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*Vlach Transhumant Economy at the Beginning of the 19th Century in Dalmatia and Bosnia in the French Perspective**

Wołoska gospodarka transhumancyjna w Dalmacji i Bośni na początku XIX wieku w perspektywie francuskiej

ABSTRACT

French rule over Dalmatia in the Napoleonic era (1806–1813) resulted in the gathering of the information about this region, as well as neighboring Bosnia. Travelogues and reports on those lands are so rich and detailed that they can serve as an informative source on the populations inhabiting those areas. This paper focuses on a very precise element of this depiction: the specific status of the Vlach communities and their economic activity in Dalmatia and Bosnia (transhumant pastoralism). The comparison of the depiction of shepherding in those two regions leads to two main conclusions which concern the differences and similarities behind those two depictions. The differences are partially related to the presumed ineffectiveness of the Vlach economy of Dalmatia. On the contrary, in the case of Bosnia, local stock raising was depicted as diversified and able to bring considerable commercial benefits. The similarities between both depictions of the Vlach population in Dalmatia and Bosnia is the transhumant and traditional form of their activity, which was perceived as primitive, i.e. dependent on the natural conditions.

Keywords: Vlach transhumant economy; Bosnia; Dalmatia; transhumant pastoralism; Napoleonic era

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INTRODUCTION

The French started to observe carefully the Dalmatian coast of Adriatic, as well as Bosnia since the end of the Seven Years' War, after the loss of a huge part of colonies to the British. The search for the new economic markets led to the intensification of French diplomatic and economic activities in European Turkey, e.g. Danube river trade seemed to be particularly interesting[1]. The intensification of the relations with the Balkans (the outcome of which was, *inter alia*, the creation of consulate in Travnik in 1793), was followed by the appearance of Napoleonic army in this region, precisely in Istria and Dalmatia (in 1806), and, finally, by the creation of Illyrian Provinces (1809–1813) which consisted of Carniola, Istria, Western Croatia and Dalmatia[2].

French presence in Dalmatia resulted in the strive to gather information about this region[3]. As Bosnia bordered it, the amount of the documents on this part of the Ottoman Empire was also very rich[4]. This allows contemporary researchers to investigate the image of those areas in the French perspective, which is possible to be traced thanks to a vast amount of sources: travelogues, diplomatic and military reports, and documents produced by French administration. The manuscripts of French officers, as well as documents made by civil administration of Napoleonic Dalmatia when it was a part of the Kingdom of Italy and later Illyrian Provinces, contain very detailed overviews of Dalmatian and Bosnian economy. This is why they can serve not only as material for research on French (or Western European) image of Dalmatia and Bosnia and its inhabitants (like the Vlachs), but also as an informative source on the historic ethnography and economy of those areas *per se*. This paper focuses on a very precise element of this depiction: the specific status of the Vlach communities[5] and their economic

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[1] M. Samić, *Les voyageurs français en Bosnie à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et au début du XIXe et le pays tel qu'ils l'ont vu*, Paris 1960, pp. 55–66.

[2] M. Kerautret, *Napoléon et les Balkans*, [in:] *Les Provinces illyriennes dans l'Europe napoléonienne*, ed. J.-O. Boudon, Paris 2015, pp. 15–28.

[3] M. Senkowska-Gluck, *Rządy napoleońskie w Ilirii*, Wrocław 1980, p. 51.

[4] M. Samić, *op. cit*., p. 5.

[5] In the reality of the triple border between the Habsburg Croatia, Venetian Dalmatia and Ottoman Bosnia, but also on other European borderlands (e.g. in Red Ruthenia and Podolia in the Polish Commonwealth), the leaders of the Vlach communities were the ones with whom local authorities arranged contracts. Such contracts involved the kind of services which the Vlach communities should deliver (in the borderland areas it mostly comprised the defense duties) and in return the Vlachs were granted special fiscal privileges (e.g. long period during which they did not have to pay taxes). Such mechanism which functioned as a customary law in late medieval and early modern times on the territories where the Vlachs were migrating was based on the existing social bonds. See

activity. The term "Vlachs" is not used in an ethnic (or religious[6]) sense, but rather as a socionym which encompasses both romanophonic pastors, as well as the Slavs who were also labeled with that name if they dealt with transhumant economy in the area of the Carpathia mountains and the Balkans[7].

