SHEPHERDS IN COVASNA DURING COLLECTIVIZATION

Florentina Teacă 196

ABSTRACT

Transhumant pastoralism, the most complex type of traditional pastoralism, was practiced in a series of centres, spread over a relatively narrow area, starting from Breţcu and Covasna and extending along the Transylvanian Subcarpathians through Săcele, the Bran region, the Olt region and the area of Marginimea Sibiului, up to the Haṭeg region. In many studies dedicated to transhumant shepherding, the shepherds from Covasna and Breţcu, nicknamed Bârsanii from the Secuime, are mentioned as some of the leaders in their community. However, after hundreds of years of transhumant shepherding, the shepherds of Covasna had to adapt to the period of communism, a sad memory in the history of Romania. The collectivization process put an end to the old transhumance, but favoured "transhumance by train", with the sheep of the C.A.P.s. From the memories of the shepherds interviewed, it appears that this period also had advantages: it was the first time that they were employed "with papers", with a work card, with seniority recorded, with a salary, a secure income. In addition to the state-owned sheep, they were allowed to keep their own animals, whose products were then in great demand. What's more, their reputation as good professionals had spread across the country, so they were sought out by the C.A.P.s in other counties, where they stayed for years, sometimes bringing their families with them. All informants are from Covasna, Voineşti.

Keywords: Covasna, Voinești, sheep, transhumance, collectivization.

SHORT INTRODUCTION

"Mocans have been given several names, according to their place of origin, but true mocani must be considered only those from Țara Bârsei (bârsanii) and those from Mărginimea Sibiului (mărginenii), who were *shepherds par excellence*. To these, however, it is necessary to add the Romanian shepherds of the Covasna – Breţcu or Treiscaune area, who fell into the same category" 197.

So, here is a synonymous link between the terms "shepherd(s)" and "shepherds par excellence", and the fact that the shepherds from Covasna also have these laurels

¹⁹⁶ Teacher, Secondary School "Avram Iancu" Covasna, E-mail contact: teaca_florentina@yahoo.com.
197 "Mocanilor li s-au atribuit mai multe denumiri, după locul de origine, dar mocani adevărați
trebuie socotiți numai cei din Țara Bârsei (bârsanii) și cei din Mărginimea Sibiului (mărginenii), care
au fost ciobani prin excelență. La aceștia este necesar totuși să fie adăugați și păstorii români din zona
Covasna – Brețcu sau Treiscaune, care intrau în aceeași categorie", in Tudor Mateescu, *Păstoritul*mocanilor în teritoriul dintre Dunăre și Marea Neagră [Shepherding the Mocans between the Danube
and the Black Sea], Bucharest, 1986, p. 5.

on their foreheads only confirms what the shepherds from Voinestii¹⁹⁸. Covasnei often say:

"At that time, almost all the people from Voinești had sheep. I don't know how many there could have been in total; the shepherds of Voinești were then more numerous than the shepherds from Sibiu, Voinesti was strengthened. Our ancestors had many sheep, but we can't find them in the archives, they didn't write them all down in the deeds, because of taxes. It was rare to have a thousand sheeps, very rare. Nobody knew them (...)"199.

Covasna's location in an area where the depression meets the mountain, with vast areas of alpine pastures not very far away, in mountains like those of Buzau and Vrancea, led the ethnologist Sabin Opreanu to say:

"You can rarely find villages of transhumant shepherds better adapted to the natural conditions of the region than Voineștii Covasnei (...). Starting with the surrounding mountains and ending with every drop of water, the roads and mountain paths and the needs of the people in the surrounding villages and towns, all seem to have been specifically designed from time immemorial to give the type of pastoral villages where everything happens harmoniously, and life follows its secular rhythm"²⁰⁰.

Here, the shepherd's trade was handed down from father to son, the sons entering as shepherds with pay to their parents' sheep, from whom they received annually seven sheep, sheepskins, *suman*, cap, two pairs of yarmulkes, a winter serge and food. As they increased their flocks, they joined their parents' flocks as associates, and if they were more skillful and learned shepherding more quickly, they joined other sheep owners as $baci^{201}$.

It is recognized that

"the native areas of transhumant shepherding are Tara Bârsei, Breţcu, Covasna, Bran, Mărginimea Sibiului"202.

¹⁹⁸ Voinești is a district of Covasna, inhabited by Romanians, who, especially in the past, had as their main occupation shepherding.

^{199 &}quot;Pe atunci, cam toți voineștenii aveau oi. Nu-mi dau seama câte ar fi putut să fie în total; ciobanii voineșteni erau pe atunci mai mulți decât sibienii, Voineștiul a fost întărit. Moșii noștri aveau multe oi, dar nu găsim în arhive, nu le scriau în acte pe toate, din cauză de taxe. Rar care n-avea mia de oi, foarte rar. Numa' nu-i știa nimeni (...)", Informant: Constantin (Din) Costea, born in 1939. People from other parts of the country also talk about the importance of the shepherds from Covasna: We know that the shepherds from Voina had more sheep, in more mountains and more sheepfolds than the people from Brabant or Siberia. The people of Voinsburg did not make this known. (Dragos Mlăjiceanu, from Gura Teghii, Buzău, comment on Facebook).

²⁰⁰, Mai rar sate de păstori transhumanți mai bine adaptate la condițiile naturale ale regiunii ca Voineștii Covasnei (...). Începând cu munții din jur și terminând cu fiecare picur de apă, drumurile și potecile munților și nevoile oamenilor din târgurile și orașele din jur, toate par că din vecie au fost anume întocmite, să dea tipuri de sate păstorești, în cari totul se petrece armonic și vieața își urmează ritmul ei secular.", in Sabin Opreanu, Contribuțiuni la transhumanța din Carpații Orientali [Contributions to Transhumance in the Eastern Carpathians J, 1930, p. 33.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

^{202 &}quot;zonele de baștină ale păstoritului transhumant sunt Țara Bârsei, Brețcu, Covasna, Bran, Mărginimea Sibiului", in Ion Vlăduțiu, Etnografia românească [Romanian Ethnography], Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1973, p. 258.

After hundreds of years of transhumant shepherding's heyday, during which Romanian shepherds adapted to various historical changes, after the Second World War they had to live through the times of collectivization. The present material aims to highlight how the Soviet model of "socialist transformation of agriculture" – collectivization – was met and experienced by the shepherds of Covasna.

