swimming. By being processed they are adjusted to different purposes in the households: used as spoons for water, water containers and grounded pepper, for siphoning wine, interior decorative elements and others. Some shepherds used gourds with a capacity of about 1 l to carry water in them in the first half of the 20th century.

22.6. Gourds for brandy

These gourds are specific containers for brandy, the volume from 1.5 to 2 dl. They have a round body, short neck – the thin neck, with the opening and a small cork. They were prepared for use by gradually being dried in a draft, in the shade or open



Tikvice za rakiju
Gourds for brandy

semenki je bio znak da je dobro isušena. Tikvice su obrađivane sledećim redosledom:

1. Tanka kora je skidana grebanjem nožem – do glatkog sjaja.
2. Usijanom žicom ili ekserom je bušen otvor na grliću.
3. Iznutra je čišćena grebanjem žicom, koja je okretana u krug. Potpuno čišćenje unutrašnjosti postizano je protresanjem peska ili tucanog stakla. Nakon istresanja sadržaja, tikvice su prane topлом vodom i pepelom.

Tikvice za rakiju često su ukrašavane, te su korišćene u svečanim prilikama i pri pozivanju u svatove. Njihova mala zapremina govori o tome da su, pre svega, bile paradni detalj ovčara. One su, takođe, bile prigodan poklon prijateljima, rodbini, devojkama.³³

23. PRIBOR ZA PUŠENJE

Čobani su strasni pušači. Za pušenje su koristili lule i muštikle. Cigaretete su pravili tako što su duvan uvijali u odgovarajući cigaret-papir – ali su, u nuždi, koristili i bilo kakav papir (npr. dnevne novine od kojih su uspevali da uviju cigarete). Danas kupuju cigarete proizvedene u državnim fabrikama duvana.



Ocila, trud, kremen
Firesteels, effort, flint

chimney. Drying gourds lasted for several months, until the content is fully dried. Checking the dryness was done by shaking the gourds. Rattling of the seeds was a sign that it has not been dried yet. Gourds were processed in the following order:

1. The thin crust is stripped by scratching with a knife – to a smooth shine
2. Using red-hot wire or nail the hole is drilled in the thin neck.
3. The inside part of the gourd is cleaned by scratching with wire, which is rotated in a circle. Complete cleaning of the interior was achieved by shaking the sand or crushed glass. After the content has been shaken out, the gourds were washed with warm water and ashes.

Gourds for brandy were decorated and used usually at ceremonial occasions and when inviting guests to the wedding party. Their small volume indicates that they were primarily ceremonial detail of the shepherds. They have also been an appropriate gift to friends, relatives, and girls.³³

23. SMOKING EQUIPMENT

The shepherds are passionate smokers. They used pipes and cigarette holders for smoking. They used to make cigarettes by rolling the tobacco in the appropriate cigarette paper – but, in an emergency, they used any kind of paper (e.g. newspaper of which they managed to roll a cigarette). Today, they buy cigarettes manufactured in state tobacco factories.



23.1. Lule

Lule su bile fabrički proizvod. Pravljene su od keramike ili od morske pene. Drvene lule su pravili i sami čobani. Sredinom 20. veka su ih koristili samo stariji čobani.



Čobanin Mihalj Zoldi sa lulom, Mol – Bačka 1956 (photo M. Bosić)
The shepherd Mihalj Zoldi with a pipe, Mol – Bačka, 1956

23.1. Pipes

The pipes are industrial products. They were made of ceramics or sea foam. The shepherds made wooden pipes by themselves. In the mid 20th century, only older shepherds used them.



23.2. Muštikle

Muštikle su uglavnom ručno izrađivane, i to od drveta. Korišćenje muštikla bilo je rašireno do pojave fabričkih cigareta sa filterom. Pušenje duvana u uvijenim i fabričkim cigaretama bez filtera nije priyatno, jer se duvan, pošto je ovlažen pljuvačkom, lepi za usne i jezik, pa se mora ispljuckavati. Ovaj neprijatni deo pušenja izbegavan je korišćenjem muštikle.

Za paljenje vatre čobani su koristili specifičan pribor – ocilo (kresivo), kremen i trud (osušenu pečurku koja raste

23.2. Cigarette holders

Cigarette holders are mostly handmade, of wood. Using cigarette holders was widespread until the appearance of factory produced cigarettes with filters. Smoking tobacco in rolled and factory-produced cigarettes without filter is not pleasant, because the tobacco, as moistened by saliva, sticks to the lips and tongue, so it must be spitted out. This unpleasant part of smoking is avoided by using the cigarette holders.

For lighting fire, shepherds used specific accessories – firesteels (tinder), flint and effort (dried mushroom that grows on trees).

po drveću). Vatra se dobijala tako što se očilom udaralo po kremenu, koji je bacao iskre i palio isitnjenu suvu pečurku. Očila su bila kovački proizvod. Sem za paljenje vatre, ona su korišćena i za oštrenje noževa. Današnji čobani koriste šibice i upaljače.

Interesantan primer vezan za paljenje vatre zabeležen je u Karlovčiću u južnom Sremu. Kad nemaju šibica ili kresiva, pastiri prave 'mrtvu vatrnu' / 1: / pobodu dva leškova pruta, a treći stave popreko između njih. Preko trećeg prebace kaiš i okreću ga dok se ne upali trud u rupi na jednom od pobodenih prutova.

Duvan je nošen u kožnim duvanke-sama i duvankesama napravljenim od mošnica ovna. Uštavljene mošnice bile su praktične zbog svog oblika. U njima se duvan dobro čuvalo od vlage.

23.3. Kanija, nož i šilo

Kanije su pravljene od kože i imale su džepiće za šilo. Čobani su sami štavili i šili kožu i proizvodili ovaj praktičan predmet. Kanije su često ukrašavane. One su pravljene i od drveta. Na takvima kanijama su urezivane šare, u koje je ulivano istopljeno olovo.

Noževi koje koriste čobani imaju kratko sečivo (11–12 cm) i dršku od rožine, plastike ili drveta. Proizvodile su ih zanatlje, a kupovali su se na vašarima.

Šilo mora da ima svaki čobanin. Njime se buši burag kada se ovca naduje.

24. MLEČNI PROIZVODI

Od ovčijeg mleka čobani prave različite proizvode. Najčešće prave razne vrste sireva: podliveni sir, somborski sir, sir za zimu, kačkavalj, sirdik, vurd. Od ovčijeg mleka se, takođe, pravi kiselo mleko i kajmak. U Bačkoj i Sremu se, pored sira u kriškama, najčešće pravi takozvani somborski sir, a u Banatu sir u kriškama.



Pranje vedrice posle muže, Seleuš – Banat, 1964 (photo M. Maluckov)
Washing the small scoop after milking, Seleuš – Banat, 1964



Posude za mleko i sir, Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1950 (photo M. S. Filipović)
Pots for milk and cheese, Banatska Palanka – Banat, 1950



Cedjenje sira, Aradac – Banat, 1966 (photo M. Bosić)
Straining the cheese, Aradac – Banat, 1966



Sir u cedilu, Jablanka – Banat, 1981
(photo B. I. Stefanović)
Cheese in a strainer, Jablanka – Banat, 1981

They lit a fire by hitting the firesteels on the flint, which was throwing sparks and burned finely powdered dry mushroom. Firesteels were blacksmith products. Except for lighting fires, they were used for sharpening knives. Today's shepherds use matches or lighters.

An interesting example related to lighting the fire is recorded in the southern Srem, in Karlovčić: "When they do not have matches or flint, the shepherds make 'dead fire' / 1: / they clench the two hazel sticks, and they place the third one diagonally between them. They put a belt over the third one and rotate it until the effort gets on fire in the hole of one of the clenched sticks."

Tobacco was carried in leather tobacco tripe and tobacco tripe was made from a ram's scrotum. Tanned scrotum was practical because of its shape. They protected the tobacco from moisture very well.

23.3. Sheath, knife and an awl

Sheaths are made of leather and had a pocket for the awl. The shepherds tanned and dried the leather themselves for making this practical object. They are often decorated. They can also be made of wood. The patterns are carved on such sheaths, in which molten lead is inserted.

Knives used by shepherds have a short blade (11–12 cm) and a handle made of horn, wood or plastic. They are produced by artisans, and bought at fairs.

Every shepherd must have an **awl**. It pierces the tripe with it when becomes swollen.

24. DAIRY PRODUCTS

The shepherds make different products of sheep milk. The most frequently they make various types of cheese: cheese bruised or young cheese, Sombor cheese, cheese for winter, kachkaval cheese, sirdik, vurda. From sheep milk, it is also made sour milk and cream. In Bačka and Srem, in addition to the cheese in chunks, most frequently is made so

24.1. Sirište

Za kiseljenje mleka čobani koriste takozvano sirište. Ono se danas kupuje u prehrambenim radnjama i dostupno je svima koji žele da podlivaju sir. Čobani su done-davno koristili sirišta životinjskog porekla, koja su sami pripremali. Sirište je pravljeno od želuca jagnjeta, teleta, praseta i svinje, a u nekim naseljima pored Dunava i od želuca soma (zabeleženo u Kovilju, Mošorinu, Titelu, Suseku). Samo pojedini čobani danas koriste teleće sirište. Spravljanje sirišta vršeno je na nekoliko načina.

U Obrovcu u Bačkoj korišćeno je teleće sirište. Teleći želudac bi se dobro oprao; iz njega bi se izvadio sir, koji se, takođe, prao. Sir i želudac bi se dobro posolili, a zatim bi se sir vratio u unutrašnjost želuca. Tako pri-premljeno sirište kačilo bi se ispod strehe u hladovinu, i tu se sušilo oko sedam-osam dana. Osušeno sirište bi se samlelo mašinom za meso i stavilo u sud sa surutkom. U sudu bi stajalo od četiri do pet dana (naj-više sedam). Nakon toga se sadržaj tegle procedio, a dobijena tečnost se koristila za spravljanje sira. Sirištem se naziva i želudac životinje i sredstvo za sirenje mleka (u tečnom stanju).

Sirište se u Tavankutu u Bačkoj takođe pravi od telećeg želuca, koji se prvo dobro opere. U soli se drži dve nedelje, posle čega se, radi sušenja, okači. Kada se spremi tečno sirište, onda se na jedan želudac sipaju 3 litre surutke od „sirdika”, sira napravljenog od mleka koje samo uskisne. U sud se ubaci 10–12 zrna kukuruza i 2–3 šake soli. Sud se pokrije krpom i uveže kanapom; tako stoji deset dana. Tečnost dobijena nakon tog perioda koristi se za pravljenje sira.

U Vračevom Gaju u Banatu je korišćeno svinjsko sirište. Izdrobljen stari ovčiji sir stavljao se u dobro oprano sirište, posoljeno i spolja i iznutra. U sir koji se stavljao u sirište sipalo se malo sirćeta i soli. Sirište bi se zavezalo kanapom i ostavilo da se osuši. Kada je pravljeno tečno sirište, onda se

called Sombor cheese, and in Banat cheese in chunks.

24.1. Rennet

For curdling milk, shepherds use so-called rennet. It is now bought in food stores and is available to anyone who wants to bruise cheese. The shepherds have recently used the rennets of animal origin, which they prepared themselves. Rennet was made of lamb's, calf's, piglet's and pig's stomach, and in some settlements along the river Danube of catfish's stomach (recorded in Kovilj, Mošorin, Titel, Susek). Only a few shepherds still use calf rennet. Preparation of rennet was done in several ways.

In Obrovac in Bačka calf rennet was used. Calf stomach was to be well washed; the cheese would be pulled out, which was also washed. Cheese and stomach would be well seasoned with salt, and then the cheese would be returned to the stomach. Thus prepared rennet would be hung in the shade under the eaves, and there it was dried for about seven or eight days. Dried rennet would be grinded on the machine for meat mincing and put in the container with the whey. It would be held in the container for four to five days (up to seven). Then the content of the jar would be strained, a liquid obtained was used for making cheese. Rennet is also called animal stomach and a mean for curdling milk (liquid).

Rennet in Tavankut, in Bačka, is also made from the stomach of a calf, which is well washed first. It is kept in salt for two weeks, after that, it is hung for drying. When the liquid rennet is prepared, then 3 liters of whey are poured in a stomach from "sirdik" cheese made from milk, which turns sour by itself. 10–12 corn grains and 2–3 hands of salt are put into the container. The container is covered with a cloth and tied with a rope and so it stays for ten days. The liquid obtained after the period is used for making cheese.

In Vračev Gaj in Banat pork rennet was used. The old crumbled sheep cheese was put

osušeno sirište stavljalo u prokuvanu hladnu vodu sa dve-tri koprive. U vodi je stajalo oko osam dana. Nakon toga se koristilo za podливанje сира. За прављење сира било је потребно знатно више оваквог сиришта, па је у млечко сипана и литра сиришта. Када је течо сириште потрошено, сириште напунјено сиром поново се солило и остављало да се осуши. Око осам дана пре него што ће на овчара доћи ред за мужу, то сириште се стављало у сурутку са копривом. Након осам дана се користило за прављење сира.

У Потпорнју је, такође, коришћено свинско сириште. Свињски бураг би се изнутра очистио и добро опрао. У њега би се стављао осолjen млади сир, а затим се бураг са сиром стављао у крево, које се качило у одžак да се осуши. Када се правило сириште, одсекано је парче сувог бурага (по потреби) и стављано у посолјену сурутку. Та сурутка се после неколико дана користила као сириште. За прављење новог сиришта увек се узимало свеže парче бурага.

Čobani u Ratkovu u Bačkoj kupovali su gotovo teleće sirište od mesara. U tom sirištu se nalazilo zgrušano mleko (које изгleda као sir trapist). U zemljani lonac у који се сипа посолјена сурутка стављало се парче сиришта и мало izdrobljenog sira из njega. Сурутка је коришћена као сириште после 24 сата. Колико је сиришта било искорићено, толико је досипано сурутке, све dok сириште, tj. парче želuca *ima snagu*.

U Novom Orahovu u Bačkoj је коришћено jagnjeće sirište. Želudac jagnjeta би се добро опрао и посолио. Nakon суšenja се стављао у сурутку, која је после осам дана постajala sirište.

Čobani из неких насеља blizu Dunava користили су сириште од soma. Nabavljали су га од ribara – за novac ili за sir. Ribari су čobanima prodавали gotovo „somsko sirište”, osušeno i osoljeno. Ovčari из Kovilja, Mošorina i drugih mesta u којима се користило somsko sirište smatraju да је sir napravljen sa ovakvim sirištem najbolji, najmasniji i da

in well-washed rennet, salted, inside and out. To the cheese that was put in the rennet, a little vinegar was poured and some salt added. Rennet would be tied with rope and left to dry. When the liquid rennet was made, then dried rennet was put into cold boiled water with two to three nettles. It was held in water for about eight days. After that it was used for bruising the cheese. For making cheese there had to be much more of this kind of rennet, so to the milk was poured a liter of rennet. When the liquid rennet was spent, cheese filled rennet was salted again and left to dry. About eight days before the shepherd's turn for milking, that rennet is put in the whey with nettles. After eight days, it can be used for making cheese.

