

**SELF-GOVERNMENT, MEMORY & STRIFE:
NEGOTIATING THE PAST IN SELECTED VILLAGES
OF MOUNTAINOUS EVRITANIA**

Thesis Submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the effects of a particular past on a number of mountain villages in Evritania, Central Greece. Most fieldwork data are drawn from one of these villages, Agios Vissarios.

In the thesis, the particular past refers both to a local history coincident with a national one, and to the ways in which this history is reconstructed in contemporary historical discourse. Two features are identified as dominating that past: a changing dynamic between the rural community and the 'outside' on the one hand, and the experience of civil strife on the other. The framework within which these features are examined is provided by 'self-government'. This entails detailing aspects of Ottoman rule in Evritania; the grass-root experiments with forms of local administration and arbitration in the 1930s & 1940s; and the effects of civil war which followed World War Two in Greece.

Within this context the thesis considers how historical forces structure 'popular mentalities', like memory, and argues that aspects of village life today are predicated on the memory of its particular past. At the same time, the thesis illustrates one way in which anthropology and history can be fruitfully combined in the investigation of certain social phenomena.

The Introduction elaborates on these key issues and outlines some methodological problems, the resolution of which are integral to the organization of data in the thesis and the overall argument. The ensuing two chapters detail the Present Ethnography of the fieldwork area, identifying specific social relations to highlight the interplay between the village and outside forces, and the legacy of civil war. The Past is then covered in two parts. In the first, self-government is located within a socio-historical context. The ways in which memory acts in historical discourse are explored against this background. In the following part, the war years (1940-50) are considered in terms of the wartime institutions of 'popular rule' and their ensuing codifications. The wider economic and legal significance of the institutions for Evritania are also discussed. The final chapters of the thesis integrate aspects of Past and Present. The civil war is reappraised and the relationship to emigration is investigated. In conclusion, a hypothesis is advanced to illustrate how - through memory - the experience of a particular past acts to create a conceptual dichotomy which lies at the base of a complex but enduring village identity.

This Thesis is Dedicated to
Andrew Westcott
For All His Help and Hindrances

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ABBREVIATIONS/EXPLANATIONS

'Agios Vissarios' is a pseudonym for the village of Agia Triada. When I began my fieldwork a certain anonymity was necessary. In addition, the main church, after which the village is named, was in disrepair and not in use. Neither case is true today but it was easier to retain 'Agios Vissarios' which I had used in all my documents.

ATE	Agrotiki Trapeza Tis Ellados	Agricultural Bank of Greece
EAM	Ethniki Apeleftherotikon Metopon	National Liberation Front
ELAS	Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos	National Popular Liberation Army
EOT	Ethnikos Organosis Touristikou	Greek National Tourist Board
EPON	Ethniki Panelladiki Organosis Neolais	National All-Greek Organization of Youth
ETA	Epimelitia Tou Antarti	Guerrilla Commissariat
ESYE	Ethniki Statistiki Ypirisia tis Elladas	General Statistical Office of Greece
FEK	Filoprodos Enosis Karoplesi	The Progressive Union of Karoplesi
KKE	Kommunistikon Komma Ellados	Greek Communist Party
OTE	Organismos Tilephonikou Ellados	G r e e k Telecommunic- a t i o n Organization
OGA	Organismos Georgikon Asfaliseon	Organization of Agriculturalists Insurance
PEEA	Politiki Epitropi Ethniki Apeleftheroseos	P o l i t i c a l Committee of National Liberation
PJ	Peoples' Justice	
SG	Self-Government	
TEA	Tagmata Ethnikis Asfalias	Civil Guard

Region (<u>Periochi</u>)	As in the major geographical regions of Greece: the Pelopponese, Epirus, Sterea Hellas
Province (<u>Nomos</u>) or nomarchy	P r e f e c t u r e , politically appointed, administrative unit, as in Evritania
District (<u>Eparchia</u>) or eparchy	Sub-prefecture, no longer in existence
Municipality (<u>Demos</u>) or deme	Administrative area/unit comprising several villages/a town/a town with outlying communities; as Karpenisi now and previously Ktimenion and Dolopon
Community (<u>Koinotita</u>)	Political unit, usually a village, sometimes a village plus outlying settlements/hamlet(s) as Agios Vissarios
Hamlet (<u>Sinoikismos</u>)	Settlement with no independent political and/or administrative status (see hamlet of AP)

A province (nomos) is headed by a Nomarch or Prefect who is appointed by Central Government.

A municipality (demos) is headed by a major (Demarchos) who is locally elected.

A community (koinotita) is headed by the local president (Proedros) who is elected by the community. A Demarchos and Proedros are confirmed in office by the Nomarch.

'Turks'/'Turkish' throughout refer to Ottoman Turks unless otherwise stated.

The following notations refer to personal fieldnotes, e.g. (GE 1978 FNT):

GE = abbreviation for name of informant;

1978/9 = date ;

FN = fieldnotes;

T = tape-recording;

PC = private correspondence

M A P 1

EVKITANIA



Greece: The Location of the Province of Evritania

M A P 2

The Province of Evritania & Surrounding Provinces





MAP 3 : FIELDWORK AREA

M A P 4

ΚΤΙΜΕΝΙΟΝ AND DOLOPON



ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΥΡΥΤΑΝΙΑΣ

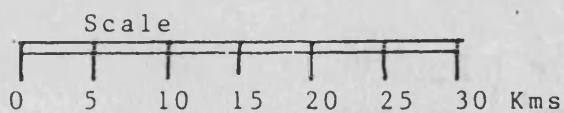
Source: Beikos 1976:10

The Former Municipalities of Dolopon & Ktimenion

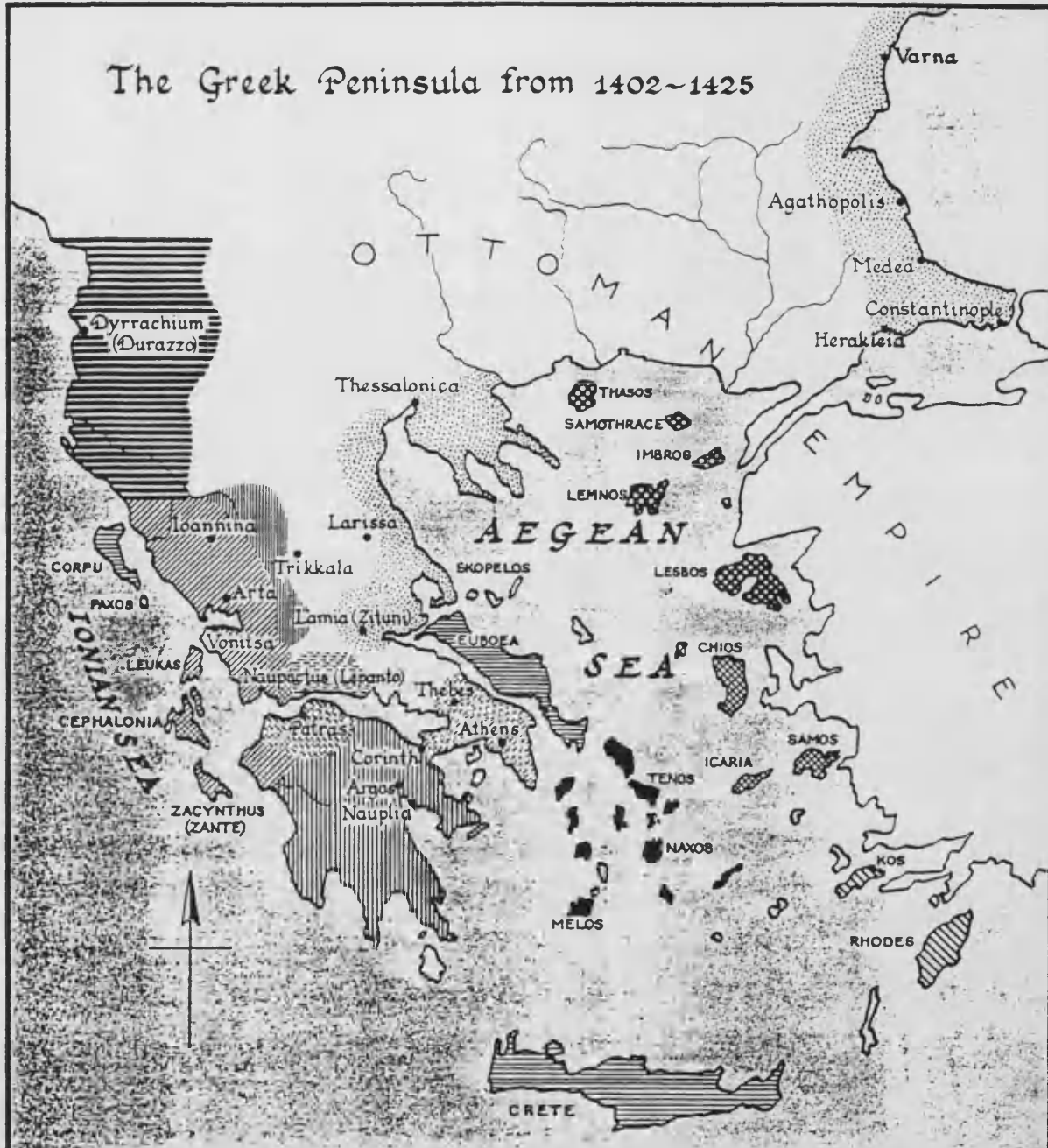
1 = Dolopon

— — — Municipal Boundary

2 = Ktimenion



The Greek Peninsula from 1402~1425



LEGEND

	Arabai (Albanians)		Possessions of the Tocci
	Byzantine Empire		Possessions of the Giustiniani
	Despotate of Morea		Possessions of the Gattilusi
	Duchy of Thebes & Athens		Knights of Rhodes
	Venetian Possessions		Possessions of various Frankish families
	Principate of Achaia (Patras - Possession of Latin Archbishop)		
	Semi-independent populations of the Pindus Mountains; AGRAFA		
	Areas belonging to various Albanian noble families, vassals of the sultan		

Miles

Kilometers

Source: Vacalopoulos 1970

The Greek Peninsula and the Islands from 1453~1460



I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.i. The Aims and Structure of the Thesis

Every community is constituted in the present and in the past. It follows that in studying it both anthropological and historical practices must at one point come together. This thesis outlines one way in which the two practices can be brought together and is about the effects of a particular past on a number of mountain villages in Central Greece.¹

I set out in my fieldwork to investigate aspects of the decade of war 1940-50,² and their consequences today for a group of villages in the province of Evritania. The period of German occupation and national resistance (1941-44) and subsequent civil war (1946-49)³ left many communities in Greece without formal government. As a result popular institutions known as 'local self-government' and peoples' justice'⁴ emerged in different parts of the country. My intention was to examine their historical, political and social context as well as their possible effects today on a number of villages in one Greek province; and to discuss the question of local government⁵ in that area more generally. What became crucial in this investigation were the ways in which people are seen to experience,⁶ interpret and use their particular history in the present.

My first interest, then, was in the nature and legacy of the wartime institutions of self-government. My second was in providing a wider context for assessing the institutions, and in examining the specific development of a group of mountain villages.⁷ The problem here was at once anthropological - dealing in the broadest sense with the articulation of a specific rural-agricultural social formation - and historical, in so far as I was interested in the particular past of, and

changes in those villages. At this point I was concerned to answer three main groups of questions. These were as follows:

1. Postwar Developments: What do postwar developments and today's villages owe to the earlier war period and to the institutions of self-government in particular? Did the institutions represent a radical departure from the past? Did they change the form of certain relations or assist in transforming them in such a way as to give the villages concerned distinctive characteristics today?

2. Village-State Articulation: Can it be said that village-state relations were altered and/or determined by these years, and if so, how?

3. Social Relations, Norms and Attitudes: Did the self-governing institutions of the war years affect specific social relations or disrupt seemingly traditional patterns of social interaction, norms and attitudes? I wondered, for example, how kin relations were used when the villagers themselves became the representatives and arbitrators of the law in a newly defined, local judicial system; or what were the implications of a new political order for older forms of power networks or hierarchical systems of stratification existing in the villages. How did the creation of elected committees dealing with every aspect of community life affect other forms of cooperation or of community administration? Were agricultural practices altered by the institutions, and if so, in what ways? Or again, I wondered, for example, whether drawing women into a more public and political sphere for the first time altered or shaped subsequent attitudes towards women in these villages.

As I set about exploring these questions it became clear that the reconstruction of this particular

past was not a simple matter. It did not only involve the delineation of certain historical conditions or events. The past had been variously experienced and continued to be interpreted and used in different ways in today's villages. This factor led me to consider a different set of issues. These concerned investigating the burden of that particular past in more detail. What did the war, for example, the institutions of self-government and the civil war actually mean to the village men and women concerned? In what ways are the events remembered and what cognitive or other contexts does this memory depend on? How do perceptions of the past - and of time - affect aspects of village life today?

In short, the issues now centred on an examination of memory itself. They involved investigating the contradictions between the observance and the remembrance of the past; considering local historiography in its different forms; and looking at the interplay between historical processes and cultural schemes.⁸ These are all aspects of what, for convenience, I shall treat under a general term of 'social memory'.

By examining these issues I aim to contribute to the understanding of the war years in Greece and broaden the context for assessing phenomena like self-governing institutions, as well as aspects of a rural-agricultural social formation more generally. My purpose is to show how the identity of a modern Greek village is in part created and maintained in terms of its past. On another level, the thesis sets out to illustrate how the historical process can be seen to structure popular mentalities,⁹ like memory. These provide data for the anthropologist seeking to comprehend a variety of social phenomena, but such mentalities also provide some of the terms for reaching a better understanding of just how people experience, conceptualise and use their particular past in the present. Finally, in the process of the investigation, I aim to illustrate how the two practices, anthropology and history, can be fruitfully combined when investigating key areas of social life.

The thesis is organized in the following way. In this Introductory Chapter, I will set out the background to and the events of the Second World War in Greece, of the formation of a national resistance movement and the emergence of the wartime institutions of self-government. I will also discuss the impact of the civil war. In doing so, I outline my methodology and the ethnographic problems I encountered, explaining how and why the question of social memory came to dominate my enquiry. The chapter will then examine the theoretical underpinnings both to the investigation as a whole and to my use of memory. This leads to a discussion on the nature of an alliance between anthropology and history or, to what I see here as, the parameters of an anthropological history. I will conclude the chapter by outlining some significant changes that have taken place in Greece since my fieldwork in 1978/9.

The rest of the thesis is divided into four broad sections. These represent 'the present', 'the past', 'the war years' and 'the dynamic between present and past'.

The first section, then, is concerned with the contemporary situation and comprises the main ethnography of my fieldwork area. Chapter 2 describes the province of Evritania, the village of Agios Vissarios (the village of focus) and the surrounding communities. The chapter identifies key elements of the social structure. The family, households and significant kin groupings in Agios Vissarios - all of which are also seen to be informed by the past - are discussed.

Chapter 3 considers principles of kinship and of politics and aspects of the local economy which underlie the social structure and inform the present. Of significance here is the correspondence between kinship and local political processes and how they continue to relate to a past dynamic.

The second section of the thesis deals with 'the past'. This section is concerned to locate local government, and community autarky more generally, in a geographical, historical and ideological context.

Chapter 4 discusses Ottoman rule and regional autonomy and their legacies for the communities in question. The focus here is on tracing the changing articulation between the village and the 'outside'.

Chapter 5 considers the past in broader terms both as a set of determining conditions and as an ideological construct. History is seen here as crucial in structuring the relationship between village and state, enabling or constraining self-governing elements. History is also considered in terms of memory which the historical process has, in part, structured but through which aspects of the present are manipulated. The chapter illustrates the concept of social memory, or forms of contemporary historical discourse, and also suggests how social time, social space and the social order are integrated in the village.

Chapter 6 outlines the growth and centralisation of the Greek state and its effects in Evritania. The chapter fills a historical gap in the chronology of the village and is intended to highlight aspects of the relationship set up between the village and central power. The activities of a group of local villages during the 1930s are presented in the chapter as a case study, illustrative of the changing dynamic between the community and the 'outside'.

In the third section of the thesis, the war years are examined in terms of the wartime institutions of self-government.

Chapter 7 considers the written codes which accompanied the self-governing institutions, their underlying principles, their form and application in the villages of Evritania.

Chapter 8 describes the economic, social and legal context of the institutions in Evritania. This chapter also looks

more closely at current landholding practices and agriculture in Agios Vissarios, examining the legacy of the institutions in these areas.

The fourth section of the thesis illustrates some of the ways in which the present and the past are integrated in Agios Vissarios today.

Chapter 9 focuses on (i) migration and on (ii) the civil war, suggesting that in different ways both are central to understanding the village in terms of its past and present. Migration has been built into the history of the province but migration and the civil war are, in fact, intimately connected in the historical trajectory of Evritania. They continue to affect the province and its villages and, significantly, they continue to shape perceptions of both the present and the past.

In Chapter 10 I conclude by summarizing the questions I posed in Chapter 1 and reconsidering issues surrounding the experience and memory of a particular past. In this chapter I develop a hypothesis as to how these processes lie at the basis of the enduring identity and particularity of a modern Greek mountain village.

Relegated to the 4 Appendices at the end of the thesis are information and discussions considered parenthetical to the main arguments of the thesis but intended to further illustrate and support them.

1. ii. THE DECADE OF WAR

1.ii.(a) German Occupation

The events which brought Greece into the Second World War, the subsequent German occupation and emergence of a national resistance movement are now well documented.¹⁰ Recent historical works have also analysed most of the features of conflict and the complex causes of the following civil war continue to be passionately debated as new evidence comes to light.¹¹ Among the many consequences, these events had the effect of leaving numerous communities, especially in mountainous Greece, unadministered in a formal sense. In many places this led to the development of provisional and experimental forms of local government expressed in what are now known as the institutions of self-government and peoples' justice.¹²

Partly because of its location and geographical inaccessibility,¹³ the province of Evritania was never actually captured and held by the Germans who therefore remained a relatively distant threat for many of the villagers.¹⁴ As a result, the area became an important centre for the national, anti-German resistance movement and especially for the largest and best known organization, The National Liberation Front (EAM) and The National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), though smaller resistance groups also formed in and around the province.¹⁵ As such, Evritania not only became important in military and tactical terms but the administrative policies of EAM were developed and put into practice here for the first time. It is generally agreed that the first definitive step for the development of self-government was taken on 11th October 1942 when the famous partisan leader, Aris Velouchiotis,¹⁶ reached the village of Fournia in north-eastern Evritania and there dissolved the representatives of the existing state machinery. Velouchiotis disbanded the regional magistrates court, the local police force, the fieldguards and the forestguards.

Shortly afterwards - and probably at the initiative of local EAM representatives - the surrounding villages¹⁷ summoned village assemblies and decided to elect general committees to direct village affairs with the help of various sub-committees.

By 1943 EAM had evolved a well-defined system for the administration of all the free or liberated areas of Greece and the self-governing institutions were able to mature as EAM's military wing, ELAS, extended its control over large parts of the country. The first written code for self-government, known as Poseidon, was drawn up by a group of four Evritanian villagers and appeared at the end of 1942. The other written codes followed in quick succession.¹⁸

The village of Agios Vissarios was the seat for the first general headquarters of ELAS. Set up on 25th May 1943, its GHQ officially began to function and issued its first orders from there.¹⁹ As one village woman remembered,

... they appropriated my house, they took it for themselves to be their headquarters. Yes, I met them all, Sarafis the General, Aris, that boy from Lamia, all of them passed through this very house and the British too. I knew them all ... (YOL 1979 FN)

Less than a year later, on 10th March 1944, the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA)²⁰ was created by EAM. Known as the first 'government of the mountains' it met the following May in a small Evritanian village just south of the provincial capital, Karpenisi. The PEEA aimed to organize and direct the struggle for liberation on a national level, to harmonise its administration of all the regions freed from the Germans as well as to ensure that postwar Greece be governed by a 'true Democracy'.²¹

All these factors had far reaching consequences for Evritania. Firstly, being part of free Greece and mainly under the control of the largest resistance group, EAM-ELAS, had profound effects on rural life. Even those unsympathetic to the general aims of EAM agree that there were largescale changes,

The benefits of civilisation and culture trickled into the mountains for the first time. Schools, local government, law-courts and public utilities, which the war had ended, worked again. Theatres, factories, parliamentary assemblies began for the first time. Communal life was organised in place of the traditional individualism of the Greek peasant ...EAM/ELAS set the pace in the creation of something that Governments of Greece had neglected: an organised state in the Greek mountains. (Woodhouse 1948:146)

Secondly, all the villagers - whatever their opinions and whether actively or passively - were involved at least with the administrative policies of EAM, if not recruited to its ranks or to those of ELAS as fighting people. Finally, exactly because of this widescale involvement with the resistance forces of EAM-ELAS, the effects of the civil war which followed were severely and bitterly felt in Evritania.

1.ii.(b) Civil Strife

The events surrounding liberation and the withdrawal of German troops from Athens in December 1944 and the scenes of conflict and bitter fighting which followed over the next two years - known as 'The Second Round'²² have now been well researched and documented though they remain matters of heated controversy.²³ The

point here is that these events set the stage for the fullscale civil war of 1946-49.

The exact role played by the British and later the USA; the activities of the OSS²⁴ (to become the CIA); the secret agreements between the British and the USSR and the part played by the tenuous, 'official', Greek government which had returned from exile; the role of the Greek king and the parakratos (see below) on the one hand, and on the other, the inconsistent policies of EAM and the changing demands of the PEEA,²⁵ the arguments within the Greek Communist Party (KKE), (cp Grambas, P. 1990: 181ff), its changing character and the growing rift between its Central Committee and the fighting people in the mountains, (cp Van Boeschoten 1990), as well as the precipitative events of December 1944,²⁶ are all essential components in this complex picture.

The consequences of these events for the mountain villages of Evritania were devastating. Villagers had been relatively united during the war in the face of threat from foreign occupation. Relative order had been established and many local problems solved with the establishment of self-government. Local conflicts had also been subdued, partly as a result of the operation of peoples' justice which attempted to deal with the many disputes, and partly as a result of the policing of ELAS. Now, in the climate of post-liberation uncertainty and confusion, old village divisions and disputes reasserted themselves and disagreements concerning the different resistance groups themselves and their concomitant differing political aims re-emerged. By March 1945 fighting between splinter left and rightwing armed groups as well as raids on villages and vendetta killings, had become common. By the summer the so-called 'white terror',²⁷ had assumed enormous proportions and the Right in general had succeeded in wresting control from many of the villages previously sympathetic to EAM. This it did with the aid of irregular rightwing bands who were often comprised of old-timer, outlawed brigands.²⁸ In general,

the agents of the 'white terror' were drawn from the National Guard, many of whom had been members of the Security Battalians during the occupation (ie. collaborators with Germans) as well as different nationalist, mainly royalist, organizations, and bandit gangs.²⁹ Elements of these groups had existed previously in Evritania but they had either left the area during the occupation or their powers had been severely undercut by the strength of and support for EAM-ELAS in the province. The aim of these rightwing groups was now to literally annihilate Communists, the Left in general, their sympathisers and anything to do with them.³⁰ By the end of 1945 they had been coordinated on a national level and formed, in effect, a paramilitary state within the state (the parakratos) which under ensuing postwar governments was in place to exercise unprecedented power over the whole of Greece.³¹

Apart from the bands which now terrorised the villagers of Evritania, Karpenisi also became the scene of bitter fighting between the government's National Army, and the Democratic Army which was comprised of former ELAS partisans and the remnants of the progressive forces.³² The Democratic Army held Karpenisi during 1948 and again for 18 days in 1949. It was finally defeated there and disappeared into the mountains on 8th February 1949 leaving government forces holding a town which was now in ruins and filled with a refugee population. For, by this time, many villagers had fled their homes and scores of others had been removed from their villages by the National Army.

By 1947 many villagers sympathetic to EAM were obliged to serve in the National Regular Army, while others enlisted in, and some, particularly women, were under pressure to join the Democratic Army. Yet others who had simply lived under EAM administration in their villages or had been involved in - or elected to serve in

- the institutions of self-government, not only lived in terror of reprisals but found they were suddenly discredited by the government or forbidden to mention their previous involvements. Similarly, those who had served as popular magistrates, and especially those who had been tried in the popular courts, were encouraged to condemn the system as illegal. Gradually the whole anti-German resistance organization of EAM-ELAS was thrown open to doubt and discredited as being 'anti-Greek' and unpatriotic.

It was in 1947, finally, that government forces evacuated the remaining inhabitants of the mountain villages of Evritania. The action was explicitly aimed at denying possible recruits, supplies and information to the forces of the Left. Both the National Army and leftwing groups began to burn, loot and destroy houses and fields adding to the already existing devastation of villages. One man, now living permanently in America, remembered,

I was doing my national service. I had been called up because I was of age. I remember we came near here to the village of S.... We helped the families leave for fear of the andartes (partisans of the Democratic Army), those bandits. Then they (the informant's superior officers) made us set light to the fields, the fruit trees, the crops that were so high ... my heart cried to see it, the trees of our grandfathers and the work that had gone into the fields ... that's why afterwards I went far away from here... (PMB 1978 FN)

The evacuated villagers returned to their homes in 1950. Greece was by then nominally at peace. At least 600,000 people had died in the preceding ten years. One and a half million Greeks were homeless (out of a population of little more than 7 million) and over 2000

villages had been completely burnt down. All communication networks (roads, railways, bridges, telephones, harbours) had been virtually destroyed. Approximately 100,000 refugees had fled across the borders to Eastern Europe while thousands remained in prison or were exiled on remote Greek islands. National production was almost at a standstill.³³


The first elected postwar government³⁴ fell within 8 months and the second within a year. There followed a chaotic period of coalition and cabinet realignments between liberal factions and the Right, during which time American presence became more dominant both in terms of economic aid and behind the scene manipulations.³⁵ Finally, on 16th November 1952, in the third general election in two years, Marshal Papagos³⁶ was elected (with American assistance) and the future of the Right in Greece was assured. With it an unprecedented anti-Communist and anti-'progressive' ideology grew to dominance and permeated every aspect of social, cultural and political life. This created an irreconcilable rift between what was labelled the 'national attitude' on the one hand, and the remnants of the 'progressive forces' on the other.³⁷ Attitudes and opinions about the war, and especially about the civil war and its causes, which did not accord with this ideology - as well as thinking about the past in general terms - were influenced and moulded by this rift.

The whole civil war period had seen radical changes in the villages of Evritania, reinforced by the three year evacuation. Few of the Left, or former partisans now remained and those who ventured back even much later were carefully watched.³⁸ The wariness of anyone 'on the left', arising directly from the civil war, still exists in these villages. In a community like Agios Vissarios this has grown into a general distrust which permeates many social relations especially with people from outside the village. When I was in the village, workers contracted to do a job in the village were obliged

to show identity cards to the local police. This is a legal requirement but not a practice normally enforced in other parts of Greece. Such workers were regularly questioned by members of the village on political matters, or often pressed to listen to the 'real story' about the civil war. The story told was that the civil war was the result of 'a small group of Russian-inspired thugs' attempting to seize power and impose a 'communist dictatorship' on Greece. By-and-large this view is propounded by a handful of men who hold the more powerful positions in the village today. Teachers, the occasional doctor and other professionals who are appointed by the state to serve in the village are also carefully watched, to see what newspaper they buy or whether they spend too much time in the company of the known 'village Communist'.³⁹ As recently as the 1970s appeals were made to the local, rightwing MP to remove a teacher, a doctor and even a bulldozer driver, on the grounds that they were 'dangerously left', because of something they had said or because they kept company with the Communist. Newcomers to the village are 'observed' by the fieldguard whose job is also understood to be informing on anything 'untoward' in the community.

Such factors suggest how the 'national attitude' grew to dominance after the civil war and seeped into the thinking of many villagers. This does not mean, however, that there is either a consensus of opinion on all such matters or a uniform political interpretation of the civil war. What it does mean is that differences are often camouflaged and that most people reflect this ideology in the manner in which they talk about the civil war. It also means that the interpretation of events - history itself - has had to be reformulated, sometimes in terms of the official version and a particular terminology, sometimes - as I will argue in the thesis - in more complex ways.

TABLE 1A - GENERATIONAL INFORMATION OF INFORMANTS

TIME PERIODS	1910-1920	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960	1977-1979 (fieldwork period)
DATE OF BIRTH						
1900	Adolescence	Military Service for 1922	Fully Active Adult. Involvement in SG etc.	Active/Declining		70-80yr olds and above (Mostly women)
1910	Childhood	Adolescence	Military Service (Resistance)	Fully Active (civil war)	Active/Declining	60-70yr olds
1920		Childhood	Adolescence	Military Service (war, resistance, civil war)	Fully Active	50-60yr olds most involved in war period Dominate today
1930			Childhood	Adolescence	Active/Military Service/emigration	40-50yr olds postwar generation (Those remaining, important today)
1940				Childhood Born during war	Adolescence	30-40yr olds many migrated today
1950					Childhood	20-30yr olds most gone today
	= Key Informants for war years and self-government					

1. iii. METHODOLOGY

1.iii.(a) Ethnographic Obstacles and the Civil War

In this section I outline my methodology and explain in what ways it was influenced by the interpretation of the particular past outlined in the previous section.

The main method used to carry out my research was participant observation. I spent a total of 15 months between 1977-79 based in the chief (kephalohori) village of a group of six communities in the north-eastern part of the province of Evritania.⁴⁰ During the rest of the two-year period I also met and interviewed people in Athens and in other parts of Greece⁴¹ and used, or searched for, relevant documentary material. Most of the detailed work was based on research in the single village, Agios Vissarios, though included are - at different points and for different reasons - the other five communities of the cluster as well as a number of other villages in the province considered relevant to the study. This use of what I have termed 'different spheres of inclusion and emphasis' is more fully explained below (1. iii.(b)).

My main informants were those living in the village(s) today. That is, both those who had experienced the war years and younger villagers.⁴² Work among these people mainly took the form of informal interviews, discussions, shared activities and observation.⁴³ In addition, I interviewed numerous people - mainly on a semi-formal basis with pre-prepared questions. This group of informants were mostly men⁴⁴ and had either been involved in some way with Evritania during the crucial war period but had subsequently moved away, or they had some specialised knowledge or involvement with the institutions of self-government. The latter were not necessarily from Evritania and, in some cases, had never been there.

Interviewing this group of informants, together with my search for documentary evidence on the period,⁴⁵ was an arduous task, not only because of what emerged as the difficulties attached to talking about the subject but also because such people were widely dispersed and many leads proved disappointing.

It need hardly be said that a major advantage of participant observation is that it assists in uncovering certain objective conditions and patterns of social relations inaccessible through other methods. Equally important, especially for my research, it helps to give access to the meanings that people attach to those conditions and relations.

I attempted to offset the obvious limitations of the method by the use of local archives and other relevant written material. I was greatly hindered in this by the lack of both available local statistics and adequate archival material. In Evritania such material is virtually non-existent or in such a condition as to be of little use. Karpenisi, the urban centre and provincial capital, where some of my material was collected, was destroyed by fire several times, under the Ottoman Turks and during the Second World War. Few documents therefore remain from before 1944. The civil war, in turn, led to the destruction of many villages in the province so that few community records, or indeed, private papers remain intact from before 1950. For administrative and other reasons, not many local archives exist after 1950. More general, local statistical information tends to be regularly destroyed because, it is said, of the lack of storage space and other facilities.

Until recently Evritania was an area in which there was little government interest. The province was considered barren, of little interest to tourists and lacking in agricultural potential. Inadequate road communications, and lack of electricity and telephone

networks added to the picture of neglect. There was, therefore, little concern in carrying out systematic research in the province for future statistical or other information. The Agricultural Bank of Greece (ATE) has now made attempts to carry out surveys but much of the material is still in its infancy and often inaccurate. In more recent years Greece's membership of the EEC and the government's interest in developing tourism away from coastal areas has stimulated more research in the province, but this too is in its early stages.

When I was in the field I used what material was available (mainly, incomplete community records and information from the local branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and the ATE) and I have collated my own - village based - figures where I thought this was necessary. I also relied on published memoirs, critical commentaries, local and national newspaper articles and written historical sources. The work of one local historian with whom I had numerous discussions, was particularly helpful.⁴⁶ In addition, I sought out and made a detailed analysis of the written codes for the wartime institutions of self-government.

The fact that I came up against insufficient data and information not adequate to fully answer the questions I had posed about the institutions of self-government, is integral to the form my researches took and to the final outcome of my thesis. Although the problem here, it must be stressed, was not ultimately linked to the inadequacy of relevant documentation or of local archives, but to a particular interpretation of past events.

It comes as no surprise that the whole of the war period had profound effects on the local inhabitants and had consequences which in specific ways are still fresh in people's minds. Some members of

today's community of Agios Vissarios, for example, were invalidated while fighting the Italians on the Albanian front in 1941.⁴⁷ As well as acting as an obvious reminder, this is important because these people claim they would not have stayed in the village if they were able-bodied. Family members or co-villagers who died as a direct result of the famine in the winter of 1941⁴⁸ are remembered in remembrance services still held in the church or through shrines built for them in the village; and the images of starving townsfolk who appeared in Agios Vissarios and collected round the villagers' flocks begging them for sheep's milk, are still vividly recalled.

Most significantly, the subsequent civil war has meant that nearly every family in the village today has lost at least one member who was either killed, went missing, fled to Eastern Europe, or emigrated elsewhere. The devastation of fields, crops, fruit trees and livestock changed the topography of the area and meant, among other things, that production had to change after 1950. Political repression consequent to the civil war also altered the forms of local political representation and affected the general power structure in the village.⁴⁹ There are many reminders of this past. In this sense the historical context of Agios Vissarios can be said to be charged by the years of war and civil strife.

What was relevant for me as regards the occupation period and the institutions of self-government was the fact that I came up against either a lack of suitable data in trying to reconstruct this past or an unwillingness to discuss the institutions in any detail despite a general, tacit, agreement that they had indeed occurred in these villages, and despite the fact that many of those living in the villages today had in one way or another been involved with self-government.

I decided this lack of information went beyond a mere political sensitivity to these subjects. This was, firstly, because there was not a uniform conspiracy of

silence surrounding them; secondly, because they were not outrightly condemned in the way in which most other matters pertaining to the resistance movement in general, or suggesting 'communism' or the 'Left', tended to be vociferously attacked. Finally, the whole manner in which the institutions were obliquely alluded to seemed to suggest something more.

In brief, as already indicated, major events - the Italian/Albanian front when Greece entered the war, the German occupation as a whole, the famine, the resistance movement in general - were mentioned but mostly in terms of the personal experiences they afforded or sometimes to pin down another kind of memory or make a general proverbial point.⁵⁰ But the specific events of the early 1940s and especially the institutions of self-government, remained clouded in a shadowy silence.

My earlier concerns about the ways in which the self-governing institutions of the early 1940s might have affected or disrupted previous patterns of social interaction, community norms or attitudes, no longer seemed directly relevant. There was, at least, no easy or direct access to numerous questions on the subject.

In contrast to this silence, the period of the civil war was constantly referred to in most conversations, whatever they were about. Talking about the weather or travelling could mean the weather in 1947 or leaving the village at that time. Opinions about other places might involve a description of how they were during the civil war. Attitudes towards different people, friends, kin, or towards the state or nation, as well as a host of other judgements, might be predicated on the civil war period as naturally as on anything else or on anything more recent.

It is interesting in this context, but at first surprising, that the village under Ottoman rule (during the late 18th and 19th centuries at least) also proved to be a very common referral point in everyday conversation. This

is a point I shall return to in more detail. The lack of detailed information on the occupation period and on the institutions of self-government⁵¹ coupled with the importance of the civil war and the emphasis on an Ottoman past, seemed to suggest other possibilities concerning the perceptions and representations of the past. Indeed, the lack of local data (or the lack of consensus on certain historical events) and the selective use of history (over which there was considerable consensus) led me precisely to the question of social memory.

Part of the centrality of the civil war lies in the fact that during it all the communities of Evritania were removed to neighbouring towns.⁵² Among other things, this meant that the physical continuity of the villages was actually broken for the first time since their settlement. Apart from the hardships the villagers underwent as refugees, their removal from the villages had a variety of consequences.⁵³

With the break up of the village, the social community was dispersed and all forms of social reckoning - a whole body of knowledge - were, temporarily at least, rendered meaningless (cp Loizos, P. 1981:199). For instance, property ownership within the village, including land, livestock or even of a shop, as well as kin status, shared values and criteria for the judging of everyday events and social behaviour, were no longer appropriate when removed suddenly from the well-defined boundaries of the community to which they referred and of which they were part. Local disputes and social relations in general assumed new, and often national, political significance in which, however unwittingly, few villagers remained neutral. In addition conflicts that existed between the village and 'outer' society, that is, the whole articulation of the village and the state, acquired different dimensions redefining assumed boundaries and acts of both consensus and resistance.

Evacuation also meant that people, especially women who had travelled less, were brought into contact for the first time with urban living, with new knowledge, with different standards of behaviour.⁵⁴ Juliet du Boulay (1974) found the same to be true for the inhabitants of Ambeli who were also evacuated from their village during the civil war. Following repeated questioning of her informants on the subject, she concluded that evacuation awakened,

... the villagers to an awareness of a standard of living and a range of ambitions of which they had until then been hardly aware. (p.241)

Du Boulay noted that, consistent with what most of the Ambeliotes themselves believed, the most radical transformations in village life - 'new ways of thought and new customs' - date from that period.

It is reasonable to assume that the consequences of civil war were such that however the preceding institutions of self-government were applied, and whatever their significance at the time in the life of the community, the following civil war coloured the assessment of the earlier events.

Under previous conditions, self-government had taken place within the framework of daily community life and could be assessed in those known terms. And indeed, eye-witness accounts⁵⁵ have acknowledged the importance of this aspect especially as regards the dispensing of justice through popular, local courts. Arbitration 'according to conscience'⁵⁶ referred above all to what were considered local traditions and customs and the social values of the community as well as a particular knowledge of the person on trial as a co-villager.

Such observations go some way in explaining why the villagers are today unwilling to discuss events of the early 1940s. It is likely that combined with intense postwar, anti-resistance and anti-leftwing reprisals and propaganda, the events of the civil war - and especially evacuation - deprived the people concerned of a framework within which to discuss the institutions of self-government, and of a basis on which to judge them in the future. Under the circumstances it was perhaps easier to obscure them from memory and deprive them of any continued historical significance.

The lack of information, however, could suggest that the self-governing institutions of the early 1940s only scratched the surface of village life. Historical and eye-witness accounts of the time suggest that this was not the case. Villagers in these mountain areas were actively involved in running their affairs and attempts were made by them to bring about radical reforms in existing rural-agricultural conditions.⁵⁷ Women voted for the first time and some were even elected to the popular committees. Whole villages attended and discussed local court hearings. Many issues were openly debated - ranging from questions of watering rotas to those of marital conflicts - and decisions were made collectively. Responsible members of the community were freely elected and they were not invariably Communists or members of the resistance forces. Disputes were settled and agreements reached without recourse to outside magistrates or a superior legal body. Cooperatives were formed, community food stores collected and supplies distributed. Finally, local theatre as well as other forms of entertainment were developed by the villagers themselves. This period (1941-44) undoubtedly saw widescale changes which fundamentally altered rural life.⁵⁸

The silence surrounding the events of the self-governing institutions has possibly an alternative basis. Perhaps the institutions did not constitute a radical change in community life. It is possible, for example, that they were seen as a continuation of developments which had been gathering momentum throughout earlier periods. That is, various attempts at improving local rural and agricultural conditions and in establishing certain legal and other politico-economic rights had long been on the agenda. There is evidence to support this view as I shall discuss further in chapters 4, 6 and 8.

My point here is that the silence surrounding the institutions of self-government in the early 1940s, may suggest a lack of importance. It may be that the institutions have not been selected by memory as remarkable exactly because they were not radical innovations. Instead, they are comprehended as part of a more general state of affairs which had certainly occurred in the 1930s and intermittently existed - albeit in different forms - throughout earlier periods. The self-government of the early 1940s, then, took place within this framework. The real changes, or rupture, came with the civil war. For this reason the modern history of the village is divided by the villagers into (i) the 'prewar' years which include the Ottoman past, up to 1946/7; (ii) the civil war, 1946/7 - 1950, and (iii) 'after', that is, 1950 to the present.

This local periodisation redirected my own investigation. It became obvious that the self-governing institutions had to be appraised in a broader historical context that included a whole set of relationships, or perceived relationships, between the village and the state. Understanding this context might help explain the silence surrounding the early 1940s and the form and apparently limited effects of self-government. It would

also help to explain the centrality of the civil war and the reconstruction of an Ottoman past. It would explain too how the villagers today define themselves within such a context. In other words, the way in which the local inhabitants remember their past led me to reformulate my historical periods. The war years (1940-50) are not seen locally as a single unit but became separable into two distinct parts. In this, the institutions of self-government appear as part of a longer pre-war process and the civil war emerges as crucial and determining. It was the civil war which brought about a radical transformation of village life within the space of a few years, and for most people it marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one. The civil war also, however, informed and changed perceptions of the past and continues to influence the present.

On a methodological level, such issues also concern the best ways of approaching data which *are* obfuscated not only through time (historically) but for other - social or ideological - reasons as well. That is, this kind of information not only relies on the sometimes uncertain memories of the old but it is inevitably constrained by both past and present events and social relations.

This brings me back to the question of how a particular history is experienced, conceptualised and used in the present. On the one hand, my concern here is to explore how the wider forces of history - changes in objective conditions brought about by such events as war or civil war, and generated outside the community - are brought to bear on that community and how they are perceived by its inhabitants. On the other hand, the question arises as to why 'historical' memory is selective in this sense. Why have the inhabitants of Agios Vissarios chosen to remember and emphasize certain historical periods or events such as the late Ottoman period and the civil war? The puzzle for me was why these periods alone should be selected for

memory when other periods (events of the occupation or in the 100 years or so from Greek independence in 1821 to the Metaxas Dictatorship of 1936?)⁵⁹ remain understated though they appear as equally eventful and formative.

In order to give the different strands of my argument a comprehensibility and cohesion in the thesis, I have identified what I term distinct spheres of inclusion and emphasis. The schema underlies the overall organization of my data. In the following section I shall explain more fully what is meant by this methodological device.

1.iii.(b) Spheres of Inclusion and Emphasis

The general argument of the thesis and the problems I encountered with aspects of my data collection, led me to identify what I have termed, different spheres of inclusion and emphasis. This represents an attempt to avoid the limitations of a single-unit analysis and points up the fact that the whole investigation is subject to certain constraints often imposed by the research itself.

For obvious reasons, it is rarely possible to undertake an in-depth study - based as it is on personal observation - of more than a limited geographical area. The concentration on a single village or social group, however, tends to give the impression that they exist in some kind of isolation. More recent studies of Greece have adequately dispelled this impression (examples include Comminos, M.; Handman, M.E.; Herzfeld, M.; Vermeulen, H. among numerous others).

It is true to say however that in the past Mediterranean anthropology was influenced by ideas and techniques developed in the context of small, 'exotic', societies outside Europe. This sometimes resulted in distorted accounts of the self-containment or isolation of Mediterranean communities, or in seeing the village as a microcosm of the whole society rather than as an integral part of it.⁶⁰

At the same time, any investigation is limited by available information. This refers to both the physical and social availability of different kinds of data. In my case, some documentary material was available for only the province and not for individual villages; other information was at hand for some villages but not for those within my fieldwork area. Finally, other data were forthcoming but they remained outside my defined spheres of interest. Similarly, as I have suggested in the

previous section of this chapter, certain information was not directly available for historico-political or for social reasons. When dealing with the reconstruction of a particular past, time lags may also be an obstacle in the collection of certain data, while the reliance on oral sources may pose its own problems (see below 1.iv).

In order to counter impressions of isolation, because of the constraints imposed by information gathering and the nature of that information itself, and also because of the retrospective aims of my research, it seemed useful to identify several distinct spheres of ethnographic inclusion and to focus on different analytical units within each sphere. The aim is to place the fieldwork village - Agios Vissarios - into a spatial or socio-geographical and an historical context while emphasising specific elements at different stages of the enquiry. The emphasis on different socio-geographical spheres or on different historical periods is partly imposed by the limitations of this kind of anthropological research but the emphasised spheres are also considered to be more explanatory in the overall argument.

Agios Vissarios is the main fieldwork location from where the bulk of my data are drawn. As such it stands alone as a focus for investigation. It can be argued, that certain social phenomena can be better understood by limiting oneself to such a confined social and geographical space. This allows for detailed and in-depth investigation and for greater familiarity with informants. It is at times also possible to make certain inferences from the single case which then becomes exemplary. In this sense, Agios Vissarios exemplifies certain local structures and processes. It elucidates an historical process under the Ottoman Turks or during the Second World War. The village is paradigmatic of local economic structures and illustrative of certain kinship patterns, political trends and cognitive processes.

At the same time, Agios Vissarios is today one village in a specific Greek province which, as distinct from other provinces in Greece, displays its own characteristics and trends. Agios Vissarios is also the 'chief' (kephalohori) village among a group of settlements, which implies a distinct set of shared relationships. These include various political dominances, patterns of intermarriage and of kin groupings, as well as common agricultural practices, a shared history and shared memories.

Over and above this, it is important to note that Agios Vissarios was a village in the district of Agrafa during Ottoman rule. This is part of understanding a necessarily formative past, especially as regards self-government and the articulation of the village and the 'outside'. Considering the Ottoman period also gives an idea of how the village was constituted and administered over a considerable time and in what ways it may have altered. Most importantly, this past remains highly significant in the minds of local people today and is part of their social memory.

As my research was largely concerned with the war years and especially with the wartime institutions of self-government, it is equally important to locate Agios Vissarios in the former administrative areas (ie. municipalities) of Ktimenion and Dolopon where, even before the war, types of self-government appeared and its different forms were later applied. An investigation of self-government here would be meaningless if all the other villages of the former municipalities were not also taken into consideration. Both Ktimenion and Dolopon, and their villages, seen then as a single unit, suffered the same fate during evacuation and during the civil war.

What has occurred and occurs in Agios Vissarios (and the elements of investigation) operates in a number of directions and within a variety of what may be

termed spheres.

Schematically, and in its simplest form, this can be portrayed as a series of concentric circles with Agios Vissarios at the centre.⁶¹ The schema may be read in any direction, outwards from the village, or inwards from the state, with the focus falling onto any one 'circle' at appropriate stages in the investigation.

In terms of participant observation, Agios Vissarios (circle 1) is central. Neither the particularity of the village nor its generality, however, can be properly understood without moving outwards on the schema. At each 'circle' greater insights can be acquired. The other 'circles' can be ignored at times, as in a discussion of residential patterns or of household composition within the village today. At one point, even here, however, the other spheres must also be considered. Household composition within Agios Vissarios today is also influenced by 'outside' factors. The conditions of the province (circle 4) more generally and migration in particular; the patterns of social interaction between neighbouring villages (circle 2) and their implications for kinship, as well as more recent historical factors (circle 3), also influence household composition in the contemporary village.

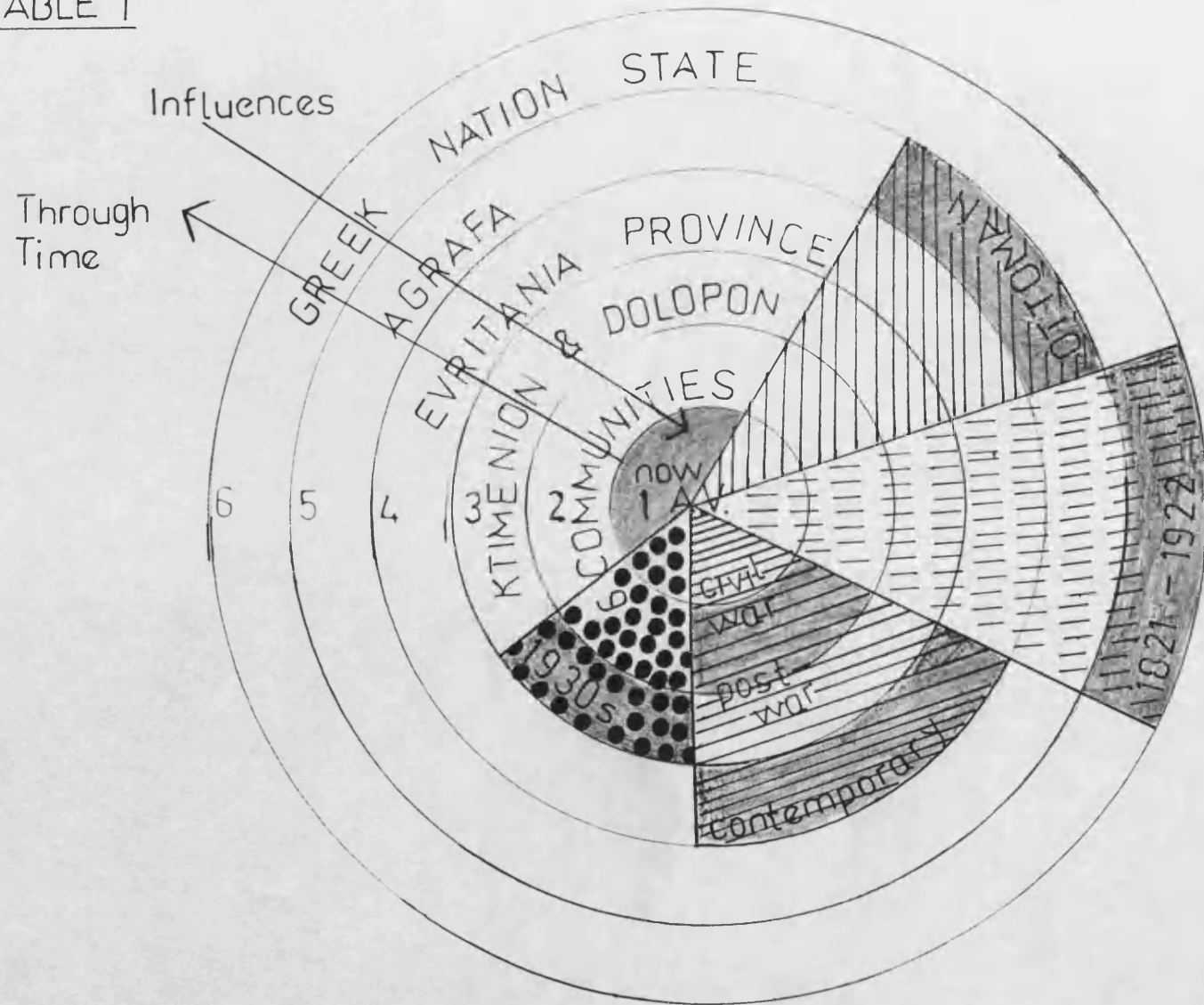
On another level, much of what takes place in Agios Vissarios today is not fully comprehensible without a knowledge of what occurred during the war years and especially the civil war. Yet a discussion of the war years cannot be accurate without considering what was happening at least in a wider periphery of villages (circle 3). This history is part of understanding aspects of Agios Vissarios today, while knowing how the village perceives the Ottoman period (circle 5) appears important in other respects. Both have contemporary significance for the local inhabitants. Finally, all this takes place, and has taken place, within the parameters of what is defined as the Greek nation state (circle 6). The

development of the state (especially in the period between 1821-1922) and the contemporary dynamic and ideological significance of the Greek nation, have implications for each identified socio-geographical sphere, in the past and in the present. Sometimes such factors are directly articulated with the single village, Agios Vissarios, and sometimes via another 'spatial' or historical sphere.

In short, not only does Agios Vissarios not exist in isolation but a reading of the village can take place within a variety of contexts ('spheres') and in a number of directions. At times it has been necessary to consider only one such sphere at the expense of another. Sometimes this has proved necessary because of the lack of available data, sometimes because it provided the context for a better understanding of the issues concerned.

In the following section I will consider the theoretical framework which informs my argument in the thesis.