COLLECTIVIZATION IN ROMANIA

In 1949 it was decided to adopt the Soviet model of "socialist transformation of agriculture": collectivization, which consisted in the establishment of C.A.P.s (Collective Agricultural Holdings). It should be noted that the land of the peasants registered in the C.A.P.s remained the collective property of these peasants by law. In order to compensate for the shortage of food in the towns and the need to pay war compensation to the Soviet Union, but also to ruin the wealthy peasant households, the quota system was introduced. Under this system, peasants were obliged to hand over to the state a significant part of their household production. The size of this tax in kind varied. Often peasants were left with only the seed wheat for the following year, and sometimes none at all.

As a result of this Soviet import experiment, the more affluent shepherds from Voineşti were labelled as "greedy" and the aim was to equalize people: but not to make them all affluent, on the contrary! The property should be shared, so that everyone, practically, should have nothing.

Private individuals had fewer sheep than in the past, but they still had enough for those who had always been involved in this profession. The problem was that they were subject to so-called *quotas*, a kind of tax on products. Old people tell how hard it was to be a shepherd-boy in those days:

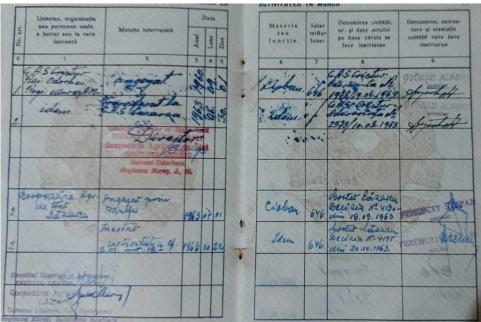
"In those days, there were high quotas – for meat, wool (...) They took the cows from the stable and the horse; in Brasov, once, he put about 180 sheep (my father's) to slaughter. It was hard (...) They sent from the Council to see how many sheep they had sheared. Mummy, poor thing, would tear a sheep's fleece into two or three, so there would be more. And if you couldn't pay the quota, they didn't ask, they took what they could find (...) It was hard, very hard (...) Parents could barely pay the taxes, they had quotas (...) hundreds of lei to give" 203.

But the shepherds have also adapted to those times. They always will – they have so much experience. We learn that

²⁰³ "Pe atunci, erau cote mari – de carne, de lână (...) Au luat vacile din grajd și cal; la Brașov, odată, i-a băgat la abator vreo 180 oi (lui tata). A fost greu (...) Trimiteau de la Sfat să vadă câte lâni s-au tuns. Mămica, săraca, rupea o lână de la o oaie în două sau trei, ca să fie mai multe. Și dacă nu puteai să plătești cota, nu te întreba, îți lua ce găsea (...) Greu a fost, foarte greu (...) Părinții abia puteau să plătească impozitele, aveau cote (...) sute de kilograme de dat.", Informant: Maria Sandulea, Covasna, b. 1933.

"We suffered, but things got better afterwards; we took a bunch of sheep from the collective, it worked out. They even paid you, they gave you 70 lei for lambing and 7 kg of corn; 1000 sheep = 70,000 lei, 7 tons of corn! Ceauşescu's man went to the sheepfolds, he saw how hard life was for the shepherds, so the law was passed in the 1980s, the shepherds were paid" 204.

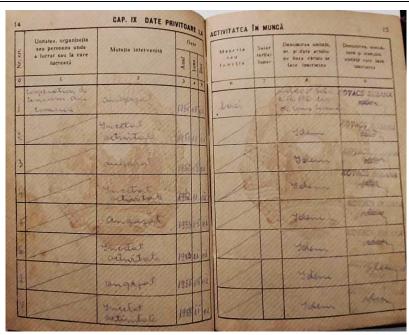
But the law on shepherds' wages was much older. As early as the 1960s, shepherds were employed on a "work card" basis. Here is a page from one such work card, belonging to Constantin Leu from Voineşti, employed on September 1st, 1960, at G.A.S. Cristur, Odorhei district, Mureş region, with a monthly salary of 646 lei.



Source: Constantin Leu

Shepherds were employed for an indefinite period. Shepherds, on the other hand, were employed only during the summer season, *i.e.*, after the sheep began to be milked and until autumn, when they came down from the mountains. In another work booklet, we find a reconstruction of the seniority in sections from the period of the summer season: from 01.05.1951 to 01.11.1951, from 01.05.1952 to 01.11.1952 and so on. Employer: Covasna Consumer Cooperative.

²⁰⁴ "Am suferit, dar lucrurile s-au îndreptat apoi; am luat un cârd de oi de la colectiv, treaba a mers. Te-au şi plătit, îți dădea 70 lei de fătare şi 7 kg porumb; 1000 oi = 70.000 lei, 7 tone de porumb! A umblat omul lui Ceauşescu pe la stâni, a văzut ce viață grea duc ciobanii, așa că s-a dat lege prin '80, s-a dat salariu la ciobani.", Informant: Mircea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1952



Source: Ioan Teacă, paternal grandfather of the author

Now, the community's sheep were managed by the Agricultural Production Cooperative (formerly called the *Întovărășire*, then the Collective Agricultural Household). That is, the C.A.P., called by the locals "ceapeu" or "collective". The mountains, which had previously belonged to the inhabitants of Covasna, now belonged to the state. But, as before, there was a sheepfold on each mountain. And the shepherds... the same as before!

"The sheepfolds were not in property. We (n.n.: the Cojan family) came from '62. It was the C.A.P., we went to the C.A.P. sheep. All over the mountains. Well, the C.A.P. had 11 sheepfolds then: in Chiişoara, in Goru, in Dealu Negru, in Nioaca, in Meneşberţ, in Borta (...) Exactly what I was telling you earlier: before the war, the mountains belonged to some grofs or to someone else, leased or rented by our mocans. After the war, after collectivization, all those mountains (...) Collectivization came and then all the mountains were nationalized, taken away. And then, those mountains that were previously owned by those mocans, they were also baci there, only they were baci from the C.A.P. They were not theirs. They leased them. They belonged to the Romanian state now, they no longer belonged to the grofs, but Florea, if he was a shepherd or a baci there, was still on that mountain. They were not in the patrimony of the town halls, they belonged to the C.A.P.s or the farms, the I.A.S.-uri. Yes, it went into their patrimony. Well, the C.A.P. had all the mountains then" 205.

