

Piotr Chmielewski
Institute of Sociology
University of Warsaw

MOUNTAIN COMMONS IN THE TATRAS

The Tatra mountains, with their characteristic climate, tourism and culture was discovered in Poland at the end of the ^{in nineteenth} ~~twentieth~~ century and has since become one of the most famous places in the country. The present size and intensity of tourism has reached the limit of the tourist capacity of the Tatra mountains (A. Marchlewski 1982). Since recently, a tourist wishing to go deeper into the valley (or higher in the mountains) has had to pay a small fee to the representatives (situated in every valley of the Polish Tatras) of the Tatra National Park. Although the fee is actually small, in this manner the Tatras lost their character of a public good for the Polish tourist and took on the characteristic of a toll good. In wandering around the western part of the Western Polish Tatra Mountains, at the entrance to these valleys, a tourist comes across an information board which informs them that they are on territory which is the property of the **Forestry Community Authorities of 8 Villages in Witów**. A community of natural resources of course implies something other than public or toll goods - common-pool resources. In turn, while purchasing milk and eggs from the farm-mistress, renting a private mountain cab for trips around the area or paying rent for a vacation apartment, our tourist reaches the conclusion that for a relatively small area, he has come across a specific concurrence of fundamental types of goods, such as common-pool resources (commons), public goods, private goods and toll goods (V. Ostrom and E. Ostrom 1991). Furthermore, if we endow our tourist with a "sociological imagination", one can imagine the great intensity of important problems linked with the diverse activities of man in his natural and social environment.

The object of the author's particular interest is the mentioned institution, the Forestry Community in Witów. The Forestry Community Authorities of 8 Villages in Witów cultivates close to 3,100 hectares of forested land and other real estate (precisely 3099.9649 hectares) located primarily in the Chochłowa and Lejowa valleys in the region of the Witów and Dziańisz villages in the western part of the Western Polish Tatras. The scope of the Community's activities covers approx. 15% of the entire area of the Polish Tatras, that is, of the Tatra National Park established in 1954. The Community consists of 2,100 members, residents of the eight villages: Witów, Dziańisz, Chochółow, Ciche, Koniówka, Podczerwone, Czarny Dunajec and Wróblówka. These villages lay at the foot of the northern Western Tatra in the Czarny Dunajec valley stream. They are all basically, located on the road which links Kiry and Koscielisko with Nowy Targ. The villages have been in existence for a few hundred years, making up centres of mountain folklore and Tatra Highlands culture where history meets the present.

Having lived in difficult conditions for centuries, the inhabitants of these villages (just like other mountain groups from all over the world) developed a specific culture resulting from geographic isolation, severe living conditions and persistent and characteristic forms of farming such as shepherding and animal husbandry tied to the natural environment. One of the most characteristic traits of this culture is the capacity of Tatra mountain folk to independently resolve their own

problems. The 175 year existence of the Forestry Community, its changes and its history provide the best example of this capacity.

It is the author's intention to describe and analyse the Forestry Community in Witów. The following considerations are behind this intention: (1) Cognitive and descriptive, because the Community phenomenon is very interesting and entices one to analyse its rules and the regulations of activity. (2) Didactic, because an analysis of the Community indicates that all successful attempts to build a social order cannot be based exclusively on one type of institutional solutions. This fact is ~~not~~ unnoticed in post-communist transformation societies because two alternatives appear to dominate: both are radical and naive. They situate the transformation potential only (or even exclusively) in the institution of the market or the institution of the state, thus omitting the adaptive character of change and its specific, not only universal, aspect. A necessary element of a successful social transformation, however, seems to be the self-governing capabilities of society. (3) Normative, because the analysis of the Community illuminates the problem of the projected institution. This consideration should answer the question of how institutions influence an individual's choice. Institutions provide the basic structure of social order, bringing individual rationality into harmony with the rationality of the collective. Institutions are tools used to resolve the dilemmas of collective activity (P. Chmielewski 1994).

The new institutional approach (E. Ostrom 1991; R. Oakerson 1992) was used in this investigation of the Forestry Community, described both on the conceptual level and in terms of the Institutional Analysis and Development framework. Based on a few levels in the theoretical dimension (formal models, theories, frameworks), the IAD provides an exceptionally promising perspective for the development of an empirically grounded theory. This approach assumes that "(...) individuals find themselves in repetitive situations affected by a combination of factors derived from a physical world, a cultural world, and a set of rules" (E. Ostrom, R. Gardner, J. Walker 1994, 25).

1. The Physical World of the Tatras

Located in the Western Carpathian mountains, the Tatras make up the highest group of mountains, not only in the Carpathian curve but in the entire area between the Alps and the Caucasus and the Urals. The northern slopes of the Carpathians and Tatras are in Poland. Geographically, the Tatras are divided into Western and Northern. From the latter, the High Tatras, consisting of granite, and the White Tatras, consisting of limestone and dolomite, can be distinguished. In turn, the Western Tatras consist of a metamorphic scale (gneiss, amphibolite and slate) and two granite belts. From the structural point of view, the Tatras are a combination of three parts of different geographical construction and distinct landscape.

The Tatras, a mountainous alpine mass, stretches along the border between Poland and Slovakia for approx. 57 km. in length and a width of approx. 18 km. Their entire surface area is approx. 780 km. sq. Naturalists consider the Tatras to be a "miniature of the Alps" which, although they are almost 70 times smaller, contain all that can be found in the Alps. These mountain ranges have a similar complex covering and very diversified sculpture in which forms created in sub-tropical climates and in very cold climates, by a glacier, are maintained (K. Trafas 1985; 4). The Tatras are Alpids (young mountains), the uplift of which occurred in the tertiary period. The highest peaks in the entire Tatra range are in the High Tatras (Gerlach - 2,654 m a.s.l., Lomnica - 2,632 m a.s.l.,

and Lodowy Szczyt - 2,630 m a.s.l.). The highest, and practically inaccessible part of the Tatras (steep ridges) covers an area of approx. 340 km. The Western Tatra mountains are rounded and clearly lower (the highest peaks are Bystra - 2,248 m. a.s.l. and Starorobociański Wierch - 2,176 m. a.s.l.). These mountains, however, cover the largest area (approx. 400 km. sq.) The lowest mountains and those which cover the least surface are the White Tatras, standing opposite the main slopes of the High Tatras which rest entirely on Slovak territory. There too, is the greater part of the High Tatra and Western Tatra mountains. Only 180 km. sq. of the High and Western Tatra mountains are on Polish territory (therefore, less than 25% of their total area).