TABLE 1



SPHERES of INCLUSION & EMPHASIS

CODE TO TABLE 1 - SPHERES OF INCLUSION AND EMPHASIS

1. THE VILLAGE
Agios Vissarios (b) Contemporary aspects emphasised but also
(a) The village through time and in a wider socio-geographical context.
- See especially Chps. 2 & 3
2. THE SIX COMMUNITIES
of the cluster (b) Contemporary aspects emphasised but also important for
(c) Civil war (+ postwar period)
- See especially Chps. 2 & 9
3. THE MUNICIPALITY
Ktimenion and Dolopon (d) 1930s emphasised but also crucial for early 1940s and self-government.
- See especially Chp. 6
4. THE PROVINCE
Evritania (a) Seen through time as area in which Agios Vissarios located (important for local government).
(b) Contemporary emphasis.
- See especially Chp. 2
5. AGRAFA (e) Ottoman period emphasised but has
(b) Contemporary significance
- See Chps. 4 & 5
6. THE GREEK NATION STATE (f) 1821-1922, development of state emphasised but
(a) Ongoing significance
- See especially Chp. 6

<u>Code Explained</u>		<u>Shown As</u>	
(a)	=	Through Time	
(b)	=	Contemporary and Postwar	
(c)	=	Civil War	Horizontal Lines
(d)	=	1930s, Early 1940s, (self-governing instits.)	Black Dots
(e)	=	Ottoman Period	Diagonal Lines
(f)	=	1821-1922	Short Dashes/Lines

Shaded Areas = Emphasised Periods.

Thus: most of the socio-geographic spheres are affected in each historical period but the investigation focuses on certain periods and/or areas in each sphere.

1.IV. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

1. iv. (a) Anthropology and History

At various stages of its development anthropology has been explicitly anti-historical. This is clearly no longer the case. With a trend in more recent years - and for a variety of different reasons - for anthropologists to study more industrial, literate and even European societies, as well as a greater concern with different types of issue,⁶² anthropology and history have forged a new and closer alliance. The newer concerns have necessitated a far greater use of history in anthropology, as already illustrated in various ways by numerous anthropologists.⁶³ At the same time, anthropology has assisted in changing the parameters of much historical investigation by locating new areas of interest.⁶⁴ The issues involved have been debated for some years by both disciplines.

The advantages of moving away from a rigid distinction between the two disciplines and finding the terms for a more historical anthropology have been many. They were, perhaps, most explicit in the study of so-called peasant societies. In the past, to take one example, anthropological studies of specific agricultural communities tended to offer purely cultural explanations, delegating rural populations to a general peasant category which was then comprehended through the

operation of supra-historical constructs such as 'amoral familism' or the 'image of limited good' (Carr, B. 1980:6)

On the other hand, more historical analyses, and particularly theories of development and under-development, have tended to reduce rural-agricultural populations everywhere to a 'periphery' which is then considered a somehow homogenous sector of

the world capitalist system. Such studies have underplayed the equally pressing need to understand local systems in their own terms.⁶⁵

What was sought was a corrective to both positions. This has been achieved in a number of ways. One way has been to combine anthropological fieldwork with the intensive use of historical sources, such as local archives.⁶⁶ Another way has been the use of historical categories deemed more appropriate for dealing with social transformations or the conditions under which certain social relations change. In this, anthropology in the broadest sense, has contributed to the examination of

'internal forms and structures by which social formations are seen to define, distinguish and reproduce themselves' (Nugent, D. 1985:72).

Anthropology's methodology has assisted here in uncovering elements of the social formation while its concepts, developed in anthropological discourse, have helped in giving access to the meanings people attach to those elements. At the same time, such concepts have provided some of the terms for understanding certain objective conditions and the patterns of social relations. This type of examination is historical, not only because it may use historical sources or because it deals with the development over time of 'internal forms and structures', but in so far as different anthropological concepts are,

... thrust back into the ensemble of meanings of a specific historical context. (Thompson, EP 1972:46)⁶⁷

Endeavours of this kind, however, already beg many questions about the nature of an alliance between anthropology and history.

Historical sources in the form of archival material are not always available, nor indeed desirable, to the anthropologist. In addition, the use of archives represents only one type of possible alliance between the two practices. Given the methods and traditional subjects (ie. living informants) of anthropology, oral narratives are more likely to be the focus of research than archives and of greater historical interest to the anthropologist. Indeed, the use of oral testimonies suggests that 'history' has always been a part of anthropological data though it has not always been recognised as such.

At the same time, oral sources, as both anthropologists and historians (cp Portelli, A. 1981; Thompson, E.P. 1978A&B; Vansina, J 1961) have pointed out, pose their own problems. Oral sources have their own characteristics and functions; they have a particular relationship to material conditions; they may be complimentary to other kinds of sources and they require specific interpretative methods. Equally,

Narrators are important ... but eye-witnesses are not what they seem ... (and) ... 'facts' cannot be straight-forwardly extracted as data from the discourse in which they appear ... (Tonkin E. MS nd:1)

As Tonkin (MS nd, 1981 & 1987) and Portelli (1981) for example, have made clear in different ways, the structuring of representations of the past (history) and the social milieu in which such representations are forged and enacted, are as much part of this kind of analysis as what is represented.

Any alliance between history and anthropology, as Thompson (1972, 1978B) has argued, often ignores the fact that there has not been an easy consensus on the form the relationship between the two practices should take, nor indeed, on how each practice is to be

defined. Thompson emphasises that anthropology has evolved distinctly from, and often in opposition to, history. History, on the other hand, which has developed 'in close intellectual partnership' with economics, has evolved its own concepts and categories,

arising from the analysis of diachronic process, of repeated regularities of behaviour over time (1978B:16)

This factor alone has a variety of implications. Among other things it suggests that anthropology cannot offer an 'historical typology' to facilitate the analysis of social transformations in the way that history can. Anthropological findings, furthermore, do not necessarily have intrinsic value as 'typological facts' about all human societies in the sense that such historical concepts of Capitalism, Class and Ideology might have.⁶⁸ Thompson cites these points as a warning to historians against the uncritical use of concepts borrowed from the synchronic sciences as a whole, concepts which may anyway still be conflicting or disputed within those disciplines. Similar warnings might apply equally to anthropology's uncritical use of historical categories (cp. Weber, E. 1977 and the debate over the use of the term 'modernization' and see Rosaldo, R. 1990) which may be rendered meaningless when applied to certain anthropological contexts and still ignore the need to understand local systems in their own terms. By the same token, when anthropology turns to history to facilitate the analysis of social change, other kinds of problems are raised.

One of these problems has to do with the different levels of analysis implied by each discipline. This involves a general issue. It is a question of changing emphases: of how to make the transition from a more universalistic view of social relations (afforded, by-and-large, by history) to a historically specific one (afforded by the findings of anthropology).⁶⁹ The issue is also particular. Ultimately, it involves determining

how precisely history is to be used in asking contemporary anthropological questions, and in deciding what are the questions that history can help anthropology to answer (cp Smith, CA 1985).

Three main areas of interest can be identified at this point. One area has to do with refining the use of history in anthropology and showing how, in fact, the latter has contributed to this refinement. This is important because many of the questions raised in the general discussion about history and anthropology have come about precisely because of anthropology's contribution. My intention in raising the issue is to pave the way to showing how history may be used in asking anthropological questions. The second area of interest follows. It concerns looking more closely at the ways in which history is created in the field of anthropology. What is at stake here is how anthropology can define and interpret history in such a way that it becomes part of contemporary data. How, for example, are

historical knowledges generated, formulated, distributed, muffled ... (Tonkin 1987:2)

and, significantly, how do such knowledges relate to contemporary social practice? (ibid).

The relationship between material conditions and historical discourse, or memory which this implies, is complex. So, too, are the ways in which changes in social practice alter historical representations (Tonkin MS. nd:17) or, indeed, vice versa. Such matters make up the third area of interest derived from considering an alliance between anthropology and history.

In the rest of this section I will consider each of these areas in turn. My purpose is to explain the basis of my main concerns in the thesis and to outline the major steps which led to the formulation of my particular problematic. The issues referred to in the following pages are, of course, part of a much wider discussion in which many have been and are involved, and which spans a

variety of separate discourses. These include the problems of moving from general to more specific views of social relations within history; issues about the relationship between 'social being' and 'social consciousness'; between 'structure and 'agency; or between history, society and ideology more generally; arguments - especially anti-Structuralist ones - within Marxism as well as debates surrounding the uses of history in anthropology or vice versa.

I have not sought to review any of these nor, indeed, to provide a summary of the more recent and diverse uses of history in, say, the Mediterranean field. Rather, to simplify my argument, I have drawn selectively from the works of a few scholars. These scholars - namely Edward Thompson,⁷⁰ Maurice Godelier, John Davis - who can be said here to loosely represent 'History', 'Marxism' and Anthropology' - are used in an exemplary way to illustrate the points I wish to make and to explain my problematic.⁷¹

My attempts to investigate the consequences of particular historical events, and the anomalies with which I was faced in my fieldwork, lie behind these considerations and, especially, the formulation of social memory.

1.iv.(b) Refining the Use of History in Anthropology

In Discussing some of the dangers involved in forging an alliance between history and anthropology, Thompson (1978B) has pointed out that the relationship between the two practices cannot be general or 'of any kind'. Ultimately, it must be specific,

speaking for a position in either discipline and not the discipline as a whole (p16)

It is not surprising that the most rigorous development of the relationship between the two practices has been conducted between Marxist anthropology and Marxist history. Marxism as a whole has resulted in important shifts of emphases, from, for example, material

life, onto 'economics'; or from attitudes and values onto ideologies; and on to class hegemony and control from stratification and social consensus. Most significantly, perhaps, Marxism has also sought, not only to explain how such elements are related but how they are caused and change through time within a single social formation (Thompson 1978B passim). Successful dialogue between anthropology and history, Thompson adds however, also presupposes a specific position within the Marxist tradition. It is in the delineation of such a position that anthropology has played a leading part. As Thompson puts it,

Anthropologists ... have long insisted upon the impossibility of describing the economy of primitive societies independently of the kinship systems according to which these are structured and the reciprocities which are as much endorsed as enforced by norms and needs. But it is equally true that in more advanced societies the same distinctions are invalid. We cannot even begin to describe feudal or capitalist society in 'economic' terms independently of the relations of power and domination, the concepts of use-right or private ownership (and attendant laws), culturally-endorsed norms and culturally-formed needs characteristic of the mode of production. No agrarian system could be continued for a day without complex concepts of rights of use and access and ownership: where are we to put such concepts - in a 'base' or a 'super-structure'? Where are we to put customs of inheritance ... which are tenaciously transmitted in non-'economic' ways and yet profoundly influence agrarian history? Where are we to put the customary

rhythms of work or of leisure (or festival) of traditional societies, rhythms intrinsic to the very act of production and yet ritualized ... by religious institutions and according to religious beliefs? (1978B:18)

Anthropology has, in this sense, helped point up the inadequacies of certain historical analyses. Drawing on ethnographic examples Thompson has confronted the shortcomings of an overdeterministic, 'base-super structure' model of society. A model in which a mode of production and its associated relations of power and ownership are interpreted as being narrowly, and ultimately economically, determined.

Godelier has long debated such issues within anthropology. In a more recent article The Ideël in the Real (1982), he summarizes his position by means of "two main theoretical findings".⁷² Godelier's findings refer, firstly, to his view that the distinction between base and super-structures is not one between levels, instances or even institutions but, "in its underlying principle, it is a distinction between functions" (p16). His second 'finding' refers to his view that "any social relationship whatsoever contains within itself an ideël element" (p16 Godelier's emphasis). With these 'findings' Godelier provides further insights into the kind of questions posed by Thompson.

For Godelier, then,

A society does not have a top and a bottom, and it is not a system of 'levels' piled on top of the other. It is a system of relations between men ... (1982:16)

These relations are 'hierarchized' in different societies according to the nature of their functions. The hierarchy itself is determined by those relations which are seen to

dominate the functioning (and evolution and reproduction) of a given society, which to do "they must necessarily fulfil ... the function of a relation of production" (p30).⁷³ This 'finding' helps to explain a variety of social realities, or how it is that different kinds of social relations or activities can be dominating in different types of society. Godelier cites Kinship among the Australian aborigines, Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia and Politics in the Ancient Greek city-states as prime examples of different types of social relation functioning as relations of production at various stages of history.

In developing his thesis Godelier, like Thompson, explicitly challenges the whole base/super-structure concept. Godelier does this, in short, by showing how in the course of history,

... relations of production or economics, do not occupy the same locus and consequently do not take on the same forms nor is their mode of development the same, and hence they do not have the same effects upon the reproduction of societies. (1982:25)

Godelier's second finding, that any social relation contains within itself an 'ideël element', is closely related to and amplifies the first. The ideël element, he defines as, 'thought in all its functions'. These functions are identified as 'forming', 'interpreting', 'organising' and 'legitimising' ones.⁷⁴ In short, the ideel, for Godelier, comprises a complex body of representations. These representations are seen to be indispensable to the 'use' of material reality, and not only connect sequences of action (eg. within the labour process) but, at a deeper level, are linked to indigenous philosophical or cosmological conceptions. What is crucial is that every social relation contains such representations and these are not merely the form social relations assume in our consciousness, but are part

of their very content (p.16). Such elements of thought, therefore, do not exist in the mind alone. They are a part of material reality. They are expressed through language and in other practices, like ritual, and they are communicated through the generations. Thus, they include the means by which the representations are transmitted within a given 'culture' (Godelier 1982:passim). In other words, the ideel refers to those very systems of power and of domination: to those concepts of use-right, of ownership and inheritance: to those culturally-formed and culturally-endorsed norms and needs, quoted above by Thompson, 'without which no agrarian system (for example) could be continued for a day'.

The ideel, for Godelier then, includes all the elements of thought that go into the forging (eg. the use of tools and the rules of manufacture), organizing (the division of labour, class, caste) and use of material means. In this way social reality is seen to comprise two intimately interwoven components, a material one and an ideel one (p.32). Thus thought Godelier argues, belongs of necessity to the productive forces, and if thought in this sense is found

.. lying at the heart of the most material aspects of social activities, this shows a fortiori there can be no social relation that does not contain within it an element of thought, an ideel element. Seen thus, thought ceases to be a 'level' that is separate from other levels. By demonstrating its presence everywhere in social reality we can progressively diminish or even abolish the notion of 'level' or 'instance' (Godelier 1982:21)

Thompson's view is comparable in that he asserts that the culture, the norms and the rituals of the people concerned are "intrinsic to the mode of production

itself, to the reproduction both of life itself and the material means of life" (1978B:20).

These points illustrate what is meant by anthropology's contribution to critical questions about the use of history. For anthropology - and Marxist anthropology in particular - has helped locate specific problems for certain kinds of historical investigation and it has called into question the tendency to describe a mode of production, or relations of power, only in economic terms, leaving aside,

... as secondary (less 'real') the norms, the culture, the critical concepts around which a mode of production is organized. (Thompson 1978B:18)

This is not new. It underlines Thompson's assertion that any relationship between history and anthropology must be 'specific', 'speaking for a position in either discipline'. The reconsideration of elements of the social formation which this position implies, of how such elements are related, caused and change, has also widened the field of what 'history' might include. That is, the general discussion has led, among other things, to a reassessment of certain questions and the locating of new areas of interest where, for example, the emphasis is as much on thought, or on cognition in general, as on historical materialism or certain objective conditions (which, anyway, inform cognition and which thought informs).

This factor sets the stage for the re-introduction of the individual subject, "squeezed out by Structuralists and Marxists alike" (Thompson 1978A:262), for it is individuals, not structures, who 'experience' history, who think and represent, who make certain decisions and act in various ways. And, it can be argued, it is individuals with whom anthropology is ultimately concerned.

The position here leads to the importance of peoples' 'experiences' that is, the form in which "men and women consume their lives" (Thompson 1972:49).⁷⁵ I shall return to this shortly.

Both 'thought' and 'experience' then, define areas of history with which this thesis is concerned. Anthropology's demonstration of the fact that it is impossible to describe, certain economies at least, independently of the other systems according to which these may be structured leads to my final point: how history may be defined in such a way within anthropology that it becomes part of contemporary data.

1.iv.(c) History as Contemporary Data

In the Mediterranean field, John Davis (1974 & 1980) has long since drawn attention to questions concerning the 'history in anthropology venture'. In a recent article (1989) he develops his earlier notion that "events become historical because they happen to people with social relations" (1980:534). Davis' more recent article provides an excellent example of how history may be defined in the field of anthropology, illustrating in what sense history becomes contemporary data.

Reflecting on Lison Tolosana's Belmonte de los Cabelleros (1966), and attempting to apply some of its methods and results to his own data on contemporary Libyan tribesmen (the Zuwaya) and official Libyan historians, Davis argues that different kinds of history are produced by different kinds of social relations. Indeed, representations of the past are distinguished by their 'social relations of production'. That is, history is not seen to be just a socio-cultural product (a complex body of representations) and consisting of events, it involves the structure of relations among those who construe events (Davis 1989:106)

This is a complex notion which brings together two important features. Firstly, it points to the structuring of social relations in producing certain kinds of historical discourse and event. Secondly, it relates - in specific ways - historical representations to social practice. Arguing along these lines, then, Davis identifies three kinds of history: generational (of Belmonte), genealogical (of the Zuwaya) and nationalist (official Libyan history).⁷⁶

The history of Belmonte in Spain is seen to be the product of relations between generations (relations of prime significance in Belmonte social order). Here the construction of history rests on the "re-active re-interpretation of events" (p105) based on generational opposition. Thus, past events are 're-interpreted' in 'reaction' to the interpretations of the previous generation and form the basis for present action. In part, the opposition between succeeding generations in Belmonte has been moulded by the historical experience of civil war but it continues to affect and be affected by a contemporary Belmonte and national context.

For the Zuwaya, alternatively, events are structured by genealogy. Seemingly contradictorily, as Davis illustrates, genealogy also has the effect of collapsing time. This does not make it any the less a form of historical discourse. Genealogical history has a necessary sequence and order, in terms for example, of naming and events, but 'no essential time-reference' (p108). It becomes instead, more a set of rules for present practices, such as political or matrimonial ones.

... a tale of the working of principles in an essentially timeless world (Davis 1989:110).

Through genealogy Zuwaya idealise the past making it continuous and unchanging - an 'always' - but importantly, producing decisions and actions meant to replicate that image of the past. In this way, Zuwaya history is also confrontational for it opposes different genealogies (lineages and tribes) and it is in opposition to any kind of wider unity, such as a state. By idealising the past and presenting it as 'static, backward-looking, unrealistic' (p111) Zuwaya history also continuously confronts the present, changing reality. Despite its timelessness, genealogy for the Zuwaya, nevertheless acts to create a sense of a past, as well as acting as a format for present actions, for it "contributes to the experience of group identity now" (Tonkin MS. nd:22). This is to claim, as Tonkin does,

that people are thinking historically if they recognise themselves as part of a group and that this thought is action which helps them be one. (MS. nd :22)

The suggestion here is that representations of the past (whatever their form) are also actively and intimately linked to the creation of certain kinds of social identity,⁷⁷ though

the relationship between the remembered past and social identity is complex and takes place at various levels (Pina-Cabral 1987:725)

Clearly, official Libyan history is explicitly concerned with the forging of a Libyan, national identity.⁷⁸ Resulting, in this case, from Qaddafi's revolution it is, however, a history with a different kind of production, one primarily located in the official historians' relation to the revolution itself and to Qaddafi's government. Official history has a role which ultimately includes the replacement of

genealogically-based representations of the past by a single, nationalist one. Davis argues, however, that this does not make it exclusive, nor does it imply the re-writing of the past in a distorting or concealing sense. Rather, it aims at the construction of a history which can complete the essentially partial and sectional genealogical accounts and can reduce polemical representations and conflicts within 'a nation' (p115).

In developing his general argument - which I have only outlined here - Davis is concerned to create a model, to show how

people give meaning to events, and then decide on current actions partly in the light of their knowledge of their past ... (1989:104)

Current actions create other events which in turn are given meaning ... and so an historical process is continued. In brief, each kind of social relation, be it generational, genealogical or nationalist, produces a different kind of text. Texts are "typical products of meaning" - or historical representations, 'memories' - attached to past events. Each text, in turn, plays an important part in creating different kinds of future (ie. other events). What is suggested here relates to my earlier questions about the ways in which historical knowledges are generated, and how such knowledges are linked to social practice.

Davis has considered one way in which historical knowledges may be generated. By illustrating how various representations of the past are constructed in Spain and in Libya, he shows how different kinds of social relations can produce such representations and how they influence social practice. In doing so, Davis sets up a particular dynamic between history (as event) and memory or historical discourse (as text). This connexion not only affects other representations (eg. genealogical ones) but

it affects current social relations and future events (such as political ones).

There are a number of issues implied here.⁷⁹

I am concerned with some of the conclusions which derive from these, and as discussed in particular, by Elizabeth Tonkin (MS. nd & 1987) in a very different context.

The first and most obvious conclusion is that there exists a complex dialectic between representations of the past - or memory - and the social milieu. As Tonkin describes it,

... nobody's ability to recall is independent of the social milieu because it is through that milieu that the cognitive ability is forged. Equally, the social milieu is not independent of the cognitive operations of the persons in it. In so far as the milieu exists as practices, these practices act dialectically, structuring the people who think and act them. History, meaning the conscious and articulated narrative representations of what community practices have been, would further modulate this dialectic, but it would not be autonomous, and it would be shaped by and through the dialectic (MS nd:10).

Tonkin arrives at this through careful and critical analysis of 'the social', of the complexities of socialisation, and of memory and cognition more generally. She supports her arguments with a range of data from her own work in Eastern Liberia, from work done on the Mormons (cp Davies, D. 1988), in Papua New Guinea (cp Strathern, M. 1984) and other places. It is not my intention to detail Tonkin's arguments but to draw attention to certain relevant points. These are, in this case, (1) that memory is seen to mediate between the social world and thought in

an active, if complex, way, and (2) as Tonkin asserts, that

a model⁸⁰ of creative cognition and social habitus is the best guide to explaining the relationship between remembering and material conditions (MS nd:17 My emphasis)

There is, then, as Tonkin argues, no one-to-one homology between representations of the past and the social order. This is partly because both categories include representations (p26). It is partly because memory includes the ability to 'forget', to misrepresent and to misrecognise. Such 'mis-representations' nevertheless have important effects. It does not make them 'wrong', not least because "truth is complex and has many faces" (Tonkin 1987:5).⁸¹ What is crucial is that such 'misrepresentations' too, remain

part of the reality, acting on reality but not the whole of reality (MS nd:23)

This means, among other things, that "truths are not self-evident facts-in-themselves" (Tonkin 1987:11). Several points follow. As Tonkin illustrates, truths arise, or historical knowledges are generated, in a variety of structures and rhetorics as well as within particular social relations. What becomes significant here then is the structuring of historical evidence: the ordering, the plotting, the terminology of historical discourse as well as its implied assumptions (about, for example, human nature or the individual's relation to society) and the ways in which such assumptions 'are embedded in representations which direct certain interpretations' (Tonkin 1987:3). On another level, what is also important is the implied existence of a multiplicity of - often conflicting - perceptions of the past (and of social times) and how their unification within a given society integrates them with the social

structure (cp Willis 1986/7:248). Or, as Pina-Cabral has demonstrated with evidence from the Alto Minho in Portugal, how

attitudes towards time and towards the past of one's society are profoundly related to attitudes towards social space and social order (1987:717)

The point is that histories, and in this case oral histories, cannot be considered neutral reservoirs of static knowledge from which useful facts can be extracted (Tonkin 1987:2) and where debate revolves around what is 'true' and what is 'mythic'. Indeed, naturalistic/realistic accounts of the past can be equally 'mythic' and mythic interpretations 'true'. Instead, histories acquire a vital dimension in who speaks them, where, when and for what reasons become of crucial importance; where the 'facts' themselves may be revealed to be representations and 'truth' may relate to other social realities.⁸²

As I have said, an important aspect of Davis' analysis is that it links memory to action. In the broadest sense, this link not only relates the social order to representations of the past, implying a complex dialectic between the two, but it admits to change from the outset. Historical change, then, ceases to be just a structural feature but, crucially, it involves the actions of individuals in particular social relations, as well as thought itself.⁸³

1.iv (d) Experience and Change

In his sustained attack on Structural Marxism (1978A), Thompson identifies the category 'experience' as crucial for understanding the part played by conscious human choice, beliefs and particular actions, in history. Experience, for Thompson, is the "crucial medium by which men and women convert objective determinisms into subjective initiatives" (Anderson, P. 1980:17), the juncture by which "structure is transmuted into process and the subject re-enters history" (Thompson 1978A:362).⁸⁴ It is for Thompson,

... a category which, however imperfect it may be, is indispensable to the historian, since it comprises the mental and emotional response, whether of an individual or a social group, to many inter-related events or to many repetitions of the same kind of event. (1978A:199)

'Experience', then, involves the meanings people give to their social and productive conditions and relations. It also reflects the ways in which these conditions and relations are actually lived by the community with its norms, expectations and the popular mentalities it reveals. The category experience is also crucial in understanding the conflicts that might arise within a community or between the community and the 'outer', dominant society. It is precisely through experience in this sense that an understanding of the ways in which changes occur at all can be reached (Thompson 1978B:passim).

In other words, by use of the category experience, Thompson endorses the view that historical change is not a simple process, that it is not just a structural feature, nor something that can be superimposed

on a 'normal' static view of social life in the community. Changes do not eventuate because a given 'infra-structure' gives rise to a corresponding 'super-structure'. In Thompson's words, changes

... are experienced in social and cultural life, refracted in men's ideas and their values, argued through in their actions, choices, beliefs (1978B:22)

When a mode of production changes, or when relations of power or elements of the social structure change as a result, perhaps, of certain conflicts into which the community is drawn, or between the community and the dominant social order, so does the experience of men and women. This can then be understood in a variety of ways: in 'the cognitive organization of social life,' in new ways of thinking, as well as in kinship,(gender) and class ways and in a variety of different actions of consensus, resignation or resistance (Thompson 1978B:21).

Under attack from his critics,⁸⁵ Thompson later refines the category by dividing it into 'Experience 1 - Lived experience' and 'Experience 2 - Perceived experience' (1981:405/6). This serves to clarify the process of how history can be said to work through experience. Lived experience, in the Greek case for example, would include war/occupation, resistance fighting, civil war, widescale emigration, economic crisis as well as related and separate developments in daily community life. These types of experience force people to think in new ways, to reconsider, for instance, the balance of power, the law, the economy and even kinship and gender relations. The changes resulting from the lived conditions and the new thinking give rise to changed experience. That is, they give rise to different lived experiences and new perceptions - even of the past.

Experience, then, is part of the historical process and refers to a complex set of responses of men and women to certain events. As a category it seems equally indispensable to the anthropologist who considers the past, and it helps define the kind of history that can be made use of in anthropology. Access to this kind of experience, it may be argued, is in part provided by considering memory, or what I have named, social memory.

1.iv.(e) Social Memory

Memory, as I have indicated, is highly complex and a term which by definition directs one not just to the past but to the 'past-present relationship' (Popular Memory Group 1982:211).

The term 'social memory', coined by Daniel Nugent (1985) in a Critique article about Mexican peasants, refers to a continuous discourse on past events and relations, as well as present ones, which takes place among a group of people. In my use it emphasises the ways in which the people concerned are seen to experience and use their past in the present.

I have not used the term in a vain attempt to introduce into anthropology a new concept or different analytical construct. Memory as a whole covers a multitude of analytical and cognitive contexts and some specification seemed necessary. I use social memory simply to identify memories of a certain kind, or more precisely, to identify memories about certain kinds of events, and which can be said to cut across other kinds of remembering. In other words, I have used the term to mark social memory off as a particular type of discourse within a clearly specified context.

All memory is, of course, social in so far that it is forged, derives meaning from and acts dialectically within a social milieu. By using the term social memory, however, I wish to emphasise that it is not in this case derived from genealogy or the life cycle (cp Davis 1989), nor from the history of the village with its particular seasons, festivals and cyclical or repetitive rhythms (cp Zonabend 1984),⁸⁶ nor is it explicitly derived from the integration of social time, social space and social order (cp Pina-Cabral 1987), though it is part of any or all of these. Social memory, and this is my focus, derives from the social effects of history itself.⁸⁷

In what ways, then, can social memory be said to cut across or relate to other aspects of memory?

Social memory in Agios Vissarios is individualised and 'privatised' (cp Popular Memory Group 1982:206ff). That is, it is biography but biography which is also historical 'fact'. The discourse on certain past events and relations does not, for example, appear as formal narration making explicit claims (although this type of more official testimony was forthcoming in certain contexts, especially by the men). The discourse with which I was concerned, appeared as individual accounts often making implicit biographical and/or historical claims. It was a discourse rooted in and using shared experiences and perceptions of past conditions and relations, but presented as personal. Thus a man 'remembers' the 'secret' Greek schools operating under the Ottoman Turks during the 18th century, but is describing his own schooling in the village during the early part of the 20th century. His account is all the more meaningful because he alludes to both a shared experience (ie. among his contemporaries) and a shared perception of Ottoman rule. Another man talks of his childhood activities but outlines political events in Greece as a whole.⁸⁸ A third describes Ottoman rule in terms of the relationship between his grandfather and the local Turkish Aga but is also claiming a position in the village today. A woman

recalls her marriage and proudly lists the items of her trousseau but at the same time she is describing the effects of civil war,

... and I had two woven blankets, patterned, of the large kind - made by my mother - but they were lost when they came and took us from our homes and after we returned, it was in 1950, the chest wasn't behind the door any longer ... Oh! I had many, many things, embroideries, covers, sheets, petticoats ... all of them lost afterwards. We lost everything and if you married then it was difficult and in a woollen dress - where could you find silk or even cotton? And the field up at R... you know you've seen it, which my father gave me you understand, to be mine ... well afterwards we couldn't work it. The trees were burnt, there were not enough people ... (PIN 1978 FN)

There are many such examples where, it can be said, history is individualised and privatised, or where a "more privatized sense of the past ... generated within a lived culture" (Popular Memory Group 1982:211) emerges. This kind of memory, of course, points to the complex nature of autobiography in oral recall generally (cp Samuel, R. 1980). Among other things, it presupposes a particular relationship between the person who remembers and the shared perceptions and experiences of the past. It also presupposes an evaluation of the 'self' who organizes the 'evidence' in particular ways, around certain events or relations, or around the very use of 'I' or 'We', as well as an understanding of how this memory relates to the social order more generally.

Tonkin (1987) has illustrated the complexities involved among the Liberian Jlao showing how, in an opposite fashion, recall can assume a formality which is not individualised (though it may include personal experience)

and how informants may deliberately subsume an 'individual personality' beneath a 'social being' (though the two are never confused) to make different kinds of statement. In the Greek context similar shared events are presented as personal or biographical. One reason for this, as I shall argue, has been the removal of an adequate public/formal context by a dominant, non-village, (mis)interpretation of those events.

For this reason social memory is also popular in that it does not necessarily accord with dominant, public or official historical representations but is nevertheless in relationship with and influenced by these. Neither is social memory only individual and privatised. It is collective in that it is shared by a group of people who share a past and over which there is some consensus. What is important here is the structuring of evidence. For the ways in which evidence is presented, when and by whom, indicate, not only how the past relates to the contemporary social order, but outline a particular relationship between local representations and national or other accounts.

Social memory, finally, has no necessary chronology. There are omissions and different time-scales are juxtaposed. In Agios Vissarios an Ottoman past immediately precedes the present, the civil war of 40 years ago is part of contemporary life. They combine in what might be called a dichotomy of time.⁸⁹

As I have said, my interest lies in exploring how the wider forces of history are brought to bear on the community and how they are perceived by its members. Social memory is part of the experience resulting from these 'forces' and the accompanying transformations in the economic, political and socio-cultural life of the community. It forms, among other things, a conceptual continuity with the past. My point is that social memory provides certain historical

data for the reconstruction of an 'effective' past. At the same time, it illustrates just how a particular history is experienced, represented and continues to be used in the present. It provides, in other words, some of the terms for understanding such data.

1.V. : CHANGES IN GREECE SINCE MY FIELDWORK

There have been important changes among the villages of Evritania since the late 1970s. The Government of Andreas Papandreu (PASOK) which was first elected in 1981, recognised the resistance effort and EAM-ELAS are no longer officially discredited. Over the last ten years 'dissidents' have returned to Greece for the first time since the civil war. Memorable achievements of the resistance⁹⁰ are now officially commemorated in a new spirit and the dead and the missing of the Left are remembered together with others. I recently learnt that even a questionnaire concerning the self-governing activities of the occupation period, has been circulated in the province adjacent to Evritania. In 1985 Evritania also elected its first left-of-centre MP (PASOK) for fifty years.

These are significant new factors in the overall situation described in the thesis and for the memories of the villagers. Such factors have undoubtedly had an effect although it is still too early to say in precisely what ways. With the recent General Elections (June 1989), the demise of Andreas Papandreu and the failure of a majority government to be elected, new elements must now be added to the overall situation.

In general, however - and subsequent visits to Agios Vissarios confirm the impression 91 - there is today a greater willingness to reassess the whole of the

war period and the civil war in particular. Freed of official shackles and the fear of political discrimination for the first time, villagers are beginning to remember more about the war period. Many have become more confident in telling their story. The nation, and the law, are no longer against the Left in the same way and the repressive actions of the Right no longer have (in theory at least) legal sanction. It is thus becoming possible to build a more accurate picture of what happened in the villages of Evritania during the war and even before that period. As a result, it will be possible to construct a clearer picture of the institutions of self-government and peoples' justice. In the new atmosphere generated by PASOK which, at first at least, attempted to encourage nationwide agricultural cooperatives and other local initiatives and sought to promote a measure of decentralisation and local government in some areas of administration, a knowledge of the earlier self-governing events may, in turn, prove valuable experience for the future.

Those returning to their villages for the first time since the civil war face the difficult task of coming to terms with the socio-economic development of Greece in the intervening period and their own historical versions of the war years (cp. Van Boeschoten 1990). For the many returning from the Eastern Bloc, especially, there is the additional problem of coming to terms with a still developing, peripheral Western nation. For the men and women who remained in their villages the task is that of confronting anew, a hitherto obscured past.

One major problem that has arisen with the return of political refugees to their villages concerns the ownership of land. Already in Agios Vissarios disputes have occurred and new feuds have broken out as those returning attempt to claim what they see as their rightful inheritance. Meanwhile those who remained, claim these lands by virtue of having worked them in the intervening years. It is difficult to see how this issue can be

resolved both generally and in individual cases, all of which differ in detail. On one level a solution will depend on the strength of the Greek economy and employment possibilities, but this is by no means its only aspect.

The greater willingness to reassess the past cannot, of course, change the facts of devastation and loss which came with the civil war. Official recognition cannot eradicate the memory of forty years enforced silence, bitterness, nor the political prejudices which exist in areas such as Evritania. The sad story, the fractured history of these villages during which communities were broken up will remain harsh facts. The changes, however, have given the younger villagers at least, those who did not live through the civil war - greater freedom to appraise the period in a different way. In Agios Vissarios the younger people are already asking more questions and even seeking out villagers on both sides of the conflict for their opinions. In the changing atmosphere, some of the more positive aspects of the past may also be reawakened enabling villagers to take their place in the modern world more on their own, new terms, as they attempted to do once before in the 1930s.

What do such changes suggest for the social memory that I describe in the thesis?

Within the context of the changes a younger generation is growing up with quite different lived experiences. They did not experience the civil war and the Ottoman era is even more remote. The oral tradition which gives this kind of memory pride of place is being eroded by new levels of education and literacy, by continued emigration and by the development of a 'national culture' propagated by the expansion of the media. Now other factors, such as the resounding failure of Andreas Papandreous and of the PASOK Government, and the recent unprecedented coalition between the Centre-Right and the Communist Party, must be added to the list.⁹²

If social memory is a key to the construction or reconstruction of an effective past, or a means of manipulating social relations and of defining aspects of the contemporary social order, then the transformation of social memory will not be simple or direct. It will depend on diverse factors such as the history of the particular geographical area or village, generation, kinship, gender and class factors. The continued changes will obviously result in new kinds of lived conditions and other types of thinking. These in turn will act on perceptions not only of the present but of the past. What is probably true is that although the social memory of the villagers will come to include the expression of a very different past and new perceptions, the past will nevertheless continue to be negotiated within specific social relations.

*A NOTE ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

Self-government has a variety of meanings and derives its sense from widely differing contexts. The term refers to a multitude of political and administrative forms and practices ranging from systems of colonial government to the ways in which institutions or smaller social groups may function.

It has not been my intention in this thesis to engage in a lengthy discussion on the ontology, etymology or aetiology of self-government, though I have sought to explain why specific self-governing practices may occur in certain contexts. Instead, I have taken the term more or less as given. As, however, I have used self-government in different contexts in the thesis certain clarifications are necessary.

Self-government in the thesis refers to two systems.

1. It refers to the self-governing institutions of wartime Greece. By this I mean the specific systems of village administration and arbitration which occurred for a brief period between 1941-44 in different parts of Greece. The systems were developed and executed by village men and women in conjunction with members of the anti-German resistance forces, EAM-ELAS.* The systems were also underwritten by semi-formal statutes some of which were drawn up with the help of lawyers and other professional people. When these systems emerged during the war they were referred to as 'institutions' (thesmoi) and as 'self-government' (auto-dikisi) and they have been known as such ever since. I have retained the terminology in referring to them, avoiding any definitional discussions. References to this type of self-government are self-evident or self-explanatory in the thesis.

2. The second use of self-government refers to regional autonomy and/or types of community autarky. By this I mean a number of things.

(i) The degree of regional/community independence from a central directive authority or the degree of state centralisation/decentralisation.

(ii) Regional/community autonomy in terms of power: the degree to which local power bases are developed; the types of regional elites and their degree of control over the local population - including the existence of supportive, regional militias.

(iii) Self-sufficiency in economic terms: systems of local revenue generation, collection and allocation; the autarky of the local economy in relation to a national economy.

(iv) Autonomy in terms of local administrative structures/practices affecting the welfare of the local population (provisions for the sick and old, for housing and education, for unemployment and compensation etc.)

(v) Locally developed (and locally confined) forms of civil and/or penal arbitration.

It is a combination of these kinds of autonomy which are referred to when discussing the local self-government of the Ottoman era. Type (1), however, was obviously concerned with similar areas of provision.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Footnotes 1.i.

1. The terms 'particular past' refer to both (i) a history peculiar to the villages considered in the thesis, and coincident with a national history and (ii) to the ways in which this history is mapped out and reconstructed in certain ways by the local inhabitants. For ethnographic details and precise geographical location of my fieldwork see below Chapter 2.ii.

2. See Chapter 1.ii. for details on this period. The 'decade of war', the 'war period', the 'war years', or 'wartime' refer throughout the thesis to these ten years.

3. The period of civil strife in Greece, which followed the withdrawal of German occupying forces in 1944, is usually divided into distinct parts, or 'rounds'. The first part (but 'Second Round') refers to 1944-46 and the political conflict between the British-sponsored government of George Papandreou and the Greek Left. The second, which resulted from the first, to the fullscale civil war of 1946-9. The civil war in this thesis refers to the latter. I have, however, demarcated the period as extending from 1947 to 1950. This is because these years are considered to be the years of strife and upheaval for most villagers in Evritania.

4. The Greek terms are Topiki Laiki Autodikisi (Local, popular, self-government) and Laiki Dikaiosisini (popular justice). I have used Stavrianos' (1952) translation of the terms, preferring in the latter case to use 'peoples' justice as Stavrianos does. The 'self-governing institutions', the 'institutions of self-government', the 'wartime' or 'occupation institutions', the 'institutions of the early 1940s or simply 'the institutions' refer throughout the thesis to both the administrative and legal systems unless otherwise stated.

5. See note on Self-Government above. Local government, in Britain at least, normally refers to that part of the state's administration undertaken by bodies subordinate to central government and dealing with matters affecting welfare, living conditions etc. in designated areas. In this thesis I do not use the term strictly in this sense. In general, local government here refers to regional and/or community administrative and political structures (including at times, judicial systems) which are not necessary subordinate to central

government, but may have been developed in spite of, in lieu of, or in opposition to central government or the state. An aim of the thesis is precisely to examine the changing dynamic between 'local' and 'central' power and degrees of centralisation/decentralisation.

6. The term 'experience' here is coined from Thompson, E.P. (1978A) and its use in the thesis derived from Thompson's meaning. See below Chapter 1.iv.

7. In particular, the development of the village of Agios Vissarios. By development I refer to socio-economic changes in the broadest sense that, in this case, have occurred especially since World War Two. That is, I refer to changes in production, in agricultural practices, in property relations and in relations of production; to changes in the social structure and especially in family forms, and to changes in belief systems (including norms, values, popular mentalities) and finally, to changes in the relationship of the village to the wider society in which it is located.

8. By local historiography I mean how the particular past is recorded and retold but I also include a range of popular beliefs (eg. about various local 'spirits', about the thaumaturgical properties of various saints, icons etc.), folktales (where historical events, past heroes - mythic and real - and a variety of magical phenomena merge) as well as other stories and/or narrations about the past. Although the thesis does not consider these more 'mythic' aspects of history, such popular beliefs also reveal ways in which the local inhabitants conceive of their particular past, record it, continuously recreate it and make use of it in the present (cp. Portelli, A. 1981 and Tonkin, E. 1987). For the 'interplay between historical processes and cultural schemes' cp., Sahlins, M (1985) who argues, with data from the South Seas, that history is culturally ordered as much as cultural schemes are historically ordered. The synthesis of these contraries, Sahlins maintains, emerges from 'the creative action' of the people concerned. My point is the more obvious one (see Chapter 1.iv.) that cultural schemes inform and structure perceptions and representations of past events.

9. By 'popular mentalities' I refer to conceptual systems or perceptions in the broadest sense. But see Vovelle, M. (1982) p. 2-11 for clarification of the term and for a brief but lucid account of its history in relation to the term 'ideology' and Marxism.

1.ii.(a)

10. The bibliography on the period is lengthening. Indispensable in this respect are the following: Fleischer & Bowman in Iatrides, J.O. ed. (1981) and Modern Greek Society - A Social Science Newsletter (Dec. 1977). But also see the following: Hondros, J.L. (1983); Iatrides, J.O. ed. (1981); Papastratis, P. (1984); Richter, H. (1985); Vukmanovic (1985); Wittner, L.S. (1982).

11. i.e., (a) with the release of archives under the 30 year rule and especially the use of more German material, and (b) with the return of political refugees to Greece since the PASOK government was first elected in 1981 and the increasing willingness to talk about the events.

12. The social totality in which these institutions emerged, were put into practice and codified, occurred during a process of considerable upheaval. Central government had collapsed with the German occupation and the exile of the official Greek government (see below) in the spring of 1941. The lack of organized state power and the development of a national resistance movement can be said to have created the conditions which, on one level at least, assumed the specific form of 'organized popular power' expressed through the self-governing institutions (cp. Cristidis 1978 & Mexis 1975 and 1979a). The exiled official Greek government was comprised of mostly, ineffectual, pro-Metaxas,* members of the political scene and was joined at one stage by the exiled King George II. The government went into exile in Cairo where it functioned - the British manipulating various postings to it - until 1944. This government elicited little but indifference in Greece (where a quisling government now existed) and from which it was totally cut off. Because of the events following liberation from the Germans, the exiled government never came to power. For a fictionalised but comprehensive picture of 'Greek' events in the Middle East during this period see Tsirkas, S. (1974).

* General Metaxas imposed a dictatorship in Greece on 4th August 1936. Leader of an earlier, unsuccessful coup in 1923, he was known for his totalitarian ideas even before that. Despite Metaxas' affinity with fascism and Nazi Germany - and the Greek monarchy's German connections - and largely due to British pressure, Metaxas entered the war on the side of the Allies after trying unsuccessfully to remain neutral. His refusal to come to an agreement with Mussolini (known as 'the Great No') marks Greece's entry into the Second World War.

13. See below Chapter 2

14. The Germans did reach Karpenisi but were unable to hold the town. Those who joined ELAS saw active service against the Germans in guerrilla actions. A handful of people in Agios Vissarios also remember that 3 German hostages were brought to the village,

... They (ELAS) brought three of them hostage and took them to (the slope above the cemetery) and shot them. For a long time in the night we could hear their blood moaning ... then after the war their families came and took away the bones. Afterwards we didn't hear them anymore. (KATS 1978 FN).

Unlike other parts of Greece, however, for most villagers here, the Germans seemed fairly distant, though the fact of occupation intruded into their lives through food shortages, the news of deaths, reprisals and so on. The Axis powers had agreed distinct zones of occupation in Greece. After Italy's capitulation in 1943 many Italian POWs were held in a camp outside Karpenisi and others distributed among Evritanian villages. These Italian hostages are more clearly recalled, though as objects of pity rather than as 'enemies'.

15. The first and largest resistance organization EAM (Ethniko Apeleftheriko Metopo) was officially founded on 28th September 1941 and its military wing ELAS (Ethniko Laikos Apeleftheriko Strato) in December 1942. EAM was a coalition between the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and various other, smaller, republican parties under whose authority EAM was created. The expressed aims of EAM were to resist the occupation and ensure that a new democratic regime be established in postwar Greece. By 1944 its membership was between 500,000 and 2,000,000. For a comprehensive view of the formation, development and activities of ELAS see Sarafis, S. (1980).

There were soon other resistance groups operating in and around Evritania and in other parts of Greece, notably, EDES (The National Democratic Greek League), led by rightwing, royalist General Napoleon Zervas and supported by the British. EDES dominated Epirus, north-western Greece, but was defeated in 1944 by ELAS when Zervas had to be ignominiously rescued by the British.

EAM itself had various offshoots like its youth section, EPON (The National All Greek organization of Youth). For details see Stavrianos, S. (1952) and Hondros, J.L. (1983).

16. Aris Velouchiotis was born Athanasios Klaras in 1906, Lamia. He was an agronomist and became a Communist in the 1920s. He was imprisoned and sent into exile under Metaxas and released in 1939 after signing a 'declaration' renouncing communism. During the German

occupation he became a renowned partisan leader and kapetanos on the ELAS Command. He took his nom de guerre from the ancient god of war (Ares) and from Mount Velouchi in whose foothills Agios Vissarios lies. After his death (of uncertain causes) his head was displayed in Athens. Despite his popular appeal among many people he remains a highly controversial figure. For a balanced view see Sarafis, S. (1980).

17. That is, the villages of Kleitsos, Vraha, Peranthis, Molohas and Sandarporo. See Map 4:16.

18. There were six main codes - or groups of codes - written and issued between 1942-44. The first, Poseidon, was drawn up and distributed in Evritania. See Appendix 4 and Beikos, G. (1979) vols. 1 & 2.

19. See Sarafis, op. cit., p.117.

20. ie., Politiki Epitropi Ethniki Apeleftherosi. The PEEA included a considerable number of non-Communists and was headed by Professor Svolos, the foremost Greek authority on constitutional law.

21. To achieve this end, the PEEA insisted on its own democratic structure from the beginning and before assuming governmental functions organized free elections by secret ballot for both men and women. These took place throughout Greece on 9th April 1944. The elected representatives - voted in by over a million votes in a country still occupied by the Germans and with a population of little more than 7 million - constituted themselves into a National Assembly becoming the representative government of Greece working within the country. As a result, however, of the events following liberation, the PEEA never came to power.

1.ii.(b)

22. See Woodhouse, C.M. (1948) and Iatrides, J.O. (1970).

23. As recently as 1987 further controversy was sparked off by the showing on C4 television of Jane Gabriel's film, The Hidden War. The controversy raged both inside and outside the media in Britain and in other countries where the film has been shown.

24. ie., The Office of Strategic Service. See Wittner, L.S. (1982) for a full discussion of the OSS.

25. In brief, the PEEA set out by demanding the establishment of a national coalition government, in which their own representatives would be included on a 50-50 ratio. By July 1944 the PEEA had agreed to enter the government on the single condition that George Papandreou should be replaced, but by August even this last demand was abandoned and six representatives of the PEEA entered

the government in minor and insignificant posts. See Tsoucalas. C. (1969: 70ff).

26. On 3rd December 1944 a mass demonstration was called by EAM. Large, unarmed crowds assembled in Athens' main square. Suddenly there was shooting and 28 were left dead and over a 100 wounded. EAM then called for a general strike and mass meeting on 4th December. While the demonstrators were dispersing they were attacked and the resulting conflict led to over 100 deaths. There is much controversy about these events and about 'which side' or who did the initial shooting. Nevertheless, it is agreed that the events marked the beginning of armed confrontation between the forces of the Left and the Right in Greece.

27. See below and footnote 29. Cp Richter, H. (1985) and Alivizatos, N.C. in Iatrides ed. (1981) p.220-228.

28. NB., however, that the attitude towards brigands and the bandit myth in general among villagers is ambivalent. See Chapter 4.iv.

29. Up to December 1944 a few National Guard Battalions had been formed by call-up but these were dissolved when fighting broke out as many of the men turned out to be EAM sympathisers. After December 1944, 36 new Battalions were formed specially composed of strongly anti-Communist elements. Further Battalions were then created in the localities each already occupied. The bulk of the new Battalions comprised the notorious Security Battalions who had collaborated with the Germans but included criminals recruited from prison. By May 1945 such Battalions were in control of most of the country. Many other rightwing, nationalist organizations also made their appearance at this time. The most renowned of these was the X ('chi') of Colonel Grivas which by the autumn of 1945 claimed 200,000 members. See Richter, H. (1985).

30. ie., houses were raided, offices were ransacked and printing presses destroyed throughout the country.

31. See Tsoucalas, C. (1969:97) who also links these events with the 1967 Dictatorship of George Papadopoulos.

32. The Democratic Army (DA) was formed on 28th October, 1946 under the Generalship of Markos Vafiades. Unlike ELAS, it was controlled by the KKE. By August 1949 the DA had been pushed back to its last stronghold on the Grammos and Vitsi mountain ranges in the extreme north of Greece. Here, surrounded by the National Army, the DA was forced to fight a conventional battle against artillery and aircraft (including naplam) against which it could not hope to compete. Once defeated, the remnants of the DA were pushed into Albania and the civil war was declared over.

33. See Tsoucalas, op.cit., pages 92ff and 119ff.
34. The first postwar elections were held on 5th March 1950 and won by a Liberal coalition headed by General Plastiras. Sophocles Venizelos then assumed premiership in a Liberal coalition after elections in September 1951.
35. See Tsoucalas, op. cit., for the extent of this, pages 120-6.
36. Marshall Papagos was a royalist officer, Chief-of-Staff in the Albanian war (ie. 1941 when Greece entered the war) and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army in the final battle with the Democratic Army in 1949.
37. Tsoucalas, op.cit., p.114, see also Tsoucalas in Iatrides ed. (1981) p.319-341.
38. A case in point concerns Thanasis, the only openly avowed KKE member in Agios Vissarios. Thanasis joined ELAS in 1942 at the age of 16 and in 1947 enlisted in the Democratic Army. His father and two brothers - also ELAS partisans - were killed. Thanasis was captured almost immediately after enlisting in the DA and sentenced to death on evidence supplied by 4 co-villagers. His sentence was commuted at the last minute and he spent the next 16 years in prison and concentration camp. He was released in 1964 and decided to return to his village. He has been carefully 'watched' ever since and few other villagers will publically mix with him for fear of 'being coloured' (ie. jeopardizing their own political reputations). Thanasis was not able to acquire an Agricultural Pension for many years, to which he was entitled, until he found someone (who was not from Agios Vissarios) who was willing 'to speak for him'. Later, Thanasis was again denied a government grant to rebuild his house after the earthquakes of 1966, though he was entitled to this too. He was not entitled to a 'certificate of national probity' and even getting to see a doctor is an arduous task involving the option of a bribe (which he cannot and is unwilling to pay) or putting someone 'to speak for him'. Following the Papadopoulos coup of 1967, Thanasis spent several months in hospital after being arrested and beaten up 'to keep him quiet'. Sotiris, another case, returned to Agios Vissarios in 1974 after fleeing to Hungary with his son during the civil war. His activities in the village are also carefully monitored and special attention was given to whether he met with Thanasis. They are only able to acknowledge each other clandestinely.
39. In 1979 there were 13 registered communist votes in Agios Vissarios. Apart from Thanasis, however, no-one else openly admits to being KKE, nor is anyone else labelled such.