²⁰⁵ "Stânele nu erau în proprietate. Noi (n.n.: familia Cojan) am venit din '62. Era C.A.P.-ul, noi am fost la oile C.A.P.-ului. În toți munții. Păi avea C.A.P.-ul 11 stâne atunci: în Chiișoara, în Goru, în Dealu Negru, în Nioaca, în Meneșberț, în Borta (...) Exact ce vă spuneam mai devreme: înainte de



Source: Gheorghe Cojan

The sheepfold at Piliş, 1965. From left to right: Ţică Ucă, Ion from Vrancea, Florea Cojan, GheorgheCojan.

"Then he took the C.A.P. and they took over the mountains. It was a bit better during Ceauşescu's time. During the C.A.P., the shepherds modernised and lived a little better, but the sheep were many then, when they were our elders. Then, on the Plaiul (...) I think there were 100.000 sheep. How many were there? 100.000. That's how I knew. All over (...) all over the mountains, in this area" 206.

So, the shepherds and the shepherd boy remained the same in the "collective". We can catch a glimpse of this time when we read in the press of the time the classic phrases, with their wooden language, about "overachieving", "leading places":

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război, munții erau ai unor grofi sau ai cuiva, luați în arendă sau chirie de mocanii noștri. După război, după colectivizare, toți munții ăia (...) A venit colectivizarea și atunci toți munții s-au naționalizat, s-au luat. Și-atunci, acei munții care i-au stăpânit înainte mocanii respectivi, tot ei erau baci acolo, numai că erau baci de la C.A.P. Nu erau ai lor. I-au arendat. Erau ai statului român acuma, nu mai erau ai grofilor, dar tot Florea, dacă a fost cioban sau baci acolo, tot el era pă muntele ăla. Nu erau în patrimoniul primăriilor, erau a C.A.P.-urilor sau a fermei, I.A.S.-uri. Da, a intrat în patrimoniul lor. Păi C.A.P.-ul avea atuncea muntii toți.". Informant: Florea Coian, Covasna, b. 1956.

avea atuncea munții toți.", Informant: Florea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1956.

206 "Apoi a luat C.A.P.-ul și au stăpânit munții. A fost un pic mai bine în timpul lui Ceaușescu. În timpul C.A.P.-ului, ciobanii s-au modernizat și au trăit un pic mai bine, dar oile multe au fost atunci, când au fost bătrânii noștri. Atuncea, pă Plaiul (...) Cred că erau 100.000 de oi. Cât erau? 100.000. Așa știam și eu. Pă toate (...) pă toți munții, pă zona asta.", Informant: Constantin Furtună, Covasna, b. 1970.

"The shepherds of Covasna put all their skill into achieving a goal: obtaining a high income from sheep breeding, aware that by doing so they would contribute to increasing the wealth of the community and, implicitly, the cooperators' wages. Year after year, the co-operators here, by means of methods of making this branch profitable, obtained increasingly beautiful results, up to that 1.245.145 lei in 1968. (Almost 200.000 lei more than planned at the beginning of the year.) These results did not take long to bring satisfaction to the members of the Covasna production co-operative: first place in the county in the sheep sector for 1968" 207.

But, as I said, the shepherds were the same as before, and with the same long-standing trade at hand – they were also keeping the wheels turning:

"If we have achieved good results in sheep breeding so far, the shepherds deserve special credit. Perhaps in no other species are the conditions of care so faithfully reflected in the condition of the animals as in sheep. Among them we mention the cooperators Gheorghe Cojan, G. Şerban, G. Furtună, Enea Ioan, Nicolae Costea and others, who have been breeding sheep in our establishment for more than 8 years" ²⁰⁸.

And another news, from 1972, from the C.A.P. of the voineșteni:

"A particular concern is given to the care of animals. Covasna sheep breeders are famous for the fact that the core of the mountain *cova*, a breed that is widespread throughout the country, has become best adapted to the soil and climate conditions of our country. Among the keepers of the sheep sector, which currently numbers more than 6.600 heads (including 1.500 lambs born this spring) are Gheorghe Cojan, Constantin Furtună Dinis, Nicolae Costea, Constantin Şerban Ţârdea"²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁷, Oierii din Covasna și-au pus toată priceperea lor în atingerea unui scop: obținerea de venituri mari din creșterea ovinelor, conștienți că prin aceasta vor contribui la creșterea averii obștești și implicit a retribuției cooperatorilor. An de an, cooperatorii de aici, prin metode de rentabilizare a acestei ramuri, au obținut rezultate tot mai frumoase, până la acel 1.245.145 lei din anul 1968. (Cu aproape 200.000 lei mai mult decât se planificase la începutul anului.) Aceste rezultate nu au întârziat să aducă satisfacții membrilor cooperativei de producție Covasna: locul I pe județ în sectorul ovin pe anul 1968", in Antal Kiss, "«Secretul» oierilor din Covasna" ["The secret of Covasna sheep farmers"], column "Din experiența C.A.P. fruntașe" ["From the experience of leading PAAs"], in *Cuvântul nou*, No. 80, July 12, 1969.

²⁰⁸ "Dacă am obținut până acum rezultate bune în creșterea oilor, un merit deosebit îl au în acest sens ciobanii. Poate că la nici o altă specie condițiile de îngrijire nu se reflectă atât de fidel în starea animalelor, ca la ovine. Dintre aceștia amintim pe cooperatorii Gheorghe Cojan, G. Şerban, G. Furtună, Enea Ioan, Nicolae Costea și alții, care se îndeletnicesc cu creșterea ovinelor în unitatea noastră de mai bine de 8 ani.", in *Ibidem*.

^{209 &}quot;O preocupare deosebită este acordată îngrijirii animalelor. Crescătorii de oi covăsneni sunt vestiți pentru faptul că nucleul țigăii de munte, rasă răspândită în toată țara, a devenit adaptabilă cel mai bine condițiilor de sol și climă ale țării noastre. Dintre îngrijitorii sectorului ovin, care numără în prezent peste 6.600 capete (din care 1.500 miei fătați în această primăvară) se evidențiază Gheorghe Cojan, Constantin Furtună Dinis, Nicolae Costea, Constantin Şerban Țârdea.", in Aurel Vasile Hulpoi, "Vești de la C.A.P. Covasna" ["News from C.A.P. Covasna"], in *Cuvântul nou*, No. 603, April 1st, 1972.