The Tatras have an alpine climate. The temperature clearly drops as the height increases (theoretically, by 0.6 degrees C for every 100 m rise). The average temperature in January is -9 degrees C at 2,000 m. a.s.l., and the average for July (the warmest month in the Tatras) is 7 degrees C. A frequent phenomenon which occurs particularly during a sunny winter is significant temperature inversion (even by 10 degrees C.). Snow cover in the Tatra often lasts for 8 months, and on shaded mountain slopes there are small fields of permanent snow. The Tatras are characterised by a high level of precipitation (a yearly average of 1,500 mm), half of which is snow fall. Strong winds often blow in the Tatras, the most troublesome of which for the Tatra people and trees is the wind blowing from the south, warm fohn winds

The formation of the Tatras and their climate is linked with the flora and fauna which grow there. The Tatras are characterised by a large wealth of plant life compared to other Carpathian ranges. Approximately 1,300 plant species grow here, 2,350 of which are mountain and alpine species. Of the latter, seven endemic species which contain tertiary relics, Tatra saxifrage and Tatra larkspur, have been maintained.

The Tatra plant life is characterised by a clear layered composition, allowing for six levels of plant growth which can be distinguished, including a selection of species as the height of the mountain increases above sea level (J. Nyka 1972; 11, 12). The first, is the plateau level (cultivated fields), which reaches 1,000 m. The next two are forest levels. The lower sub-alpine forest level (reaching 1,250 m) is a beech-fir tree forest or fir-spruce tree forest. The upper sub-alpine level is predominantly fir trees, reaching 1,500 m. a.s.l. The upper border of the forest, in addition to dwindling fir trees, has also Āel'sk willows, Carpathian birch, Mountain Ash and stone pine. The next, and fourth level reaches 1800m. This is a sub-alpine level of dwarf mountain pine (a shrub-like type of pine tree), diminishing progressively with the increase in the height of the mountains from thick growth to increasingly smaller clusters of shrubs. The fifth level (alpine), reaching 2,300 m., forms the mountain pastures. These are mountain meadows covered in grass of flowering herbs which until recently was a place of intense pasturage. The final peak level, with a clear predominance of rocky formation, emerges in full form only in the High Tatras. More than one hundred species of flowering plants grow along with the lichen (often crustaceous lichen) which dominates here.

In the forested levels of the Tatras live animals such as deer, roe-deer, wild bore, fox, lynx and wildcats. The least numerous, yet the most destructive of the Tatra forests is the wandering bear, the total of which is evaluated at a few dozen. The higher level is the domain of species which do not emerge in the lower lands, such as the ground hog (in the lower part of the pastures) or mountain goat which lives in the pastures and peaks and meet here with ermines. Of the alpine

species of birds, the golden eagle deserves particular attention. Only a few pair of this species live in the Tatra peaks.

The Tatra are surrounded on all sides by depressions (valleys) at the level of 500 - 700 m. From the south at the foothills of the Tatra is the Kotlina Popradzko-Liptowska (Valley). From the east is Kotlina Spiska. From the north and the west is the Kotlina Orawsko-Nowotarska. The latter constitutes a significant part of the Tatra Podhale which interests us

The Podhale is a long valley of various depths which lies between the Tatras in the south and Beskid mountains in the north (at a height of 700 - 1000 m), stretching from east to west across an area of approx. 57 km. and from the south to the north across an area of approx. 26 km. In addition to the above mentioned Kotlina Orawsko-Nowotarska (500-650 m), the other parts of the Podhale are: Rów Podtatrzański (800-900 m), Pogórze Gubalowskie (1,200 m) and Działy Orawskie (700-800 m). Kotlina Nowotarska has a gravel bed, left by a glacial river. It created the largest cold valley in Poland, characterised by the frequent appearance of mist, thermal inverses and temperatures which fall to -50 degrees C. Not much better climatic conditions appear in the relatively flat area of Rów Podtatrzański bed (often misty, cold, damp). The Podgórze Gubalowski which is on a higher level is warmer (with mountain slopes facing the north) and the lower, but more sunny Działy Orawski of Podhale.

The mountain folk called Podhalans live in Podhale. Their life is the most tightly linked with the Tatras. This existence, which seems to result from natural conditions, is not, nor ever was, very easy. In the opinion of geographers, in the past thousand years climatic and orographical conditions have not undergone significant change in the Tatra mountains (M. Klimaszewski 1970. 28). Despite the conditions which are so unfavourable to man (the vegetation period in the Tatras lasts from 0 - 140 days), Podhale has long been settled by populations engaged above all in animal-husbandry, shepherding and forestry.

2. Culture, Institutions and the Social Order

In analysing the culture, the basic principles of the social order of Podhale and the institution of the Forestry Community in Witów, one cannot ignore the historical dimension. This is for two mutually linked and complex reasons which are both specific and general. The first forces us to take into consideration the fact that culture of mountain folk is the result of complex processes, at work until somewhere at the end of the seventeenth and start of the 18th century. The institution of the Forestry Community itself – although somewhat younger – has almost two ^{hundred} years of stormy existence behind it. At this moment one can call on the reasons or general regularities concerning the relations of history and the institution. These regularities create one of the most fundamental and commonly accepted assumptions of new institutional analysis (R. Putnam 1993; 7, 8). This is the assumption of the role of history in the human process of building the institution and the role of the institution in the understanding of history

“History matters. It matters () because the present and the future are connected to the past by the continuity of a society’s institutions. Today’s and tomorrow’s choices are shaped by the past (). Institutions are the rules of the game of society

or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shapes human interaction. In consequence they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic. Institutional change shapes the way societies evolve through time and hence is the key to understanding historical change. (...). Informal constraints come from the cultural transmission of values, from the extension and application of formal rules to solve specific exchange problems, from the solution to straightforward co-ordination problems. In total, they appear to have a pervasive influence on the institutional structure. Effective traditions of hard work, honesty, and integrity simply lower the cost of transacting and make possible complex, productive exchange. Such traditions are always reinforced by ideologies that undergrid those attitudes. Where do these attitudes and ideologies come from and how do they change? The subjective perceptions of the actors are not just culturally derived but are continually being modified by experience that is filtered through existing (culturally determined) mental constructs" (D. North 1993; vii, 3, 138)

Despite the unwelcoming environment, in the Tatra valleys one can find traces of human activity from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages and also from the Roman period. The name "Tatra" appeared for the first time in 1086 in King Henry the IV's document. From the historical point of view, the creation of mountain culture in Poland (and in Podhale) is linked with two long-term and complex processes. The first of these processes is described as internal feudal colonisation, probably beginning in the 12th century (in Poland, feudalism flourished in the 13th - 16th century) and reaching Podhale from the north. The second process, perhaps somewhat later (the earliest historical source indicating its existence is from the 14th century), is the process of Walachian migration, along the length of the Carpathians, from the east to the west.

