
BOOK REVIEWS

TESTIMONY TO THE ENDURING: CARPATHIAN SHEPHERDING, TRADITION AND CONTINUITY

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ABSTRACT

*This material is a review of the collective volume *Carpathian shepherding, tradition and continuity*, published by the Ethnologic Publishing House, Bucharest, in 2022, coordinated by Lucian David and Ionuț Semuc, with the collaboration of Ioana Baskerville, Iulian Vlad, Laura Jiga Iliescu. In its 450 pages, it brings together valuable contributions on all aspects of traditional shepherding (complex relationships between people, animals and ecosystems; rituals and social practices, animal care and husbandry, management of land, forests and water resources, and management of natural hazards, etc.) from almost all areas in Romania where transhumant pastoralism is found (what is surprising about transhumant pastoralism is the extremely small number of villages practicing it; they are all Transylvanian, spread over a relatively narrow area, starting from Brețcu and Covasna and extending along the Transylvanian Subcarpathians through Săcele, the Branului region, the Oltului and Mărginimea Sibiului, as far as the Hațeg region), in a context in which (at the time the book was published) the Carpathian transhumance, part of traditional pastoral life, was included in the National Inventory of Living Intangible Cultural Heritage, the first step towards inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List.*

Keywords: shepherding, Carpathian transhumance, pastoral traditions.

CONTEXT OF THE BOOK

On March 30, 2022, 10 European countries, including Romania, have submitted to UNESCO the multinational dossier *Transhumance, the seasonal movement of herds*, to be inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The process of preparing the nomination dossier was coordinated by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, in collaboration with counterpart institutions in Albania, Andorra, Austria, Croatia, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Andorra, Croatia, France, Greece, Italy and Romania. This nomination is the extension of the *Transhumance element, the seasonal movement of herds along migratory routes in the Mediterranean area and the Alps*, inscribed in 2019 on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by Austria, Greece and Italy⁵¹⁸.

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⁵¹⁸ Ministry of Culture, „Comunicat de Presă – Dosarul multinațional «Transhumanța, strămutarea sezonieră a turmelor» depus la UNESCO” [“Press Release – The multinational dossier ‘Transhumance, seasonal herd displacement’ submitted to UNESCO”], in *Cultura*, March 30, 2022, Available at: <http://www.cultura.ro/dosarulmultinationaltranshumantastramutareasezoniera-turmelor-depus-launesco>, Accessed on June 18, 2024.

The submission of the application is the result of a close collaboration, started in 2020, between heritage experts, livestock professionals, communities bearing the element and associations of transhumant herders from the 10 countries, demonstrating once again that intangible heritage brings together, from local to international level, countries and communities, inspired by the common desire to promote and safeguard transhumance, the element shared by all involved.

The elaboration of the dossier at the national level was carried out through a sustained research, documentation and inventory of the element, coordinated by the National Commission for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the specialized scientific body under the Ministry of Culture. The working group was composed of members of the National Commission for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, researchers from the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore “Constantin Brăiloiu” and professors from the University of Agronomic Sciences and Veterinary Medicine of Bucharest.

The field research, which demonstrated the current existence of active transhumance routes in various areas of our country, was carried out by PhD. Lucian David, senior researcher grade II at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore “Constantin Brăiloiu” of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest and Prof. PhD. Iulian Vlad from the University of Agronomic Sciences and Veterinary Medicine in Bucharest⁵¹⁹.

Until December 5, 2023, when *Transhumance, the seasonal displacement of herds*, was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, several volumes were produced, the result of documentation and research of the phenomenon, most of them written or coordinated by PhD. Lucian David.

This is also the case of the collective volume *The Carpathian Shepherds, tradition and continuity*, published by the Ethnologic Publishing House, Bucharest, in 2022, coordinated by Lucian David and Ionuț Semuc, with the collaboration of Ioana Baskerville, Iulian Vlad, Laura Jiga Iliescu. The work is opened by a *Foreword* signed by the academician Sabina Ispas, who considers that the synthesis offered by the collective volume *Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity* is a valuable achievement, whose elaboration and printing, at this time, is absolutely necessary, emphasizing that

“shepherding has always occupied a prominent place in the concerns and cultural expressions generated by it, within the Romanian community”⁵²⁰

being assumed as an ethnic identity landmark.