VLACH COMMUNITIES IN BOSNIA AND IN DALMATIA IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

The late 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries was a very important moment in the history of semi-nomadic, transhumant shepherds of Central and Southeastern Europe. European states of that time were striving to control more and more the societies which they governed. The enlightened absolutism promised the prospect of the prosperity for the governed populations engaging them in various economic and civilizational initiatives, but, on the other hand, it required obedience in terms of taxation, military service, and other domains which later became the duties of the citizens of the emerging nation-states. The Vlachs, who often lived in mountainous borderland regions, exercised traditional shepherding and led a semi-nomadic way of life, were the kind of population which was particularly resistant to the attempts of being a part of such processes. This is why the states were trying to influence the Vlachs and force them to change their way of life which was too uncontrollable in the perspective of the political organisms. Besides Habsburg Monarchy (which settled Vlachs in the Croatian Military Frontier and transformed those populations into the regular army[8]) one of such states was Venice, which tried to engage its Dalmatian Vlach populations into various economic projects (which consisted mainly in attempts to promote

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I. Czamańska, *The Vlachs – Several Research Problems*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia" 2015, vol. 22, no. 1, p. 11; M. Luković, *Zakon vlahom (Ius Valachicum) in the Charters Issued to Serbian Medieval Monasteries and Kanuns Regarding Vlachs in the Early Ottoman Tax Registers (Defters)*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia" 2015, vol. 22, no. 1, p. 36.

[6] Sometimes the term "Vlach" could be also treated as an equivalent of the term "Orthodox". Expression *wallachische Glaube* ("the Vlach faith") may be found, e.g. in the Austrian description of Lika and Krbava from 1712. See *Conscriptio terrenorum et hominum beeder Grafschaften Lica vnd Corbavia*, [in:] *Popis Like i Krbave 1712. godine: obitelj, zemljišni posjed i etničnost u jugozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, eds. K. Kaser, H. Grandits, S. Gruber, Zagreb 2003, p. 111, 128.

[7] I. Czamańska, *Vlachs and Slavs in the Middle Ages and Modern Era*, "Res Historica" 2016, no. 41, pp. 11–22.

[8] I. Funda, K. Milković, *The Militar Gränitz Rechten: An 18th-Century Legal Reform of the Military Frontier*, "Povijesni prilozi" 2018, vol. 37, no. 55, pp. 255–282.

agriculture)[9], and the French who appeared on those lands later[10]. Hence, the testimonies on the Vlachs from the second half of the 18th or the first decades of the 19th centuries are particularly important in this context.

Unlike the Habsburgs in Croatia, or the Venetians and the French in Dalmatia, Ottoman authorities did not try to alternate the ways in which the Vlachs lived. Their system of defense of the border was based on the troops of *martoloses*, the organization of which was the same as the traditional Vlach corporations of the *katun* (a sort of huge families based on closer, or more distant family bonds)[11]. Moreover, the economic specificity of the Vlach transhumant economy was not regarded by Ottoman authorities as a problem: on the contrary, Vlachs paid very favorable taxes[12] which were collected and delivered to the local treasurers by the leaders of the *katun* themselves[13]. Hence, the comparison of the French testimonies on the Vlachs living in Dalmatia and neighboring Bosnia seems to be particularly interesting also because of the different approach applied towards those shepherd communities by the state authorities. It should be underlined that, speaking about the Vlachs in Bosnia and Dalmatia, one often speaks about exact the same population – at least partially[14]. One of the most remarkable features of Vlach transhumant economy was semi-nomadism: herds were gathered in the valleys in spring and taken to mountain pastures, and returned to the lowlands in autumn[15]. This specific feature of the Vlach economy was often associated with trans-border migrations. Already the documents from the late Middle Age represent Morlachs (i.e. the Vlachs) as the shepherds who came from the mountains which divide Bosnia from Dalmatia[16].

