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Carpathian Cultural Migration and Its Impact on the European Ethnogenesis of the Inhabitants of Podhale and the Tatra Mountains

Introduction

The name of the Podhale region is relatively young, especially when we consider the time when the region was inhabited. The name “Podhale” as a geographical term was first used in the 19th century, although the first information about settlers from the Podhale region comes from the early Middle Ages. In the 19th century, the area of pastures located on the northern part of the Tatra Mountains is known to this day as “Podhale”. The etymology of the name of the Tatra Mountains was the subject of many discussions, in which voices took various shapes – from rational, balanced judgments to “evidence” based on folklore and its oral tradition.

The spatial-temporal scope of the article covers the primary stage of colonization of the Tatra Mountains and Podhale from the 13th to the 17th century, when the settlement process was stopped, and the original colonization stage was fully completed. For four centuries, migrants from various parts of Europe came to Podhale. This population of Tatra Mountains settlers was not very hermetic and mixed with each other, ultimately creating a monocultural community of the Highlanders of Podhale, who took their roots back to many generations and are proud of their ancestral origin.

The second very important stage influencing the cultural change of Podhale began in the 19th century with the flourishing of the Polish intelligentsia's fascination with the values of nature and culture of the inhabitants of Podhale, and in subsequent steps – with the development of broad tourism. The topic of initiating a double cultural pattern¹ is so extensive that it could not be included here, but it deserves a separate study. It is worth emphasizing that the double cultural pattern was created in Podhale as a result of transculturalism, the permeation of traditional² and high culture influences (Witkiewicz/Zakopane style).³ Due to its form, it is most noticeable in architecture. In the 19th century, artists were inspired by the traditional style of highlander huts and ornamentation, and after 1989, the style of high culture penetrated highlander architectural studios.⁴

From the beginning of the fascination with the area and culture of the Podhale region, scientific studies appeared along with artistic works. Some of them concerned the beginnings of Highlander ethnogenesis. The aim of the analysis of the research material was to recall various concepts and theories, which, in the author's opinion, seems interesting in the context of contemporary fashion among the Highlanders for their Wallachian origin. Until now, in the literature on the subject, the view of European origin, and, thus, the contemporary genotype of Highlanders, has not been so strongly discussed. In the light of historical and ethnographic sources presented in this text, the European concept proposed by the author should be considered.

Highlanders take their origins very seriously. The first assumption is that they are local, they are "stumps", they have been gazing at their area for generations, come from old families, so the idea of European origin does not function in their cultural circle, although, as the author shows later in the work, this concept seems to be right. The methods adopted by the researcher include the analysis of historical studies of 19th-century researchers on primary ethnogenesis, as well as modern ethnographic materials, and pilot surveys on the awareness of the bonds of the Highlanders of the Podhale region with the inhabitants of the Carpathians.

¹ N. Maksymowicz Mróz, *Gazda czy pon? Portret górali podhalańskich na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin 2015.

² W. Matlakowski, *Budownictwo ludowe na Podhalu*, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1892.

³ St. Witkiewicz, *Styl zakopiański. Zeszyt I: Pokój jadalny* (wyd. 1904) oraz *Styl zakopiański. Zeszyt II: Ciesielstwo* (wyd. 1910), Wydawnictwo H. Altenberga, Lwów 1904–1911.

⁴ N. Maksymowicz Mróz, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–189.

The colonization of Podhale and Polish kings – stages of the primary settlement process

Since the 13th century, the Carpathian territory has been inhabited by various ethnic and ethnographic groups that contributed to the multicultural diversity. One of the basic ethnographic territories created in the Carpathians as a result of mixing Wallachian shepherds with the agricultural population is the territory of the Polish Highlanders. Podhale is a diverse region where the cultures characteristic of the shepherd tribes mixed with the cultures of the immigrants from the lowlands. These diversified influences led to the formation of a specific population and clearly distinct from other Polish inhabitants.

The colonization history of Podhale, which was originally covered by the forest, had several stages that initiated economic and political events in Europe. In the interwar period, the greatest number of ethnogenetic concepts emerged, which – like the previous ones, were questioned by Stanisław Węglarz. According to this researcher, one should not talk about “waves” of settlers, but use a more precise phrase, which is “a gradual process of settlement under the Wallach law”, with which I also agree.⁵ Kazimierz Dobrowolski, Edmund Długopolski, Karol Potkański, Stefan Górzyński and Mieczysław Adamczyk devoted their research works to the processes of settlement in Podhale.⁶ Józef Szujski conducted research on the sources of highlander culture based on the Podhale dialect.⁷ The influx of people to Podhale began under the decree of 1251, which allowed German settlers to live here. According to Urszula Lehr and Danuta Tylkowa, the main driver of settlement activities was the wealth of primeval forests, abundant

⁵ S. Leszczycki, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala, t. 1: Fizjografia i geografia pasterstwa Tatr Polskich i Podhala*, red. W. Antoniewicz, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Kraków 1959, p. 5.

⁶ J. Szujski, *Polacy i Rusini w Galicyi*, t. 20, WL Anczyc, Kraków 1896; K. Dobrowolski, *Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Pamiętnik V Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie*, t. 1, Nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego, Lwów 1930, pp. 135–152; idem, *Najstarsze osadnictwo Podhala*, „Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych”, 1935, nr 20; idem, *Dwa studia nad powstaniem kultury ludowej w Karpatach Zachodnich*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, t. 2, Kraków 1938, pp. 181–247. E. Długopolski, *Rządy Mikołaja Komorowskiego na Podhalu*, „PTT”, 1911, r. 32, pp. 35–69; K. Potkański, *Podhale. I. Studia osadnicze*, „Pisma pośmiertne”, 1922, t. 1, pp. 333–345; S. Górzyński, *Z dziejów osadnictwa i pasterstwa Podhala i Tatr w wiekach XII–XVIII*, [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala, t. 4: Historia osadnictwa i organizacja społeczna pasterstwa oraz Słownictwo pasterskie Tatr Polskich i Podhala*, red. W. Antoniewicz, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1962; M. Adamczyk, *Zakopane – wieś*, [in:] *Zakopane. Czteryście lat dziejów*, t. 1, red. R. Dutkova, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Kraków 1991.