In Potporanj was also used pork rennet. Pork tripe was cleaned from inside and thoroughly washed. Young salted cheese would be put into it, and then the tripe with cheese would be put into the intestine, which was hung in the chimney to dry. When the rennet was made, a piece of dried tripe was cut (if necessary) and placed in the salted whey. The whey was used as rennet after a few days. For making new rennet, a piece of fresh tripe was always taken.

The shepherds in Ratkovo in Bačka bought ready made calf rennet from the butchers. In this kind of rennet there is also curdled milk (which looks like a trappist cheese). In the earthenware pot in which is poured salted whey is put a piece of rennet and a little crumbled cheese. Whey is used as rennet after 24 hours. As much rennet was used, as much whey was poured back, until rennet, that is, a piece of stomach *has the power*.

In Novo Orahovo in Bačka lamb rennet was used. Stomach of the lamb should be well washed and salted. After drying, it was put in the whey, which after eight days becomes rennet.

Shepherds from some villages near the Danube were using rennet from the catfish. It was purchased from fishermen – for money

ima fine šupljike. Pomoću somskog sirišta je pravljen somborski sir. Pravljenje tečnog sirišta od želuca soma istovetno je pravljenju sirišta od telećeg želuca.

Za spravljanje sireva koristi se različita količina sirišta, u zavisnosti od količine mleka i jačine sirišta. Pošto se u teglu u kojoj se nalazi želudac stalno dosipa surutka, tečnost vremenom gubi jačinu, pa se u mleko sipa sve veća i veća količina. Kupovno sirište stalno ima istu jačinu, pa se na 10 l mleka sipa jedna kašika sirišta, a, ako se pravi sir od telećeg sirišta, na 10 l se dodaje 1 dl sirišta.

24.2. Vrste sireva

Vojvođanski čobani prave nekoliko vrsta sireva, a najčešće prave takozvani somborski sir, koji se javlja u nekoliko varijanti (u zavisnosti od domaćinstva), zatim sir u kriškama, sireve za zimu, „šajt“ – mali okrugli sir (šajt na mađarskom jeziku znači ‘sir’), sirdik itd.

Sirevi su ranije pravljeni i na pašnjacima, a danas samo kod kuće, ali se pomuze mleko procedi odmah posle muže na pašnjaku.

24.2.1. Somborski sir

I varijanta. Mleko se tri puta procedi kroz krpu: jednom na pašnjaku i dva puta kod kuće. Voda se prokuva, a zatim malo ohladi i sipa u mleko. Na 30/40 l ovčijeg mleka ide kofa vode 9–10 l. Da bi se ugrejalo do 40 °C, u mleko se sipa topla voda. U tako zagrejano mleko se, po potrebi, sipa sirište, izmeša se i sačeka dok se mleko ne stegne. Drvenom kašicom se izmeša usireno mleko i sačeka deset minuta da odstoji. Kada surutka ispliva na površinu, a sir padne na dno, surutka se odlije, a sir pokupi, posoli i rukama izmeša. Zatim se napravi loptasta smesa od 2 kg, koja se ručno iscedi kroz krpu. Takva smesa se stavi u kačicu i odozgo posoli. Preko sira se stavi krpa i drvene dašćice, koje se stegnu šrafom kao

or for cheese. Fishermen sold to shepherds “catfish's rennet”, dried and salted. Sheep keepers from Kovilj, Mošorin and other places where the catfish rennet was used believe that cheese made with this rennet is the best, the richest and with the finest holes. Sombor cheese was made with catfish rennet. The procedure for making liquid rennet from the stomach of catfish is the same to making the rennet from the stomach of a calf.

Different amounts of the rennet are used for making cheese, depending on the quantity of milk and strength of the rennet. Since in the jar containing the stomach is constantly poured the whey, the liquid loses its strength, and it must be poured into the milk greater and greater quantities. Ready-made rennet always has the same strength, so to 10 l of milk is poured a spoonful of the rennet, and if you make cheese from calf rennet, on 10 l is added to 1 dl of the rennet.

24.2. Kinds of cheese

Shepherds in Vojvodina make several types of cheeses, most often they make the one so called Sombor cheese, which comes in several varieties (depending on the household), then cheese in chunks, cheese for winter, “šajt” – a small round cheese (šajt in Hungarian means ‘cheese’), sirdik etc..

Cheeses used to be made in the pastures also, and today only at home but the milk is immediately strained after milking on the pasture.

24.2.1. Sombor cheese

I variant. The milk is three times strained through the cloth: once in the pasture and twice at home. Water is boiled and then cooled slightly and poured into the milk. On 30/40 l of sheep milk, a bucket of water of 9–10 l is added. In order to be heated up to 40 °C, hot water is poured into the milk. In such heated milk, one should add the rennet, if necessary, stir and wait for the milk to tighten. Curdy milk should be stirred with a wooden spoon and

kiseo kupus. Kačica se okrene i ostavi, da se surutka ocedi. Krpa se redovno pere: u početku i dva puta dnevno. Kada se surutka skroz ocedi, šraf i dašćice se skidaju, a sir se pre podne i posle podne iznosi na sunce. Sir raste na suncu kao hleb – zri. Nakon sedam-osam dana sazri i može da se koristi za ishranu. Pre iznošenja na sunce se redovno pere surutkom, da bi dobio finu žutu koru. U Novom Orahovu smatraju da je mleko najbolje mešati sa vodom, zato što sir raste kao hleb.

II varijanta. U proceđeno toplo mleko se sipa sirište. Usireno mleko se preseče unakrst, kako bi surutka isplivala na površinu. Sir se skupi u grudvu i stavi u cedilo, u kojem visi jedan sat. Nakon ceđenja se izvadi i iseče na kriške, koje se stave u hladnu vodu i drže oko trideset minuta. Kada se izvade iz vode, ostave se sa strane, kako bi se malo ocedile. Zatim se uzme čista drvena kačica, posoli dno i poređa sir. Prilikom ređanja, sir se takođe soli. Preko sira se stavi krpa, drveno dance i stegne šrafom, a kačica se okrene da bi surutka iscurila. Tako se radi dok se kačica ne napuni. Puna kačica se pokrije i obavije kanapom. Sir u kačici još malo naraste kao hleb. Posle dva-tri dana je spreman za ishranu. Pre nego što se iznese na pijacu, on se opere i iznese na sunce, da bi se uhvatila tanka žuta kora. Sir se pravi od ovčijeg mleka, a voda se sipa samo ako je mleko hladno. Dodaje se 10–15% tople vode: na 10 l mleka dodaje se 1,5 l vode.

III varijanta. Proceđeno mleko se, pomoću tople vode, zagreje do temperature ovčijeg tela. U njega se sipa sirište: na 10 l mleka ili 1 dl telećeg sirišta ide jedna kašika kupovnog sirišta. Kada se stegne, mleko se promeša, da bi isplivala surutka. Pokupi se rukama u loptu i tako ostavi na sto da se ocedi. Posle izvesnog vremena se iseče na kriške, posoli i poređa u kačicu, tako da prelazi njenu ivicu. Pokrije se krpom koja se, pomoću noža, ugura uz ivice kačice – oko

wait for ten minutes to rest. When the whey comes to the surface and the cheese falls to the bottom, the whey should be decanted, the cheese should be picked up, salted and hand mixed. Then one should make a spherical mixture of 2 kg, which is hand-squeezed through a cloth. This mixture is placed in a small tub and seasoned with salt from above. A cloth and two wooden little boards are put over the cheese, which are clamped by the screw as with the sauerkraut. The small tub is turned over and left for the whey to drain. The cloth is regularly washed, in the beginning, even twice a day. When the whey is drained completely, screws and little boards are removed and the cheese is taken to the sun in the morning and in the afternoon. The cheese grows in the sun like bread – it matures. After seven or eight days, it is fully mature and can be used for eating. Before taking to the sun, it is regularly washed with the whey, in order to obtain a fine yellow crust. In Novo Orahovo it is believed that it is best to mix milk with water, because in that case the cheese grows like bread.

II variant. The rennet is poured into strained hot milk. Curdy milk is cut crosswise, so that the whey would come to the surface. The cheese is gathered into a ball and put into a colander to strain, hanged for an hour. After straining, it is cut into slices, which are put into cold water and kept for approximately thirty minutes. When taken out of water, the slices are left aside in order to dry a little. Then one should take a clean wooden small tub, season the bottom of it with salt and arrange the cheese. During sequencing, cheese is also salted. The cloth is put over the cheese, then a small wooden bottom and it is tightened by a screw. A small tub is turned over for the whey to leak. The process is repeated until the small tub is completely filled. Full small tub is covered and wrapped with a string. The cheese in a small tub grows a little like bread. After two or three days it is ready for consumption. Before one takes it to the market, it is washed

sira, a na krpu se stavi teg. Sir tako stoji dva-tri dana, a krpa se povremeno menja. Posle tri dana se na njega stavi suva krpa, a kačica se poveže i iznese na sunce, na kojem stoji ceo dan. Kačica se danju iznosi napolje, a noću unosi u kuću. Sir je gotov posle deset dana.

24.2.2. *Sir u kriškama*

U pomuzeno i proceđeno mleko se sipa sirište, koje se krajem 20. veka kupovalo, a ranije pripremalo od telećeg ili jagnjećeg želuca. Stegnuto mleko se ocedi u cediljci od platna. Nakon nekoliko sati cedenja dobije se slatki sir, koji se iseče na kriške, dobro posoli i poređa u kačicu. Sir se prelije surutkom, jer kriške nakon izvesnog vremena same puste određenu količinu tečnosti. Ovako poređan u kačicu, on se pokrije čistom krpom, lagano pritisne i ostavi u ostavu. Ne iznosi se na sunce.

24.2.3. *Zimski tučeni sir*

Proceđeno mleko se smlači na štednjaku (ne sipa se voda). U mleko se sipa sirište. Ukiseljeno mleko se promeša da bi surutka isplivala. Sir se oblikuje u loptu i pusti da se malo ocedi. Nakon toga se iseče na kriške i dobro posoli. Kriške se poređaju u kačicu, pokriju krpom i pritisnu tegom. Krpa se narednih mesec dana menja svakog dana. Kriške sira treba sve vreme da budu u surutki. Posle mesec dana se izvade iz kačice i stave u hladnu vodu, u kojoj se drže 5–6 sati. Sir se izvadi iz vode, dobro ocedi i samelje na mašini za mlevenje mesa. Ako nije dovoljno slan, on se dosoli, dobro nabije u čistu drvenu kačicu i pokrije krpama, preko kojih se stavi glina. Danas se preko krpa stavlja najlon.

24.2.4. *Sir za zimu*

Odmah nakon muže se u proceđeno mleko sipa sirište. Ako je mlako, mleko se ugreje na štednjaku do 36 °C. Stegnuto mleko se preseče drvenom kašikom, a

and taken to the sun, in order to capture a thin yellow crust. The cheese is made from sheep's milk, and water is poured only if the milk is cold. 10–15% of warm water is added: onto 10 l of milk is added 1.5 liters of water.

III variant. Strained milk is, using hot water, heated to the temperature of sheep body. Rennet is poured into it: on 10-l 1 of milk you either add 1 dl or calf rennet or one tablespoon of ready made rennet. When tightened, the milk is stirred in order the whey come to the surface. Gather it in a ball using hands and leave on the table to drain. After some time, it is cut into slices, seasoned with salt and arranged in a small tub, so that exceeds its edge. Cover it with a cloth, that is, using knife, shoved into the edges of a small tub – around the cheese and a weight is put over it. Cheese stays for two or three days, and a cloth is periodically changed. After three days, a dry cloth is put onto it, and a small tub is tied taken to the sun, on which stands all day. The small tub is taken out during the day and at night taken back into the house. Cheese is finished after ten days.

24.2.2. *Sliced cheese*

Rennet is poured into milked and strained milk, which was in the late 20th century purchased and previously prepared from calf or lamb's stomach. Tightened milk is drained onto the clothe sieve. After several hours of straining sweet cheese is obtained, which is cut into slices, well seasoned with salt and arranged into a small tub. Over the cheese is poured whey, for slices after a while let alone a certain amount of liquid. Thus arranged in a small tub, the cheese is covered with a clean cloth, lightly pressed and left in a storeroom. Is not taken in the sun.

24.2.3. *Winter whipped cheese*

Strained milk is heated on the stove (without pouring water into it). Rennet is poured into milk. Soured milk is stirred for the whey to come to the surface. The cheese is shaped into

zatim se ocedi surutka i pokupi sir. On se stavlja u krpu, u kojoj se steže i tako cedi. Zatim se okači i visi 2–3 sata. Nakon cedenja se izvadi iz krpe, izmesi i posoli po ukusu. Nabije se u kačicu, pokrije krpom, pritegne šrafom i kačica se okrene. Kada se ocedi sva surutka, gornji sloj sira se opere i iznese na sunce, da mu se osuši gornja strana. Ovakvo spremljeno sir može da stoji i do šest meseci.

24.2.5. Sir sa rupama u obliku kačkavalja

Mleko se ugreje do 36 °C. U njega se sipa sirište. Kada se stegne, mleko se preseče kašicom, da bi surutka isplivala na površinu. Ona se odlije, a sir se pokupi i stavi u krpu, u kojoj se stiska rukama i cedi. Iscedeđen sir se posoli, pomeša i stavi u čiste krpe. Veličina krpe zavisi od toga koja se veličina i težina koluta želi dobiti – 300 g, 500 g, 700 g, 1 kg, 2 kg itd. Krajevi krpe se zavrnu sa gornje i donje strane, kako bi se formirao kolut određene debeljine. Sir se u krpi cedi; krpa se menja sve dok se sir dobro ne iscedi. Tako iscedeđen sir dva-tri dana stoji u ostavi – na vazduhu. Posle toga se opet odvija, stavlja u novu krpu i врача u ostavu. Proces se ponovi dva-tri puta. Nakon toga se kolut opere vrelom surutkom u loncu (prelije se vrelom surutkom). Dugačkim nožem se oblikuje i iznese na sunce.

Na suncu dnevno stoji 2–3 sata, da ne bi iscurila masnoća iz njega. Pod uticajem topote, u siru se formiraju šupljike.

24.2.6. Šajt

U mleko se sipa topla voda, kako bi se ugrejalo do temperature sveže pomuzenog mleka. U 10 l takvog mleka se sipa 1 dl telećeg sirišta. Stegnuto mleko se promeša, kako bi isplivala surutka. Ona se odlije, a sir se izvadi i stavi na sto. Sir se nakon cedenja posoli i promeša. Zatim se stavi u krpu i cedi uvrtnjem krajeva krpe. Nakon cedenja se stavi u suvu krpu, u kojoj se formira kolut, a krajevi krpe se zavrnu sa gornja

a ball and let drained a bit. After that it is cut into slices and well salted. Slices are arranged into a small tub, covered with a cloth and pressed with a weight. Cloth is changed every day for the whole month. Slices of cheese all the time should be in the whey. After a month, they are removed from a small tub and put in cold water, in which they are held for 5–6 hours. The cheese is removed from water, drained well and grinded in meat grinder. If not salty enough, some more salt can be added to it, well stuffed up into a clean small tub and covered with rags, over which clay is put. Today, nylon is put over the rags.