⁵¹⁹ Ministry of Culture, „Transhumanța carpatică, parte a vieții pastorale tradiționale, în inventarul național al elementelor vii de patrimoniu cultural imaterial” [“Carpathian transhumance, part of traditional pastoral life, in the national inventory of living intangible cultural heritage”], in *Cultura*, October 23, 2020, Available at: <http://www.cultura.ro/transhumantacarpaticapartevietiipastoraletraditionaleinventarulnationalal-elementelor-vii>, Accessed on June 18, 2024.

⁵²⁰ „păstoritul a ocupat, totdeauna, un loc bine marcat în preocupările și în expresiile culturale generate de acesta, în cadrul comunității românești”, in Sabina Ispas, *Cuvânt înainte [Foreword]*, in Lucian David (coord.), *Păstoritul carpatic, tradiție și continuitate [The Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity]*, Bucharest, Ethnological Publishing House, 2022, p. 10.

VOLUME CONTENT

Acad. Sabina Ispas appreciates that

“in order to establish a complete model of the Romanian identity it is necessary to take into account all the information provided by the numerous scholarly sources in which are analyzed: the position of pastoral activity in Romanian culture, the complex functions that the occupation fulfills and the results of its realization, the deep meanings expressed in the spiritual plane, the ritual values, the aesthetic ones and the perspectives of evolution with a higher value in the life of contemporary man and many other objectives to be thought for the strategies of the future”⁵²¹.

These are precisely the themes that the collective volume *Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity* highlights in its 21 studies.

In the first of these, signed by Lucian David, entitled *Elemente de continuitate ale păstoritului carpatic [Elements of continuity of Carpathian shepherding]*, starting from the premise that ethnographic phenomena and processes have endured over the millennia even if they have not been recorded in writing, due to the fact that they have been experienced and transmitted by social memory from generation to generation, the author (one of the representatives of the “new generation”, which methodologically combines applied research with fundamental research) gives a comprehensive description of the Romanian pastoral landscape and its specific concepts: pastoral settlements, forage base, age of occupation. It also produces one of the most complex and well-developed pastoral typologies among those found in the specialized literature, identifying four types of pastoralism in Romania: local, pendulatory, transhumant (with several subtypes) and pastoral swarms. At the same time, he makes an inventory of the “sheep trails”, recalling all the attempts to map them made over the years by Romanian and foreign geographers and ethnographers. The section which focuses on *sustainable development models*, without which traditional shepherding will decline, is not without importance. It concludes that rural dwellers must be aware that the traditional micro-farm (individual farm) is part of the landscape and part of the cultural heritage; they can use it effectively to obtain income from dairy and meat products (from the family surplus), from agro-tourism, etc. The practice of shepherding must adapt to the new socio-economic and political times and must evolve from a millennia-old occupation into an agro-cultural phenomenon⁵²².

Anamaria Iuga, Cosmin Marius Ivascu, Alina-Sorina Biro are the authors of the study *Livestock and meadows. Relations of interdependence at the level of*

⁵²¹ „pentru a stabili un model complet al identității românești trebuie să se țină seama de toată informația pe care o furnizează numeroasele surse savante în care sunt analizate: poziția pe care o ocupă activitatea pastorală în cultura românească, funcțiile complexe pe care le îndeplinește îndeletnicirea și rezultatele realizării ei, sensurile profunde exprimate în plan spiritual, valorile rituale, cele estetice și perspectivele de evoluție cu valoare superioară în viața omului contemporan și multe alte obiective ce urmează a fi gândite pentru strategiile viitorului.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 11.

⁵²² Lucian David (coord.), *Păstoritul carpatic, tradiție și continuitate [Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity]*, Bucharest, Ethnological Publishing House, 2022, p. 46.

cultural landscapes in Romania, which emphasizes that in the (temporal and physical) path they follow, the two practices, shepherding and pasture management, are intertwined and are united in achieving the same goal: the welfare of people and animals⁵²³.

About *Aspects of Traditional Pastoralist Dress. From document to ethnographic object – structures and meanings*, Georgiana Onoiu speaks, based on the analysis of the questionnaires of folk costumes in the archives of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore “Constantin Brăiloiu”, on observations on some objects of folk costumes and textiles from the collections of the National Village Museum “Dimitrie Gusti”, as well as on the study of specialized works, focusing in particular on the Sibiu Margin, as a landmark area, highlighting the fact that the shepherds’ clothing brings to our attention symbols that are found in the communion of man with nature, with the cosmic space.