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[9] E. Novello, *Crime on the Border: Venice and the Morlacchi in the Eighteenth Century*, [in:] *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium: International Project Conference Papers 2: "Plan and Practice: How to Construct a Border Society? The Triplex Confinium c. 1700–1750" (Graz, December 9–12, 1998)*, eds. D. Roksandić, N. Štefanec, Budapest 2000, pp. 57–73.

[10] F. Zwitter, *Les Provinces Illyriennes, les problèmes sociaux et économiques*, [in:] idem, *Les Provinces Illyriennes. Cinq études*, Paris 2010, pp. 27–36.

[11] M. Luković, *Sezonowe migracje pasterzy na Bałkanach: charakter, historia, transformacje*, "Res Historica" 2015, no. 40, pp. 78–79; D. Caciur, *Considerations Regarding the Status of the Morlachs from the Trogir's Hinterland at the Middle of the 16th Century: Being Subjects of the Ottoman Empire and Land Tenants of the Venetian Republic*, "Res Historica" 2016, no. 41, p. 107.

[12] A. Aličić, F. Spaho, *Uvod*, [in:] A. Aličić, F. Spaho, B. Zlatar, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, Sarajevo 2007, p. IX.

[13] *Ibidem*.

[14] D. Caciur, *op. cit*., pp. 95–110.

[15] T. Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe*, Armonk 1994, pp. 331–340.

[16] G. Lucio, *Historia di Dalmatia : et in particolare delle città di Trav, Spalatro e Sebenico*, Venetia 1674, p. 279.

DALMATIAN VLACHS (MORLACHS) AND THEIR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE

The end of the 18th, as well as the beginning of the 19th centuries, was a period in which French geographers, officers, diplomatic agents and merchants depicted the Balkans on the maps and in the reports, memoirs and travelogues. Such testimonies used to focus on the conditions of travelling (such itineraries were made for the purpose of intelligence and possible military maneuvers), natural resources, and economy[17]. One of such observers, a French of Italian origin[18], Carlo Botta observed the importance of shepherding among the population of Dalmatia during his travel to the Ionian Islands, which he undertook in 1798. In his opinion, the Morlachs (the Vlachs living in the interior of Dalmatia[19]) were basically shepherds and sheep were their only wealth, and even the poor families had at least a herd which counted thirty or forty of those animals. The way the Morlachs would exercise this economic activity was traditional, by which the French observer meant that it is inefficient and susceptible for natural conditions: winter and illnesses could decimate the herds, as animals would die of hunger and cold. Botta noticed that some of the Vlach herds used to die from sheep pox, which at the beginning of the 19th century was already a well-known disease (in France and Germany, there were vaccinations against it already in the second half of the 18th century)[20].

The French diplomat did not understand why Vlachs did not want to improve their pastoralism, so he searched for the reason behind this inexplicable stubbornness in their "cold-blooded" character, also labeled by him as "stoicism"[21]. Such an opinion was very favorable, because the anthropology of the Enlightenment more often associated traditional shepherding with primitivism, which was understood as a dependence of human communities on natural conditions or the

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[17] W. Sajkowski, *The Depiction of the Western Black Sea Region in French Military Documents from the Napoleonic Era*, [in:] *Europe and the Black Sea Region. A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750–1850). Studies on South East Europe*, eds. D. Gutmeyr, K. Kaser, vol. 22, Graz 2018, pp. 183–199.

[18] J. Fiore, *Carlo Botta: An Italian Historian of the American Revolution*, "Italica" 1951, vol. 28, no. 3, p. 155.

[19] The name of the Morlach literally came from the expression "the black Vlachs" (*Mavrovlachoi* in Greek). See Z. Mirdita, *Vlasi u historiografii*, Zagreb 2004, p. 343.

[20] *Cours complet d'agriculture, théorique, pratique, économique et de médecine rurale et vétérinaire: ou, Dictionnaire universel d'agriculture*, ed. A. Thouin, vol. 12, Paris 1785, pp. 259–260, 619–620.