24.2.4. Cheese for winter

Immediately after milking, the rennet is poured in the strained milk. If it is lukewarm, milk is heated on the stove to 36 °C. Tightened milk is cut with a wooden spoon, then the whey is drained and the cheese gathered. It is put in the cloth in which it tightens and strains. Then it is hanged for 2–3 hours. After straining, it is taken out of the cloth, kneaded and seasoned with salt to taste. Been stuffed up in a small tub, covered with a cloth, tightening the screw and turning a small tub over. When all the whey is drained, the top layer of cheese is washed and taken to the sun, to dry its top side. Cheese prepared in that way can be stored up to six months.

24.2.5. Cheese with holes in the form of kachkaval

The milk is heated up to 36 °C. The rennet is poured in it. When tightened, the milk is cut with a spoon, for the whey to come to the surface. It is decanted, and cheese is gathered and put in the cloth in which it is squeezed with hands and drained. Squeezed cheese is salted, mixed and put in a clean cloth. The size of a cloth depends on the size and weight of the wheel of cheese one wants to get – 300 g, 500 g, 700 g, 1 kg, 2 kg, etc. The ends of the cloth are twisted to the top and bottom side, to form a ring of certain thickness. The cheese

donje strane. Sir stoji u ostavi – na vazduhu. Sledеćeg dana se izvadi iz krpe, složi na sto i iznese na sunce. Prvog dana se dva-tri puta okreće, a narednih dana 12 sati stoji na jednoj strani i 12 na drugoj. Posle nekoliko dana je spreman za prodaju.

24.2.7. Vurda

Nakon pravljenja sira se sakupi surutka. Prokuvavanjem surutke se dobija vurda – mekan sir, koji se odmah nakon soljenja i hlađenja koristi za ishranu. Vurda ne može dugo stajati.

24.2.8. Sirdik

Sirdik je sir koji se pravi od „samokisa“. Kada mleko uskisne, procedi se u platnennom cedilu, posoli i koristi za ishranu.

24.2.9. Kiselo mleko

Ovčje kiselo mleko pravi se od prokuvanog mleka u koje se stavi takozvani kvasac – staro kiselo mleko. Kvasac se stavlja u delimično ohlađeno mleko, koje se nakon toga sipa u čupice. Preko čupica, tj. oko njihovog oboda se, pomoću mleka, zapeši papir. Ovako pripremljene posude se, zbog održavanja topote, prekriju jastucima do narednog dana. Kad se ohladi, mleko je spremno za upotrebu.

25. PRODAJA MLEČNIH PROIZVODA

Sirevi i mlečni proizvodi plasiraju se na pijacama većih gradova. Ovčari su često prinuđeni da nose mlečne proizvode u udaljene gradove. Tako, na primer, čobani iz Potpornja u blizini Vršca nose sir u Beograd, jer je vršačka pijaca prezasićena mlečnim proizvodima iz okolnih mesta. Odlazak u Beograd se isplati, pošto su beogradske pijace skuplje i mogu da preuzmu ponuđenu robu. U principu, sirevi i drugi mlečni proizvodi se uglavnom plasiraju u veće gradove, npr.: ovčari iz okoline Novog

is squeezed in the cloth, the cloth is changed until the cheese does not drain well. The strained cheese stays in the pantry for two or three days – in the air. After that the procedure is repeated, a new cloth is put and returned to the storeroom. The process is repeated two or three times. Then the cheese is washed in hot whey in a pot (the hot whey is poured over). It is shaped with long knife and taken to the sun.

It stands in the sun for 2–3 hours a day, so as the grease does not leak from it. Under the influence of heat, the holes are formed in the cheese.

24.2.6. Šajt

The hot water is poured to the milk to get the warmth of temperature of freshly milked milk. To 10 l of this milk is poured 1 dl of calf rennet. Tightened milk is stirred in order for the whey to float. It is decanted, and the cheese is taken out and put on the table. The cheese is being salted after straining and stirring. Then it is put in a cloth and strained by squeezing the ends of the cloth. After straining, it is put in a dry cloth, which is a wheel formed, and the ends of the cloth are twisted to top and on the bottom. The cheese is put in the pantry – in the air. The next day it is taken out from the cloth, arranged on a table and taken to the sun. On the first day, it is turned two or three times, and next day it stands for 12 hours on one side and 12 on the other. After a few days, it is ready for sale.

24.2.7. Vurda

After making cheese, the whey is collected. By boiling whey vurda is obtained – soft



Sada svoje proizvode nose na novosad-ske pijace; sir iz Suseka i drugih naselja sa Dunava je pre i posle rata lađama nošen u Novi Sad; čobani iz naselja sa oboda Fruške gore nose svoje proizvode u Rumu, Sremsku Mitrovicu, Novi Sad, Sremske Karlovce itd. U Bačkoj se nosi na pijace u Sombor, Suboticu, Sentu, Apatin, Bačku Topolu itd., a u Banatu u Vršac, Zrenjanin, Kikindu, Pančevo.

cheese, which is immediately after salting and cooling used for human consumption. Vurda can not stay long.

24.2.8. *Sirdik*

Sirdik the cheese made from "samokis". When the milk is curded, it is strained into a canvas sieve, seasoned with salt and used for consumption.

24.2.9. *Curd milk*

Sheep curd milk is made from boiled milk in which is put the so-called yeast – an old curd milk. Yeast is placed in a slightly cooled milk, which is then poured into small jars. Over the jars i.e. around their rims is, using milk, pasted the paper. The jars prepared in that way, for maintenance of the heat, are covered with pillows until the next day. When cooled, the milk is ready for use.

25. SELLING MILK PRODUCTS

Cheeses and dairy products are sold in markets of major cities. Sheep keepers are often forced to take the dairy products to distant cities. For example, shepherds from Potpornja near Vršac take the cheese to Belgrade, because the market in Vršac is over-saturated with dairy products from the surrounding villages. Going to Belgrade is worth it, because Belgrade markets are more expensive and can overtake the offered goods. In general, cheeses and other dairy products are sold mainly in larger cities, for example: sheep keepers from the vicinity of the Novi Sad take their products to the markets in Novi Sad; cheese from Susek and other settlements on the Danube both before and after the war was carried to Novi Sad by boats; shepherds from the villages on the brims Fruška gora take their products to Ruma, Sremska Mitrovica, Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci etc. In Bačka they are taken to the market in Sombor, Subotica, Senta, Apatin, Bačka Topola etc. And in the Banat to Vršac, Zrenjanin, Kikinda, Pančevo.

26. OBIČAJI

Ovčari su čopore ovaca čuvali od Đurđevdana do Mitrovdana. Te dve hrišćanske slave se smatraju i čobanskim slavama. Običajno pravo vezano za vremensko ograničenje čuvanja ovaca bilo je regulisano i zakonom. Tako je 1781. godine bačka županijska kongregacija donela određene odluke u Baču. Prema toj limitaciji, pastiri i bojtari su unajmljivani od Mitrovdana. Čobanin koji je čuvaovac od Đurđevdana do Mitrovdana dobijao je hrana i platu od 16 forinti. Njegova dužnost je bila da drži bojtara, koga je plaćao gazda.

Proslave čobana uglavnom su vesele, bogate hranom i pićem. Te proslave vezane su za udruživanje ovčara, formiranje čopora i strižu, ali i za lične i porodične praznike (retko).

Đurđevdan je čobanska slava prihvaćena na celoj teritoriji Vojvodine. Proslavlja se 23. aprila po julijanskom odnosno 6. maja po gregorijanskom kalendaru. Sveti Đorđe, tj. sveti Georgije i sveti Đurađ identificuje se sa običajima i verovanjima vezanim za stočarstvo i zemljoradnju. Karakteristika hrišćanskih praznika je to da su posvećeni ličnostima koje u narodnim verovanjima imaju višestruke moći, od kojih su neke primarne. Kult svetog Đorda uglavnom se vezuje za stočarstvo i zemljoradnju i u tradiciji je poznat kao zaštitnik sitne stoke. Zbog toga su ga ovčari prihvatali kao svoju slavu. Jedan od razloga za to je činjenica da je Đurđevdan prolećni praznik, koji pada u vreme kada se jagnjad odvajaju od ovaca, formiraju čopori i počinje period muže. Običaji vezani za ovaj praznik bili su raznovrsni, ali su uglavom izobičajeni već u prvoj polovini 20. veka. Prilikom istraživanja nisu bili poznati ni najstarijim čobanima. Tokom etnoloških istraživanja sredinom 20. veka zabeleženo je više običaja, posebno u južnom Banatu. Radnje koje su vrštene uglavnom su bile vezane za blagostanje,

26. CUSTOMS

Shepherds tended the herds of sheep from St George to St Demetrius. These two Christian patron saints are also considered shepherds' patron saints. Law regulated customary law regarding the time limit of tending sheep. Thus, in 1781 the county congregation of Bač made certain decisions in Bač. According to this limitation, both the shepherds and bojtars were hired from St Demetrius. The shepherd who tended sheep from St George to St Demetrius received the food and salary of 16 florins. His duty was to keep bojtars, who were paid by the master.

Shepherds's celebrations were mostly cheerful, rich with food and drink. These celebrations are related to the association of sheep keepers, herd formation and shearing, but with personal and family holidays also (rarely).

St George is accepted as a patron saint of the shepherds throughout the territory of Vojvodina. It is celebrated on the 23rd of April according to the Julian and the 6th of May to the Gregorian calendar. Saint George, Saint Georgije, Saint Đurađ is identified with the customs and beliefs related to cattle breeding and agriculture. A characteristic of Christian holidays is that they are dedicated to persons who have multiple powers in folk tradition, some of which are primary. The cult of St George is mostly associated with cattle farming and in the tradition, he is known as the protector of small cattle. For that reason, he was accepted as shepherds' patron saint. One of the reasons for that is the fact that St George is a spring holiday, which falls at the time the lambs are separated from the sheep, the herds are formed and milking period starts. Customs related to this holiday were various, but were mostly out of use in the first half of the 20th century. During the research, even the oldest shepherds did not know them.

povećanje mlečnosti, zaštitu i uvećanje čopora. Navećemo nekoliko primera: „Tako kod banatskih Hera kuće koje su imale ovce i krave činile su sledeće: predveče uoči Đurđevdana idu na livadu i ponesu hleb i so. Posle naberu grančice sa rodne vrbe, zatim po tri vrha koprive i burjana (apte). Od grančica vrbe prave vence i njima okite sudove za mleko, a koprivu i burjan istucaju sa malo sala na pragu kuće. Stucanu smesu zaviju u parče crvenog obojka i ostave u sud za mleko da prenoći“. U jugoistočnom Banatu je bio običaj da ovčari koji imaju ovce iznose na salaš pogaču okruglog prstenastog oblika, veličine vedrice, koja je okićena vrbovim grančicama i belim i crvenim cvećem. Kolač uvežu crvenim koncem za vedricu i kroz njega se obavi prva muža.

Mitrovdan ovčari nazivaju bećarskim svecem. On je prihvaćen kao čobanska slava. Proslavlja se 26. oktobra po julijanskom odnosno 8. novembra po gregorijanskom kalendaru. Mitrovdan je prihvaćen kao čobanska slava zato što se na taj dan odvajaju, „razljučuju“ ovce. Naziv „bećarska slava“ dobio je zato što se tada *pravi* veselje, kuva čobanac, jede i piye.

Specifičan običaj, koji je direktno vezan za ovčare, zabeležen je u južnom Banatu, i to pod nazivom „ovnova čast“, „ovnova svadba“. U integralnoj verziji je pribeležen i snimljen pedesetih godina 20. veka. Osamdesetih godina je već bio izobičajen, ali je ostao u pamćenju starijih ljudi. Ovnova svadbu praktikovali su samo zadružni ovčari. Ona je posvećena ovnovima. Pošto ovnovi nemaju jagnjad, a hrane se cele godine, njihovim vlasnicima se daje godišnja nadoknada, koja se određuje po starosti ovna. „Ako je ovan dvizac, ne pripada mu više nego 30 ovaca. Može da bude ko bik, on više od tog broja ne mrče. Stariji ovan, od 3 do 4 godine, može i do 60 ovaca. Sve to dolazi u obzir kada se pogledaju oko plaćanja za mrčenje, a pogotovo kad su ovnovi različite starosti. Starijem ovnu obično

During ethnological research in the mid-20th century, many customs were recorded, especially in the south Banat. The actions that were undertaken were mostly related to the well-being, the increase of milk production, preservation and gain of the herd. Here are a few examples: "Thus in the Banat at Hera houses that had sheep and cows used to do the following: on the eve of St George they would go to the meadow and take bread and salt. After picking willow twigs, they would pick three tops of the nettle and burjan(apta). From the willow twigs, they used to make wreaths and decorate the containers for milk and nettle and burjan was pounded with a little lard on the threshold of the house. They would wrap the pounded mixture in a piece of red cloth and put in a milk pot to stay overnight."

In the southeastern Banat the sheep keepers who had sheep used to take the flat round bread of bucket size decorated with willow branches and white and red flowers. The cake is tied with red thread to the bucket and taken to the first milking.

The sheep keepers call St Demetrius carouser's patron saint. He was accepted as the shepherds' saint. It is celebrated on the 26th October according to the Julian and on the 8th of November to the Gregorian calendar. St Demetrius is accepted as the shepherds' patron saint because this is the day when the sheep are taken apart, "razljučuju". The term "carouser's patron saint" was given because then they *make* the festivity , they cook shepherd's stew, eat and drink.

The specific custom, which is directly related to the sheep keepers was reported in the southern Banat, and named "the honour of the rams," "ram's wedding." The integral version is recorded in the fifties of the 20th century. In the eighties, it was already out of use, but remained in the memory of older people. Only associated sheep keepers practiced "ram's wedding". It is dedicated

više plaćaju po broju daju 30 do 40 ovaca, a mlađem po 20–30 i toliko mu plaćaju ugovorenu sumu po komadu”.

Običaj „ovnova svadba“ najčešće se odvija na Miholjdan (12. oktobra). U ceremoniji učestvuju sve porodice čije su ovce u čoporu. Domaćice pletu vence od hrizantema različitih boja, osim u Divču, gde se pletu od belog cveća, da bi jaganjci bili beli. Venci se stavljuju na ovnove robove ili oko čela. Takođe se priprema ručak. Ovčari se dogovaraju oko količine hrane i pića potrebnog za ručak, ali je obavezna mala pogaća, koju svaki gazda pre ručka lomi sa čobaninom. „Okićene ovnove vode od kuće dečaci i čuvaju ih sve vreme dok se sve gazde ne skupe i dok ne dođe vreme da se ‘ovnovi puste u buljuk’. Pre nego što će pustiti ovnove, gazde se skupe i odu malo dalje od čopora, kojeg čuva čoban, i ‘rasturaju so’ na male gomilice. Nekada su pre nego što će pustiti ovna u čopor, ‘bacali devojčicu na ovna’, tj. otac svoje žensko dete ili brat svoju sestruru stavljao bi da užaši ovna koga je sam vodio do čopora. Kad ovan uđe među ovce, onda bi dete skidali. To su činili zato da bi bilo više ženskih jaganjaca”.