Before beginning with the characteristics of the above processes, it should be stressed that the entire Podhale region, as well as the northern slopes of the Tatras, as unsettled land was, in accord with the regulations of the law at that time, the property of the prince or king of Poland. At the start of the thirteenth century, Podhale, in an act of monarchical favour, was given to one of the wealthy Malopolska houses. Its representative, the Cracow voivod Teodor, obtained the privilege to locate Germans in Podhale from Henryk Brodaty (a Wroclaw, Cracow and Wielkopolska prince) in 1234. While dying, Teodor offered Podhale to the Cistercian order which took it into possession in 1238. After one hundred years the Cistercians gave up the land (remaining only in a few towns) and Podhale again returned to the crown treasury. For administrative purposes, the Podhale region was established as a *starostwo* (district) of Nowy Targ in 1350, and somewhat later, at the start of the fifteenth century, a second district of Czorsztyn was established in Podhale. In this manner, the Tatra valleys and forests were exploited by the Nowy Targ the *starosta* (district head) and by people authorised by him. Independently of the *starosta*, the King gave various people habitation rights (for the foundation of new settlements) and special privileges, making possible the extraction of raw minerals. In brief, the villages of Podhale were still inhabited in the seventeenth century, either on the basis crown conferment or of the Nowy Targ *starosta*.

The process of feudal colonisation in Poland was composed of fundamentally planned colonisation and a less important spontaneous peasant colonisation on territories not yet populated. The first, predominant form, was organised by Kings, dukes, the church and knights. These colonisation processes indicate that there was a tendency toward the rationalisation of the economy as early as

the twelfth century Economic historians characterise this planned colonisation movement and the settlement system which accompanied it in the following manner:

“The feudal lords began to reform farming on their property in the aim of drawing the maximum benefits. Their model could have been the monastic *latifundia*, organised by monks coming from the West, on the land that had been given to them. This tendency of increasing property returns, which occurred also in duke's estates, placed more emphasis on exploiting the area of forests to the least degree possible. (. . .). This was chiefly a border forest, formerly protected from cutting for reasons of national defence. (...). From the second half of the thirteenth century, colonisation development began in the unpopulated regions of Podgórze Karpackie. (...). Cultivation of the forested regions was counted on for profits in the later future. The reforms introduced by large estates were not limited to this type of enterprise; they aimed also at increasing incomes through intensified farming in the already existing villages. To this end, already in the first half of the thirteenth century, in addition to establishing new villages based on German law (“from scratch” - as it was then called) the law was also transferred to already existing villages, grouping a few small villages into one and undertaking fundamental organisational changes.” (B. Zientara, A. Maczak, I. Ihnatowicz, Z. Landau 1965, 88, 89)

The introduction of German law to the villages (habitations rights) meant the introduction of new rules of social order based on the legal regulations of the western feudal system. The name of the peasant allotment, *lan* originates in the German word *Lehen* (feudal). The lan (in Podhale usually describe as a *role, i.e. farm*) created farming units and not a measurable area of assigned land. The size of the lan varied according to the type (quality) of soil (the worse the soil, the greater the area of the farming unit). Furthermore, the lan did not constitute a cohesive whole, but was usually made up of a few parts which included soils of various quality. In the villages which were being inhabited, a classification of lands was initially made on the basis of their quality, dividing the earth into three (or more) types of soil (*mnvy*), which was then divided into individual lans. The organisational changes were also connected with the introduction of regular three-field rotation. In each of the soil, winter crops were cultivated, then spring crops and finally, in the third year the soil was left to fallow and used as a collective pasture for the village cattle. This three-field (and collectivist) rotation system demanded what was called a field constraint (everyone, regardless of their social rank, was forced to simultaneously cultivate the land in the same manner). As a whole, a village had the right to the use of the state forests (for putting animals out to pasture and the consumption of a defined amount of wood). The village also had collective (commune) land (for pastures, forests, peat, etc.). The representative and at the same time the vassal of the lord in the village, was the *soltys* (village administrator). His vassal responsibilities (military service, mail and packages, symbolic levies and lodging the visiting lord) were returned with a breadth of privileges which constituted all the dimensions of his social position. The *soltys* usually had an inn and a mill, the exclusive right to brew beer, collected a special levy from the village crafts-people and property fees (in kind and money) for the lord and kept 1/6th of the total for himself. The *soltys*, representing the lord in the village courts, usually received one third of the fines and court fees

The internal colonisation process developed, basically, from north to south. We say basically because the villages which are presently at the foothills of the Polish Tatra mountains were also partially established by Germans coming from the Spisz region in the south-east, as indicated by the names of some of the villages (for ex., Waksmund or Szaflary). It appears that in the 14th - 15th century, a mixing of the Polish population from the north and the German population from the south occurred. As a result, the German population was Polonised (as indicated by the decline of German and increase of Polish names in the sub-Tatra population).

The second settlement process in the Tatras we mentioned had its roots in the east. From the east (probably from Siedmiogród) in the Western Carpathians came a population of Romanian-Baltic Albanian origin. This is indicated by the presence in the Podhale dialect, of loan-words from the Romanian and Albanian languages, as well as by the numerous similarities in the elements of belief systems, music and material culture (K. Dobrowolski 1938). Groups of incoming shepherds in the mountain plateaus and pastures occupied the high peaks of the Tatras. Through burning down the forests, they created new, artificial pastures.

“With the passage of time, some of these shepherds settled in the forested peripheries of farming villages and some began farming. Due to this, conditions arose for the process of the biological, economic and cultural crossing of two waves of settlers. (...) In Podhale, this was at its height in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century (...). In the villages which emerged at this time, primarily a system of forest allotment arose. The total area of these settlements covered only a relatively small number of hectares, averaging from less than a thousand to a few thousand in total. The organisers of these villages were almost exclusively peasant-soltys', who's legal-farming situation was based on mediaeval models of German law. The economic order of these villages, however, was clearly composed of an agriculture and shepherd economy. (...) It is characteristic that two economic systems were combined: agriculture, based on regulations of German law, and shepherding, described in later settlement documentation as 'Walachian law'.” (K. Dobrowolski 1960; 35, 36)

In most general terms, the culture of Polish mountain folk (including those from Podhale) was the specific result of processes of the mixing of agricultural cultures and shepherding culture. The first, assimilated many elements of the language and culture of the shepherd nomads (ideational and material). The latter, however, gradually adapted to the settled life style and the foothill agricultural culture, conducting shepherding and animal husbandry.

The Walachian law of habitation was basically a modification of the “German law” These modifications resulted from another type of basic economic activity of the settling shepherds. Walachian law accelerated the process of moving from nomadic life to agricultural farming. This law was the specific result of the action of political authorities interested in tying “unconstrained nomadic shepherds” to one permanent place (preferably settling them in villages). This allowed for the imposition of greater property fees and made their exaction easier. In addition to these planned activities of the authorities, settlement processes and the gradual movement of the pastoral population toward agriculture, to a large extent was supported by “(..) its natural population growth, connected with the decreasing amount of pastoral lands. This was a strong factor which

broke the stubborn tradition and unwillingness to change their life style." (K. Dobrowolski 1930, 13, 14.)

It should be clearly emphasised that the above presented types of organisational changes of villages settled according to German law apply primarily to Polish low-land territory and Pogórze Karpackie. On its southern border, in southern Malopolska in the territory of the foothills and mountains, the situation is somewhat different. It reflects, in a clear manner, the necessity of adapting general and fundamental legal-organisational solutions (regulation of German law) to the demands of a diversified natural environment. The villages settled in Podhale according to German law carry the name of either "soil villages" or "forest allotment villages", and the closer to the foothills of the Tatras, the more often the latter occurs.