[21] C. Botta, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Dalmatie*, Turin 1811, pp. 54–55.

condition of their animals[22]. In this context, the Dalmatian Morlachs could be considered not as "stoics" but as barbarians, because they wandered with their flocks like Asian nomads, and because they were dependent on nature, unlike agricultural communities, or those that kept livestock, but in a modern way – by crossing species, applying vaccination and veterinary treatment, and, thus, protecting themselves in the widest possible way from the negative influence of nature. The opinion on the primitivism of the Morlachs appeared in many testimonies from the second half of the 18th century, e.g. in a famous travelogue by Alberto Fortis or its critique made by Ivan Lovrić[23]. The primitivism could be regarded in the context of the above-mentioned barbarity (with all its associations: cruelty, hostility towards the civilization), but it could be also perceived through the perspective of the idea of a "noble savage". In the second half of the 18th century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau associated the pastoral peoples with such features as laziness[24] but also with moral purity which resulted in the lack of possession of land, which – according to this French philosopher – was the reason behind the inequality among men[25].

However, besides various anthropological interpretations of the Vlach pastoralism, the testimonies left by French observers confirm that at the beginning of the 19th century, traditional transhumant economy was still a main occupation of the population of Dalmatian interior. According to an engineer named Lasseret, the author of a report on Dalmatia from 1806, local pastoralism was deprived of any commercial value, and its purpose was to produce food for the Vlach themselves. Herds of sheep and goats gave milk which served as a basis for the production of butter and cheese, the animals were being also slaughtered for meat. According to the French observer, those products were of bad quality, so they could not be treated as a product intended for the market. The same goes for wool, which was also of poor quality[26]. Bad quality of the products obtained

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[22] C. de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les américains*, Paris 1794, pp. 127–131.

[23] M. Knezović, *Morlak kao prirodni čovjek u djelima Alberta Fortisa, Ivana Lovrića i Balthasara Hacqueta*, [in:] *Triplex Confinium (1500. – 1800.). Ekohistorija – Zbornik radova, Književni krug Split, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, eds. E. Ivetić, D. Roksandić, Split–Zagreb 2003, pp. 130–121; I. Lovrić, *The Customs of the Morlachs*, [in:] *Late Enlightenment – Emergence of the Modern 'National Idea'*, vol. 1: *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe*, eds. B. Trencsényi, M. Kopeček, Budapest 2006, pp. 57–64.

[24] P. Saint-Armand, *The Pursuit of Laziness: An Idle Interpretation of the Enlightenment*, transl. J. Gage, Princeton 2011, pp. 58–59.

[25] M. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières*, Paris 1971, pp. 271–280.

[26] Lasseret, *Mémoire à joindre à la reconnaissance militaire de la Dalmatie*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1590–1591, p. 20.

by Dalmatian Vlachs (which was denounced decades earlier by Alberto Fortis[27]) should not obscure the fact, that according to Lasseret, the Vlachs were in fact shepherds for whom their herds were the only wealth, while sheepdogs were so important that they even became "the subject of bloody quarrels"[28].

Also in other documents presented by French officers and officials, there is information confirming that the people of the Dalmatian interior were mainly shepherds. The presence of such mentions almost always went hand in hand with the criticism of such a way of life. The report drawn up by General Charles--Nicolas d'Anthouard on June 10, 1806, mentioned that it was herding that was supposed to cause the soil to become barren and, consequently, contribute to the poor state of the Dalmatian economy[29]. In 1812, after the six years of French presence in Dalmatia, the traditional pastoralism was still regarded as the main occupation of the inhabitants of this province, and any attempts of its modernization, as well as projects of the promotion of agriculture, backfired. Naturally, the French did not use an adjective "traditional" to describe Vlach transhumant economy, instead they depicted it as backward and inefficient. In a letter to the general intendant of the Illyrian Provinces, Count Christophe Chabrol, the intendant of the province of Dalmatia complained that the Vlachs are in fact shepherds, yet they do not know how to take care about their herds, not to mention the knowledge on the crossing of species[30], and they "remain what they have been for centuries, their ignorance is dear to them, they fear any new thing even if it would cause for them an undeniable personal benefit and would be easy in execution"[31]. The recipient of this letter, Count Chabrol, had only one piece of advice: the remedy for the bad economic condition of Dalmatia was to abandon pastoralism in favor of agriculture (precisely: potato cultivation)[32]. It should be

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[27] A. Fortis, *Voyage en Dalmatie*, transl. M. Chapuis, vol. 2, Berne 1778, p. 93.