Ovnova svadba zabeležena je samo u južnom Banatu. Terenska istraživanja nisu potvrdila postojanje ovog običaja u drugim delovima Vojvodine.³⁴



to rams. Since the rams do not have lambs, and are fed for the whole year, their owners are given a yearly fee, which is determined by the age of the ram. “If the ram is dvizac, about 30 sheep belongs to it. It may be like a bull, it cannot mate more than this number. The older ram, from 3 to 4 years old, can mate up to 60 sheep. All that is taken into account when they negotiate about the payment for mating, especially when the rams are of different age. The older ram usually is paid more by the number from 30 to 40 sheep, and a younger one from 20 to 30, and so they pay the agreed sum per piece.”

The custom of “ram’s wedding” usually takes place at Michaelmas (on the 12th of October). The ceremony involves all families whose sheep are in the herd. Housewives weave wreaths of chrysanthemums of different colours, except in Divač, where the wreaths are weaved of white flowers, so that the lambs would be white. Wreaths are put on the horns of rams or around the forehead. Lunch is also prepared. Sheep keepers agree on the amount of food and drink they need for lunch, but a small flat round cake is also required, which each master breaks with a shepherd before lunch.” Young boys take decorated rams from their homes and keep them all the time until all the masters gather, until it is time to ‘let the rams in a crowd.’ Before they release the rams, the masters gather and go a little further from the herd, which is tended by the shepherd, and “disperse the salt into small heaps”. In the past, before they let the ram in the herd, they used to ‘threw the girl onto the ram’, i.e. father takes his female child or brother his sister, they would put her on the ram to ride it, and he personally took them to the herd. When the ram comes among the sheep, the child is taken down. They did it in order to be more female lambs.” Ram’s wedding was recorded only in the southern Banat. Terrain studies have not confirmed the existence of this custom in other parts of Vojvodina.³⁴

27. MUZIČKO STVARALAŠTVO

Sa originalnim narodnim muzičkim stvaralaštvom se veoma retko srećemo. Narodno muzičko stvaralaštvo obično se svodi na interpretacije postojećih pesama, pri kojima se menja red reči pesama, ili se dodaju novi stihovi. Mnogi čobani su znali da sviraju gajde i harmoniku, ali je frula bila gotovo neizostavan instrument. „Svi čobani su, prilikom čuvanja stada, pokušavali da sviraju na fruli. Čak i oni koji nisu bili sluhisti savlađivali su tehniku trilera ali nisu mogli da ‘potrefe’ pravi ton pravu melodiju. Oni talentovаниju su bili pravi majstori na ovom instrumentu do kojih su dolazili kupujući ih na vašarima. Sviranje na fruli je počinjalo u najranijem detinjstvu da bi kroz dečaštvo i momaštvo čobanin potpuno ovladao sviranjem najpopуларnijih pesama kao i mnogim melodijama raznih igara, počev od ‘bečkog’ kola do ‘cigančice’, ‘Haj, huk, keleruj, lepša supa neg pasulj’ i ostalih popularnih igara. Tako je u periodu između 1880 i 1900 godine izvrsni frulaš – čobanin Sava Brzak – Tekelijin bio pozivan i plaćan za svirku, koju je izvodio za vreme igrokaza ‘Đido’ u Srpskom narodnom Pozorištu”.³⁵

27. MUSIC CREATIVE WORK

We rarely meet original folk music creative work. National musical creativity usually reduces to interpretations of the existing songs, in which the word order is changed or new verses are added. Many shepherds knew how to play the bagpipes and the accordion, but the flute was almost an inevitable instrument. “All the shepherds, when tending the herd, were trying to play the flute. Even those whose hearing was not so good somehow mastered the technique of triller but could not ‘shoot’ the right tone and the right melody. Those who were more talented were real masters of this instrument, which they used to buy at fairs. Playing the flute began at an early age through boyhood and bachelorhood when the shepherds fully mastered playing the most popular songs as well as the tunes of many different dances, starting with the ‘Viennese’ dance up to ‘The small gypsy’, ‘Hi, roar, keleruj, more beautiful soup than bean soup’ and other popular dances. Thus, in the period between 1880 and 1900, excellent piper – shepherd Sava Brzak – Tekelija was invited and paid for his playing, which was performed during the musical ‘Đido’ in the Serbian National Theatre “.³⁵

157. KIŠA LIJE, BELO STADO BLJE

Mp. XVII/B15

Vojislav Šekarić, T3 g.
Padr. 1. VIII 1962.

168 |

168 |

156. ČOBAN TERA OVČICE

Mp. XVII/B17

Vojislav Šekarić, T3 g.
Padr. 1. VIII 1962.

116 |

116 |

d) Pesme sa pastirskom tematikom

155. ČUVAM OVCE KRAJ ZELENE JOVE

Katica Nakic 71 g.
Kovilj, 23. V 1981.

JOURNAL OF CLIMATE

158. LEG' O ČOBAN NA ZELENU TRAVU

Predrag Veselinović, 70 g.
Barstova Nišap Sela, 7. III 1981.

_____ (d)

N. Fragile³⁶

Kazivač Đoka Pandurov

(rod. 1920, Obrovac)

Leg'o čoban na zelenu travu,
leg'o čoban na zelenu tra[vu],
kabanicu podmet'o pod glavu.
Kabanicu smotao pod gla[vu].
Kad je bilo pola noći, zalaja mu kera.
Kad je kiša iz oblaka li[la],
ust'o čoban, al' ovaca nema.
Ode čoban u kafanu pi[ti].
Sede čoban na svoga kulaša.
Kad je čoban prebrojao ovce,
pa on stiže ovce do svoga salaša.
– Nema moje gare najmilije.
Broji čoban po mesecu ovce,
nema gare, nema ni garina, ni jalovke od
sedam godina.
Skoči garin, zazvoni mu zvonce,
'Akte za mnom metiljave ovce.

Zaheležio I. Čakran

159. KIŠA PADA, HLADAN VETAR BIJE

Anka Đurić, 77 g.
Čerević, 23.V.1982.

CELESTE, 23. V 1986.

ZELENU TRAVU

Predrag Veselinović, 70 g.
Barstova Nišap Sela, 7. III 1981.

_____ (d)

Narrator Đoka Pandurov

(born in 1920, Obrovac)

*On a green grass shepherd is lying
On a green grass shepherd is lying
under the head his raincoat putting
under the head his raincoat putting.
When the midnight comes
When the rain starts pouring
The dog jumps and barks
To the pub the shepherd is going
He wakes up, the sheep missing
When his sheep counting
The shepherd on the horse jumping
– His dearest blacky is missing.
On his farm them reaching
in the moonlight counting,
black and blacky missing,
Or the addle one of seven years old.
Then the black one jumps, the bell ring
You follow me, you sickly sheep.*

Recorded by I. Čakan

Pesmu otpevao Stevan Lukić

Lego čoban na zelenu travu
kabanicu met'uo pod glavu.
Kiša lije belo stado mije,
ot'šo čoban u bircuz da pije.
Kad je čoban potrošio novce,
on se vrati da prebroji novce,
on se vrati da prebroji ovce.
Broji ovce, broji jaganjice,
od stotine nema polovine.
Nema moje gare, pa nema jagnje najmilije.
A oj garo, ljuta moja rano,
i umreću prežaliti neću,
a i nema mojega garina (ovna),
koji vredi nekoliko stotina.

Zabeležio I. Čakan

The song sung by Stevan Lukić

Shepherd is on a green grass lying under the head his raincoat putting. Rain is pouring white herd washing, off to the pub the shepherd is going. When the shepherd money spent he returned for the cash to count he returned for the sheep to count. Counting sheep, counting lambs, half of the hundred are missing. There is no my blacky, and no my darling lamb Oh my blacky, my harsh wound I'll die, never pass you through, my favourite black ram is missing too worth several hundred sheep, boo, oo"

Recorded by I. Čakan

28. ČOBANSKI FOLKLOR

Pesme

Čobanske ili pastirske pesme spadaju u narodne lirske pesme. Građanske pesme sa pastirskom tematikom su malobrojne. Ranije su čobani bili i autori pesama, a u sastavu doba su sve više samo prenosioci tj. izvođači tuđih pesama.³⁷

28. SHEPHERD FOLKLORE

Poems

Shepherds' or pastoral folk songs belong to the folk lyric songs. Civic songs with a pastoral theme are scarce. Previously, the shepherds were the authors of the songs, and in modern times, they are only conveyors, i.e. performers of someone else's songs.³⁷

ПАСТИРОВА ПЕСМА

Andante expressivo (♩ = 96)

Ено и ставе, куд а виле славе,
Куд коло воде, крај ове воде,
Ах том истом, стазицом,
Лане моје шеће,
Кад год чује фруланицу,
Туда бере цвеће.

29. LIKOVNO IZRAŽAVANJE

Pastirska naivna umetnost je individualna, ali je često nastajala pod uticajem sredine, bez obzira na to da li je reč o gradskoj ili seoskoj sredini. O njenoj vrednosti nije dat sud. Mnogi stvaraoci su anonimni, a njihov broj je izuzetno veliki. Gotovo svaki pastir je ukrašavao svoje predmete. Zbirke vojvođanskih muzeja imaju izuzetno vredne predmete. One daju veoma jasnu sliku o pastirskom naivnom stvaralaštву. Prema materijalu na kojem je delo rađeno, naivno stvaralaštvo se može podeliti u nekoliko celina, koje su suštinski povezane. Vrsta materijala daje određeni prostor za likovno izražavanje.

Kada se ovce odmaraju odnosno planuduju i kada mirno pasu na pašnjaku, čobani nemaju posla. Tada svoja osećanja, raspoloženja i talenat izražavaju kroz muziku, usmeno stvaralaštvo i ukrašavanje različitih predmeta. Oni najčešće ukrašavaju svoje čobanske štapove, bičeve, čuturice, čture, tikvice za rakiju, frule, kožne kanije i druge sitne predmete. Gotovo svi čobani rezbare, ili na neki drugi način ukrašavaju predmete koje su sami napravili. Njihovo likovno stvaralaštvo spada u domen naivne primenjene umetnosti, koju često karakteriše nespretno izvođenje, ali šarmantno. Neki čobani su izuzetno talentovani; imaju istančan ukus i izraženu urođenu veština. Likovni ukus pojedinih čobana može se oceniti i po predmetima kojima su ostavlјali prirodnu formu (prirodni oblik) i nisu ih ukrašavali. Takav izbor je odraz individualnog, estetskog osećanja.

29.1. Ukrashavanje tikvica

Ukrašavanje tankim urezima najčešće se primenjuje na tikvicama za rakiju. Oblje površine tikvica omogućavaju urezivanje složenijih kompozicija, koje se ne mogu izvesti na uskim predmetima, kakvi su npr. štapovi i bičevi. Većina tikvica je ukrašena

29. FINE ART EXPRESSION

Shepherd's naive art is individual, but was often formed under the influence of the environment, regardless of whether it is a city or rural area. There is no given opinion about its value. Many creators are anonymous, and their number is extremely high. Nearly every shepherd decorated his own objects. The Collections of the Museum of Vojvodina have very valuable items. They give a very clear picture of pastoral naive creativity. According to the material on which the work is done, naive creativity can be divided into several entities, which are essentially linked. The type of material provides a certain space for artistic expression.

When the sheep are resting or lying idle, when grazing on the pasture, the shepherds have nothing to do. Then they express their feelings, moods and their talents through music, oral creativity and decorating various items. They most frequently decorate their sticks, whips, flask, small flasks, and gourds for brandy, pipes, leather scabbards, and other small items. Almost all shepherds carve or in some other way decorate the items they made themselves. Their fine art creativity falls into the domain of naive applied arts, which is often characterized by clumsy realization, but charming. Some shepherds are extremely talented, with subtle aesthetic taste, and expressed, innate skill. Artistic taste of some shepherds can be assessed by the use of objects that are left in their natural form and were not decorated. Such a choice is a reflection of the individual, aesthetic feelings.

29.1. Decoration of the gourds

Decorating with thin cuts is usually applied to flasks of brandy. Curved surface of the gourds allows grooving complex compositions, which are not easily applied on narrow subjects, such as e.g. sticks and whips. Most of the gourds are decorated

cvetovima ruža i lala, hrastovim lišćem, žrom, vinovom lozom (što je povezano sa funkcijom tikvice – posuda za žestoko piće), ali i ornamentima u vidu riblje kosti, vodoravnim, uspravnim i kosim crtama, šahovskim poljem – sa belim i tamnim kvadratnim površinama. Na tikvicama su prikazane i scene iz svakodnevnog zabavnog života. Jedna od tih scena je tamburaš sa vino-vom lozom, čiji se krajnji list (u obliku srca) završava kod vrata muzičkog instrumenta, kontrabasa ili bas-prima. Na taj način pastir vrednuje ne samo instrument već i izvođača muzike, ali i okruženje – muzikante, sa kojima su čobani, a i drugo seosko stanovištvo provodili vreme, zabavljajući se po kafanama i drugim zabavama (svadbama, imendanim, godišnjicama venčanja). Tikvice za rakiju su, možda, najbolje svedočanstvo o likovnom stvaralaštvu pastira. Na njima su prikazani inserti iz svakodnevnog života – Dunav sa barkama za žito, stanovištvo u izvornoj nošnji i dr., ali i druge žanr-scene: momak i devojka; čovek koji sedi za stolom i gajdaš koji svira zagrljenom paru. Gajdaši su bili popularni zabavljači i u prvoj polovini 20. veka.

Na tikvicama se često javljaju figuralne predstave životinja, ptice, kao i inicijali, puna imena i prezimena, grbovi, datumi ukrašavanja. Na njima su ispisivane vesele poruke: „Napuni tikvu, ponudi sve, mudar ko piće, lud ko ne!“; „Dok tikvice pune služe, babe se ne tuže“; „Bože spasi ko za koga mari, diko zveko ne gledaj me popreko“; „Haj ha nek se zna kada teram kera ja, puj“; „Sad je zora ždera kući mora, alo pa neka“³⁸

Ukrašavanje predmeta vršeno je urezivanjem (plitkim i dubokim rezom), termičkom obradom – pirotehnikom, bojenjem, intarzijom, dodavanjem metalnih ukrasa, obmotavanjem žicom, kožnim i platnenim ukrasima i kombinacijom nekoliko tehnika. Ukršavanje se uglavnom vezuje za pastire. Međutim, sigurno su i drugi talentovani se-ljaci rezbarili predmete za vlastitu upotrebu

with flowers, tulips and roses, oak leaves, acorns, vines (which is associated with the function of the gourd – the container for the hard drink), and ornaments in the form of fish bones, horizontal, vertical and oblique lines, the chess field – with white and dark rectangular areas. The funny scenes from everyday life are also shown on the gourds. One of these scenes is a player on “tambura” with the grapevine, whose final leaf (heart shaped) ends at the neck of the musical instrument, bass or double bass. In this way, the shepherd values not only the performers, the instrument itself, but also the environment – the musicians, with whom the shepherds, and the rest of rural population used to spend time having fun in pubs and in other different parties (weddings, name days, anniversaries of weddings).