1. iii (a)

40. See below chapter 2 and Maps 2+3:14. The other five communities are abbreviated throughout the thesis as AH, P, H, D and AP which is a hamlet of D. Figures for AP are normally included with those for D in tables.

41. My search took me to the north of Greece as well as to Trikkala and Karditsa in Thessaly and to other villages in Evritania. The most important discussions about self-government during the war, however, took place with a handful of informants in Athens.

42. See Table 1A for generational guideline on informants.

43. I also used a tape-recorder when this was possible. I was hesitant in doing so for fear of putting people off or changing the type of discussion/narrative. At the same time, there was a reluctance in speaking about certain matters on tape. The tape-recorder, however, was welcomed for songs, relating folktales, poems and so on.

44. This group included a local PASOK MP born in Evritania but resident in Athens and involved with the Greek Red Cross in Karpenisi during the civil war; former elected popular magistrates to both village courts and regional appeal courts of the self-governing institutions; and previous members of EAM/ELAS from Evritania and other parts of Greece, including one author of the first written code, Poseidon.

45. I hoped to find, for example, the minutes from council or committee meetings and of the popular court proceedings, which I was told did exist. I was not successful in tracing or obtaining any of these.

46. Panos Vasiliou (1898-1984). Born in Agios Vissarios, self-taught and self-appointed historian and advocate of both the village and the province. For full biographical notes and details of his numerous publications see Treis Omilies.....(1978).

47. Greece's entry into the Second World War was marked by an offensive on the Albanian front against Mussolini's forces who had occupied Albania since April 1939. Mussolini assumed that his forces would meet a minimum of resistance and secure an easy access into Greece. This was not to be the case and the Italians were forced to retreat. By the end of 1940 they had been pushed back 60 kilometers into Albania. The Germans, with the help of the Bulgarians took over in April 1941. See Van Creveld (1973) on the implications of the Italian defeat for German policy.

48. The Germans took over all the country's resources introducing special occupation banknotes, issued freely and without limits by all military units 'according

to their needs' (Tsoucalas 1969-58). This led to an explosion in the monetary system. Occupation also led to the halt of imports and of international trade in general. With the breakdown in communication networks within the country and a very severe winter in 1941/42 the urban population in particular were soon faced with food shortages which quickly deteriorated into famine. During the winter of 1941/2 almost 300,000 people died from the famine alone.

49. The erosion of old hierarchies and the creation of a new class of bureaucrats and officials; the increasing centralisation of the state and the undermining of any regional autonomies together with the creation of the Home Guard (TEA - specially formed to control 'communism') as well as the new roles allocated to field and forest guards, aimed - among other things - at curbing the formation of any alternative bases of power or at allowing representation by anyone who digressed from the official status quo. I do not mean, however, to over-emphasise local, political structural changes. It may be truer to say that there was a return to and a re-emphasis of pre-war, Metaxas, structures albeit with changed personnel.

50. 'War divides families', 'Each side as bad as the other in times of war', 'civil war fanaticises people and old scores are settled' etc. These are the type of proverbial points made, usually with reference to a current dispute or family row but clearly alluding to a common past experience. Other types of reference act as a constant reminder that personal experience was set in a context of war. One woman describing her wedding told me of her beautiful silk gown:

.... my mother had saved the material from the British parachute that had come down on the slope near Karpenisi ...

Such reminders are plentiful and constant but mentioned only in passing. They are not the main objective of the narrative.

51. Or, indeed, on the 1930s which are only briefly alluded to as a vague reflection of 'how things were' as many informants were growing up.

52. The National Army forcibly removed whole villages in the province. Villagers were dispersed mainly to Karpenisi and further south to Lamia though others went or drifted elsewhere.

53. See also below Chapter 9.

54. Of course, most of these urban centres were scarcely more than big villages at the time. However, villagers involved in evacuation continue to see the period as crucial, they did come into contact with a variety of different people from other villages and with different life styles.

55. Cp., Zeppos, D. (1946).
56. This feature was also stressed by the written codes for peoples justice. See Appendix 4.
57. Attempts were being made - and had succeeded in some cases - to bring about general land reforms. Cp, Beikos, G. (1979) Vol. 1. and Appendix 3.
58. As evidenced earlier by Woodhouse, C.M. (1948). For other eye-witness accounts of these events see, for example, Arseniou, L. (1977); Beikos, G., op.cit., Vols 1 & 2; Kastrinos, A. (1963-4); Kotzioulas, G. (1976); Zeppos, op.cit., Photographs of the time and my own data also support this view.
59. As mentioned already, the 1930s are briefly alluded to as a vague reflection of 'how things were' as many informants were growing up. It is important to note that this period included the Metaxas Dictatorship. One result of the dictatorship on Evritania was the issuing of a law banning goat-rearing. Thousands of goats were slaughtered as a result with devastating effects on the already meagre incomes of the local population, and there was no compensation offered by the government. This disaster is rarely referred to, however, nor is the general effects of the dictatorship with its numerous laws banning other activities (for eg the washing of clothes in streams was no longer allowed - needless to say, there was no piped water in houses). It was also under Metaxas that the security system of the village was first changed which meant, among other things, that the fieldguard was no longer locally elected and sanctioned. These local protests took place within this context. Many villagers were arrested and sent into internal exile while people from other parts of Greece were often sent into exile to the villages of Evritania! The exemplary popular courts were forcibly disbanded and the presses of the local papers continuously shut down. This makes it all the more surprising that this is not a period singled out by social memory but remains understated.

1. iii (b)

60. Eg. Campbell, J. (1968) whose 'Honour, Family and Patronage', does not always make it clear that the study refers to an unusual and isolated group of shepherds and not to Greece as a whole. But see for example Pina-Cabral, J. (1987: 716) on the positive features of an 'Africanist' heritage for Mediterranean anthropologists.
61. See Table 1: p. 51

1.iv.(a)

62. Issues such as the growth of the state and nationalism; the development of modes of production and the reproduction of their social forms; oral histories and popular mentalities. The references in this paragraph are as much to certain types of anthropology as to the history of the discipline and major past developments (compare, for example, the influence of Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, Levi-Strauss). Developments in the discipline have led to different types of discourse and a variety of anthropological theories concerning 'history'; to debates on anthropology as 'science' or 'art' (cp Evans-Pritchard; Edmund Leach); to 'history' as opposed to 'structure' (cp, Levi-Strauss, Marc Auge); to the relationship between History, Society and Ideology more generally (cp French Marxist anthropologists; Pierre Bourdieu); as well as to more specific discussions on the relation between different types of historical source (cp, Edwin Ardener; J. Portelli) and between anthropological and historical methods (cp, K. Thomas, E.P. Thompson). It is my intention here merely to highlight some aspects of the thinking behind the discussion about anthropology and history.
63. To take just a few examples from the Mediterranean field, see Blok. A.; Davis, J.; Herzfeld, M.; Lison-Tolosana, C.; Pina-Cabral, J.; Portelli, J. but there are numerous others.
64. See for example, Thomas, K (1963) and Thompson, E.P. (1972, 1978A)
65. See Nugent, D. (1985:72) who quotes Comaroff, JL (1982:145) and to whom I am indebted for the formulation of some of these ideas. See also Chp. 10 of thesis for social memory.
66. Cp, for example, MacFarlane, A. (1970) who applies anthropology to the examination of a 17th century diarist.
67. NB. I am here taking Thompson out of context for this quote refers to historical practice and not to anthropology in this sense.
68. Though, it is true, assertions to the contrary regarding 'typological facts' about all human societies, have characterised anthropology in the past.

69. This is a point made by Smith, CA (1985:87-94) in a Critique review article on William Roseberry's Coffee and Capitalism in the Venezuelan Andes (1983) and an issue, as she says, which lies at the basis of the two major currents in Marxist thought.

70. Although I have drawn heavily on Edward Thompson I am aware that I have used him only selectively and more as a springboard for my own purposes rather than in a critical or comprehensive manner.

In approaching my subject ten years ago which presented me with certain contradictions (where, for example, obvious historical or 'structural' features were completely ignored by memory, while other, often surprising but at first inexplicable, preoccupations emerged among my informants) I found little of direct assistance in anthropology as a guide to formulating my particular problematic. In those early stages I found Thompson's innovative approach both to anthropology and history, and his use of the category experience most helpful and inspiring. The value of 'experience' in particular seemed entirely convincing. It suggested important 'junctures': it helped link material and subjective aspects of social life; it linked historical events to perceptions of the past and daily community life; it linked change with the contemporary order. Experience also

... organizes accounts culturally, appearing there with a particular force and emphasis, as something around which many significant stories are told (Popular Memory Group 1982:229)

For Thompson and other historians, however, the concept does have a wider range of implications and has been the focus for much debate (see Kaye, H.J. & McClelland, K. eds. 1990 for constructive critique).

71. I have also drawn heavily from Elizabeth Tonkin whose exceptionally lucid account of the many issues involved, I see as a kind of synthesis of these three areas.

1.iv.(b)

72. Godelier is claiming here to transform the terms of the age-old debate on the relationship between ideas, ideology and social realities (or history) and between base/super-structure.

73. Godelier defines relations of production as follows:

... the relations between men - no matter which - which fulfil the triple function of:
a) determining the social form of access to resources and of the control of the means of production;
b) redistributing the labour time of society's members among the different labour processes and organizing these different processes
c) determining the social form of circulation and distribution of the products of individual or collective labour (1982:18)

74. The 'legitimizing' function of thought may be equated with ideology though, Godelier argues, thought is not necessarily the latter. See 1982:35 for his definition of ideology.

75. The significance of this point is that it also validates the use of diverse historical sources. Thompson, arguing against the use of one type of source - and especially the use of quantitative methods - states that, for the experience of men and women,

... for their illusions and their self-understanding we must rely upon 'literary' sources; and if historians cease to be interested in understanding how past generations experienced their own existence, that will be a large oversight ... (1972:49)

1.iv.(c)

76. One could, perhaps, also include 'marital history' (Cp, Cohen's D.W. Womanafu's Bunafu quoted by Tonkin as another variation, where marriages are a focus of memory and from which key past events can be reconstructed (see Tonkin MS nd:20).

77. Tonkin cites (MS. nd:25) seances in Papua New Guinea (see Strathern, M 1984) as an unusual example of an elaboration of a version of the past - considered non-historical by most - which is linked to group identity. In seances the community confronts a spirit to discover what in their collective past will affect the future.

78. It should be noted, however, that Qaddafi in fact used genealogical and lineage/tribal images of the past in a similar way to the Zuwaya, for guidance on how to create a 'stateless' Libyan nation and a society with no system of representation.

This struck an important cord with the Zuwaya "who responded to the rhetoric of smashing the state but also used their versions of the past to oppose Qaddafi's statelike actions" (Davis 1989:112).

79. These are issues which, ultimately, go back a long way in the history of thought. They relate to questions such as the individual versus society, the nature of the social, cognition in general and so on. Issues which have been tackled by philosophers, historians, psychologists, et. al, as well as the earliest 'sociologists'.

80. Tonkin here refers to and draws on Bourdieu's (1979) model of social habitus as 'shorthand for a complex of features that help constitute people' (MS nd:13).

For Bourdieu, habitus is

a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems and thanks to the unceasing corrections of the results obtained (1979: 82-83 Bourdieu's emphasis)

For Tonkin, this not only makes habitus a convincingly dynamic model but "since there is a dialectical movement between it and the environment ... it will only tend to reproduce itself (MS nd:14). Thus - and this is its vital feature - the model admits to change from the outset. It also links memory to action and "is a product of history which also produces history" (ibid).

For Bourdieu, however, habitus remains an objective event (though it contains diverse explanations, ideologies etc. and is actively constructive) because, fundamentally, it is driven by material forces. Tonkin modifies this conclusion by suggesting that the seeds of diversity and change are both material and cognitive. In this sense, Tonkin proposes a different kind of active link between history, thought and society.

81. Though, Tonkin emphasises, truth must have 'a face' "that is, it must be a specifically embodied argument" (1987:5).

82. These points are made and illustrated by Tonkin (see MS nd:24-25). An example lies with the aborigines of NE Australia studied by H & F Morphy (1984). Public accounts by the aborigines of their past make no mention of systematic attempts at extermination by Europeans in the 1900s. According to the Morphy's an explanation lies in the status accorded 'station blacks' as opposed to other aborigines, as well as perceptions about pre- and post- contact days. Tonkin suggests that the past here is seen to be 'integrated with the consciousness of the present' and that 'cognitive practices appear to endorse social rather than temporal discontinuities'. It is in these senses that truth may be said to relate to other realities and reality to include representations.
83. It is interesting here to compare Renan (1882) who called the (French) nation 'Une Grande Solidarite': 'a communion of memory and purpose'. Quoted in Kiernan & Kaye (1988:139)

1.iv.(d)

84. Thus,

Men and women ... return as subjects, within this term - not as autonomous subjects, "free individuals", but as persons experiencing their determinate productive situations and relationships, as needs and interests and as antagonisms and then "handling" this experience within their consciousness and culture ... in the most complex ... ways, and then ... acting upon their determinate situation in their turn. (Thompson 1978A:356)

85. Needless to say, Thompson's unorthodox Marxism and historiography has attracted significant criticism as well as acclaim. Perry Anderson has set out a major critique in Arguments Within English Marxism (1980). (But see also Hall, S 1981; Johnson, R 1978; McLennan, G 1982 among others). Anderson criticizes the category 'experience' for being, in effect, deceptively simple, ambiguous and unsustainable, which he sets out to demonstrate with numerous historical examples (see pp 18,25,29,38ff, for example). McLennan, who claims that Thompson's refinement of the concept proves its weakness, also finds the refinement ambiguous (1982:117). Most of the criticisms levelled at Thompson have to do with complex theoretical arguments within Marxism (and its crisis at various stages);

with the interpretations of Marx' and Engels' own texts and the concept of historical materialism (though they concern historiography too) as well as the defence of certain political positions. These are important but do not concern me in the thesis. Personally, I feel Anderson interprets 'experience' too narrowly. 'Experience' does not have to be 'positive' in its results as Anderson suggests. I also find the underlying suggestion unconvincing in some critiques, that

to conceive of two separate realms (ie the material and the subjective) as requiring unification is already too severe (McLennan 1982:119 My parenthesis)
For an excellent critique of the concept 'experience' showing its importance as well as its limitations, see especially Sewell, W.H. in Kaye & McClelland eds 1990: 50ff.

1.iv. (e)

86. This also refers to the discussion on social time more generally (see Bloch, M 1977; Leach, E 1961; Levi-Strauss 1967) Cp. also Willis, R. 1986-7 who refers to these and the question of time and history.
87. That is, such features as war, famine, civil war etc.
88. The best sustained example of this type of memory is encapsulated in Yatromanolakis' novel, 'History' (MS) which traces the history of Crete through the eyes of a young village man embroiled in the murder of a local, wealthy merchant. For the other examples cited here see Chapter 5 below.
89. See Chapter 10 : Conclusions, where I develop this notion.

1.V.

90. EG The blowing up of the Gorgopotamus bridge. The bridge was blown up on the night of 25-26 November 1942 and severed the main north-south railway line in Greece, cutting off the German's essential supply route for three months. The operation was a collaborative act carried out by a group of ELAS partisans, headed by Aris Velouchiotis; a group of EDES men with General Zervas in overall command, and a British contingent led by the head of the British Mission, Brigadier Myers (see Myers, ECW 1955:78ff for description of operation). The part played by ELAS was omitted after the war and official commemoration of the event, banned.

91. My most recent visit to Agios Vissarios was in August 1988. I visited the village in 1984, 1982, 1981 and 1980. In 1983, 1985 and 1987 I met with villagers but not in Agios Vissarios itself.
92. The significance of this failure runs deep, for PASOK was the first majority Left-of-Centre party to be elected since the end of the civil war. It came to power on a ticket of 'change', promising long awaited reforms and a radically different type of government after 30 years of uninterrupted rightwing rule (in various forms).

T H E E T H N O G R A P H I C A R E A

2.i .The Province and Its Villages.

Agios Vissarios is one among a group of villages which lie deep in the very centre of mainland Greece. In so far as all the villages of Evritania remain outside the tourist trail and main areas of development in Greece, they are distinctive. The villages are also in other ways geographically and historically unique.

In this chapter I describe aspects of this distinctiveness, focusing on Agios Vissarios and elements of its social organization. Particular attention is paid to the historical significance of the social composition of the village both in terms of how it is seen to have been constituted in the past and as showing how the past is still a resonance in the present dynamic of the social relations considered. Such ethnographic aspects not only delineate areas of interest to be taken up in more detail later but provide a basis for the discussion and comparison of earlier historical periods in the area.

Evritania lies in the very centre of mainland Greece in the geographical region (Periochi) known as Sterea Hellas. The region covers the southern part of the mainland north of the Pelopponese and is otherwise known as Roumeli. To the north-east of the region is Thessaly and to the north-west, Epirus. The province of Evritania straddles the end of the Pindus range and all of its area is mountainous, over half of it more than 1000 metres above sea level.¹ The province is often referred to as the 'Greek Switzerland' because of its mountainous peaks, snowcapped for most of the year, and because of the first impressions of rich verdancy, extensive forest lands and an abundance of water in the form of springs, streams and rivers.²

In contrast, however, Evritania is also held to be one of the least developed provinces of Greece, with a higher emigration rate than any other in the country.

The province has only one large town, its capital Karpenisi in the south-east with a growing population of between 4-5000 inhabitants. Overall the province comprises about 81 villages and 168 hamlets³ with a total population of approximately 22,000. This represents a loss of over half the population since 1940.⁴

As an administrative unit the province of Evritania has undergone several boundary changes and resulting alterations in its political status. Under Ottoman rule, most of the area covered by the province today belonged to the administrative region of Trikkala (Santzaki) in Thessaly. During that period Evritania was divided into two districts (Eparchs), the district of Agrafa which comprised 31 villages in the Thessalian area and 40 in the area of Evritania; and the district of Karpenisi which consisted of 85 different settlements. These villages were under Ali Pasha and, with few exceptions, also belonged to the Diocese of Larissa. The total number of christian families in the two districts is estimated to have been 9,081 or approximately 28,000 inhabitants.⁵

From 1821 and liberation from the Ottoman Turks, and up to 1899 Evritania became a district of the province Aetolias and Akarnanias, which now lies west and south-west of Evritania. In 1831, however, the district of Evritania was further subdivided into nine different municipalities (Demes). Evritania was then established as a separate province for the first time in July 1899 and remained a province up to 1909.

In that year a new law resulted in its reverting to being a district of Aetolias and Akarnanias. The municipal divisions were abandoned later in 1912 and in 1938 the boundaries of the district were re-formulated and Karpenisi was formally established as the district capital. Finally, in 1943 the province of Evritania was re-established and has remained as such with few other major changes.⁶

Two of the former municipalities were known as Dolopon and Ktimenion and covered the north-eastern part of the province while it was still a district of Aetolias and Arkananias. In the east, the municipalities bordered with the province of Ftiotidas and in the north with that of Karditsa. Ktimenion covered an area of 208.700 stremmata (52,175 acres) and Dolopon 175.500 stremmata (43,875 acres). Agios Vissarios and the neighbouring communities fell within the boundaries of Ktimenion, as did the villages of Kleitsos and Fournas, other important villages of the area which I will refer to.

Karoplesi, also a significant village in the pre-war years, was one of the villages of Dolopon. This village as well as that of Molohas, Neraida, Karitsas, Karvasana and Belokomitis, now belong to the province of Karditsa. The last three villages were in fact administered by Karditsa even before the war though they were officially part of Evritania. Excluding these three villages then the area of Ktimenion and Dolopon in 1940 amounted to approximately 340.800 stremmata (85,20 acres) with a population of 9.275. This was the area in which forms of self-government emerged prior to the Second World War and where the self-governing institutions of the war period were officially endorsed by the Code Poseidon in December 1942.

Today Agios Vissarios is the so-called kephalohori (head-village) and administrative centre of six communities which lie north-east of the Provincial capital. The total population of this cluster of communities is approximately 1.127.⁷ There are four different routes to Agios Vissarios from the capital Karpenisi. The most commonly used (partly because of the existence of a daily bus service and because it leads south-east towards Lamia and eventually Athens), is also the longest (85 kms) and it may take up to 5 hours to reach Karpenisi.

The quickest route is the oldest and lies across the mountain pass of Velouchi (31 kms, or 18 kms by footpath) but this route is impassable for most of the year. There is now a weekly bus service between June/July and August/September across this pass, the weather permitting. There are also two other routes to Agios Vissarios, one via the village of Stenoma (54 kms) and the other, via the village of Neohori (65 kms). There is no public transport through these villages - except in extremes of weather as the roads are lower - and they are infrequently used to get to Karpenisi (ATE publication 1976). From Agios Vissarios there are also routes leading north and north-east to other villages. The existence of so many different routes leading to and from Agios Vissarios gave it strategic importance during the war and may explain why it was chosen as the first GHQs of ELAS. Its position probably gave the village a similar advantage much earlier, under the Ottoman empire, as well as lending it certain trade advantages for marketing local produce in the whole area.

In some respects this cluster of villages is uncharacteristic of the province as a whole. In Agios Vissarios, for example, there is intensive chestnut cultivation and walnuts and chestnuts are found in most

of the surrounding villages, providing a main source of income.⁸ There is now less stock-breeding among these communities than in other parts of the province and there is an abundance of water. There are five spring-heads in Agios Vissarios alone.⁹ The villages are also surrounded by extensive forests which, among other things, give opportunities for seasonal employment.

Agios Vissarios especially, for a number of reasons which will become clearer later in the thesis, appears a prosperous village. It provides essential services to the surrounding communities (post-office, telephone exchange, police HQs, kindergarten, primary and middle schooling, and, albeit with substantial periods of absence, a doctor and sometimes nurse/midwife). There has also been some settlement in the village from the surrounding communities over the past years and migrants from Agios Vissarios have invested in building new, holiday, houses and return regularly. There is now a small hostel (Xenona) for visitors, a modern Secondary school to take up to 1000 pupils, paved roads and proper drainage.¹⁰

The villages of the cluster are, however, characteristic of the province in other respects. In relation to the urban centres of Greece they are disadvantaged in terms of income per capita, social and welfare facilities of all kinds and notably in their continuing depopulation.¹¹ The villages are also characteristic of the province in terms of their social organization in general, kinship structures and patterns. They are part of a culturally homogeneous area in terms of ethnic composition, rituals and language. They share with the other villages throughout the province similar socio-historical traditions and a particular local history especially as regards the Ottoman period and the war years, 1940-50.¹²

Throughout the Ottoman era (1453 - 1821)¹³, and probably before, the whole area of which these villages are a part was known as Agrafa, which literally means 'unwritten'.¹⁴

With its "veritable labyrinth of peaks, ravines, valleys and forests"¹⁵ Agrafa was extremely difficult to penetrate and remained unchartered territory. Even today access to some of its villages is limited. Many villages are only reached by footpath and others have only the crudest of dirt-tracks leading to them. Largely as a result of this inaccessibility and the traditional reputation of its inhabitants as being 'wild' and 'ungovernable',¹⁶ Agrafa was never successfully controlled by the Ottoman Turks. As a result the area developed forms of semi-autonomy and self-government including systems of local arbitration and its own militias, or armed bands.¹⁷ These local developments were formalised into privileges by Treaty during the 16th century. By the early 19th century the local economy which provided an important support to the administrative and military autonomy of the area was remarkably developed and still thriving.¹⁸

The hundred years following Greek independence after 1821 eroded much of this autonomy and saw the collapse of the local economy. During this period Greece was involved in almost continuous internal and external conflicts and by the 1920s the nation was virtually bankrupt.¹⁹ The conditions led, among other things, to widescale emigration and contributed to the deteriorating position of agriculturalist small-holders all over Greece. Agios Vissarios, like many other villages in Evritania held onto the vestiges of its traditional self-rule which had characterised it when it was part of Agrafa. Notably, and as late as the 1930s, these villages engaged in a final struggle with the state to retain some of their autonomy and to overcome other economic and political obstacles.²⁰ In the broadest sense the activities which took place in Agios Vissarios and surrounding communities during the 1930s reflect the search for new directions and attempts to set up a different kind of relationship with the state, as well as mirroring an earlier history of self-government.

Again, as a result of its inaccessibility and, by now, traditional spirit of resistance, Evritania was never occupied by the Germans. The final attempt to preserve some kind of autonomy was made during the occupation period through the institutions of self-government. These factors of 'inaccessibility' in both a geographical and socio-political sense underlie aspects of contemporary village life, informing both present mentalities and memories of that past

2.ii. The Village of Agios Vissarios ,Past and Present

The main road enters Agios Vissarios from the south-east. This, the bus route, winds down into the valley where the village shelters in the northern foothills of Mtt Velouchi.²¹ Any vehicle approaching the village this way can be seen on the distant mountain ridge in the east before it starts its descent into the valley. In the early afternoon when the daily bus is due, villagers wait for it to appear on the ridge. When the bus has been spotted word is spread of its approach and everyone prepares for its arrival in the village whether or not they are expecting anyone or anything on the bus.

The road passes the village of AH in its descent and crosses two bridges before emerging, almost unexpectedly, into the lower part of Agios Vissarios. Above, at the apex of the village stands the old church²² and the houses fan out beneath it in roughly triangular shape.

After the war Agios Vissarios was ranged further to the north but severe earthquakes in 1966 brought on landslides which destroyed many of the houses - including the old church - and many villagers were required to rebuild on new land, either their own fields or those bought from others, further eastwards and lower down.²³

1

The civil war caused a radical alteration in the topography of the village. According to informants, before the war there were larger houses scattered over a more extensive area and interspersed with bigger gardens. Many houses were destroyed during the civil war and others abandoned. Smaller family houses were later built. Fields and gardens were also deserted as a result of evacuation. In one sense, the village has gathered together and closed in on itself topographically.

Northwards Agios Vissarios looks down the valley, across its fields and meadows, to the village of D, where the houses of the adjoining hamlet of AP are just visible. To the east and out of sight are the villages of P and H. The western slopes of the valley show the signs of once terraced fields. There are pine forests behind the village to the south and on the hills to the east, while the village itself is encircled by wild oaks, chestnut and walnut trees. The more distant slopes to the north-east are barren, a reminder of the ravages of civil war.

There are a few old houses, now abandoned, situated on the outskirts of the village. A small reservoir for breeding river trout which has recently been renovated by a villager is also to be found here. At the entrance into the village, before the last bridge, stands the Agricultural Bank (ATE) store which is open twice a week for the inhabitants of Agios Vissarios and the surrounding villages to collect their state subsidized grain, animal feed and fertilizer. Beyond the store is a carpenter's yard and opposite that an old water mill which before the war an enterprising miller used to generate electricity for the village. There is now a small electric mill further down the road. Nearby is the village abattoir (a couple of cage-like units which stand partially over the river so waste can run

into it) where livestock is killed, skinned and collected for sale outside the village. Normally, only livestock to be sold in bulk out of the village is slaughtered here. That to be eaten by a household or even sold within the village is usually prepared in the yard of its owner. Finally, a little further uphill stands one of more remarkable features of the village, the community 'washing machine' (nerotrivi: lit. 'water-rubber').²⁴ This has been the clothes washing site for as long as the village remembers.

At the other end of the village and leading to the neighbouring communities, is the kindergarten and Primary school.²⁵ The Community Office where the elected council meets, and the community Registry is kept, has recently been rehoused next to the new hostel. There is also a library in the village, a private collection of books donated by the local MP's family, but it is rarely used and there are many in the village who are unaware of its existence.

The road into the village winds past the houses which are interspersed with gardens and straight into the main square which is the active centre of the village. Most of the village coffee-shops are located round this square as well as the post office and telephone exchange, a kiosk and the cobbler's shop. A large plane-tree provides shelter in summer and winter and there is a water-tap beneath it from which anyone can drink or collect water. The tap was a main meeting point for this part of the village before the houses got piped water after the war.

There is also a war memorial in the centre of the square around which various official functions take place throughout the year.

Roads to other parts of the village converge on the square and any visitor must pass it to go elsewhere. The bus stops and unloads in the square and any activity or

new arrival can be seen by those sitting in the surrounding coffee-shops or in the square itself. On Sundays and during the summer the villagers stroll up and down in front of the square and on festive occasions dancing takes place in the square. Most matters of public concern revolve around the square. This includes slanging matches and punch-ups if these are explicitly public affairs. In one case, for example, a man who suspected he had been cuckolded, waited in the square for his opponent and beat him up in front of everyone, in order, it was said, to vindicate himself and his honour. The police mysteriously disappeared during the fight and arrived only at the end taking both men into custody for a few hours.

All major public events of the past are held to have taken place in this main square, thus underlying their public and community nature. Turks 'were seen' strutting around this square during Ottoman rule and Turkish women in purdah 'were seen' gossiping under the plane-tree; girls who went to draw water from the tap were abducted at this spot; public addresses demanding local improvements were made in this square. This is where the ELAS Division arrived in 1943, where the peoples' courts took place, where the villagers were herded prior to evacuation and where a number of atrocities took place during the civil war.

In fact, the village has another square which was actually the site of the village square which existed up to the 1960s. It is higher up among the houses and has recently been re-designed and re-built, but - especially since the main road was completed in the 1950s - away from the main activities and not at a vantage point to see who is coming and going, it is mainly used by children.

Traditionally, the houses were made of stone and roofed with flat slate tiles. It is said that the Evritanians, being largely transhumant shepherds in origin, were

unable to construct their own houses and brought builders from Epirus in the north. Later they copied their house designs. There is however no firm evidence for this allegation. On a typical old house an outside staircase led up to a wooden balcony and into the living quarters - usually two rooms divided by a narrow hall which was also the temporary kitchen (main cooking took place in the yard below or underneath the house in a specially prepared space among the livestock and stores), and a place for visitors to sit or sleep if necessary. Underneath on the ground floor, the animals were kept and provisions stored. Most of these houses have now been replaced by single-storey concrete 'bungalows' which are cheaper and quicker to build.

The number of newly constructed houses is not only a reflection of the developmental cycle or a result of new wealth (i.e. from foreign migrants), and 'modernization', but a direct result of both the civil war and the 1966 earthquakes. Some people managed to secure government grants to rebuild after the earthquakes even where this was not strictly necessary. Except for the few outlying houses - largely the homes of stockbreeders - the buildings in the village stand close together each with its own yard and garden/vegetable patch. The fields start where the mass of buildings end.

Though it is not of primary social significance, and because the village is relatively small with approximately 144 separate households, there are, nevertheless, distinct neighbourhoods (yitonies). Mostly, these have been built up on a patronymic basis. A neighbourhood was defined by and usually named after the area where a number of families sharing the same patronym built their houses.²⁶ The vestiges of this pattern remain, but today neighbourhoods are not kin-based in this sense - again, partly because of natural expansion and intermarriage in the village, partly because of the earthquakes. Rather,

neighbourhoods are territorially based, and overlapping, groups of households (Cp du Boulay 1964).

A neighbourhood demarcates different areas in the village which have some administrative and social implications. For instance, each neighbourhood is responsible for clearing and maintaining the roads, drains and streams in its area and the summer irrigation rota follows these distinctions. There is some identification with one's neighbourhood, which is usually considered the 'best', but ultimately the main identification is with the individual family house. The family house and all it implies is the most important territorial unit and a neighbourhood merely defines its location more precisely.

At the same time, there is more contact between the inhabitants of a neighbourhood, which takes the form of visiting, borrowing/lending, assisting with certain activities, caring for children and so on, while everyone keeps vigilance on exactly what happens there - disputes and quarrels especially - and comments on it. To a large extent neighbourhoods are made of and by the women in it, as apart from agriculture, their activities are largely neighbourhood based (du Boulay 1964:215). Men tend to congregate in the coffee-shops which may be outside their own neighbourhoods. The women visit and collect outside the houses of the neighbourhood. This was especially true in the past, 'before the war', when the neighbourhood was the centre of many activities which no longer take place.

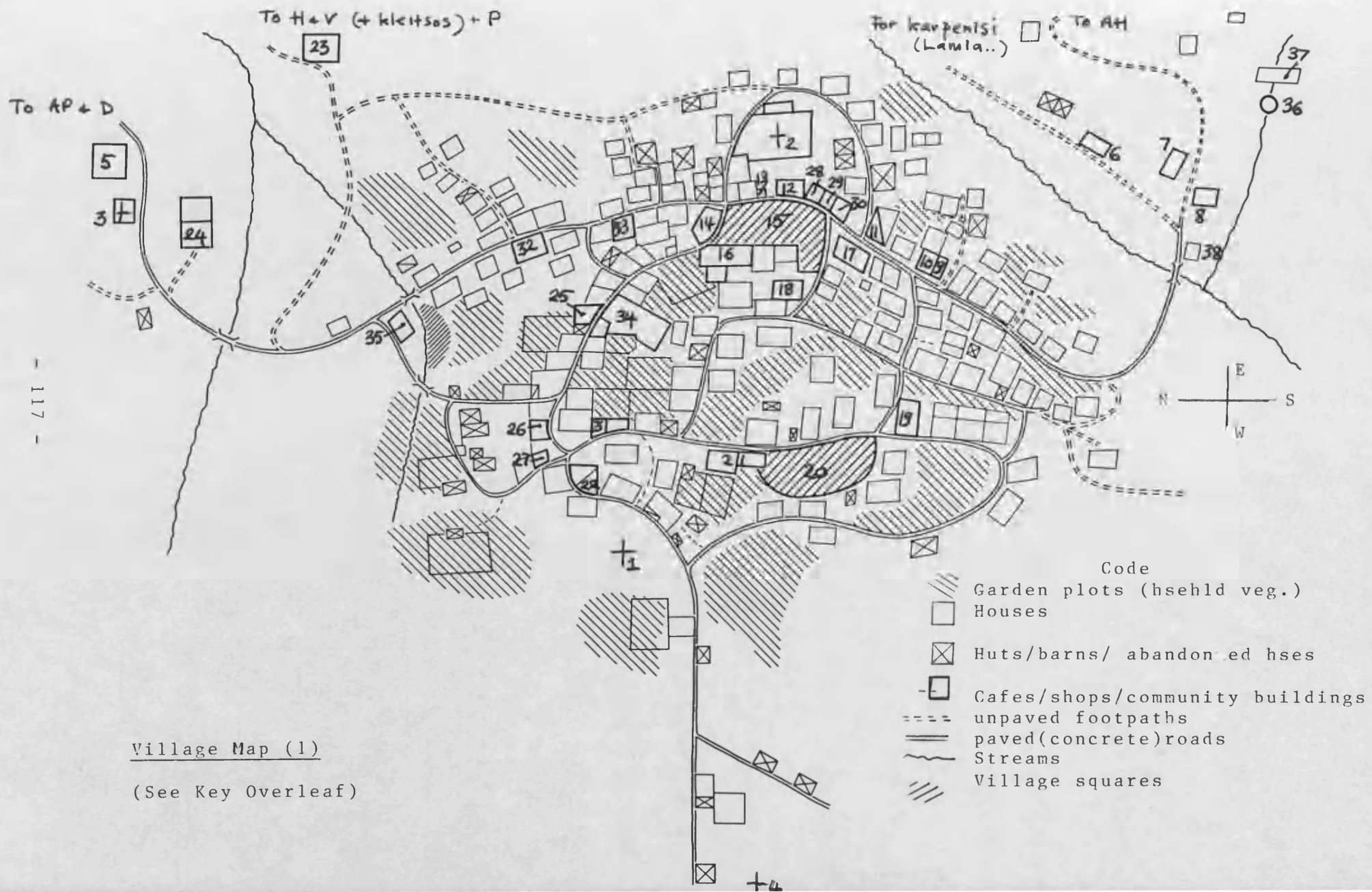
I was frequently told how the women of a neighbourhood would build fires in a central place of the neighbourhood and keep 'all night vigils', husking corn, shucking pulses, preparing wool and spinning yarn until the work had been done in the early hours of the morning.

Not surprisingly, these vigils were also a time for story-telling, the exchange of information, gossip and singing. Now when such activities do take place, they tend to be more kin-based. That is, cousins may agree to

visit each others houses to help husk corn even if they live in separate neighbourhoods. It is the activities around which the social events were organized which have died out. Very few people grow maize nowadays and those who do, do so in such small amounts that it can usually be husked single-handedly; wool and yarn are now only prepared by a handful of older women, again in small amounts, otherwise wool tends to be sold untreated. Pulses also are usually grown in small amounts only for individual household use.

Because the village is small and because of the dispersal of kin throughout the village, visiting and other activities have never been exclusively confined to a neighbourhood, and at all times there is a distinction between neighbours and kin. This distinction is maintained in the terms used to refer to either one. Neighbours remain 'strangers' (xeni) and kin (singenis in this context) refer to relatives who are in habitual contact, not distant relatives (soi). There is, however, no straightforward or necessary equation between kin being 'good', trustworthy or preferred, and neighbours being 'bad' or 'never to be trusted'. Though this classification may be, and is used, ("they're (neighbours) usually out to get something from you or gossip about you") the opposite is often implied. I was frequently told that "friends are better than kin and they don't let you down", or "neighbours bring you presents, they always remember". At the same time it was generally agreed that it was better not to have too many friends/neighbours because of the obligations involved and, it was felt, you couldn't speak to neighbours in the same way but had to be more careful, "you can't tell them to leave the house when you feel like it" (AG/SC/EIV 1978 FN). Similarly, people were equally divided on whether it was preferable to quarrel with kin or neighbours. Interestingly, the most severe disputes I encountered were between kin who were also neighbours.

Into this distinction has crept the vestiges of civil war. The hostilities (or friendships) generated either between kin or neighbours are thus frequently cast in an idiom of civil war. This often makes it difficult to disentangle the root causes of conflict and the underlying attitude towards both 'strangers' and relatives. I shall discuss this further in Chapter 9. What is noteworthy is that social relations in general appear to assume this added historical dynamic which nevertheless acts in and for the present.



Key to Village Plan of Agios Vissarios 1

Churches

1. Agia Triada Main church of village. The original one was destroyed in the earthquakes of 1966 and a new one is now being built. The community, especially those who have 'made good' in USA or elsewhere have contributed to its rebuilding. The village priest has also been on several fund raising missions throughout Greece.
2. Agios Vissarios The church normally in use. Its yard also contains the 'school canteen', a shed where schoolchildren from the neighbouring villages have their meals cooked by rota by various women from Agios Vissarios.
3. Agios Jannis A small chapel, the original also destroyed in 1966 now rebuilt close to the site. An iconographer from Crete comes every summer to paint the figures on the inside walls. Hired and paid by the uncle of the local MP as a gift to the community (in fact he abandoned his painting while I was there as he had not been paid)
4. Prophet Elias The monastery of, the remains of what was considered to be part of a monastery of Byzantine origin.
5. Cemetery The new cemetery, the original site was further outside the village and no longer in use.

Shops, Coffee-Shops and Community Buildings

6. ATE store house: store for government subsidized (through the Agricultural Bank) grain, animal fodder, fertilizer etc., providing whole cluster of villages
7. Carpenter's workshop: supplies building materials, makes household furniture and saws firewood and sells it in the winter
8. Abattoir for village butchers
9. State monopoly shop, i.e. sells paraffin, salt, matches and firewood on which there is a government monopoly.
10. Buildings temporarily housing 1st and 2nd forms of Secondary School.
11. Buildings temporarily housing 3rd form of Secondary School (let from TP, who permanently resident in Athens)
12. Coffee-shop. Small with very few supplies.
13. Barber's shop, open only on demand.
14. Coffee-shop. Thriving cafe but limited supplies.
15. Main square of the village and spring/tap for public use
16. Coffee-shop. Well equipped with groceries, greens, hardware, stationery and some meat. Also provides meals for teachers, visiting builders etc. when necessary
17. Coffee-shop. Limited supplies. Especially favoured by the young
18. Coffee-shop/butcher. Small, sells only alcohol apart from meat
19. Coffee-shop. Well supplied. Also chestnut dealer in autumn
20. New and secondary square of the village (built after the earthquakes of 1966 on the site of the old main square) and spring/tap for public use.
21. Coffee-shop. Limited supplies but owner also has livestock and can act as butcher

22. Cafe/butcher. Mainly latter, away from the main 'social' stream
23. New full (i.e. with 6 forms) Secondary School being built (in use by autumn 1983), originally the site of several threshing floors
24. Primary School and newly built football pitch
25. Police station, rented from private owner
26. Library of family of Karapiperis left to the community and also house of former
27. Old community offices of president and council, now rehoused in purpose built rooms adjoining 'xenona'
28. Post office and OTE (telephone exchange); houses above
29. Greengrocers/clothes shop and flat above rented out by owner
30. Cobblers/shoe shop.
31. Barbers. Once a cafe, neither in use
32. Kindergarten. (In 1984 had become the Clinic as there were no children in attendance)
33. Clinic and Doctors quarters. Rented from local widow
34. Newly built 'xenona'/hostel, with ten double rooms. Management taken over by highest bidder in auction on behalf of community. No-one taken much interest and now largely a 'youth club' for the young men of the village
35. Carpenter's. Supplies firewood as well as building materials, household furniture made to order
36. 'nerotrivi': See footnote 24 of this Chapter 2
37. Old water mill, no longer in use
38. New, electric, mill



Village Map (2)

Each Colour Represents a
Different Patronym

Distribution of Patronymic Groupings

2.iii. The Patronymic Groupings: Their Historical Significance

At one level the village is composed of a number of different patronymic kin groupings, member-families of which are also to be found scattered throughout the surrounding communities.²⁷ The patronymic grouping, is a bilateral kin category made up of a number of individual families²⁸ who share the same patronym and trace links between each other through the male line. It is not, however, a social entity, nor corporate group with property in common, nor is it homogeneous in terms of wealth or power, though this may have once been the case.²⁹ In fact, there is no occasion when all the existing member-families of those sharing the same patronym gather exclusively as a distinct body; nor are the groupings subject to, or identified by, specific exogamous or endogamous marriage regularities.

The existence of families with the same patronym, however, has implications for the social organization of the village in general. The groupings set the boundaries to, and therefore in one sense determine, certain kinship patterns such as which kin relations are maintained, the composition of the productive unit, and how in some circumstances labour is recruited. Most importantly, they play a crucial part in local political structures, in the formation of political alliances and the mobilization of political support. I shall discuss this in more detail in the following chapter 3. It is within the limits set by the patronymic grouping that kinship is manipulated and economic and political relations through such ties.

There are a number of individual families in the village who are not part of a patronymic grouping, or

families with very limited groupings, who cannot be considered a category in this sense. In some ways, however, even these individual families have been or are dominated by the existence of the larger partronymic groupings as they define themselves in relation to the larger groupings.

In 1977 there were 64 patronyms to be found in the village.³⁰ Of these 38, or about 59%, formed patronymic kin categories in the sense that more than three separate family units - and separate households in this case - carried the same name and were related through the male line. Of these in turn, eight groupings stand out as being more significant economically and politically either in the past and/or today, and are worthy of special attention in the village. These groupings have also tended, though not exclusively, to be the oldest and largest in Agios Vissarios.³¹

The delineation of these patronymic groupings is important for several reasons. It is important in considering certain principles of organization in the village and residential patterns, as well as kinship and political structures and their operation over time. It helps demonstrate how the bases of power can be seen to change in the village as well as indicating possible sources of that power and the nature of local political relations today.

Previously, families sharing a patronym determined residential patterns. The property (land and houses) of the member-families of a grouping tended to be coterminous. Both the location of fields and neighbourhoods in the village are still identified with a particular patronym after which they have been named. These traditional residential patterns were in part undermined by evacuation during the civil war. Groupings were reduced to a single member-family as people left the village for good. Houses and fields were burnt or fell into disrepair and were no longer associated with a particular patronym.

Some patronyms were 'obliterated' from memory because of their association with the Left and other member-families no longer wished to be associated with 'their' patronym because it had been divided by the civil war. Residential patterns were again partially destroyed by the 1966 landslides which literally broke up patronymic clusters of households and as people were forced to build on new sites within the village. It is also true to say that in recent years ,at least, marriage and accompanmying dowry payments in land or houses have tended to disperse such groupings.

A glance at the marriages of the eight main groupings over the last 80 years shows a minimum of repetition (ie. marrying repeatedly into the same patronyms at different junctures or over generations). Mostly marriages are dispersed throughout the other patronyms, with obviously, the larger groupings marrying into a greater number of other patronymic categories. There are a few incidents of marriage within the same patronymic groupings though these exist where size has made it possible.³² No distinct marriage patterns emerge, then, either between the main patronymic categories ; nor between them and other groupings (or 'families') in the village; nor between the cluster of six communities. By and large, the implications of marriage patterns are devolved onto political and not kin relations in the sense that the more links a grouping (or family) has throughout the village (and not just with particular patronyms) the greater the potential for political support in local elections.³³ At the same time, marriage choices are limited when the village is small and kin links of some kind can be traced between the majority of people in Agios Vissarios. What is important in this context is not who is related but which ties are maintained, for what reasons and in what ways?

It is in this sense that it can be said that, although kinship does impose certain constraints,

the recognition of it is also very flexible (cp Bourdieu 1977). Marriage in Agios Vissarios and the surrounding communities is important for the ties it creates. Marriage continues, however, to be seen first and foremost as the concern of an individual family and not of a patronymic grouping. The importance of marriage, as has been well documented for Greece, lies primarily in the fact that through it the individual attains full participation in all aspects of social, economic and political life (cp Freidl 1962; Campbell 1964; du Boulay 1974). The political consequences of a marriage for a patronymic grouping appear as an effect, or by-product, of this fact.

For most villagers the world is composed of separate conjugal family units the members of which have a sense of belonging to a wider kin group but whose actual social relations are not exclusively determined by membership of a particular patronym. The latter is significant in a number of ways, not least because it includes past, present and/or absent members. As such it is, however, a kin group in its usual definition existing beyond the Simple family. The kin group in Agios Vissarios, though, is not confined to members carrying the patronym but includes all relatives of the individual members of any given conjugal family unit. The kin group (soi), in other words, here approximates the kindred (all ego's cognates up to 2nd cousin and their spouses and children). In the case, say, of a husband and wife it would include both their kindred category of persons (ie affines as well). Only some social relations are organized in terms of the patronym and it is only at certain times that it becomes important to be part of the patronymic grouping as a whole.

Despite the limited significance of the patronym, the villagers nevertheless maintain a definite sense of belonging to a particular patronymic grouping.

Apart from the general implications the groupings have for social organization and certain social relations, the patronym has an historical significance. This significance lies in the fact that the member-families of each patronymic grouping share a common body of knowledge about it, about the origins of the patronym in the village and how all the member-families are related - its precise genealogy. In addition, an image of the patronym as a whole is shared in terms of its (alleged and often changing) status in the village. Such an image is based mainly on the past. No patronymic grouping is today homogeneous as a single image suggests. Each grouping includes wealthier and poorer member-families; more powerful families and those of little significance in terms of local or external bases of power. The groupings also vary in size. Indeed, in some cases now the patronymic 'grouping' consists of only one member-family though it is still considered a category. The economically and/or politically more important member-families tend to dominate the image of the patronym even if they are not resident in the village.

The information that exists (in the form of scanty local historical sources and what is generally accepted as 'true' among informants) suggests that Agios Vissarios, like other villages of Agrafa, was dominated in the past by a number of 'important patronyms' (or 'leading families'), some of whom still exert some influence on aspects of community life. As complete and locally based groupings, however, they have since dispersed. Whether these groups represented the wealthiest families in an hierarchical system in which nevertheless all were defined as 'peasant/agriculturalists', or whether they can be considered members of a national elite, is less certain. A reading of the conditions prevailing during the later part of the Ottoman Empire suggests the development of a regionally based but national elite.³⁴

Certainly, the position of such 'leading families' in the village was dependent not only on their monopoly of certain local resources but on links with Turkish overlords and officials, and later, with a nationally defined bourgeois class.

The leading patronyms who can be said to have been influential in Agios Vissarios after the War of Independence (during the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century) tended to be those who claimed to be the oldest (ie the first to settle in the village) and those who managed, in one way or another, to amass capital during this period.³⁵ An exception to this concerns two of the oldest patronyms who maintained links with Constantinople where their members continued to migrate through the generations, and where their sources of wealth remained.

Of those identified as the eight main patronymic groupings in Agios Vissarios, six settled in the village during the late 18th century.³⁶ Another came from a neighbouring village when an early member of the the patronym married into Agios Vissarios around 1848. Finally, one patronymic grouping - and now the largest in the village - came to Agios Vissarios in the early part of the 19th century as stockbreeders. In fact, the first members of this grouping settled outside Agios Vissarios towards the hamlet of AP in the north and today most of the patronymic land is to be found in that area.

These main groupings are considered the most significant economically and politically in the village today. Part of their claim to power and status lies precisely in the stated history, or origins, of the patronym which often includes claims of kinship to famous 19th century klephts or other illustrious forebearers. These histories are frequently discussed and retold both among the member-families and to outsiders.

The ANDZA patronymic kin grouping were originally known as Andzapoulos, or more significantly and as usually asserted, as Kitsos. The latter features as a famous klepht in a widely known folksong.³⁷ The group claim to be from the Pelopponese - another important factor as the Pelopponese was part of 'the old, true Greece' . Apparently the first known member-family took part in the seige of Tripolotsas in 1770 but were defeated and taken into captivity by the Turks. The father of this early family (Jannis) was sold to the Aga of Nafpakton with the rest of the family members. Eventually, the father and his wife died but their son (George) grew up, killed the Aga and fled into the mountains of Nafpakton. There he wandered from place to place for several years until he reached the village of Agios Vissarios where he settled, working as a woodcutter. He lived in Agios Vissarios for 15 years and married into the the village, but the Turkish authorities continued to search for him and finally tracked him down. The Ottoman soldiers surrounded his house 'one dawn', George jumped from the window to escape but was caught and killed. The Turks captured the rest of the family except for one son, Kitsos, and took them to Larissa. Kitsos hid for several years becoming a famous klepht. He took part in the revolution of 1821 and eventually returned to Agios Vissarios where he married.

The KARAPIPERIS patronymic grouping, long involved in both local and national politics in Greece and considered one of the wealthiest families in the village, claim to have come from Epirus where they were displaced by Ali Pasha. After they lost their property, one son joined the forces of Botsaris and as a klepht fought in the 1821 revolution.³⁸ Zachos, the youngest brother of the klepht, took his mother and unmarried sister to Agios

Vissarios where - with an introductory letter from Botsaris - they were left under the protection of Monk Gabriel in the local monastery of Prophet Elias. Zachos then also went to join Botsaris' men. Zachos returned to Agios Vissarios in 1832 where he worked for a time at the monastery. Eventually, he set up a market in dairy products which his mother (Kombo) had initiated, married and had children.

The KAVADIAS patronymic grouping also number klephts among their ancestors. The early family klephts allegedly fought with Katsadonis³⁹ in the Peloponnese and before that with a klepht chieftain from the village of Fournia in Evritania. It is thought that the first Kavadia family came to Agios Vissarios in 1819 when the klepht chieftain was killed. They settled in the village for safety.

The MERENDITTI patronymic forebearer, Nikos, came from the nearby village of Vraha and also fought in the War of Independence. After the war, however, he is said to have been left with no means of livelihood and turned to banditry. In 1836, the then Greek government sent soldiers to the area in an attempt to clean up banditry. Nikos apparently recanted, joined the soldiers with his band of men and helped clean out the other bandits of the area. At the death of Nikos his son, Spiros, replaced his father in the job of fighting bandits but Spiros 'retired' in 1848 and married into the village of Agios Vissarios.

Finally, the first TSATSOS (or Tziotsios/Tsiatsios) is thought to have settled and married into Agios Vissarios in the late 18th century. Apparently this first member of the patronym came wounded to the village, sought refuge in the monastery of Prophet Elias and eventually married a niece of the Monk Gabriel. It is not entirely clear if the first Tsatsos was simply a regional bandit or a klepht of the War of Independence. Nevertheless, he too is referred to in a popular folksong of the time.⁴⁰

The major patronymic kin-groupings were closely linked to the Orthodox Church. This link took a variety of forms including intermarriage with members of the local clergy; the management of monastic lands; education and general decision-making powers on issues of local importance. Later on, the patronymic groups supplied political candidates on both the local and national levels. Some maintained important trade links with Constantinople and other centres of Greece and they often monopolized local markets in the area. The first two member-families to set up shops in the village (in this case, the only households of each patronym as their respective member-families had remained in or migrated to Constantinople) intermarried in an attempt to monopolize the local trade network in dairy produce. Today, members of each of these patronymic groupings left in Agios Vissarios dispute who was the first to set up shop.