[28] Lasseret, *op. cit*.

[29] Ch.-N. de Anthouard, *Description topographique et militaire de la Dalmatie, par le général de brigade d'Anthouard, aide de camp du prince Eugène*, *Milan, 10 juin 1806*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1590–1591, p. 15.

[30] "Il ignore les méthodes d'assolement, le système des irrigations, le croisement des races, le soin des troupeaux, quoiqu'il est essentiellement pasteur, sur tout il a besoin de leçons" (*Rapport General sur l'Administraion de la Dalmatie pendant l'année 1812*, 1813, Archives Nationales, Site Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, F1e62).

[31] "Les Morlaques restent ce qu'ils sont depuis des siècles, l'ignorance leur est chère, Ils redoutent toute chose nouvelle, fut-elle-même pour eux d'un avantage personnel incontestable et d'une exécution facile" (*ibidem*).

[32] "[...] l'introduction de la culture de la pomme de terre en Dalmatie, serait un bien fait pour l'habitants des campagnes, que son imprévoyance réduit à vivre de racines pendant l'hiver" (Ch. Chabrol, *Laybach le 12 may 1813. Reponse à une lettre du 9 janvier 1813 (Rapport General*

underlined that attempts of modernization of the Dalmatian agriculture and stock raising were a continuation of the similar physiocratic projects initiated by Dalmatian elites. French collaborated with some of their representatives, including Ivan Luka Garagnijin or Vincezno Dandolo[33].

The reports and memoirs made by the French military and civil officials testify not only about the fact that transhumant economy remained an occupation of the Dalmatian Vlachs at the beginning of the 19th century, but also that the traditional structures of the Vlach society remained unchanged. It was the Habsburgs who wanted to transform the settlement based on the Vlach law into some sort of fixed and institutionalized system of the border military colonization. This attempt succeeded and since 1630 (when the Vlach law was written down[34]), the traditional social structure of the borderland societies in Croatia was gradually replaced with military hierarchy[35]. The Venetians tried to implement similar solutions in 18th-century Dalmatia, but without success, hence the defense of the Dalmatian border of that time was still based on the contracts with the Vlach leaders, which could as well cooperate with Turks[36]. When the French entered Dalmatia in 1806, they noticed that some elements of the military organization had been implemented[37], but in reality, it did not impose new patterns of the functioning of the society, but used already existing ties, such as the institution of *pobratime* (blood brotherhood[38]), and paid troops[39]. In the French reports from the beginning of the 19th century, the society of the Dalmatian

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sur l'Administraion de la Dalmatie pendant l'année 1812), 1813, Archives Nationales, Site Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, F1e62).

[33] D. Božić-Bužančić, *Južna Hrvatska u europskom fiziokratskom pokretu: pokret za obnovu gospodarstva, gospodarske akademije, ogledni vrtovi i poljodjelske škole druge polovice XVIII. i početka XIX. stoljeća*, Zagreb 1995, p. 13; A. Nekić, *Što Kraljski Dalmatin iz 1806. godine piše o poljoprivredi*, "Rostra: Časopis studenata povijesti Sveučilišta u Zadru" 2010, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 85–94.

[34] Ş. Stareţu, *Medieval Name and Ethnicity: Serbs and Vlachs*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia" 2015, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 84–85.

[35] I. Funda, K. Milković, *op. cit*.

[36] F. Paladini, *Un caos che spaventa: poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta*, Venezia 2003, pp. 415–416.

[37] M. Dumas, *Rapport de général Mathieu Dumas (2 cahiers, 5 et 37 pages, avec un état des revenus du royaume de Dalmatie)*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1617, p. 23.

[38] W. Bracewell, *Frontier Blood-Brotherhood and the Triplex Confinium*, [in:] *Constructing Border Societies...*, pp. 35–36.