⁷ J. Szujski, *op. cit.*

in game, streams full of fish and the presence of ore deposits. The discovery of silver veins in the Tatra Mountains dates to 1502.⁸ Confirmation of their location may be a note by Wincenty Pol, in which he mentions that in 1852 he noticed the outline of a building resembling a mill for grinding ore imported from the copper and silver mine from the valley near Ornak.⁹

The aim of the first stage of colonization was the settlement of the Nowy Targ Basin, which began in the 13th century. The executors of the idea of Bolesław the Chaste were Cistercians, who were brought to these areas by the Duke and who encouraged Polish and German people to settle in these areas, offering help in learning to cultivate the land and promoting the principles of the Catholic faith. After the Cistercians were transferred to Szczyrzyc in the 13th century, the areas assigned to them, apart from Ludźmierz and the adjacent villages, became royal property.¹⁰ The first stage, typically agricultural, was short, but important for the further history of Podhale due to pioneering, very difficult conditions. The next migration process took place in the 1250s, during the reign of Henry the Bearded. German colonists from Saxony and Germanized Silesian cities came to Podhale and founded settlements under German law, incl. Nowy Targ, Dębno, Waksmund, Ludźmierz, Ostrowsko and Klikuszowa. At that time, Polish people from the previously colonized Spisz also reached Podhale.¹¹

Germanic, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian melange of blood – ethnogenesis of settlement processes

There were also other theories about the origins of the highlander population. Adam Sapięha wrote that the Highlanders are descendants of the people from the southern Slavic lands, from the borders of Illirya and Chroatia.¹² Jan Zaęuski argued:

Today's highlanders are the descendants of German settlers who were settled there by Boleslaw Chrobry. Those settlements were previously populated by Ruthenians, who were living and working in various parts of Tatra Mountains. This is evidenced by the

⁸ S. Eljasz-Radzikowski, *Góry srebrne w Tatrzech otwarte R.P. 1502 w czterechsetną rocznicę*, w *tęoczn* W. L. Anczyca i spółki, Kraków 1902.

⁹ W. Pol, *Z Tatr. Północny wschód Europy*, „Obrazy z życia i natury”, 1807, s. II, t. 2, pp. 297–323.

¹⁰ M. Adamczyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–169.

¹¹ U. Lehr, D. Tylkowa, *Podhale. Tradycja we współczesnej kulturze wsi*, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Kraków 2000, pp. 23–26.

¹² X.S[apięha A.], *Rys etnograficzny Galicji i Bukowiny*, „Czas”, 1851, nr 36.

date of erection of the Frédmany parish in Spiż, which at that time belonged to Poland, and which the year 1073 indicates. This is evidenced today by the names of the villages of Szaflar, Waksmund, Szlembark, Czorsztyń, Grynwald in Galicia, and Frydman, Falsztyn, Dursztyn, Gybel, Rychwald and Trypsz in the border town of Spisz. The descendants of these settlers later brought Polish peasants to part of the villages, which led to complete Polonization and absorption of Ruthenian elements. Traces of the Ruthenian inhabitants, the “aborigines” of these pages, are still found in Ruthenian inscriptions in the churches of that time, on baptismal fonts and bells, e.g. on the baptismal font in Łopuszna. Thus, the significant difference in the physiognomy of the Highlanders from the Lesser Poland inhabitants, which, above all, falls under the senses of the population of the Nowy Targ plain, is in a way based on this amalgam of blood and the Germanic, Ruthenian and Polish race.¹³

As in the case of other hypotheses concerning the settlement of the Tatra Mountains and Podhale, there is no certainty as to the origins of Polish settlement in this area. Historians claim that Polish settlers from overpopulated and starving villages on the border of Spisz and Podhale were brought here by the Esterházy family and in 1717 received a settlement privilege from them. So they came for bread, bringing south-Małopolska dialect. Some believe that the Polish settlement is connected with the battles led by Rakoczy. In 1711, a troop of Poles, which survived the attack of the Austrian army, settled in a Hungarian village, depopulated a year earlier as a result of the cholera epidemic, which, according to contemporary sources, was called Deryn/Deren. Today this place is called Derenk – it is located right on the border with Slovakia, next to the road to the Slovak village of Silicka Jablonica.¹⁴

Parish documents, family stories, the name of *Kuruc* and the names of local places testify to the Hungarian influence. *Kurucs* were armed insurgents who fought during the Thököly and Rákóczi uprisings against the Habsburg rule in Hungary in the years 1671–1711.¹⁵ The insurgents in hiding, for fear of being exposed and persecuted, did not give their real names. Perhaps they were also difficult to remember and pronounce. People called them *kuruc*, and over time the term was adopted as a surname. The oldest mentions of the Kuruc families can be found in Rzepiska and Bukowina. Since in Hungarian *kuruc* is written with a dash above “c”, which is pronounced “kurucz”, it was written in this wording in parish books. Entries in the parish books in Jurgów, to which Rzepiska belonged,

¹³ J. Załuski, *Uwagi nad „Rysem etnograficznym Galicji i Bukowiny”*, „Czas”, 1851, nr 44.

¹⁴ J. Budz, K. Hrycyk, *Kuruc powstaniec i buntownik, Kuruc osadnik...*, „Na Spiszu”, 2009, nr 1–2(70–71), pp. 29–31.

¹⁵ Family legend.

testify that at the end of the 18th century, the Kuruc family from Rzepiska was numerous and multi-generational. Entries in parish books confirming the presence of Kurucs in Bukowina Tatrzańska also come from the same period. The Kuruc family in Bukowina is an old family, inhabited for nearly three centuries. It grew into many branches which received nicknames, for example: “Duchace”, “Mitry”, “Gąsiory”, “Maciejoki”, “Francigorze”, “Władusie”, there were also Kurucs without a nickname.¹⁶

The book *Kuruce. Rody Bukowiańskie*, published by Stanisława Galica-Górkiewicz, is devoted to Kuruc and their history. The author explains that after the defeat and the fall of the Rakoczy Uprising, many refugee insurgents found refuge in the depths of Poland, as well as on the Polish-Hungarian border. Despite the liquidity of the border at various times in history, it has always been located in the vicinity of the Tatra Mountains. The wastelands near the Tatra Mountains were uninhabited, densely covered with forests, and, therefore, difficult to access, so they became an excellent hiding place for refugees. Galica-Górkiewicz wrote down a family story, passed down in the Kuruc family from generation to generation, about two Kuruc brothers who, after the defeat at Trencin, took refuge in the Tatra forests, in today's Rzepiska:

They cleared the forest, prepared the land for cultivation, built cottages, established a habitat and gave rise to the Kuruc family. As a memento, they kept their (Kuruc's Peak) uniforms, which were later passed on in the family, from generation to generation, as the most precious treasure. Initially, they both stayed in Rzepiska. Later one of them or his son moved to Bukovina.¹⁷