Ioana Baskerville is the author of the following study, *Transhumance as Intangible Cultural Heritage*, detailing the European mechanism for promoting intangible cultural heritage over time. Until now, shepherding as such has not been part of the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, but there are many other elements that are circumscribed to it, covering various aspects of this traditional occupation in many parts of the world⁵²⁴, with many elements illustrating socio-cultural, artistic or economic aspects of shepherding, such as music or traditional crafts, included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. At the time of the book’s publication, when the *Transhumance* dossier, *the seasonal movement of herds*, had not yet been inscribed on the Representative List, the author emphasized the need for legislative initiatives and multifunctional, integrated cultural-agricultural-ecological safeguard measures, which are all the more valid now, after the inscription. Otherwise,

“we risk losing the chance to preserve for future generations the reality of the ‘mioritic space’ and the transhumance routes”⁵²⁵.

A brief summary on the history of the national transhumant shepherding is provided by the study *Transhumance, an integral part of Romanian national pastoralism. Plurivalent occupational element, economic, ecological, social and cultural-identity*, signed by Iulian Vlad, Mirela (Stanciu) Cărătuș, Marius Laurian Maftei, all three university professors in the field of Agricultural Sciences, who draw attention to the vulnerability and risks of the current national transhumance, concluding that “modernism must miraculously combine with the archaic”⁵²⁶ to lead to sustainable development or the basis of a specific rural economy.

Alina Bojoga’s material, *Terminology of pastoral constructions in the south of the country*, analyzes in detail two lexical fields, *pastoral constructions* and *pastoral*

⁵²³ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁵²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

⁵²⁵ „riscăm să pierdem șansa de a păstra pentru generațiile viitoare realitatea «spațiului mioritic» și a drumurilor transhumației”, in *Ibidem*, p. 98.

⁵²⁶ „modernismul trebuie să se îmbine în mod miraculos cu arhaicul”, in *Ibidem*, p. 139.

objects, based on data provided by linguistic atlases, collections of dialect texts and glossaries. It reveals the richness of terminology, the plurisemantic nature of some words, the existence of a wealth of synonyms; a comparison with the southern Danubian dialects shows that shepherding was the basic occupation of the native population. The following study, *Pastoral terms inherited in the Aromanian dialect*, by Nicolae Saramandu and Manuela Novaci, is in the same line of thought. It analyzes the autochthonous lexicon (substratum) and the Latin lexicon (stratum) in the Romanian dialects from the perspective of linguistic geography by comparing them with Italian dialects and concludes that there is a remarkable continuity between Latin and Romance languages, which shows that shepherding is an ancient basic occupation of the Romance peoples. Through the Romanian shepherds from the north and south of the Danube, Latin pastoral terms were transmitted into Greek, Bulgarian, Slovenian, Serbian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Hungarian. This shows that shepherding was a basic occupation of the Romanians, practiced in evolved forms, which imposed themselves on the peoples with whom Romanians came into contact⁵²⁷.

Daniela Băbu signs the material *A perspective on the representation of memory and remembrance. The lived and transmitted experience: childhood and the first transhumance as seen through the eyes of the last sheep herder of a family of Hungarians from Novaci, Gorj*. Starting from the premise that the recovery of memories, the subjective positions of the narrators in relation to the events experienced, both individually and collectively, can provide data of cultural interest about the social environment, family life, and how the present is perceived in relation to the past⁵²⁸, the author turns to the memories of her father, Gheorghe Băbu, wishing to discover the lesser known about “her own traditional culture”. Over the course of several years, she collected in a notebook everything her father told her, using a kind of emotional *blackmail*: “if you help me with my chores, I’ll tell you (...)”⁵²⁹. Reading the memories of the shepherd from Novaci, transcribed with the pronunciation preserved, we discover many of the challenges of shepherding, the same in every corner of the country: the beginnings, the hardships of childhood in conditions of poverty and lack of food, apprenticeship, initiation into the trade, the desire to breed sheep, the obstacles of the long transhumance routes, the secrets of physical endurance, pastoral celebrations. Gheorghe Băbu’s humorous style of storytelling, together with the author’s explanations (who follows and describes the reactions of the storyteller), make the reader not want to put the book down! The text is supplemented by family photos, except for the winter, because

“he didn’t have the sense to photograph us in the wilderness; who could have burned himself in winter posing shepherds in a blizzard?”⁵³⁰.