[39] E. Novello, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–66, 70; N. Markulin, *Vojno poduzetništvo u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji i Boki od 1700. do 1718. godine*, "Povijesni prilozi" 2016, no. 51, pp. 159–194.

interior was perceived as a hardly controllable whole, historically and culturally separate from the coastal population. The vision of the Dalmatian population divided into two separate nations was presented by Colonel Mathieu Dumas[40], as well as General d'Anthouard, who, in a report of June 10, 1806, stated that the population of the coastal part of the province speaks and behaves like Italians, while the Morlachs in the interior are descended from the ancient Scythians[41]. Similar constatation was made by Colonel Sorbier, who stated that Morlachs "descend from the ancient Scythians and retain part of their customs [...]"[42]. It is difficult not to connect such statements with the semi-nomadic lifestyle of Vlach populations, which could be associated with nomadic barbarian peoples. Importantly, also other French observers claimed that the social structures of the inhabitants of the Dalmatian interior had not changed since the Turkish times, which may indicate that in the first decades of the 19th century, the traditional *katun* organization still operated in this area[43].

BOSNIAN PASTORALISM AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE

A French perception of Dalmatia and its population was, to a large extent, a continuation of a previous Venetian perspective. In the case of Bosnia, the situation was different, and the French perception of the shepherd populations from this area does not bear the traces of any previous depictions. However, as – contrary to Dalmatia – the French never ruled over Bosnia, the image which is presented in the travelogues and memoirs is much more general. Although those documents mention only the shepherds (without mentioning the Vlachs explicitly), it should be noted than in this part of the Ottoman Empire the practice of raising herds should be strictly associated with transhumance, which functioned in Bosnia not only in a modern period, or in the 19th century, but even in the 20th century[44].

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[40] M. Dumas, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[41] Ch.-N. de Anthouard, *Description...*, p. 11.

[42] "Enfin les Morlaques qui descendent des anciens Scythes et qui en conservent une partie des mœurs [...]" (Sorbier, *Dalmatie (reconnaissance du côtes de la), 4 juin 1806*, [in:] *3 mémoires du colonel Sorbier sur les côtes et les îles de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie, 4 et 6 juin 1806*, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1590–1591, p. 17).

[43] *Rapport au général Molitor (23 pages et 2 tableaux, dont l'un daté du 28 février)*, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1617, p. 2.

[44] I. Matley, *Transhumance in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, "Geographical Review" 1968, vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 231–261.

Unlike Dalmatia, which was presented as theoretically able to deliver various crops, but barren in reality, Bosnia was regarded as fertile and agriculturally developed. In *Mémoire sur la Bosnie*, made on June 14, 1806, general d'Authouard presented the following description of the region: "Bosnia is well cultivated, has beautiful forests, beautiful pastures, and many springs with very healthy water"[45]. This image of the natural resources of the country was followed by detailed enumeration of the products which were an outcome of the Bosnian economy, including: corn, oats, vegetables of all kinds, large quantity of cattle, horned and wool animal, goats and horses[46]. A very similar observation on the economy of the region was made the same year by Captain Leclerc: "Bosnia produces wheat, barley, corn, seeds of buckwheat, melons, and fruits of all kinds. Many herds of sheep and horses roam in Bosnian pastures, and the country exports large quantity of cattle and grain"[47]. Both of those testimonies mention not only agriculture, but also shepherding, which – contrary to Dalmatia – seemed to be very effective.

Some of the reports made by the French emphasized not only the effectiveness of Bosnian pastoralism, but even stressed that it can be regarded as an important branch of economy. Such was the opinion of Captain Roux La Mazelière who in 1809 regarded the cattle grazing as the most important element of the Bosnian economy: "The immense quantity of meadows and pastures which cover this province made it possible to raise horses, ox, cows, sheep and other animals in a big amount of numbers, which made of them a very beneficial object of commerce"[48]. This observation on the commercial potential of cattle grazing in Bosnia was shared also by Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, a diplomat in the

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[45] "La Bosnie est bien cultivé, a des belles forets, de beaux pâturages, et beaucoup de sources dont l'eau est très saine" (Ch-N. de Anthouard, *Mémoire sur la Bosnie, 14 juin 1806*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1617).