A characteristic feature of the Highlanders of Podhale is that they cultivate family ties and the memory of their ancestors. An expression of this are family reunions, e.g. meetings held in Bukowina Tatrzańska organized by the Kuruc family. Members of the family living in Slovakia came to the first Kuruc Congress in Bukowina on Rusiński Wierch. With time, like other conventions, this event grew larger and the 4th International Kuruc Congress in 2012 was attended by representatives of the family not only from Podtatrze, but also from Hungary. A show of the Kuruc History Reconstruction Group from the School of Valor in Eger was organized in front of the People's House (Polish: *Dom Ludowy*). There were presentations of 17th-century fencing and stories about the history of the

¹⁶ S. Galica-Górkiewicz, *Kuruce. Rody Bukowiańskie*, Zakład Poligraficzny MK, Nowy Targ 2005, p. 16.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

family, and a joint feast with a traditional goulash. The history of the Kuruc family was recalled by Attila Ulrich and Janos Bene, the director of the historical museum in Nyíregyház.¹⁸

Traces of Hungarian blood can now be found among many Kuruc families scattered all over Podhale, incl. in Rzepiska, Łapsze Wyżne, Hałuszowa, Bukowina Tatrzańska, Poronin, Czarny Dunajec, Zakopane and Nowy Targ. They are probably families descended from common ancestors in Hungary.



Józia Turza with her grandmother Antonina Kuruc nicknamed “Duchace”. Olczański Wierch, ca. 1963–1964

Source: Archive of Małgorzata Sieczka from Bukowina Tatrzańska.

¹⁸ *Kurucowie – kiedyś uciekinierzy, teraz są u siebie*, Międzynarodowy Zjazd Kuruców, https://podhale24.pl/aktualnosci/arttykul/20624/Kurucowie_kiedys_uciekinierzy_teraz_sa_u_siebie_Miedzynarodowy_Zjazd_Kurucow_zdjecia.html, access 1 XII 2021.



Baptism of Józef Sieczka, held by his godfather Józef Koszarek.
Wierch Kuruowoy, ca. 1967

Source: Archive of Małgorzata Sieczka from Bukowina Tatrzańska.

Tatar ethnogenesis

One of the most popular concepts in the 19th century on the ethnogenesis of the inhabitants of the Carpathians was the hypothesis of the Tatar origin of the Tatra Highlanders.¹⁹ Stanisław Staszic mentioned the “Tatar” etymology of the name of the Tatra Mountains: “Some believe that the name comes from a passing through the Tatar hordes. For through the Carpathians there was a great route of

¹⁹ S. Węglarz, *Etniczno-etnograficzne zróżnicowanie historycznej góralszczyzny na polsko-słowackim pograniczu*, [in:] *Etnologiczne i antropologiczne obrazy świata – konteksty i interpretacje*, red. H. Rusek, A. Pieńczak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Cieszyn – Katowice 2011.

the flood to Europe of this Asiatic wilderness; which, when they could not hold back, neither the gorges nor the protruding granite blades; the brave family of our fathers built a dam or death for them (...)"²⁰

In an anonymous manuscript from 1820, *Ausflug auf die Karpathen des Sandecer Kreises*, you can read that the Highlanders come from a Tatar tribe that came here centuries ago from Hungary and mixed with the natives: "the dance, language, customs, and body build have the stigma of Eastern origin. Particular characteristic customs show beyond doubt that the Highlanders come from a Tatar tribe that, many centuries ago, through Hungary entered the Carpathians, mixed with the native population of that time, but did not lose the qualities of their ancestors"²¹

Seweryn Goszczyński also shared this view about the origin of the settlement, noting that the Zakopane inhabitants are descendants of Tatar prisoners.²² Evidence of this view was supposed to be the surname "Tatar" frequently used among Podhaleans and their allegedly characteristic physical appearance: "In the parish of Poronin there are peasants called Tatars, who are to be descendants of the others from the 13th century. Some even see different features so far in these descendants of the supposed Tatars."²³ Ludwik Zejszner was critical of this etymology, calling it "folk". Similarly, Valery Eljasz called the derivation of the name Tatr from the Tatars a fairy tale, "because these hordes appeared for the first time in Europe in 1241, when the Tatrasy were already called the Tatras for several centuries, as the chronicle of Cosmas testifies"²⁴ Eugeniusz Janota quite rationally criticized the legitimacy of Tatar ethnogenesis: "As for the Tatars, then during their first attack on Poland (1241) Podhale, apart from Rogoźnik, Zaskala and Szaflary, up to the eternal Tatras, was covered with forests, and the interior of the Tatras was probably not so easy accessible as today"²⁵

Today, traces of ancestors of Tatar origin can be found in contemporary highlander surnames. The surnames are divided into several groups. One of them is the surnames that describe the relationship of the person called to the

²⁰ S. Staszic, *O ziemiorodztwie Karpatow i innych gor i rownin Polski*, Drukarnia Rządowa, Warszawa 1815, p. 5.

²¹ J. Zborowski, *Pisma podhalańskie w opracowaniu i wyborze Janusza Berghauzena*, t. 2, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1972, p. 300.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 355.

²³ J. Łepkowski, J. Jerzmanowski, *Ułamek z podróży archeologicznej po Galicyi, odbytej w r. 1849*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1850, t. 3, p. 423.

²⁴ W. Eljasz-Radzikowski, *Szkice z podróży w Tatry*, Nakł. Tyg. Wielkop., Tarnów 1879, p. 251.

²⁵ E. Janota, *Przewodnik w wycieczkach na Babią Górę, do Tatr i Pienin*, Nakł. Juliusza Wildta, Kraków 1860, p. 27.

place name (“Where is he from?”), his origin, or some other relationship with the place. This relation is most often expressed in synthetic forms, first of all with the suffix *-ski* (*-ański, -owski*), *-cki*, less frequently *-ny*: Bustrycki, Chochołowski, Długopolski, Zapotoczny, Mocarny. This group also includes rare surnames equal to geographic and local names, such as Giewont, Polak, Rusnak, Tatar.²⁶ One of the districts of present-day Zakopane bears its original name Tatory, from one of the oldest highlander families living in this hamlet.²⁷

The first mentions of the Tatars’ family were made in 1634 in Klikuszowa, and in the next hundred years also in Maruszyna, Biały Dunajec, Ząb, Suche, Szaflary and Zakopane (in 1723). In Kościelisko, mentions of Tatars date back to 1848, and then they also appear in Poronin. The names of the Tatory estates in Zakopane and Biały Dunajec, where the Tatarski Potok flows, were derived from the Tatars’ family. Zofia and Witold Paryski provide a few speculations about the origin of this surname, but they have doubts about them and call them folk pseudo-etymology. There are, for example, stories that the Tatars come from captives of Tatars imprisoned in Podhale or from the resemblance to a real Tatar. There are also hypotheses that the surname may come from a dialect word that is currently not used in Podhale and not listed in the dictionaries of the Podhale dialect. Famous hunters, Tatra guides and mountain rescuers, musicians, builders and architects came from this family. Information about some of the nicknames in this family has been preserved.