⁵²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 193.

⁵²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

⁵²⁹ „Dacă mă ajuți la muncă, îți voi povesti (...)”, in *Ibidem*, p. 197.

⁵³⁰ „n-avea cin’ să ne fotografiează-n pustiu; cui să-i fi ars iama de pozat ciobani pe viscol?”, in *Ibidem*.

Field documents on the everyday religiosity of shepherds in the mountains. Examples from the Southern Carpathians is the following study, by Laura Jiga Iliescu, who notes that

“a profession of dynamic people, shepherding has its own dynamic and is still alive”⁵³¹.

But herds on alpine pastures are becoming fewer and fewer, and the transportation of animals on the major transhumance routes is mostly by car. These changes have multiple consequences, including the dilution of a specialized and highly complex repertoire of knowledge that articulates the most diverse information. Implicitly, the expressions of religiosity manifested in direct connection with mountain nature are caught up in this dynamic of re-evaluations, transformations or forgetting, whose rapid pace places the research into the culture of shepherding and mountain culture in the register of emergency ethnology⁵³². The study presents a corpus of transcripts, resulting from field investigations in the area represented by the Sibiu Margin and sub-Carpathian Oltenia, dealing with specific ways of behavior and the particular religious vision to which the seasonal residence of shepherds in the mountains or their travel on the road predisposes or supports. They are grouped according to the stages involved in the shepherds' temporary displacement from their community of residence: departure from the village, opening of the sheepfold, the period spent in the mountains, descent and reintegration in the village.

The following two contributions are dedicated to pastoral celebrations. *Cosmic Christianity at the Ruptu' Sterpelor Pastoral Feast*, by Ciprian Coc, describes, with a wealth of details and striking photographs, an ancient custom, carried out on the eve of the Christian feast of St. George, on the Văratec and Secu peaks in the Lapus Mountains, by the Botizan shepherds. It is an early summer pastoral custom, a “pagan-Christian symbiosis, evident in the Maramureșen pastoral celebrations”, which takes place both under the sign of the “cross of the Ruptu' sterpelor” and of a “May Tree, a Tree of Life”, which, according to the author, signifies *the head of spring* and comes from ancient, pagan times, demonstrating a cosmic Christianity. Both are erected by the shepherds of Maramureș in the space around the sheepfold (where women are not allowed to enter, except for young girls, who decorate the lathes, because in their innocence they can do no harm to the sheepfold).

In midsummer, on St. Elijah's Day, every year, from ancient times until today, the shepherds of Covasn hold their traditional feast: Sântilia. This pastoral custom is detailed in the following study: *Nedeia mocănească a voineștenilors – past and present*, author Florentina Teacă. The Nedeia mocănească from Voinești is one of the many pastoral celebrations that prove the antiquity and staunchness of the Romanian sheep herders in the Carpathian area. Initially seen as a *fair for girls*, Sântilia had several purposes: to mediate idylls, to unite destinies, to forge alliances and, last but not least, to unite the borders between Romanians here and Romanians over the mountains, borders forcibly imposed by the rulers of this world, but ignored

⁵³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

⁵³² *Ibidem*, p. 218.

by the inhabitants of the pastoral villages. Today, the custom of the Sântiliei has taken on a new character, based on the traditions inherited from the ancestors, and has been transformed into a staged performance that symbolically respects the ceremonial of a traditional peasant wedding.

Shepherding in Mărginimea Sibiului. Past, present and future, authors Radu Săgeată, Mihaela Persu, Bianca Mitrică, Nicoleta Damian, Irena Mocanu, highlight the dynamics of this occupation in a region of the Carpathians representative for pastoral activities, the Sibiu Margin, analyzed from early feudalism to the present, highlighting future trends.