Gourds for brandy were, perhaps, the best testimony of the shepherds' fine art creation. On them are represented the excerpts from everyday life – the boats full of wheat on the river Danube, the population in the national folk costumes and others, but other genre scenes as well: a boy and a girl, the man who is sitting at the table and the piper who is playing to the embraced couple. Pipers were popular entertainers in the first half of the 20th century.

On the gourds, we can find figural images of animals, birds, as well as the initials, full names and surnames, coat of arms, dates of decorating. Some cheerful messages were written on them: “Fill the pumpkin, offer everyone, wise who drinks, crazy who doesn't!“; “While gourds are full, grannies do not complain“, “God save anyone who cares for anyone, my pride, my beast, don't look at my askance “; Hi, ho let it know when I am leading wild life “; Now the dawn has come, guttler must go home, it's OK “³⁸

Decorating of the objects was done by incisions (shallow and deep cuts), heat treatment – fireworks, painting, inlay, adding metallic accents, wire wrapping, leather and

i po porudžbini, stvarajući izuzetno vredna umetnička dela.

Likovno izražavanje čobana odraz je i njihovog specifičnog zanimanja, koje je vezano za prirodu, otvorene površine pod pašnjacima, vazduh i vetar koji šiba na slatini i pašnjacima širom vojvođanskih ravnica, odnosno momente inspirativne za stvaraoce. Možda je odvajanje od porodice i ljubav prema njoj, kao i prema drugovima i ljudima koje poznaju jedna od inspiracija čobana. Žudeći za druženjem, koje im je bilo izuzetno važno, a kojeg su se morali odricati zbog zanimanja, jer je ono zahtevalo dugu izolaciju, prirodno je to što su osećanja ispoljavali na ovakav način.

30. ČOBANSKE DOSETKE, PRIČE, IGRE

Kruščica, Stanko Mihajlović, rođen 1930. godine

Ovca isterala rđu iz kuće

Rđa ušla u kuću i stala u jedan budžak. Ovca kaže: „Ne možeš, tu će moje janje“. Kaže rđa: „Ja ču u drugi“. Ovca kaže: „Ne možeš, tu će vuna“. Kaže rđa: „Ja ču u treći“. „Tu ne možeš, tu će moje mleko“. „Ja ču u četvrti, tu ču ja“.

Ovca je krta, brzo nestaje kao vrba, a lako se podiže.

Kad čobanin mnogo čuva ovce, postane isti kao ovca.

Čobani i magarci se svugde znaju.

Zašto kerovi mirišu između sebe svakom dupe. „Kada je bio skup kereći (parlament), jedan se upuvalo, pa se sada svi kerovi mirišu za guzicu da bi ga pronašli“.

Zašto svaki magarac ima krst na leđima

Svaki magarac ima krst na leđima, a jedni govore da je Isus Hrist išao i tražio da ga prevedu preko reke Jordan. Tada je Hrist pitao konja da ga prenese preko reke. Konj je rekao samo da malo sačeka dok se ne

fabric decorations, and combining several techniques. Decoration is mostly associated with the shepherds. But surely the other talented peasants carved the objects for their own use and by order, creating extremely valuable artistic creations.

Artistic expression of the shepherds is a reflection of their specific occupation, which is related to nature, open grassland areas, air and wind, which whips in mineral springs and pastures across the plains of Vojvodina, i.e. the inspiring moments for the creators. Perhaps the separation from family and love for it and from the friends and people they know is one of the inspirations of the shepherds. Longing for companionship which was extremely important for them, and which they had to give up because of the profession, because it requires long isolation, and it is natural that they manifested their feelings in this way.

30. SHEPHERDS' JOKES, STORIES, GAMES

Kruščica, Stanko Mihajlović, born in 1930

The speep expelled the bad luck(rust) out of the house

The rust entered the house and stopped in one corner. The sheep says: "You can not be there, because there will be my lamb." Rust says: "I am going to another corner". Sheep says: "You can not, there will be my wool." Rust says: "I am going into the third one." "You can not, there will be my milk." "I am going into the fourth one, that's where I will be."

Sheep is brittle, disappearing fast as a willow, and easy to raise.

When the shepherd tends the sheep for a long time, he becomes the same as the sheep. Shepherds and donkeys know each other everywhere. Why the dogs smell each other's butts. "When there was dogs' assembly (parliament), one of them farted, so

najede. Hrist je tada odgovorio: „Dabogda se nikad ne najede“. Konj je zbog toga stalno gladan i uvek jede, gde god da se nalazi. Pitavši za istu uslugu magaraca, magarac je bez reči preveo Hrista preko reke i zbog toga nijedan magarac nikada nije gladan; uvek za njega ima hrane i zbog toga ima krst na leđima.

30.1. Čobanske igre

Na pašnjacima se ovce lako čuvaju pošto ne mogu da uđu u useve i naprave štetu. Čobani se tada zabavljaju na razne načine. Jedna od čobanskih igara bila je opklada u to čiji je pulin brži. Igra se sastoji u tome da čobani u istom momentu pošalju svoje pse na magarce. Čoban čiji je pas najsporiji plaća opkladu. U Ratkovu su se čobani najčešće kladili u 5 l vina.

Papanje

Čobanskim štapom se ruši štapić koji je zabijen u zemlju. On se baca sa određene razdaljine. Kada se štapić ruši, on se pomeri; opet se zabode na mestu na kom se zau stavio i ponovo se ruši. Razdaljina se stalno povećava. Najuspješniji čobanin, tj. onaj koji je srušio štapić na najvećoj razdaljini pobeđuje.

Rvanje

Reč je o opkladi za novac ili piće – ko će koga srušiti na zemlju.

Bacanje karike na nož i bacanje noža

Metalna karika se sa određene udaljenosti baca na nož zaboden u zemlju. Najuspješniji čobanin dobija novac ili piće po pogodbi. Čobani su bacali i zabadali noževe u drvo, dasku, i to takođe za piće i novac.

Davljenje pasa

Ovčari i drugi vlasnici pasa u južnom Banatu (u Dupljaji, Vračevom Gaju, Jasenovu) organizuju borbe pasa. U borbama učestvuju samo veliki psi mešanci, a najčešće se

now all the dogs smell each others' asses to find out who it was."

Why each donkey has a croos on its back

Each donkey has a cross on its back, and people say that Jesus Christ went around and asked to be taken across the river Jordan. Then Christ asked the horse to take him across the river. The horse said to wait just for a while until it eats. The Christ then answered: "May you never eat your fill." Because of that, the horse is constantly hungry and always eats, wherever it is. Asking the donkey for the same favour , the donkey without saying the word took the Christ across the river and therefore no donkey is ever hungry, there is always food for it and thus has a cross on its back. "

30.1. Shepherds' games

It is easy to tend the sheep on the pastures because they cannot get into the crops and cause damage. The shepherds then entertain themselves in various ways. One of the shepherds' games is betting on whose Pulin is the fastest. The game goes like this the shepherds send their dogs to the donkeys at the same time. The shepherd whose dog is the slowest pays the bet. In Ratkovo the shepherds usually bet in 5 liters of wine.

Papanje

By shepherd's rod, one should knock down the stick that is stuck in the ground. It is thrown from the distance. When the stick is knocked down, it is moved, then stuck again at the point where it stopped and try to break it down again. The distance is steadily increasing. The most successful shepherd is the one who managed to knock down the stick from the largest distance.

Wresling

Bet the money or drink on the one who is going to knock the other one onto the ground.

bore psi mešani sa velikim belim mađarskim psima kuvasima. Borba pasa organizuje se u zimskom periodu, na dan vakcinacije pasa protiv besnila. Tada su svi vlasnici pasa na okupu. U borbi učestvuju dva psa – jedan protiv drugog. Gazde ih napujdaju i borba traje sve dok jedan od njih ne podvije rep. Borba se naziva „davljenje pasa”, ali se veoma retko dogodi da neki pas udavi svog protivnika. Borbe traju od ujutru do uveče – po volji vlasnika, koja je često u vezi sa raspoloženjem stvorenim u krčmi. Borbe se vode za manje sume novca, a najčešće za piće.

Dodavanje kamenog štapovima

Čobani naprave krug i između sebe dodaju kamen. U sredini kruga стоји jedan od njih. On se trudi da oduzme kamen koji se dodaje štapovima.

Throwing the ring on the knife and throwing knife

Metal ring is thrown from a certain distance on the knife stuck into the ground. The most successful shepherd receives money or a drink according to the deal. The shepherds throw and stuck knives into the wood, board, for a drink or money.

Choking the dogs

Sheep keepers and other dog owners in the southern Banat (in Dupljaja, Vračev Gaj, Jasenovo) organized dogs' fighting. The fighting involved only large mongrel dogs, and most frequently, the fights are organized between dogs crossbred with large white Hungarian kuvas dogs. The dogs' fights are organized in winter, on the day of vaccination of dogs against rabies. Then all dog owners gather. Two dogs are involved in the fight – one against the other. The owners set them on and the fight lasts until one of them folds its tail. The fight is called "choking dogs", but it rarely happens that a dog chokes its opponent. The fights last from morning till evening – by the will of the owner, which is often related to the mood created in the inn. The fights are arranged for smaller sums of money, but mostly for a drink.

Passing stones using sticks

The shepherds make a circle among them and pass the stone. One of them stands in the middle of the circle. He is trying to take away the stone that is passed by the rods.

POGOVOR

Ovčarstvo je veoma unosna grana stočarstva u Vojvodini. Budući da je to grana privrede u okviru koje se, osim kad je reč o načinu građenja staništa za čobana i lečenju ovaca, ne mogu unositi neke korenite inovacije, ono ostaje aktuelna tema za etnologe i sociologe, ali i privrednike.

Savremeni način gajenja i čuvanja ovaca nas neizbežno asocira na tradicionalno ovčarstvo.

Ovčarstvo je u Vojvodini najrazvijenije u predelima velikih pašnjaka u Banatu. Njime su se najviše bavili Srbi, Rumuni i Mađari. Doseđenici iz severnijih predela, kao i novi kolonisti se uglavnom nisu bavili ovom gronom stočarstva. Međutim, neki od njih su se saživeli sa novom sredinom i bave se ovčarstvom. Tako se, na primer, ovčarstvom bave Česi koji su naseljeni u starinačko srpsko selo Kruščicu kod Bele Crkve, kao i Srbi. Slična situacija je i sa Slovacima u Selenči.

U knjizi „Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje”, J. Cvijić navodi: „U nekim oblastima stočarenja seljaci se udružuju i zajednički šalju svoja mala stada na visoke ispaše. Svu stoku čuva jedan čobanin. Zajedničko je mleko od koga prave sir i dele ga po broju brava. U istočnoj Srbiji ova stočarska udruženja zovu se bačije ili bačevanje”.³⁹ Ovaj termin prihvaćen je u etnološkoj literaturi i označava jedan od načina čuvanja ovaca. Karakteriše ga poseban vid organizovanja poslova i udruživanje domaćinstava sa ovcama muzarama tokom leta – radi zajedničkog čuvanja na seoskim i udaljenim pašnjacima.

Ovčarstvo u Vojvodini pripada tipu lokalnog zemljoradničkog ovčarstva, čija je karakteristika zemljoradnja kao osnovno zanimanje i gajenje manjeg ili većeg broja ovaca kao dopunsko privređivanje. Gajenje ovaca u ovim predelima je, bez obzira na broj grla, uvek u vezi sa zemljoradnjom – ili je obrada zemlje dopuna ovčarstvu, ili je

AFTERWORD

Sheep keeping is a very profitable business of cattle breeding in Vojvodina. As this is a branch of the economy within which, except when it comes to building housings for shepherds and treatment of sheep, some radical innovations cannot be introduced, it remains a hot topic for ethnologists, sociologists, and economists.

A modern method of growing and tending sheep inevitably reminds us of the traditional sheep keeping.

Sheep keeping in Vojvodina is the most developed in the areas of large pastures in Banat. The Serbs, Romanians and Hungarians most deal with it. The settlers from more northern areas, as well as new colonists were generally not involved in this branch of cattle breeding. However, some of them got accustomed to the new environment and started dealing with the sheep. Thus, for example, the Czechs who settled in the Serbian village Kruščica near Bela Crkva, deal with sheep keeping as well as the Serbs. A similar situation is with the Slovaks in Selenča.

In the book "The Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic countries," J. Cvijić states: "In some areas of cattle breeding the farmers join together and send their small herds to the high pastures. One shepherd tends all the cattle. Milk of which cheese is made is common and is shared according to number of wethers. In eastern Serbia, these cattle associations are called bačje or bačevanje".³⁹ This term was accepted in the ethnological literature and indicates one way of tending sheep. It is characterized by a particular kind of organizing the work and association of the households with dairy sheep during summer – for common tending the sheep on both the village and remote pastures.

Sheep keeping in Vojvodina belongs to the type of local agricultural sheep keeping; whose characteristics is that farming

ovčarstvo dopuna zemljoradnji. Po organizaciji posla, ono pripada tipu bačijskog stočarenja. Bačijsko stočarenje prostire se od istočne polovine Balkana na karpatske i prikarpatske zemlje, a u okviru bačijskog tipa stočarenja se izdvaja lokalno zemljoradničko ovčarstvo, rasprostranjeno po ravnicama duž srednjeg i donjeg toka Dunava, na Transilvanskoj visoravni i po ravnicama u severozapadnom podnožju Karpata – podrazumevajući i Banat.

Izdvojeno kao deo svakodnevice, ali i viševkovni sadrug određene društvene zajednice, ovčarstvo, kao ekonomski grana, i ovčari, kao socijalni sloj odnosno društvena grupacija, predstavljaju značajnu kategoriju seoskog stanovništva koje tokom stoljeća čuva i neguje odlike duhovne i materijalne kulture onog dela, uglavnom autohtonog, stanovništva Vojvodine koje se bavilo ovčarenjem.

Karakteristika ove monografije jeste činjenica da je u celini zasnovana na prikupljenoj terenskoj građi.

Posebnu vrednost čini veliki broj autentičnih terenskih fotografija iz života vlasnika ovaca i ilustrativni materijal.

is the primary occupation and tending of smaller or larger number of sheep is a supplementary livelihood. Breeding the sheep in these areas, regardless of the number of animals, is always related to agriculture – either cultivating the land is the complement to sheep keeping, or vice versa. According to the organization of work, it belongs to the bačija type cattle breeding. Bačija type cattle breeding extends from the eastern half of the Balkan to Carpathian and near Carpathian countries, and within the type of bačija type cattle raising local farming sheep keeping stands out, widespread on the plains along the middle and lower Danube, the Transylvanian plateau and the plains in the northwestern foothills of the Carpathians – including Banat as well.