Source: Lucian Papuc

"Remembrance/Of when I went/With sausages to Lăcăuţ(i)/On August 1954/Papuc Ioan/Covasna"

TRANSHUMANCE WITH C.A.P. SHEEP

In the hilly areas and throughout the Romanian Plain, regardless of the area, the so-called collectivization in the C.A.P. continued. Later, after the 70's, the industrialization of livestock farms in I.A.S. followed, where the entire agricultural area was nationalized (starting in '49). During this period, people were taken both the agricultural area and the animals or were forced to give it up, having nothing to feed them in the absence of summer pastures or fodder in winter²¹⁰. Thus, all the land and wintering places used in the past by the shepherds of Covasna were now the property of the state, of the C.A.P.

Deals were made between the Cooperative leaderships in different counties. The "engineer", the "president" were the key people. And the deals? Not infrequently they included a few bottles of wine

"We used to carry wood. Against grazing. My wife knows better, she was an accountant at the C.A.P. back then" 211.

²¹⁰ Iulian Vlad, Mirela (Stanciu) Cărătuș and Marius Laurian Maftei, "Transhumanța, parte integrantă a pastoralismului național românesc. Element ocupațional plurivalent, economic, ecologic, social și cultural-identitar" ["Transhumance, an integral part of Romanian national pastoralism. A plurivalent occupational, economic, ecological, social and cultural-identity element"], in Lucian David and Ionuț Semuc (coord.), *Păstoritul carpatic. Tradiție și continuitate [Carpathian shepherding. Tradițion and continuity]*, Bucharest, Ethnological Publishing House, 2022, p. 113.

^{211 &}quot;Duceam noi lemne. Contra păşunat. Nevasta știe mai bine, că doar era contabilă la C.A.P. pe-atunci.", Informant: Gheorghe Cojan, Covasna, b. 1945.

His wife adds:

"The people form Covasna used to carry firewood. There, at the C.A.P., they talked to the engineer, to the president. They got along. There was a farm manager, Gicu, who would bring them a barrel of wine, a demijohn, they drank for a week! They were there, in the cabbage patch, for four or five years. (...) When they were at the C.A.P., they went to the Bărăgan with the sheep. We were also married, and we went there by car. That was in the '70s. There were sheep below Buzău, in the Bărăgan, there, I don't know what they call that commune, I don't know how they call it anymore (...) and we went to see them. And... drink up! All of them! They had wine in milk jugs, they drank by the cup!"²¹².

These wintering trips to the lowlands were necessary because the large number of sheep required a large amount of food over the winter, which the mountain area could not provide.

"One thing to remember: they were all *baci* and had C.A.P. herds. They were sent with the C.A.P. Theirs were also included in the C.A.P., so at the time Ceauşescu started to (...) when that regime started to put a very high price on products and on (...) exports from Romania started to go and they were (...) they demanded *superproduction*, they bred a lot of animals, sheep, in this area. The C.A.P.s had many, many, many sheep. They couldn't afford to graze them here because there wasn't enough fodder. Yes, they had the cow herds, those were the priority wintering. And then the shepherds, the shepherds who were in the C.A.P. were also employees with work cards, some of them or at least the shepherd's shepherd, the boss (...) Then he distributed them. He used to say: 'Florea's flock. Where are you sending him? We're sending him to Lehliu, like he said. So, where do we send that Mircea's flock? That's where they'd send him. And they'd send him. Because they trusted that people were good at it'"²¹³.

Many times, the road was made on foot, as in the old days, on the same paths. "We went with the sheep. I went with the sheep to Lehliu, to Constanta. (...) around '78. At Lehliu (...) there at Gălbiori. The Sun Highway or what they look like over there (...) I walked the sheep from here to there for a month. With five donkeys, six

^{212 &}quot;Covăsnenii duceau lemne de foc. Acolo, la C.A.P., vorbeau cu inginerul, cu președintele. Se înțelegeau. Era un șef de fermă, nea Gicu, le aducea câte un bidon de vin, câte-o damingeană, beau ăștia câte-o săptămână! Au fost acolo, la varză, vreo patru, cinci ani. (...) Când erau la C.A.P., s-au fost dus în Bărăgan cu oile. Eram și noi căsătoriți și ne-am fost dus cu mașina la ei, acolo. În '70 era asta. Erau oile mai jos de Buzău, în Bărăgan, acolo, nu mai știu cum îi zice la comuna aia (...) și ne-am dus să-i vedem. Şi (...) beți cui! Toți! Aveau vin în bidoane d-alea de lapte, beau cu cana!", Informant: Maria Cojan, Covasna, b. 1949.

^{213 &}quot;De reținut un aspect: ei toți erau baci și aveau cârduri de la C.A.P. Au fost trimiși cu C.A.P. Şi ale lor erau incluse în C.A.P., dar C.A.P.-urile, deci la momentul când Ceaușescu a început să (...) când regimul respectiv au început să pună foarte mare preț pă produse și pă (...) au început să meargă exporturile din România și erau (...) se cereau superproducție, au înmulțit foarte mult animalele, oile, în zona asta. C.A.P.-urile aveau foarte foarte multe oi, extrem de multe. Nu făceau față să le ierneze aici, fiindcă nutreț nu era de ajuns. Da, aveau ciurzile de vaci, alea le iernau cu prioritate. Şi-atunci ciobanii, bacii care erau în cadrul C.A.P.-ului erau și angajați cu carte de muncă, unii dintre ei sau cel puțin baciu', șeful (...) Atuncia îi distribuia. Zicea: «Cârdu' lu' Florea. Unde-l trimite? Îl trimitem la Lehliu, cum a zis. Așa, cârdu' lu' ăla, lu' Mircea, unde-l trimitem? P-ăla îl trimiteau la așa. Şi-l trimiteau. Pentru că aveau încredere că oamenii erau buni la așa ceva»", Informant: Constantin Furtună, Covasna, b. 1970.

donkeys. A month and a day I walked the sheep. We went from here to Constanţa with the sheep on foot. Now cars kill you (...) I'n the mountains, not that I went through the city. I went to the mountains here and (...) in the mountains. Buzău, I got as far as Urziceni, Horezu, Căzăneşti, Lehliu. I spent a whole winter there. That's where [the old men] used to go. To Buzău, to the cabbages, to (...) that's how I heard them talking. They used to leave in autumn after they had finished milking."²¹⁴;

"I was in Teleorman, Alexandria, Turnu Măgurele. I've been to Ialomița, to Drajna, to Lehliu Gară. We were leaving around October 20. During the Revolution, I remember, the Revolution caught me in Tecuci. I went with Ceaușescu and I came with Iliescu. 215":

"Well, I was once at the farm, at Vlădeni (...) I went to the cabbage patch in Buzău. Six days, six nights we walked" 216.