Known representatives of the Tatar family with the nickname were: Jędrzej Tatar “Bartków” (1862–1932), a Tatra guide; Szymon Tatar “the Younger” (1854–1917), also a Tatra guide and rescuer. Szymon Tatar “the Elder” (1828–1913), also known as Szymek “the Black”, his uncle was Szymon Tatar “Myśliwiec”. He was one of the most famous Tatra guides. Like his peers, he got to know the Tatra Mountains as an avid poacher.²⁸ Then, he became famous as an expert in the Tatra Mountains and became a guide for priest Józef Stolarczyk and then, for Tytus Chałubiński. When he could no longer walk in the mountains, he carved spoon racks and made cufflinks. Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer dedicated a poem to him entitled *The Last*. He was drawn and painted many times by Walery Eljasz

²⁶ J. Bubak, *Nazwy osobowe mieszkańców Zakopanego (nazwiska, przydomki, przezwiska i imiona)*, [in:] *Zakopane. Czteryście lat dziejów*, red. R. Dutkova, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Kraków 1991, p. 510.

²⁷ M. i J. Krzeptowscy-Jasinek, *Podhalańskie osadnictwo rodowe*, cz. III, t. I, Wydawnictwo Krzeptowscy, Zakopane 1999, p. 7.

²⁸ W. Paryski, Z. Radwańska-Paryska, *Wielka Encyklopedia Tatrzańska*, Wydawnictwo Górskie, Poronin 1995, p. 1227.

Radzikowski, and also by Leon Wyczółkowski, the bust of Szymon Tatar was carved in brass by Felicja Modrzejewska.²⁹

Another Tomasz Tatar (ca. 1810 – ca. 1880), known as Tomek, had several nicknames: “Myśliwiec”, “Polowac”, “Ropsic”, because he was a famous hunter in Podhale. To avoid service in the Austrian army, he fled to the Orava Tatras and became a robber. He had shelters there, where he lived alone in summer and winter, they were probably caves. He ate on the hunted game as well as *os-cypek* and milk, which he received from befriended shepherds, and in return he brought them feathers of capercaillies and eagles. During Tomasz Tatar’s hiding, his brother kept in touch with him, but for fear of the authorities, he abandoned it. Only his nephew Szymon Tatar met with him. Staying in the frosty winters in the Tatra Mountains was very hard and that is why Tomasz entrusted himself to the authorities. He was imprisoned in the Orava Castle, but escaped from there twice. As an old man, he returned to Zakopane “to die”.³⁰

The history of another “aristocratic” Galica family, according to a folk legend, also has Tatar roots. This story is quoted by Włodzimierz Wnuk in his book *Moje Podhale*: “it was centuries ago that Tatar went as far as Biały Dunajec and found a clearing under the linden tree. He threw a gauntlet on that clearing as a sign of taking possession of this land, and since the gauntlet in Tatars is a *galica*, people called this settler Galica and gave him the nickname Tatarczyk Podlipowski”.³¹ Local nicknames are usually very old, e.g. the famous general from Biały Dunajec, Andrzej Galica, was called Tatarczyk-Podlipowski.³²

Contemporary guesthouses and houses where rooms are rented are very often named after the owners or their family name, e.g. “U Tatarów” in Suche. While browsing the Internet, I found many guesthouses named according to this key. For the purposes of tourism (agritourism), the nicknames change their function. The use of nicknames is an expression of familiarity and closeness to the neighborhood community and a reflection of the traditional cultural pattern.³³

²⁹ E. Janota, *Przewodnicy tatrzańscy*, „Kłosa”, 1866, t. 3, nr 74–75.

³⁰ W. Paryski, Z. Radwańska-Paryska, *op. cit.*, p. 1228.

³¹ W. Wnuk, *Moje Podhale*, Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, Warszawa 1978.

³² General Andrzej Galica is known as a creator of the Podhale brigade. He became the commander of the Mountain Infantry Division. Thanks to his initiative, the Podhale regiments received regional uniforms, and the military orchestras of these regiments introduced the Podhale marches to their repertoires. Cf. A.A. Kozłowska, *Góral generałem – Andrzej Galica: biografia żołnierza, polityka i literata*, Księży Młyn Dom Wydawniczy, Łódź 2013.

³³ Out of 1,097 accommodation establishments from the booking.com portal, I distinguished 143 whose names corresponded to the names and surnames of their owners (access 28 XII 2021).



Tatar hamlet, Knap's cottage. Zakopane, 19th century

Source: Archives of the Tatra Museum.

Wallachian shepherds from the Balkans and the South-Eastern Carpathians

The Tatar version of ethnogenesis was not the only one functioning in the mid-19th century. At the same time, the Polish theoretical thought on the settlement in the discussed areas was dominated by the concept of Wallachian migration: the shepherds coming from the Balkans and the south-eastern Carpathians were to join the agricultural population (of various origins). Kazimierz Dobrowolski was an adherent of the Wallachian concept, and Jan S. Bystron and Stanisław Poniatoski were also its supporters.³⁴ Although this theory was not the only one, it gained an almost monopolistic position.

The name of the Wallachians is defined as ethnic groups, forming the internal structures of archaic clans, which over the course of history have blended into local societies and nations, gradually losing the features of a tribal community. The factor that facilitated their assimilation with the Slavs was the fact that the Wallachians were bilingual, they communicated both in Romanian and in Old Church Slavonic, which was the language used during the church liturgy.³⁵

³⁴ K. Dobrowolski, *Dwa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁵ P. Kłapyta, *Osadnictwo wołoskie w Karpatach (XIII–XVII w.)*, [in:] *Szlak kultury wołoskiej*, red. K. Kiwior, Turkula, Rzeszów 2018, p. 10.