Although as individual households the landholdings of these major patronymic groupings do not seem to have been significantly great, as categories they did represent the larger landowners. It would be a mistake, however, to read too much into this difference as each member-family remained, essentially, a self-contained, small-holding unit, working its own land. Where sheep and goats were concerned the sum total of the patronymic grouping may have had more significance, as flocks would in many cases be herded together, though each member-family retained individual ownership of its own livestock. A theft of sheep could be seen as an offence against the patronym as a whole. On the other hand, revenge in one case was taken by singling out the sheep of an individual member-family from such a collective herd and slaughtering only those.

In the early part of the 20th century, the leading patronymic groupings also contributed members to

the professions and probably educated other members of the patronym to a higher level than was normal among the rest of the village. This, of course, may have been simply a function of size. Statistically, the larger the overall grouping the greater the likelihood that more of its members would be educated. The larger the kin-grouping, the more people could be called on to assist in getting a member through his/her education or sending him/her away to be trained. The links such groupings already had with urban centres played a part in facilitating the trend. General conditions, such as the problem of surplus labour and the shortage of land may also have contributed to a move away from agriculture.

As complete patronymic groupings, they have not been resident in Agios Vissarios at least since the Second World War. Table (8) illustrates the changed sizes of the eight main patronymic categories since 1939. In terms of households, categories 2 and 5 show signs of remaining in the village. In actuality, category 5's four households in 1978 are misleading. One household comprises recently returned American migrants of pension age who have been absent for over 25 years. The other is an 'absent' household, used by the member-family in question only for rare holidays. The same is true for category 8. Category 2, on the other hand, shows less sign of dispersal. It is the only grouping in which individual member-families have recently invested in increasing their flocks and landholdings as well as exploiting other opportunities (one family started a trout farm). This has happened only with one other - unrelated - household in the village. Category 2 has simultaneously become increasingly active in local politics and gained considerable control in the local council elected in 1978.

Table (11) shows the potential voting strength of each patronymic grouping in 1945 and again in 1978. The latter is divided into those still resident in

the village and those who are no longer resident but retain their voting rights in Agios Vissarios.

Out of the 49 registered patronymic categories in 1945, the average number of votes per category was 5. This means that - except for numbers 4, 5 and 8 shown on the Table - the other patronyms represented here were well above the average in terms of numbers of votes. Two of those shown on the Table to have the least number of votes (4 and 5) were among the wealthiest families who had monopolized local markets for some time. Of these, category 4 has 'supplied' the MP for the province over three generations, and the other (5) several village presidents. Today category 5 is also the largest chestnut producer in Agios Vissarios. Category 4 are no longer resident.

There were in 1945, three additional patronymic categories - not represented on the Table - who also had considerable voting strength in 1945. All three, originally came to Agios Vissarios as 'in-grooms' (iso-gambroi) to one of the eight main categories. In one case they married into five of the main patronymic groupings over a span of three generations.

The figures suggest that some of the eight main categories are still powerful/dominant in terms of their potential voting strength (assuming always that they voted in agreement) but other factors must now be taken into consideration, such as sources of power not directly reflected through local voting strength. Three of the votes for category 4, for instance, represent the MP (returned until the 1981 elections) and his brothers - an Army officer and a university professor (the latter now deceased)- whose power is not derived from local sources but from their positions in urban centres.

The very dispersal of kin - away from the village - inevitably means some erosion of solidarity and influence. Not only do some people change their voting rights to their place of residence but, more significantly, they come under new political influences and feel less constrained by the needs to vote for the kin-group.

This is not to minimize the existence of such constraints even for those not permanently resident in the village. Above all, the manipulation of kin links in voting (at least in local elections) is still of prime importance.

In these senses, kinship continues to be integral to the political process. The way in which it is so, however, is probably different to the situation which prevailed in the early part of the century or, indeed, during the 19th century and even before under Ottoman rule, when such patronymic groupings were less dispersed. In the past the position of the patronymic groupings - or their individual member-families - as 'notables' or 'leading families' within the community were probably primarily constituted through the medium of kinship. They were kin-based groupings, linked to the villagers by kin ties as well as being themselves comprised of a kin group. Members could be voted in (as councillors or 'chieftains') and supported by kin. Although the main groupings may have dominated in this respect, having also administrative positions of power as tax-collectors and/or being defended by armed retainers; and though they played a part in local production, because of the prevailing system of smallholdings in such mountain areas, they were not able to become feudal overlords. The role of the leading families was largely mediated through kinship links. Solidarities coming into play within the community would be governed by such kin ties and consequently segments of the community could be mobilized - in kinship terms - for political purposes (Cp Bodeman 1980). This actually occurred both during the War of Independence and in subsequent inter-regional and factional disputes. Political allegiance, then, could be inferred by staking a kin claim to one of the leading patronymic groupings.

As I will show in Chapter 6, immediately after the War of Independence in 1821, political power in Greece remained concentrated in the hands of a few

families - members of this type of group - who continued to operate on local and regional levels where they retained considerable autonomy. On a Parliamentary level, the power of these 'notables' was expressed as a struggle between competing factions over how 'the spoils of the nation' were to be divided. The development of the state, however, and the emergence of younger politicians from the War of Independence itself and who had no such traditional local power bases, were already circumscribing the authority of the local 'notables'.

Members of the 'leading families' grew increasingly dependent on the new politicians to channel their demands into the growing government bureaucracy. On the one hand, this meant that the 'notables' began to embody the local political and economic interests of the state and purely local issues were pushed aside. On the other hand, the local hegemony of the 'notables' was gradually eroded as they were forced to assume a different relationship to the new bureaucrats and politicians at the centre. On both counts the kin basis to local power had to alter significantly.

In short, the bases to local power began to diversify after the late 19th century as also the patronymic groupings began to disperse. The diversification of local power came with the gradual development of the state and consequent forging of links with new groups of people which this necessitated. This process constituted the beginnings of a new order of political relations. The development of the state apparatus manifested itself to the community in a variety of forms: the increase of state tax-collectors, merchants and money-lenders. Later, the state appeared in the form of agrarian loans, new insurance schemes, the development of basic state educational facilities and a variety of

other - though minimal - welfare provisions. This meant, among other things, that the exercise of power within the village was now open to new groups of people. A new class of civil servants, specialists and merchants had emerged, more closely linked to the 'centre' but involved with the rural sector. Traditional ties within the community began to be by-passed and new alliances were struck up with those who had more direct access to the 'welfare distributing channels'.⁴¹ In the event, the previously dominant families also turned their attention to forging links with the economically more relevant bureaucrats, politicians and technocrats. In this way, these leading families could also gain control of access to the new state apparatus. In many cases, however, this not only meant new types of relationships which were not primarily kin-based, but a movement away from the village altogether. There were a number of consequences.

Economically, such changes obviously altered the dominant families' sphere of influence. They no longer, for example, had a direct influence on the structuring of local relations of production.⁴² Today, the MP of the province who is not resident in the village, 'controls' the national economy in its local manifestations or can at least influence its local operation. He can direct public funds to the village - as he has done for the improvement of educational facilities, for public works (drainage, roads, bridges), for health welfare distribution, in securing loans from the ATE or Ministry of Housing. The MP can also help the young with civil servant jobs in Athens. The MP cannot, however, interfere directly in the local economy, in agriculture or in animal husbandry. He cannot directly influence what is grown, how much is produced or the ways in which labour will be organized. The fact that he can manipulate state funds indirectly affects the local economy as does his implicit commitment to helping the young migrate from the area. For the villagers access to the MP, and therefore to his power to assist, is largely based on kinship in the sense that appeals are made in

these terms.

Despite significant changes in different historical periods many social relations on the village level continue to be mediated through kinship though the form of this mediation has altered. The continued existence of patronymic kin-groupings exerts an influence on a number of aspects of social life: on the social composition of the village, on residential patterns (though only to a limited extent now), on the formation of political alliances and the mobilization of support. The importance of the patronymic groupings, however, has another dimension: they can also be considered 'historical' categories. The groupings embody the past while representing the present through the past. Claims to status and power or wealth are made by association with the 'history' of the patronym. This history not only reflects changes but it reflects what has changed in terms, for example, of how kinship is used; in terms of the composition of the village and in terms of changes in local bases of power. The groupings also illustrate how the past may be used in the manipulation of certain social relations.

I turn, finally, to the family and household in Agios Vissarios.

2.iv. Families and Households in the Village of Agios Vissarios

The most common domestic group in the village is the Simple (or nuclear) family. Organizationally, it is the most significant as it is also the most common co-resident group.⁴³ Ideally, marriage brings about the establishment of a new household and property transactions that take place at this time are designed to make this possible.⁴⁴ Each family, in this sense, is a property holding unit.⁴⁵ The co-resident group is also a consumption unit and, depending on the stage of the developmental cycle, it may be a productive unit, though this is now less common. A productive unit, in this case, is defined as one where all the members of a family are engaged in the same activity - in agriculture or animal husbandry - and where it is their main source of livelihood/income. Because local records are so unreliable it is difficult to build up an accurate picture, but it seems that even before World War 2 not many families were productive units in this sense. Often some members of a family worked elsewhere or in a different activity - albeit seasonally or for short periods - even though they continued to assist in agriculture. In fact, one effect of migration since the war has been to render more households into productive units. Children leave and parents remain as a single household cultivating only as much as they can manage as a productive unit and as much as they need to subsist.

The structural principle on which the family is based in Agios Vissarios is the conjugal relationship. Simple families fall into several categories: married couples with no children/ all their children absent; married couples living with their unmarried children (this group may have additional children elsewhere), and widows/widowers with their unmarried children.

These family types form Simple Family Households.⁴⁶ Given that a major factor in the variation of the size of individual households is the stage reached in the developmental cycle of the domestic group, there appear to be no major differences in family size since before the war. Noteworthy differences include the existence in the village today of three 'divorcees' (in fact only separated) and the fact that there are fewer widowers living with unmarried children, as Table 13 illustrates. The smaller proportion of married couples living with unmarried children in 1978 reflects, in part, the natural ageing of the population (ie. many of the unmarried children in 1939 are now married, and married couples remaining in the village are on average older). This is, however, also an indication of migration and the fact that the young increasingly leave the village.

A smaller proportion of domestic groups in Agios Vissarios form Extended Family Households. These consist of a conjugal family unit with (an) additional relative(s) apart from the offspring and extending either upwards, downwards and/or laterally.⁴⁷ In Agios Vissarios such households include married couples (with/without their children) living with one/both of the parents of either spouse and, in one case, a Wife's Father's Brother. These household types also include families extended laterally, a married couple with one/more unmarried sibling(s) of either spouse. Before the war there were also two cases of a group of unmarried siblings living together without their parents.

In addition to these two types of co-resident domestic groups, there are several other types of 'household' in Agios Vissarios. There are, for instance, single-membered households or 'Solitaries', that is, unmarried males or females or widows/widowers living alone without children.

The latter may not have had children or their children may be absent. There has been an increase of 'solitaries' since the war with more widows remaining in the village without their children.⁴⁸ This is consistent with migratory patterns, with the fact that women tend to live longer but are less likely to remarry⁴⁹ and that in general there is the expectation that women are more able to care for themselves and have less need to depend on children than widowers. According to my women informants, women were also much more reluctant to live abroad with migrant children, feeling that their independence was seriously curtailed outside the village.

Though a household is usually defined as a co-resident domestic unit, implying shared kinship, activities and location, and therefore the existence of more than one member, I have included 'solitaries' as a household type found in the village. In addition, I have identified what I term 'absent' households. These refer to families who though registered and retaining their right to vote in the village as well as maintaining a family house, are not usually resident there. The family as a whole or its individual members may return at regular intervals or hardly at all, and/or they may rent out their houses to 'outsiders' (ie. teachers, doctors, forestguards etc). There has been an increase in the 'absent' type of household since before the war.

Within these broad categories further differentiation may be made. There is, for example, a case where the dividing line between a single, Extended household and two separate households is not so clear. A childless widow adopted a son when he was already in his early twenties. She made over her house to him, he subsequently married and had two sons. The widow, who does not 'get on' with the SW, now lives in the upper part of the house and the rest of the family share the lower

h a l f .

All the members eat together regularly, though not often, and the widow helps work some jointly owned fields with her adopted son and his family (namely the fields of an absent brother of the adopted son). As the house is in the son's name it is registered as a single household with the adopted son as the household head. In effect, though, the widow runs her part of the house entirely independently and as a separate entity, renting out rooms to supplement her income.

Another case refers to separate households coming together as a single household in the village. One example concerns two married brothers (one of whom is now widowed) who live separately in Athens but who live as a single household when in the village which they visit during holidays (although not always together). The brothers are registered in the village as a single household and retain their voting rights in Agios Vissarios where they are concerned, as a single household, to influence local political affairs. Another example (the household remains on the village registry for the same reasons as above) concerns a group of brothers and their unmarried FB.⁵⁰ In the village the brothers are registered as a single household but live separately in Athens.

In 1978 there were 144 separate households in Agios Vissarios, 23 fewer than the number registered before the war. Although the average size of a household has not lessened significantly since then and family structure and composition has not radically altered, there has been a considerable drop in the registered population of the village, and more importantly, of those registered a greater proportion today are not resident in Agios Vissarios. In other words, there are fewer complete households.⁵¹ This is a result of increased migration and has affected kinship patterns in the village as well as the family as an economic unit. Marriage trends, that is the preference for marrying out of the village, merely endorse these changes.

Though the family cannot normally be taken as the complete co-resident group, there is in the case of Agios Vissarios an equation between familial and co-resident groups. There are examples where the co-resident unit includes temporary lodgers (teachers, doctor, midwife or other temporary 'specialists; policemen whose postings tend to be longer-term usually rent whole houses and become households in themselves). On the whole ,however, lodgers are not part of the household in the sense that they do not share kinship, they do not eat together or share any other activities. Only one household in the village included a servant among its members. The householder was not permanently resident in the village.

In summary, there are several types of familial group in Agios Vissarios which, by-and-large, correspond to household categories. The commonest domestic group is the Simple Family Household. There are also a number of Extended Family Households, 'Solitaries' and what I have termed 'Absent' Households. The composition of Agios Vissarios in these terms has not changed significantly since before the war where the same types of household category were found. The number of permanently resident household members, however, has lessened considerably.

It is reasonable to suppose that the constitution of the village in these terms has remained much the same for generations, and the picture today is similar to that which existed throughout the Ottoman period, the 19th century and early 20th century. The 'Solitaries' and 'Absent' households have assumed a greater importance since World War 2. Their existence reflects both migratory trends (including the dramatic postwar migration : See Chapter 9) and different marriage patterns, while affecting both these as well as a variety of other aspects of present-day community life.

Judging from the scanty records, adoption and illegitimacy, though not completely unknown, are rare enough to be ignored in the context of defining family and residential units.⁵² Finally, the proportion of women who are household-heads has not dramatically changed since 1939. These women do not constitute a large proportion of village householders but their number is significant enough to be reckoned with when necessary.⁵³

In a number of ways the province of Evritania is distinctive in Greece. It is more isolated and less developed than other Greek provinces; it is sparsely populated with a high rate of emigration; the province exhibits an uneasy relationship to centres of power in Greece and to the state in general. The economy of Evritania is undeveloped, depending on subsistence agriculture and limited cash-crops such as chestnuts, on foreign remittances, on a little forestry and some sheep-rearing.

Geography, it seems, has interwoven with history to play a part in creating these conditions. The topography of the province, its mountains, ravines, wild forests and rivers, allowed for a certain autonomy which also left the province isolated in some respects. Much of the importance of, and inherent conflicts in, the past of the province finds a resonance in the present dynamic of village life. Some of these conflicting trends are encapsulated by the 'patronyms' which are not just loosely based kin-groupings but historical categories. Over the years Evritania has seen some fundamental changes but beneath these lie apparently similar patterns: types of household units and the endorsement of 'family values' and principles of kinship are essentially the same.

In the following chapter I will consider some of these points in more detail. My aim is to illustrate how they are articulated through certain ongoing social relations.

Chapter 2 Footnotes

2.i.

1. In 1971 the overall expanse of the province was 2.047 sq.kms. distributed in the following way
4.6% Agricultural land
1.5% Ploughed, agricultural land
38.1% Grazing land
46.4% Forest land
4.3% Under water
5.1% Built on
(ATE publication 1973)

After an administrative reshuffle in 1977, the province was reduced to 1.871 sq. kms. 53% of its area is over 1000 metres above sea level. The village of Agios Vissarios is 800 metres above sea level (ATE publication 1977).

2. An article by Dimitriou L. in the National Daily 'TO BHMA' on 30.7.1961 reinforced the idea of a Greek Switzerland. The number of abandoned or semi-inhabited villages, the lack of roads - of any kind in some areas; the lack of medical and educational facilities in most parts; the high emigration rates and lack of systematic agricultural and/or forestry exploitation and mechanization (wooden ploughs are still used) and so on, hardly give credence to a serious comparison. In fact, there is not an abundance of water in all parts of the province despite the fact that it is dissected by four large rivers and their tributaries and there is in the west of the province a huge reservoir. In some cases water - a river - is nearby but no method for bringing it into the village concerned has been developed.

3. Vasiliou P. (1971:49) cites the province as comprising 87 villages and 161 hamlets. Hamlets are legally determined by their number of inhabitants. Because of large-scale depopulation, however, the distinction is not today strictly maintained. One village in the north of the province which I visited had a single elderly couple residing in it !

The distinction between hamlet and village has now only an administrative meaning in Evritania. Hamlets are not politically autonomous, they do not have their own elected president and community council but vote in the village to which the hamlet is attached, where they are also required to register births, marriages, deaths.

The political status implied by each term can be used as a political instrument as I witnessed during my fieldwork: see Chapter 9:

98% of the hamlets existing in Evritania today have fewer than 500 inhabitants each and make up 80% of the total population of the province. Most villages (70%) also have populations of under 500 inhabitants (ATE publication 1977).

4. In the 1971 census the province had a total population of 29.533, a 25.6% decrease from 1961. Calculating at the same rate this would make the population of the province in 1981, 21.973. The population of Karpensisi: this is based on the rate of growth of the town since 1951. The 1971 census showed that it had a population of 4.645. For details see ATE publications (1973, 1976, 1977); Karapiperis D.P. (1972); Bakojiannis J. (1962); Beikos G. (1979 Vol.1) and Trahanis D.(1982). Also see my Tables Numbers 2, 3 and 4. The changes in size of the province had some effect on population figures (see footnote 1 above).

5. The 85 different settlements of Karpensisi during Ottoman rule were divided into:

- i) Vlachohoria (Vlach villages) of which there =25
 - ii) Politohoria ('civil' villages) of which there were 20
 - iii) The villages of Sovolakou (now Psylovrahos) of which there =16
 - iv) the villages of Apokoupou of which there were 24
- (Vasiliou 1960, 1964)

Agios Vissarios and its surrounding communities were part of Evritanian Agrafa. Only 28 of the 40 villages of this area exist today. At the same time Agios Vissarios is held to have had 60 Greek christian families; the village of D 20 families; AH (then Elova) 20 families; H 4 families with 60 more families in 4 settlements belonging to these villages.

6. The parliamentary decrees were as follows: BD 6)7)1899, 16)11 & 4)12) 1909; Art. 57 of AN 1488, ND 2188)43. See Vasiliou (1960B and 1964D and Beikos (1979 Vol. 1).

7. See Table 4. The other five communities of the cluster are abbreviated throughout as AH, P, H, D and AP.

8. See Table 5.

9. Early travellers to the area have remarked on this feature. See Loukopoulou D. (1929).

10. The hostel was built in 1977 and has ten beds. A teleferique has also been planned to run from Agios Vissarios to the top of Mount Velouchi where ski slopes have been developed. Since my fieldwork I have learnt that the new secondary School is now threatened with closure as less than 40 pupils attend from Agios Vissarios and the surrounding communities.

TABLE 2

POPULATION TRENDS OF PROVINCE & CAPITAL TOWN

	1907	1920	1928	1940	1951	1961	1971	1981*
EVRI'TANIA	42.997	37.482	43.186	53.474	39.716	39.678	29.533	21.973**
KARPENISI	3.105	2.310	2.816	3.796	3.700	3.850	4.645	5.601***

FIGURES FROM EYSE

- * MY FIGURES BASED ON RATES OF INCREASE AND DECREASE OF ATE PUBLICATION 1977
- ** CALCULATED AT 25.6% DECREASE PER DECADE
- *** CALCULATED AT 20.6% INCREASE PER DECADE

TABLE 3 POPULATION FIGURES FOR VILLAGE OF AGIOS VISSARIOS

	NUMBER OF INHABITANTS
1846	317
1890	423
1920	576
1928	617
1940	773
1951	535
1961	532
1971	422
1977	355

FIGURES FROM VASILIOU, P. 1964 (C)

TABLE 4

POPULATION FIGURES FOR THE GROUP OF VILLAGES

VILLAGE	1907	1920	1928	1940	1951	1961	1971
AV	478	576	617	773	535	532	422
AII	253	226	245	295	206	222	154
D (INCLUDES AP)	699	671	692	698	557	483	360
P	290	217	279	297	193	176	131
II	253	301	314	357	231	196	60

FIGURES FROM KARAPIPERIS, D.P. (1972 : 48-50)

TABLE 5 CHESTNUT AND WALNUT PRODUCTION 1970

VILLAGE	CHESTNUTS		WALNUTS	
	STREMMAS	KILOS	STREMMAS	KILOS
Ag. Vissarios	16.500	120.000	3.000	20.000
AIH	300	6.000	450	3.600
D	370	25.000	230	7.500
P	500	15.000	500	6.000
H	NONE		600	4.800

CHESTNUT AND WALNUT PRODUCTION IN KILOS 1977

VILLAGE	CHESTNUTS	WALNUTS
Ag. Vissarios	150.000	40.000
AIH	5.500	4.500
D	17.000	7.500
P	15.000	10.000
H	NONE	32.000

FIGURES FROM MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, KARPENISI BRANCH

The villages of Raptopoulou in the NW of Evritania and of AN east of Karpenisi also cultivate chestnuts and walnuts. I have no figures for these villages, but they are the only other villages of Evritania to cultivate these products.

11. In 1971 the average annual per capita income in Evritania was 11.580 drachmas compared to 31.309 for the whole of Greece (ie. 37% of all average earnings). In Evritania

Primary sector accounts for	78.5%	of the GDI
Secondary & Tertiary	21.5%	
Pensions/Remittances	23.6%	
Works outside area (ie. casual labour not migrants)	4.9%	

See Vasiliou (1971:49) and ATE publication (1976.2:1-18) for emigration figures and analysis.

12. See Chapter 1. As I have said, I use the term particular history to refer to a history peculiar to these villages and to each village which has its own memories and experiences, but it is a history which also coincides with a national one. In addition, the term refers to the way in which this history is mapped out and selected in certain ways by the inhabitants.

13. Greeks date the beginning of Ottoman rule from the fall of Constantinople on Tuesday 13th May 1453. Tuesdays remain for many villagers 'unlucky days' with 'upside-down hours', as they put it. Although the struggle for independence began in 1821, the boundaries of modern Greece were not finally set until 1947. See Chapter 6.

14. See Chapter 3: for a discussion of Agrafa and its villages.

15. Vacalopoulos A.E. (1970:158,170).

16. Cp., Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, Book 111:94.

17. I discuss this aspect in greater detail below in Chapter 3.

18. See, for example, Leake W.M. (1835).

19. I discuss this period in Chapter 4.

20. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

2.ii.

21. Mount Velouchi is officially known as Timfristos. This mountain, which dominates the area, is 2.319 metres above sea level. The famous partisan leader Aris Velouchiotis (see Chapter 1 Fn.16) took his name from this mountain.

22. There are in fact several churches in Agios Vissarios. This, the main one has recently been rebuilt with funds raised by the local priest on various tours and donations from village migrants round the world. The church is only used on special occasions. The church which is in habitual use lies hidden in the centre of the village. In addition to these churches, there is a small chapel (of Byzantine origin and also rebuilt after the 1966 earthquakes) on the outskirts of the village. Villagers visit the chapel to light candles and say prayers but it is only used for liturgy on the feast-day of its Saint's name. Finally, there is a little chapel which was part of the old monastery of Prophet Elias (see Chapter 4).

23. In 1966 there were severe earthquakes all over the province which also caused landslides and, according to the provincial Department of Social welfare (1979 PC), they damaged 90% of the housing in Evritania. A special housing department was set up in Karpenisi at the initiative of the Minister of the Interior. At first the department provided emergency aid which included supplying villagers with corrugated iron, wood and cardboard to build themselves temporary shelter; and the special department also sent 'trousseau packages' to girls who had been about to get married. Afterwards various rehabilitation programmes were devised which included state loans for the rebuilding of family houses. In 1967 the then Junta passed a law (since revoked) that those in receipt of state housing loans could build anywhere in Greece outside the main conurbations (ie. outside Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki and Patras). The result for Evritania was that many people took the opportunity to leave the province altogether.

8,848 applications from the province were made initially for the state housing loans. In response to these special engineers and surveyors were sent to inspect housing conditions. The concluding report found that 5,666 houses had been completely destroyed by the earthquakes, and 848 houses had been damaged/ partially destroyed but could be put right. In the event, 2,909 families received state loans for the renovation/rebuilding of homes. Priority was to be given to multi-membered families without adequate shelter. I was told, however, that the system of 'favours for friends and relations' soon took over in the assessment of applications.

3,000 of the original applicants got no state aid at all and most of these people still live in shacks (12 years later). In June 1979 I travelled up to the central/northern parts of Evritania where I saw much of the substandard housing still in existence. Many of the grants allocated were themselves minimal (200-550 drs) and quite insufficient when added to the difficulties of transporting building materials to some of the more distant reaches of the province. Even the outskirts of Karpenisi, however, were littered with shacks when I first

started my fieldwork. Out of the 3,000 original applicants at least 1,000 were 7-membered families.

24. The nerotrivi is used for washing heavy woollen rugs and blankets during the Spring and Summer months when they are removed from the houses. It is also used for washing newly woven rugs to make them 'fluffy'. The structure of the nerotrivi is as follows: the main body (where the rugs are placed) is a cone-shaped wooden barrel, about 3ft in diameter and 5-6' deep. The barrel is sunken (narrow end downwards) into the bed of a stream. The stream in question has been siphoned off the nearby river by means of a narrow wooden viaduct which is raised well above the level of the barrel top, but leads into it by means of a large tin funnel. The water siphoned from the river, runs along the wooden viaduct and falls through the funnel with considerable force into the sunken barrel below. Because the barrel is cone-shaped and narrower at the bottom, the water cannot escape easily and is churned up within the barrel. This gives the water a motion which propels any item placed into it , acting like the turning function of a washing machine. At the same time, clean water is passed through the barrel continuously. The rugs are placed into the barrel for some time and then pulled out and placed on the banks of the stream and nearby rocks to dry.

25. The new Secondary School which is now operating, lies further eastwards down the road. When I was in the village, the Secondary School was still housed in two separate buildings within the village, near the main square, in rented houses whose members were absent. The Kindergarten was closed in the early 1980s.

26. See Village Map(2) p.121

2.iii.

27. See Table (6) below showing distribution of patronyms over the five communities.

28. Families are defined here as conjugal units - in which descent is reckoned cognatically - which form co-resident domestic groups of the Simple and Extended household family types and as specified by Laslett ed.(1972:28-32). The actual size and structure of families in Agios Vissarios will be specified below in 2.iv.

29. See below to the 'image' of patronymic groupings. (Compare also Chapter 5.iii.).

30. Village patronyms fall into the following groupings:

38 are carried by more than three persons (ie 59.3% of all patronymic groupings are comprised of over 2 households)

10 patronyms are carried by single individuals (ie 15.6% of all patronyms occur only once, there is no grouping)

6 patronyms are carried by couples (ie 9.3% of patronyms consist of a husband and wife in a single household. There is no grouping)

10 are carried by three persons (ie 15.6% cover 1-2 households - a small, local grouping)

See Table (7) below

31. I have chosen patronyms which still exist in the village. Some of importance in the past are no longer to be found. My choice is supported by evidence from Vasiliou P. (in private correspondence 1980) and Karapiperis D.M. 1970-71: 21-31. See Table (8) below.

32. See Tables (9)and(10). Apart from the common incest prohibitions upheld by the Greek law (a person with his/her ascendants/descendants and siblings) 1st cousin marriage is also forbidden though special dispensation can be obtained in some circumstances from a bishop and it is quite common in parts of Greece as a preferred type of marriage.

33. See Chapter 3:iii. where I discuss this in more detail.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF PATRONYMS OVER FIVE COMMUNITIES

(MALES ONLY - I.E. NOT FEMALES MARRIED OUT OF VILLAGE INTO OTHERS)

VILLAGE (IN No. OF MALES OVER 21 YEARS)	AV	D (+AP)	AH	P	H
NAME					
1 GALANIS	1*	5			
2 KAKAVIAS	1*	9			
3 BANIAS	3	4			
4 PAPAGEORGIU	2	13			2
5 RANDZOS	5	14			
6 FOUFLIAS	1+	16			
7 KROUSTALIS	2*	2			
8 MANOLIS	1+	2			
9 HOUSIADAS	3	2			
10 ALEXIAS	1		13		
11 KITSAKIS	2*		16		
12 SCARLATOS	1+		17		
13 PAMPORIS	3*		2		
14 VASILIOU	6			13	
15 STOKAS	3			15	3
16 HOULIARAS	3			16	
17 KATSIFAS	2*				26
18 LAYOS	1*				6
19 TSIAVOS	1*				11
20 VASILAKIS				2	4
21 SAKKAS	3			2	
22 GAVRILIS				5	2
23 SCARTSOUNIS	4				17

KEY TO TABLE 6

Distribution of Patronymic Groups Over the Five Villages

The figures are calculated from the 1945 Electoral Registeries of the five villages concerned. The pattern will have changed somewhat since then and some patronyms are no longer found in any of the villages because of migration (though the name may appear on the current- 1978 - Electoral Registry).

* Means those in Agios Vissarios today who were not found on the Electoral Registry of 1945. By-and-large, the individuals concerned have come to settle in Agios Vissarios since that time, or they have married into AV as iso-gambroi.

+ Means widowed women carrying the name today (ie. no male members are present or alive)

In general it can be assumed that each male name on the Electoral Registry represents a separate household (over 21 years old) though, obviously, this is not always the case.

What this Table shows is that 35.93% of the patronymic kin groupings are scattered over the five communities; that this is so only because men (with these names) have either married into or settled in Agios Vissarios (ie. without marrying there) from the surrounding communities and not because the patronymic groupings of Agios Vissarios have expanded outwards (though ofcourse the table does not indicate the number of females from AV who have married into the surrounding villages). The table also indicates the villages of origin for certain of the patronyms in Agios Vissarios.

TABLE 7 NUMBER OF PATRONYMS SINCE 1928

YEAR	NUMBER OF PATRONYMS	SOURCE/TYPE
1. 1923	70	COMMUNITY REGISTRY*/MALES ONLY
2. 1939	53	COMMUNITY REGISTRY/ALL
3. 1945	49	ELECTORAL REGISTRY/MALES ONLY
4. 1977	64	ALL
	53	ELECTORAL REGISTRY/MALE ONLY

* THIS WAS PARTIALLY DESTROYED .
NOT COMPLETE

MALE ONLY MEANS THAT WIDOWS CARRYING A PATRONYM ARE EXCLUDED. FOR E.G. IN THE 1977 ELECTORAL REGISTRY THERE ARE 9 MORE PATRONYMS LISTED IN THE WOMEN'S REGISTRY (WHICH IS SEPARATE TO THE MALE'S).

TABLE 8

CHANGING SIZE OF MAIN PATRONYMIC GROUPS

PATRONYMIC GROUP	NUMBER OF SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS		TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS RESIDENT IN AT		ACTUAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS	
	1939	1978	1939	1978	1939	1978
ANDZA	7	7	40	10	42	31
DASSIOS	9	12	45	49	47	61
KAVADIAS	13	11	62	29	89	52
KARAPIPERIS	1	1	3	-	8	3
KATSELLOS	1	4	8	6*	8	14
PAROUTSAS	10	5	46	16	53	22
TSATSIOS	11	11	57	18	59	55
MERENTITIS	2	3	10	10	13	14

(* 2 RECENTLY RETURNED MIGRANTS)

TABLE 9

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN THE MAIN PATRONYMIC GROUPS (SINCE 1900)

FEMALES	ANDZA	DASSIOS	KARAP.	KAVA.	MEREN.	PAR.	TSAT.	KATS.
MALES								
ANDZA			1			1	3	
DASSIOS	1			3		3	1	1
KARAP.								1
KAVA.		2	1	2	1	1	2	
MEREN.						1		
PAR.		1		2			1	
TSAT.		1		3	2		1	
KATS.			1	1				

TABLE 10

INTERMARRIAGE WITH OTHER PATRONYMS IN THE VILLAGE (EXCLUDING THE MAIN ONES) Since 1939

TYPE	MALE	FEMALE	'EXCHANGE'	NUMBER OF REPEATED GROUPS	TOTAL NUMBER OF MARRIAGES INTO OTHER PATRONYMS
NAME					
ANDZA	2	5	-	-	7
DASSIOS	5	11	1	2	16
KARAP.	-	-	-	-	-
KAVA.	9	7	4	1	16
MEREN.	2	-	-	-	2
PAR.	2	1	1	-	3
TSAT.	5	4	1	1	9
KATS.	3	3	-	-	6

TABLE 11

POTENTIAL VOTING STRENGTH OF MAIN PATRONYMIC GROUPS

NAMES	1945 MALES ONLY			1978 MALES ONLY		
	RESIDENT	NON-RESIDENT	TOTAL	RESIDENT	NON-RESIDENT	TOTAL
1 ANDZA	12		12	6	1	7
2 DASSIOS	16	1	17	19	3	22
3 KAVADIAS	30		30	16	9	25
4 KARAP.	5	1	6		5	5
5 KATSELOS	4		4	2	1	3
6 PAROUTSAS	14		14	7	9	16
7 TSATSOS	19		19	8	12	20
8 MERENT.	5		5	3	2	5

34. See Chapter 4:iii. especially references to the kocabasis.
35. Karapiperis op.cit.
36. See Table (8) Vasilou 1980 (private correspondence) Tkarap (FN 1979), Hkats (FN 1978/9), Karapiperis ibid.
37. See Clogg R (ed) 1976:70-1 for translation of the song itself.
38. Botsaris, Markos. Klepht chieftain of the Souliots who fought in various campaigns against the Ottoman Turks and with other bandit bands. He was killed in Karpenisi during the War of Independence and is a much esteemed local hero.
39. Katsandoni, Klepht chieftain and popular hero of the War of Independence. He was famous for his exploits in the Peloponnese. There are many places named after him (rocks, caves etc) even in Evritania and songs about him.
40. Details of these origin tales are from Karapiperis op.cit. Vasiliou in conversation and my own fieldnotes.
41. See Littlewood, P. (1980) p.41-42.
42. See, for example, Chapters 4 and 5 for situation in early 19th century.
43. See below and Table (13).
44. Cp., Davis J. (1973:22-43) ie property from dowry (which may be a house) to land, right down to furniture and household equipment all support the idea of 'setting up house'.
45. This depends, again, on the stage in the developmental cycle and also the type of dowry the wife receives, ie whether she will retain all legal rights over such property or not.
46. Cp., Laslett (1974:28-32) and see below for the definition of Household.
47. Laslett ibid.
48. See Table (12).

TABLE 12 HOUSEHOLDS IN THE VILLAGE OF AGIOS VISSARIOS

	1939	1978
TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	167	144
TOTAL NUMBER OF (REGISTERED) MEMBERS	839	680
TOTAL NUMBER RESIDENT IN VILLAGE	771	355
AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	5	4.7
'ABSENT' HOUSEHOLDS	2	22
SOLITARIES	7	27

TABLE 13 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN THE VILLAGE OF AGIOS VISSARIOS

SIMPLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	1939	1978
MARRIED COUPLES ALONE	12	21
MARRIED COUPLES WITH (UNMARRIED) CHILD(REN)	72	34
MARRIED COUPLES WITH CHILD(REN) ELSEWHERE ALSO	9	21
WIDOWS WITH CHILD(REN)	25	26*
WIDOWERS WITH CHILD(REN)	12	2
TOTAL	130	104

* (INCLUDES 3 DIVORCEES LIVING WITH PARENTS/CHILDREN)

EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	1939	1978
EXTENDED UPWARDS (HM, HF, WM, WF, BOTH PARENTS, WFB)	16	16
EXTENDED DOWNWARDS (SPOUSES OF MARRIED CHILDREN + GRANDCHILDREN)	5	7
EXTENDED Laterally (H/W's SIBLINGS; GROUP OF SIBLINGS)	17	4
TOTAL	38	25

49. For example in 1978:

Widowers - total: 9 - 4 Remarried
Widows : 34 - None Remarried

50. ie 4 brothers, three of whom were married.
Now only 2 married brothers survive (with no children)
and their FB.

51. i.e. Of those registered in 1939, only 68
out of 839 inhabitants were not permanently resident in
the village. In 1978, 325 out of a total of 680
registered members - nearly half - were absent.
In 1939 out of a total of 167 households, 31 had absent
members (18.56%)
In 1978 out of a total of 144 households, 100 had absent
members (69.44%)

52. Table 14:

	1939	1978
Illegitimacy	2	1
Adoption	1	4
Infant/child mortality (under 16 years)	7	3 (since 1950)

53. This fact was argued to gain (some) women's
suffrage in the late 1930s and again in the early 1940s
during the movement of self-government. (See Beikos
1979 Vol. I).

Table 15:

Household Heads	1939	1978
Women	24	29
Other (unmarried Z/B among siblings)	10	1
Total	34	30
Proportion of all Households	20.35%	20.83%

CHAPTER 3 - PRINCIPLES OF KINSHIP, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

This chapter aims to complete the ethnographic picture by concentrating on principles of kinship, elements of the local political process and aspects of the village economy in Agios Vissarios. A main focus is on showing how principles of kinship become inseparable from the political process and how the latter works itself out through kinship. This, I argue, is especially clear in the case of the municipal elections.

My intention in this chapter is threefold. Firstly, I wish to point to certain social relations of significance in the village today. Secondly, I wish to outline some of the, less obvious, changes that have occurred in these relationships as a result of the dynamic of a particular past. Finally, I wish to throw light on the nature of the articulation between the village (or, the province) and 'the outside'. This, as I illustrate in the following chapters, is a relationship that has been determined and occurs on many levels. It occurs historically. The relationship has been formed by particular local and national conditions and events. And the relationship occurs in terms of certain 'social mentalities'. That is, the relationship between the village and outside forces is experienced and perceived, remembered and manipulated in differing ways. The way in which the particular past is articulated through certain ongoing relationships and the way in which it is conceptualised and used lies at the basis of how the village today defines itself in terms of the 'outside'.

I begin the chapter by describing elements of the political process in Agios Vissarios. Such a description inevitably raises questions of 'patronage'. I will, then, briefly discuss aspects of patronage and its apparent manifestations in the village, as well as its

value more generally as a concept for understanding local politics and aspects of the local economy. By considering merchant relations I hope to highlight so-called patronal elements in the productive process. The description of labour groups is also intended to throw light on production in Agios Vissarios as well as suggesting changes in this sphere which have acted to redefine certain principles of kinship.

3 i. Politics in the Village of Agios Vissarios

Each village in the cluster around Agios Vissarios is autonomous with its own elected president and council members and state appointed community secretary who keeps the village books.¹ Politically, Agios Vissarios stands out as it is the native village of the MP for Evritania.² The MP is a right-winger who served in the Karamanlis government and was previously vice-minister of Education. His position as such has had a number of implications.

Unofficially, the MP has the power to undercut local decisions. This was illustrated when he persuaded a particular candidate not to stand for the office of village president in the local, municipal elections of 1978. Instead he appointed his 'own man' to stand for president in an opposing village faction.³ The incident was much discussed by the village electorate prior to polling day. Many thought the MP's interference outrageous and said they would still vote for the original presidential candidate. The latter had served as village president in the previous term but the MP had 'persuaded' him to run now simply as a village councillor. In the event the MP-approved candidate won the elections with a majority.

There were several reasons for this. The faction of the winning presidential candidate represented a younger and, in general, more dynamic group of councillors and it

represented most of the shopkeepers who hold significant positions in the village.⁴ In addition, the winning faction was able to mobilise more kin to vote for it. From what a number of informants said it seems that some voters at least also feared 'reprisals' in the form of losing their bargaining power with the MP if they did not vote for the presidential candidate and faction that the MP openly supported.⁵

In the final analysis, the MP takes precedence as mediator with government institutions. This was clearly illustrated by an incident which occurred in the neighbouring hamlet of AP. In 1979 the hamlet made an application to the provincial council (Nomarch) for village status. This was in accordance with its population size and due to the fact that its inhabitants were beginning to feel that their interests were not properly represented through the village council in D to which they belonged administratively and where they were obliged to vote.⁶ For years the AP villagers had not managed to return a single council member from their hamlet as they were outnumbered by both candidates and voters.

The question of village/hamlet status is outside the jurisdiction of the local MP but he nevertheless managed to intervene and sent one of his own agents from Athens⁷ to 'discuss' the issue with the hamlet. The outcome was that the MP 'felt unhappy' about the number of votes given him by the hamlet in the general elections of 1978 and made it quite clear that the hamlet would 'have to do something about this' before their village status could be seriously considered.

For similar reasons (ie not giving adequate support to the MP) another of the five communities in the cluster, the village of AH, was for years unable to get permission or to secure funds to clear a road from the main bus route into the village itself - a distance of about 1.5 kms. The villagers demands were repeatedly ignored or excuses made. The villagers stole a municipal bulldozer one night and eventually did the job themselves.

The claim of being a co-villager with the MP, and many insist that some kin connection exists, gives the people of Agios Vissarios a certain priority in what Littlewood (1980) has referred to as welfare distribution channels (p.41/42). This is clearly indicated by the amount that has been spent on educational facilities in the village. A kindergarten was opened in 1973 with 3 children attending, though the legal minimum for a kindergarten to exist in Greece is 10 children. A secondary school to take up to 1000 pupils was built in 1981, including four self-contained flats for teachers, though there were fewer than 40 secondary school children in 1979 in the whole cluster of villages and the number of pupils continues to drop as more people leave the village or send their children to attend urban schools elsewhere. This school too is now threatened with closure. Two football pitches were also built, much admired but hardly used. Finally, a considerable number of village youth have found their way into civil servant jobs in the Ministry of Education in Athens. In fact, this Ministry is often referred to jokingly as the 'Ministry of Evritania' and not of Education. After the 1966 landslides most of the villagers of Agios Vissarios were able to secure government grants to rebuild their houses. A situation in marked contrast to other parts of the province where people were still living in temporary accommodation in 1980.

All these factors suggest to the villagers of Agios Vissarios that 'their' MP is a powerful and active politician who 'keeps his promises'. The belief that he can assist and may one day actually do so, is not easily forfeited even by his local critics.

These factors point in several directions. One leads to the thorny question of patronage.

3. i. (a) Patronage

How useful a concept is patronage for understanding certain social relations in such a context? Can patronage be considered a system or is it a basic organizing principle? Or is patronage a useful analytical tool and a method for analysing aspects of the social totality in this particular Greek case?

At first glance, the concept of patronage provides a useful framework for bringing together and explaining different elements of the social structure and, in particular, certain kinds of social relations. Patronage may illustrate how principles of kinship and politics operate together often without differentiation. The local 'patron' wields certain forms of power within specified limits but his position as such is also dependent on his kin links within that field of power and his ability, and that of his potential 'clients', to create, reproduce and manipulate kin relations.

Patronage is usually considered characteristic of certain forms of political practice which may help explain other social phenomena. The ways in which groups of people are mobilized on certain levels; how a variety of social needs are or are not met; how groups of people are entered into "welfare monopolising clienteles" (Littlewood 1980:42) or indeed how the national ruling class gains access to the population at large (Gilsenan 1977) or simply the means by which the community is linked to society (Campbell 1964) are all at issue here. Patronage is usually identified within such a context as including relations that help ensure the reproduction of labour (Peters 1968, Gilsenan 1977, Littlewood 1980) or ones that involve the ways in which surplus is appropriated from certain

sectors of the economy (cp Silverman, S 1970 & Martinez-Alier, J 1974). Within such a general context individuals or groups of people are identified who have access to certain resources. These resources constitute the bases for different forms of domination - whatever their prescribed limits - be they local, regional or national.

Two points strike me about the Greek context. Firstly, there is no specific word for 'patron' or 'patronage' in Greek though there are terms for the practice of nepotism, for getting things done via a well-connected person etc. (meson lit. meaning the way, or means and rousfettia, derived from the Turkish and meaning the bestowal of favours, are the two most common words used to describe the process). What I am suggesting here is that the relationship in question may be conceived of as something other than 'patronage' by those involved. Secondly, as others have pointed out⁸ anyone can assume a 'patronal' or 'clientelistic' position in different situations and at the same time.

That a person can assume a double position both as 'patron' and 'client', is clear if one considers the role of village president in Agios Vissarios today. The president is in a position of domination in relation to other villagers. He has the power to give or deny necessary official papers and even jobs. He can give crucial evidence in court for or against a co-villager. He decides which community tasks will be undertaken and when and he can press fines or see that fines are overlooked. His power, however, also depends on his relationships with government representatives in the province (the Nomarch and mayor for instance) who endorse his position and to whom he is a subordinate in the position of a 'client'.

The limits of the village president's power and his essentially dependent position were clearly evidenced in the local elections of 1978. The existing president wished to stand again as a presidential candidate. He had served as president for several terms since 1954, he was generally respected by his fellow villagers and over the years had cultivated many contacts in the area and a considerable following in the village itself. In recent years he had also become explicitly opposed to the provincial MP. The president felt that the MP interfered too much in local affairs without knowing very much about them. The president objected to the sychophancy displayed by other villagers towards the MP and claimed to disagree with the MP's national political party views though they were both of the Right. It should be noted that the outgoing president is one of the wealthiest villagers and has the largest annual yield of chestnuts in the village. He has always considered himself on a par with the MP and is a member of one of the leading patronymic kin groups.⁹ The MP, meanwhile, was aware of the growing opposition the outgoing president fermented in the village and of the man's regional popularity and for these reasons also did not want him to stand again as presidential candidate. In the event, the MP managed to 'persuade' the man to run only as a councillor under the pretext that he 'should give the younger men a chance'. In municipal elections, the Provincial MP is in theory merely one voter among many and has no constitutional right to interfere. For many reasons however, and as the village 'patron' the MP plays an important part in these elections and spends most of the campaigning period in the village. (Inevitably the local elections also tend to assume national political party divisions). In this case, the MP was able to persuade the president to stand down. This was because the president's power in the village was dependent on his continued access to provincial bureaucrats and officials and because at the time the

president was applying for a house-improvement grant¹⁰ and an early Agrarian Pension. The president felt himself to be vulnerable vis-a-vis the MP who could prejudice his standing with provincial officials and who could block his applications. The grant and the pension amounted to much more than the annual wage as president.

Identifying the kinds of relationships described above as patron-client ones does not necessarily explain either their function or effects within this context. Furthermore questions such as what are the preconditions for such relationships? why are they binding? on what criteria are they based? and, indeed, how long are such relationships supposed to endure before they can be termed 'patronage'? remain unanswered. In other words, patronage itself must be explained. In explaining it, in this case at least, one is led either to the local political and power structure, into the sphere of kinship or to relations of production. In brief, one is faced here with a set of specific relations and what are normally termed 'patron-client' relations appear as nothing more than a function of kinship or of the political economy. In this context patronage does not appear as something that can be abstracted, separated from or superimposed on these other relations. In discussing patronage Davis (1977) has argued that friendship, kinship and/or spiritual kinship are secondary characteristics of patronage,

a protective colouring imposed by the powerless to mitigate the consequences of their dependence (p.148).

It may be argued, however, that in the case of Agios Vissarios kinship is not secondary to but part of the local political process and that dependence in this sense is also a function of many other social relations.¹¹ The 'equality' assumed between kin - and a principle vigorously upheld in Agios Vissarios - is the obligation to reciprocate which the relationship itself imposes.

What is actually exchanged, however, be it favours, labour, material goods or political allegiance, is rarely exchanged on an equal basis. The fact of this imbalance creates different forms of domination and dependence between members of a kin group which may variously be termed patronal. The appeal to kinship may mask the political process, certain forms of domination and the inequality of exchange. At the same time, expected gains and invested interests are subsumed in the very obligations imposed by kinship.

The appeal to kinship which may mask the actual political process becomes clear in considering the local elections. In the elections the idiom of kinship ('you must support me I am your brother/cousin/uncle and kin should always stand together' etc) tends to conceal the manipulation of votes to gain power and status in the village and benefits for one's own immediate nuclear family. Similarly and contradictorily, a vote is given to a kinsman in the hopes of securing some future favour, but the more certain a candidate is of a particular kinsman's vote the less likely is he to favour him. It is in this sense, too, that exchange is unequal. The obligation set up by kinship specifies the expectation of equal reciprocity but this rarely occurs (cp. Bloch, M 1973). A man may agree to lend a cousin his mule for the day on the understanding that the cousin will lend him his donkey when it is needed. It may be clear from the outset, however, that such a case will never arise and indeed the cousin may not even own a pack animal to lend. Nevertheless, this type of action is explained in terms of kinship and of equal exchange, "he can have the mule whenever he likes, he is my cousin and wouldn't he give me his mule when I need it?" The same is true where labour is concerned. Labour may be sought and given in terms of kin obligations. The fact that it is not equally reciprocated is usually concealed. I found that of those who sought labour from a kinsman/woman few, if

any, could reciprocate in labour at a later date, either they were too old or the labourers did not require surplus labour themselves.

Of those kinsfolk who 'gave' their labour very few said they were paid (either in money or kind) though all of them were. They claimed instead 'she/he is a kinsman, wouldn't you help one of your relations? Then they will help you when the time comes'.¹² However, although exchange is in practice unequal some form of gain is usually expected even if this is as elusive as associating with a particular kinsman or holding another person in obligation, which appear as forms of power. Immediate, equal reciprocity is, in fact, frowned upon as it suggests a denial of the relationship in question. I was explicitly told, "if I see something nice in the shop and buy it for you, then it is not done to buy me something, then, in that shop; maybe later in another one or another day when we go together again. It's not right otherwise" (Mk 1979 FN).

As far as the political process is concerned, the practice on the local level does not cease to conform to certain political interests even when it gives the appearance of doing otherwise by being mediated through kinship (cp. Bourdieu 1977). And the development of a dominant group or person and its or his/her mediation of power through kinship does not necessarily suggest the creation of patron-client relations. This is the form political relations assume in Agios Vissarios and the political process in that situation. Politics imply kinship in Agios Vissarios and vice versa.

This is true to different degrees, however, in the village today, and is partly due to the fact that the bases of power have diversified since the turn of the century. Today, and in theory, any villager can strike up a relationship with a variety of officials working in the provincial capital, or with politicians and other 'men of

influence'. Most people, however, still tend to rely on their kin links to gain access to such officials. Migration has helped the process both because the dispersal of kin has contributed to the diversification of power and because, for those permanently resident in the village, migrant kin in other places can be used to gain access to a variety of officials. In the absence of suitable kin, many prefer to create a more enduring relationship (spiritual kinship) with a person in power first and then to use him/her to gain access to resources or to others in positions of power.¹³

As most significant relationships on the local level continue to be mediated through kinship, many villagers still find it necessary to stake a claim of kinship to the family of the provincial MP.¹⁴ In addition, many go against their stated political views in voting for the MP. The reasons given are that "he is known our fathers played together he is one of our own kind we know where he comes from, he is like kin to us" and so on. In general, a vote for the MP is seen as an investment for possible future returns and few will jeopardize that possibility. But a vote is also a vote for the recognition of kinship.