As in the old days, there were also various conflicts with the locals. Sometimes they even ended up with fines. Or "peace was made":

"Fines? I paid, I paid. In Dor Mărunt they caught us there, by a wheat field. The storm hit hard, and we went to Dor Mărunt, to the shelter. We stayed 3 days, 3 nights and when we left, when the storm hit, we went away. 'Come on, let's go, we're going to get some wheat'. And you couldn't see, it was the president, he came that way, he caught us by the wheat. He was with about 6 people in Aro, what else! We left him alone: 'We'll give you some sheep'. 'No, we don't need money!'. 'How much?' '2.000 lei!'. 'That's a lot, God damn it!. It's a salary'. In the end, I gave him 5.000, then he called me, I made friends with him, he let me stay day and night. I gave him 5.000. I had about 40.000 on me. Our shepherds used to have money, no problem! And he let us go everywhere. Then we became friends, he came here to Covasna, to the baths'' 217.

^{214 &}quot;Am fost cu oile. Am fost cu oile la Lehliu, la Constanța. (...) prin '78. La Lehliu (...) 'colo la Gălbiori. Autostrada Soarelui sau cum arată ăștia pe-acolo (...) Am plecat cu oile pe jos de-aicea până acolo, o lună dă zile. Cu cinci măgari, șase măgari. O lună dă zile am plecat cu oile pă jos. Am mers de-aici la Constanța cu oile pă jos. Acuma te omoară mașini (...) Pă munți, nu că m-am dus prin oraș. Am plecat pe munte pe-aicea și (...) pă munți. Buzău, am ajuns până la Urziceni, la Horezu, la Căzănești, în Lehliu. Am prins o iarnă întreagă acolo. P-acolo [prin Bărăgan] să duceau [bătrânii]. P'în Buzău, pă la varză, pă la (...) așa i-auzeam vorbind. Plecau toamna după ce terminau mulsu'", Informant: Nicolae Calșuneanu, Covasna, b. 1945.

²¹⁵ "Eu am fost în Teleorman, Alexandria, Turnu Măgurele. Am fost în Ialomița, la Drajna, la Lehliu Gară. Plecam prin 20 octombrie. La Revoluție, țiu minte, m-a prins Revoluția la Tecuci. M-am dus cu Ceaușescu și-am vinit cu Iliescu.", Informant: Florea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1956.

²¹⁶ "Păi și eu am fost odată la fermă, la Vlădeni (...) am fost la varză, la Buzău. Şase zile, șase nopți am mers pe jos", Informant: Ion Bâscean, Covasna, b. 1946.

²¹⁷,Amenzi? Am plătit, am plătit. În Dor Mărunt ne-a prins acolo, pă un grâu. A bătut crivățul tare și ne-am dus în Dor Mărunt, la adăpost. Am stat 3 zile, 3 nopți și când am plecat, când a stat crivățu', am plecat îndărăt. «Hai, ne dăm drumu' și pă grâu!». Şi nu se vedea, era președintele, a venit pă partea aia, ne-a prins pă grâu. Era cu vreo 6 oameni în Aro, ce să mai! Am dat-o la pace: «Vă dăm niște oi». «Nu, nu ne trebuie, bani!». «Câți?». «2.000 de lei!». «Ăi că-s mulți, dă-i dreacu'!». E un salariu. Păi până la urmă i-am dat 5.000 lui, după aia m-a mai chemat, m-am mai împrietenit cu el, m-a lăsat și ziua și noaptea. 5.000 i-am dat lui. Io aveam vreo 40.000 la mine. Aveau ciobanii noștri mocani înainte bani, nu era problemă! Și ne-a lăsat să umblăm peste tot. Dup-aia m-am împrietenit cu iel, a venit aici, la Covasna, la băi", Informant: Florea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1956.

During the C.A.P., the people of Covasna also experimented with a new (and much easier) way to transport sheep quickly and safely: by train!

"I was about 8 years. I used to take them to the Bărăgan, to the I.A.S. at Dragalina, at Ciulniţa, that's what they called it. There we got off in Ciulniţa. I don't know how the hell it came there, because it was (...) so Ciulniţa station, but Ciulniţa village was like here in Zăbala. And there was Dragalina commune, it was a big commune. I used to take them by train. No, no, we didn't do transhumance by foot, no. So, when we took them to Halchiu, from Vlădeni, which was 20 kilometres away, or to Râşnov or to Bod, we took them there on foot, you know? But there wasn't so much traffic, it wasn't like that. You were going around with them, you had no work" 218;

"How was the farm (...) discuss, for example, how we were at I.A.S. Homorod there, at I.A.S. Călărași (...) it was in Ceauseșcu's time. And he used to take them by train"²¹⁹.

Shepherds stayed with the sheep in their wintering places until February, when they gave birth.

"Until they lambed. They came down from Piliş, went to Buzău and from there to Bărăgan. Where there was cabbage, where there was a lot of corn. Often, when the icy wind was beating, if they didn't run with the sheep to the village or to the shelter, he would put them in a canal (...) One winter, about 40 of them died, because the wind took them with the shepherd and put them in a canal there. No, and they stayed until they lambed. And then they put them in the *carcasses*. Or in cars. When the snow was heavy or the weather so bad, they'd bring the sheep in by *sleigh*. I don't know how they did it, who they talked to, but that's what they did. With the C.A.P.'s sheep, and ours"²²⁰.

COVĂSNENII, SOUGHT BY C.A.P.S FROM OTHER LOCALITIES

The hundreds of years that shepherding has been a way of life (not just a profession) in Voineştii Covasnei, the fact that shepherding has been passed down in the family, from father to son, the results obtained, all this has made the reputation

²¹⁸ "Am fost vreo 8 ani. Le duceam pe Bărăgan, pe la I.A.S. la Dragalina, la Ciulniţa, aṣa-i zicea. Acolo coboram în Ciulniţa. Acolo nu ṣtiu cum vinea, dracu', că erea... deci gara Ciulniţa, da' satu' Ciulniţa erea ca de-aicea la Zăbala. Ṣi acolo erea comuna Dragalina, erea o comună mare. Cu trenu' le duceam. Nu, nu, noi n-am făcut transhumanţă cu chicioru', nu. Aṣa când le duceam pe la Hălchiu, de la Vlădeni, că erea la 20 de kilometri, sau pe la Râṣnov sau la Bod pe-acolo, acolo cu ele pe jos, ṣtii? Da' nu erea atâta circulație, nu erea aṣa. Te duceai lesene cu ele, n-aveai treabă", Informant: Nicolae Guiu, Covasna, b. 1948.