Singled out as part of everyday life, but also as the centuries-long companion in the complete content of the economic part of the duration of certain social community, sheep keeping, as a branch of economy, and sheep keepers, as a social layer or social group, represent a significant category of rural population which over the centuries preserved and nourished the characteristics of spiritual and materialistic culture of that part, mostly indigenous population of Vojvodina which used to deal with sheep keeping.

The characteristic of this monograph is the fact that it is completely based on the gathered terrain material.

Special value makes up a large number of authentic images from the life of sheep owners and the illustrative material.

NAPOMENE

¹ Tekst je napisan na osnovu kazivanja brojnih sagovornika, čobana i vlasnika ovača. Među njima su: Spasoje Milašinović, Radojica Kostić iz Botoša, Sava Brazak iz Srpskog Krstura, Mirko Granić iz Vatina, Slobodan Ješić iz Kumana, Rada Paroški iz Suseka, Angelina Gligorić iz Suseka, Stevan Gligorić iz Mandelosa, Lazar Dojčinov iz Potpornja, Luka Nikolae iz Straže, Mita Brankov, Dragomir Matanov i Đurica Gregoš iz Izbišta, Joca Živanov iz Kruščice, Andraš Stipić iz Doroslova, Pandurov Toše Đoka iz Obrovca, Veselin Popović iz Bačkog Brestovca, Stevan Milošević iz Krušedola, Boško Nešković iz Stejanovaca i dr.

² Николић, Рајко: Рад око стоке код Банатских Хера, у: „Банатске Хере”, Пособна издања, Војвођански музеј, Нови Сад 1958, 97–121.

³ Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Сточарство у северном Банату”, Рад војвођанских музеја 12–13, Нови Сад 1964, 69–101. Милосављевић Миливоје: „Традиционални облици и развој сточарства на подручју општине Панчево”, Гласник Етнографског музеја, бр. 51, Београд 1987.

⁴ Бошњаковић, Жарко: Пасшурска шерминологија Срема, Нови Сад 1985.

⁵ Малуцков, Мирјана: Румуни у Банашу, Нови Сад 1985.

⁶ Филиповић, Миленко С.: „Утицај власти на народну ношњу”, Рад војвођанских музеја 10, Нови Сад 1961, 59–68. Јованчић, Рада: „Типови и начин грађења колиба у селима јужног Срема”, Рад војвођанских музеја 1, Нови Сад 1952, 189–191. Малуцков, Мирјана: „Овчарство у југоисточном Банату”, Рад војвођанских музеја 35, Нови Сад 1993, 187–198. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Сточарство у северном Банату”, Рад војвођанских музеја 12–13, Нови Сад 1964, 69–101. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Ваљаре и ваљање сукна у северном Банату”, Рад војвођанских музеја 15–17,

FOOTNOTES

¹ The text is written based on the sayings of many interviewees, shepherds and sheep owners. Among them are: Spasoje Milašinović, Radojica Kostić from Botoš, Sava Brazak from Srpski Krstur, Mirko Granić from Vatin, Slobodan Ješić from Kumane, Rada Paroški from Susek, Angelina Gligorić from Susek, Stevan Gligorić from Mandelos, Lazar Dojčinov from Potpornja, Luka Nikolae from Straže, Mita Brankov, Dragomir Matanov i Đurica Gregoš from Frombište, Joca Živanov from Kruščica, Andraš Stipić from Doroslovo, Pandurov Toše Đoka from Obrovac, Veselin Popović from Bački Brestovca, Stevan Milošević from Krušedol, Boško Nešković from Stejanovci and other.

² Nikolić, Rajko: "Working around the cattle at Hera in Banat", in: "Hera in Banat", Special Publication, Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 1958, 97–121.

³ Milosavljević, Milivoje: "Animal husbandry in northern Banat," The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 12–13, Novi Sad 1964, 69–101. Milosavljević Milivoje: "Traditional forms and cattle development in the municipality of Pančevo," Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum, no. 51, Belgrade 1987.

⁴ Bošnjaković Žarko: Shepherd terminology of Srem, Novi Sad 1985

⁵ Maluckov, Mirjana: Romanians in Banat, Novi Sad, 1985

⁶ Filipović, Milenko S.: "The impact of government on the national costume," The work of the Vojvodina Museum 10, Novi Sad 1961, 59–68. Jovančić, Rada, "The types and methods of building huts in the villages in south Srem," The work of Vojvodina Museum 1, Novi Sad 1952, 189–191. Maluckov, Mirjana: "Sheep keeping in northern Banat," The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 35, Novi Sad 1993, 187–198. Milosavljević, Milivoje: "Cattle breeding in northern Banat," The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 12–13, Novi Sad 1964, 69–101. Milosavljević, Milivoje "Rolling objects and

Нови Сад 1968, 81–91. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Етнолошка грађа о Србима у Остојићеву”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 26, Нови Сад, 1980, 141–167. Милошев, Милан: „Кабаничари и кабаничарски занат у Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 20, Нови Сад 1971, 53–85. Милошев, Милан: „Економске зграде пољопривредних домаћинстава у насељима јужног Баната”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 28, Нови Сад 1987, 93–109. Младеновић, Оливера: „Један историјски извор за проучавање наших игара 18. века”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 12–13, Нови Сад 1964, 204–210. Стефановић, Александар: „Ровашење и жигосање стоке у неким селима северног Баната”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 1, Нови Сад 1952, 178–182. Стефановић, Александар: „Дечије игре у северном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 23–24, Нови Сад 1978, 77–109. Стојковић, Драгица: „Опанчарски занат у Панчеву”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 31, Нови Сад 1989, 315–330. Вишекруна, Данка: „Бунари у Петроварадину у Старом и Новом Мајуру”, *Рад Музеја Војводине* 47–48, Нови Сад 2006, 233–240.

⁷ Бански, Марија: „Посуде за млеко, млечне производе и прераду млека у Војводини”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, чешврта изложба*, Нови Сад 1982, 56–61. Дуранци, Бела: „Стапарски амбар на саоницама”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, шесста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 24–28. Чакан, Иван: „Сточарски прибор”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, чешврта изложба*, Нови Сад 1982, 53–57. Чакан, Иван: „Из живота банатских чобана”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, шесста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 11–16. Чакан, Иван: „Како су копани сеоски бунари у Војводини”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, седма изложба*, Нови Сад 1985, 17–25. Пачкић, Петар: „Пулин – војвођански овчарски пас”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, шесста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 17–20. Силађи, Ержебет: „Пулин – мађарски овчарски пас”, у: *Из исхорије*

rolling the cloth in northern Banat,” The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 15–17, Novi Sad 1968, 81–91. Milosavljević, Milivoje: “Ethnological material on the Serbs in Ostojićevo,” The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 26, Novi Sad, 1980, 141–167. Milošev, Milan: “Rain-coats and making raincoat craftsmanship in Banat,” The work of Vojvodina Museum 20, Novi Sad 1971, 53–85. Milošev, Milan: “The economic building of agricultural households in rural areas of southern Banat,” The work of Vojvodina Museum 28, Novi Sad 1987, 93–109. Mladenović, Olivera: “One historical source for the study of our 18th century games”, Museum of Vojvodina paper 12–13, Novi Sad 1964, 204–210. Stefanović, Aleksandar: “Tallying and marking the cattle in some villages of northern Banat,” The work of Vojvodina Museum 1, Novi Sad 1952, 178–182. Stefanović, Aleksandar: “Children’s games in northern Banat,” Work of the Museum of Vojvodina 23–24, Novi Sad 1978, 77–109. Stojković, Dragica “Opanak-makers craftsmanship in Pančeve,” Work of the Museum of Vojvodina 31, Novi Sad 1989, 315–330. Višekruna, Danka, “Wells in Petrovaradin in the Old and New Homestead” The work of the Museum of Vojvodina 47–48, Novi Sad 2006, 233–240.

⁷ Banski, Marija: “The Containers for milk, dairy products and milk processing in Vojvodina, in” From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition, Novi Sad 1982, 56–61. Duranci, Bela: “The barn on a sledge from Stapar,” in From the History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition, Novi Sad 1984, 24–28. Čakan, Ivan: “Cattle breeder’s equipment,” in From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition, Novi Sad 1982, 53–57. Čakan, Ivan: “The life of the shepherds in Banat”, in: in From the History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition, Novi Sad 1984, 11–16. Čakan, Ivan: “How the village wells were dug in Vojvodina,” in From the History of Agriculture, the seventh exhibition, Novi Sad 1985, 17–25. Pačkić, Peter, “Pulin – Vojvodina sheepdog,” The History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition, Novi Sad 1984, 17–20. Szilágyi,

йољојивреде, шесћа изложба, Нови Сад 1984, 17–20. Синђа, Самуел: „Ранија име на домаћих животиња у Бачком Петровцу”, у: *Из исхарије йољојивреде, шесћа изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 29–30. Вујчић, Ивица Ф.: „Сомборски сир”, у: *Из исхарије йољојивреде, чешврта изложба*, Нови Сад 1982, 46–52.

⁸ Босић, Мила: *Годишњи обичаји Срба у Војводини*, Нови Сад 1996.

⁹ Bökonyi, S.: Animals Breeding on the Danube, in: „Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity”, *The Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume No. 14*, 1988.

¹⁰ Jankulov, Borislav: „Pregled kolonizације Vojvodine u XVIII i XIX veku”, *Posebna izdanja*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1961.

¹¹ Хегедиш, Антал: *Аграрни односи у Тороншалској жупанији у Банату: 1779–1848*, Нови Сад 1987.

¹² Isto.

¹³ Јовановић, Бранимир: *Овчарство у Новом Саду*, Етнолошки архив Музеја Војводине, Нови Сад 2004.

¹⁴ Чакан, Иван: „Како су копани сеоски бунари у Војводини”, у: *Из исхарије йољојивреде, седма изложба*, Нови Сад 1985, 17–25.

¹⁵ Бељански, Миленко: *Бунари, водари и сомборски водовод*, Сомбор 1976.

¹⁶ Николић, Рајко: Рад око стоке код Банатских Хера, у: „Банатске Хере”, *Посебна издања*, Војвођански музеј, Нови Сад 1958, 97–121.

¹⁷ Милошев, Милан: „Економске зграде пољопривредних домаћинстава у насељима јужног Баната”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 28, Нови Сад 1987, 93–109.

¹⁸ Isto.

¹⁹ Podolák, Ján: „Prvé výsledky výskumu pastiera v oblasti Vysokých tatier”, *Slovenský narodopis* X, 1, Bratislava 1962, 124–140.

²⁰ Bálint, Sándor: „A szögedi nemzet: a szegedi nagytáj népélete”, *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*.

Erzsébet: “Pulin – Hungarian sheepdog” in: *The History of Agriculture*, the sixth exhibition, Novi Sad 1984, 17–20. Shindja, Samuel: “The previous names of domestic animals in Bački Petrovac”, in “*From the History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1984, 29–30. Vujičić, I. F. “Sombor, cheese,” in “*From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1982, 46–52.

⁸ Bosić, Mila: *Annual Customs of Serbs in Vojvodina*, Novi Sad 1996

⁹ Bökonyi, S.: “Animals Keeping on the Danube”, in: “*Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*”, *The Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume No. 14*, 1988.

¹⁰ Jankulov, Borislav: “Overview of the colonization in Vojvodina in the eighteenth and the the 19th century”, *Special edition*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1961

¹¹ Hegediš, Antal: *Agrarian Relations in Torontal region in Banat: 1779–1848*, Novi Sad 1987

¹² The same

¹³ Jovanovic, Branimir: *Sheep keeping in Novi Sad*, The Ethnological Archive of the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, 2004

¹⁴ Čakan, Ivan: “How the village wells were dug in Vojvodina,” in “*From the History of Agriculture, the seventh exhibition*, Novi Sad 1985, 17–25.

¹⁵ Beljanski, Milenko: *Wells, well sinkers and water system in Sombor*, Sombor, 1976

¹⁶ Nikolic, Rajko: “Working around the catle of Hera in Banat”, in: “*Hera of Banat*”, *Special Publication*, The Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 1958, 97–121.

¹⁷ Milošev, Milan: “The economic buildings of agricultural households in rural areas of southern Banat,” *The Work of Vojvodina Museum* 28, Novi Sad 1987, 93–109.

¹⁸ Isto.

¹⁹ Podolák, Ján: “Prvé výsledky výskumu pastiera v oblasti Vysokých tatier”, *Slovenský narodopis* X, 1, Bratislava 1962, 124–140.

²¹ Томић, Персида: „Сточарство”, *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 31–32, Београд 1969, 151–172.

²² Малуцков, Мирјана: „Овчарство у југоисточном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 35, Нови Сад 1993, 187–198.

²³ Стефановић, Александар: „Ровошење и жигосање стоке у неким селима северног Баната”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 1, Нови Сад 1952, 178–182.

²⁴ Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Традиционални облици и развој сточарства на подручју општине Панчево”, *Гласник Етнографског музеја* бр. 51, Београд 1987.

²⁵ Dunáre, Nicolae: „Trepanácia oviec ako l'udová liečebná praktika v karpatskom pastierstve”, *Slovenský narodopis* IX, 4, Bratislava 1961, 579–609.

²⁶ Чакан, Иван: „Сточарски прибор”, у: *Из историје њольојивреде, чешварна изложба*, Нови Сад 1982, 53–57.

²⁷ Малуцков, Мирјана: „Овчарство у југоисточном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 35, Нови Сад 1993, 187–198.

²⁸ Borislav Jankulov, nav. delo.

²⁹ Милутиновић, Вера: „Опаклија у Војводини”, *Народно саваралаштво – фолклор* св. 8, Београд 1963, 613–617.

³⁰ Николић, Рајко: „Шајкашка народна ношња”, *Posebna izdanja*, Matica srpska, Нови Сад 1953, 57–76.

³¹ Петар Пачкић, нав. дело, 17–20.

³² Isto.

³³ Шекарић, Богдан: „Посуде за алкохолна пића у Етнолошкој збирци Музеја Војводине”, *Етнолошки архив* Музеја Војводине, Нови Сад 2002.

³⁴ Босић, Мила: *Годишњи обичаји Срба у Војводини*, Нови Сад 1996. Николић, Рајко: Рад око стоке код Банатских Хера, у: „Банатске Хере”, *Посебна издања*, Војвођански музеј, Нови Сад 1958, 97–121.

³⁵ Бранimir Јовановић, нав. дело.

³⁶ Fracile, Nice: *Vokalni muzički folklor Srba i Rumuna u Vojvodini*, Matica srpska, Нови Сад 1987.

²⁰ Bálint, Sándor: “A szögedi nemzet: a szegedi nagytáj népélete”, *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*

²¹ Tomić, Persida: “Cattle Breeding”, *Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum* 31–32, Belgrade 1969, 151–172.

²² Maluckov, Mirjana: “Sheep keeping in the southeast of Banat,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 35, Novi Sad 1993, 187–198.

²³ Stefanović, Aleksandar: “Tallying and marking the cattle in some villages of northern Banat,” *The work of Vojvodina Museum* 1, Novi Sad 1952, 178–182.

²⁴ Milosavljević, Miliivoje: “Traditional forms and cattle development in the municipality of Pančevo,” *Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum* no. 51, Belgrade 1987.