The self-sufficient Wallachian economy was an important element for economic development and population growth in the mountainous lands of the Hungarian Crown, which had previously been ravaged by the Tatar invasion, hence the number of Wallachians in the 14th century continued to increase, and Wallachian settlements spread further and further north. Wallachian shepherds from the Balkans came during the reign of Casimir the Great and continued the settlement process during the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the 15th and 16th centuries. Gradually, the people of Romanian origin became Slavic. During this period, Ruthenian shepherds from Moldavia also arrived in Podhale, attracted by the abundance of pastures in the Tatra Mountains. They brought their families and all their belongings, which resulted in their native culture being transferred to Poland.³⁶ Shepherds from the Balkans settling in Podhale, took over the role of “landscape architects” on the slopes of the Tatra Mountains. This term describes many archaic ethnic groups, functioning within the clan tribal structure, which never developed their own national identity.³⁷ According to Kazimierz Dobrowolski, the elements contributed by the Wallachian shepherd population were mainly practices related to the shack economy, and, above all, the land system of a shepherd village. The pastoral economy is associated with the introduction of sheep and goat breeding, characteristic of the Balkan countries, and a number of practices that show significant analogies with the practices in the Balkans and Transylvania, such as: customs regarding the spring marching of sheep into the pastures, shelter facilities, grazing technique, milk processing. To some extent, the archaic elements of pastoral law as well as beliefs and magical treatments relating to pastoralism also belong here. Pastoral economy is indirectly related to the dress, the basic parts of which – pants, *gunia*, and moccasins – are related to the old costumes in the Balkans and Transylvanian Romanians. The pastoral culture is also associated with Romanian-Balkan influences in the language, in the field of music, including musical instruments, in dance and ornamentation, as well as some elements in construction, e.g. a four-pitched roof. Finally, an important role in shaping the folk culture of the Polish Carpathians was played by specific psychological dispositions of Wallachian shepherds, such as artistic talent and love of freedom.³⁸ These pastoral, itinerant people, have become dis-

³⁶ E. Długopolski, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³⁷ K. Dobrowolski, *Studia nad kulturą pasterską w Karpatach Północnych, typologia wędrówek pasterskich od XIV do XX wieku*, [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala, t. 8: Studia podhalańskie oraz Bibliografia pasterstwa Tatr i Podhala*, red. W. Antoniewicz, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1970.

³⁸ K. Dobrowolski, *Elementy rumuńsko-bałkańskie w kulturze Karpat Polskich*, Warszawa 1938, pp. 4–6.

persed by continual movements. Adopting new models, Wallachians gradually lost the features of a tribal community. Despite the changes, they were characterized by a certain hermetic nature and attachment to their own tradition. One of the most important features of this culture was the over-ethnicity, which crossed religious, linguistic, morphological, and above all, blood barriers.³⁹ As the main force of Wallachian colonization, Dobrowolski distinguished natural increase of settlers and the related necessity to increase flocks and occupy new areas for grazing. The Vlachs made a significant contribution to the formation of the cultural community of the Polish Highlander groups, providing them with the mountain system of the pastoral economy, cultural models, and vocabulary.⁴⁰

The question of how the people from the lowlands and the Wallachians were mixed up can be answered by looking at what the law on the basis of which new villages were established in those centuries looked like. The carriers of the innovative Wallachian law (*ius Valachicum*) were originally ethnic Romanian families of Wallachian princes (village leaders), who, in return for establishing a settlement, received princship (village council), in which they exercised power and brought settlers from agricultural lowlands to its territory.⁴¹ The Wallachian law gave a privileged position in relation to peasant communities and determined the pastoral lifestyle with a different system of values and customs than in agricultural villages. The Wallachian law appeared in the 14th century and in its oldest form it guaranteed: freedom of movement and freedom to carry weapons, a military obligation towards the state known already from the 11th century, and the extremely important, no need to make up for serfdom.⁴² Great land ownership in Poland treated these immigrants as a useful tool for mountain colonization, hence, incentives were created in the form of favorable settlement conditions and favorable legal norms to stimulate these migrations.⁴³

³⁹ M. Ząbek, *Góry a kultura ludów górskich*, [in:] *Pasterstwo na Huculszczyźnie, gospodarka, kultura, obyczaj*, red. J. Gudowski, Wydawnictwo Dialog, Warszawa 2001.

⁴⁰ K. Dobrowolski, *Badania nad ugrupowaniami etnograficznymi w Karpatach Zachodnich*, „Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, 1938, t. 42, nr 5; K. Dobrowolski, *Studia...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–120.

⁴¹ G. Jawor, *Etniczny aspekt osadnictwa wołoskiego na przedpolu Karpat w Małopolsce i Rusi Czerwonej (XIV–XV wiek)*, [in:] *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji – Rzeszów 9–11 V 1995*, red. M. Parczewski, S. Czopek, Muzeum Okręgowe, Rzeszów 1996, pp. 301–306.

⁴² idem, *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2000.

⁴³ idem, *Migracje wołoskie na obszarach Polski i Rusi Koronnej (XIV–XVI wiek)*, <https://vlachs-project.eu/data/uploads/monografia/g-jawor-migracje-wooskie-na-obszarach-polski-i-rusi-koronnej-xiv-n-xvi-wiek.pdf>, access 12 XII 2001, p. 10.

Shepherd's culture and its influence on the cultural heritage of Podhale and the Polish Tatras

Shepherding is one of the oldest and most important forms of economy of the Podhale Highlanders, for which the Tatra Mountains were the place of their exploitation. It is believed that as early as the 14th century, the inhabitants of the oldest Podhale settlements grazed sheep seasonally in the Polish Tatra Mountains.⁴⁴ This method of organizing cattle grazing, characteristic of the entire Carpathians, was brought by a group of Wallachian settlers who merged with Polish and German settlers from the lowlands into one agri-breeding social group. This is evidenced by the vocabulary related to pastoralism, which is also mostly found in Romanian, Slovak and Hungarian.⁴⁵ Mountain pastoralism was the field of economy that the Wallachians mastered to perfection, introducing and spreading innovative technologies based on the production of rennet cheese. Wallachians in the Middle Ages were called the "Shepherds of Rome" (*Pastores Romanorum*) and were considered the best producers of dairy products in Europe at that time.⁴⁶

In the years 1911–1919, Ludomir Sawicki (geographer) dealt with the problems of pastoral life, which resulted in several monographs on seasonal settlement. Sawicki's ideas were taken up by his students, and in particular by Zofia Hołub-Pacewiczowa, who emphasized that nowadays it is difficult to try to explain the origins of many pastoral institutions and the related matter of the so-called Wallachian migrations.⁴⁷ At the same time, she drew attention to some characteristic similarities between the Carpathian and Alpine pastoralism.⁴⁸

Sheep breeding, which has been the basis of Podhale's economy for centuries, has left a lasting mark on the culture of this region. This trend of Highlander culture has been the subject of many studies, created from the very beginning of the interest of "gentlemen of the lowlands" in the highland region. Folklore, and then more ethnographic descriptions of pastoralism, appeared in the texts of many authors of the era of Romanticism and Positivism in Poland. We should also mention the ethnological studies of: Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, the editor of the *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala* magazine, who undertook the plan to

⁴⁴ *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala*, red. W. Antoniewicz, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1970.