²¹⁹ "Cum era fermă (...) discuta, de exemplu, cum eram la I.A.S. Homorod acolo, la I.A.S. Călărași (...) era în timpu' lu' Ceaușescu. Și le ducea cu trenu", Informant: Valer Muntean, Covasna, b. 1972.

^{220 &}quot;Pân' la fătat. Coborau de la Piliş, mergeau spre Buzău şi de-acolo spre Bărăgan. Unde era varză, unde era porumb mult. De multe ori, când bătea Crivăţul, dacă nu fugeau cu oile în sat sau la adăpost, le băga în câte-un canal (...) Şi nouă, într-o iarnă, ne-au murit vreo 40, că le-a luat vântul cu tot cu cioban şi le-a băgat într-un canal, acolo. No, şi stăteau până la fătat. Şi apoi le puneau la trinuri. Sau la mașini. Când era zăpada mare sau vreme așa rea, le aduceau cu trinul oile. Nu ştiu cum aranjau, cu cine vorbeau, da' așa făceau. Şi oile C.A.P.-ului, şi ale noastre", Informant: Gheorghe Cojan, Covasna, b. 1945

of the shepherds of Voineștii grow, being sought after by many C.A.P.s from other localities of the county and from other counties of the country. The shepherds from Voinești were the guarantee that the Agricultural Cooperative would have beautiful, healthy sheep that would give a lot of milk. They were the guarantee of profit.

"These shepherds from Covasna were more famous. They used to call us, the people from our area, who used to go, for example, baci in Bicfalău, baci in Lisnău, i.e., to a sheepfold with the sheep of the village, and the people from Covasna used to call us, around here, 'baci de cotet'. People from Dobârlău and those, the băcelenii, they called us. My father was also a great musician. He sang at weddings in Covasna, he knew all the people from Covasna. 'Hey, Lae, you're all henhouse boys!' Everyone (...) Ghiţă Bâscean, Ghiță Papuc, Ghiță somewhat, Furtună's family, everyone knew my father. (...) I know these Cojan's. There were three brothers, one was Mircea. I don't know them that well, they were at the Colectiv in Ilieni. The Cojans were at the Collective, but they were there for a long time. Ande Furtună, they were over there, at Câmpu Frumos. I knew them by sight. Furtună's guys were in Câmpu Frumos. They had a saivan. They didn't have a saivan before, they kept them at Sântion, at a landlord's. Gazosu was a good friend of my father's, they used to meet in Sfântu Gheorghe, at Pomu' Verde (Green Tree), that way, because my father liked to go to the pub sometimes. My father used to say that there were only people from Covasna, all the way to Rupea, where they were. He was also a musician. And he played at weddings in Covasna. So, 'Come on, Lae, let me show you my saivan!' He had a saivan, but he didn't keep anything in it. 'Well, why should I keep them, Lae, because we don't have any land, we don't have any hay, we keep them at the Collective, we just made it, so that if something happens, we can run home with them (...)'. That's how they knew. Those were the days of the Collective"221.

Employed at the C.A.P., they had rights, but also obligations and responsibilities:

"At one time, there were more than 70 shepherds there, from Bran, from Vrancea, but there were more of them, Covasna dominated, there were many from Covasna. The first time there was 125 sheep milking sheep, at the I.A.S.-uri and 200 shepherds, that is to say the youth of the current year and the youth of the previous year, which were

²²¹ "Covăsnenii ăștia erau mai renumiți. Nouă ne ziceau, la ăștia de la noi, care se duceau, de exemplu, baci în Bicfalău, baci în Lisnău, adică la o stână cu oile satului, și covăsnenii ne ziceau nouă, p-aici, «baci de cotet». Dobârlăienilor și la ăștia, băcelenii, așa ne ziceau. Că tata a fost și mare muzicant. A cântat pe la nunți, prin Covasna, cunoștea toți covăsnenii. «Bă, Lae, voi sunteți baci de coteț!» Toți (...) Ghiță Bâscean, Ghiță Papuc, Ghiță cutare, ai lu' Furtună, toți îl cunoșteau pe tata. (...) Îi știu pe ăștia ai lu' Cojan. Erau trei frați, unu' era Mircea. Nu-i cunosc așa d-aproape, au fost la Colectiv la Ilieni. Cojanii erau la Colectiv, da' au stat mult acolo. Ande Furtună, ăștia au fost dincolo, la Câmpu Frumos. I-am cunoscut așa, din vedere. Ăștia ai lu' Furtună erau la Câmpu Frumos. Aveau saivan. Că înainte nu aveau saivan, le țineau la Sântion, la un boier. Gazoșu era pretin bun cu tata, se mai întâlneau prin Sfântu Gheorghe, pe la Pomu' Verde, p-acolo, că îi mai plăcea și lu' tata să mai intre pe la cârciumă, câteodată. Zicea tata că pe la toate Colectivele ăle bune, numa' covăsneni erau, până la Rupea, devale. El era și muzicant. Și cânta pe la nunți prin Covasna. Ș-apăi, «hai, mă Lae, hai să-ți arăt ce saivan am eu!» Când colo, avea un saivan văruit, da' n-a ținut nimic în el. «Păi cu ce să le țiu, mă Lae, că noi n-avem teren, n-avem fân, le ținem la Colectiv, numa' l-am făcut, că în caz de ceva, s-avem un' să fugim cu ele acas' (...)». Așa saivane aveau. Erau vremuri de Colectiv.", Informant: Dan Olaru, Dobârlău, b. 1956.

also rams, I don't know how many there were, 50 I think there were or 80 was the norm for rams, for a shepherd. And you had 800 sheep, you had 5 sheep. I was there permanently. There was no way to do schedule it. You had those 4 days off a month that he gave you, you had the right to holidays because you were employed with a work card, everything, you had the right to holidays and he gave the holidays, they were given in the autumn, when the harvest was over"222.