"A village of forest allotment villages with settlements winding like a chain along the path of the Carpathian rivers along the length of the mountain valleys presents a uniform settlement stretch which reaches across a distance of almost twenty kilometres today. This reflects the progress of agricultural settlement from the Vistula lowlands and mountain valleys into the depths of the mountains, toward water sources and processes of these settlements becoming more dense through history as a result of a population growth." (M. Dobrowolska 1976; 124)

In addition to the spatial order, there are a few differences worthy of note between the soil villages and the forest allotments in Podhale. Studies on specific villages (referring to mediaeval cadastral books and maps) indicate that one of the most important differences is the absence of the field constraint in the forest allotment villages, which in the soil villages was connected with the three-field rotation system, which was the basis of agricultural activity in these villages. In this system, until the start of the 19th century, every three years the main fields lay fallow. The cause of this type of activity was not only a deficiency of fertiliser but the rules determined by tradition according to which (and not only in Podhale), after having yielded crops the earth should rest.

It is important to note that the field constraint often functions in the Tatras even today, where the narrow fields "encourage" co-operative activity and the subordination of individual behaviour to the collectivists needs (for example, the use of given soil after harvesting for a communal pasture).

Soil villages were also characterised by having common community land (particularly meadows, pastures and forests). These community lands and the communal organisational solutions associated with them do not occur in the case of mountain forest meadows or in allotment villages. The latter, for example, did not have a collective pasture. The grazing area for the cattle was located on the private property of the owner of the given *lan*. Communal pastures and communal forests were located exclusively within separate lans or clearings as communal family lands. These lands were usually located higher on the mountain slopes, in more remote parts of the *lan*, indicating the clear influence of the environmental-technological attributes on legal-organisational solutions. Evidence of this can be found outside of Podhale as well. An expert on eastern Malopolska, in which the communal community exceptionally bound to grain and pastoral farming dominated until the start of the 19th century, notes that:

"In contrast to the plains, in the mountainous terrain of eastern Galicia the rule is that of individual holdings (although it seems here that there is often indication of collective holdings of the "large family" type). In typical forested surroundings, when the farms were established primarily on cleared forest plots, the community unit was come across relatively rarely." (R. Rozdolski 1936; 8, 9)

One can then, it seems, speak of the exceptionally important influence of environmental and technological factors on institutional development. This, however, is only one group of attributes forming the relationship between people. Without great difficulty, one can also show that the influence of the environment is only part (although a very important part) of the whole history. In organisational solutions, often a very important role is played by traditional institutional rules. This is also clearly visible in the Tatras. The soil village system ~~was~~, as we recall, was brought to Podhale by Germans from Szpisz and spread across the southern side of the Tatras. Furthermore, Polish settlements in Podkarpacie adapted the forest allotment villages system. Polish settlers penetrating into Orawa with this system, met in this part of the Carpathians with almost the same environmental conditions of the soil village system in some valleys, and with the forest allotment village system in neighbouring valleys. On the Polish side of the Tatras as well, soil and forest allotment villages exist side by side (a good example of this are the villages of the Community we are interested in).

As already indicated, the soil villages had always a few common grounds among them They consisted primarily of pastures, meadows and forests. Of exceptional importance was the fact that:

"The right to use collective land was based on the possession of land in one of the farms. All of the farms participated basically equally in benefits drawn from the collective land. Not the amount of individual farms in whose possession the given *lan* was located, but the land surface area (farm, house) was the guiding rule, determining the amount of the rights to profit from the collective land. If, therefore, land A. was owned by three farmers, and land B. was owned by 6 farmers, then the latter would have only those rights which the owners of land A have. This general theoretical principle, maintained in the tradition until today, is undoubtedly the result of a primary assumption that for every farm in the soil village there belongs an ideal piece of community land. The practical implication of the above rules appeared, however, in mainly in cases where the area of the collective land was small in relation to the needs of the population of the given settlement. This concerned the pastures to a lesser extent and the forests to a greater one." (K. Dobrowolski 1935; 56, 57)

In addition to the local community, other types of communities occurred in Podhale which had the traits of corporate groups. Ethnologists call these "secondary kin groups", indicating that in Podhale, "because blood relations occurred (lineage or patronymic), the ideology of the village community was unable to dominate the family form" (S. Szykiewicz 1976, 476-480). In these cases, related families created specific local social units. Two kinds of blood relations can be distinguished in Podhale peasant serfs and much more lasting *soltys* family relations, the remainder of which can still be found today. This second type of organisation occurs above all (but

not only) in village fiefdoms or in the clearings, as a good example of customary law. It was linked with special land conferment and other privileges for the *soltys* of the settled villages.

“The *soltys*, predominantly of peasant origin, (...) had personal freedom and the highest rank in the social hierarchy of the village. They could settle a certain number of tenants on their lands as a work force. Personal freedom was linked with land given to the *soltys*. If the descendants of the first *soltys*’ moved to other villages and settled on land occupied by peasant ‘serfs’ and ‘hard workers’ (*laboriosi*), they would lose their hitherto existing personal freedom and become serfs of the patronymic authorities. In these conditions a certain development tendency, characteristic for the majority of Podhale *soltystwo*s occurred. It was manifest in: a. the division of the *soltystwo* among male descendants, b. in the fact that a male peasant from the neighbouring village was not allowed to settle in the *soltystwo* through marriage, and in marrying either distant relatives born on the *soltystwo* property or with women from the neighbouring villages. Because of this, as time passed there emerged a concentration of families in a few dozen farms which had the same surname” (K. Dobrowolski 1973, 66, 67).

As a result of the principles of endogamy in the *soltys* settlements, in many villages there were families with the same surname, connected by strong economic links. In the villages which interest us, for example, in the nineteenth century we meet with this type of phenomenon. In Ciche (a forest allotment village), the Miętus family dominates (31 home) and there are additionally only 4 families with other surnames. In Podczerwony, there are two branches of related families: 10 Podczerwiński’s and 17 Lej’s and five other surnames. In the Wróblówka village of 16 families, 10 of are the Bobek family. In Chocholów, however, there are only 8 families of Zych’s in 46 farms, which indicates that the social position of the first *soltys* degraded early (cited from K. Dobrowolski 1966; 231).