⁴⁵ *Dialekty i gwary polskie*, dialektologia.uw.edu.pl, access 20 IX 2018.

⁴⁶ P. Kłapyta, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Z. Hołub-Pacewiczowa, *Z badań nad pasterstwem karpackim i alpejskim*, „Wierchy”, 1930, r. VIII, pp. 92–93.

⁴⁸ S. Węglarz, *Etniczno-etnograficzne...*, *op. cit.*

publish a comprehensive monograph on the entirety of issues related to pastoral culture in the Tatras and Podhale,⁴⁹ publications by Barbara Bazińska, Kazimierz Dobrowolski, Zofia Hołub-Pacewantyczowa, Ewa Nowina-Sroczyńska,⁵⁰ Danuta Tylkowa, Urszula Janicka-Krzywda and many others. Nowadays, the subject in a much broader scope, because it covers the cultural heritage of Wallachian minorities in Europe, was taken up by Ewa Kocój.⁵¹

The settlement of Wallachian shepherds had a significant impact on the landscape of the Podhale region by creating forest pastures and pastoral architecture in the mountain and lower areas. Transformations also took place in the social and cultural life of the population: at the end of the 16th century, there was a change in the type of management from transhumance to summer mountain grazing. According to Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska, it contributed to stopping the migration of Wallachian settlers.⁵² In the area of the Polish Carpathians, the main form of mountain farming was migratory pastoralism and daytime grazing.⁵³ New settlers occupied areas located higher than the existing settlement. Initially, they first introduced a shepherd economy, and then a clearing, having an agro-pastoral character. They cleared forests where they established mid-forest slope and ridge clearings.⁵⁴ Kazimierz Moszyński also drew attention to the forms of grazing in areas under the influence of the so-called Wallachian pastoral organization. Many clearings were turned into hay meadows, and the meadow and agri-meadow farming (referred to as “clearing”) became the basis for pastoralism.⁵⁵ The clearing economy was based on individual exploitation, not group ownership of clearings.

⁴⁹ *Pasterstwo Tatr...*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ E. Nowina-Sroczyńska, *Kultura podhalańska jako doświadczenie osobiste. Koncepcja formy sylwicznej*, Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2018.

⁵¹ E. Kocój, *Dziedzictwo bez dziedziców? Religijne i materialne dziedzictwo kulturowe mniejszości pochodzenia wołoskiego w Europie w kontekście projektu interdyscyplinarnych badań (przyczynek do tematu)*, „Zarządzanie w Kulturze”, 2016, t. 16, nr 2; eadem, „Na salasie ni ma pani lekko”. *Życie codzienne pasterzy wołoskich na szalasach na pograniczu polsko-słowackim w XXI wieku jako dziedzictwo kulturowe regionu Karpat (wybór zagadnień)*, „Balcanica Posnaniensia Acta et Studia”, 2018, t. 25, pp. 269–295.

⁵² B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, *Szalaśnictwo w Karpatach Polskich w świetle prac zespołowych w roku 1960*, „Etnografia Polska”, 1962, t. VI, pp. 321–329.

⁵³ eadem, *Gospodarka pasterska w Beskidzie Śląskim*, „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, 1950/1951, t. VIII–IX, pp. 155–217.

⁵⁴ J. Łach, M. Musiał, *Przeszłość i znaczenie tradycji dla współczesnego oblicza kulturowego góralszczyzny Beskidu Małego – zapis w krajobrazie*, Zakład Geografii Regionalnej i Turystyki Instytut Geografii i Rozwoju Regionalnego Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2015.

⁵⁵ K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian, cz. 1: Kultura materialna*, Wydawnictwo Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1967; idem, *Ludy pasterskie, ich kultura materialna oraz podstawowe wiadomości o formach współżycia zbiorowego, o wiedzy, życiu religijnym i sztuce*, Wydawnictwo Pro-Filia, Uniwersytet Śląski, Cieszyn 1996.

Kościelisko, adjacent to Zakopane, was once called “Polany”, and its inhabitants – “Polaniorze”,⁵⁶ it is reflected in the contemporary culture of this region, for example, in the names House of Culture in Kościelisko and the restaurant in the same building are called “Polany”; and the regional team representing Kościelisko is called “Polaniorze”.⁵⁷ Larger areas of the cleared land were used as pastures or hay meadows, and smaller areas – for cultivation. Depending on the way of use of the logs, the types of clearing can be determined, such as the breeding-hay-and-cultivation type or the breeding-hay-cutting type. The former included grazing and breeding, and the latter – only grazing and haymaking. Depending on the way in which they were used, the glades changed their functions in certain years. The management of the clearings consisted of the daily collection of milk on the spot, which was transported to the village for processing. Meadows were mowed twice a season to obtain hay by arranging it in the form of mounds on spears (in other regions of Poland they were called “haystacks” or “mounds”). Such a view is rare now. The mowing of grasses took place during their flowering, the first around 24 June, then the meadows were used as pastures. Grazing took place in meadows that belonged to individual farmers.⁵⁸ Apart from these works, the Highlanders grew oats, barley, rye, potatoes called *grule* or sometimes *rzepa*, and in later centuries – cabbage, carp, broad beans, peas, onions, garlic, carrots, lettuce, and flax.⁵⁹ The impulse to initiate a change in ownership relations in Podhale and the Tatra Mountains was the compulsory regulation of servitude, carried out in 1869–1875.⁶⁰

In 2013, an extraordinary cultural event was organized to celebrate the migration of Wallachian shepherds, which contributed to the colonization of the Carpathians and the emergence of high-mountain pastoral culture in their area. The Great Carpathian Redyk is a journey of shepherds with sheep through the territories of the Carpathian countries – Romania, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. It lasted from May 11 to September 14, and the route of the Redyk was 1,200 kilometers. Two flocks of sheep, 300 each, as well as donkeys, dogs and horses, were led by five shepherds from Poland, Ukraine and Romania.⁶¹ The aim of the Carpathian Redyk was to meet and integrate the

⁵⁶ *O nas. Historia*, koscielisko-polaniorze.com, access 13 XII 2021.

⁵⁷ A. Szopińska, *Polaniorze – góralski zespół regionalny z Kościeliska*, Kraków 2002.

⁵⁸ W. Lenkiewicz, *Zagadnienia gospodarki na gruntach ornych na Podhalu*, [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr...*, t. 2, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–170.