What they were all happy about was the fact that they could keep their own animals there and sell their produce.

"I had my own flock until I retired. I.A.S.s, about eight, nine hundred, more if not. About 800, 850 there were. Well, on the book, it was written there on the paper to keep 10 sheep and 2 males [personally]. That's how it was, 12. Or 3 males. 13 pieces. But' that was an I.A.S. (...) I was more lenient, with the management, we kept sheep about 25, 30 (...) you had a horse, you had enough. It wasn't bad"²²³.

PASTORAL FLOCKS

Pastoral flocks are an advanced phase of transhumance. They are of two types: *internal and external*. In the case of internal grazing,

"the shepherds, in the vast majority of cases with their families, settle for several years, usually more than ten years, in the lowland areas where they have been transhumant (the Jijia Plain, the Romanian Plain, the Dobrogea Plain). Another type of internal pastoral rotations is the settlement of shepherds (during the communist period), for decades, at the I.A.S.-s or C.A.P.-s in the lowland areas. Shepherds and their families were employed on these farms, where they managed a large number of sheep and could also have a flock of 100–200 sheep. Many of them bought the farms after 1989 and are still there today"²²⁴.

²²² "Eram într-un timp, eram peste 70 de ciobani acolo, din Bran, din Vrancea, da' mai mulți erau, cam domina Covasna, erau mulți din Covasna. 5 ciobani era norma dom'le [la un cârd]. Prima dată a fost 125 norma, oi mulgătoare, la I.A.S.-uri și 200 sterpătură, adică tineret de anu' curent și tineret anu' precedent, care erau și berbeci, nu știu câte erau, 50 parcă erau sau 80 era norma de berbeci, la un cioban. Și aveai 800 de oi, aveai 5 inși. Eram permanent acolo. N-aveai cum să faci cu rându'. Te mai rânduiai (...) aveai ălea 4 zile libere pe lună care ți le dădea, concediu aveai drept că ereai angajat cu carte de muncă, tot, aveai dreptu' la concediu și dădea concediile, se cam dădea toamna, atuncea când se termina cu monta.", Informant: Nicolae Guiu, Covasna, b. 1948.

²²³ "Am avut și cârdu' meu până am ieșit la pensie. Ale I.A.S.-ului, cam în jur de opt, nouă sute, mai multe nu. În jur de 800, 850 ereau. Păi, pe carte, era scris acolo la hârtie să ții 10 oi și 2 cârlani [personal]. Așa erea, 12. Sau 3 cârlani. 13 bucăți. Da' ăsta a fost un I.A.S.-eu mai îngăduitor, cu conducerea, țineam oi și câte 25, 30 (...) țineai câte-un cal, mai aveai. N-a fost rău.", Informant: Nicolae Guiu, Covasna, b. 1948.

²²⁴ "ciobanii, în marea majoritate a cazurilor cu familiile, se stabilesc pentru mai mulți ani, de obicei peste zece ani, în zonele de câmpie unde au fost în transhumanță (Câmpia Jijiei, Câmpia Română, Podișul Dobrogei). Un alt tip de roiri pastorale interne îl constituie stabilirea ciobanilor (în perioada comunismului), pentru zeci de ani, la I.A.S.-urile sau C.A.P.-urile din zonele de câmpie. Ciobanii împreună cu familiile erau angajați la aceste ferme, unde aveau în gestiune un număr mare de oi și puteau să aibă și ei un cârd de 100–200 de oi. Mulți dintre ei au cumpărat fermele după anul 1989, fiind și astăzi acolo.", in Lucian David, "Elemente de continuitate ale păstoritului carpatic" ["Elements of continuity of Carpathian pastoralism"], in Lucian David and Ionuț Semuc (coord.)., quoted work, p. 32.

The fame of the shepherds from Voinești had spread all over the country. Representatives of the C.A.P.-s came and looked for them in Voineşti. When they were hired, they hardly let them go, they staved there for years.

"Since '76 I went to (...) An engineer came from there to look for some people (...) And I went with a godfather of mine and we talked to those, and we went (...) we went there, and I stayed there at Aita Medie for 5 years and then I moved to Biborțeni. 11 years [I stayed at Biborteni]. Yes, with my wife I went. When the C.A.P.s and the farms were built, she never left. They went to the collectives, to the farms. In 1962. They never left"225.

Their wives were also employed, with work papers, as "animal caretakers" 226. Most of the time, we are talking about large farms with large herds of animals. "Well, there were the managers, there were the engineers, because it was a farm (...) a farm had 17.000 sheep, it didn't have a thousand, two sheep like it was. Permanent [sitting], I told you. And wintering (...) in the autumn we took them to the field. He used to divide them up. He used to share, because there were fields (...) they had connections in Râșnov, in Codlea, in Hălchiu, where he was (...)²²⁷.

If they got on well with the locals, they stayed for many years in the same place: "Yes, I went in the winter. And here I have been, in this area and there, at Rupea, I stayed for the winter, at a farm. Now, the last time I was 10 years in one place. And I stayed summerwinter there, I was employed there. No, I wasn't with my family. No, I didn't go with them from the farm, just grazing, that's all. And in the summer I was still there, grazing. No, I didn't go up the mountain. To graze, in the hills, like this"²²⁸.

Some of them, who left when they were young, found their wives in those areas, formed families there and never returned to Covasna:

"There were several who went to this part, to Rupea, there or found their other half, so to speak, and got married there. They stayed there, yes. On the side near Viscri, where the prince is, I mean when he was prince, but now he's king"²²⁹;

^{225 &}quot;Din '76 m-am dus la (...) A venit un inginer de-acolo să caute niște oameni (...) Şi m-am dus cu un naș al meu și am vorbit cu ăia și ne-am dus (...) am luat acolo și-am stat acolo la Aita Medie 5 ani și pe urmă m-am mutat la Biborțeni. 11 ani [am stat la Biborțeni]. Da, cu soția m-am dus. Când s-a făcut C.A.P-urile ăstea și fermele dă stat n-a mai plecat. S-au dus pă la colective, pă la ferme. În '62. N-au mai plecat", Informant: Constantin Leu, Covasna, b. 1944.

²²⁶ Source: workbook of wife Verginia Leu.