Ilie Moise, author of the following study, *Shepherding in the Sibiu Marginimea. Modificare de peisaj cultural*, looks from a different perspective at the changes in shepherding in the Mărginimii area, namely through the prism of the changing cultural landscape, especially in the post-Decembrist period. It emphasizes the attempt of the Siberian communities, by all means, to strengthen local and regional identities, promoting both natural and cultural heritage (traditional architecture, gastronomy, crafts and specific folk customs). The large number of village monographs, together with the 8 historical monument churches, 10 village museums and 9 local or regional festivals, aim both to increase the number of tourists and to strengthen local identity⁵³³. An example worth following, we would add.

The Marginimea is also the subject of the following material: *Traditions and celebrations of the Margin sheep herders in the pendulums of transhumance*, signed by Rodica Popa Comaniciu, which highlights the fact that, in the pendulums of their transhumance, the Margin sheep herders have always respected a calendar of traditions and celebrations that they have inherited from generation to generation and that they have perpetuated with each generation, as a symbol of the continuity and perenniality of the nation⁵³⁴. We learn about the annual Annunciation Fair, the occasion to meet with the members of the community of those who “had their wagons elsewhere”, about the *sheep climbing the mountain*, usually held immediately after the feast of Saints Constantine and Helen, the *shearing of sheep* before St. Elijah, the *choosing of the sheep* around the feast of St. Paraschiva and so on.

An extremely interesting study is offered by Marin Constantin: *Ethno-veterinary medicine of the transhumant sheep herders of the Mărginimea Sibiului: testimonies of the villagers of Jina, Poiana Sibiului and Tilișca*. After providing some bibliographical references on Romanian sheep ethno-medicine, including the *Monograph of the village of Drăguș in Țara Făgărașului*, written by Traian Herseni in 1944, the author follows up the Marginal Marginal villagers’ accounts of their experience in caring for sick sheep, describing symptoms and traditional curative practices (traditional folk remedies, from the time when medicines had not yet been invented). The conclusion is that the ethno-medicine of Marginal sheep farmers (and indeed of all sheep farmers everywhere) is inherited down to the present day between two ethical coordinates: magic or beliefs in creatures and actions that transcend

⁵³³ *Ibidem*, p. 332.

⁵³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 340.

human nature (things in which the interlocutors refuse to believe) and modern medicine with its system of experts, technical knowledge and pharmaceutical prescriptions (which the same interlocutors adopt, not without hesitation, as a way of use)⁵³⁵. The article identifies sheep herders' ethno-medicine with a discipline – customary – of curative practices and teachings resulting from the life experience of these people in caring for their own animals.

Andreea Buzaş conducts a “case study” on the evolution of a village representative for the ethnographic area of the Marginimii, in the article “*The Shepherds of Răşinari – between mobility and stability*”. The village of Răşinari, documented in 1204, which gave the European world Octavian Goga and Emil Cioran, is representative of what specialists have called pastoral civilization. In 1915, Victor Păcală published the famous *Monograph of the commune of Răşinari*, which was awarded a prize by the Romanian Academy in the same year. The volume, praised by Simion Mehedinţi and Dimitrie Gusti, was of real service to the idea of unity and union of Romanians: at the Trianon Peace Conference, the Romanian Government prepared 200 leather cases in which a copy of the *Monograph of Răşinari* was inserted, and offered them to the participants as an argument for the need to recognize the 1918 Union. The ingenious way of structuring the material, which has become a classic, has turned it into an undeniable model for dozens, perhaps hundreds of village monographs. In Răşinari, too, the post-Decembrist period brought about a marked change in the cultural landscape, with sheep herders abandoning transhumant herding and turning, for the most part, to rural and cultural tourism. The study is accompanied by photographs, including from the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Roznov pod Radhostem, Czech Republic.

Tilişca, another locality in the Margin Mountains with strong pastoral traditions, is the subject of the study signed by Andra-Florina Popa: *Toponymy of Tilişca in relation to transhumance*, which includes an extremely interesting glossary of the names of places in Tilişca, 95 in number.

Lucian David and Ionuţ Semuc, coordinators of the present volume, are the authors of the study *Memory and Discourse. Roiri mărginene către vestul României*, an article realized within the framework of the research grant managed by the Patrimoniul Foundation, *Peisajul cultural carpatic. Sustainable development of pastoralism in the Sibiu Margin*. Field research carried out in 2020 shed light on the preservation in the collective memory of the herding carried out in the post-war period in the western part of the country. “Although partially truncated and affected by the passage of time”⁵³⁶, the information gathered nevertheless presents significant details. The study reproduces, through extensive quotations, the memories of the sheep herders from the Margin, many of whom remained and settled in the C.A.P.s in Banat.