We will look now at the economic correlates of the feudal social order, while at the same time recalling the ecological specificity of the area. Podhale is located in the first ~~area~~ economic region of Malopolska distinguished by historians, in the mountainous Carpathian region (A. Podraza 1970). It is characterised by very low agricultural development, caused by the unfavourable formation of the land, with worthless mountain clays and short vegetation periods. This means that the crops are not very productive. The region has a significantly lower percent of arable land in the entire acreage than in other areas of Malopolska. In the second half of the eighteenth century, cultivable land covered approx. 42.7% of the entire acreage in the mountain region, of which the percentage of arable land brought 25% of the total. The forests, however, constitute 34.1% and the pastures and meadows, 22.1%. The low agricultural development is also confirmed by the sowing structure in which oats dominated (80%)

The environment of the region, significantly limiting the possibility of farm cultivation, also caused the marginal development of large-farm economy (only approx. 10% of the cultivated land was held by large owners, primarily small large-farms). In this area of the absolute dominance of oats and poorly developed large-farms, pastoral animal-husbandry and forestry were of great importance. Their significance varied, however, because of the differences in the spheres of production organisation. Animal-husbandry, with its low merchandise value, did not play a

significant role. It was basically conducted in peasant farms. They grazed mainly sheep in the mountain pastures. These pastures were used not only by the villages which were in direct proximity of the Tatras such as Dziańisz, Witów or Chocholów, but also those which lay further away, such as Podczerwone or Czarny Dunajec. The number of sheep in the specific villages could differ, but the average number kept in mountain villages was a few hundred. One of the inspections in the middle of the eighteenth century counted, for example, 11,035 sheep in the Nowy Targ *starostwo*, owned by Podhale peasants, for which a levy of 12 gr. was paid for each sheep

As much as the pastoral economy was the domain of peasant farms, forestry was above all in the hands of large properties interested in the exploitation of the forests.

“The absolute majority of the forests in the Carpathian lands was in the hands of large property owners, although it should be noted that in comparison with other areas, the percent of forest in the possession of peasants was relatively high. (...) forests made up for 82.1% of the entire productive large properties, and only 20.1% of the productive peasant property (H. Madurowicz, A. Podraza 1957; 101).

It should be recalled that in connection with the settlement policy of the state, crown property had a significant share of these large properties. The share held by the crown was particularly large in the forests in the mountains and foothills (just as here there was a high percentage of crown villages). The average size of the *starost* was significantly greater in the south than in the remaining regions of Malopolska. This fact has a lot of interesting consequences, linked with the economic, political and social aspects of forest ownership. This author does not hesitate to risk the claim that the forests at this time were a form of good which could create more social tensions and conflicts in this region than the cultivated lands. Particularly in Podhale. A lot of peasant rebellions provide evidence of this (particularly serf peasants) Some of them the historians describe as uprisings. They were the result of general and local conditions.

The feudal system, with its complex structure, created a multiplicity of dependencies between various social groups, defined in legal and binding categories, creating a defined structure of incentives. Were we to treat the process of feudal colonisation as economic rationalisation, the changes in the environment in which the process occurred would imply changes in the strategic choice of the main actors and as a result, changes in models of interaction. These changes were not always peaceful or amicable in character.

We begin with the reminder that after feudalism flourished in Poland (in the 13th-16th century) the dominant type of farming became the large-farm and serf form (16th-18th century), which was based on the large export of wheat to western countries. This victory of large-farm and serf farming was accompanied from the start by signs of failure. Its external indications were, for example, the ruin of cities as industrial and trade centres, as well as the *de facto* return to natural economy The institutions dominating in Poland at this time:

“Severely limited free access to the market, fought price liberation, supported the naturalisation of production for domestic needs, discouraged investment of both money and in kind, tolerated monetary chaos, etc. (..). That which lead to the

actual regress of the market economy in Poland was the calculated development of its trading relations abroad. They were based on the exportation of grain primarily and the importation of primarily processed goods. (...). The persistence of this system of relations in Poland was based mainly on the fact that in the long run a systematic improvement of the terms of trade would occur. From year to year the noblemen producing grain and transporting it to Gdansk, for a bushel of rye, for example, could buy more cloth, wine, arms, trinkets, etc. The prices of the majority of imported goods systematically fell in relation to the price of grain. The next generations of these specific 'large-farm entrepreneurs' thus learned that without having to calculate, invest or be innovative, without developing market activities (and even limiting it within the country) they could automatically expect better and better conditions every year. That only bad crops or foreign invasions could disturb this" (J. Beksiak 1994; 13, 14)

It is important to add to that which was said above that in this situation the owner of a large-farm could increase his income primarily through intensification and development of the farm's production, which in practice meant that the existing rules were often broken and the burdens on the direct producer were increased (increase the number of serf days or, simply, exalt property fees in cash or in kind). These burdens, therefore, took on the character of obligatory rent payments through labour (northern Malopolska) or rent payments in money (in the form of permanent land fees or leasing for services) on mountain or foothill terrain (A. Falniowska 1957; 174). More innovative "entrepreneurs" could also increase their incomes by, for example, extending the acreage of manorial land (which often meant the same as displacing the peasants from their land). The reaction to this kind of activity took on various (more or less violent) forms.

We now return to Podhale where cultivated large-farm farming existed to a small extent and the income from it was but a drop in the sea of feudal incomes. Basic income came from forestry for which a leasing system was commonly used on crown territory and created incentives for ruinous exploitation of the leased natural resources (forests, meadows, raw materials) and disregard for the serf population. At this time, the export of grain in Poland achieved its greatest volume around 1770. Once this turning point was reached, however, a dramatic collapse of the market and drastic decrease in the price of grain occurred. The fall could be the result of the emergence on the western market of American, Prussian and Russian grain. The reaction of the nobility to this situation was to compensate for the lost profits through increasing the export of wood.

The change in strategy meant a change in the rules of exploiting forests, and in turn, changes in social patterns of interaction. *Starosts* and other leasees of crown forests not only increased the cuttings, but attempted to limit the customary right of peasants to exploit the forests, refusing them the right to cut wood for their own needs (building and burning). Besides a fairly common rent payments in money, rent payments through labour were also maintained (both in the purely serf villages and in the "mixed" ones). The peasants were only obliged to do various jobs connected with forestry. The peasant population did of course undertake production or wood treatment independently (particularly saw mills or carpentry). This made them tend to more energetically defend their rights

The people of Podhale used various forms of defending their rights, attempting at the same time to change the working rules. One of the methods of resistance of a village toward manorial lords was to bring complaints to the district authorities. These complaints were often brought by the majority or even the entire groups (of villages) of a given *starostwo*, which decreased the costs of the legal process effecting every village. In 1767, for example, a complaint against abuses by the *starosta* was made by at the district office by 36 villages of Podhale (including all seven of those which later joined the Forestry Community in Witów). Another form of resistance was the refusal to meet obligations forced upon them and determining them independently. The massive action of peasants was a subsequent method of battle with the *starostwo*'s jurisdiction in the crown lands. In exchange for the take over of the group of pastures and meadows, the peasants conducted collective invasions on manorial land.

“Another object of frontal attack by the village on the manor was the forests, the source of construction and firewood, which the manor’s policies attempted to appropriate for their own use. The peasants, calling on the privileges granting them the right to clear the forests did not wait in the processes for a sentence, and undertook massive cuttings” (A. Owsinska 1957; 420).

Finally, it is important to recall here the Podhale uprisings which exploded from time to time (17th-19th century) and an equally active form of looking for justice in the form of redistributed compensation, that is, robbery. The robbers organised themselves into small mobile groups called “associations” in Podhale.