²⁵ Dunáre, Nicolae: “Trepanácia oviec ako l'udová liečebná praktika v karpatskom pastierstve”, *Slovenský narodopis* IX, 4, Bratislava 1961, 579–609.

²⁶ Čakan, Ivan: “The Cattle Breeder's Equipment,” in *From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1982, 53–57.

²⁷ Maluckov, Mirjana: “Sheep in the southeast of Banat,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 35, Novi Sad, 1993, 187–198.

²⁸ Jankulov, Borislav, ditto.

²⁹ Milutinović, Vera: “Opaklija in Vojvodina”, National creativity – folklore vol. 8, Belgrade 1963, 613–617.

³⁰ Nikolić, Rajko “The National Costume in Šajkaška,” *Special edition*, Matica srpska, Нови Сад 1953, 57–76.

³¹ Pačkić Petar, ditto. 17–20.

³² The same.

³³ Šekarić, Bogdan: “Containers for alcoholic beverages in the ethnological collection of the Museum of Vojvodina,” *Ethnological Archive of the Museum of Vojvodina*, Novi Sad 2002.

³⁴ Bosić, Mila, *The Annual Customs of Serbs in Vojvodina*, Novi Sad, 1996, Nikolić, Rajko: “Work around the cattle to Hera Banat”, in: “Here in Banat”, *Special Publication*, The Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 1958, 97–121.

³⁷ Parabućki, Milenko: *S pesmom kroz Vojvodinu*, Novi Sad 1976.

³⁸ Богдан Шекарић, нав. дело.

³⁹ Cvijić, Jovan: *Balkansko poluostrvo*, Beograd 1966.

³⁵ Jovanović Branimir, ditto.

³⁶ Fracile, Nice: "Vocal Music Folklore with Serbs and Rommanians in Vojvodina", *Matica srpska*, Novi Sad 1987.

³⁷ Parabućki, Milenko: *With the song through Vojvodina*, Novi Sad 1976.

³⁸ Šekarić Bogdan, ditto.

³⁹ Cvijić, Jovan: *Balkan Peninsula*, Belgrade 1966.

LITERATURA

1. Bálint, Sándor: „A szögedi nemzet: a szegedi nagytáj népélete”, *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*.
2. Бански, Марија: „Посуде за млеко, млечне производе и прераду млека у Војводини”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, чешвршта изложба*, Нови Сад 1982.
3. Бељански, Миленко: *Бунари, водари и сомборски водовод*, Сомбор 1976.
4. Bökonyi, S.: Animals Breeding on the Danube, in: “Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity”, *The Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume No. 14*, 1988, 171–176.
5. Босић, Мила: *Годишњи обичаји Срба у Војводини*, Нови Сад 1996.
6. Бошњаковић, Ђарко: *Пасиширска шерминолођија Срема*, Нови Сад 1985.
7. Cvijić, Jovan: *Balkansko poluostrvo*, Beograd 1966.
8. Чакан, Иван: „Сточарски прибор”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, чешвршта изложба*, Нови Сад 1982, 53–57.
9. Чакан, Иван: „Из живота банатских чобана”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, шеснаша изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 11–16.
10. Чакан, Иван: „Како су копани сеоски бунари у Војводини”, у: *Из исхорије Јољојривреде, седма изложба*, Нови Сад 1985, 17–25.
11. Чопорда, Миливој: *Судска већеријарска медицина*, Београд 1964.
12. Dunáre, Nicolae: „Trepanácia oviec ako l'udová liečebná praktika v karpatskom pastierstve”, *Slovenský narodopis IX*, 4, Bratislava 1961, 579–609.
13. Дуранци, Бела: „Стапарски амбар на саоницама”, у: *Из исхорије*

LITERATURE

1. Bálint, Sándor: “A szögedi nemzet: a szegedi nagytáj népélete”, *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*
2. Banski, Marija: “Containers for milk, dairy products and milk processing in Vojvodina,” in: *From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition*, Novi Sad, 1982
3. Beljanski, Milenko: *Wells, well sinkers and water system in Sombor*, Sombor, 1976
4. Bökonyi, S.: “Animals Keeping on the Danube”, in: *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity, The Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume No. 14*, 1988, 171–176.
5. Bosić, Mila: *Annual Customs of Serbs in Vojvodina*, Novi Sad, 1996
6. Bošnjaković Žarko: *Shepherd terminology of Srem*, Novi Sad, 1985
7. Cvijić, Jovan: *Balkan Peninsula*, Belgrade, 1966.
8. Čakan, Ivan: “The Cattle Breeder’s Equipment,” in *From the History of Agriculture, the fourth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1982, 53–57.
9. Čakan, Ivan: “From the life of the shepherds in Banat”, in *From the History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad, 1984, 11–16.
10. Čakan, Ivan: “How the village wells were dug in Vojvodina,” in *From the History of Agriculture, the seventh exhibition*, Novi Sad 1985, 17–25.
11. Čoporda, Milivoj: *Judical vet medicine*, Belgrade, 1964.
12. Dunáre, Nicolae: “Trepanácia oviec ako l'udová liečebná praktika v karpatskom pastierstve”, *Slovenský narodopis IX*, 4, Bratislava 1961, 579–609.
13. Duranci, Bela: “The barn on the sledges in Stapar”, in: *From the History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1984, 24–28.

- йољојривреде, шеста изложба,* Нови Сад 1984, 24–28.
14. Филиповић, Миленко С.: „Утицај власти на народну ношњу”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 10, Нови Сад 1961, 59–68.
 15. Хегедиш, Антал: *Атарни односи у Торонишалској жупанији у Банату: 1779–1848*, Нови Сад 1987.
 16. Jankulov, Borislav: „Pregled kolonizacije Vojvodine u XVIII i XIX veku”, *Posebna izdanja*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1961.
 17. Јовановић, Бранимир: *Овчарство у Новом Саду*, Етнолошки архив Музеја Војводине, Нови Сад 2004.
 18. Kovács, Endre: *Doroszló népi Juhászata*, Újvidék 1995.
 19. Малуцков, Мирјана: „Овчарство у југоисточном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 35, Нови Сад 1993.
 20. Малуцков, Мирјана: *Румуни у Банату*, Нови Сад 1985.
 21. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Сточарство у северном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 12–13, Нови Сад 1964, 69–101.
 22. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Ваљаре и ваљање сукна у северном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 15–17, Нови Сад 1968, 81–91.
 23. Милосављевић, Миливоје: „Етнолошка грађа о Србима у Остојићеву”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 26, Нови Сад 1980, 141–167.
 24. Милутиновић, Вера: „Опаклија у Војводини”, *Народно стваралаштво – фолклор* св. 8, Београд 1963, 613–617.
 25. Милошев, Милан: „Кабаничари и кабаничарски занат у Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 20, Нови Сад 1971, 53–85.
 14. Filipović, Milenko S.: “The impact of government on the national costume,” *The work of the Vojvodina Museum* 10, Novi Sad 1961, 59–68.
 15. Hegediš, Antal: *Agrarian Relations in Torontal region in Banat: 1779–1848*, Novi Sad 1987
 16. Jankulov, Borislav: “Overview of the colonization in Vojvodina in the eighteenth and the 19th century”, *Special edition*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1961
 17. Jovanović, Branimir: *Sheep keeping in Novi Sad*, The Ethnological Archive of the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, 2004
 18. Kovács, Endre: *Doroszló népi Juhászata*, Újvidék 1995.
 19. Maluckov, Mirjana: “Sheep keeping in the southeast of Banat,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 35, Novi Sad 1993, 187–198
 20. Maluckov, Mirjana: *Romanians in Banat*, Novi Sad, 1985
 21. Maluckov, Mirjana: *The Romanians in Banat*, Novi Sad. 1985.
 22. Milosavljević, Milivoje: “Animal husbandry in northern Banat,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 12–13, Novi Sad 1964, 69–101
 23. Milosavljević, Milivoje: “Rolling objects and rolling the cloth in northern Banat,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 15–17, Novi Sad 1968, 81–91
 24. Milosavljević, Milivoje: “Ethnological material on the Serbs in Ostojićevo,” *The work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 26, Novi Sad, 1980, 141–167.
 25. Milutinović, Vera: “Opaklija in Vojvodina”, *Folk Creativity – folklore* vol. 8, Belgrade, 1963, 613–617.
 26. Milošev, Milan: “Raincoats and making raincoat craftsmanship in Banat,” *The work of Vojvodina Museum* 20, Novi Sad 1971, 53–85.

26. Милошев, Милан: „Економске зграде пољопривредних домаћинстава у насељима јужног Баната”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 28, Нови Сад 1987, 93–109.
27. Младеновић, Оливера: „Један историјски извор за проучавање наших игара 18. века”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 12–13, Нови Сад 1964, 204–210.
28. Николић, Рајко: Рад око стоке код Банатских Хера, у: „Банатске Хере”, *Посебна издања*, Вojвођански музеј, Нови Сад 1958, 97–121.
29. Николић, Рајко: „Шајкашка народна ношња”, *Posebna izdanja*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1953, 57–76.
30. Пачкић, Петар: „Пулин – војвођански овчарски пас”, у: *Из историје љољоћивреде, шеснаеста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 17–20.
31. Parabućki, Milenko: *S pesmom kroz Vojvodinu*, Novi Sad 1976.
32. Пејић, Обрен: *Млекарство. II део*, Београд 1956.
33. Podolák, Ján: „Prvé výsledky výskumu pastiera v oblasti Vysokých tatier”, *Slovenský narodopis X*, 1, Bratislava 1962, 124–140.
34. Силађи, Ержебет: „Пулин – мађарски овчарски пас”, у: *Из историје љољоћивреде, шеснаеста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 17–20.
35. Синђа, Самуел: „Ранија имена до маћих животиња у Бачком Петровцу”, у: *Из историје љољоћивреде, шеснаеста изложба*, Нови Сад 1984, 29–30.
36. Стефановић, Александар: „Дечије игре у северном Банату”, *Рад војвођанских музеја* 23–24, Нови Сад 1978, 77–109.
37. Стефановић, Александар: „Ровашење и жигосање стоке у неким селима северног Баната”, *Рад вој-*
26. Milošev, Milan: “The economic building of agricultural households in rural areas of southern Banat,” *The work of Vojvodina Museum* 28, Novi Sad 1987, 93–109.
27. Mladenović, Olivera: “One historical source for the study of our 18th century games ”, *Museum of Vojvodina paper* 12–13, Novi Sad 1964, 204–210
28. Nikolic, Rajko: “Working around the cattle of Hera in Banat”, in: “Hera of Banat ”, *Special Publication*, The Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad 1958, 97–121.
29. Nikolić, Rajko “The National Costume in Šajkaška,” *Special edition*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1953, 57–76.
30. Pačkić, Peter, “Pulin – Vojvodina sheepdog,” *The History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1984, 17–20. Parabućki, Milenko: *S pesmom kroz Vojvodinu*, Novi Sad 1976.
31. Parabućki, Milenko: *with a song through Vojvodina*, Novi Sad 1976.
32. Pejić Obren: *Dairying, Part II*, Belgrade 1956.
33. Podolák, Ján: “Prvé výsledky výskumu pastiera v oblasti Vysokých tatier”, *Slovenský narodopis X*, 1, Bratislava 1962, 124–140.
34. Szilágyi, Erzsébet: “Pulin – Hungarian sheepdog” in: *The History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1984, 17–20
35. Sindja, Samuel: “The previous names of domestic animals in Bački Petrovac”, from: *The History of Agriculture, the sixth exhibition*, Novi Sad 1984, 29–30
36. Stefanović, Aleksandar: “Children’s games in the northern Banat”, *Work of the Museum of Vojvodina* 23–24, Novi Sad 1978, 77–109.
37. Stefanović, Aleksandar: “Tallying and marking the cattle in some villages of northern Banat,” *The work of*

- вођанских музеја 1, Нови Сад 1952, 178–182.
38. Стојковић, Драгица: „Опанчарски занат у Панчеву”, Рад вођанских музеја 31, Нови Сад 1989, 315–330.
39. Шекарић, Богдан: „Посуде за алкохолна пића у Етнолошкој збирци Музеја Војводине”, Етнолошки архив Музеја Војводине, Нови Сад, 2002.
40. Томић, Персида: „Сточарство”, Гласник Етнографске музеја 31–32, Београд 1969, 151–172.
41. Tripolski, Géza: *Nem bánom, hogy juhásznak születtem*, Újvidék 1992.
42. Vuia, Romulusu: „Tripuri de pastorit la romini”, *Academiei republicii populare romine*, Bucuresti 1964.
43. Vukosavljev, Sava: *Vojvođanska tambura*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1990.
- Vojvodina Museum 1, Novi Sad 1952, 178–182.
38. Stojković, Dragica: “Opanci craftsmanship in Pančevo”, *The Work of the Museums in Vojvodina 31*, Novi Sad ,1989, 315–330.
39. Šekarić, Bogdan: “Containers for alcoholic beverages in the ethnological collection of the Museum of Vojvodina,” *Ethnological Archive of the Museum of Vojvodina*, Novi Sad 2002.
40. Tomić, Persida: “Cattle Breeding ”, *Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum* 31–32, Belgrade 1969, 151–172.
41. Tripolski, Géza: *Nem bánom, hogy juhásznak születtem*, Újvidék 1992.
42. Vuia, Romulusu: “Tripuri de pastorit la romini”, *Academiei republicii populare romine*, Bucuresti 1964.
43. Vukosavljev, Sava: *The Tambura from Vojvodina*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1990.