Pastoral herding is an advanced stage of transhumance. These are of two types: *internal* (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

⁵³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 361.

⁵³⁶ „Deşi parţial trunchiate şi afectate de trecerea timpului”, in *Ibidem*, p. 402.

transhumant) and *external*, when the shepherds have been hired to look after large flocks of sheep in remote areas, such as the Crimea, the Caucasus. The study by ethnographers Ligia Fulga and Carmen Marin, *Pastoral Roiries following the transhumance of Transylvanian sheep herders from Poiana Sărată in Bessarabia and Crimea*, based on field and archival research in 2019, resulting from the 2018 campaign, is about external roi, in Crihana Veche/Cahul, when a respondent testified that the ancestors of a family in the village came from Poiana Sărată, a locality now in Bacău County, but formerly part of the Transylvanian county of Treiscaune (now Covasna). The research was aimed at identifying the descendants of the families of Poiana Sărată's inhabitants who practiced transhumance in Crimea and Bessarabia, whose presence in the collective memory has remained known to this day. The stories of two families, Gheorghe Șerban and Micu-Tătaru, have been recorded, confirming the reasons why Transylvanian sheep herders traveled impressive distances to Crimea and the Caucasus: free land, the possibility of being owned by the people, and the accessibility of trade routes to the East.

We learn about *transhumant sheep herders from Mărginimea Sibiului in the Caucasus, Astrahan and Omsk* from the following study by Constantin Ittu, confirming the statement that

“the shepherds’ territory stretched without borders as far as Crimea and the Caucasus”⁵³⁷.

On their way to Russia, the sheep herders from the Transylvanian region stopped in Dobrogea. At a certain point, the Crimea became “overpopulated” with sheep herders from the Margin, so they moved on, a “small steps” departure, as the author puts it. The first stop was north of the area, in the area of the Kuban River, which flows north of the Caucasus. The documents mention marginal sheep herders in southern Russia, Georgia, Ossetia, Chechnya, Chechnya on the Caspian coast, Azerbaijan and Dagestan. The reasons that brought them to the Caucasus were the same reasons that drove them to the Crimea: the facilities offered by Tsarist Russia for colonization and development, free land in sparsely populated areas and exemptions from certain taxes. The ruin came with the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, when they were constantly exposed to looting by soldiers returning from the front. The agony came after 1927 and around 1930, when the communalization of the sheep farms⁵³⁸ took place, followed by the ordeal of arrests and deportations, thus ending a period of glory for the transhumant sheep herders of the Marginal Margin in the steppes of Russia.

The Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity concludes with a review of the book *Transhumance*, by Nicolae Stan Petruțiu, from Salda, written by Ioana Crețu (b. Martin) and with an *Afterword* by Sabin Fărcaș, senior advisor at the National Agency for Mountain Areas, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

⁵³⁷ „până în Crimeea și Caucaz se întindea spațiul ciobănesc fără hotare”, in *Ibidem*, p. 423.

⁵³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 433.

CONCLUSION

It was necessary and expected the appearance of this volume which, in its 450 pages, brings together valuable contributions on all aspects of traditional shepherding (complex relationships between people, animals and ecosystems; rituals and social practices, animal care and husbandry, management of land, forests and water resources and natural hazards management, etc.) from almost all areas in Romania where transhumant pastoralism is found (what is surprising about transhumant pastoralism is the extremely small number of villages practicing it; they are all Transylvanian, spread over a relatively narrow area, starting from Brețcu and Covasna and extending along the Transylvanian Subcarpathians through Săcele, the Branului region, the Oltului and Mărginimea Sibiului, as far as the Hațeg region), in the context in which (at the time of its appearance) the Carpathian transhumance, part of traditional pastoral life, was included in the National Inventory of Living Intangible Cultural Heritage, the first step towards inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Through its documentary value, the book *Carpathian Shepherding, Tradition and Continuity* will be an important working tool for specialists interested in Romanian traditional shepherding, an encouragement for young researchers to look more closely at the subject.

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