⁵⁹ Z. Szromba-Rysowa, *Pożywienie*, [in:] *Podhale. Tradycja we współczesnej kulturze wsi*, red. U. Lehr D. Tylkowa, PAN, Kraków 2000.

⁶⁰ K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, M. Wesołowska, *Gospodarka rolno-hodowlana*, [in:] *Podhale...*, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ “The Carpathians unite – a consultation and cooperation mechanism for the implementation of the Carpathian Convention” is a project co-financed by Switzerland in 2012–2015 as

communities living in the Carpathians, to show the richness of the culture of these people, as well as to emphasize the uniqueness of the mountain nature, which for centuries provided the inhabitants of the Carpathians with the possibility of grazing sheep, and, thus, provided a livelihood in places located high in the mountains. Redyk is also an attempt to find a new path leading through tradition in a supranational, archaic form. The sheep walked in the natural, daily grazing rhythm, but under veterinary supervision, while maintaining all safety measures.⁶² Once the veterinarian was a head shepherd (*baca*) who knew how to treat wounded sheep with mountain herbs and he was responsible for the safety of the shepherds and the sheep entrusted to him. In this way, history came full circle and tradition was incorporated into modernity.



The process of making *żentyca* (*baca* from Hala Kominy Dudowe), probably Stanisław Mróz in the photo, 19th century

Source: Archives of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane.

part of the Swiss program of cooperation with new member states of the European Union, pasterstwokarpat.pl/o-projekcie.html, access 2 I 2023.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

Highlander (pastoral) or European cultural amalgam

In the 16th century, the oppression of serfdom was the cause of unplanned settlement migration of fugitives from Lesser Poland and Hungary.⁶³ At the beginning of the 17th century, the settlement process was stopped, and the primary colonization stage was completed. Analyzing the places of origin of migration, as well as the ethnicity and nationality of the migrating population, the final destination of which was Podhale, it can be concluded that the ethnogenesis of the basic stage of colonization was very diverse. During several centuries of inhabiting the same region, the settled people from the Balkans, Transylvania, Germany, Hungary, and the south of Poland mixed with each other. Despite such a mixed genotype, 19th-century researchers distinguished between white and black Highlanders, which was supposed to reflect two directions of migration: from the north and the Carpathian arc.

The highlander culture of the Podhale region is not homogeneous. One of the premodern conceptions of the diversity of the highlander region was introduced into the literature of the subject by Seweryn Goszczyński and Ludwik Zejszner.⁶⁴ They noticed the divisions within the highlander region into “white” and “black” Highlanders: “inhabited by Highlanders who call themselves white, for the sake of difference from the black Highlanders who nest in the deeper mountains”. Other travelers also noticed these “white” and “black” Highlanders: “Krościenko, populated by the Highlanders, are called white, because all their clothes and coats are white, while others, for example, from Nowy Targ, wear dark coats”.⁶⁵ Krościenko is the capital of the white Highlanders, whose name came from the traditional white cloaks they wore.⁶⁶ Jadwiga Łuszczewska (the literary pseudonym of Deotyma), staying in the Nowotarska Valley in 1860, claimed that *gunia* in the Podhale valleys is made of white cloth, deep in the mountains of dark cloth.⁶⁷

In the modernist approach, objective naturalism stated that as the causes of socio-cultural differentiation, it is natural conditions, mainly geographic, that affect not only a different culture, but also social life, and even the appearance and

⁶³ Z. Gołąb, *O zróżnicowaniu wewnętrznym gwary podhalańskiej*, „Język Polski”, 1954, t. 34, nr 2, p. 110.

⁶⁴ S. Goszczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Tatrów*, Wydawnictwo B.M. Wolff, Petersburg 1853, p. 43; L. Zejszner, *Podróże po Beskidach czyli opisanie części gór Karpackich, zawartych pomiędzy źródłami Wisły i Sanu*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1848, t. 3, p. 271.

⁶⁵ F. Nowakowski, *Szczawnica w roku 1857*, „Gazeta Warszawska”, 1858.

⁶⁶ O. Flatt, *Wspomnienie Tatrów*, „Księga Świata”, 1859, cz. 1.

⁶⁷ J. Łuszczewska, *Wrażenia z Karpat*, „Gazeta Warszawska”, 1860, nr 339.

character of Highlanders and the Lachs. According to Zejszner, the geographical characteristics of the area influence the way of life and the choice of economy of its inhabitants. The importance of this truth is most clearly represented by mountainous countries, high and torn by deep valleys, with swift streams flowing. The harsh climate, plants and animals give the countries a proper physiology, and people – a completely separate character. He crystallized this thesis, giving Podhale and its inhabitants as an example. Podhale differs in its terrain and nature from the hilly and lowland regions of Poland. Just as the environment in which they live is different, the culture of the inhabitants of Podhale has a certain distinctiveness. Highlanders have developed their own customs, the way of being different from other inhabitants of Poland, and even their speech contains many unknown words and phrases, which is related to the shepherd economy.⁶⁸

Zejszner calls the inhabitants of Podtatrze “Polish Alpine Highlanders”, probably referring to the specific shape of the Tatra Mountains, which have emerged in the alpine orogeny and have an alpine (geological) character. In the first sentences of *Pieśni ludu Podhalan, czyli górali tatrowych polskich*, the author draws attention to the distinctiveness and isolation of the area, citing the geological criterion. The awareness of the distinctiveness of its inhabitants is expressed in terms of nomenclature. The inhabitants of the villages adjacent to the foothills of the Tatra Mountains used to be called “Podhalanie”, because halls are, in the dialect nomenclature, a grassy area where you can graze cattle.⁶⁹ The remaining Highlanders inhabiting the lower areas and the plains inhabitants were called “Lachs”, which indicates a noticeable difference between these population groups.

These differences, both between the Highlanders themselves and between the Highlanders and the inhabitants of the lowlands, were noticed and described by 19th-century folk scholars. In his study, Zejszner often emphasizes the existence of differences between the Highlanders and the Lachs. Spending a lot of time with the inhabitants of Podhale and carefully observing them, he noticed clear distinctiveness, reinforced by the mutual aversion of neighboring communities: “Moreover, among Podhale people a conviction has developed that they are superior in spirit to the inhabitants suffering poverty among the most fertile national plains.”⁷⁰

Among contemporary Highlanders, this sense of superiority is also noticeable, the feeling of which is associated with the widespread (among them)

⁶⁸ L. Zejszner, *Rzut oka na Podhalan*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1844, t. 3, p. 113.