ČOBANSKA TERMINOLOGIJA – IMENIK

ambar m 'sklonište za žito'
bakrač m 'kotlič za kuvanje hrane'
Banatske Here m 'srpsko stanovništvo južnog Banata'
banda ž 1. 'udruženi ovčari'. 2. 'više zvona u čoporu'.
bandegazda 'glavni ovčar u udruženju ovčara'
bena ž 'sako od kepera ili štofa'
bič m 'kudeljni ili kožni, služi za teranje ovaca'
bičalje 'drška od biča'
ovčara ž 'objekat za čuvanje ovaca'
brica ž 'čobanski nož'
bundaš m 'krznena zimska odeća sa rukavima'
čapov m 'zemlja posle seče žita do setve pšenice'
čopor m 'stado'
čoporaš m 'jedan od vlasnika u udruženom čoporu'
čoporaši 'udruženi ovčari'
dvojnice 'frula sa dva reda rupa'
đeram m 1. 'bunar'. 2. 'gornji deo bunara'.
džomba ž 'njiva posle žetve kukuruza'
evedra ž 'zaklon od trske ili pleteri koji štiti ovce od vетра'
jagančara ž 'prostor ograđen za jaganje'
kabanica ž 'ogrtač koji štiti od kiše i vetra'
kanija ž 'futrola za nož'
kantar m 'vaga za merenje mleka i sira'
kaputić m v. *bena*
klečka ž 'drvno okačeno psu oko vrata da se ne može brzo kretati'
klepetuša ž 'zvono od lima'
klip m v. *klečka*
kokaja ž 'krivo drvo na koje se okači kotlič kada se kuva na pašnjaku'
koleba ž 'čobanska koliba'
kotlenjača ž v. *kokaja*
korlat m v. *tor*
koš m 'vrsta ambara od pruća'
košara ž v. *koš*

SHEPHERD TERMINOLOGY – DIRECTORY

ambar (barn) m 'storage space for grain'
bakrač m 'kettle for cooking food'
Banatske Here 'Serbs from south Banat'
banda (band) f 'joint sheep keepers'. 2. 'more bells in the pack'.
bandegazda (bandmaster) m 'main master in the association of sheep keepers'
bena f 'a jacket made of twill or fabric'
bič (whip) m 'made of hemp or leather used for chasing the sheep'
bičalje 'handle of the whip'
ovčara f 'facility for keeping the sheep'
brica f 'shepherd's knife'
bundaš (furcoat) m 'fur winter clothes with sleeves'
čapov m 'land after wheat harvest to sowing the wheat'
čopor m 'pack'
čoporaš m 'one of the owners of the joint pack'
čoporaši 'joint sheep keepers'
dvojnice 'flute with two rows of holes'
đeram (sweep) m 1. 'well'. 2. 'upper part of the well'
džomba f 'the field after the harvest of maize'
evedra f 'shelter from reed or wattle that protects the sheep from the wind'
jagančara ž 'fenced area for lambs'
kabanica (raincoat) f 'garment that protects from rain and wind'
kanija f 'sheath for knife'
kantar m 'scales for measuring milk and cheese'
kaputić (small coat) m see *bena*
klečka f 'a piece of wood tied to dog's neck to prevent it from moving quickly'
klepetuša f 'a bell made of tin'
klip m see *klečka*
kokaja f 'twisted rod onto which the kettle is hanged while cooking on the pasture'
koleba (hut) f 'shepherd's hut'
kotlenjača f see *kokaja*

krlja ž 'krpelj'
letve 'ograda koja se koristi prilikom torenja njive'
mestve 'obojci od kože koji štite noge od vlage'
muzika ž 'više zvona u čoporu ovaca'
muznica ž 'zaklon u kojem se muze'
obor m v. *tor*
ocilo s 'metalna alka za paljenje vatre'
oka ž 1. 'mera'. 2. 'limena ili drvena posuda za merenje mleka'.
opaklja ž 'krzneni ogrtač u obliku pelerine'
osek = sek
otava ž 'prva mlada trava'
ovčara ž 'zaklon za ovce'
ovnova svadba 'običaj kada se ovnovi puštaju na ovce'
plerter m 'ograda od pruća'
potrica ž 'šteta nastala od gaženja useva'
puto s 'metalni lanac sa dve bukagije za sputavanje konja'
saka ž 'bure za prenošenje veće količine vode'
raboš m 'drvni štap za merenje količine mleka'
salaš m 1. 'čobanska koliba i objekti za zaštitu i čuvanje ovaca'. 2. v. *tor*.
sadžak m 'tronožac od metala za kuhanje'
samar m 'sedlo od drveta za prenošenje mleka na magarcu'
sek m 'ograda na bunaru'
sirdik m 'sir od mleka koje se samo ukiseli'
sirište s 1. 'tečnost za sirenje mleka'. 2. 'želudac životinje'.
slatina ž 'pašnjak'
soja ž 'stalak na bunaru za đeram'
spona ž 'kudeljni kanap za sputavanje konja'
rezanac m 'vrsta trave'
rovašenje s 'obeležavanje ovaca'
šajt m 'vrsta sira'
šiba ž 'motka za vađenje vode iz bunara'
tonja ž 'predvečerje'
tor m 'prostor ograđen za ovce'
torina ž 1. 'ovčije đubrivo'. 2. 'prostor na kojem ovce leže radi đubrenja'.

korlat (fold) m see *tor*
koš m 'a kind of barn made of wattle'
košara f see *koš*
krlja f 'tick'
letve (battens) f 'fence used while folding the fields'
mestve f 'strapped leather that protect the feet from moisture'
muzika (music) f 'more bells in sheep pack'
muznica f 'shelter for milking'
obor (pen) m see *tor*
ocilo n'metal ring for lighting fire'
oka f 1. 'measure'. 2. 'tin or wooden container for measuring milk'
opaklja (cloak) f 'fur cloak in the for of pelerine'
osek = sek
otava f 'first new grass'
ovčara f 'shelter for sheep'
ovnova svadba (ram's wedding) 'custom when the rams are let to the sheep'
plerter m 'fence made of wattle'
potrica f 'damage caused by trampling crops'
puto n 'metal chain with two fetters for restraining horses'
saka f 'barrel for carrying larger quantities of water'
raboš m 'wooden stick for measuring quantity of milk'
salaš (farm) m 1. 'shepherd's hut and facilities for protecting and keeping sheep' 2. see *tor*
sadžak m 'metal tripod for cooking'
samar (pack-saddle) m 'wooden saddle for carrying milk on the donkey'
sek m 'fence on the well'
sirdik m 'cheese made of milk that turns sour by itself'
sirište (rennet) n 1. 'liquid for curdling milk' 2. 'želudac životinje'.
slatina (mineral spring) f 'pasture'
soja f 'stand on the well for the sweep'
spona (brace) f 'hemp twine for restraining a horse'
rezanac m 'a kind f grass'

trepanacija ž 'lečenje ovce operacijom na glavi'

trud m 'vrsta pečurke koja se koristi za paljenje vatre'

tuluzina ž 'stabljika kukuruza sa lišćem'

vedrica ž 1. 'drvena ili limena posuda u koju se muze'. 2. 'mera za količinu mleka'.

verige 'lanac za kačenje kotlića iznad vatre u kolibi'

vicigov m 'duplo zvono od bronze'

vurda ž 'sir napravljen od surutke'

žig m 'alatka za obeležavanje ovaca'

zaevedrati 'zaštiti od vетра'

zastrug m 'drvena posuda sa poklopcom'

rovašenje (notching) n 'marking the sheep'

šajt m 'a kind of cheese'

šiba f 'rod for pulling water from a well'

tonja f 'twilight'

tor (fold) m 'fenced space for sheep'

torina f 1. 'sheep manure'. 2. 'the place where the sheep are lying on to manure it'

trepanacija (trepanation) f 'curing the sheep by operating its head'

trud (effort) m 'a kind of mushroom used for lighting fire'

tuluzina (corn stalk) f 'corn stalk with leaves'

vedrica (small bucket) f 1. 'tin or wooden container for milking' 2. 'measure for quantity of milk'

verige f 'a chain for hanging the kettle above the fire in a hut'

vicigov m 'double bell made of bronze'

vurda f 'cheese made of whey'

žig (brand) m 'tool for marking sheep'

zavedrati 'protecting from wind'

zastrug m 'wooden container with a lid'

SADRŽAJ	CONTENTS
1. UVOD	1. INTRODUCTION.....
2. PAŠNJACI	2. PASTURES
3. NAPAJANJE OVACA – BUNARI, POJILA	3. SHEEP WATERING – WELLS, WATERING PLACES.....
4. STOČARSKI STANOVI.....	4. CATTLE BREEDER'S HOUSING
4.1. Salaši	4.1. Farms.....
4.2. Čobanski zakloni – kolibe.....	4.2. Shepherds' shelter-huts
4.3. Zaklon – salaš za mužu.....	4.3. Shelter-milking farm
4.4. Muznica.....	4.4. Muznica.....
4.5. Veliki objekti za čuvanje ovaca	4.5. Large objects for keeping sheep.....
4.6. Tor.....	4.6. Sheepfold.....
4.7. Evedra.....	4.7. Evedra.....
4.8. Ovčare.....	4.8. Ovčare.....
5. EKONOMSKI OBJEKTI.....	5. ECONOMIC FACILITIES
5.1. Koševi.....	5.1. Wicker baskets
5.2. Ambari.....	5.2. Barns.....
5.3. Senici i šupe.....	5.3. Bowers and sheds.....
6. ČOBANI.....	6. SHEPHERDS
6.1. Ishrana čobana	6.1. Shepherd's diet.....
6.2. Jela	6.2. Meals
7. UDRUŽIVANJE VLASNIKA OVACA	7. FORMS OF SHEEP OWNERS ASSOCIATIONS
7.1. Primeri udruživanja	7.1. The examples of associations.....
7.1.1. Deronje.....	7.1.1. Deronje.....
7.1.2. Doroslovo.....	7.1.2. Doroslovo.....
7.1.3. Selenča – Bač	7.1.3. Selenča – Bač
7.1.4. Bezdan.....	7.1.4. Bezdan.....
7.1.5. Južni Banat	7.1.5. South Banat.....
7.2. Udruživanje ovčara u Slovačkoj, Mađarskoj i užoj Srbiji.....	7.2. The shepherds' association in Slovakia, Hungary and central Serbia ...
8. MUŽA I MERENJE MLEKA.....	8. MILKING AND MEASURING THE MILK.....
8.1. Deoba mleka	8.1. Sharing the milk.....
9. TRANSPORT MLEKA	9. TRANSPORTATION OF THE MILK
10. OVCE	10. SHEEP
10.1. Određivanje starosti ovaca	10.1. Determining the age of sheep
10.2. Jagnjenje	10.2. Lambing
10.3. Raspoznavanje i obeležavanje ovaca.....	10.3. Distinguishing and marking the sheep
10.3.1. Rovašenje.....	10.3.1. Notching.....
10.3.2. Žigosanje.....	10.3.2. Branding

10.3.3. Brnjica	97	10.3.3. Muzzle	97
10.3.4. Tajni rovaš.....	97	10.3.4. Secret mark.....	97
11. ŠTROJENJE OVNOVA.....	97	11. CASTRATION OF THE RAMS.....	97
12. TRADICIONALNO LEČENJE OVACA	98	12. TRADITIONAL TREATMENT OF SHEEP	98
12.1. Primeri lečenja ovaca.....	98	12.1. The examples of the sheep treatment	98
13. TREPANACIJA	102	13. TREPANATION	102
14. STRIŽA OVACA	107	14. SHEARING THE SHEEP	107
15. TORENJE NJIVA	108	15. FOLDING THE FIELDS	108
16. OVČARSKI PRIBOR	111	16. SHEPHERD'S EQUIPMENT	111
16.1. Čobanski štapovi i bičevi.....	112	16.1. Shepherds' sticks and wipes	113
16.2. Zvona	115	16.2. Bells	115
16.2.1. Klepetuše.....	115	16.2.1. Rattles	115
16.2.2. Vicigovi	116	16.2.2. Vicigovi-double bells	116
16.3. Žigovi	117	16.3. Brands.....	117
17. PUTA	119	17. PUTA	119
18. NOŠNJA	119	18. COSTUME	119
18.1. Opaklijा.....	120	18.1. Opaklijा.....	120
18.2. Bundaš	122	18.2. Bundaš	121
18.3. Kabanica.....	122	18.3. Raincoat.....	122
18.4. Prsluk – pršnjak.....	123	18.4. Vest-tucker	122
18.5. Čakšire	123	18.5. Trousers.....	122
18.6. Šubara.....	123	18.6. Fur hat	123
18.7. Kaputić	124	18.7. Small coat	124
18.8. Opanci	125	18.8. Opanci	125
18.9. Rukavice	125	18.9. Gloves	125
19. ČOBANSKI PSI	125	19. SHEPHERDS' DOGS	125
20. MAGARCI	131	20. DONKEYS	131
21. VUKOVI.....	132	21. WOLVES.....	132
22. POSUDE ZA PIĆE	132	22. DRINKING CONTAINERS	132
22.1. Čobanja	132	22.1. Čobanja	133
22.2. Čobanja-lajter.....	133	22.2. Čobanja-lajter.....	133
22.3. Čutura.....	134	22.3. Flask.....	134
22.4. Krčag	134	22.4. Jug	134
22.5. Tikve – tikvice.....	135	22.5. Gourds – small gourds	135
22.6. Tikvice za rakiju	135	22.6. Gourds for brandy	135
23. PRIBOR ZA PUŠENJE.....	136	23. SMOKING EQUIPMENT.....	136
23.1. Lule.....	137	23.1. Pipes	137
23.2. Muštikle	137	23.2. Cigarette holders.....	137
23.3. Kanija, nož i šilo	138	23.3. Sheath, knife and an awl	139

24. MLEČNI PROIZVODI.....	138	24. DAIRY PRODUCTS.....	139
24.1. Sirište	140	24.1. Rennet.....	140
24.2. Vrste sireva	142	24.2. Kinds of cheese	142
24.2.1. Somborski sir.....	142	24.2.1. Sombor cheese	142
24.2.2. Sir u kriškama.....	144	24.2.2. Sliced cheese.....	144
24.2.3. Zimski tučeni sir	144	24.2.3. Winter whipped cheese	144
24.2.4. Sir za zimu.....	144	24.2.4. Cheese for winter	145
24.2.5. Sir sa rupama u obliku kačkavalja.....	145	24.2.5. Cheese with holes in the form of kachkaval.....	145
24.2.6. Šajt	145	24.2.6. Šajt	146
24.2.7. Vurda.....	146	24.2.7. Vurda.....	146
24.2.8. Sirdik	146	24.2.8. Sirdik	147
24.2.9. Kiselo mleko	146	24.2.9. Curd milk.....	147
25. PRODAJA MLEČNIH PROIZVODA.....	146	25. SELLING MILK PRODUCTS.....	147
26. OBIČAJI	148	26. CUSTOMS.....	148
27. MUZIČKO STVARALAŠTVO	151	27. MUSIC CREATIVE WORK	151
28. ČOBANSKI FOLKLOR	153	28. SHEPHERD FOLKLORE	153
29. LIKOVNO IZRAŽAVANJE.....	154	29. FINE ART EXPRESSION	154
29.1. Ukrašavanje tikvica	154	29.1. Decoration of the gourds	154
30. ČOBANSKE DOSETKE, PRIČE, IGRE	156	30. SHEPHERDS' JOKES, STORIES, GAMES.....	156
30.1. Čobanske igre	157	30.1. Shepherds' games	157
POGOVOR	159	AFTERWORD.....	159
NAPOMENE.....	161	FOOTNOTES.....	161
LITERATURA	166	LITERATURE	166
ČOBANSKA TERMINOLOGIJA – IMENIK.....	170	SHEPHERD TERMINOLOGY – DIRECTORY	170

СИР – Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

636.3(497.113)

ЧАКАН, Иван

Tradicionalno ovčarstvo Vojvodine – oblici udruživanja
ovčara = Traditional sheepkeeping in Vojvodina – forms of
the association of the sheep keepers / Ivan Čakan ; [prevod
na engleski Ljubica Jankov]. – Novi Sad : Muzej Vojvodine,
2011 (Novi Sad : Pan papir). – 175 str. : ilustr. ; 24 cm

Uporedno srp. tekst i engl. prevod. – Tiraž 500. – Bibliografija.

ISBN 978-86-87723-11-5

1. Уп. ств. насл.

а) Овчарство – Војводина

COBISS.SR-ID 266938375



MUZEJ VOJVODINE / THE MUSEUM OF VOJVODINA