Of course the above form of resistance against the imposition of new rules of social order (which, furthermore, often underwent arbitrary changes), do not negate the fact that in the said territory rent payments in money dominated at the end of feudalism. This fee was not at all small. In the Wróblówka village, for example, land fees from farms were 157 zlp. at that time, for an average of 54 crown villages in the foot-hills and 107 zlp 15gr. for one serf farm (A. Falniowska 1957; 210). It appears to result from this that owning small field on the weak “oat” Podhale soil must have had to find income from sources other than farming.

“The sale of products from animal-husbandry farming, forestry, wood industry and fabric became the main source of income for the mountain and foothill populations in the Malopolska area. In addition to this, however, attention should be brought to other important, although certainly not popular ways of earning income in the sub-alpine villages. We are thinking here of the departure of peasants from this territory for paid labour, to the low-land farming areas of Malopolska and to other regions of the country” (H. Madurowicz, A. Podraza 1957; 139).

We add that in the subsequent century, this migration is joined by the phenomenon of emigration (which is exemplified perhaps best by the example of the Polish quarter of Chicago).

With their own true sense of humour, the mountain folk speak about the climate in Podhale in the following manner: “Ten months of winter, and all the rest is summer ” This saying is a characteristic but also an accurate parable of the Podhale mountain culture. This culture is exceptionally rich, at once multi-dimensional and unique. This is certainly why everyone

recognises the Witkiewicz "Zakopane style" inspired by the traditional Podhale architecture. This is why the Tatra (Podtatrzańska) music can be heard in both Paderewski and Szymanowski. This culture was created in raw conditions which demanded a great effort from man. Not only natural, but economic and social as well. The mountainous Podhale culture is a culture built hand in hand with nature. This is a culture of work and effort. But at the same time, it is a culture of well-deserved relaxation and above all reflection and prediction. This culture can be better understood while reading S. Witkiewicz or K. Tetmajer where one hears the mountain dialect. The legends and tales of Podhale are full of reflection, opinions and choices made. It is an image of the mountaineer's cognitive map, the manner of thinking, knowledge and ideas which are at the command of the individual. Earlier, we brought attention to the fact that the characteristic trait of Podhale mountain culture is the ability to individually resolve their own problems (whether they be individual or concern the entire society). This capacity seems to be the result of reflection which is strongly linked with the feeling of freedom, dignity and the responsibility of man for his actions. The fundamental values of the Podhale mountaineers.

3. The Institution of the Forestry Community in Witów*

Following the first partition of Poland, the Podhale *starostwo*, until then the administrator of the Tatra crown lands, became the property of the Austrian emperor (16 of August 1773). These goods entered the Austrian Chamber of Finance. The goods were administered by the Chamber Headquarters (Prefecture) in Nowy Targ, and direct supervision of the forest was conducted by forestry officers located in Poronin.

The Austrian authorities, in accord with Joseph the 2nd's doctrine of bureaucratic absolutism, using the so called "Jacobine reforms", attempted to rationalise the economy on Tatra terrain.

"In connection with this, they began to regulate and limit the traditional rights of permission, law and servitude. This caused many conflicts with authorities and the first forced evictions. At the same time, the Prefectural Chamber began to afforest some of the Tatra territories. Administration of the dispersed areas proved to be a serious problem for the Chamber in Nowy Targ. This too is why the decision was made to circumscribe the Chamber forests which they intended to obtain through land exchange. The precise measurements of the forests, mountain pastures and fields were prepared as well as a map with a table of measurements. Before long, however, in 1811, because of financial difficulties with the imperial treasury, it was decided that the Chamber lands would be sold (. . .). At that time, in order to make the sale easier, the Tatra and sub-Tatra terrain was divided into four sections. Szaflarska, Białczyńska, Zakopiańska and Witowska" (J. Roszkowski 1993; 118)

In May of 1819, "Witowska section IV" was bought in an auction in Lvov by count Jan Pałczkowski. It is from this moment that the history of the Forestry Community in Witów begins.

* Thanks to Stanisław Solarczyk, the Forest Inspector of the Forest Community in Witów, for his help and giving me access to documents and material concerning the Community

Pańczkowski bought the lands "in the dark", on the basis of a map and counting on many profits. When the contract of sale was verified in Vienna in September of 1819, he went to Czarny Dunajec in order to see, as the formal owner, his property which was called "The Lands of Czarny Dunajec and adjacent areas" or "The State of Czarny Dunajec and adjacent areas" (that is, the seven said villages).

As the owner of this Dominion he obtained the services of the feudal serfs and the serfs as his own. The entire surface of the "State" was 24,400 Austrian *morgs*. They consisted of "manorial" land (state), therefore forests (6,176 *morgs*) and "rustic" land (peasant) settled mainly by the peasant serfs. On the basis of the imperial decision at the time of sale, however, the use of this land was clearly reserved for the serfs. They were, however, to suffer levies and duties to the new owner, just as they had done earlier for the Austrian treasury (and still earlier for the King or Nowy Targ *starostwo*). Hence, the only actual "easy" subject of transaction was the "manorial" land (state), that is, the forests (to presently become the property of the Community)

As the new owner, Pańczkowski, however, was obliged to be in charge of executive and judicial offices (manorial). These were linked with the costs connected with maintaining the manorial administration and forest administration, including easements for the rights of the population, participation in maintaining the churches in Czarny Dunajec and Chocholów and other expenses. Not one large-farm remained where he could live. The rickety agriculture and forests which lay high in the mountains without any kind of road must have powerfully disappointed him. In addition - as the voice of tradition says - while making clearings to the forests, his peasants on the borders of Witów (where the manorial land began) refused to accompany him any more for fear of rebels roaming in the woods.

We still do not know if it was cold economic calculation, or fear of the wilderness of the new acquirement which influenced the decision of the new owner to withdraw from undertaking his own enterprising (he paid half of the purchase price). In any case, he began to get the peasant to buy his lands from him. In this manner they freed themselves from serfdom and all responsibilities of servitude which they owed the owner of the "Dominion". Thus they became at once free people and proprietors of the forest. The peasants decided to make use of the occasion and to buy the offered lands, in order to "free themselves and their descendants from serfdom and servitude - and in order to have their own forests which made up the fundamental material of their farms. They agreed to give Pańczkowski the demanded 12,000 Zlr., and to themselves pay the second half of the sale price in instalments to the treasury in Nowy Sącz, thus they bought the goods for a total of 17,750 Zlr. and 30 *krajcary*" (J. Krzysiak 1959; 9).