⁶⁹ idem, *Pieśni ludu Podhalan, czyli górali tatrowych polskich*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, 1845.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

knowledge about the origins of land ownership, above all, the lack of serfdom and royal grants, about which Zejszner wrote in the 19th century.⁷¹ Highlanders living closer to the Tatra Mountains believe that they are “more Highlanders” than those from areas just a few kilometers further north. Anthropologists pay attention to the criterion of cultural identification of peasants, their specific self-definition, which was and is reflected in the term “local”, just as “non-local” was and is for them the most important criterion of strangeness, as described by Stanisław Węglarz in his comparative study *Tutejsi i inni*.⁷² Nowy Targ, which was the historical capital of Podhale, was called “the Town” by the inhabitants of this region. Cultural differences between the population of Podhale villages and the inhabitants of Nowy Targ are also visible today. This creates mutual animosities, expressed in highlander songs. One of them, sung today, reads:

Sip it, sip it
Go past Nowy Targ.
You will pass by Nowy Targ,
Don't be afraid, you won't die.

The Highlanders cut themselves off from the inhabitants of the Town (Nowy Targ) and do not feel the cultural community. I asked whether the Highlanders of Podhale feel connected with the inhabitants of the Carpathians. In the pilot research that I conducted in December 2021, it is clearly visible that the sense of ties with the Carpathian culture occurs in Highlanders who have high cultural competences and are interested in the tradition and heritage of Podhale.⁷³ It has to do with the active acquisition of culture.⁷⁴ The remaining Highlanders do not feel any strong ties with the inhabitants of the Carpathians, although they declare that they are closer to them than to Poles from the lowlands. The result of such thinking are projects for the Carpathian Euroregion.

One of the main assumptions of the European Union is regional integration beyond border divisions. Therefore, international regional projects receive very high cofinancing. One of them is “The Wallachian Culture Trail”,⁷⁵ which carries a message about the cultural community of the Carpathian and Balkan

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁷² Cf. S. Węglarz, *Tutejsi i inni*, Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, Łódź 1997.

⁷³ The title of the survey: “Survey for Highlanders and Highlanders of the Podhale region – Tatra and the Carpathians”. It received 102 responses.

⁷⁴ N. Maksymowicz Mróz, *op. cit.*, 51–57.

⁷⁵ “The Wallachian Culture Trail” was created thanks to the project under the same name as part of the Poland-Slovakia Cross-Border Cooperation Program Interreg V-A 2014–2020.

people. The trail is a testimony to the unity of the Highlanders, therefore, it has a multi-linear structure, i.e. there is no single precisely delineated path, but the general direction determined by the routes of the original Wallachian migrations. This international cultural route is based on the Wallachian heritage, on the principles of sustainable development, i.e. respecting local, cultural, natural and social resources. The beneficiaries wanted to increase the recognition of the potential of the borderland by popularizing the pastoral culture, recreating traditions related to Wallachian culture and pastoralism, and creating an integrated tourist product related to this culture.⁷⁶

Conclusions

Among the Highlanders, the theory of their Wallachian origin and strong ties with the Carpathians is very fashionable today. However, despite these beliefs, the genotype of Highlanders is very European, although this is not a popular view today. The belief of Vlach origin may result from the fact that the Highlander community is of a diasporic type. This contemporary inclusivity and hermeticity results from the developed tradition of our ancestors. The hostile attitude towards strangers arose when the settlers regulated agrarian relations among themselves, and marriages were concluded in order to protect their property. Over time, over the generations, the memory of where they came from faded, and the inhabitants of Podhale became local. Elements of pastoral culture distinguish the Podhale culture the most when compared to other cultures. Hence, the concept of the Wallachian origin of all Highlanders so readily accepted.

The concept that distinguished between the “white” and “black” Highlanders is not applicable at present, as there was an even more intense mixing between the families: “white” Highlanders from lower areas and “black” Highlanders shepherds living at the foot of the Tatra Mountains. Also, the features of clothes do not apply here, because during the Renaissance of the highlander tradition, many Highlanders have highlander clothes from different historical periods. It cannot be concealed, however, that the differences between a Highlander and a stranger (*ceper*), a man from the lowlands, are nurtured.

Scientific sources and their analysis indicate many directions of migration from different parts of Europe to Podhale, which proves the very diverse European genotype of Podhale people. What all migrants have in common are psychophysical features such as strength, health, and the courage to take up the challenges of travelling into the unknown. Both deserters from the army,

⁷⁶ *Szlak...*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

refugees from the oppression of serfdom, shepherds traversing the Carpathian Mountains with all their belongings were people who took a very high risk and took their fate into their own hands. They settled in a terrain that was extremely unfavorable to life and survival in those times and survived to this day and cherish the memory of their families. In a sense, Podhale can be considered a New Land, difficult to tame, but a new homeland that the Highlanders love the most.

The factor that determines the feeling of separateness, and, at the same time, influences the social relations and strong ties of the Podhale people, is the culture developed over several centuries, the basis of which was pastoralism. Despite the multi-ethnic genotype of the inhabitants, the pastoral culture is considered traditional, and its elements in a transformed form function to this day.

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Abstract: The article presents the existing concepts of the ethnogenesis of the Podhale Highlanders, which seems interesting in the context of the current fashion among Highlanders for their Wallachian origin. Until now, in the literature on the subject, the view of the European origin has not been so strongly discussed. The methods adopted by the researcher include the analysis of historical studies of 19th-century researchers, as well as contemporary ethnographic materials. The material is supplemented by a pilot survey on awareness of the bonds of the Highlanders of Podhale with the inhabitants of the Carpathians.

Keywords: Podhale; culture; transculture; identity; Tatra Mountains; ethnogenesis

**Karpacka migracja kulturowa i jej wpływ na europejską etnogenezę mieszkańców
Podhala i Tatr**

Abstrakt: Artykuł prezentuje dotychczasowe koncepcje etnogenezy Górali Podhalańskich, co wydaje się interesujące w kontekście obecnie panującej wśród Górali mody na ich wołoskie pochodzenie. Do tej pory w literaturze przedmiotu pogląd o europejskim pochodzeniu, a co za tym idzie współczesnym genotypie Górali, nie był tak stanowczo dyskutowany. Przyjęte przez badaczkę metody to analiza opracowań historycznych XIX-wiecznych badaczy, a także współczesnych materiałów etnograficznych. Uzupełnieniem są pilotażowe badania ankietowe, dotyczące świadomości więzi Górali Podhalańskich z mieszkańcami Karpat.

Słowa kluczowe: Podhale; kultura; transkultura; tożsamość; Tatry; etnogeneza