^{227 &}quot;Păi acolo erau directorii, erau inginerii, că doar era fermă... o fermă avea 17.000 de oi, navea o mie, două de oi cum era. Permanent [stăteam], v-am spus. Şi iernat (...) toamna le duceam la câmp. Le împărțea. O perioadă împărțea, că erea câmpuri (...) aveau legături pe la Râșnov, pe la Codlea, pe la Hălchiu, unde era (...)", Informant: Nicolae Guiu, Covasna, b. 1948.

^{228 &}quot;Da, am fost la iernat. Și aici am fost, în zona asta și acolo, la Rupea am stat la iernat, la o fermă. Acum, ultima dată am fost 10 ani într-un loc. Şi am stat vară-iarnă acolo, am fost angajat acolo. Nu, n-am fost cu familia. Nu, n-am plecat cu ele de la fermă, numa-n pășunat, atât. Şi vara tot acolo, în pășunat stăteam. Nu, nu m-am dus sus în munte. La pășunat, pă dealuri, așa", Informant: Gheorghe Macovei, Covasna, b. 1959.

²²⁹ "Mai mulți au fost care au fost așa-n partea asta, pă la Rupea, p-acolo sau ș-au găsit jumătatea cum să spune și s-au căsătorit p-acolo. Au rămas acolo, da. Pă parte pă la Viscri, pă unde umblă și printu', adica când era print, da' acuma-i rege", Informant: Constantin Şerban, Covasna, b. 1933.

"A couple of them stayed [at our C.A.P.] when they were with the sheep. The Major's brother and (...) this one (...) Avram. Avram's brother, yes, because we don't know about him. They settled there"²³⁰.

But... nothing new under the sun! Shepherds from Covasna who had gone with their sheep on transhumance had stayed and settled in various places in the country even before the CAP period. Mostly because they found good living conditions there, because they got married or for more practical reasons:

"I met a man from Covasna once. He was really from Covasna. I don't remember his name. We were near the farm, on a piece of land. But we didn't know that there were sheep, their sheepfold, nearby. And I was sitting like this, at night, with my brother and, I don't know, we had another man. And he says: 'I heard a guy crying over there'. But you could tell he was drunk after the noise. No, he came to our sheep. We didn't take dangerous dogs there, they get lost. And we didn't have dogs like that, to go after people. But we went before him when we heard him shouting. He was shouting at us because he was from Covasna. He came and started to tell us: 'Look, I was like you. I came here with my father and my brother and my sheep'. And he had a place to winter, because there were such nice woods, he had a place to winter easily. 'And they, like my dad, made me come and marry here, so they'd have somewhere to retire. They made me come here and I had to get married here. I stayed, but I'm still going to Covasna, I'll sometimes go back'" 231.

However, the shepherds from Covasna were easily recognizable by their specific clothing, shepherd-like clothes, which they did not really give up:

"Moş Maioru had a brother. This one stayed in Bărăganu. When he went with the sheep to Călăraşi, he stayed there. And when we went, in '79, we went to the market. And at the market, there, there was a big market, I see a man in shepherd clothes, like us. When I look, I see he looks like that. 'You, where are you from?'/'Where are you from?'/'We, from Covasna, from Voinești'/'I'm from there too. I'm Gheorghe Maioru's brother'. No, he stayed there. So, he married there, he had a family, he had everything, he was from there, he lived about five kilometres away, towards Călăraşi, in a commune there"²³².

²³⁰ "A rămas [de la noi la C.A.P.] vreo' doi, când au fost cu oile. Frate-su lu' Maioru și (...) ăsta (...) Avram. Frate-su lu' Avram, da, că de ăla nu se mai știe. S-au stabilit acolo.", Informant: Florea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1956.

²³¹ "Ne-am întâlnit odată cu unu' care era din Covasna. Chiar din Covasna era. Nu mai țin minte cum îl chema. Eram lângă fermă, pe-o tocătură. Da' noi nu știam că-s oile, saivanul lor, acolo, aproape. Şi stăteam așa, noaptea, cu frate-meu eram și, nu știu, mai aveam un om. Şi zice: «am auzit că chiuie unu' p-acolo». Da' s-auzea după chiuitură că era băut. No, a vinit la noi la oi. P-acolo nu prea duceam câini periculoși, că se mai pierd. Şi n-aveam câini așa, ca să saie la om. Da' ne-am dus înaintea lui, când l-am auzit că strigă. El ne striga, că el era din Covasna. A vinit ș-a-nceput să ne povestească: «Băi, uite, și eu tot așa am fost, ca voi. Am vinit cu ande tata și cu frate-meu și cu oile p-aicea». Şi avea pe unde ierna, că erau niște păduri așa faine, avea pe unde să ierneze ușor. «Şi ăștia, ande tata, m-au pus să mănsor aicea, ca să aibă unde trage. M-au pus ăștia să mă-nsor p-aicea și eu a trebuit să rămâi p-aicea. Am rămas, da' mă mai duc pe la Covasna, mai viu înapoi»", Informant: Petru Iacob, Breţcu, b. 1944.

²³² "Moş Maioru avea un frate. Āsta a rămas în Bărăganu. Când a fost cu oile la Călărași, a rămas p-acolo. Şi când ne-am dus noi, în '79, ne-am dus la piață. Şi la piață, acolo, era piața mare, văd unu în haine sârbe, ca noi. Când mă uit, am văst că samănă cu ăla. «Mata de unde ești?»/«Da' voi de unde sunteți?»/«Noi, din Covasna, din Voinești.»/«Şi eu îs tot d-acolo. Îs frate cu Gheorghe Maioru». No, și-a rămas acolo. S-a-nsurat acolo, avea familie, avea tot, era d-acolo, la vreo cinșpe kilometri stătea, spre Călărași, într-o comună, acolo.", Informant: Florea Cojan, Covasna, b. 1956.

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Covasna, Voinești: Constantin Costea, b. 1939; Mircea Cojan, b. 1952; Maria Sandulea, b. 1933; Florea Cojan, b. 1956; Constantin Furtună, b. 1970; Gheorghe Cojan, b. 1945; Maria Cojan, b. 1949; Nicolae Cașuneanu, b. 1945; Ion Bâscean, b. 1946; Nicolae Guiu, b. 1948; Valer Muntean, b. 1972; Constantin Şerban, b. 1933; Constantin Leu, b. 1944, Gheorghe Macovei, b. 1959.

Breţcu: Petru Iacob, b. 1944. **Dobârlău**: Nicodim Olaru, b. 1956.

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