[46] "La Bosnie fournit tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie, elle abonde en blés, avoine, légumes de toutes espèce, mais ne produit que très peu de vin. Les deux vignobles cités sont Bagnalouca et Mostar. La Bosnie fournit également une grande quantité des bestiaux, soit bêtes à cornus, bêtes à laine, chèvres et chevaux. Ces derniers sont petits mais ont de la réputation" (*ibidem*).

[47] "La Bosnie produit du froment, de l'orge, des mais, des millets, de sarrazin, des melons, des fruits de toute espèce. De nombreux troupeaux de moutons de bœufs et de chevaux errent dans ses pâturages elle exporte une grande quantité des bestiaux et des grains" (Leclerc, *Mémoire sur la Bosnie*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1617, p. 10).

[48] "L'immense quantité de prairies et des pâturages que couvrent cette province dans les moyens d'élever des chevaux des bœufs, des vaches, des moutons et autres bestiaux en fort grand nombre, et d'en faire un objet de commerce très avantageux" (Roux La Mazelière, *Mémoire statistique et topographique sur la Bosnie*, 1808, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1618, p. 3).

consulate in Travnik, who mentioned that "the quantity of meadows and pastures which cover the whole province made it possible to raise oxen and sheep in great quantity and made of them a considerable object of commerce"[49]. The animals, as well as the wool obtained from them was exported, e.g. to neighboring Dalmatia (from which the wool was exported further, e.g. to Marseille)[50]. The French diplomat underlined that the products obtained from the animals (e.g. the skins of the sheep and oxen) were of exceptional quality[51]. It should be underlined here that the sheep as well as products which could be obtained from them (e.g. the tents) often served as a currency in which the Vlachs paid the taxes (called *filuria*) to the Ottoman authorities[52].

Basing on this image of the Bosnian economy made by French officers and diplomatic agents, it is possible to highlight three common observations. Firstly, that the Bosnian natural environment was perceived as very good for agriculture. Secondly, that Bosnian agriculture was rather in good state, although this was not the result of the application of some agricultural techniques, but the result of favorable natural conditions. Thirdly, that one of the most important element of Bosnian economy was cattle grazing. However, at least a few French observers were also able to point out that this important branch of the economy of the region was not only related to the fact that herds could graze on good pastures and could drink water from numerous springs, but also because of the abilities of the local shepherd population, i.e. the Vlachs. This opinion may be found in the anonymous report on Bosnia, which is dated August 24, 1806. Its author stressed that although it is the "beautiful prairies which give the great facility to raise the flocks to the inhabitants", those shepherds were also "more industrious than Dalmatians", i.e. the Dalmatian Vlachs, who were described in the first part of this paper. The main feature of this industriousness was the ability to diversify the species of the elevated herds. According to the anonymous author of the report, the shepherd population of Bosnia raised not only the animals which gave wool (the sheep) but also oxen and goats[53]. The fact that the report juxtaposed

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[49] "La quantité de prairies et de pâturages qui couvre cette province, donne le moyen d'élever du gros et du menu bétail en très grand nombre, et d'en faire un objet considérable de commerce" (A. Chaumette des Fossés, *Voyage en Bosnie dans les années 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1822, p. 13).

[50] *Ibidem*, pp. 133–134.

[51] *Ibidem*.

[52] I. Czamańska, *Wołosi/Vlasi z terenów Hercegowiny w świetle defterów osmańskich z XV i XVI wieku*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia" 2018, no. 25, p. 223.

[53] "Les belles prairies donnent à les habitants une très grande facilité pout l'éducation du bétail; plus industrieux que les Dalmates ils ne se bornent pas aux bêtes à laine mais ont des bœufs en grand nombre quels sont passés dans le Duché et dans l'état de Raguse. Ce grande industrie ne

the shepherd population of Dalmatia and Bosnia clearly indicates that its author was conscious that shepherding in both of these regions was exercised in the similar way. This means that the Vlach transhumant economy did not have to be perceived as deprived of any economic value, and the lack of application of the techniques characteristic for modern stock raising (including cross-breeding or inoculation) did not have to be treated as an obstacle for the development of the commercial potential of such economic activity.