The closer links afforded by kinship (real or putative) are thought to be necessary. Indeed, the question 'why do you continue to vote for the MP when you don't agree with him' was usually met with incomprehension. It is believed that more can be demanded or assumed through kinship and these closer ties. It is, as Bourdieu (1977:173) has pointed out in another context, in everyone's interests to make such (politico-economic) relations appear close for it ensures 'good faith'. 'Kinship' not only disguises the possibility of exploitation but it acts as some guarantee that whatever is at stake is more likely to be transacted. It is the ethos of kinship that imposes such a likelihood. And a transgression against the

expectations of kinship is considered far more serious in the eyes of the community than any that can occur between two unrelated parties. In fact, the latter can be expected. Failing to comply with kinship expectations not only threatens the prestige of the persons involved but transgresses against the whole order of things in the community. (Bourdieu 1977:174).

The diversification of local power that came with the development of the state after 1821 - and later, increased migration from the village - and the forging of links with new groups of people that this both brought about and necessitated created a new order of political relations. This was reflected on the national level, as government became less dominated by personalistic factions, and on the local level, as fewer individuals were able to exclusively monopolise access to 'government'. A radically new order of political relations was embodied in the principles of the resistance self-government when (given the conditions of occupation and war) there were both less opportunities for 'patronal relations' and where the system of popular, local self-government was, by definition, opposed to everything of the old order. There was little place or need for favours in a situation where the power structure was undergoing a drastic re-ordering; where the villagers elected representatives among themselves and controlled their own local officials (fieldguards, police, magistrates, teachers, priests) and resources; where community survival took precedence over individual family 'betterment'; and where power itself was being redefined.

The development of the nascent political order came to an end with the civil war and the creation of a refugee population. The postwar years saw a return to many of the earlier 'patronal' habits as the villagers lost control of governmental procedures and were forced

to re-build their lives.¹⁵ The Left (or what remained of it) did its best to denounce the old system of favours. After the war, however, the Left was so effectively barred from government and access to its resources in any form¹⁶ that many Left sympathisers were obliged to go along with the system and act accordingly. The banned Communist Party (KKE) itself was gradually obliged to play a 'patronal role' as regards assistance, at least in matters of higher education and medical care. In other words, the KKE had also to adopt a selective procedure and bargain with votes or party membership. It can be argued, though, that in this the KKE was acting as a party and not as a collection of personal 'patrons'.

In the context of objectified, explicitly political relations becoming operative, the more personal 'masked' relationships in Agios Vissarios may appear anomalous. It is a situation, however, where political and kin relations operate together. The provincial MP is clearly a modern politician in Athens but, doing the same job, he is a kinsman in the village. The mediation of certain social relations through kinship, as other anthropologists have pointed out (cp Campbell 1964, Pitt-Rivers 1971, Davis, J 1977) is a way of transforming potentially impersonal and contractual relations into more lasting, 'reciprocal' ones. Evritania's MP is also an administrator and a cog in the government machinery to aid - on the one level - the dispensing of public funds. By involving the MP in a closer relationship a certain amount of distribution is guaranteed to both individuals and the village as a whole. A whole system of beliefs about 'honourable' political behaviour and the political process itself and about supporting 'your own' reinforce this process of redistribution. This is clear in the case of Agios Vissarios, the MP's natal village, which has benefitted at the expense of neighbouring villages.

Implicit in local politics are kin and pseudo-kin relations which have to be created and maintained and which involve certain obligations and a reciprocity, however unequal. These relations take place between those with access to a wider basis of power and those without such access. My argument is that in this context it is not particularly useful to see the MP, the village president or other local political figures as patrons. These people are representative of the way in which political relations are conceived and constituted in Agios Vissarios. What is important is that the relationships engendered include attempts to transform potentially impersonal relations into more lasting ones of 'reciprocity' though they, nevertheless, remain political. In other words, the political process here works itself out through other types of relationships.

In discussing patronage in Greece, Campbell (1964) has described as typical the relationships of the Sarakatsani shepherds to a variety of different people with access to certain resources. These people include the presidents of the Sarakatsani winter villages who ensure the shepherds' grazing rights, lawyers in local towns who settle their disputes, shopkeepers who give them credit and cheese merchants who market their produce. According to Campbell, the Sarakatsani try to establish ties of spiritual kinship with most of these people and maintain them through gift-giving. The relationships established, however, are never considered entirely secure. The pattern is similar for other parts of Greece and for villagers who are equally dependent on a variety of officials and on merchants for selling their produce.¹⁷ Such relations, including the ones set up with merchants, are often considered patronal. It is assumed that peasant producers, because of the context in which they operate, are 'forced' into dependent relations with shopkeepers or merchants who provide them with access to,

and are themselves in touch with, bases of power outside the confines of the village. This it seems is only half the picture.

First of all, the merchants who come to Agios Vissarios at harvest time do not have an exclusive monopoly of access to urban markets. In recent years at least, the villagers of Agios Vissarios have acquired direct access to markets. Secondly, dependence, though it is unequal, is in most cases two-way. It is the smallest producers who are worst off in these situations. What is important here is that these kinds of economic and/or political relations continue to involve transactions inessential to their immediate purpose, such as continued gift-giving, hospitality, appeals to friendship and spiritual kinship. As Campbell points out, these are usually initiated by the villagers and not the merchants.

In both their economic and social aspects such relations appear to be part of the process of production and exchange in the same way as various appeals to kinship are part of the local political process. They do not seem to be, as Davis (1977) has suggested in the past, "independent, sui generis modes of political representation" (p.146) which can be identified as patron-client relations or paternalistic ones, but the economic relations of exchange, or the political relations as they operate in particular contexts. The drive to create the more personal and enduring relations or to conceal the economic ends to which such activity is directed is part of the same social relationship and acts as some guarantee that a transaction will take place. (Cp Bourdieu 1977).

In short, even if as a concept patronage appears to bring together different, isolatable elements of the social structure it still has to be explained. Once one starts explaining it, patronage seems to ^Sdis_Lolve into an analysis of a particular set of economic,

political or other social relations. On the village level it may be more useful to look at the main sources of power and domination and the social relations through which these are articulated; or to consider how different groups, families or individuals are linked to those sources at different times and how they in turn relate to different stages of national development. In that context kinship may emerge as having at different times an important role in fostering specific forms of domination which are not explained by labelling them 'patronage' (Bodeman 1980).

In Agios Vissarios, the ways in which the organization of the political is articulated through kin links (or vice versa) suggests a number of possibilities. Firstly, local political organization may be kin-based though the factors which inform it may be quite other. This refers to longer-term changes in the political economy and social structure; the development of state forces in Greece since 1821, the marginalisation of agriculture in the case of Evritania and the shift to chestnut production in the village of Agios Vissarios. The migratory patterns of the province and the dispersal of kin to other parts of Greece or abroad; the events of civil war and its consequences for the development of the province - all of which are related in the historical trajectory of the area - have contributed to altering the local bases of power as well as affecting other types of social relation. At its most simple, new alignments within the village became necessary and different links at different times were controlled though these may have continued to be expressed in an idiom of kinship. Ensuring that certain 'rights' within the village are met remains kin-based. These rights include grazing and other property rights, the dispensing of grants and pensions. Those whose help is sought for the implementation of these rights are usually approached in kin terms. Discourses take place between appropriate

individuals and groups of people. The range of those who can be approached depends on political factors (party affiliation, what side in the civil war etc) but the range has also widened since the 19th century and especially since World War II as the village has been more effectively incorporated into the nation-state. At the same time, the power of those who can dispose of the 'rights' and funds actually depends less on the control of kin ties within the village than it did in earlier periods. Power also depends on the 'disposers' own access to a host of bureaucrats, officials and state institutions.

Secondly, kin may be mobilised for direct political reasons. During the local elections of 1978 in Agios Vissarios people would sit around estimating the success of candidates in advance by calculating how many kin were available in the village at the time; how many kin who lived elsewhere retained their voting rights in Agios Vissarios; how dominant a particular candidate's kin relation with various voters was over another candidate's and the state of each kin relationship at the time of the election. The calculation included an estimation of the influence of a wife's kin group over a prospective candidate and his kin (all candidates were male) which might in turn depend on whether a candidate was an 'in-groom' (isogambros) living in his wife's household.¹⁸

Thirdly, kin may be mobilised for other reasons which may then assume political dimensions. One such case concerned a dispute between first cousins. The reason for the dispute was given as a political one. The cousins, it was said, were on opposing sides during the civil war. Support for each cousin was allegedly mobilised in these political terms. Some time later I learnt of the boundary dispute which lay at the basis of the conflict between the two households involved. The tendency to blame the civil

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for current disagreements and disputes is common in Agios Vissarios, though it is not an automatic or simple equation (see Chapter 9 below). At other times, opposing political views do, genuinely, seem to be the cause of disagreement but in such cases the political dimension is not always referred to and some other explanation is made. Witness, for example, the reasons given me for avoiding the village Communist (see p.406 below).

Principles of kinship also play a part in the organization of local production and a role in economic exchange.¹⁹ Bodeman (1980) has made the interesting point that with certain changes in the political economy and social structure, important relations such as specific political or cooperatively based ones may also disappear. Kinship may then re-emerge as a major organizing principle at the village level. The kin group, for example, may for a number of historical reasons become less important as it can no longer function as an economic unit. But kinship in general may acquire a new importance being used, in effect, for economic survival. I will consider an aspect of this in my discussion of recruitment and labour groups below (3.iii). It is possible that the tendency to stress kinship in general (and, thereby in this context, village status and power) by frequently referring to a 'patronymic past' is similarly a relatively new development. One that has come about because of the dispersal of patronymic groupings since the war and because the symbols of status and power are no longer village-based to the same extent.

3. i. (b) Local Elections in Agios Vissarios 1978

Local elections involve a manipulation and re-ordering of kin links in the village. Local candidates (for a combination of historical and politico-economic factors), do not have at their disposal a large capital of power, wealth or resources which they can manage, distribute or promise to do so, in the sense that national politicians do. What local candidates have instead is a capital of kin links which must be invested into the political process and into forming their power base. It is only when a candidate has been voted in that he acquires access to other resources for then his official position as president (or councillor) must be recognised. It is in this sense also that the appeal to kinship may be said to mask the political process.

People vote for a candidate not only because they feel constrained to do so because of a kin relation but because it is an investment for them from which they hope to gain in the future. An elected councillor/community president may, for example, speak up for the village so that a new road by-passes their fields or he may help an individual sort out official papers.

The community president can offer his kin (electors) access to certain resources. Once he is in a position to do so, however, the inequalities of exchange become more apparent, for a vote is also a tacit surrender of power. It ensures one person's monopoly of access to certain institutions. Once this is achieved kin obligations become less of a constraint. Once in power, the community president can ignore the demands of his kinsmen in the 'interests of the community as a whole'. The form and effect of such politico-kin relations obviously differ according to the level on which they operate. It is necessary to distinguish between local and non-local spheres.

Kinship remains the basis on which many political relations are organized locally. There is an order of priority in dealing with kin which is summed up in the local saying that "first cousins are brothers, second cousins, cousins. Third cousins take them and throw them away!". This may help to explain how some of the votes may fall between opposed candidates who are from the same patronymic grouping (Table 17), but the situation is more complex where two brothers stand in opposing factions (Table 16). In the latter case the brother who stood in faction 2 was persuaded to do so by his wife's paternal and maternal uncles (WFB & WMB) both of whom stood as councillors in the same faction.

There were two political factions in Agios Vissarios during the elections of 1978. Faction 1, called the Renaissance, comprised 6 members including a candidate for president who was a local shopkeeper. He was the favoured candidate of the provincial MP, though he claimed not to represent the latter's national party. Faction 2, the Velouchi, was comprised of 8 candidates. One of these was the former community president who had been 'persuaded' by the MP not to restand for the presidency. The (different) presidential candidate in this faction had served the community as a councillor for several terms and was previously a cobbler.

Neither faction put forward any programme or concrete policies though both claimed to be 'best for village'. All the campaigning that I witnessed was couched in terms of fulfilling certain social obligations. In one case, a young man who retained his voting rights in Agios Vissarios, though he no longer lived there, had come to vote for a cousin in faction 1 (MBSS to Alexander, Table 16). In fact, he had been contacted by his cousin to do so. While in the village, however, he visited his godfather, the former president now standing as councillor in faction 2. The latter spent several hours trying to persuade the young man that he was obliged to

vote for him, his godfather, because he was a godson, because the president had been great friends with his father and finally, because the godson had been offered and accepted his hospitality. They had just eaten together.

In another case, a candidate for one faction turned up very early one morning at a distant kinsman's house and reminded him that his (the kinsman's) son was hoping to enter the university that year and that he, the candidate, had already spoken to the MP about the matter (he was, in fact, the local agent for the MP's national political party). He urged his kinsman to vote for him as a matter of obligation and 'honour'.

Both factions could draw on villagers exclusive to them in terms of kin. That is, on kin groups that did not overlap. However, many electors did overlap in kin terms and the final result had to be decided between kin represented in both factions who could, in theory, vote for either faction.

This was especially true for the larger patronymic groupings in the village (Table 16 & 17). Tables 16 and 17 outline the official genealogy for two patronymic groupings, though they are not complete. Not all the potential voting members are shown and women/wives have been included only where they are widows. Similarly, only certain offspring of voting age are shown and not their spouses. More importantly, not all women marrying into the grouping are shown. Whether or not they appear on the genealogy, the influence of their own kin groups on their husbands (and vice versa) obviously has a significant effect on voting results. Nevertheless, the Tables give a general picture of how the members of the patronymic kin groupings, who are identified as such in this situation, are grouped. In Table 16 all the members of the kin grouping are potential allies for the 3 candidates named as the vote has been divided between two brothers and a first cousin. In the other grouping

(Table 17) only the middle section of kin is, in theory, disputed.

Voting practice varies and is dependent on a variety of other factors. In one case (those marked 6 and 7 on Table 17) 2 members have been disputing land boundaries since the land was divided between their husbands by the husbands' father. As a result of this dispute, the women's husbands, when alive, developed close associations with separate parts of the patronymic grouping. These associations are maintained today by their widows.

Widow 7 associates more closely with family 8. She buys her groceries in the shop of Stephanos and her niece is married to the presidential candidate in this faction (4 on Table 17). Using this close association, both Stephanos and the widow's niece's husband managed to secure votes from the widow's two married daughters who came to the village specially to vote. The widow's sons are migrants in the USA.

Widow 6 (Table 17) has maintained closer links with the other side of the patronymic grouping. In particular with family 2 whose shop she frequents and which, in fact, borders on her house plot. The shopowner 2 maintains his relationship with 1, his first cousin and the presidential candidate in faction 2. The coffee-shop of 2 became a main meeting place for the latter faction during the election campaign, so by frequenting it widow 6 showed - and was drawn into - allegiance with and entered the factional discussions that took place there, thus, also reinforcing other connections. In addition, widow 6 was able to persuade her son (her other children were foreign migrants) and his wife to vote for faction 2. On the other hand, though members 4 and 5 (Table 17) are more closely linked to faction 2 by their genealogical position, both had formed stronger associations with Stephanos (8) and members of his faction 1. As a result

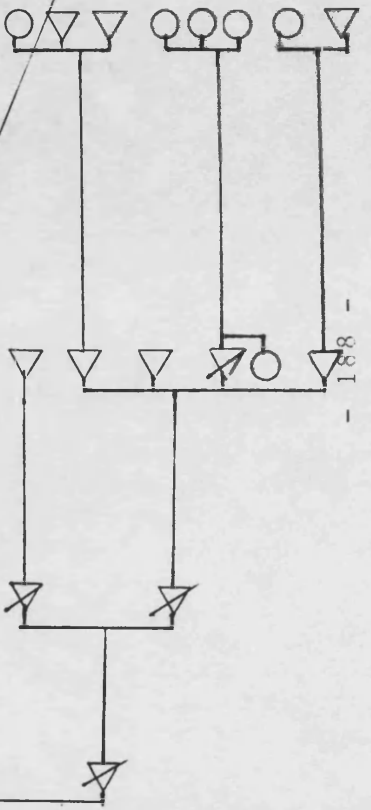
of frequenting his coffee-shop, Stephanos had no trouble in persuading them to vote for faction 1.

Widow 9 did not associate with any members of the patronymic grouping and is, in fact, not permanently resident in the village. While in the village, however, she tends to associate with the MP/his closer kin, feeling herself to be better educated and "more cultured" than most other villagers. For this reason, and not for kin reasons, she probably voted for the preferred faction of the MP. Her children were professional, married women living in Athens and had moved their voting rights from the village.

These groupings and allegiances suggest that the boundaries and definitions of certain kin connections are more varied, and the uses to which they may be put more diverse than a genealogical map can demonstrate (Bourdieu 1977:37-38). And although such connections are based on kinship, they are also dependent on being maintained in a number of different ways. The kin constitution of each local political faction further illustrates the possible groupings that can take place, the flexibility of their boundaries and the uses made of connections on particular occasions. This is important in a situation where the political factions appear not just as ad hoc political alliances but where the solidarity of possible kin connections is emphasised by everyone and where the appeal for votes is made in these terms. Such connections, however, exist only through and for the particular functions for which they have been mobilized (Bourdieu 1977). Most of the members of each faction can trace a relation (Tables 18 & 19). Many of these are affinal relations, emphasised and maintained in the case of the elections for a particular purpose. Unlike the official, patronymic genealogy, their boundaries are less certain and continuously redefined as the occasion demands.

The case of the two brothers standing in opposite factions is interesting (Table 16). Andonis was clearly influenced by his wife's kin. Both her FB and her MB were standing as councillors in faction 2. Andonis' WMB had helped support the family after the death of his wife's mother's parents. The WMB allowed his sister access to some of his unworked land and gave her a supply of chestnuts.²¹ At the same time, Andonis' WFB, a stockbreeder and butcher, supplied Andonis with meat for the family. Apart from this, Andonis' WMB, while serving previously as president, had favoured Andonis as waterchief at the latter's request and secured the position for him. In practical terms this meant a small added income of about £50 in the summer months.

DASSIOS



ALEXANDER
KOSMA
ANDONIS
[Faction I] [Faction I] [Faction I] [Faction I]

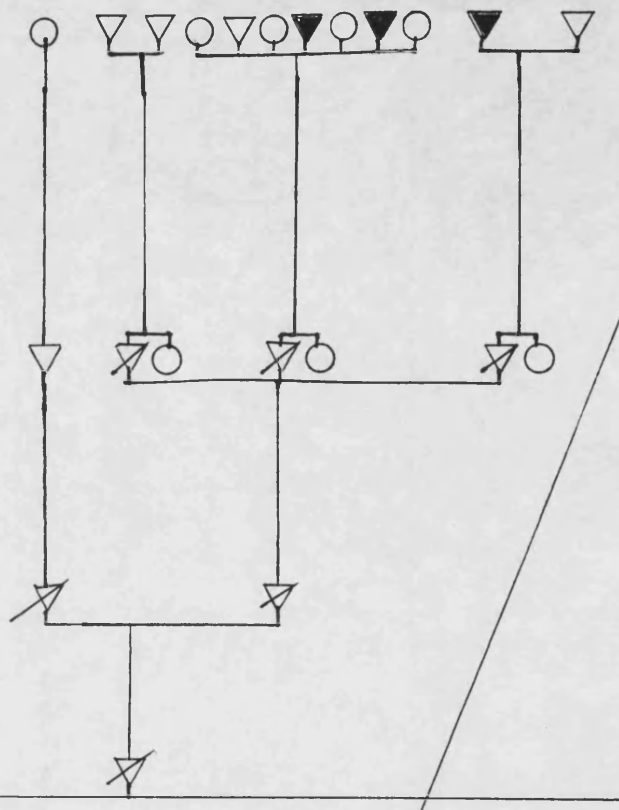
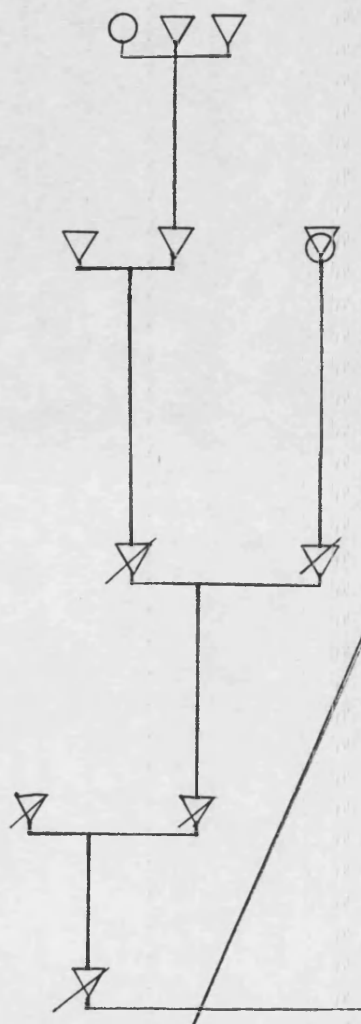


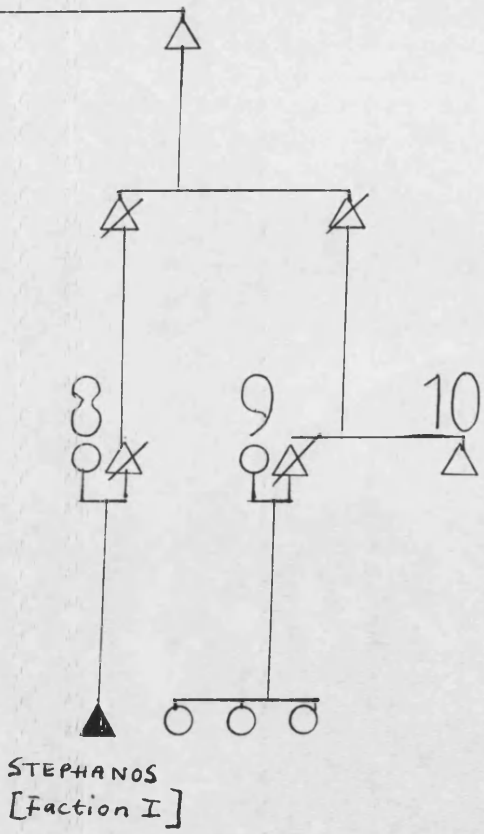
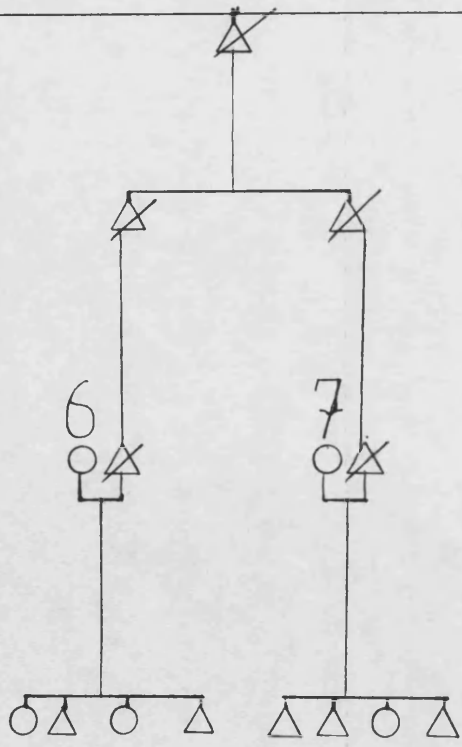
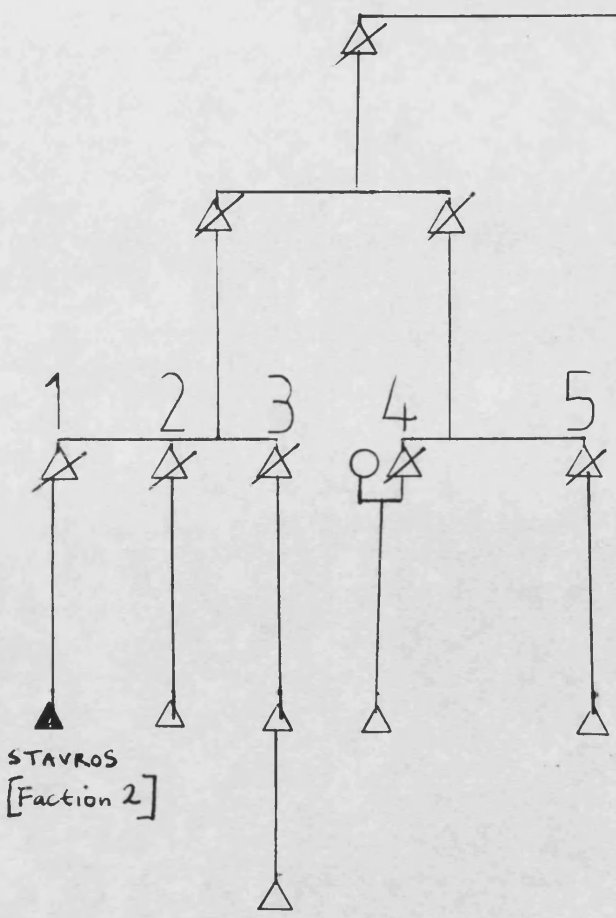
TABLE 16



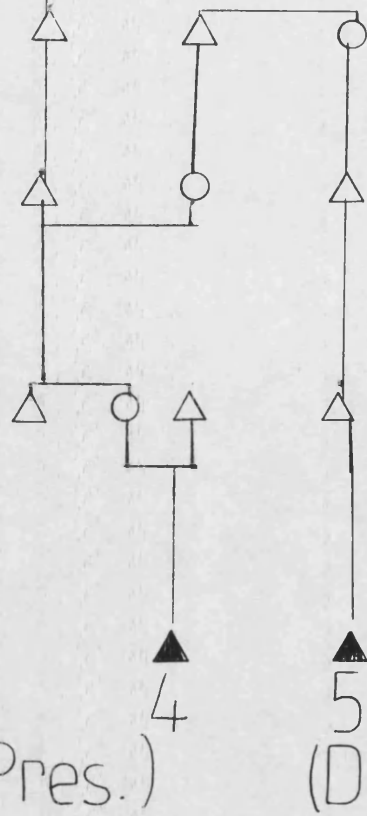
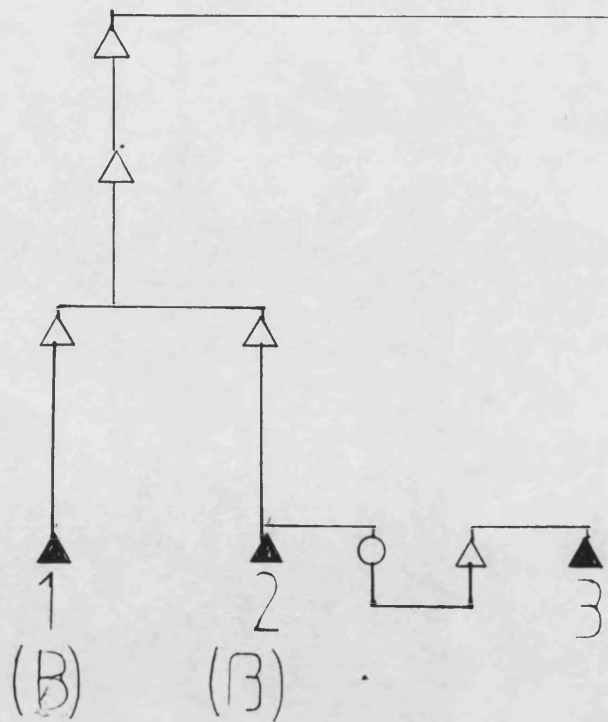
Tsatsos

TABLE 17

- 189 -



Faction 1 'Renaissance' (6 candidates)



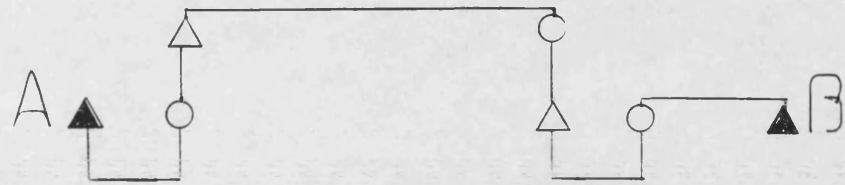
[6th candidate unrelated to any of above]

TABLE 18

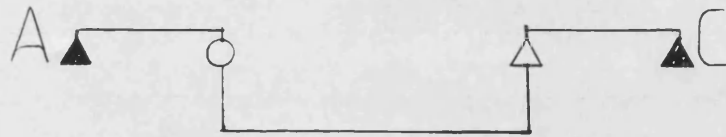
TABLE 19

Faction 2 'Velouchi' (8 candidates)

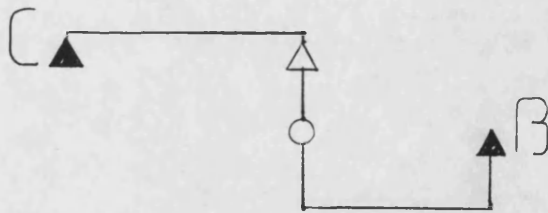
1



2



3



4

(Pres.)

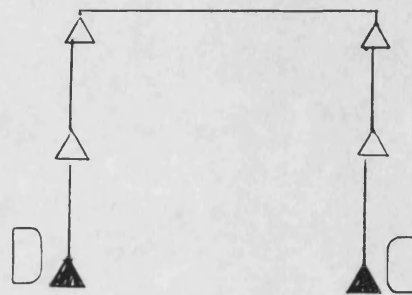
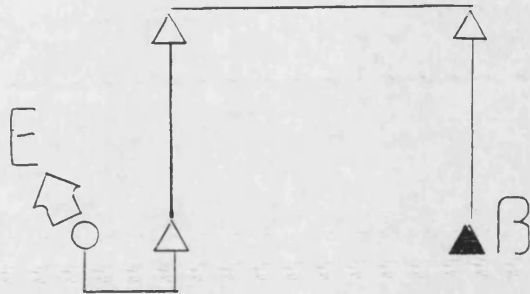
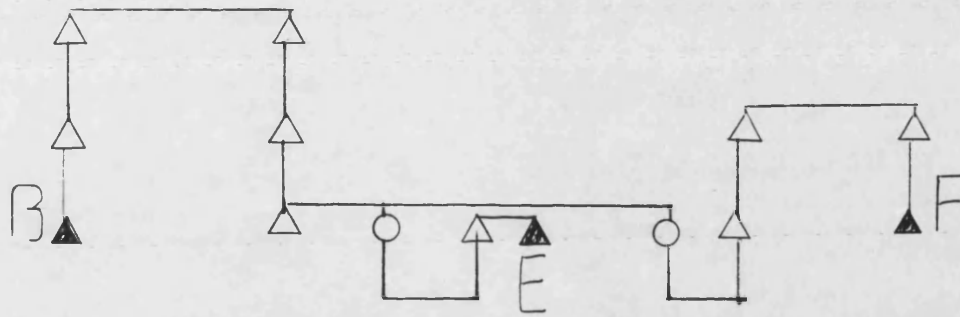


TABLE 19 cont

5



6



7

candidate A = spiritual kin to 7th candidate

8

not related to any

3. ii. Merchant Relations in Agios Vissarios

The drive to create more personal and enduring relations or to conceal the economic ends to which certain activity is directed may be part of the productive process. In Agios Vissarios this is illustrated by the variety of relationships set up between the villagers and the merchants who market their produce. As in the case of the local elections, however, though the local political process continues to be articulated through kinship, the practice of maintaining and using such links is also dependent on other factors.

The chestnut and walnut merchants start arriving in the village in mid-September. There is considerable pressure to sell quickly as chestnuts do not keep longer than 25 days once they have been picked.²² After that, the chestnuts tend to go mouldy and are only suitable as animal feed. Once dried, walnuts will keep indefinitely, therefore the producers can hold out longer in an attempt to raise their selling price. The merchants come from all over Greece (Agriniou, Lamia, Kaditsa and Athens) and they also buy oregano, mountain tea and pulses from the villagers when they are available.

There are several possible merchant-producer relations. However, there appear to be no special terms employed by the villagers either to identify these trade relations or differentiate between the various types. The producers simply talk about, and are concerned with, selling their produce at the best possible price for that year.

Firstly, a producer can sell to a local shopkeeper who takes a percentage on each kilo sold. The shopkeeper then either takes the produce to an urban market himself

or, as is more usual, he will have his own merchant who comes to collect the produce in bulk. In the latter case the shopkeeper usually pays the producer the market price for his produce, taking a percentage, and then comes to a separate agreement with the merchant as to what price he will sell at and what percentage the merchant will take. In the first case, the producer may pay the shopkeeper a commission of 5% on the amount he sells though sometimes debts are paid off instead.

There are eight coffee-shops in the village, four of which deal with marketing chestnuts and walnuts during the autumn. Which of these shops a producer approaches is largely determined by the existence of a kin link and depends on whether and how the connection has been maintained over the previous year.

One large producer, for instance, had used one of these shops for several years, though it was not the only outlet for his chestnuts. The shopkeeper concerned was his koumbaros.²³ During the year the producer frequented his shop, drinking and playing cards there, though he bought his groceries from another shop owned by his wife's first cousin, (WFZS) and entertained visitors in a third shop owned by his niece (BD) and her husband.

When the first shopkeeper who dealt in chestnuts joined faction 1 in the local elections, the producer who was running as a councillor in faction 2, started to visit the shop less frequently until by the following autumn his relationship with his koumbaros, though not hostile, had fallen into a state of 'disrepair'.²⁴ The producer did not sell any of his chestnuts through the shop that year and it is probable that had he wanted to the terms would not have been very favourable. This, however, did not mean that either man would not support each other as spiritual kinsmen if the occasion demanded, or even return to their previous trading relationship at a later date.

Each shopkeeper who deals in chestnuts/walnuts tends to have his own merchant with whom he has cultivated a relationship over the years. Various strategies are used to transfer these relationships into more personal ones. Acts of hospitality and gift-giving are common, though attempts to forge closer links through spiritual kinship seem to be avoided.

The shopkeepers depend on these merchants for favourable prices and to sell their produce as quickly as possible, while the merchants depend on the shopkeepers for bulk buying as well as favourable terms. There is, however, a sense of leaving one's options open by avoiding too inflexible obligations. How much a shopkeeper will have to sell each year is dependent on a variety of factors such as the annual yield, and each producer's relationship with the shopkeeper. The amount that a merchant will be sold is, therefore, variable, though it must fall within prescribed limits otherwise the merchant will not return to that shopkeeper. At the same time, the merchant is a free agent and may decide there are better terms offered elsewhere or he may even go straight to the producers.

A second type of relation concerns what I have termed personal merchants. This is the case when a producer cultivates his own relationship with a merchant over the years. It usually involves the larger producers who can ensure an annual yield big enough to merit the sale and transport to an urban centre. When such a relationship is well established, the merchant is able to buy other goods/produce elsewhere on credit during the rest of the year, relying on an expected return from chestnuts in the autumn. The producer can expect a good price for complying with such credit terms and selling his produce in bulk. These relationships are reinforced through reciprocal gift-giving. Cards are exchanged at appropriate feasts during the year, small

gifts are brought to the wife/children of the producer, and the producer's wife may in turn embroider or knit something for the merchant/his wife. In addition, the merchant can always rely on a few extra kilos of chestnuts. In some cases a closer relationship, like godparenthood, may be sought but it is never insisted on, partly because of the element of risk that is involved in the trade. A crop may fail, the merchant can get into difficulties. In fact, in one case concerning the largest village producer, 'his' merchant went bankrupt having made some injudicious investments elsewhere and was unable to pay the producer until six months after he had sold his chestnuts. The following year the producer in question sold him only a small proportion of his crop, on the producer's terms, though he still preferred to maintain the relationship.

A third type of relation concerns what I have called 'local merchant representatives'. These men are villagers who gather together the chestnuts from various - usually middle-range and small - producers and then approach a merchant and make a deal with him. This type is directly dependent on the relationships each representative has with his fellow-villagers and their kin links and/or obligations are of primary importance as the basis of the transactions which take place. As far as the producers are concerned, this system of marketing produce is disliked partly because of the pressure of obligation which is exerted. The terms are usually unfavourable to the producer where the non-material terms of kinship conceal economic exploitation (viz. "I'm only doing this for you Aunt, and I wouldn't let you down; it's the best price this year, trust your nephew"; "I'm giving this price because I am your nephew and you were my father's sister" etc.). The representatives tend to give the worst prices and also make underhand deals with the merchants while blocking the producers access to them. The system was short-lived whilst I was in Agios

Vissarios, though it does tend to reappear periodically. In 1977 a group of powerful producers boycotted these representatives and refused to deal with any merchant who continued to deal with the representatives.

Finally, there were what I have termed the 'free merchants'. These are of two types. Firstly, they are local villagers who are not shopkeepers, who are usually small producers themselves and who have set themselves up as village merchants and take the produce themselves to urban markets. They too rely on maintaining and creating connections within the village but they must also have the means for an initial capital outlay to invest in transport (van/lorry) and to pay the producers.

The second kind are small-scale merchants who come to the village at harvest time and barter with the producers. They do not have enduring relationships in the village and often never reappear. Sometimes they have a variety of goods to sell themselves and will consider buying whatever is going as well as the chestnuts/walnuts. They tend to arrive at the start or right at the end of the main harvest and offer the lowest prices. Arriving early, they manage to sow disquiet among the various producers, concentrating on the very small producers (often widows or others who have suffered some misfortune which has prevented them collecting all their crop), suggesting to them that all prices are low this particular year. Arriving last, they manage to corner what is left of the market which has now panicked about selling at all. Villagers are taken in each year as these merchants tend to differ each year.

None of these marketing relationships are exclusive. The larger producers, in particular, may use several kinds at once, though they will tend to favour one above the others. Other producers may change arrangements each year depending on their annual yield,

previous successes or failures, chance incidents and the various appeals made to them.

As suggested by Campbell (1964) such relations are usually considered 'patronal'. That is, it is assumed that the producers are forced into dependent relations with shopkeepers and/or merchants who provide them with access to the necessary markets, and are themselves in touch with the bases of power outside the confines of the village.

It is worth noting, however, that in Agios Vissarios, these merchants do not have an exclusive monopoly of access to urban markets. In recent years, with improved communications, cheaper transport made more available and an increased affluence²⁵ among the young, more villagers are able to acquire direct access to the markets. The larger chestnut/walnut producers may also set the terms of exchange and allow themselves a greater flexibility by not selling exclusively to one merchant. This, if anything, may create an interdependence between a producer and a merchant rather than a dependence of one on the other. Middle-range producers are more involved with transactions dependent on kinship and other social ties in the community. The smallest producers are the most vulnerable but as they tend not to establish an enduring relationship with one merchant over the years, the relationships that are enacted in this area cannot be considered patronal.

3. iii. Labour Groups in Agios Vissarios:
Kin and Non-Kin

The way in which kinship in general may be seen to assume a new significance as a result of certain socio-economic changes, is exemplified by the organization of labour groups for the chestnut and walnut harvest in the village.

The events of war contributed to destroying more cooperatively based agricultural activities²⁶ and the dispersal of kin and loss of working hands made it less possible for the immediate family (single household) to function as an autonomous economic unit. The civil war which made co-villagers more suspicious of each other and less willing to cooperate on a collective or community basis also played a part in bringing about changes. After the villagers re-settled in 1950 some labour was still sought by those still dependent on agricultural production. With the intensification of chestnut production however, and the abandonment of other crops far less labour was required. Available kin still took priority as labourers but now this meant the inclusion of those who as kinsmen and women were previously less important. In other words it meant an extension of kin categorisation. Alternatively, the principles of such categorisation might be used to recruit labour which was, in fact, unrelated genealogically. The terms of social obligation, promised reciprocity, friendship and payment in kind were - and are - still used for the recruitment of labour rather than the straight economic terms of wage-labour, hiring and firing. This type of kin categorisation - which includes the principles and terms employed - glosses over other aspects of the relationship between labourer and employer which may be equally, or more, important.

Today the available members of an individual family unit work together in collecting chestnuts. This usually means a conjugal pair and one/more of their offspring. Grown children may come from elsewhere in Greece during the chestnut harvest. There is some reciprocity of labour between related households but it is rare. In recent years individual families no longer resident in the village have let their trees to relatives or to others in the village on a type of sharecropping basis.²⁷

In general it is only the larger producers who have to employ wage labourers for the chestnut collection. In such cases, kin categorisation is often used for recruiting labour. Though the terms of employment may be 'kin oriented', however, what actually takes place is more inclusive than this may suggest and tends to reflect a whole body of social relations which are occurring at the time in the village.

To examine this, I have selected six producer households ranging from the largest to the smallest in Agios Vissarios.²⁸

In the case of K (Table 20), one of the largest producers in the village, wage labour is sought for the harvest in October/November. This usually covers a period of 10 days during the early period of collection.²⁹

The constitution of each labour group, those working together, tends to vary according to the stage of the harvest and its location. Different combinations of people may be employed each day/week or for each of the producer's different fields. The latter practice is more usual, though as labour is in short supply there is normally an overlap between the various labour groups. Those employed for the collection of chestnuts are usually women, whose wages are lower than those of the

TABLE 20 LABOUR GROUPS

1) LABOUR ON THE FIELDS OF K (LARGEST CHESTNUT PRODUCER IN THE VILLAGE)

<u>GROUP 1</u>			
WORKERS	RELATION TO OWNER	WHETHER WORKERS HAVE THEIR OWN TREES	TYPE OF PAYMENT
DIMITRA	WIFE	-	-
MAROULLA	HALF-SISTER TO WIFE (UNMARRIED)	NONE	WAGES (ALSO SOME CHESTNUTS AS GIFTS TO HER FAMILY)
PRIEST'S WIFE	NONE	NONE	WAGES + KIND
ARDANTO	DISTANT KIN	NOT USED (LIVES IN ATHENS)	IN KIND
VASILIKI (Z-IN-LAW OF FIELDGUARD)	NONE	NONE	WAGES + KIND
GEORGE	(DISTANT) COUSIN OF WIFE	NONE (LIVES IN ATHENS)	KIND + HOSPITALITY
<u>GROUP 2</u>			
WORKERS	RELATION TO OWNER	WHETHER WORKERS HAVE THEIR OWN TREES	TYPE OF PAYMENT
WIDOW F.	NONE	NONE	WAGES + KIND + MAY GRAZE COW + COLLECT KINDLING
GEORGE	COUSIN OF WIFE	NONE (LIVES IN ATHENS)	KIND
PRIEST'S WIFE	NONE	NONE	KIND + MAY COLLECT KINDLING
ARETI (SEPARATED)	COUSIN	NONE	WAGES (+ GIFTS OF CHESTNUTS FOR CHILDREN)
DIMITRA	WIFE	-	-

IN ADDITION, K BORROWS A HORSE FROM G. TO TRANSPORT HIS CHESTNUTS FROM THE FIELDS. IN EXCHANGE G IS ALLOWED TO GRAZE HIS SHEEP IN K'S FIELDS. K ALSO BORROWS HORSE FROM C (COMMUNITY SECRETARY) AND THE OBLIGATION IS LEFT OPEN. SHOULD K BORROW A HORSE FROM ANYONE ELSE HE WOULD PAY APPROXIMATELY 1500 DRs. FOR A DAY'S USE. THE DAILY WAGE FOR A WOMAN WAS 300 DRs. IN 1977.

TABLE 21

2) LABOUR IN THE FIELDS OF V (MEDIUM PRODUCER OF CHESTNUTS + WALNUTS)

<u>GROUP</u>			
WORKERS	RELATION TO PRODUCER	WHETHER WORKER OWNS TREES	PAYMENT
ANNA	WIFE	-	-
ELENI	DAUGHTER	NONE	NONE
JOHN	SON	NONE (STUDYING AWAY)	(POCKET MONEY AFTER SELLING)
KIKI	DAUGHTER	NONE (AT SCHOOL)	NONE
PAVLOS	BROTHER	NONE (LIVES KARPENISI)	KIND + HOSPITALITY
FROSSO	SISTER	YES	UNDERSTANDING OF RECIPROCAL LABOUR IF NECESSARY

3) LABOUR IN FIELDS OF S (MEDIUM PRODUCER OF CHESTNUTS)

THE WORK GROUP CONSISTS OF THE OWNER, HIS WIFE AND 2 SMALL SONS (BOTH AT PRIMARY SCHOOL). IN CASES OF NEED S ASKS HIS BROTHER AND BW FOR HELP. THEY HAVE THEIR OWN TREES AND THERE IS NO DIRECT PAYMENT OF ANY KIND.

TABLE 22

4) LABOUR ON THE FIELDS OF THREE SMALL PRODUCERS

A) GROUP// (THE OWNER IN THIS CASE IS A SINGLE (DIVORCED) WOMAN)			
WORKERS	RELATION TO PRODUCER	WHETHER WORKER OWNS TREES	PAYMENT
JIANNIS	SON	JOINTLY OWNED	PAYMENT
MORPHIA	NONE	NONE	WAGE (AFTER SELLING) OR KIND
OTHER (IN CASE OF NEED/ EMERGENCY)			PROMISE OF RECIPROCAL LABOUR
B) GROUP// (THE OWNER IS A WIDOW, LIVING ALONE)			
WORKERS	RELATION TO PRODUCER	WHETHER WORKER OWNS TREES	PAYMENT
SOFIA	DAUGHTER (MARRIED)	NONE (LIVES IN ATHENS)	IN CHESTNUTS
MICHAELIS	<u>KOUMBAROS</u>	YES	IN KIND (BUT NOT WALNUTS OR CHESTNUTS)
FOTIS (S OF MICHAELIS)	GODSON	NONE	A PRESENT AT A LATER DATE
C) GROUP (THE OWNER LIVES IN ATHENS AND DOES NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE HARVEST)			
WORKERS	RELATION TO PRODUCER	WHETHER WORKER OWNS TREES	PAYMENT
THANASIS	BROTHER	YES	SHARECROPPING AGREEMENT
PANAYIOTA	Z -IN-LAW	YES	SHARECROPPING AGREEMENT
THOMAS	NEPHEW	NONE	NONE
PELAGIA	B's ADOPTIVE MOTHER	YES	SHARECROPPING AGREEMENT

EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF 4(C), THE OWNER/PRODUCERS ALSO WORK IN THE GROUP DURING THE HARVEST

men in similar agricultural employment. Men are more commonly employed for specific tasks such as transporting the collected chestnuts from the fields into the village, or, in the case of walnuts, for beating the nuts off the trees at the beginning of the harvest.

The two labour groups shown for K (Table 20) represent those employed at different times and for different fields. Most of the labourers presented, are regularly asked to assist with K's chestnuts so although the actual combination in each group may differ, the overall personnel tend to remain the same. There are exceptional circumstances, George, for example, was not born in Agios Vissarios and had not visited the area for many years though he was related to the producer's wife. He turned up unexpectedly during the harvest season in 1978.

K has tended to employ the same people each year because they are more 'employable'. This refers to their individual family circumstances. In the two labour groups (Table 20) there are, for instance, 2 widows, 1 woman separated from her husband, one with an invalided husband and an unmarried girl of marriageable age looking after elderly parents. Wage-labourers tend to have no trees and/or land of their own. Their employability however, also refers to the particular relation each labourer has with K and/or his wife, for recruitment is made in terms of these relationships. An added point of significance is that K was, at the time when the labour groups were drawn up, an economically and politically powerful figure in the village. He was one of the largest chestnut producers and had served as community president for several terms.

In group (1) (Table 20), Maroulla is half-sister (same father) to K's wife Dimitra. She is recruited on these kin grounds and is expected to

assist with her brother-in-law's chestnut collection. Maroulla is paid in wages at the end of the working period though chestnuts are given to her parents and she herself says she works "because of the relationship not for any economic reason". On the one hand, the payment of a daily wage to Maroulla is also a tacit discharge of any kin obligations on either side and points up the fact that this is essentially a labour contract. K's wife, however, is able to fulfil certain duties towards her father through Maroulla.³⁰

The priest's wife (Table 20) hires herself out periodically as a wage-labourer to supplement her husband's state income and as her family own no land. Both she and the priest are from other villages in the province and although they have been in Agios Vissarios for 18 years they have neither rented nor bought any land. This is a matter for criticism by other villagers especially as the priest, it is felt, would have easy access to the vakoufika or church lands. Although the priest's wife does sometimes work for others she prefers to be employed by K as the terms on which she works for him conceal, to herself and the village, the basic economic nature of such activity. Both the priest's wife and K's wife (who is an ardent church goer and very conscious of undertaking her duties towards both church and priest) consider each other 'good friends' and explain the work done as "helping out a friend in need, the same as you might help your family". K's wife sees the priest's wife as "the poor thing, they have no land of their own and, well, we must all help each other" and the priest's wife sees it as "the poor thing, they have no children, no-one to help them and it's only right to help each other".

K is himself a leading psaltist in church. Both K and the priest are in positions of power in the community. They feel they must cooperate in certain

matters and both can wield their influence with key resident and non-resident outsiders: teachers, doctors as well as provincial officials/councillors. Both share right-wing political views - though they disagree among themselves - and can be a source of information for each other at election time or in other official situations, (eg both are important referees for villagers as regards the securing of government loans, immigration papers, jobs etc.).

There exists, therefore, a 'nexus of intentions' towards each other. This is emphasised by K's employing the priest's wife and her seeking employment with him. In other words, the priest's wife can be recruited, but she can also demand work in terms of the overall relationship that exists between the two married couples. For similar reasons the priest's wife may get 'a little extra' for working, some more chestnuts, or a meal while working. And she may offer a little extra help. She may stay a little longer than the other workers or contribute something to the meal.

The case of the widow Ardanto is more unusual. The widow who is not permanently resident in the village, is considered one of the village's urban 'elite'. She was married to a lawyer long since dead and she has an architect designed villa in the village which is clearly a holiday home. Her two children, a boy and girl, are both professionals, married with their own children and living in Athens. Widow Ardanto has never been educated and most villagers consider her 'still like them' underneath the trappings of expensive clothes and a different lifestyle. Widow Ardanto is held to be distantly related to K, though I could never get precise information on this link nor trace the connection myself. Over the years widow Ardanto has maintained a close relation with K's wife bringing her gifts from Athens, while the latter frequently embroiders, knits or crotchets items for the

widow, keeps an eye on her 'villa' during the winter and supplies her with a variety of village produce as well as 'confidences'.

The explanation for widow Ardanto's working for K is the kin relation but although her labour is welcomed each year, unlike the others labour, it is not definitely sought. The widow is informed when and where picking will take place, but she is never explicitly asked to assist. She is paid only in kind, and may get 40-60 kilos of chestnuts (approximately 2000 drachmas worth). The widow could however easily afford to buy chestnuts while saving herself the trouble of labour.

Vasiliki, widow F and Areti are regular wage-labourers. The latter two have no chestnut trees and are without husbands to support them.

Widow F has 5 daughters all of school age and no land of her own. Her husband was from a neighbouring village and died suddenly. She seeks any work within the village.

Areti who is separated from her husband has four children of school age, no land and a single-roomed house. During the summer months she works regularly as a cleaner in one of the village 'villas' in addition to any other labouring jobs she might find.

In widow F's case she is directly employed by K as a wage-labourer though, at her own request, she may be paid partly in kind and gains other small privileges such as the right to graze her cow in or collect kindling from K's fields. K likes to consider her employment as an act of charity towards a poor relation and uses the fact to highlight his position of power within the village.

In Areti's case, the direct, economic relation is partially masked by the fact that she is K's cousin (MZD). She is recruited in kin terms and a certain obligation both towards her and from her is expected. If her labour is required by K she is expected to forego any other job she may have. Similarly, if she

is hard pressed for cash she expects K to help out by employing her. As kin she also gets extras while working with K, chestnuts for the children or meals during the working day.

Vasiliki has a senile husband incapable of work. The couple have no chestnuts though they own a little land which is no longer used by them. Vasiliki is herself elderly and physically unwell and can no longer work very fast or efficiently. In the absence of working hands even her labour is of importance to K. The extra income and chestnuts are of obvious importance to her. One stated reason why K recruits Vasiliki lies in the fact that she is sister-in-law to the fieldguard. The fieldguard is officially the community president's assistant. He is expected to fetch and carry messages and see that certain community tasks are executed. The fieldguard is also expected to inform the president about any new arrivals or 'unusual occurrences' in the village.³¹ K and the fieldguard had developed a friendship beyond the cooperation required by their respective positions and the latter had 'put in a good word' for his sister-in-law. In employing Vasiliki, K once more emphasizes his role as a benefactor and underlines his position of authority within the village.