In proceeding with the sale, the peasants began their activity from establishing "boundary rules" which are reflected in the present Community Statute (1966). They decided that all of the peasant serfs from the seven villages (Ciche, Czarny Dunajec, Chocholów, Witów, Dziańsz, Wróblówka and Podczerwone - with the Koniówka village) would buy into collective use, but only those who lived in the so-called farms (*rola*), half-farms (*półrola*), homes (*zagroda*) and quarter-farms (*ćwierćrola*). The residents of the so-called "*soltys* farms" in Chocholów, Podczerwony, Wróblów and the "landless" from Dziańsz were the only ones excluded from the Community. Their exclusion from the purchase was grounded in the fact that they were relatively free people and had had the right to collect firewood and lumber for construction from these forests for a long time. This right

guaranteed them the privileges still given by the Polish kings in the colonisation period and the right which the Austrian government recognised. For similar reasons, the so-called "meadow-dwellers", that is, individual peasants settled in the forests on the fields, were also excluded. For other reasons, the so-called "cottage-workers and landless peasants" living in these villages were excluded, as well as the so-called "priests' serfs" of Czarny Dunajec. The first were refused because they had neither homes nor land. The latter, because they had never had any rights in these forests.

Another group of rules established by the "serfs" prior to the act of purchase were regulations defining the benefits and costs which are called payoff rules. The buyers decided that all farms in the seven villages would take an equal share in the purchase, whereas, while buying everyone would buy that part of the forest and entire property which he had in the farm in which he lived and farmed or that part of the land he had in other farms. The entire price of the purchase, therefore, was divided by the buyers into equal parts into farms which in every village equalled a total of 76 and 1/4. Next, the so-called "dziesiêtnicy" (tax collectors) went from farm to farm and collected money from specific peasants, taking note of the numbers of the houses that had paid. In this manner, all of the farms participated equally in the purchase and the specific peasants contributed money proportionally to their share in the given farm property. After collecting the entire sum necessary, the problem of putting the very act of purchase into implementation emerged.

The peasant serfs could not at this time be proprietors of registered lands (the so-called register, the national books), hence they were unable to complete the transaction. In order to evade this law, they presented their countryman from Czarny Dunajec, father Józef Szczurkowski, the Bóbrka (near Krosno) parish priest.

"Clergy had the right to obtain these lands, which is why the peasant wanted their friend and countryman to buy these lands in his name, but for them, for which they were to give him an award for having obtained the property, hence Father Szczurkowski was to give them a receipt 'that all of the income from this estate and individual freedom will be theirs' - that is, he was to give the peasants, as the real proprietors, all of the statements and accounts from the income" (S. Solarczyk 1993, 2)

Szczurkowski took the money from the 83 peasants, but cheated them and obtained the goods as his own exclusive property. When the peasants found out about this, they went to the provincial authorities with a complaint. Szczurkowski left the goods then to his nephew who, as a lawyer, arranged it so that the suing peasants began to face financial ruin. Making use of the dispute between Szczurkowski and the peasants, the next registered owner of the lands became baron Kajetan Borowski in 1826. Tired of the unyielding peasants in their battle to regain their land, he left the lands to his brother Bieronim after 13 years.

We add that the administration of Kajetan Borowski has become a classic example -- given in history texts -- of the persecution of the peasant serfs. In the opinion of historians, the many years of brutal conflict which Borowski conducted with "the serfs" to a large degree lead to the outburst in 1846, the Peasant Uprising. In an armed surge of 300 Tatra mountain folk from Chochlow

against the oppressive feudalism and the Austrians, peasants from Ciche, Dzianisz and Witów also participated. The peasants from Czarny Dunajec, however, were against them.

There is no room here for a recounting of the entire conflict or listing the subsequent owners of the manorial goods. As a result of the complaint made by the mountain folk to the imperial seat in Vienna, after long-term processes and procedural conflicts, the Supreme Court in Vienna, annulled all illegal documents in 1865 and returned the property to the commune as a legal subject. The goods were presently registered in the name of the commune two years later. This meant that the commune was listed as the owner of the lands and not the individual peasants, as the actual owners. It is important to recall that the commune, as a legal subject, did not take part in the purchase at the start of the entire issue (seeing no interest in this, nor having the necessary financial capacity). This registration brought on more processes and procedural conflicts. For the commune considered the peasants to be the owners of the lands and gave them wood from the forests and other forest products for free, whereas, the state administration recognised this economy as wasteful and introduced forest administration of the forests by special administrators, many times suspending the commune administration. In turn, the peasants continuously demanded that the lands be returned, not recognising the commune in the register.

In this manner, The Forests of 7 Communes, were collectively used until 1919 when the communes physically divided the property on the agreement of its users and owners. The division was confirmed by the Powiat Court in Czarny Dunajec in 1922. From this time, the communes (villages) achieved their own area of forests and the rest was considered the property of the peasants, the descendants of those who had bought these forests. These very peasant-descendants decided about the issues of the Community, and the communes executed the administration only in their absence (this was forced on the communes by the state authorities).

The next radical change in the administrative structure of the 7 Commune Forests occurred in 1955. In 1954 in place of approx. 3,000 communes, approximately 9,000 communities established. The District National Council became the organ of territorial authorities ("the corner stone of socialist democracy") with the Presidium as the executive and managerial body. In this situation, the co-owners ran into the problem of how to eliminate from the process of managing the Community forests, representatives of the district council presidiums who were unauthorised to make decisions. As it turned out, the mountain folk also managed with "the corner stone of socialist democracy". In recognition of the fact that the district properties and communes are considered to be state property and also indicate the clearly distinct character of the Community property (as the collective exploited property of a certain group of people), the members of the community - just as their grandfathers and fathers earlier - managed the property that had been given back to them as their own, and introduced their own appointed administration through entirely authorised persons.

In 1956, the authorities expressed their agreement that the collective property be transferred by the communities to the authorised persons in the specific 8 villages. The district authorities in Nowy Targ decided to have the administration manage the property of the authorised 8 villages, which this administration the authorities established among themselves in the form of Forest Committees from the specific villages. At the head of the Committees are their Leaders. The Leaders make up the Board. The property of the Community, formerly called the 7 Forests District (Community) in

Witów (and even earlier, 7 Communes), adopted their present name, the Forestry Community of 8 Authorised Villages in Witów. Despite the transfer of the property to the Community in administration, the authorities decided that the change in the registration of this property would be made at a later date. The Forestry Community successfully became autonomous. For example, as a result of the seven corrections introduced to the statute in 1976 and accepted by the territorial state administration authorities, the Community resigned from having to come to an understanding with (that is, consult with) the state territorial authorities on issues which are important to the Community. Those, for example, such as the election of a Leader, his deputy and the secretary of the Board, or necessary approval of the National Council Resolutions by the state administrative organ. This leads us to the problem of rules organising the Forestry Community activity

At this moment we note that from the historical point of view the Community was successful in maintaining its existence and performing in a productive (even obstinate) but also flexible manner, established self-governing policies. The role of culture, reflective choice and ideas of responsibility and freedom, appear to be incredibly important elements in the designed institution of collective activity. This is why, it seems, in documentation and letters concerning the Community, one often meets the opinion that it is "one big inheritance and a great treasure for only authorised persons - inherited from their ancestors, constituting the material basis of their existence, both present and past - both themselves and their descendants" thus their history "should above all recognise those who are authorised, such that those who use the forests can duly judge their sacrifice and suffering of their fathers for themselves and their descendants in obtaining these forests, so that they know how to respect this inheritance and not bring it to ruin" (J. Krzysiak 1959; 4, 25).