CONCLUSIONS

The comparison of the depiction of transhumant shepherding in Dalmatia and in Bosnia can lead to two main conclusions which concern the differences and similarities behind those two depictions. The differences are partially related to the presumed ineffectiveness of the Vlach economy of Dalmatia, the purpose of which was to make the local communities survive. On the other hand, it was seen in a broader context of bad economic situation of the whole region, or even as one of the causes of its poor state, as the pastoralism was perceived as harmful for the local agriculture. On the contrary, in the case of Bosnia, local stock raising was depicted as diversified and able to bring considerable commercial benefits.

The similarities between both depictions are less evident, but no less important. The main common denominator between the observations on the pastoralism in Dalmatia and Bosnia is the traditionalism of this activity, unequivocal among the Vlachs and their way of living. In the case of Dalmatia, the reports from the beginning of the 19th century clearly testify that the Vlachs from the Dalmatian interior (called "the Morlachs") retained their characteristic social structure (division into *katuns*), and also dealt primarily with transhumant pastoralism. In the case of Bosnia this constatation is less evident, but the comparison between the Dalmatian and Bosnian shepherds (who are "more industrious") clearly shows that the French perceived the local populations using the same perspective which involved the image of the traditional pastoralism characteristic for the anthropology of the Enlightenment. French military officers and diplomats who travelled through Bosnia, did not mention any breeding techniques of the early 19th century, such as crossbreeding or vaccination, which were known in Western Europe. Instead, they pointed out that this part of the Ottoman Empire had plenty of good meadows that serve as pastures for the herds of sheep, oxen and goats.

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les empêche pas d'élever une grande quantité de moutons et de chèvres" (*Mémoire sur la Bosnie, Raguse, 24 août, 1806*, 1806, Service historique de la Défense, Département de l'armée de terre, 1M 1617, p. 2).

That is to say, local stock raising could still be depicted as dependent on natural conditions, which was the main feature associated by the anthropology of the Enlightenment with primitive pastoral communities. This observation may lead to the conclusion that perhaps the representation of the Dalmatian Morlachs would have been different if their traditional transhumant economy had been practiced under more favorable natural conditions. Due to the fact that the Dalmatian soil was barren, and pastoralism hardly ensured the survival for the local Vlach communities inhabiting this area, they could be perceived as lazy and backward, while the same transhumant communities of Bosnia, who functioned in much more favorable conditions, could be described as industrious.

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ABSTRAKT

Francuskie rządy w Dalmacji w epoce napoleońskiej (1806–1813) zaowocowały zebraniem olbrzymiej ilości informacji nie tylko o tym regionie, lecz także o sąsiadującej z nim tureckiej Bośni. Dzienniki podróży i raporty dotyczące tych ziem są tak bogate i szczegółowe, że mogą służyć jako źródło wiedzy o społecznościach zamieszkujących te tereny. W niniejszym artykule skupiono się na bardzo wąskim elemencie tego zagadnienia – specyficznym statusie społeczności wołoskich i ich podstawowej aktywności gospodarczej w Dalmacji i Bośni, jaką było pasterstwo transhumancyjne. Porównanie francuskich opinii na temat funkcjonowania pasterstwa w tych regionach prowadzi do wniosków dotyczących różnic i podobieństw w ocenie jego specyfiki. Różnice te są związane przede wszystkim z domniemaną nieefektywnością gospodarki wołoskiej na terenie Dalmacji, podczas gdy w przypadku Bośni lokalne pasterstwo zostało przedstawione jako zróżnicowane i mogące przynieść znaczne korzyści handlowe. Z kolei cechą wspólną społeczności wołoskich w Dalmacji i Bośni było – zdaniem francuskich obserwatorów – przywiązanie do tradycji pasterstwa transhumancyjnego, które było uznawane za prymitywne, czyli mocno zależne od warunków naturalnych.

Słowa kluczowe: wołoska gospodarka transhumancyjna; Bośnia; Dalmacja; pasterstwo transhumancyjne; epoka napoleońska