Such labour relations tend to reflect a whole set of ongoing social relations within the community (on which they also depend) even if the major organizing principle behind them involves some kind of kin categorisation.³² The same is true, if to a lesser extent, of the labour groups who work for the smaller producers.

In Table 21, for example, the two medium chestnut producers shown rely mainly on the members of their immediate (Simple) family for labour and call on members of the Extended family when extra labour is required. The point here is that who is recruited and/or who in a group of siblings helps during the chestnut harvest, depends on the state of these relationships at that time.

In group 1 (Table 21) the producer's brother Pavlos would not normally be called on to assist with the collection as he is a state employee working at the post-office in Karpenisi. He is considered beyond this type of manual labour. Pavlos is, however, a bachelor and spends most of his holidays and free time with the producer V in the village. He works for V during the harvest as a 'repayment' for the hospitality shown him and always takes his annual holiday during the harvest season in order to do so. With V's sister, Frosso, as with S's brother and BW (group 2), there is an expectation of reciprocal labour though this may never actually take place.

In the case of the three small producers (Table 22), where no members of the simple/nuclear or extended family are available, a number of different recruitment possibilities are shown. Once again, who is employed depends largely on 'kinship', but it is the state of the different relationships which is of importance.

Chestnut producers in the village today cannot rely on sources of labour used in the past. Before the war related conjugal pairs worked together and related households exchanged labour on a more regular/permanent basis. The recruitment of koumbaros, godson, distant cousins, nephews and nieces was less common. According to informants,³³ it was more usual before the war for villagers to cooperate and for a pool of labour to be available in which kin categorisation was less important. Working together was based on more community oriented principles or the economic relations of production were more clearly recognised.³⁴ Changes in production obviously affected the older labour relations. The prewar cultivation of maize, barley and wheat were much more labour intensive.

Having laid some of the contemporary ethnographic foundation stones in this and the previous

chapter, I will turn now to the past. My aim will be to explain the particular history of Agios Vissarios, and Evritania as a whole, in its diverse 'articulations', and to locate self-government.

CHAPTER THREE: Footnotes

3.i.

1 That is, registration of births, marriages, deaths, minutes of community council meetings, all correspondence, community accounts and so on.

2 C. Karapiperis MP first stood as a political candidate in the 1950s and, except during the Dictatorship of 1967, has always been returned as MP for the Province of Evritania. He was not returned for the first time in the General Elections of 1981 when the PASOK government came to power. Since I left the field in 1979, however, I was not in a position to assess the implications of this and I continue to employ the present tense when referring to Karapiperis.

3 See below 3.i.(b) local elections 1978.

4 See below 3.ii. on merchant relations and the marketing of local produce.

5 Several people said to me, that although they liked X (the previous president) and thought he was a 'good president', they 'didn't know this time' and 'it's better to be with Y (the MP) because my son is trying for his police exams/my daughter is trying for a civil servant (job)' and so on.

6 In recent years, people from the neighbouring D and other villages had decided to settle in AP where they already had land and the hamlet had grown in size.

7 Interestingly, the person sent was a young man from Agios Vissarios who was able to visit informally under the pretext that he was in the area to see his parents. It was on the bus to the hamlet of AP that I first overheard him bring up the subject.

3.i.(a)

8 See, for example, Peter Loizos (1975), Davis, J (1977:134), Mouzelis, N (1978).

9 Significantly, the president had no children. The major single reason for approaching the MP, for voting for him and for requesting his help in one form or another is to secure a better future for children. It is possible that the president felt less constrained and was more able to voice his opposition to the MP as he had no children to worry about.

10 ie to do up his old family house which he intended to let to visiting civil servants (teachers/police/doctor) for an added income. The Greek tourist board (EOT) had recently announced the availability of such grants for doing up 'traditional' properties in traditional ways, to be let to tourists.

11 Cp. E. Peters (1968),
".... dependence of one sort or another occurs in practically all sets of social relationships, and therefore, lacks all discriminatory usefulness"

12 See below, Chapter 3.iii.on labour groups.

13 See below, Chapter 3.ii. on merchant relations.

14 Out of 17 families who made such a claim, only two have direct, traceable genealogical links with the MP. The rest stake their claim either indirectly through these two families or by virtue of the fact that the MP/other members of his family have acted as koumbaros to them.

15 The return to a situation where only a few (now strictly active members of the right-wing ruling class) monopolised access to all aspects of the state and where 'political favours' became the order of the day, was epitomised for me by the case of TD. TD was an active member of EAM, instrumental in the development of the institutions of self-government in Evritania. During the civil war he was captured and imprisoned. He was in a concentration camp for over ten years. In the 1960s TD finally secured his release by appealing to the provincial right-wing MP (a sworn enemy) on the grounds that they were from the same area, the MP knew his family.....

Despite its promises and intentions the present Papandreou Government has been unable to challenge the system of rousfettia. Now, villagers say, it is simply another group of people who are more likely to gain access to state institutions. The situation has generated much bitterness in Agios Vissarios, among the young who voted for PASOK and genuinely believed that access to jobs would now be much easier and among older people who find no difference between the previous right-wing governments and that of PASOK in this respect.

16 This was still the case in Agios Vissarios in 1978/9. A village Communist, because of his past, was unable to secure either a house loan or an Agrarian pension without reaching 'some agreement' with the MP or by paying 'bribes' to officials. The Communist was equally reluctant to call on the KKE Party for assistance in these matters wishing to do so only 'in cases of emergency' which concerned the well-being of his children.

17 See below 3.ii. of this chapter.

18 These factors are of particular importance in a situation where most of the 64 different Patronymic kin groupings in the village can claim a relation and where most of the competing candidates can trace relations to the same kin groups.

19 My aim here is simply to describe how labour is recruited in the village today and suggest principles involved in marketing produce. I do not attempt a serious economic analysis. Questions referring to how kinship interrelates with the political economy are beyond the scope of this analysis and link to complex Marxist (and largely anti-structuralist) debates within and outside anthropology.

20 Bodeman (1980).

3.i.(b)

21 In fact, her mother had eloped as a girl and received no dowry and only a little land (1/6 of the patrimony) as inheritance at the death of her (M's) parents; her father had been of a stock-breeding family and also had little land and no chestnuts.

3.ii.

22 There is no provision for storing chestnuts as puree for example. Walnuts keep once they are properly dried. Often, the producers do not dry them sufficiently so that they weigh more. In such cases they are equally eager to sell quickly!

23 He was best man (koumbaros) at the shopkeepers wedding and subsequently godfather (nounos) to his first son.

24 For a summary of types of godparenthood and spiritual kinship and discussions of it see Davis J 1977 pp.223-238. My understanding of the koumbaros/ra relationship and its importance and operation in Agios Vissarios follows du Boulay's (1974 pp.162ff) analysis more closely. Du Boulay describes the relationship as one of great importance but in which the strains of

kinship are even more apparent; as a relationship which exists for itself as well as a means for important alliances; and as a relationship which involves a whole set of behaviours, obligations and reciprocities. All these aspects are true for Agios Vissarios though I did not make a close study of the relationship. By stating that the koumbaros relationship between K and the shopkeeper had 'fallen into disrepair' I refer to the fact that there appeared to be no ongoing relationship at the time, there were none of the exchanges of obligations normally involved (visiting, support, gift-giving, shopping from his shop etc.). However, there was no overt hostility expressed between the two men nor a denial of the relationship.

25 Agrarian vehicles are more easily obtainable and there are now various road tax and insurance concessions on such vehicles. The lack of employment possibilities within the village has also meant that the young migrated temporarily (eg to Germany) or sought seasonal work elsewhere allowing them to save up, return to the village and try their hand at some 'business' with the assistance of a vehicle.

The ideal of forming cooperatives to eradicate the middleman was not popular (though now greatly encouraged by the government of PASOK) as it suggested to people in the village the resistance period and 'communism'.

3.iii.

26 For example, there was one area of sweet chestnut forest adjacent to the village where all the villagers would collect to gather the nuts together; or they would collect together to work the church lands. Similarly, unrelated families would cooperate in the harvest of corn and threshing when this was grown more extensively in the 1930s and before; women to husk maize, shuck beans and so on. In addition, house building was done on a cooperative basis: the prospective house owner would invite a group of men to help him build. He would feed the men during this period, give them his own wine to drink and give them a present of a shirt/socks (which would be hung on a washing line when the house was roofed). The rest of the payment was the promise of reciprocated labour.

27 See Appendix 1 and Chapter

28 See p.201-203 Tables 20-22.

29 See Appendix 1.

30 Dimitra's father is partially invalided from the war, though he still works. He draws a small war pension and has little land as he sold most of what he had to marry off Dimitra and another daughter (from a second marriage). To give him money directly, in order to assist him would be considered insulting but he accepts - and expects - gifts, such as chestnuts, especially as his daughter, Maroulla, 'helps' with the harvest.

31 The position of fieldguard acquired this status under the Metaxas government of 1936 and increasingly became identified with the role of village informer; it was still being used in Agios Vissarios in this overtly political way when I was in the field.

32 ie the principle of employing kin even if this means the inclusion of a category of persons not previously considered significant in this sense, and/or of recruitment of wage-labour in kin terms.

33 (PP 1978 FN), (KATS 1978/9 FN), (AS 1978/9 FN).

34 See footnote 26 above.

THE LOCATION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT &
HISTORY

Chapter 4: Ottoman Rule and Regional Autonomy (with Particular Reference to Evritania)

The variety of conditions which prevailed throughout the Ottoman Empire was a main source for the development of forms of local self-government.

The imposition of Ottoman rule over most of the lands peopled by Greeks led to the eventual unification of the Greeks. A unification which found its ideological base in the Greek Church (Zachythinis 1976). At the same time, however, the prolonged and staggered nature of conquest, the very different types of regime which preceded it in the various territories, as well as their local peculiarities, produced equally wide variation in the conditions under which the Greeks lived during this period. The variation was so wide, in fact, that it is more accurate to speak of 'Ottoman governments' rather than a single one (Zachythinis 1967:7).

A further source of variety, however, was afforded by the very structure of the Ottoman state and its dual theocratic and autocratic character.¹ According to Zachythinis this contributed to a conservative attitude towards changing existing power relations or to the creation of new cultural forms. On the other hand, it allowed for considerable variety and diversity in matters of marginal interest to the main concerns of central government, "including even the institutions which regulated relations between rulers and ruled" (p.7). That is, judicial matters concerning local arbitration on disputes, tenancy agreements on various lands and other privileges and administrative concerns were often left in the control of regional or local bases of power. Both these aspects, the conservatism and the flexibility of the state encouraged the development of self-government in the rural areas.

The main elements of Ottoman rule which contributed to forms of self-government, can be divided into three main categories:²

- i) The landholding system in general
- ii) The administrative system, especially that of taxation, and
- iii) The development of 'fighting formations' (Zachythinopoulou op.cit:70) which both resulted from the operation of the state and comprised a part of its machinery which was operative on a local level.

I shall deal with each category separately over the following pages.

4.i. The Ottoman Landholding System

The Ottoman landholding system was set within a context of existing conditions which had been shaped under and inherited from Byzantium, and of "Ottoman political theory" (Anderson 1974:365). In the first case, the needs of conquest had made a certain degree of toleration necessary towards the big estates which had dominated the Greek rural sector during the last centuries of the Byzantine era. There were cases where local landlords were formally confirmed in the possession of their properties³ and evidence to suggest that some estates were preserved in the hands of leading Greek, christian families,⁴ but the extent to which this was so is unknown. Otherwise remnants of the former military oligarchy were absorbed into the class of Turkish feudal lords (Vacalopoulos 1970:149) while a proportion of the more powerful Greek families were induced to convert to Islam and enlist in the Sultan's services in order to

preserve their estates (Zachythinis 1976:19ff & Anderson 1974:371). In general, however, these older estates were gradually broken up with the organization and extension of the Timar system and the transfer of land to Turkish owners. The local, indigenous nobility was gradually eliminated. This led to some levelling off of classes among the Greeks of the rural areas.

Islamic principle held that the whole arable and pastoral territory of the empire was the personal patrimony of the Sultan, four-fifths of which he 'bestowed' to his warriors, though not as a hereditary right. The exceptions to this were the Vakif (waqf) sacred lands, and the Mulk/freeholdings which are discussed below. As Anderson has written, "For Ottoman political theory, the cardinal attribute of sovereignty was the Sultan's unlimited right to exploit all sources of wealth within his realm as his own Imperial Possessions" (p.365). This meant that, ideologically, there was at this stage a limited notion of private property in land. The implications of these political principles were far-reaching.⁵

The way in which this patrimonial system of power was organized prevented the emergence of a strong landed aristocracy which might have posed a threat to the hegemony of the Sultan. In the earlier stages of the empire this led to the organization of cultivated lands into the Timar system.

Timar lands were non-hereditary military fiefs, held on life-tenure or usufruct, and bestowed on Turkish and other warriors in return for their military services. In general the Timariots comprised a class of cavalry men who supplied military aid to the state.

Later, this class of landholders came to include 'slaves' who had been recruited through the levy of christian children, Greeks who had voluntarily converted to Islam and others who had managed to gain the privilege of

keeping their lands intact.

There were various categories of Timar lands, which were valued according to their tax yield and from which the Timariots drew carefully fixed revenues. The landholdings themselves were also comprised of different parts, the original bestowal, the Kijil, and later additions, Terraki, which might frequently change hands (Zachythinopoulou:op.cit.9ff & Anderson op.cit.368ff).

During this earlier Ottoman period, the rural subject population was in fact given some support by the state. They had hereditary rights of usage to the lands they worked and limits were put on the type and degree of control which Timariots could exercise over them. Of course, as Anderson points out, such tenants were granted security of tenure mainly to assure the stability of the fiscal yield; and they were protected from their landlords to prevent the local drainage of surplus away from the Imperial centre (p.371).

In general, however, these rights led for a time to a definite amelioration in the material conditions of the rural inhabitants. In comparison to the late Byzantine era in particular (cp.Laiou-Thomadakis, A.E. 1977), taxes and dues were lower at this point and those working on the land had more extensive rights while in other respects conditions were improved, "the bane of constant warfare (having been) lifted from the countryside" (Anderson 1974:371ff).⁶

In order to combat the possibility of the emergence of an aristocracy inimical to the absolute authority of the Sultan, possible threats at seizing control of the state apparatus were also minimized by appointing elements totally subservient to the Sultan (i.e. christians, Slaves, Eunuchs) to key positions. While ironically, Islamic attitudes to mercantile activities allowed Greeks and other 'infidels' to come to dominate trade.

It follows from these political attitudes, that there could be no stable, hereditary nobility within the empire, because there was no security of property which could found it. Wealth and honour were effectively coterminous with the state, and rank simply a function of positions held within it (Anderson 1974: 366).

Mouzelis (1978) has argued in this respect that,

All this means that there was an absence of organic articulation between the state and the economically dominant classes a structural feature which weakened the 'rule of law' and led to a generalized insecurity and arbitrariness - an arbitrariness emanating from the top when the state was strong, and from below, i.e. from local potantates, when the state was weak. (p.5)

These contradictions are crucial in considering the development of regional autonomy, and the conditions that favoured the emergence of self-governing structures during this period more generally.

Against the background then of Ottoman political theory and the conditions shaped by and inherited from a previous era, it is possible to look more closely at the organization of landholdings, the contradictions inherent in the system, the gradual decline of the Ottoman empire and the resulting implications for land-tenure patterns.

In addition to the Timar the Sultan, as a representative of Allah, owned the Imperial lands. The

Vakif or sacred lands were not, however, part of his patrimony. Vakif lands were made up of religious endowments, consecrated lands and those belonging to holy institutions in general. They were not subject to confiscation or direct taxation like the Timar lands. As time went on and state power declined, more and more officials consecrated parts of their property for 'sacred uses', while in fact keeping the right to use them by paying fixed sums of money to the state. Such property was often used as a camouflaging device to keep land hereditary in a single family while family members 'administered' the Vakif. Smaller landholdings were incorporated into the Vakif lands for similar reasons. As a result these lands increased as a proportion of landholdings in general.

A similar development occurred in the Greek church. In fact one of the more important factors in the social and economic life of the Greeks under Ottoman rule, proved to be the church's ownership of land (Dakin 1973 & Zachythinis op.cit). According to the Old Islamic tradition of toleration, which was coupled with political expedience, the Ottomans - at least from 1453 - recognized the Greek church, granted it privileges and confirmed it in its landed property. It was subject to only limited taxation. Fortified by official decrees and strengthened by donations from various sources⁷ the Greek church was able to become a considerable economic force through its property. It is estimated, in fact, that by the end of the Ottoman period it owned a quarter of all Greek territory (Zachythinis op.cit:41). The word Vakif went into Greek usage and today Vakoufika still refers to land owned by monasteries or churches which has been bought or donated.⁸

Apart from the Imperial, Timar and Vakif lands, there also existed, in the earlier Ottoman period, Mulk or freeholdings, whose proprietors enjoyed full ownership. These lands were divided into two kinds: the tithe

lands, subject to taxation under tithe (Usriye), and the property of non-moslems (Haraciye) which was subject to a christian poll-tax (Harac) (Zachythinop. cit:15).

These lands could be confiscated when taxes were not paid, and the Haraciye were still considered 'subjects' with limited freedoms and rights.

The system of landholding in general presupposed the existence of a subject class (the Raya, made up mostly of the 'infidel' rural population) who provided labour. On the whole these people were strictly excluded from the official Ottoman hierarchy and military class.⁹ Indeed, the empire mindful of its own economic welfare realised that the subject class was the chief productive element and blocked the possibilities of its gaining access to the military class through the upholding of various laws and by other devices (Vacalopoulos 1970:156). For the same reason, mass conversions to Islam were never enforced, for to do so would be to negate the economic advantages of this 'labouring' class which, through the traditions of Islam, could also be burdened with special taxes which were not extendable to the Muslim population.

Despite this, certain christian subjects did come to perform duties of a military nature and were, consequently, exempted from taxes. These duties usually involved guarding fortresses and passes. In some cases whole villages were involved in maintaining such security and they were granted exemptions from taxes as well as other immunities.

The conditions of the class of subject-labourers varied and was generally more favourable up to the 16th century when the situation began to decline. On the whole, the subject class was divided into serfs, tenants and small freeholders. The landless (serfs and tenants) were further divided into those who cultivated 'inalienable' lands and those who cultivated 'alienable' land. The former were defined as lands under limited

ownership whose labourers took the produce but paid a land tax to the Sultan, a form of personal tax (Spendza) to the landlord, and were bound to the land. Those who cultivated alienable lands usually had the status of tenants. They were not indissolubly linked to the land which was rented from both Greek and Muslim landlords. Furthermore, the relationship between landlord and tenant was specified by definite agreement which could take one of several forms.¹⁰

The small-freeholders were to be found mostly in the mountain districts where the local inhabitants had surrendered or submitted voluntarily to the Ottoman Turks and had been granted privileged status, or, on the other hand, where submission had proved difficult and the inhabitants had been finally won over by the granting of various concessions (Vacalopoulos op.cit:159 and Zachythinis op.cit:39-40). There were whole villages in christian possession and these were called Kefalohoria or 'head villages'.

The term is still used for larger villages which serve as administrative centres, like Agios Vissarios (e.g. as police garrison for the area, post office/telephone centres, providing schools and so on).

Some of these freeholdings were gradually encroached on and incorporated into larger Turkish estates while others were officially suppressed.¹¹ On the whole, however, they existed in mountain districts where the Greeks enjoyed considerable autonomy. Due to a lack of documentary material it is difficult to establish precisely what relations some of these regions had with the Turks or how exactly they were governed. The general consensus is that the local inhabitants acquired relative freedom in return for garrisoning various strategic points through the mountains (Dakin, Vacalopoulos op.cit). Freeholdings were also more numerous where land was less arable and at less of a premium, as in the mountains.

The general situation described here began to change in the late 16th century when the decline of the Ottoman empire set in.

From that date to the early 19th century the history of Ottoman rule is,

..... essentially that of a disintegration of the central imperial state, the consolidation of a provincial landowning class, and the degradation of the peasantry. (Anderson p.379).

The long phase of gradual decline was closely linked to economic developments in the rest of the European continent which was undergoing rapid expansion.¹² Under the impact of such developments and their effect on Ottoman economy and polity (especially in terms of the spectacular rise of international grain prices and trade concessions extracted from and inimical to the Ottoman state) major changes began to occur in the rural sector. Briefly, in the attempt to commercialise agriculture a greater exploitation of lands and labour was gradually initiated together with the introduction of new crops. As a result landlords began to increase their privileges at the expense of the direct producers. Timars eventually became hereditary, rents and dues increased as did the poll-tax levied by the state; the 'traditional peasant rights' over the land were reduced or abolished and much of the rural population was eventually forced off the land altogether, while others fled to the mountains to avoid paying their taxes.

Increasing commercialization of agriculture stimulated by economic developments in Western Europe and combined with the decreasing authority of the Ottoman state, led to the emergence of a different kind of landed property, and the Timar system gradually gave way to the chiflik system. Initially, the latter system of landholding emerged as an institutional device for cultivating unused lands and increasing production, but

the chiflik system gradually expanded to include the Timars and eventually came to dominate agriculture.

Though the chiflik never received formal legal sanction - for in theory the rural population's judicial status never changed - the chiflik landlords acquired immense powers. They had by the 19th century virtually unchallenged control over their labour force. They could banish labourers or prevent them from leaving, as well as having the right to recover labourers legally if they abandoned their lands. Typically, a landlord would extract half of the harvest leaving the direct producers to pay both the land-tax and other dues.

The interesting thing is that though these developments meant the introduction of different notions of private property contrary to Islamic principles of the time; and despite the increasing commercialization of agriculture, the strengthening of the chiflik system throughout the 17th and 18th centuries did not lead to capitalist development in agriculture. There was no creation of a rural proletariat. Wage labour played an insignificant part and land rent, as it was largely paid in kind, did not lead to significant capital accumulation. Those who lost their hereditary rights of labour over the land they worked, continued to work the same land under different agreements of a sharecropping nature. They did not become free to sell their labour anywhere they chose. By and large, capital remained in the sphere of distribution and in the hands of merchants and traders. The fact that this form of private property was never legally sanctioned combined with the non-hereditary principle concerning other lands, probably played a part in the lack of capitalist development in Greek agriculture during this period. In theory at least, 'fortunes' and properties could be arbitrarily confiscated by the Sultan at the death of a chiflikas. There was in principle, no security in property and no titular aristocracy was able to emerge.

Paradoxically, as the conditions of rural inhabitants deteriorated and the power of the state was gradually eroded, more land started to come into Greek hands. The extent to which the old and powerful Greek families may have managed to preserve their estates throughout the Ottoman era and the exact causes and stages of the transfer of land back to the Greeks is unknown. Certainly improvements among the Greek population (higher birth rates, lower mortality rates, less disease)¹³ over the preceding years, the gradual decline of the Muslim settler population as well as the development of local trade and industry, combined with privileges gained from the Turks, must have contributed to the growth of Greek landholdings. These showed a definite and steady increase during the 18th century and were added to later by the, mostly illegal, sale of chiflikia by Turks to Greeks.

As the Greeks acquired property they were able to extend their powers by taking on the management of communal affairs and seizing advantageous posts in the local government system, though they already played a part in this. In these ways, they eventually emerged as a ruling elite in rural areas.

A Greek of the 19th^{Century} familiar with this elite (known as the kocabasis), describes them and their collaboration with local Turkish pashas, their political machinations and the inevitable hardships to which Rayas were subjected as a result,

The Kocabasis or proychountes had not the consent of the people but were united in their interests politically speaking (they) governed, because they gave advice and plans to the Turks to carry out in their interest, and to lay low their opponents, that is to say the faction of the other Turks and their Greek followers. Each faction wanted to have power to rule the place and to enrich themselves, and

so as to acquire it they sent to the capital and seat of the Sultan their representatives whom they maintained were apparently to protect the raya (i.e. subject class of peasants) from abuses of the Turks, while in truth they were sent with the objective of removing their kocabasi, who also in all else imitated the Turk, in clothing, in external manners and in his house. His ease was similar to that of the Turk and only in name did he differ and instead of going to the mosque he went to church this continuous and ceaseless war (between factions) took place, and tyranny was never wanting for the unfortunate raya.¹⁴

The 400 years of Ottoman rule in Greek lands are not differentiated into distinct periods in the memory of the local inhabitants of Agios Vissarios. Only the last years leading up to the War of Independence of 1821 are normally recalled: the years in which the plight of the rural population had worsened and in which labourers were equally oppressed by Turkish landlord or official and Greek kocabasis. It is usually tales from this later period which survive as 'folklore' and mean 'life under the Turks' to the villager.

The whole military and religious structure of the Ottoman state was based on land - though importantly, as I have mentioned, not on pervasive notions of individual, private property-¹⁵ rather, it was based on the revenues derived from the exploitation of land. Economically the administrative structure of the Empire was dependent on the organization of this revenue, or on a complex system of taxation.

4.ii. The Ottoman Administrative System and Taxation

In Greece, the system of taxation was largely a distributive one in that the amount of tax demanded was fixed in advance and local authorities were then charged with the collection and sub-allocation of revenue between different regions and tax-payers. . . . The system came to play an important part in the creation of wealth and power among the Greeks, in the development of local communities and the growth of regional autonomies.

The business of raising taxes, at least in the latter part of Ottoman rule, was often entrusted to the Greeks. As a result, certain Greeks had managed to build up considerable wealth.¹⁶ As taxes were usually levied in kind, the Greek tax collectors might manage to set up warehouses, for example, and gather teams of pack animals as well as acquiring certain rights over land which would allow them to enjoy the dues payable on it. In short, they were able to amass some kind of 'capital' and then operate as merchants and money-lenders as well as being tax-collectors. As the 19th century observer mentioned above, these Greeks tended to live in the style of local pashas and in time gathered around them their own clerks, secretaries, servants and even doctors, maintaining close contacts with the Greek clergy. They often acquired their own tenants and were protected by armed retainers.

Local developments and practice varied from place to place depending on a number of different factors such as geographical location and how the population had been subjugated by the Ottoman Turks. In some places this meant that self-governing institutions never developed properly. In others, the institutions matured through time though within narrow territorial limits, as in the mountains of Agrafa (see below).

In still other areas, the institutions developed more widely and formed a complete system of federal organization.¹⁷ For the most part, the Turks were able to govern through local officials but, especially as state authority weakened and local lords in general gained more power, whole communities under the leadership of powerful officials became more and more independent.

The main unit in the self-governing system developed during the later part of the Ottoman era was the commune (kinotis). This comprised a town, large village or group of hamlets. The commune was considered a legal entity independent of the ruling power though tolerated by it. The commune administered its local expenditure and all inhabitants within its jurisdiction were liable for poll-tax.

Groups of communes formed districts (eparchies) and were administered by a number of officials, commissioners (epitropoi), elders (demoyerontes), archons, notables or 'headmen' (Zachythinus op.cit:57ff). The number of officials varied with the size of the administrative area or commune, and office - at first at least - was held for one year only. It later became virtually hereditary. The officials were usually elected by the local inhabitants who gathered in assembly (kini mazosis) with the clergy. Who could stand as candidate, however, and the electorate itself, was usually strictly prescribed and sometimes successors were simply appointed by the previous officials. In theory, the 'wisest', 'most conscientious' and 'best' members of the community were selected, in practice they were normally the wealthiest and most powerful members of the community (Zachythinus op.cit:58).

A French 19th traveller to Greece described the system in the following way,

The Greeks (in Chios) have almost complete self-government, and the form of their administration is a sort of aristocracy. Every year 'four old men of the people' (demoyerontes) are chosen from ¹⁸the richest and most distinguished class.

The powers of these men as communal officers were considerable. They included the whole management of communal affairs, the organization and administration of education as well as the collection and sub-allocation of taxes. This latter duty, combined with the land-tenure system which often gave them the privileged position of managers of a landholding, also allowed them to play some role in the structuring of local relations of production and, in general, the organization - and reproduction - of the labour force. Commissioners also had the duties of market inspection and, significantly, some judicial authority. In some places this could be quite considerable,

.... these are the people who regulate matters, judge the differences that have arisen between Greeks, and even between Greeks and Turks. Sometimes the Turks themselves choose this kind of high court, in which the notables sit, to judge their differences. They (the local Turks) can if it is true, appeal to Ottoman justice, but then the demoyerontes no longer wish to receive their complaints, and ¹⁹put them in a way outside the (i.e. local) law.

These developments were reinforced by various privileges and concessions granted by or extorted from the Turks. These, in turn, strengthened the development of regional autonomy in various areas.

4.iii. The Villages of Agrafa and Agios Vissarios in the Later Ottoman Period

The Agrafa region of Evritania mentioned in Chapter 2 is of considerable interest during the Ottoman period. This mountain district is said to have had a long tradition of regional autonomy and to have gained certain privileges in this respect. It is also thought to have been the home of brigandage and an important place of refuge for Greeks fleeing the Ottoman authorities. Later, Agrafa became one of the most notorious armatolikia (i.e. home of a group of local christian irregulars and their chief) in Greece.

Under Ottoman rule, Agrafa referred to the whole southern part of the Pindus range, spanning parts of Epirus, Thessaly and Evritania.

Agrafa contains 85 villages and 7685 houses, in which, fifteen years ago (i.e. in 1820) there were more than 50,000 inhabitants, but their number is now supposed to be somewhat reduced. There are fifteen large and many smaller monasteries, and the remains of about eighteen Hellenic towns or fortresses. The chief town, formerly the residence of the archon and council is Rendhina which contains 450 houses.²⁰

Half of these villages are now part of Thessaly and not included in Evritania. After liberation from the Turks, and between 1831 and 1912, Agrafa came to refer to one of the nine municipalities of the then province of Evritania.²¹ The village of Agrafa itself, was the capital of this municipality or deme, which encompassed a total of about 10 villages. Strictly speaking, the name today refers only to the village itself and the three or

four hamlets which belong to it. The whole of central-northern Evritania - including adjoining parts of Thessaly - which is no longer divided into separate municipalities is however still known locally as 'ta Agrafa'.

This part of the province is entirely mountainous. It has extensive, unexploited forests and is unusually rich in water, bordered as it is by two of the main rivers - the Agriafiotis and the Tavropos which traverse Evritania north to south - and is criss-crossed by their several tributaries. Even today access to the scattered communities of Agrafa is difficult and the few, rough and unpaved roads that do exist stop at the village of Agrafa itself. According to Leake (1835), the area of Agrafa

.... has enjoyed particular privileges dating perhaps from a remote period in the Byzantine empire, when the villages were 'not written down' in the publicans' books, and the inhabitants of the district accounted in body for their taxes. (Leake:272-4)

As Leake mentions, the inhabitants of Agrafa had supposedly gained the privilege of not paying certain taxes even during the Byzantine era²² when they had already developed some form of semi-independence and self-government. One historian²³ has argued that later, under Ottoman rule and after several unsuccessful invasions into the area by the Turks, these earlier privileges were formalized with the Treaty of Tsamasi in 1525.

According to the Treaty the people of Agrafa were released from the payment of heavy taxes.²⁴ They were permitted to form their own armed bands (armatoloi) to maintain local law and order and to safeguard the major

routes through the district - and for which, incidentally, the armatoles came to exhort exorbitant transit fees from travellers - and it was further agreed that no Turkish garrison or Turkish families would settle in the area. In fact, these privileges and the system of armatoloi proved an effective device for controlling the mountain people. The Turks had encountered serious obstacles to conquest here and it would have been difficult to neutralize the area on a permanent basis. There were advantages in winning the inhabitants over with privileges, supplementing the insufficient military forces of the Turks and creating a useful regional militia which could deal with both banditry and the garrisoning of strategic points. In exchange, the people of Agrafa - many of whom were transhumant shepherds - retained among other things relative freedom of mobility and could take their flocks to the Turkish-controlled areas of Thessaly in the winter. The continued supply of certain basic products to the mountains, such as wheat was also ensured (Vacalopoulos op.cit:159).

Leake found in 1820 that the area

still enjoyed the self-government which it had obtained by capitulation with Mahomet II (in the 15th century), when he had conquered Albania Every year were chosen by ballot an archon and five or six assessors, forming a council, which had the power of inflicting capital punishment. (p.272)

and that,

A christian captain with 200 men and a Mahometan Albanian with 300, kept the police of the district, and ensured the safety of the roads, under the direction of the archons. (p.272)

Leake goes on to describe the main sources of income and agricultural produce of Agrafa during the early 19th century. It was a local economy which provided an important support to the administrative and military autonomy of the area,

.... industry, security, and in some parts a fertile soil, had enabled the Agrafiotes to export several kinds of agricultural produce to the rich but desolate districts around them (he goes on to list the exact quantities and types of produce, mentioning that the Agrafiotes were unable to produce enough corn for their own consumption) The villages which are least favoured in respect of soil have resources in the manufacture of various articles of cotton and wool, such as coarse cloths, shawls for the head and girdle, and towels. It is reckoned that one third of the inhabitants of Agrafa gain a livelihood by weaving a large proportion of the Agrafiotes gain a livelihood abroad as shopkeepers or artisans, or as carriers in the neighbouring districts. (p.274)

The many Turkish place-names that have remained in and around the village of Agios Vissarios (e.g. Sta'Ahmet, Ablavlaka, Ali't'aloni, Apo'per'Ahmet, Karast'Ali) suggest that some Turkish families at least did settle in the more southern and less harsh regions of Agrafa despite the Treaty of Tsamasi, and there were definitely Ottoman Turks established in the provincial capital, Karpenisi.

It is thought that Turks lived in the village of Agios Vissarios from the late 18th century up to 1821, though there is no conclusive data establishing when they settled. What is certain, however, is that there were no Turkish families left in the area by June 1821 and those

who had settled in, or subsequently moved to Karpenisi left for Trikkala in Thessaly on 7th July 1821.²⁵

Under the conditions of relative autonomy from the Ottoman Turks, the region of Agrafa also became a centre of learning and various Greek schools were founded with the help of the Greek church. The village of Agios Vissarios had one such school of relative fame in the area and in which a number of bishops taught. It is not known when the school was founded but it was definitely functioning in 1779 as a 'school of letters' (i.e. middle school for reading and writing, though other subjects may have been taught as well) and also served the surrounding villages. There were schools of higher learning established at the same time in Karpenisi and other villages of the province such as Fourni, Gouvas of Vrangenon and Neokhori.²⁶

Many of the teachers at the school of Agios Vissarios were supported financially by the Diocese of Litsas and Agrafa, where between 1766 and 1793 the bishop was Dionysus of Larissa. A manuscript with the bishop's letter of resignation was found²⁷ which is interesting in a number of ways. The letter, which is dated 15th July 1793, states the bishop's 'voluntary resignation' for 'reasons of age' and recommends his successor who was actually a pupil at the school of Agios Vissarios.²⁸ The letter adds that despite the bishop's formal resignation, he will retain for 'his own enjoyment' Karpenisi, Neokhori and Agios Vissarios. To do this, the document states, he had 'the agreement of his superior, the Most Holy Reverend of St. Lazirus, of his successor and of the honourable notables (archontes) of the district'. This in itself suggests the degree of autonomy that both the church and the district had during the period and there is no implication of restrictions imposed by the Turks. In addition, the letter shows that Dionysus kept the lion's share of communities for himself, and intended - as

he points out - to 'enjoy all the privileges, income and extras' accruing from the three communities. In other words, what the bishop chose to retain for his own enjoyment was the capital of the district, Karpenisi, and two of its more prosperous villages. Neokhori was, then, a sizeable village with 150 families and a number of prosperous migrants in Constantinople. Agios Vissarios had about 70 families and appeared to have 'good, irrigated fields and largescale stockbreeding' (Vasiliou 1965).

This too is indicative of the position the Greek church held in such villages. That is, a position of power and privilege benefiting from local 'income and extras'.

Dionysus' letter gives an interesting picture of the two villages at that time. Agios Vissarios, in particular, a kephalohori of mainly christian families, has never lost its status as a prosperous village. Although there is relatively little stockbreeding or agriculture today, there is still plenty of water for irrigation and the ruins of the once terraced fields suggest a greater productivity in the past.²⁹

Apart from the Greek school and the glimpses of the church's activities afforded by the above documents, the village of Agios Vissarios was the seat of a monastery. At one time, and for an unknown period, the monastery was supposed to have been situated further north-westwards from where the village stands today. It is thought that this first monastery was burnt down by the Turks. It was replaced by the new monastery of Prophet Elias whose founder was the monk Gabriel, born in Agios Vissarios around 1745 who also attended the school of Agios Vissarios.³⁰ The last known abbot of the monastery was Hilary from Crete, known locally as 'Papaloris'. It was he who finally divided up the monastic lands and flocks after 1821 and in 1845 he introduced the domestic chestnut to the village from Crete which after World War 2 became an important cash crop.³¹

A document written by the monk Gabriel was discovered on Mount Athos and establishes that Gabriel was indeed the founder of the new monastery of Agios Vissarios and that he was 'born of the Tsatsos kin-group' (actually, evidence suggests that one of his nieces married a Tsatsos and that he was not actually of the patronymic grouping himself). It is not certain, however, exactly when the monastery of Prophet Elias was built.³² The Mount Athos Code also mentions a tower where monk Gabriel is supposed to have stayed and written. The place-name remains but there is no other evidence of its existence today. What is of interest is that under monk Gabriel the monastery of Agios Vissarios was a thriving institution. It housed 20 monks and nuns and had extensive lands and flocks built up by Gabriel himself. It also became known as a centre for klephts and armatoloi and as a welcome refuge for those fleeing the Turks. Together with another monastery in the village of Vraha, only a few kilometres away, it provided a meeting place for the klephts of Agrafa and for those from other parts of Evritania.³³ Once again, the existence of the monastery and the conditions described at the time emphasize the degree of autonomy both the district and the church had from the control of the Ottoman state. The documents are also interesting for their insights into the village of Agios Vissarios during the latter part of the Ottoman period. Both the monastery (whose ruins can be seen today) and the existence of a school under the Turks are important features in the local history of the village still vividly discussed and 'remembered' today.

Such conditions made it possible to organize a separate kind of national existence and to bring into being institutions which eventually played an important role in the War of Independence. The 'fighting formations' - klephts and armatoloi - into which Greeks were organized in areas like Agrafa, were one aspect of such developments.

4.iv. 'Fighting Formations': the Organization of Klephts and Armatoles and Banditry in Evritania

It is thought that the armatoloi existed in some form during the Byzantine era, though this is disputed by some historians. Vacalopoulos (op.cit), for example, questions the available evidence and suggests that the armatoles first appeared in the district of Agrafa in the 15th century. As the Ottoman Turks encountered serious obstacles to conquest in this area, they probably attempted to surmount the problem, Vacalopoulos argues, by creating the institution.

The armatoles certainly came to flourish between the 15th and 18th centuries. In essence they were bodies of local christian irregulars whom the Ottoman Turks used for the suppression of banditry, for local security and for the guarding of bridges and passes. According to some³⁴ those in charge of guarding strategic routes were often called 'local notables' and they gradually became notorious for the dues they extracted from both the Greek and Turkish local populations. In this sense they became a form of banditry about whom the central authorities could do very little.

In the course of time, armatole districts (armatolikia) were organized regionally. These were headed by 'captains' who became increasingly powerful as local political leaders or as 'military' chiefs, often working closely with other local notables. Originally, the 'captains' were appointed by the Turks for a finite period but as they acquired greater autonomy, so their positions were maintained until 'captainship' became virtually hereditary. Similarly, captains began to appoint themselves or were chosen by armatole bands for their daring and prowess. Thus they developed gradually into a "peculiar form of military aristocracy", (Zachythinis 1976:74).³⁵

As the armatoles' submission to the Turkish authorities became increasingly irrelevant, violent disputes arose between the different captains and bands for hegemony over particular districts. The armatoles' increasing autonomy, and unreliability with regard to the Turks, made them of less and less use to the Ottoman state and they were finally officially disbanded in 1721. Needless to say, they continued to operate often becoming indistinguishable from klephts. In fact, both terms (armatole/klepht) are used together or interchangeably in the many folk songs today, and in the tales told about their exploits. Like the klephts, some of the armatoles also played a part during the War of Independence, mobilizing the rural population and organizing campaigns against the Turks. Representing the interests of the local (Greek) notables, however, they were generally against the struggles for Independence at first. The armatoles were again officially disbanded, this time by the Greek state, in 1829. Banditry did not however die out, especially in the mountain districts.

The klephts formed the other major local armed body of Greeks. They were made up of both bandits/brigands and various other fugitives from Ottoman authority. Their numbers increased as time went on and whole communities of these 'free fighting men' were eventually to be found in many mountain districts.

Towards the end of the 18th century, with the increasing deterioration of rural conditions - the gradual loss of rights over the cultivation of land combined with the loss of any state protection - banditry increased on a large scale. The Ottoman authorities systematically set out to eliminate bandits with the help of both local notables and armatole bands. The klephts were considered especially menacing to the authorities as they provided a united focus for a national, and not just localised, resistance against Ottoman rule.

By the early 19th century the klephts had been subdued in many areas but they emerged again before and during the War of Independence. Conflicts between the klephts, Greek notables and their mainly armatole 'military' chieftains were widespread and often very violent. As the national resistance of this period gathered strength, however, armatole bands grew increasingly autonomous and as the state began to disintegrate, the distinction between klephts and armatoles became increasingly blurred,

..... the formations of armatoles, technically policing (the mountains) for Turkish overlords, in practice doing so only when it suited them. Today's armatole captain might be tomorrow's klephtic chief, and the other way round. (Hobsbawm 1985:104)

After the War of Independence forms of rebellion to 'outside' rule were slowly undermined and banditry began to die out, though it persisted - especially in mountain districts - well into the 20th century. Certainly, in the mid 19th century banditry was still a main method of political intimidation (cp Cambell and Sherrard 1968:88).³⁶ Many folksongs, which are still sung, attest to the widespread existence of klephts and bandits (and armatoles) in Agrafa during the later part of Ottoman rule. There are place-names suggesting their hideouts (eg, paliolimeria, klephtolimeria) throughout Evritania and villagers still point to them proudly.

The songs, the place-names as well as the kin-group origin tales which are frequently 'remembered' and retold point to the existence of klephts and bandits in and around Agios Vissarios. In addition, the older

villagers today still talk in passing of the existence of robbers (listes) and bandits (simorites) in their own lifetimes. The mention of bandits in the following piece is typical. The woman was simply discussing her fields,

High on the mountains I had my fields but then there were also klephts and you didn't dare go far. There were bandit-klephts (simorito-klephtes) and they killed and robbed and lots more besides. We went up there and sowed the fields twice, once with wheat and once with barley. (AKAV. 1979 Nov FN)

The period referred to is the early part of the century. The informant was born in 1887 and is talking about her late adolescence before she married. Later references to bandits are frequently made by shepherds whose fathers grazed their sheep in the mountains above the village and by others who describe how they used to carry chestnuts and other produce (mainly dried pulses) through the mountain passes to sell or exchange in Karpenisi. Several villagers mentioned the existence of bandit gangs in the late 1930s and early 1940s.³⁷ There are a couple of stories about villagers being robbed by bandits as late as the mid 1950s but these are considered suspect by some people.

Although the term bandit (simoriti) is today often used derogatively when referring to the EAM-ELAS partisans, the existence and exploits of bandits in general are neither explicitly condemned nor defended by the villagers who remember them. Rather they appear as a 'fact' of past life.

This view is consistent with analyses of bandits and especially Hobsbawm's (1985) discussion of social bandits and their general importance in the world of the peasant.³⁸

Zachythinios (1976) portrays as remarkable the transformation of 'robber bands' into resistance bodies during the War of Independence. Hobsbawm's historical analysis of the haiduks, however, points up the frequency of such 'transformations' in history and explains the possible reasons for it.³⁹ The haiduks or "military strata springing from the free peasantry" (p.70), for Hobsbawm, come "closest to being a permanent and conscious focus of peasant insurrection" and "existed not only in south-eastern Europe, but under other names in various parts of the world" (p.71). Hobsbawm goes on to argue that "national liberation bandits" of this kind were especially common under conditions like those of 19th century Greece, "where the national liberation movement derived from traditional social organization or resistance to foreigners" though Hobsbawm argues, the "part they play in national liberation is another question" (p.104). The point about the klephts/armatoles is that they were in place as fighting formations to play a leading and decisive role in the struggle for independence.

The continued interest in klephts and/or bandits among the villagers of Agios Vissarios (apart from that stimulated by generally propagated ideas about the development of the nation and national identity) seems to be threefold. The klephts embody a two-sided aspect combining elements of the 'noble robber' with elements of the haiduks. The klephts, however, also encapsulate attributes of the much later EAM-ELAS partisans which, perhaps, cannot be referred to in any other way.⁴⁰ The klephts stand for the liberty and identity of the Greek peasant/subject against Ottoman authority and are a symbol of Greek independence. In another way, however, they stand for, and protect the life of the 'peasant' in general against the encroachments of any outside authority and of the state as a whole.⁴¹

The latter, 'noble robber' element is exemplified in a popular story told in Agios Vissarios where klephts clearly represent for most villagers a form of natural justice. The story tells of the slaughter of the K family flocks by bandits. The family is that of the local, rightwing MP. The members of the family are today professional, urban based, wealthy and powerful. In the eyes of the villagers they stand collectively, both in the past and in the present, above the village as its 'patron'. Typically, the members of this family are asked to stand as 'bestperson' or 'godparent' (i.e., Koumbaroi) to villagers who hope to secure certain privileges or assistance. At the same time the wealth of the family and its power is resented.

The story goes that the MP's grandfather (there is in fact some confusion as to whether it was his grandfather or father. A point not relevant to the story which seeks to explain present circumstances rather than just relate past events) discovered a hoard of treasure on his land belonging to a group of klephts. This it is said, is the original source of the family's wealth. The grandfather hoarded the treasure refusing to share it with anyone in the village (members of whom were digging with him when the treasure was found) or to return it to the klephts when they discovered its disappearance. The klephts took revenge by singling out the family's flock as it grazed with other flocks on the mountains and disposed of the flock by slitting the throat of each sheep. The epilogue to the story is that the village acquired its first telephone as a result,

..... the first telephone came to our village in 1906 to the family of the K's. They had trouble with the klephts who threatened their lives and their property, so given the situation, the police HQ's in Fourná agreed to wire up the

family house - which was then a shop - to the police station in Fourná. In this way, the first line came to (Agios Vissarios). (KDAS 1978 FN)

The story varies in detail with each informant. Some claim that a son of the family was taken hostage by the klephts (but the grandfather still refused to pay a ransom). What emerges in each version is the link between the wealth of the K family and subsequent threats to them by bandits who are seen as a kind of just retribution. 'A man must expect trouble when he has so much and doesn't give', 'Well, what would you do if you were a klepht', are typical remarks among those villages with no large wealth differences. Interestingly, the present members of the K family vehemently deny the specific story but do agree that a telephone was installed at the turn of the century because of the family shop and as a safeguard against possible thefts and bandits.

There are other aspects to banditry. Carlo Levi (1947) wrote that through brigandage, the peasants

defend themselves against the hostile civilisation that never understands them but everlastingly enslaves them ... the peasant world has neither government nor army; its wars are only the sporadic outbursts of revolt, doomed to repression ... (p.137)

Thus banditry becomes the means of defence available to the peasantry as a class.⁴² Hobsbawm, too, observes that the persistence of the bandit myth and the bandit as symbol, is connected to 'peasant attitudes' towards the encroachments of outside authority or the state. For Hobsbawm(1985),

..... bandits belong to remembered history, as

distinct from the official history of books. They are part of the history which is not so much a record of events and those shaped by them, as of the symbols of the theoretically controllable but actually uncontrolled factors which determine the world of the poor (p.133)

Thus, it may be argued, klephts/armatoles, brigands and later - though in a different way - resistance partisans, are condensed by the villagers of Agios Vissarios into a single symbol of self-defence and the preservation of peasant life, kept alive by the many songs and tales still told and retold. Bandits remain, however, an ambivalent symbol belying an uneasy relationship to outside authority. They are also robbers, they are violent and not trustworthy. The partisans were also condemned for being merely 'bandits'.

Interestingly, and in the context of Ottoman history, the name Agrafa retains similarly ambivalent connotations among the villagers today. It is still invoked as a source of pride to underline a sense of defiance to government, or a spirit of resistance to hostile forces. 'No-one sits on our heads for long up here!', people claim. At the same time, and as a direct result of the civil war which contributed to leaving the area undeveloped, the word Agrafa is used as a term of defeat, a way of stressing a sense of isolation from the modern, developing world. 'Ah! what do you expect in Agrafa? Here we are Agrafiotes, nothing more - people have passed us by!', others lament.

In summary, it can be said that the formation of fighting men into klephts and armatoles encouraged by the system of Ottoman rule, underlined the autonomy of such areas as Agrafa and played a significant part in the War of Independence. Partly as a result klephts have become a symbol of national defence. In Agrafa, however, the 'klepht' now includes - albeit in oblique and ambivalent form - references to the partisans of the Second World War whose praises after the civil war could not be sung directly. The klepht today, though, is part of local historiography in another sense. He not only symbolises national defence but a defensive attitude to outside authority in general. Finally, social memory imbues the klepht with a contemporary significance in which he becomes a status symbol important in certain social relations.

CHAPTER 4 : Footnotes

1. Cp. Anderson P 1974 "The peculiar dynamic of the Ottoman state lay in its unique combination of ghazi and Old Islamic principles" p.363ff - And, "the parallel columns of the state: the Ruling Institution and the Muslim Institution" p.366ff.

2. Later, these three elements also provided the essential bases for the struggles in the War of Independence of 1821. Cp. Mouzelis 1978, who shows how some of the basic features of modern Greece were delineated during the period of Ottoman rule.

4.i.

3. See Zachythinis 1976 p.38ff: eg the Ordinance of Sinan Pasha 1430, where chiefmen of Ioannina were confirmed in possession of their properties.

4. Ibid. p.38 There are examples of this in parts of the Peloponnese 1572.

5. ie As already mentioned in 4.i. of the chapter, the whole arable and pastoral territory of the Ottoman Empire was deemed the personal patrimony of the Sultan, not of individuals, who held no ultimate or hereditary rights over it. The major attribute of sovereignty was in fact the Sultan's unlimited right to exploit all sources of wealth within the realm as his own imperial possessions. There were, however, two major exceptions to this: mulk (house sites, vineyards, orchards within the village) was considered private property in the normal sense; and vakif religious endowments were also exempt from the patrimony of the Sultan. Overall, this conception of property meant that there was no security of private property which could found a stable, hereditary class (of nobility, for example) of landowners; and the juridical concept of ownership in land was suspended in this economic domain of the basic wealth of the society. It was unlawful that any other person apart from the Sultan should own land.

It is true, however, that the Vakif lands were the nearest juridical category to private agrarian property but they did not predominate or determine the basic relations of production and they also, could be appropriated. The situation concerning land and private property changed during the course of the 18th century with the development of the chiflik system. See Anderson P. (1974) pp.397-431.

The lack of the notion of private property in this sense also informed Marx's analysis of the 'Asiatic mode of Production' and the nature of Despotism.

6. See also Laiou-Thomadakis AE 1977 for a description of the peasantry in late Byzantium.

7. These included Greek freeholdings which had been 'donated' to avoid confiscation and/or taxes. See below on Monasteries. Chapter 8.ii.(b).

8. There are still several areas of vakoufika lands in and around the village of Agios Vissarios most of which now remain unused. A small proportion is rented out as grazing land or for cultivation to the local inhabitants. The rent, which is minimal, goes towards the upkeep of the local church.

9. Of course, Greeks also gained access to the military class through the child-levy, by which Greek children were sent to become Janissaries. In this case, however, they were forcibly converted to Islam. In addition, there were other Greeks who voluntarily converted to the faith and thus gained privileges extended to the Muslim population. Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, through a combination of forces, many Greeks acquired extremely powerful and privileged positions. cp Anderson & Zachythinis op.cit.