Bibliography

Beksiak, Janusz. 1994. "O restauracji kapitalizmu w Polsce" (The Restoration of Capitalism in Poland). In: *Pięć lat po czerwcu* (Five Years After June), Jan Winiecki (ed.), pp. 11-32. Warsaw.

Chmielewski, Piotr. 1994. *Nowa analiza instytucjonalna. Logika i podstawowe zasady* (New Institutional Analysis. Its Logic and Basic Principles). "Studia Socjologiczne", no. 3-4, pp. 216-253.

Dobrowolska, Maria. 1976. "Rola środowiska geograficznego i procesów osadniczych w kształtowaniu różnicowań kulturowych" (The Role of the Geographic Environment and Settlement Processes in the Formation of Cultural Differences). In: *Emografia Polski. Przemiany kultury ludowej* (Polish Ethnography. Changes in Folk Culture), Maria Biernacka, Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska, Anna Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, Wanda Paprocka (ed.), pp. 90-141. Wrocław

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1930. *Migracje włoskie na ziemiach polskich* (Walachian Migration to Polish Lands), Lvov

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1935. *Najstarsze osadnictwo Podhala* (The Oldest Podhale Settlement), Lvov

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1938. *Elementy rumuńsko-balkańskie w kulturze ludowej Karpat Polskich* (Romanian and Baltic Elements in the Folk Culture of the Polish Carpathians), Warsaw

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1960. *Studium nad kulturą pasterską w Karpatach północnych. Typologia wędrówek pasterskich od XII-XV wieku* (A Study on Pastoral Culture in the Northern Carpathians. A Typology of Pastoral Wanderings Since the 14th-20th Century). "Wierchy", vol. 29, pp. 7-51.

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1966. *Studium nad życiem społecznym i kulturą* (A Study on Social Life and Culture), Wrocław

Dobrowolski, Kazimierz. 1973. *Teoria procesów żywiołowych w zarysie* (Sketched Theory of Spontaneous Processes), Wrocław

Falnowska, Alicja. 1957 "Dynamika form i wysokości renty feudalnej w królewskich ziemiach Malopolski Zachodniej" (The Dynamics of the Form and the Level of Feudal Annuities in Crown lands of Western Malopolska) In: *Studia z dziejów wsi malopolskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku* (A Study on History of the Malopolska Village in the Second half of the 18th Century), Celina Bobinska (ed.), pp. 57-250 Warsaw

Marchlewski, Andrzej. 1982 "Obecne tendencje w turystyce tatrzańskiej a problem zagrożenia obszaru Tatrzańskiego Parku Narodowego" (Present Tendencies in Tatra Tourism and the Endangerment to the Tatra National Park) In: *Zachowanie walorów przyrodniczych a pojemność turystyczna górskich parków narodowych w Polsce* (The Conservation of Natural Qualities and the

Touristic Capacity of Mountain National Parks in Poland), Kazimierz Zabierowski (ed.), pp 67-78. Warsaw-Cracow 1982.

North, Douglass C. 1993. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge.

Nyka, Józef. 1972. *Tatry* (The Tatras), Warsaw.

Oakerson, Ronald J. 1992. "Analyzing the Commons: A Framework." In: *Making the Commons Work. Theory, Practice and Policy*, Daniel D. Bromley (ed), pp. 41-59. San Francisco, California.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1991 *Governing the Commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge.

Ostrom, Elinor, Roy Gardner, James Walker. 1994. *Rules, Games and Common-Pool Resources* Ann Arbor.

Ostrom, Vincent and Elinor Ostrom. 1991. "Public Goods and Public Choices: The Emergence of Public Economies and Industry Structures." In: *The Meaning of American Federalism. Constituting a Self-Governing Society*, Vincent Ostrom, pp. 163-197. San Francisco, California.

Owsinska, Anna. 1957. "Masowe wystapienia chlopów w królewsczyznach na terenie woj. krakowskiego" (Mass Peasant Movements in the Crown Lands of the Cracow Voivodship). In: *Studia z dziejów wsi malopolskiej w drugiej polowie XVIII wieku* (A Study on the Malopolska Village in the Second Half of the 18th Century), Celina Bobińska (ed.), pp. 401-441 Warsaw

Podraza, Antoni. 1970. "Rola gospodarcza Malopolski w okresie od XVI do XVIII wieku" (The Role of the Maloposka Farm from the 16th to the 17th Century) In: *Kraków i Malopolska poprzez dzieje* (The History of Cracow and Malopolska), Celina Bobińska (ed.), pp. 33-49 Cracow.

Putnam, Robert D 1993 *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, New Jersey.

Roszkowski, Jerzy M. 1993. "Sprawy wlasnosciove a ochrona przyrody w Tatrach. Niektóre aspekty zagadnienia" (Private Ownership of Land and Environmental Protection in the Tatra Mountains. Some Aspects of the Problem). In: *Ochrona Tatr w obliczu zagrozen* (The Endangered Nature of the Polish Tatra Mountains), Włodzimierz Cichocki (ed.), pp. 117-128 Zakopane.

Rozdolski, Roman. 1936. *Wspólnota gminna w b. Galicji wschodniej i jej zanik* (The Commune Community in Former Eastern Galicja and its Disappearance), Lvov

Solarczyk, Stanislaw 1993 *Historia Wspólnoty Leśnej Uprawnionych 8-miu wsi w Witowie* (The History of the Authorised Forestry Community of 8 Villages in Witów) Witów

STATUTE The Authorised Forestry Community of 8 Villages in Witów, based on legislation from 29.06.1966 on farming cooperative land /Legislative Journal Nr. 28, 3.07 1963, par.169/ and Administration of the Ministries of Agriculture, Forestry and the Lumber Industry from 28.04.1964 on the issue of establishing the Company Statute for the farming of Community land /Ministry of Industry on 21.04.1964 no.33 par.145/. 1966. Nowy Targ

Szykiewicz, Sławoj. 1976. "Rodzina" (Family), In: *Etnografia Polski. Przemiany kultury ludowej* (Polish Ethnography. Changes in Folk Culture), Maria Biernacka, Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska, Anna Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, Wanda Paprocka (ed.), pp 477-501. Wrocław.

Trafas, Kazimierz (ed.). 1985. *Atlas Tatrzańskiego Parku Narodowego* (Atlas of the Tatra National Park), Zakopane-Cracow.

EXTRACT From decree of 8 authorised communes; Czarny Dunajec, Ciche, Chocholow, Dzianisz, Witow, Podczerwone and Wroblowka. Lvov 9 September 1870 No.: 6336/S 1959. Witow.

Zientara Benedykt, Antoni Maczak, Ireneusz Ihnatowicz, Zbigniew Landau. 1965. *Dzieje gospodarcze Polski do 1939* (The History of the Polish Economy Until 1939), Warsaw.