10. e.g. i) Syntrophikon - in which both parties divided the proceeds equally after deducting tax and cultivation expenses.

ii) Tritarikon - under which 3/10ths of the produce went to the landlord, 7/10ths to the cultivator who was also responsible for all taxes and expenses.

iii) Geonoron/Apokopi - whereby the tenant payed a fixed sum to the landlord and was liable for all taxes and expenses but otherwise enjoyed the whole income. Zachythinis op.cit. p.39

11. Cp The suppression of freeholdings in Epirus and Thessaly by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, whereby the inhabitants were forced to cede their properties to both officials and institutions. Ibid p.40. The alleged fate of the Karapiperis patronymic group.

12. For clear documentation of these events see, for example, Anderson P. op.cit and Mouzelis N. 1979. CP also Braudel, F. 1972 & Witteck, P. 1963.

13. See Laiou-Thomadakis AE 1977 for details and analysis.

14. Khrysanthopoulos F. 1899 pp.32-4.

15. See footnote 5 above.

4.ii.

16. Cp. Khrysanthopoulos op.cit.

"All the tumult and action took place for the benefit of the Turks and of their companions the kocabasis who were

obliged to apportion the (tax) burdens and other expenses and to collect them at the same time. These last acted as the servants of the appetites of the Turks, and this calling was the means of their exemption from burdens and taxation. They collected a hundred and gave only twenty-five cheating the Turks".

17. Cp. The Commune of Zagori, which formed a federation of 46 villages and operated from the 17th century up to 1868. Zachythinios op.cit. p.60

18. Ambroise Firmin Didot Writing about the Island of Chios 1826, in "Notes d'un Voyage fait dans le levant 1816 et 1817" Paris 1826 pp.136-7.

19. Ibid.

4.iii.

20. WM Leake 1835 "Travels in Northern Greece" London. P.272.

21. See chapter 2 for description of changing administrative boundaries of Evritania and the recognition of Agios Vissarios as a village.

22. See Vasiliou 1956, 1960(b), 1964(d), 1971 and in conversation during 1978/9. Some of his evidence was disputed by Thomas Karapiperis in conversation July 1979 (the oldest member of one of the leading families of the village of Agios Vissarios and, indeed, the oldest member of the village in 1978, who is thought to be an authority on the history of the village. He was MP for the province before the war). Also see Vacalopoulos op.cit:159ff. Agrafa was supposed to be seat of brigandage even during the Byzantine era, though he himself disputes this.

23. Vasiliou 1964. The treaty was made between the Bey Leberis of Thessaly and the people of Agrafa during the rule of Sultan Suleyman 1 (1520-1566).

24. Of course, the peasants/raya were not necessarily exempted from dues and taxes which were exorted from them by local Greek leaders and officials. Cp Vacoulopoulos op.cit:153 who stresses that it was the local nobility who were permitted to retain their property by agreeing to cooperate with the Turks.

25. Vasiliou 1971:49 - Cites from sources discovered in Karpenisi.

26. Vasiliou 1957, 1978(a) & (b):iii and the Code of Iatrides quoted therein.

27. Vasiliou 1981 (c) and the Metropolitan Code of Larissa quoted by Vasiliou.

28. i.e. Dositheos, Panayiotis of Sophaditos who served as bishop from 1793 to 1842. Vasiliou ibid.

29. The existence of part of an old paved footpath from the village of Agios Vissarios towards Karpenisi, apparently built by the Greek inhabitants by order of Turkish officials, also suggests that communications were important at the time for Trade as well as for military purposes.

30. Vasiliou 1981 (c) - Monk Gabriel died after 1825 as in that year he signed a bill of sale in Agios Vissarios but he was succeeded in the monastery in 1824. pp.12-13.

31. Vasiliou 1930, 1962-63 and in conversation with Thomas Karapiperis 1979 July.

32. Vasiliou 1930, 1963, 1977 discovered the Mount Athos document relating to Agios Vissarios. The date of construction, however, is hotly disputed between Vasiliou and Karapiperis.

33. Vasiliou 1956, 1960A, 1966A, 1977. Karaskakis, a famous klepht and leader in the War of Independence was also supposed to be a regular visitor to the monastery.

4.iv.

34. Zachythinis op.cit:70 ff

35. See also Dakin 1973:18 for another variation of armatoles who emerged in the Pelopponese, the kapi. Instead of being employed by the Turks they were employed by rich Greek landowners to protect their property and interests and "carry out feuds". Also cp Campbell and Sherrard 1968:59.

36. Cp the Dilessi murders.

37. Their existence is confirmed by Beikos 1979, Sarafis 1980 and my own informants (DIOUL 1977 FN).

38. Also cp Blok A 1972, 1974, 1976.

39. Blok 1974 who gives very different reasons for the emergence of violent armed bands.

40. I discuss this aspect in Chapter 5.iii.

41. Cp Campbell and Sherrard op.cit for ideals of manhood, courage and honour that the klepht also stood for.

42. A point disputed by O'Malley P. 1976:489-99 and to some extent by Blok's analysis of the mafia in Sicily.

CHAPTER 5 THE PAST AS A SET OF CONDITIONS

5.i. The Case for Self-Government - Comparative Remarks

The self-government of the Ottoman era was helped in its development by the very structure of the state and in particular by its landholding and local administrative systems. These had important effects on the rural population and implications for the future development of the new Greek nation.¹

Anderson (1974) has argued that the material improvements of the peasantry in the early stages of Ottoman rule were accompanied by intellectual and cultural decline, "because (Ottoman rule) interrupted any indigenous social developments towards a more advanced feudal order ..." (p.373) and "the cultural articulation of the life of the subject population became largely a monopoly of the Orthodox clergy" (p.374), who were not only servile to the Turks but ignorant and superstitious. In the Greek territories at least, this does not convey the whole of the picture. The structure of the Ottoman system allowed for the development of forms of local government. This in turn allowed for other important rural developments. Although the Orthodox clergy may have been servile in some respects they were mainly so as best served their interests. Under Ottoman rule the Church as a whole acquired enormous secular and religious authority over the Empire's Christians, and gained many privileges, factors incompatible with total servility (Cp. Runciman 1968:165ff). As suggested in the case of Agios Vissarios the clergy gained considerable local autonomy and far from being only 'ignorant' and 'superstitious' encouraged education among the Greek population and were largely responsible for maintaining some idea of Greek national consciousness throughout the

period. This was a crucial factor in the War of Independence and in the creation of the Greek nation-state. The idea of the 'cultural monopoly' of the Church also ignores other secular traditions evident in the period. Rich oral and folk traditions were almost certainly developed and maintained during the period.²

Within the context of what was both structurally and legally assisted and made possible by the nature of the state, the self-government of the Ottoman period helped to improve certain rural conditions. At least, improvements for the rural population were possible at first before a regional elite had emerged. The situation changed once central government weakened and various 'notables' appeared to exploit the rural inhabitants anew in different ways and as the limited peasant rights were gradually eroded. At the same time, however, other developments occurred which affected the lives of the local villagers. Some historians³ see the very evolution of the autonomous Greek commune (ie community) under Ottoman rule as a direct result of the weakening of central government. And the commune undoubtedly influenced even the labouring agriculturalist in certain ways. These historians argue that the commune was of Byzantine origin and the result of a struggle against large landowners. Characteristic of the commune was the fact that it did not arise from formal legislative action but was a spontaneous development, continually adapted to new needs. In other words, there was no prototype for the institution of the self-governing community that persisted during the Ottoman era but a more general form that could be used under very different conditions. The Ottoman practice of using already existing 'liberties' for the collection and allocation of taxes, to take one example, strengthened the development of such self-governing institutions.

This type of regional self-government had a variety of effects. As in the case of Agrafa it involved the development of local industry, agriculture and of educational facilities. In other places forms of welfare - providing for the sick, elderly and penniless - were developed. The self-governing system, however, also created the elementary preconditions for political life on the village level. It helped "promote the growth of political awareness and afforded practice in the art of politics" (Zachythinis 1976:68-69) by allowing a forum for political discussion, certain decision-making processes and the growth of local power bases to take place. If this did not take place with the direct participation or consent of the bulk of the rural population, at least it occurred within their view. In this way local government afforded some political experience which could be used, at least by local leaders, during and after the War of Independence.⁴

Interestingly, a similar point has been made about the self-government of the occupation period. Papagarifallou (1977C) writes that the self-government of the 1940s acquired a "multidimensional socio-political role" and that the written codes for self-government were not just codes for action but helped to bring about political awareness in - to politicise - the local inhabitants by involving them in new and different ways in the changing administrative and power structures that the codes proposed and reflected. Of importance here, Papagarifallou claims, were the explicit political and civil responsibilities with which the organs of administration were endowed at every level of self-government.⁵

The practitioners of the occupation self-government explicitly evoked the local institutions of at least 200 years earlier and made comparisons with their own forms of self-government. There exists,

therefore, a conceptual continuity between the institutions of both periods in the minds of many people today. This continuity (untenable in structural or historical terms) is further underlined by the use of the Ottoman period in the village to discuss both aspects of a more recent past and elements of contemporary social life. I shall discuss this further in 5.iii below.

Is it possible to identify general conditions in which self-governing structures are more likely to develop? And are the effects of the institutions in each period comparable in any way?

Cristidis (1978), for one, has drawn attention to the 'climate of resistance' at the end of Ottoman rule and again during the German occupation. He describes both as periods when a common enemy was defined and proved a rallying point for unity; a time when any form of 'external interference' in the guise of the state or other forms of centralised authority had become - for different reasons - especially unacceptable; and he describes both as periods which had the effect of strengthening already established or 'dormant' forms of local self-government. In other words, according to Cristidis, during both periods certain areas showed a capacity for a particular type of self-organization; and similar arbitration and conciliation methods were used relying, to lesser and greater extents, on popular consent and notions of natural law.⁶ In both cases, Cristidis argues, the application of popular law played a major role in the acceptance of the institutions among the 'ordinary people'. On a more specific level parallels have been drawn between the village assemblies of the 1940s⁷ and the so-called outdoor assemblies held during the War of Independence. Comparisons have also been made between the local councils of elders or the men of power who took initiatives in local matters (Demoyerontes/Protoi tou Horiou/Protoyeroi), the

'Goodmen' and the local Headmen authorised by the Ottoman authorities but elected by citizens,⁸ and the elected councillors and peoples' magistrates of the later wartime institutions. In both cases emphasis was placed on the qualities of the local leaders. They were to be 'the oldest', 'wisest', 'the most conscientious' members of the community.⁹ The importance of local arbitration and conciliation is also of paramount importance in both periods.¹⁰

In the 1940s codes for self-government the village is taken to be the main unit for popular rule both administratively and judicially just as the Ottoman commune was considered a main unit of administration and a legal entity - independent of the administration of the ruling power but tolerated by it. The duties of the communal officers under Ottoman rule are held to have been similar to those specified for the 'officers' in the 1940s codes. The management of local affairs, the collection and sub-allocation of local taxes and the management of education and health services are included for both periods.¹¹

An in-depth comparison of the self-governing institutions of each period cannot, however, be pushed too far. To begin with - and as noted for the Kocabasis - the community leaders of the Ottoman period were predominantly the wealthy, local elite, as concerned with pursuing their personal interests and exploiting the local inhabitants as Turkish officials of the Ottoman state might have been. Voting by the subject class was strictly limited and controlled by community leaders, as was local arbitration by the Ottoman state. At the same time Greek bishops and the orthodox Church in general were given judicial powers by the Ottoman state (they included the regulation of marriage, divorce, dowry and inheritance) though these often conflicted with the decisions of the communal

courts themselves (Dakin 1973:79ff). The judicial power of the communal officers was thus controlled though the officers gained increasing authority as Ottoman central power was eroded. By comparison the first popular codes of the 1940s gave complete judicial authority to local elected magistrates - even 'abolishing' the old legal system - but, ironically, the magistrates' powers were gradually undercut as the self-governing institutions developed and the problem of how to deal with a national and centralised legal system became a more pressing issue.¹²

The importance of making a comparison between the self-governing institutions of either period seems to lie in the way in which this past is represented today. Certain inferences, however, can be drawn about the nature of the relationship between centralised authority and such regional developments.

5.ii. Centralised Authority and Village
Conditions in Agrafa during the Occupation

The self-government of the early 1940s resulted, in part, from a particular relationship between the local villages and central authority. A situation engendered by the German occupation and the consequent collapse of the state machinery.

During the first year of occupation the formal presence of the state continued to exist in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon. The police were at their stations in both Agios Vissarios and Fournas; the magistrates' courts that served the area, the agronomist office, forestry department and tax officials - all stationed in Fournas and Karpenisi - were still in their places. Their powers, however, even at this stage, were being daily circumscribed and the position of the officials was being increasingly threatened in the absence of positive support from a central governmental body.

With the voluntary exile of the official Greek government and the deflation of the Greek drachma,¹³ the salaries of such civil servants were no longer guaranteed. As the paralysis of the state extended, more and more problems arose. These had to be confronted both urgently and locally if the survival of the villages was to be ensured.

For a variety of reasons¹⁴ the majority of the local inhabitants had grown increasingly hostile to the presence of the state in their villages. This hostility had developed into a widespread distrust and lack of regard for the functioning of the state, which through the years had periodically expressed itself in small acts of resistance, or as during the Metaxas Dictatorship in particular, larger and more organized acts.¹⁵ Throughout the period however the state had also grown increasingly strong and proved at different times both actively and passively resistant. The situation faced by the villagers of Ktimenion and Dolopon in 1941, however, was a new one (cp Beikos 1979 Vol.1:158). There was nothing in these areas to replace the state machinery which was running down. There was no official Greek government, the quisling government was ineffective and totally subservient to the Germans and the Germans were not able to occupy the mountain districts of Agrafa.

In the event, the most pressing problem was that of food supplies. The winter of 1941 had been exceptionally severe and had led to the widescale destruction of crops. This combined, among other things, with supplies being appropriated by the occupying Germans led to a state of famine which was especially critical in the urban centres.¹⁶ The famine increased pressure on the rural areas as many people returned to the villages in the hope of finding things more tolerable there. Simultaneously the ATE stores ceased to supply the necessary and subsidised flour and animal feed.

The critical question became how to organize the production, supply and distribution of produce and food supplies.

With the collapse of the state, security also deteriorated. The local police force was rendered ineffective and bands of robbers reappeared in the mountains. Animal theft and robberies increased and grew to epidemic proportions.¹⁷ The only option even for state officials was to rely on their own resources.¹⁸ Fieldguards and forestry officials were also rendered powerless, unable to impose their authority without state backing. Old feuds and inter-family hostilities arose or reappeared. The magistrates' courts had lost their authority and ceased to function. Most of the legal representatives had anyway already abandoned their posts. The only state institution which continued to function during this period was the school but in some cases this caused its own problems and led to the creation of other conflicts which had previously been contained. Firstly, there was a crisis of confidence. Despite a firmly expressed desire to educate children, there was and remains in these villages, a suspicion and distrust of teachers as they tend to be from other villages, 'foreigners' to the community.¹⁹ This suspicion was exaggerated in the 1940s (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:Chp.4:204). Secondly, a very high proportion of teachers in Evritania joined EAM and their more progressive views became, at first, an added source of potential mistrust.

The institutions of self-government of the early 1940s emerged as part of a struggle against specific conditions, developed to meet certain immediate needs. These were not, however, just the conditions of occupation and its consequences for the functioning of the state. They also reflected more general local economic and political conditions. For at least a decade a movement towards the creation of self-governing structures on the village level had been gathering force

in Evritania. The conditions of the time included the following: the lack of arable land, the lack of sufficient grain supplies and of an assured minimum price for local produce or for secured markets; the lack of any systematic exploitation of local resources (eg forests, water, local industries like weaving etc); the lack of adequate government assistance in terms of loans, insurance schemes and other aid programmes combined with the refusal of the Metaxas government to replace income lost from the banning of goats; bad or non-existent communications (no roads, transport, electricity or telephones) and the complete dearth of medical facilities. All these factors combined to produce a growing sense of frustration aimed primarily against the state.

The 1940s institutions of self-government then, were part of a general move towards the improvement of local conditions and for the establishment of various rights. The right, for example, to participate more actively in decisions affecting the area and in the daily lives of the villagers; or the right to be better represented both in politics and law. As in the case of Ottoman forms of local government, the movement grew as centralised authority weakened. It also grew, not as a result of formal legislation but in its absence. In both cases, it was only after the institutions appeared that attempts were made to formalise and systematise their features into written codes.

5.iii. History as Memory in Agios Vissarios

The villagers of Agios Vissarios constantly discuss and comment on what can be taken to be a generalised Ottoman age. The civil war forms the other main historical period selected for discussion. The way in which the Ottoman past is talked about suggests that it is part of a continuous present that was personally witnessed.

It is common for villagers to describe in detail the actual appearance of Ottoman Turks as "they strolled round the village", what exactly they wore and how they behaved. One informant even 'recalled' a "Turkish woman sitting on a swing" under the plane tree that stands today in the village square, "her eyes looking out from under her veil, the most beautiful woman in the world!".²⁰ These statements are quite acceptable to the rest of the village who would never question their validity unless they wished to challenge an informant's authority in general. Documentary information that remains about the villages of Agrafa during Ottoman rule is scanty. What exists combines with this continued local interest in the period to create a picture of contemporary significance. Some of the events of the Ottoman period commonly referred to do have a basis in fact, some have clearly been passed down the generations illustrating either the history of a particular patronym or of the village in general. Others may have been read about or learnt at school. The point here is how this past has been remembered and continues to be interpreted by the villagers.

The Turkish place-names in and around Agios Vissarios suggest to the local inhabitants that the better lands - apart from those owned by the Church - were held by the Turkish families who settled in the area. They are to be found in the more level areas, nearer to the village and are better irrigated by springs and streams. Vasiliou²¹ suggests that the poorer raya families were forced to open new lands further afield or to terrace the adjoining slopes, clearing them of their many stones. He claims the Greeks were also made to cultivate more wheat and maize for which the terrain was not ideally suited, which required more labour and from which returns were low. With the relative autonomy gained through the granting of privileges, however, which left Greek armatoles/klephts, various bishops and a variety of local notables in charge at different times,²²

the dues the Greeks of Agrafa had to pay were more limited than in other parts of Greece and certain Greeks were able to acquire considerable control over the local population and local markets.²³ In short, there is a general concensus among villagers today that a certain symbiosis existed between the Turkish and Greek families in Agios Vissarios, at least among the 'leading families'. The symbiosis is expressed in statements such as the following where the picture drawn is one of a natural, ordered state of affairs, albeit one with clear distinctions,

There was some Turkish stronghold here in the village, they had their seat here, and the Greeks had their houses below the car-road that's here now, and the Turks from the car-road upwards ... (MARIN 1979 FN).

There is no evidence that such a division existed in the village but it is considered common knowledge and subscribed to by most villagers. Some informants talk about the division in order to emphasise a subservience to the Turks, "they had the Greeks below them as inferiors" (MARIN 1979 FN).

One of the most interesting features about the references to the Ottoman past is the apparent reflection of contemporary social relations. There is, for example, a correspondence between the way in which events are recalled and an informant's claim to wealth, power or a certain social position either in the past or in the village today. In other words there appears to be a relationship between the alleged biography of an informant and the way in which he/she might discuss the period.

One villager described his 'experience' of Ottoman rule,

... they made us Greeks build roads as a chore, roads to communicate with other villages and Karditsa even, you can still see one up by X if you go and look. They would collect the Greeks and they worked for them (ie Turks) and made roads and cultivated their fields. If they (Greeks) had a good horse then the Turks would take it. If they had a good woman, the Turks took her, if they had a good girl, they used her, they took her! From fear of the Turks here (the villagers) went up to the mountains to a secret place where there were lots of pine trees, much forest and a lot of wood, and they went and built temporary houses which they covered with planks hewn with axes - old type axes, not machine made - and from these places they would come down here to the village, secretly to its edges, and they collected cherries and took them back for the young to eat - a bad life of course, a bad life, only a little bread. (MARIN 1979 FN).

Or again, the same informant discusses other conditions during Ottoman rule,

... It was difficult, they had to go secretly to school here at night so the Turks wouldn't guess ... they (ie Greeks) suffered a lot. They had to go barefoot, they didn't even have clogs (tsarouchia) on their feet ... they didn't have copybooks or books to read but they had stone slates and chalk and when sometimes (the slates) fell from their hands and broke there was no money to buy another. (MARIN 1979 FN).

As I have already pointed out,²⁴ Agios Vissarios with its flourishing Greek school and monastery is not suggestive of great servility to Turkish masters. The existence of both the school and monastery underline the degree of autonomy the area and the Church had at the time and contradict any idea of a 'secret night school'. None of the documentation found for the village suggests any degree of hardship or subjugation to Turkish overlords as the informant describes. In fact, in all the Church documents relating to Agios Vissarios there is no mention of Ottoman Turks, injustices or enforced secrecy. There are only references to 'leading notables' who could have been either Turkish or Greek. Agios Vissarios is singled out in the documents as being superior in its landholdings, cultivated areas, expanse of surrounding forests, number of springheads and the "general prosperity of its inhabitants".²⁵

The above informant's view of the Ottoman village can be contrasted to the following view,

..... the Turks didn't reach many mountain villages but they reached (Agios Vissarios). My family was the third to settle here the Bey took my great grandfather out on the balcony, pointed to the mountains and said he could have any mountain he wanted because he was a good man, but my grandfather refused, "why should I become rich and not others?". He was a good, patriotic man, but he could have been very rich. The Bey also took him to the City (ie Istanbul) where he offered (my grandfather) a whole row of shops, but he didn't like it there so he came back. The Bey said there would never be a Greek village here but there was! (KATS 1979 FN).

There is no mention of hardship here and the relationship implied between Greek and Turk is in marked contrast to the first informants.

How do these views of an Ottoman past relate to the present? A few biographical points can be made about each of the above informants. The first informant is less well-off than the average villager today. His paternal grandfather married into the village as isogrambros (in groom) in the early 19th century. Two of his paternal uncles migrated and his own father died young leaving the informant in charge of five sisters. The few family landholdings, acquired through marriage as dowry, were mostly lost as a result of both misfortune and mismanagement. The informant had no landholdings of his own and his wife's few landholdings yielded a bare subsistence of a few vegetables and some chestnuts. Both he and his wife had depended on seasonal work outside the village since they married in the 1950s. As a young man responsible for marrying off his five sisters the informant had sought work in other parts of Greece for long periods. He had worked, mainly, as a road-builder and together with other men and women from Evritania he had also been required to work on a government road-building scheme after the war, connecting Karpenisi to various villages and towns. All his six children have left the village.

In contrast, the second informant is considered one of the best-off in the village and he considers himself an important and powerful figure in the community on a par with the local MP of the province (also born in Agios Vissarios). The informant was one of the longest serving, elected presidents of the village enjoying good relations with a number of officials, bureaucrats and merchants operating in the province. He is considered influential by most of his co-villagers and secured while in office a number of government loans,

grants, pensions and foreign work permits for himself and selected others. During the local elections of 1978 many of his supporters echoed his own words about his grandfather by saying the informant "could have been very rich with his connections" but that he was "a good, patriotic man" and remained "a true villager". Most of his paternal grandfather's generation of brothers and first cousins had emigrated to Istanbul and his own three brothers to America leaving him, in effect, sole manager of the family's landholdings.²⁶ This informant's 'memory' of the Ottoman Turks accords more with his present situation and position in the village while the previous informant's view reflects his more impoverished circumstances.

The emphasis on an Ottoman past prevailing in the village today also suggests a general belief about when and how the village was first settled. It is, thus, something of an origin myth. There is no firm evidence confirming when Agios Vissarios was founded as such but the place was almost certainly settled continuously since Hellenic times.²⁷ All the present patronymic kin groups, however, trace their origins to the late Ottoman period and early 19th century, the implication being the village began with them. As we have seen, many insist on direct kinship with famous freedom fighters or klephts of the War of Independence, and others to renowned brigands who operated in the area 'free of the yoke of Turk and state'. There is no concensus about how many Turks lived in Agios Vissarios or when they came. The most commonly held belief is that all the present landholdings were Turkish and they were subsequently divided among the Greeks after 1821. This is contradicted by documentary evidence, reports on the general situation in Agrafa and the fact that Agios Vissarios was a kephalohori (ie a village of mainly Greek freeholders). Several informants hold to the view that there were only six Greek families in Agios Vissarios before the Turks settled - theirs being one of the six.

Only the 'village Communist' insists the Turks never reached the village at all. What is significant is that each informant represents this past differently. The relationship between Turks and Greeks is variously presented as one of greater or less servility according to present circumstances.

I referred in the previous chapter to the fact that the Ottoman period is celebrated as a time of klephts and brigands, of national resistance, of patriotism and heroic deeds. Side by side with the views of subjugation to the Turks, it is a period which is also viewed in the more celebrated terms and as a time when considerable regional autonomy existed and 'government didn't sit on our heads', or 'no-one could reach us up here in Agrafa'. The local forms of government, elected councils of elders and the fact that 'people took their own decisions' are also frequently referred to when discussing the period. The outdoor assemblies of the 1821 war are still referred to as if the present-day inhabitants were participating. The exploits of the klephts are recited by many as though they were witnessed. Klephts are identified with later bandits and kinship to certain klephts is asserted. Some of the older folksongs have incorporated the later events of the 1940s resistance. Klephts and partisans (antartes) may feature together as do Ottoman Turks and German fascists. Similarly there is frequent reference to the fact that the old klepht hideouts were used again by the resistance fighters.

This brings me to another reason why the Ottoman period should be singled out by the memory of the local inhabitants. It appears to provide a means of talking about some aspects of the early 1940s. It may be that one historical story has come to stand in for another which for a variety of reasons²⁸ cannot be spoken of in any other way.

The use of language in talking about the past and 'nowadays' (which are normally presented together) reveals a particular verbal style which indicates just how the past is conceptualised in relation to the present. Two points can be made about this. The one underlines the use of common images to describe very different periods or events suggesting that there is some kind of culturally constituted format for certain kinds of thinking. Several informants, for example, described their early schooling during the first two decades of the 20th century in terms almost identical to those used to describe the 'secret Greek school' under the Ottoman Turks. The images of stone slates and the lack of books are as frequent as are references to going barefoot or wearing tsarouchia (clogs) fashioned from pigskin (or later, old rubber tyres). Most children growing up in the 1950s were still barefoot as attested to by photographs of the period.²⁹

In addition, the practice, for example, of stealing "a good horse" or "a good woman" (see back to quote by MARIN 1979 FN) are charges frequently levelled at the Germans and later at both partisans and the National Army, in identical phrases. More interestingly, the first informant's description of hiding in the pine forests and coming down "secretly to collect cherries for the young" was repeated to me, almost word for word, by a much younger informant as a description of his life in the village during the early stages of civil war,

..... I was a little thing then, a child. In the day it wasn't safe in the village any more. So some families went up to the mountains to secret places where there were lots of pine trees and there they made temporary houses, wood hewn with axes. And from those places we would come down here to the village, secretly to its edges, and collect the cherries and take them back to eat (PANV 1979 FN).

The second point has to do with the vague terms used to describe historical time. 'Then', 'after', 'before', 'not like now' emphasise the point as does the common use of 'they' instead of spelling out exactly who is meant. The use of 'they' or of andartes (partisans) is most remarkable in references to the civil war where the terms may refer to anyone involved in the conflict. Thus, for example, one woman described her experiences of the civil war,

It was July when we left. Our men were already in Karpenisi and had arranged with the nomarch, who knows with whom else, to come and take us from our villages. And we went together women and children from place to place hiding from them..... I took the two girls and two goats that's all. Not that we ate anything of the goats because they took our food from us in Karpenisi and whatever else they could find in the shops. (GrEL 1978 FN).

Repeated questioning revealed that "our men" were the national army; "hiding from them" meant hiding from different extreme rightwing bands as well as partisans of the Left; that "they" who took the goats were actually Red Cross officials helping to settle the evacuees and the "they" taking from shops, hearsay about partisans and members of the National Army. This terminology accords with the postwar ideology, as the overall effect is to lay the blame for everything that occurred in Agios Vissarios on the partisans of EAM-ELAS. For almost a year I went along with this assuming that the village and surrounding communities had been the victims of only EAM-ELAS reprisals and aggression; that it was the Democratic Army which had forced people from their homes and that the Democratic Army was responsible for most of the burning and looting.

One day I chanced to ask an old woman who was describing how the 'andartes' had ransacked her trousseau to describe 'them' in more detail. It turned out that 'they' were soldiers of the National Army. After that I questioned villagers more carefully on who was meant by 'them' or andartes. The results, as exemplified in the above quotation, were startling. This forced me to reconsider everything I had been told. Sometimes clarification was not possible as the informants themselves were no longer certain who was meant. They were repeating hearsay or use of the official terminology had finally obscured the real identity of 'them'.

The same is true of the terminology applied to the civil war itself. It soon became clear, for example, that only those who did or do sympathise with the Left, or with the resistance of EAM-ELAS called the civil war emfilios polemos (lit. inter-tribal war), the standard dictionary use of the term. The Right - and mostly those who hold key positions in the village - referred to it as the simorito-polemos (bandit war) or the war of the 'Russo-Bulgarians' or of 'a handful of foreigners'. Many, especially the women, call it the andartiko ('the time of the partisans'). The use of these terms might reveal to another Greek the political affiliations of the speaker but they are not so clear to an outsider. Indeed, to those who share this history the terms are not necessarily vague - albeit at times ambiguous. It was generally the case that the use of 'then' indicated precisely the civil war, whereas 'before' usually referred to any period prior to the civil war.

One effect of employing these vaguer terms, of course, is that they tend to minimise the implied antagonisms involved in discussing the period at all, as well as putting some distance between 'them' and the villager's own responsibilities³⁰ and fitting into a whole spectrum of convictions about which was the 'correct' side. To an outsider the use of 'they' or the generic andartes is not only misleading but gives the impression of a united

front (heavily weighted against the Left in this case) whatever the personal beliefs of the informant. These terms have now become part of a political language whose significance once lay in supporting the prevalent postwar 'national attitude'. To challenge it meant finding other means of expression. One of these was, it seems, to use the Ottoman past to discuss aspects of the occupation/resistance period.

More significantly, to most villagers the distinction between a remote period during the Ottoman era, a time when the Greek nation-state was emerging during the 19th century, or life in the 1930s is unimportant in this context. They are seen as part of a continuous period - before - when the order of things was known. The civil war - then - put an abrupt end to this sense of continuity and what is thought of as traditional village life.

In summary, the Ottoman period seems to provide a vehicle for a continued, often critical, commentary on contemporary village life and what is accepted, by and large, as the norm. Through the Ottoman past are expressed (changing) local inequalities of wealth and/or of power.³¹ Other types of relationship are also expressed in this way: those of conflict with or of acceptance of a broader field of power or the state. At the same time, an Ottoman past affords a way of talking about a personal history - of poverty, of hardship, even of wartime experiences - which in this form is less open to challenge or criticism. The Ottoman period takes on the guise of an origin myth. It suggests the origins of the village when the 'first' families settled, but it also suggests the origins of inequalities in wealth and power. At one point, Ottoman history links up with a national culture of patriotism and ideas about a united Greek nation. The idea of 'national consciousness' is particularly important if one considers that there was no nation-state of Greece before the mid 19th century, no

political, geographical or cultural unity and no unified historical tradition to encompass 'Greeks'.³²

At the same time, Ottoman history provides a type of discourse about a less officially acceptable past. It may be, that the Ottoman past is a way of talking about the 'forbidden' topic of self-government during the occupation period. In contrast, as I shall discuss in chapter 9, the civil war expresses very real and threatened disorder as well as the discontinuities of the past with the present. The civil war also represents another set of social relationships. For instance, many current agrarian disputes are couched in terms of the civil war when it emerges they involve contemporary issues. Disagreements among kin also tend to be attributed to the civil war when more recent causes are at stake.

The past in Agios Vissarios then is remembered as, or sets up, a conceptual dichotomy. My argument is that this is crucial in two fundamental ways. It is within the opposition created by the memory of an Ottoman past and that of the civil war, that the village today forges an enduring identity. A village identity which is able to encompass all the conflicts, contradictions, continuities and discontinuities of that particular history, defining above all the village's changing position within a wider context: its relationship with the state. The dichotomy also serves to map out ongoing social relationships within the village. These are social relations which have been partly forged by the experience of a particular past but it is an experience which is also used for purely contemporary reasons to state claims, to talk about and define different kinds of relationships within the village today.

Chapter 5 - Footnotes

5.i.

1. Cp Tsoucalas 1969, Vergopoulos 1975B, Zachythinis 1976, Mouzelis 1978
2. Cp Fauriel 1824, Politis 1904
3. Vacalopoulos 1970, Zachythinis op.cit.
4. Though, it is true, this did not necessarily benefit the development of the new nation-state, relying as it did on factionalism, regional hegemony, personality cults and patronage.
5. See for example, Poseidon art. 1 which emphasises the seriousness of refusing to assume office which has been bestowed 'by the wishes of the people'. Decision No. 6 art. 15 which underlines that the abuse of authority and the violation of duty are serious criminal offences to be dealt with by the ELAS martial courts. Sterea art. 72 which also stresses the civil and penal responsibilities of office. The same goes for Provisions arts 34, 138 and PEEA 55 art. 49. See Appendix 4.
6. Cp Zachythinis op. cit. who writes that "Documents of 1828 and 1832 bear witness to an attempt to codify local custom and to the existence of an Ordinance regulating dowries." p.60
7. Cp Kastrinos 1963:141-2 for a description of a village gathering in the 1940s.
8. See Zachythinis op. cit. Such Headmen existed in Ioannina as early as 1319. They had the right to try certain civil offences.
9. The 1940s codes Decision No. 6, the Provisions and PEEA 55 all make such specifications.
10. Cp Poseidon art. 1 and Provisions art. 56.
11. Cp Poseidon art. 1, Sterea art. 13, Provisions art. 6, PEEA 55 arts. 22, 36, 39 for taxes on the municipal level. All the codes deal with the formation of committees to deal with welfare and education services.
12. See Chapters 6 & 7 below

5.ii.

13. The functioning of the Greek economy was of no concern to the Germans. All the country's resources were taken over and special occupation banknotes issued freely and without limit by all military units. International trade was completely halted. These factors contributed to the explosion of the monetary system and to the famine of 1941. See Tsoucalas 1969:58.

14. These include the increasing centralisation of the state over the previous 30 years, the fear of repression from the more recent Metaxas government, financial indebtedness and a general suspicion of events occurring beyond the confines of the village.

15. Cp the activities of the villagers in Ktimenion and Dolopon. See Chapter 6.ii.

16. Combined with Greece's economic situation, the urban population was confronted by food shortages soon after the occupation. Almost 300.000 died during the winter of 1941-2. See Demetriades (1946) for some harrowing sketches of the time in Athens.

17. Cp Beikos 1979 Vol.1:164 and corroborated by my own informants (DIOUL 1978 FN).

18. In the summer of 1941 the police at Fourni approached the president of the community with empty sacks demanding flour, dried beans or anything else. (cp Beikos ibid).

19. This is truer today where teachers are almost invariably from other parts of Greece. Before the war more teachers worked closer to home or in their own villages.

5.iii.

20. See Gould 1989, who cites this in his analysis of Herodotus, as an example of the 'unreliability' of even 'eyewitness' accounts but to make the point that "what is remembered is what has significance in the world of the living and relates to the general experience of the community.....such memories are accepted in the community as embodying the meaning of the past" (p37)

21. Vasiliou 1979/80 in conversation and 1962A.

22. See Chapter 4.iii.

23. The armatoles were often the worst offenders in 'tax' terms demanding from the local population not only transit fees for the passes they controlled, but the payment of protection money. Cp Vacalopoulos 1970.

24. See Chapter 4.iii.

25. Vasiliou 1963, 1965B
Of course the lack of reference to any hardship probably says more about the documentors. Where dues were extracted from the subject population hardship undoubtedly existed. The notions of suffering under an Ottoman yoke were also officially encouraged as Greece began to fight for independence and have been kept alive at different periods for different political reasons.
26. In fact, the eldest brother returned to the village after retirement in 1979 and a number of difficulties arose about the ownership of the family lands. Another brother returned in the mid 1980s increasing the difficulties.
27. Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War.
28. I discuss these in more detail in Chapter 1 and Chapter 9
29. See Vasiliou 1971:55.
30. Cp Loizos 1981
31. This is particularly exemplified among the villagers in an almost obsessive concern with 'discovering treasure'. There is a widespread belief that the klephts and other, later brigands, buried treasure in these mountain areas. Exceptional prosperity or the rapid advancement of a career (of migrants from the village) is frequently said to be due to the 'family's discovery of hidden treasure', or to the fact that an ancestor was a rich brigand, etc. Everyone hopes to discover treasure themselves at one time. Misfortune, too, is often accounted for in terms of treasure: its loss or bad luck in not discovering it in time, or even suffering the misfortune of finding somebody else's treasure. There are many different treasure stories. My presence in the village was also put down to my 'searching for hidden gold' (buried by British SOEs during the occupation!).
32. Cp Just 1989:82. Just also makes the point that "it has been one of the remarkable achievements of Greece to forge within a little over one hundred and fifty years a nation-state of which Greek identity is the corner-stone" p.86

**CHAPTER 6 - THE GROWTH OF THE STATE AND CENTRALISATION
(1821-1940) - THE EFFECTS IN EVRITANIA**

To better understand certain developments in Agios Vissarios today it is necessary to follow the historical trajectory of Greece from the very inception of the nation-state. This chapter will consider the long period between the onset of the War of Independence in 1821 and the outbreak of the Second World War (1940).

It is not my intention to give a comprehensive overview of events or to provide an in-depth analysis of the period. The purpose of the chapter is to sketch in a brief and general historical picture in order, firstly, to throw light on the nature of the articulation between the village and the 'outside'. By providing an outline of the period I also wish to emphasise that what followed 1940 - both in Evritania and in Greece as a whole - arose from and was determined by the preceding 100 or so years. Secondly, my purpose is to identify events from the period most likely to have had a direct effect on Evritania, or events which have been selected as significant by local memory. Finally, I intend to locate more precisely issues surrounding regional autonomy and self-government in my fieldwork area. I will concentrate on the latter in the second half of the chapter by focusing on a number of activities which occurred during the 1930s in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon.

Vasiliou, who has been at pains to document events in Evritania during the Ottoman and even Ancient eras, has little to say about the first hundred years of independence. Other scholars (cp. Campbell & Sherrard 1968; Clogg 1976; Dakin 1973; Mouzelis 1978b; Tsoucalas 1969; Vergopoulos 1975b; Woodhouse 1986) have turned their attention to the period in general, albeit from very different perspectives, or to specific features and personalities (see Dertilis 1977 on military intervention around the turn of the century;

Woodhouse 1973 on Capodistras). The villagers of Agios Vissarios, apart from identifying a few specific events (notably, the 1922 Asia Minor disaster and the Metaxas' Government's ban on goat rearing as recently as 1937) give the impression that the Ottoman period immediately preceeded the Second World War. The Ottoman past is often merged with the memory of the villagers' own childhoods and the intervening years, in effect, disappear. For all that the period 1821-1940 is crucial and continues to define the parameters of the Greek political world.

The period encompasses the emergence and gradual development of a nation-state, the setting of the boundaries of modern Greece (except for the Dodecanese ceded from Italy in 1946) and the growth of a capitalist economy. During this period there were radical innovations in government, major public works were executed and significant land reforms carried out. These factors, however, conceal a myriad of changing political and economic relations both within Greece and between Greece and Western Europe, Russia, the Balkan states and Asia Minor. They include foreign wars as well as serious internal strife;¹ political conflicts surrounding issues of Republicanism versus the Monarchy; disagreements between the Orthodox Church and the nascent state; military coups, peasant revolts and the emergence of a new bourgeois class. The changing political and economic relations also include a complex of ideological issues surrounding Greek ethnicity and the construction of an ethnos (see, for example, Herzfeld, M. 1985 and Just, R. 1989).

As far as Evritania is concerned two major features can be extracted from the period. The one concerns what can be termed 'the chaos' at the centre of the emergent state. This had particular political, economic and social repercussions on the local Evritanian population though it assumed, at different times, different guises. The 'chaos' of the centre, among other things, appeared in the form of

unwanted wars into which local villagers were unwittingly drawn; in the form of the accompanying, indirect involvement in national and international debates irrelevant to the lives of most villagers, and in the realisation that though they had provided a main source of energy for the War of Independence, villagers throughout Greece remained politically isolated and unrepresented in government. Political and economic instability at the centre also meant that agriculture was long neglected and the persistent demands for rural and land reforms consistently ignored. Instead, the post-independence period saw an increase in local taxation, more state intervention at every level and the creation of new 'middlemen' networks with which villagers had to cope. By the late 19th century, urbanisation had rapidly increased in Greece and there had been a huge expansion in bureaucracy. Both provided new jobs but also increased migration from the villages which brought its own problems.

The other, related, major feature of importance for Evritania during the first 120 years of Greece's independence, was the gradual erosion of regional autonomies and rights.

6.i. THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

6.i. (a) The Period of National Revolution (1821-1830)

On the eve of the War of Independence, Constantinople was still considered the spiritual centre of the Greek world. This was reinforced by the fact that all the Empire's Orthodox Christian subjects had been given corporate identity and placed under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople.² To assist the Patriarch a class of officials - later known as Phanariots³ - had formed. By the 19th century these officials had acquired immense authority within the Ottoman government, and had been entrusted with extensive

political and administrative powers, sometimes on an hereditary basis. At the same time, Greek merchants, traders and artisans had become a major presence throughout the Empire,⁴ while Greek communities flourished well beyond its bounds (notably in Italy, Russia, Hungary and Transylvania).

The Greeks of the diaspora played a major part in the formation of a new national consciousness before, during and after the War of Independence. In the early stages they were particularly influenced by the political radicalism of 18th century Europe (and especially the French Revolution) and the revived prestige of Classical Greece throughout the West.

The majority of Greeks in Greece itself, during this period, were still ill-educated cultivators and shepherds, though small but important groups of local notables, churchmen, klephts, administrators and merchants (whose actions were also decisive during and after the War of Independence) had emerged here too. In 1821, however, Greece only consisted of the Pelopponese, Sterea Hellas and a few Aegean islands. The country contained no urban or other centre of any economic, political or cultural importance. Its estimated population was 800,000 while over 2 million Greeks lived throughout the Ottoman Empire.

The power of the nascent Greek bourgeoisie throughout the Empire - and through whom the new revolutionary ideas were channelled into the Balkans - was growing in importance. The idea of a movement which would 'rectify' the Greek situation by bringing together all Greek Orthodox Christians had grown in popularity, while the decay of the Ottoman Empire aroused strong hopes for independence throughout the Balkan peninsular.⁵ The attempt to establish a specifically Greek state for the first time subsequently found ideological expression in what came to be known as the Megali Idea⁶ which envisaged a new 'Greater Greece' and focused on the 'recapture' of Constantinople and the liberation of lands

considered Greek. The whole process culminated in the War of Independence and the ensuing political and military history of the nascent Greek state can be interpreted as an attempt to implement the Megali Idea and to expand the state (kratos) to incorporate the nation (ethnos) (Just 1989:79).

As the War proceeded the conflicts inherent in the situation and the divergent interests of the groups involved emerged more forcefully. After considerable success in the first years of struggle, the reorganized Turkish Army managed to win decisive victories and the conflicting aims within the disparate ranks of the Greeks led to political stalemate. By 1827 the Revolution was in danger of petering out. It was then that the intervention of foreign powers (ie. the Russian, British and French) became decisive. This intervention set the stage for a continued pattern of interaction between Greek domestic developments and foreign action. A pattern which has persisted to the present (Tsoucalas 1969:15ff). The appointment of Capodistras⁷ as first Prime Minister in 1828 (who, significantly, was hostile to local landed notables, klephts and churchmen); the imposition of a Bavarian monarch in 1830, who did not speak Greek and was not even an Orthodox Christian; the fact that the first three political parties in Greece were called the 'Russian', the 'British' and the 'French' parties and the virtual occupation of the country by Anglo-French troops for three years (1854-57) after the outbreak of the Crimean War, all reflect the nature and the extent of foreign intervention in Greece's internal affairs at this early stage.

Meanwhile, the process of centralisation had begun with the War of Independence. It was given its first institutionalised form by Capodistras in 1829. The forms of self-government developed during Ottoman rule began to be undermined by the appointment from the centre

of regional officials. Unlike the Ottoman authorities who had been unconcerned with the details of local administration or the improvement of Christian communities, the new state began to intervene in the affairs of the village. This was often done under the guise of 'modern' and Western concepts of progress but in ways which actually brought few improvements.

Herzfeld (1985) has written a fascinating account of one way in which such European concepts of progress - in this case, expressed in the development of national laws relating to property transmission in rural Greece - encouraged fragmentation of the land. Fragmentation Herzfeld argues, had the overall effect of impeding modernisation and of keeping villagers poor but also of subverting the entrenchment of rural power bases. The way in which this occurred, however, is not only complex but was vitally related to the creation of Greek national identity based, among other things, on the assumed democratic values of antiquity. By decoding the ideological underpinnings of a 'binary symbolic opposition' (p.167) between 'law' and 'custom', and drawing on contemporary fieldwork data from Rhodes and Western Crete, Herzfeld illustrates the material and social effects of this opposition on Greek agricultural practices even today. The system of inheritance (which encourages fragmentation), Herzfeld argues, was presented in the 19th century as a 'traditional' practice, one of those customs considered

both archaic enough to justify (its) employment in ethnological support of the official ideology of neoclassicism, and outmoded enough to justify (its) administrative replacement in legal practice (p.167).

The result was the maintenance of local-level institutions which were not necessarily acceptable to the rural population or even a real reflection of actual, past practices. In fact, the practices, of which rural inheritance laws are one, may represent 'not the triumph of ancient wisdom over imported models, but an ideological and politically motivated maintenance of the status quo at the village level ..." (p169)

Traditional inheritance customs ... maintained the distribution of poverty on an equal basis, and their retention may thus have served both the ideological and the political interests of the state bureaucracy. (p.169)

What is true is that the distribution of land into small plots, brought about by reforms in the 19th and 20th centuries, merely reinforced a pattern of subsistence small-holdings. In 1871, 662,500 acres were distributed into 357,217 individual lots while the agricultural population of the time was 254,000 families. By 1936, a total of 425,000 acres had been distributed to 305,000 families (Mouzelis 1978:15).

A similar process can be discerned in the laws relating to local government. In 1833 legislation was passed providing for a more representative system of decentralised administration with elected councils on the municipal and village levels. This was followed in succeeding years (1836, 1887, 1891, 1900, 1909, 1912, 1922, 1927) by a series of laws to deal with district (eparchi) and provincial (nomos) levels. The revolution of 1909 foresaw administrative changes with communities and municipalities operating through locally elected councils but in practice there were few innovations. In fact, the last semblance of concern for decentralisation and local government came with the law of 1912.

A law for 'self-government' was passed by the Military Movement of 1922, but it was never applied, and questions of 'community government' were raised in the Constitution of 1927 but remained unformulated. In effect these laws continued to be characterised by the centralising and directive authority of all the post-independence governments (cp Explanatory Report of PEEA Act 55, 1944). The laws acted to further delimit the autonomy of districts and communities and made them and their representatives accessories of a central power which controlled all regional appointments and which took the major decisions affecting regions and their communities (see Campbell & Sherrard 1968:83-84). With the Metaxas Dictatorship of 1936, even the semblance of concern in decentralisation was ruled out.

Meanwhile, the powers of local landowners and churchmen (who had often been supported by klephts/armatoles) began to be eroded as they were supplanted by a more distant and alien form of government. The new category of government officials, however, were no longer dependent on local communities in the same ways and were more indifferent to their individual needs and welfare. According to Campbell & Sherrard (1969:85), one reaction to these developments and the attempts of both villagers and local notables to safeguard their dwindling interests, resulted in a search for 'protective patrons'. Campbell and Sherrard argue that this had the effect of weakening 'traditional solidarities' in the community as did the demarcation of municipalities. The new municipalities were seen as arbitrary administrative units often including villages hostile to each other, or with no obvious connection.⁸

The early period of national revolution, then, was characterised by the emergence of the disparate elements and divergent interests involved in the creation of the new Greek nation-state, and by the intervention of foreign powers in Greek domestic life. Among other things, these factors reinforced the marginalisation of the rural population from the centres of power.

The period was also characterised by the setting in motion of a process of centralisation and state interference on a village level. A pattern which was effectively broken, in the villages of Evritania, only for a brief period during the 1930s and the early 1940s.

6. i. (b) The Nascent Nation 1830s - Mid-19th Century

After 1830 Greece began its transition from a peripheral province of the Ottoman Empire to an independent nation-state. The socio-economic structure of the country, however, remained largely unchanged for at least 50 years after the standard of independence had been raised in 1821. In 1830 Greece was still a tiny country, now further weakened by the nine years of struggle for independence. The conflicts inherent in the situation had become forcefully apparent and the patterns set for future problems.

Scholars of the period (cp. Dakin 1973, Legg 1969, Mouzelis 1978, Tsoucalas 1969) have noted that the majority of villagers did not emerge from the War with clear political aims. Many villagers remained more interested in a return to 'the good old days' of early Ottoman rule when they had had more protected rights over land-use and when landlords had been better controlled. For as well as the legal controls imposed on them, landlords had been subject to 'moral checks' in the form of being more dependent on the community for endorsement of their acceptability and activities as well as by kinship obligations set up within the system (cp Campbell & Sherrard 1968:83). The klephts had provided a focus of resistance against Ottoman rule but their aims too were not overtly political. They did not have clear ideas on how the new state should develop and, if anything, many klephts were against any form of organized or centralised authority. Like other Greek notables, including local churchmen, the klepht captains were more interested in

holding on to the regional powers they had gained during the latter part of Ottoman rule.

The position of the rural population had been deteriorating for a long time and the conflicts between cultivators and landlords remained unresolved after the War of Independence. The land expropriated from the Ottoman Turks was not redistributed after the revolution to the extent that had been envisaged or promised. In fact, much of the land owned by Turks (estimated as half of all cultivated lands) had passed, often illegally, into the hands of the Greek landlords and notables who had already gained considerable administrative powers. Similarly, unresolved conflicts between the notables themselves and/or their followings of klephts/armatoles reappeared and were intensified by new conflicts engendered between local notables and the emergent bourgeoisie - drawn largely from the diaspora. On a parliamentary level the conflicts were expressed in endless factional disputes and a persistent tension between the centralising efforts of the monarchy and the decentralising tendencies of the various rural notables attempting to hold on to their regional hegemony. The disaffected politicians - including klepht captains - frustrated by the limited opportunities and positions offered them began to rebel against the new administration of the king. These conflicts led to a number of revolts between the 1840s and the 1860s.⁹ The revolts had the general effect of curtailing some of the power of the Crown while allowing members of the rural oligarchies to gain more control of the new state. One result was an expansion of the bureaucracy while the political structure of Greece became increasingly based on networks of 'patronage' and 'clientelism'. Among other things, these features led to a further exclusion of villagers all over Greece, from both regional administration and the sphere of active and autonomous politics in general (cp Mouzelis 1978:17).

By 1830, then, the struggles of the War of Independence had been reduced to the contending interests of the ruling classes from which the bulk of the rural population was excluded. It was clear that the fight over the spoils of the nation did not involve the latter at all. The nature of the state to be established, the promulgation of Western, progressive ideas of government, the balance of international power and the reliance on foreign intervention, were of little concern to the villagers of Evritania who wanted to see an immediate improvement in their agricultural and rural conditions.

By the mid-19th century, two main forms of land-tenure persisted in Greece: the family small-holding characteristic of mountain areas like Evritania, and the large estates (chiflikia) cultivated by tenant farmers (see chapter 8.ii.(a) for estates in Evritania). The state allowed some purchase of small plots on the lands acquired from the Turks but this was against a low annual payment over a number of years.¹⁰ The effect was to keep villagers in debt while discouraging land improvements. Small plots could also be claimed on national lands if 'permanent improvements' were carried out. The nature of the improvements was ill-defined and most villagers did not have the capital to invest even in modest schemes, while the general state of agriculture inhibited larger investments by those who could afford it. At the same time, the government's refusal to sell land by public auction also hindered the emergence of larger landed property and its reorganization along more capitalistic lines (cp Herzfeld 1985, Mouzelis 1978, Vergopoulos 1975).

In brief, though some agricultural projects were began in the first half of the 19th century, and although there was some commercialisation of agriculture with the production of cash crops (olives, currants, tobacco) being intensified or introduced in some areas for

the first time (commensurate with increased demand in European markets), there were few significant changes in agriculture at this stage. The arm of the state, however, was increasingly felt in the villages. Taxes were raised and became all the more burdensome for the lack of cultivators' legal and de facto rights.¹¹

6.i. (c) The Establishment of the State 1860s-1909

By the mid-1860s economic and political changes in the new nation were more evident. Commerce was developing and the diaspora had begun to invest more capital in the country (cp Campbell & Sherrard 1968:97-98; Tsoucalas 1969:22ff). 1864 saw the first Democratic Constitution and the granting of universal male suffrage (see Campbell & Sherrard 1968: 99). The attempts to modernise the economy and the administration finally got underway between the 1870s and 1890s under the leadership of Trikoupis.¹² There was a dramatic increase in public works, the Corinth Canal was built, the Greek Railway, new ports and numerous new roads were constructed, while large land-draining projects were carried out. The civil service and the Army were reorganised; urban growth soared;¹³ the merchant fleet was vastly increased; several national banks were founded; some light industrial production got underway; and, for the first time, a unified and relatively large internal market was created. In addition Greece more than doubled its territory and population.¹⁴

Agriculture did not greatly benefit from these changes. There was no systematic attempt on the part of landlords to exploit the changing agrarian situation. There were few investments in innovatory agricultural methods and much land continued to lie fallow.¹⁵ Small-holders continued to eke out a subsistence on their lands and tenant farmers to cultivate small plots on the estates under various sharecropping

agreements. Any rights cultivators may have maintained until then were finally abolished.

The lack of significant land reforms or improvements in rural conditions and the governments' failure to reorganize the tax system led to a number of peasant revolts throughout the 1880s and early 20th century.¹⁶ It was the failure to carry out such reforms that contributed to the downfall of the first liberal government (ie. of Trikoupis in 1895). In general terms, the failure of agriculture meant that Greece was unable to supply the growing domestic and European demand for wheat. This had severe consequences for the country's balance of trade, increased dependence on foreign powers and finally led to the declaration of a state of national bankruptcy in 1893.¹⁷

In 1895 there was a return to conservative rule which merely served to reinforce the earlier patterns. Any attempt to modernise agriculture or meet the demands of the rural population was abandoned. The inequitable system of taxation was upheld. Reliance on foreign powers was increased and government continued to be characterised by feuding personalistic factions. In an attempt to counter the mounting popular discontent, the new government revived the Megali Idea. Despite severe economic depression, the lack of military preparedness and of political stability, Greece declared war on Turkey. The result was disastrous and became known as 'the shame of 1897'. The Greek Army was defeated almost immediately and the fact that Greece did not suffer extensive territorial losses was due entirely to strong international pressure.¹⁸

All these factors seriously affected the rural population and contributed to bringing about widescale migration, notably to the USA. There were more than a quarter of a million emigrants between 1904 and 1914 in a population of just 5 million. The revolt of Venizelos in Crete 1905¹⁹ and of the Military League in Athens 1909²⁰ brought this stage in the creation of the nation-state to an end.

6. i. (d) The Failure of Liberal Democracy
1909-1922

The revolution of 1909 was the culmination of a long process of discontent aimed at the leading political factions and at the Palace. It was a result of changes that had been taking place and of the strengthening of an emergent bourgeois class. The revolution did not have explicit ideological content but it focused on curtailing the powers of the king. The Military League entrusted political leadership of the movement to Venizelos and in 1910 a new Liberal party was elected with Venizelos at its head. Over the following five years in which he was in office a period of 'intense reconstruction and radical reform began' (Tsoucalas 1969:30). The Constitution was revised (though the powers of the king remained ambiguous), a new legislative programme was launched, the fiscal system reorganised and major land reforms envisaged.

In 1911 a constitutional amendment was passed authorising the expropriation of large, unproductive estates, with compensation. This was followed in 1917 by a series of decrees on land reform which formed the legal basis for later distributions of land in 1922. The reforms were combined with general improvements in the agricultural sector, the setting up of agricultural cooperatives, the founding of agronomical schools and the organization of agrarian insurance schemes.

At the same time, under British and French supervision the Greek Armed Forces were radically reorganised and strengthened. When the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 broke out Greece was in a powerful position for the first time. In coalition with Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria against Turkey and then with Serbia against Bulgaria, the Greek Army achieved a number of victories and by the end of the wars had gained Crete, Epirus, Macedonia and all the Aegean islands (see Campbell &

Sherrard 1968:114ff and Tsoucalas 1969:31ff). The new stability, however, was short lived. There were increasing disagreements between Venizelos (representing the new, liberal and democratic middle classes) and the then king Constantine²¹ who after the Balkan Wars, with the support of the Army which he had led to victory, gathered around him the remnants of the old political world. This quickly led to the existence of two rival centres of political power in the country. The First World War added to the strife between the two²² and eventually resulted in a national schism that coloured the political and social life of Greece over the next decades. Foreign policy dominated the 1920 elections with the Royalists standing for 'a small but honourable Greece' and no wars, and the Venizelists campaigning for the 'new Greater Greece' based on the Megali Idea. Venizelos suffered a heavy defeat among the rural population (who had been mobilised continuously for eight years) and lost the election. In a strange about-turn, however, the Royalists decided to pursue the Venizelist foreign policy line and launched an offensive against Kemal's forces in Ankara.²³ In August 1922 the Greek Army was smashed in Asia Minor and fled before the Turks. Thousands were killed and Smyrna was set alight. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks were forced to flee to neighbouring islands or to the Greek mainland.

With the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922 the boundaries of modern Greece were set. But the influx of one-and-half million refugees into Greece created urgent economic, social and political problems. The urban population was vastly increased (from 24% of the total population in 1908 to 33% by 1928) creating new pockets of unemployment and homelessness. The main cities rapidly became centres of social and political turmoil and an urban proletariat was formed for the first time. Land reform was still a major issue and the refugees accentuated it. Laws were passed for the distribution of

land but with fierce resistance from large landlords and bureaucratic delays the reforms were not carried out quickly or efficiently. The parcelling out of land to refugees in rural areas, meanwhile, often created severe tensions with the indigenous population whose demands for land reforms had been ignored for decades.²⁴ The whole interwar period thus became marked by peasant struggles to overcome economic, legal, political and social obstacles (Tsoucalis 1969:37). The problems of homelessness were made all the more acute by the new US immigration laws of 1922 which severely restricted migration to America.

The Asia Minor refugees, however, brought with them new and often progressive ideas. Combined with the social and political unrest that was now widespread throughout Greece, the new ideas had important repercussions for the development of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and for the dissemination of different views into the countryside. These factors not only affected the rural population but the attitude of those in power, who now sought more actively to exclude 'the masses' from the political arena.²⁵

6. ii. The Interwar Period and the Activities of the Villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon

Many of the problems posed by the influx of Asia Minor refugees did not directly affect the province of Evritania. Not many refugees were settled in the area and, indeed, many local people today assert that none at all came to the province.²⁶ There is one village, east of Karpenisi, which is, however, known as a refugee village and where at least half of the inhabitants are descended from resettled refugees.²⁷ Most of the other Evritanian villagers experienced the 1922 Disaster more indirectly by its effects on the national economy, and therefore on agriculture, or by serving in the Army at the time.²⁸ The influence of the new ideas, however, - arising from the refugee problem - were felt even in the far-reaches of

Evritania. It is probable that they contributed to the development of the provincial KKE.²⁹

The activities which occurred in the villages of Evritania during the 1930s, and which I describe below, were not, however, the result of KKE initiatives, nor Communist inspired. Rather, they represented the culmination of various attempts to improve local rural and agricultural conditions and to establish legal and other politico-economic rights. The attempts were the result of a long process arising from national political developments, economic factors - now accentuated by the refugees - and worsening conditions in the Greek countryside over the last decades. These more general features were translated into the most pressing local needs. These in Evritania, had to do mainly with the use and ownership of land and the law. What lay beneath the local issues, however, was the erosion of regional rights and autonomy precipitated by the very development of the state.

The initiative for bringing about local improvements came from the former municipality of Dolopon and its six villages.³⁰ This small area with the village of Karoplesi at its centre produced a 'progressive movement' which had implications for a wider range of villages and eventually for the whole of Evritania.

On 23rd July 1933 a society called FEK (Filoprodos Enosis Karoplesi)³¹ was founded in the village of Karoplesi. Its aim was stated to be encouraging its members and the community as a whole to protect and develop the forests of the area and to 'cultivate the green and the beautiful in general' (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:74). Its programme, however, included other intentions such as investigating agricultural insurance schemes. Most importantly, FEK brought up the question of the many disputes and court suits filed by the local
i n h a b i t a n t s

and the consequences of the heavy legal duties they were obliged to pay which were a serious drain on the meagre incomes of the villagers. FEK's programme concluded by suggesting that the whole legal system was unsatisfactory and rarely solved the many problems brought to the courts. From this first delineation of the problem grew the 'Conciliatory Committees' (Simvavistikes Epitepes) which functioned from the summer of 1934 to the autumn of 1937 in Karoplesi and the surrounding villages. These committees were founded in an attempt to reach a more satisfactory solution to the question of local disputes, in the absence of an effective state legal system which failed to recognise the specific problems of the Evritanian population.

Each of the Conciliatory Committees was made up of two cultivators, two stockbreeders (elected by the inhabitants of the village concerned), the (already elected) president of the community, the local teacher and the priest. A fair representation of the structure and interests of the village. Meetings were public and held in the local schoolroom. Most of the cases which the committees heard had to do with agrarian damage, the destruction of trees and/or other crops by livestock or persons; various related offences to do with shepherding and irrigation and other small disputes which amounted to transgressions. The committees did not attempt to arbitrate on penal offences or matters usually tried by the criminal courts, nor on other civil offences. In fact, the main efforts of the committees were aimed at reaching reconciliation between the litigants. That is, at getting the litigants to agree to a proposed solution which amounted to an out-of-court settlement. If the litigants could not be made to agree the committee would arbitrate in favour of the person considered by the majority (ie. of the committee) to be in the right, and the failure of reconciliation was kept on record.

Within the first year of their functioning these committees developed into exemplary popular courts in which villagers gradually began to place greater confidence than in the more familiar municipal magistrates courts. In their second and third years of operation litigation before the magistrates courts virtually came to an end. In fact, the general incidence of legal action fell and even criminal cases dropped in number (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:77). Eventually the committees began to function in all the villages of Dolopon and some of those of Ktimenion. They proved such a success that they began to provoke unrest among the solicitors of the province. They were officially disbanded by the Public Prosecutor in the autumn of 1937 and their members charged with 'encroaching on public order'.³²

Meanwhile, in 1935, the inhabitants of Karoplesi had formed a broader based society entitled the 'Progressive Union' (Prodeftiki Enosis). The Union provided an important basis for a movement growing throughout the province. One in which local inhabitants were becoming more active in dealing with their community problems. On 15th August 1935 the Progressive Union issued a circular to all the communities of Evritania.³³ The circular depicted the 'dire economic situation in which the province found itself and the general conditions of its villages' (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:68). It urged the creation of local committees as a first step towards finding solutions to the problems outlined and it provided the impetus for the 'Pan-Evritanian Congress' which took place the following year (30th August 1936) in Karpenisi.

Things had begun to stir in the province even before the Congress of August 1936. In July 1935 the village of Agios Vissarios itself, together with representatives from the five surrounding communities, had called a mass meeting and passed various motions demanding from the government the immediate amelioration of certain

conditions.³⁴ A month later, on 25th August, a resolution was drawn up and endorsed by the six villages of the former municipality of Dolopon and various motions were passed.

It is worth looking at the demands made in some detail as they reflect the main preoccupations of these mountain villages at that time and give some indication of conditions in the villages. The motions passed in Agios Vissarios included the following five demands:

1. An immediate solution to the food problem. That is, demands for the establishment of a proper market for the buying and selling of local produce and the granting of duty-free wheat and maize-flour at minimum prices or completely free to the 'especially needy'. (Similar demands had actually been made by these villages in 1912 but the situation had remained unchanged).

2. An immediate solution to the problem of economic compensation for cultivators and stockbreeders who have met with natural disasters (flooding was a recurrent problem, see Loukopoulos 1929, as were early, heavy snowfalls); demands for long-term government loans and aid in the form of trained agronomists and the dispensing of fertilizers, sprays and so on.

3. The immediate construction of a road from Agrinion (an important market town in the west) to Karditsa (similar in the north) with provision for electric cables along it. (This road was finally built 15 years later, for military and political reasons and because of the civil war).

4. Immediate consideration of the transfer of state lands to the landless and of economic subsidies from the Agricultural Bank.

5. The setting up of proper medical and dispensing programmes, with the appointment of state doctors³⁵ and the establishment of pharmacies in every village.

By the end of the summer of 1936 campaigns for local improvements were at their height and the organizers of the Pan-Evritanian Congress were travelling all over the province. When the Congress finally met the participants agreed to investigate in more detail, and deal with as best they could, a number of specific issues. Once again the issues reflect the main problems faced by these mountain villages during the interwar period. The main concerns focused on the problems of agricultural small-holdings; demands for more land, especially for the unemployed and landless and for the transfer of state lands to communities. Included were demands for government aid for the long-term development of agriculture, stockbreeding and forestry; demands for a variety of state subsidies and for the formation of agricultural coops and demands for the development of both agriculture and light industry in the area.

It was out of these activities that the provincial newspaper, I Foni Tis Evritanias ('The Voice of Evritania') was born. It had its headquarters in Karpenisi and ran from May 1936 to April 1941 when its press was given to EAM. The newspaper became an important centre of information as it set about systematically researching local problems and proposing solutions as well as acting as a vehicle for local opinion to address itself to government in general.³⁶ As a result of its activities I Foni established important information networks throughout the province which were used later by the resistance forces. Needless to say, the newspaper soon found itself fighting key issues with the Government.³⁷ A main concern of the newspaper was economic improvements in the province. In an attempt to counter some of the

effects of the law against goatherding which was passed by the Metaxas Government in 1937,³⁸ I Foni proposed that every family be allowed to keep up to 25 goats each. The reaction of the Government to this suggestion was to close the paper down for a brief period in September 1937. The paper then drew up various proposals concerned with the construction of roads and the full exploitation of local forests. It suggested that sawing mills be established in various villages which it named.³⁹ There was no government response to these suggestions. A single sawing mill was finally set up in one village, Fournas, but only in 1952. By that time depopulation of the province had become a critical problem. I Foni also researched the possibilities of developing hydroelectric power stations in the province which could be used to supply other parts of Greece. A dam was built for this purpose in the 1960s but its use remains limited.

As the practice of bringing legal action against fellow villagers was so widespread, it was one of the main issues that I Foni decided to investigate. The paper hoped to reveal the causes and make proposals that would stem the tide of litigation in the province. The newspaper's obvious discovery was that in the course of bringing charges, the people of Evritania payed enormous amounts of tax in Legal expenses, in court duties, in fines, as well as in legal fees. This was a serious drain on the local population while, it was noted, the prison in Karpenisi was becoming overcrowded by debtors. In addition, it was felt that the settlements meted out by the courts were unsatisfactory, a fact which tended to stimulate still further disputes.⁴⁰

It was on the basis of these findings, encouraged by I Foni, that the establishment of 'Conciliatory Committees' spread through the province and the later 'Solution Committee' (Epitropis Epilisis) was set up. Founded in the village of Koritsa, Ktimenion, in August 1941 the

stated aims of the Solution Committee were to solve 'all problems relating to the village' (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:174). In this the Committee fully supported the rights of the existing community council. The Solution Committee was in operation until October 1941 when each village in Evritania received official notification of the existence of EAM.

The range of problems the Solution Committee tackled was considerable and provided valuable experience for the drawing up of the first resistance code of self-government in December 1942. The Committee dealt with problems of food distribution and shortages; it reorganized the 'security' system encouraging new candidates to stand for election as fieldguards, water-chiefs and communal shepherds, abolishing the existing system of state appointed, permanent fieldguards. The Committee undertook to care for the needs of the school and the church in conjunction with the already existing elected councils; to take measures to protect all community forests and grazing lands, and to organize voluntary labour for community projects (eg. the clearing and disposal of village rubbish, the cleaning out of water tanks, the maintenance of irrigation canals, bridges, main pathways etc.). The Solution Committee also envisaged setting up a system of voluntary contributions to a community fund for the execution of future community works. Strict accounts were to be kept, secrecy maintained and donations could be withdrawn at any time. (It was not possible to ascertain whether this latter system was actually put into practice).

Once again, however, one of the main problems tackled by the Solution Committee was that of legal disputes. Like the previous Conciliatory Committees, it undertook reconciliatory duties but this time especially within families and between kin, and particularly as regards inheritance matters.

Secondly, and for the first time, the Solution Committee faced the question of women's rights. That is, women's rights to vote, to sign legal agreements, to participate in meetings, make proposals and take decisions concerning the community. Ultimately, the Solution Committee did not manage to secure equal rights for all women in the running of village affairs and, indeed, it considered such a step 'to be premature'. It did, however, manage to gain support for giving 'a certain category of woman' particular rights. This category comprised widows, spinsters and orphaned girls who were household heads and 'as such carried the same economic burdens and responsibilities as the men'. In other words, "these women were liable for local taxes, they paid the fieldguard, the priest, the water-chief and the communal shepherd". (Beikos 1979 Vol.1:179). Informants involved with these activities note that, argued in these economic terms, it was not difficult to persuade village men that this category of women at least were entitled to the same rights. In many cases, however, it then proved difficult to gain the support of the women themselves. They were suspicious of the 'sudden interest shown in their rights' and felt they had managed their households for years with no support or recognition.⁴¹ The step to include women, however, was an important precedent which enabled many women in the area to take a more active part in the later self-government of the occupation period when all women were declared equal in all respects and every person above the age of 18 was given the vote (See Hart, J. 1990 who also points to the importance of womens' experience during the occupation period for later feminist activities in Greece, p95ff).

Finally, the activities of the Solution Committee led to the drawing up of a scheme for the redistribution of land. This scheme was developed by the EAM local committee in October 1942 and the Solution Committee's forestry plans were adopted by the PEEA.⁴²

In the broadest sense, these activities, which took place among a handful of villages, endorse the view that the interwar period was marked by peasant struggles to overcome certain economic, legal and social obstacles. More than this, they can be seen as a final reaction to the loss, over the past decades, of regional autonomies and other local rights. The activities reflect, in this sense, a variety of attempts to redefine a new relationship between the state - in its particular local manifestations - and the community. What was also at issue here was an alternate definition of law which not only implicitly attacked the existing legal system but more clearly reflected the actual needs of the local inhabitants and their view of common law justice (see chapter 8.iv.). The following self-government of the occupation period had its roots in these more general rural conditions which had persisted for years and can be seen as a continuation of this last ditch attempt to maintain some regional independence.

Today it is difficult to discuss such events with local villagers though they are within the memories of the older age group (ie. 65-75 year olds). Discussions about defiance to state interference, about self-government and the assertion of local rights are usually placed within other contexts. In general, the issues have been coloured by the civil war or they have been assimilated to an ideal Ottoman past. As Herzfeld (1985) has pointed out in another context, "villagers (have) absorbed the official rhetoric, ostensibly deprecating practices that they nevertheless continue to observe" (p.169) or, at least in this case, continue to value. In order to assess the merits of such activities today they have to be assimilated to other historical periods by local memory. Self-government is extolled but in the context of Ottoman rule. What remains of the long period of state development in local historiography is not a coherent picture of

different forces at work. There is no general view of a long process of erosion in regional and local autonomy and rights; nor even a comprehension that the Greek state was actually established during this long period. What remains is a powerful concept of Greek national identity which has glossed over any differences, conflicts or oppositions. When such conflicts emerge it is within other historical contexts.

CHAPTER 6 - Footnotes

1. These include the Battle of Navarino (1827), the wars with Turkey, the Balkan Wars, the First World War as well as the Macedonian issue, conflicts between the Great Powers (1854-7), the internal conflicts surrounding the monarchy, the military revolts and rebellions. See especially, Campbell, J, & Sherrard, P (1968:83-107) and Tsoucalas, C (1969:15-40).

6.i.(a)

2. As Just, R. (1989:78) points out this fact was vital. The Christians now constituted a separate 'nation' within the Empire and with both their religious and civil leadership entrusted to the Patriarch, a new equation was formed between Hellenism and Christianity.

3. The Phanariots - Greek Constantinopolitans from district called Phanari. See Campbell, J & Sherrard, P (1968:53-54). They included bankers and merchants and saw themselves as the intellectual spearhead of Greeks.

4. In part, this was enabled by the Ottoman ideology which maintained a disdainful attitude to mercantile activities. Combined with a belief in rigid social divisions, the view allowed Greeks, and other ethnic groups, virtually to monopolise business life in the Empire.

5. The idea of a movement for independence leading to an All-Balkan federation was spread, largely under the instigation of Russia. After Independence Russian policy remained based on the idea of creating a large Balkan Greco-Slav state under its protection. In this way Russia hoped to ensure its stronghold over the Mediterranean.

6. See Tsoucalas, C (1969:19-20) for the ideological basis of the Great Idea and its repercussions nationally and internationally. And Just, R (1989:79) for its best known expression in the words of the politician Jannis Kolettis in 1844. In essence the Megali Idea represented a utopian dream of rebuilding the Byzantine Empire under Greek Sovereignty, and of 'redeeming' all Greeks.

7. See Woodhouse, C.M. (1973) on Capodistras, who was previously Minister to the Tzar.

8. Given the local administrative structure and land-tenure systems under the Ottoman Turks, both of which were conducive to the formation of local hierarchies; and given what is known about the activities of local landlords, churchmen and klephts, forms of 'protective patronage' must have existed before this time. What is likely, is that such relations were intensified or transformed in some way.

Similarly, the forms of communal self-government that were able to develop during the Ottoman period were based on known patterns of community life and lent themselves to certain village solidarities. The idea of 'traditional communal solidarity', however, may obscure the subjection of large groups of the rural population to local notables and their exclusion from positions of power. On the other hand, economic transformations did affect 'traditional solidarities' by making the individual family, for example, the most viable economic unit while destroying wider based forms of cooperation. The erosion of cooperative forms of labour as well as other factors such as migration, created new demands for labour. This may have led to the intensification of certain kinship ties as a means of recruiting labour. See chapter 3.iii.

6.i.(b)

9. The first Parliamentary Elections were held in 1844 when the first Constitution was also drawn up.

10. Usually 36 years. This became known as Dotation Law,. See Mouzelis, N (1978:14).

11. Most taxes were paid in kind as a percentage of the produce, or as a fee on national lands. The methods of collection were inefficient and often brutal. A Tax agent, for example, would inspect the growing crops and calculate what was due from them. He would then decide when the crop was to be harvested, where it was to be threshed and on what dates. The system not only led to severe hardship for the cultivators but to unnecessary wastage. Crops were often ruined while a cultivator waited for permission to harvest them or the crop was destroyed on its way to a distant threshing floor. (Campbell, J & Sherrard, P 1968:85).

6.i.(c)

12. Trikoupis, Charilaos: Greek Foreign Minister and then Prime Minister (from 1881) of 'Liberal' Party. Between his election and 1897 Trikoupi attempted to establish a modern Greek state resembling the formal institutions of Western Democracies.

13. From 8% of the total population in 1853, to 28% in 1879. Tsoucalas, C (1969:23).

14. The Ionian Islands were gained in 1864, Thessaly and Arta in 1881, then after the Balkan Wars, Epirus, Macedonia, part of Thrace, the N.E. Aegean Islands and Crete. The rest of Thrace, Smyrna and its hinterlands were temporarily gained in 1920 in the wake of Turkey's defeat in the First World War.

15. In Evritania, one of the largest estates was used only as summer pasture for a handful of transhumant shepherds. See Chapter 8.ii.(b) for other estates in the province.

16. On the whole, the rural population, and the landless in particular, were not able to organize themselves as a significant political force, and the attempts at revolt were violently suppressed. There were a number of uprisings in the 1880s and again between 1905 and 1910 after the crisis in the currant trade in 1898. Unrest was especially strong in Thessaly where there were more and larger estates.

17. See Tsoucalas, C (1969:24-25) on the failure of the tax system and the dependence on both domestic and foreign capital which contributed to the economic crisis.

18. *ibid.* p.26 for details on Macedonian issue and relations between Germany and Britain which lay behind this.

19. Venizelos, Eleftheros, was a Cretan lawyer who had distinguished himself in Crete in 1905 when he had led national forces there against the policy of Prince George - then Governor of Crete and totally subservient to British interests. He was both anti-monarchy and not committed to any existing political party before he came to power as leader of the new Liberal Democratic party. See Campbell, J & Sherrard, P (1968:107-126).

20. The Military League: An organization of young officers formed in 1909 in Athens. At first, the League was set up to protest against the promotion of officers in the favours of Crown Prince Constantine, Commander-in-Chief. But the League became associated with much wider national reforms, in administration, in the judiciary and in education; for the strengthening of the Armed Forces and the lowering of taxation.

6.i.(d)

21. Constantine I ascended the throne after his father, George, was murdered. Constantine was married to the Kaiser's sister and was strongly pro-German.

22. With the outbreak of World War One, diplomatic considerations were added to the strife between the two. Constantine was pro-German but could not press for entering on Germany's side as both Turkey and Bulgaria - Greece's sworn enemies - were already on the German side. He opted for neutrality. This brought him into direct conflict with Venizelos who had decided to enter the war on the side of the Allies. This clash eventually led to Venizelos' resignation but he won the subsequent election and was returned to office in 1915. Five months later, however, Venizelos was obliged to resign once again as a result of the king's refusal to follow government policy and his intrigues with the Kaiser. Venizelos followed an extra-parliamentary policy until Constantine's abdication in 1917. See Tsoucalas, C (1969:32-33).

23. The Turkish Army had been radically strengthened and inspired by the spirit of a new Turkish nationalism under Mustapha Kemal's leadership. At the same time, the Allies interests had now switched and Greece was left unsupported against Turkey.

The rifts engendered are still evident in many Greek villages and, in some cases, have been re-ignited by the return of political refugees of the Civil War after 1974.

24. Mouzelis, N (1978:23ff) argues that in the long term there were improvements in production as a result of the refugee cultivators.

25. See, for example, Koudouros, R (1974) re. the 1929 Idionym Law - the first anti-Communist law which became the basis for the persecution of all those 'who threatened the bourgeois status quo'.

6.ii.

26. No precise statistics are available. The population census shows an overall increase in Evritania between 1920-28 but this was also the result of other factors such as the curtailment of immigration to the USA and some local improvements. A local informant (D.TOUL. 1977 FN) claimed that 19.2% of the total number of refugees were settled in the whole area of Sterea Hellas and Euboea. This would include anyone settled in Evritania.

Interestingly, those who assert no refugees came to the area, are usually Communists, they take the same line about Ottoman Turks having lived in the area.

27. No figures available. Maybe 60% of today's village population. It is worth noting that this 'refugee village' is an active centre for the KKE branch and one of the only villages to be openly so in Evritania. The provincial KKE candidate is from the village. In addition, the leftwing vote in the village (and especially the KKE vote) has always been appreciably higher than in most other villages of the province. See Appendix 2

28. See overleaf for tape transcript.

29. The KKE was active in the province by the early 1930s, while a youth branch thrived in the Secondary School of Karpenisi between 1932-34. This is significant as most of those receiving any secondary education at the time passed through this school. Also compare Beikos, G (1979 Vol. 1) who writes that the KKE of Evritania was strengthened after the 6th Congress of the Central Committee of the KKE in January 1934. The local KKE was especially active among the road-building workers of Evritania.

30. That is, Karoplesi, Neraida, Molohas, Bilokomitis, Kapitsas and Karvasara.

31. The progressive (lit. "friends of progress") Union of Karoplesi.
32. The opportunity for the final intervention by the state was given by the committee of the village of Mavromatos which 'sentenced' its doctor to "six months of public scorn". It was this doctor who brought the matter to the attention of the provincial authorities and the PP, demanding that the functioning of such committees be outlawed. (Beikos (1979 Vol. 1: 76)
33. See Appendix 3 for translation of the Circular.
34. See Appendix 3 for translation of Motions.
35. Translated from document in Vasiliou's private collection. And endorsed by Beikos, G (1979 Vol. 1:78-79) and D.T. in conversation (1978/79 FN).
36. The society FEK had included in its programme a note on the importance of a local paper, what its aims should be, and how to set about establishing it. The Foni came about largely as a result of this initiative. There were, however, two other local papers produced before this date: the Aughi in 1930 and the Velouchi between 1931-2. Both papers ran into financial difficulties and had to be shut down. (N.TH. 1981 FN).
37. Most of the following is based on conversation with NTH. (1981) founding member and editor of the Foni.
38. Law AN 875/1937 which forbade goat-rearing. Families could retain 2-3 milk goats, but herds were outlawed as was herding. Many goats were slaughtered by the government as a result of the law. There was little, or no, compensation offered.
39. That is, Fournna, Kleitsos, Hohlia, Vraha and possibly Molohas.
40. Cp. Beikos, G (1979 Vol. 1:99ff) and (D.TOUL. 1977 FN) in conversation.
41. Beikos *ibid.* and (DT 1978/9 FN) as an eyewitness, in conversation.
42. See below chapter 8.iii.(a) and PEEA ACT 35.

T H E W A R Y E A R S

CHAPTER 7

THE INSTITUTIONS AND CODES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT 1941-44 (AS PRACTISED IN THE VILLAGES OF EVRITANIA)

When the Germans occupied Greece in 1941 and the official Greek government went into exile, the functioning of the state was seriously disrupted. Elements of self-government described in the previous chapter, were reinforced and developed. A description of the resistance institutions of self-government and peoples' justice which flourished under occupation conditions, and an examination of the written Codes which accompanied their emergence, give some indication of what was occurring in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon during the early 1940s.

This chapter sets out to answer some of the questions about self-government posed in the introduction. Namely, what did self-government of the early 1940s involve and what were the main principles underlying the institutions? How were the institutions applied and on what levels did they exist: on a village, regional or national level? And what kind of integrative structure was envisaged or proposed in this respect? Finally, how popular were the self-governing institutions and to what extent a mirror of already existing or past patterns and/or what immediate local conditions and problems were they developed to meet?¹

I will begin this chapter by outlining the main principles underlying the self-governing institutions as they were reflected in the written Codes. I will then describe the main aspects of the structure and operation of administrative self-government and peoples' justice as they developed in the mountain villages of Evritania. In the following chapter 8, I will suggest how the

institutions were integrated into the general situation prevailing in Evritania during the occupation. I will consider how, for example, the self-governing institutions related to landholding and other socio-economic conditions in the province. Part of this description involves considering the general landholding situation in Agios Vissarios in the past and today. Finally, I will comment on what I call the legal context of the resistance institutions and their codifications. In doing so, I consider the limitations of self-government in the 1940s its inability to bring about significant transformations in the countryside, as well as the reasons why this self-government had so little obvious or lasting effect on the villages concerned. These points tackle some of the issues concerning the general effects of the war years on subsequent village developments in Evritania.

7.i. The Principles of Self-Government as Reflected in the Written Codes

All the Codes were based on principles of self-government and of peoples justice. Exactly how the institutions were defined, however, the socio-political context within which they were conceived and within which their operation was envisaged, differed with each Code. The differences are reflected in the terminology used by each Code. These differences are partly explained by the circumstances under which each Code was drawn up, the stage reached by the National Liberation Movement, and its influence on local economic and political structures, as well as by the nature and the aims of the issuing authority. The independent development in many rural areas of the institutions themselves and their practical existence - which also derived from previous, pre-war, socio-economic and political circumstances - also

influenced the subsequent codifications.

The Code Poseidon was the first attempt to codify the institutions. The local state apparatus had been disbanded four months earlier and the election of local administrative committees in a number of villages in the area, had already taken place when the Code was drawn up. In other words, the self-governing institutions had already been developing and were then systematised into a written form by local people. Following this up to August 1943, and largely on the basis of Poseidon, the organs of self-government developed in the adjoining areas of free Greece. Though the implications of a Code for self-government were far-reaching and Poseidon envisaged more than just village-level organization and practise, this Code was initially seen as an attempt to codify and extend practices which were already occurring in 13 villages in the former municipalities of Ktimenion and Dolopon, Evritania. Poseidon was not conceived as a uniform Code for all the unoccupied areas of Greece; nor as the basis to a constitution for a post-liberation government. At the same time, the 'organization of the local power bases' is seen by the Code as a first step towards a more general 'people's democracy'.

Self-government in the Poseidon Code was conceived as 'an instrument of popular power'. People's power was in turn considered the 'fundamental principle of government' on a village, municipal, district and provincial level, necessary for the establishment of a 'peoples democracy'. Unrestricted 'power to the people' was then the spirit of this Code which found expression, above all, in the 'highest and sovrein body of the people': the General Assembly. Though Poseidon was written in a simplified form of official Greek (katharevousa) the 'popular' nature of the institutions and the delegation and execution of local political power, are emphasised throughout.

The organs of self-government are never referred to in the Code without the adjunct 'peoples' or 'popular'.

The following Code, Circular 4, urged the establishment of local government bodies along similar lines, though again these were already occurring in the villages. The need for a legally constituted local authority - in the absence of any other kind - had assisted in the development of self-governing institutions in many places though these were developed with local variations. Circular 4, emerging as it did from an assembly of local EAM committees was probably the first attempt at systematizing such diverse developments into a single, uniform Code which would apply to all liberated areas. However, there were already changes in definitions. There is no mention of 'peoples power' or 'peoples democracy' in this Code; the self-government committees are never referred to as 'popular'; the 'peoples court' is replaced by a 'justice committee' and the Code envisages that the institutions be set up in head-villages only. Beyond this, Circular 4 was similar to Poseidon with one other important difference. The 'peoples delegate'² it stated, should not be an EAM representative at any level of the local governmental structure.

Decision No. 6 of the Joint ELAS GHQs was also a document designed to aid the formation of local government organs (though many of these had already been formed) and deal with immediate administrative needs and the problems of legal arbitration in the absence of an effective state system. In this respect its aims were circumscribed and limited to the exceptional conditions of war and occupation. There is no mention in Decision No. 6 of the principle of 'peoples power'. The self-governing bodies become 'popular administrative committees and sub-committees' and the peoples court is relegated to the latter status and only termed 'popular' once throughout the Code. More indicatively, Decision No 6 deals only with village-level administrative problems.

Thus it leaves the structure of local government abruptly truncated while emphasizing the temporary nature of its aims. Decision No. 6 does not conceive of self-government in any wider perspective concerning the reallocation of power and political resources, but it sees self-government simply as a means of dealing with the immediate problems created by the war and occupation.

The importance of Decision No. 6 as a document lies in the political practice it implied. It was recognised by all the resistance groups, (including the British - all of whom, as is well documented, had different aims) - and as such meant a recognition of the existence of self-governing institutions and of their significance at the time. It was on the basis of Decision No. 6 that local elections took place in many villages throughout central, and parts of northern, Greece. The terminology of the Code, however, never caught on.

The Sterea Code, created at the same time as Decision No.6 but totally independently of it, conveys a similar spirit. Its article 1 sets forth the definition of self-government,

The institution of self-government means that the people take active part in their government and that popular forces are used for the immediate satisfaction, and in the interests, of the citizen.³

Despite this, the Code abolishes the principle of the General Assembly altogether and, therefore, the most direct aspect of village participation in local affairs. Like Decision No. 6 and the following Provisions, the Sterea Code also avoids attacking the regular professional courts, nor is their area of jurisdiction defined in relation to the new, popular courts.⁴ No attempt is made to place the institutions of self-government into a wider context of 'popular

power'; and again, this Code does not provide for self-governing organs beyond the village and Municipal levels. The articles which deal with people's justice are simply procedural provisions created to supply immediate needs and fill the gap created by the conditions of war.

The Provisions of December 1943 give the most comprehensive expression to the development of the institutions and their codifications up to 1944, and represent the best legislation on the institutions up to that date. Its first two articles set forth the general aims of self-government as it emerged during the early 1940s,

Art.1 The institution of self-government means that the people shall participate actively in their administration for the immediate and better satisfaction of the common interests of the citizen.

Art.2 The basic branches of self-government are (a) the administration of the communities, municipalities, districts and Provinces, and (b) Peoples Justice.

The Code restores the principle of the General Assembly and develops self-government to the provincial level.

In general, the Provisions upheld the basic principles of self-government which had been developing in practice and which the previous Codes had variously defined. It gives a certain amount of power to the people. It endorses a certain amount of collective practice, which finds its most developed form in the General Assembly. It provides for elections by secret ballot, tackling the question of womens rights, and the principle of no outside intervention. It also provides

for a new type of policing by the people themselves, arbitration in law 'according to conscience' and the application of 'natural'/common law. It introduces the idea of the 'people's delegate' and conceives of the community as an active administrative unit, both economically and politically.

The PEEA Acts interpreted and developed these ideas and the practice still further, though the Acts themselves were never applied.

Act 4 of PEEA "Orders for Self-Government", endorses the Provisions. The only significant change is that it provides for the appointment of PEEA administrative representatives on the district and provincial levels (art.2). Act 21 of PEEA further modifies this provision and gives supreme authority to a single PEEA member who 'may even take precedence over the appointed 3-membered committees' of PEEA which were to act as supervisory and controlling bodies and which were neither elected nor directly accountable to the people, as were the other organs of self-government.

Act 12 of PEEA "Orders for Peoples Justice", also endorses the Provisions. Most drastically, however, its article 1, explicitly revalidates the old law and legal system. This Act also appoints key members to the peoples courts rather than accepting the principle of free election. It gives supremacy in all legal matters to the PEEA 'Secretary of Justice' and it makes law degrees and practical legal experience obligatory for all the members of the higher courts, and for the 'peoples delegate' in the village courts. Three months later, PEEA's Act 16 suspended, though significantly did not abolish, article 1 of Act 12.

PEEA's Act 4 which appears as a straightforward endorsement of the Provisions also enacts some major changes contrary to the spirit of the previous Codes and practices seriously delimiting the notion of 'peoples power'. First of all, its article 2 re-introduces the death penalty for 'all types of theft'. No other Code gives this power to the popular, village courts.

Secondly, there are changes in the principles of association between the different organs of self-government. The separation between self-government (administration) and popular justice begins with this Code; and the idea of the General Assembly is not mentioned at all. Thirdly, the principle of electing all the organs of self-government is undermined in PEEA's ACT 4 together with that of 'popularity'. In other words, the principle that the people may empower with their vote only those whom they want is eroded.

The PEEA ACT 4 makes elected members responsible to it and not, ultimately, to the electorate. Similarly, the institutions are now seen to be accountable to the representatives of the PEEA, a centralized power. This undercuts the principle of their autonomy.

Article 2 of ACT 4 provides for the safeguarding of the institutions from 'outside interference' and for the 'self-sufficiency' of the institutions. (ie it suggests a self-financing system). Contradictorily, however, vigilance against outside intervention is to be undertaken by the PEEA and not the people themselves. In other words, the institutions are to be safeguarded from the outside by the outside. There is no implicit reason given why, even if an administrative representative of central authority is considered necessary, that he/she could not nevertheless be elected.

Finally, article 5 of ACT 4 provides for the replacement of a 3-membered supervisory committee by a single, appointed PEEA man.

Some commentators consider the introduction of these early PEEA Acts on the institutions of self-government as 'sly and underhand' (eg Beikos 1979, Vol.1), for, it is said, they were presented under cover of contradictory principles. This becomes clear in comparing the PEEA's Explanatory Report to ACT 12 with the provisions of the

Act itself. The Explanatory Report (5th April 1944) states that,

administrative power is decentralized and many-membered organs are created in peripheral areas as well as at the centre. (NTEPK No.15 p.18).

In ACT 12 local power is, ultimately, centralized into the hands of the PEEA and its representatives who are not elected.⁶

The Explanatory Report continues,

.... the old, single-membered organs deadened the popular forces and submitted them to the domination of the centre through an unfree system of inspection and control (p.18/19)

Yet the seeds of a similar system already exist in PEEA's ACT 12. Its articles 6 and 9 provide for 'peoples delegates' appointed by the Secretary of Justice with the approval of the whole PEEA 'cabinet', and the appointment of a 'judicial inspectorate'. The PEEA's ACTS 21 and 4, empower a single PEEA member as supervisor, even above the 3-membered, specially appointed, committees.

The Explanatory Report states that,

in rebuilding the country it is necessary to get the cooperation of the creative forces of the people in the management of executive power (ibid)

Yet, ACT 12 persists in making all the organs of self-government accountable to PEEA and not to the people. Similarly, the insistence on a full legal training for the magistrates of the popular courts, rules

out the participation of most villagers.

Finally, the Explanatory Report claims, the aim is to,

arrive at a decentralized administrative system
.... where the people, electing and controlling
representatives of the organs, become active
managers in the executive administration (ibid)

PEEA's ACT 12 contradicts this principle in a number of ways. Firstly, the election of members is proscribed and limited. There are more appointed members provided for than in any other Code. Secondly there is no mention of the General Assembly and its role. At every level, control and supervision as well as executive powers are removed from the 'popular bases' and placed into the hands of a few PEEA members.

In many ways PEEA's ACT 12 is a reversal of all the headway made in the field of peoples justice up to that date.⁷ This is encapsulated in its article 1 which revalidates and re-establishes the old law and imposes controls on all levels of people's justice.

Part of the reason for this contradiction, as others have noted,⁸ is that although the PEEA at this stage recognized and supported the institution of peoples justice it was, nevertheless, conceived within the framework of previously existing conditions.

On the one level, the bestowal of justice by the people was accepted according to the methods already in existence and as reflected and outlined in previous Codes. At the same time the principle of peoples justice was not entirely accepted and people's justice was expected to co-exist with the old, 'bourgeois', legal system. According to Beikos (1979: Vol.1), this confusion led to 'the restoration and re-orientation of the legal edifice of bourgeois relations of production, which negated the early principles of popular power'.

The reasons for this confusion are complex and outside

the scope of the thesis. What is important is that the institutions of self-government arose largely as a result of occupation conditions and the erosion, therefore, of certain kinds of social relations. The institutions were not created to administer the old legal system but as a response to its failure to operate effectively at the time.

The institutions of self-government find their most complete, codified expression in Acts 55 and 57 of PEEA. Here some of the previous contradictions are ironed out though certain problems remain. In PEEA's ACT 55 "Code for Local Self-Government", self-government becomes 'local' as well as 'popular' and is defined as,

.... the fundamental institution of the public life of the Greeks. It is organized popular power, executed by elected representatives and directly by the Peoples' Assemblies, for the administration of village, town and district.

In the PEEA's Explanatory Report to ACT 55, self-government is defined as 'organized popular power' in the widest sense. Direct responsibility and/or political practice by the people however still stops short at the district (eparchia) level. ACT 55 is envisaged as part of the statutes for a new national government of the future, with a changed power structure. Yet there is no discussion in it of participation by the people in political matters beyond the district level, or of people's participation in matters of National importance.¹⁰ Even the Panhellenic Congress - the national level of representation of the institutions of self-government - is seen merely as a consultative organ under the control of the 'new' Parliament.

Together with their Explanatory Reports, however, the PEEA Codes ACT 55 and ACT 57 represent a summary of all the achievements gained by the practice of

the self-governing institutions and their development over the two years since Poseidon. These Codes also embody the contradictions and ideological issues which had emerged in the practice and had not been resolved.

In PEEA's ACT 55 there is a return to the idea of 'popular power' and the General Assembly. Power is to be directly exercised by the people through the General Assembly, which is once again given a fundamental place and function.¹¹ In the Explanatory Report to ACT 55 the Assembly is seen as the 'main basis of self-government', though in the Code itself its functions are delimited. The Report states that the Assembly has the last word in 'local affairs' and that 'decisions outside these matters (which, it turns out includes most things!) are taken according to the community council's general policy'. But this policy is defined not by the community itself but by the national government of PEEA.

ACT 55 also leaves unanswered who decides about or is responsible for non-local affairs and over and above the 'sovereign people'.¹² Most important in ACT 55 are the details given for the development of a system of taxation at various levels, rate schemes, government loans, community and district revenue and expenditure. ACT 55 provides for a fiscal system (at least for the lowest level organs of self-government) which reflects attempts to make self-government a basic economic unit as well as part of a political or administrative system.

After the 'aberrations' of the PEEA's earlier legislation (Act 12) concerning Peoples Justice, Act 57 attempts to come to terms with the difficulties of developing an alternative legal system. Its Explanatory Report defines peoples justice as "the fundamental institution of the public life of the Greeks" (Beikos 1979 Vol.2:505) like self-government in general. It goes on to say, however, that as a governmental body the PEEA cannot as yet formulate a completed version of

peoples justice but must be content with presenting important steps towards 'popularizing' it. The Report points out that the 'complete version' cannot be created 'until the relations of production also change'. What Act 57 does instead is attempt to,

- 1) systematize the existing provisions on the institution of Peoples Justice,
- 2) develop them according to the practical experience gained,
- 3) adapt them to the demands of the liberal principles expressed in Resolution A of the National Council (27 May 1944)¹³ and
- 4) bring up to date the previous PEEA Acts.

This ACT 57 does. It follows the earlier principles of abolishing legal fees, of electing 'peoples magistrates' and of making them accountable to the people, and of ensuring the protection of the citizen.¹⁴ What remain unresolved in ACT 57 are the contradictions surrounding the issue of 'outside interference' and the necessity of having trained lawyers, at least in the higher courts, and excluding the participation of many people. Similarly, the problem of the relationship between peoples justice and the old legal system, and between them and the (guerrilla) martial courts, remains unspecified.

Three years later, in 1947, the Democratic Army drew up its own Codes for self-government and Peoples Justice.¹⁵ These later, brief, Codes return to some of the earliest principles of the first self-governing institutions in Ktimenion and Doloapon, and of the Code Poseidon, though they remain less developed in every sense.

7.ii. The Structure and Operation of the Institutions
of Administrative Self-Government

In general, the structure of self-government was organized around the Council, various Committees or Sub-Committees and the 'General Assembly of Citizens'. There were variations in the basic pattern between different villages and between the different areas where the institutions developed. The general structure of self-government also differed in the way in which peoples justice was conceived and in its relationship to the rest of the self-governing organs. Some of the major variations, as I have pointed out, are embodied in the Codes, which, it must be stressed, followed or accompanied the actual practice.

The initial structure of self-government is given in the first Code, Poseidon. This Code put into writing what was already occurring in the village of Kleitsos and the surrounding communities, though after it was formally issued further local elections took place in all the villages of Dolopon and Ktinenion. The structure for self-government that Poseidon set out was subsequently adopted in other parts of the province and in parts of Thessaly.¹⁶ The structure of self-government was as follows:

The General Assembly (of Citizens)
 Committee of Popular Self - Government
 (5-membered)*
 Committee of Peoples Court (5-membered)
 Various Sub Committees

* The 5 members of the Committee of Self-Government were as follows:

<u>President</u>	<u>Member 2</u>	<u>Member 3</u>
Also president of peoples court(which had 4 other, elected, peoples magistrates)	Also head of Welfare Sub-Committee (which had 2 other elected members)	Also head of School Sub-Committee(which had 2 other members + teacher(s))
	<u>Member 4</u>	<u>Member 5</u>
	Also head of Church Sub-Committee (+ 2 others + priest(s))	Also head of Peoples Security Sub-Committee (+ 2 other elected members)

In addition to the above, there was a Committee of Assessors (3-membered) to assess agrarian damage which was appointed by the Committee of Popular Self-Government. The General Assembly was given pride of place in the structure of self-government both as an active institution and as a principle. This is corroborated by eye-witness accounts and the evidence of the written Codes.¹⁷ It was, in fact, this single feature - that the power of the community, or people, was not represented but acted as a

direct force in local government - that both lent its name, 'popular' and 'self', to this form of government, and gave the occupation self-government its uniqueness differing from any previous forms of local autarky. Paradoxically, it was also this feature that was corrupted as the institutions developed. At first the General Assembly not only functioned in the administrative sphere but in that of justice where, initially, it had considerable power. The General Assembly could, for example, recall the peoples court, or replace it - totally or in part - if it felt that any judgement passed was 'incompatible with the general feelings of justice'. (Poseidon Art.I Beikos 1976: 16-18). The General Assembly, however, could not at any time act as an Appeal court or change the decisions of the peoples court once these had been unanimously made.

In practice, many villagers were less certain of participation and in the early stages of administrative self-government fewer villagers were involved . There were, therefore, limits to the powers of the General Assembly. The sphere of justice always attracted greater participation from the local inhabitants. As one observer has suggested this often caused its own problems and led to greater severity in arbitration,

.... As for the field of the penal Code, there was an extraordinary severity in the punishment of even minor crimes, a severity which was not at all necessary to maintain order This severity was due to the quick trial by the people themselves, in the place where the crimes were committed, these circumstances being reminiscent, more or less, of the well-known lynch law In fact, the speed, facility, the full publicity, the dispensing of real justice, the lack of expense, and the other characteristics of the institution - all these struck a responsive cord in the peoples' soul. (Zeppos 1945: 105-6)

The villages of Ktimenion and DoloPON had already had several years experience experimenting with justice and taking local matters into their own hands. Thus, these forms of self-government did not represent something radically new and the villagers could draw on their previous success in matters of local arbitration.

Above the village level, the earliest institutions of self-government foresaw a Divisional Committee made up of all the elected presidents of the Committees for Popular Self-Government in a given municipality. A similar Divisional Committee of Peoples Justice was set up, comprised of the village courts' presidents. This committee functioned as a second degree court. The Divisional level of self-government was operative throughout Evritania and a first assembly of all its presidents was held in the spring of 1943 in the neighbouring province. On the provincial level, the Union of Provincial Communities was formed, made up of all the presidents of all the Committees of Popular Self-Government in the province. This body elected an executive committee from among its members and constituted the highest administrative organ at the level of the province.

Self-government during this first period was, then, 3-tiered, up to and including the province. Peoples Justice remained 2-tiered, with the highest Appeal courts being the Guerrilla Courts of ELAS which later became the Martial Courts. Only the lower instance, village, courts remained in the hands of the local inhabitants.

Subsequent developments in the structure of self-government, both within Evritania and throughout other parts of Greece, were variations on this basic structure. The developments envisaged by the Codes following Poseidon introduced new elements, including in some cases a different terminology. Through the Codes higher, regional levels of administration and justice were also developed.

Gradually some of the basic principles of 'popular self-government' were altered in the writing. In some cases, this meant that new structural forms were imposed on village developments. In other cases it meant that the practice of self-government began to diverge significantly from both the written format and the intentions of the leadership responsible for drawing up the Codes. Nevertheless, practice and theory continued to affect each other.

Universal suffrage was granted by the system of self-government, though the voting age and who could stand as candidates for election to the local committees and courts varied from place to place.¹⁸ Detailed election procedure to be applied in all the areas of liberated Greece was, in fact, not specified until August 1943 by the Code Decision No. 6¹⁹ after which elections took place in several areas despite the fact that the self-governing institutions were already functioning in many of the villages concerned.

The position of the 'people's delegate' was developed over the period 1942-1944 when the institutions flourished, though here as well there was considerable variation in the delegates defined powers. Other variations related to the number of sub-committees set up and the development of financial committees in each village dealing with fund-raising and questions of local taxation, to the practice of nominating and electing 'alternate members' to cover absences in councils, committees and courts. The role pre-war councils and presidents played in the new system differed from village to village. Some councils were abolished altogether while some presidents remained to play a strictly controlled, mediating role with central government. Similarly, whether or not local teachers and village priests were invited to play an active role in the relevant sub-committees depended on the area or village. Variations also included the degree to which municipal/provincial government was developed and how it

was integrated with village government. By 1944 most liberated areas of Greece had evolved at least to the provincial level, and in the sphere of justice, higher Appeal courts were operative on a wider, regional level.²⁰ After the earliest developments in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon, major changes concerning the General Assembly took place. At best the Assembly came to refer to the electorate and represented participation, and at worst, it was abolished altogether. Other significant changes involved the gradual separation of self-government from peoples justice. Two distinct spheres with separately elected members and little, or no, mediation between the two became the practice.

Overall, the self-governing structure provided for a governing, administrative council on the community level, and most municipal levels, as well as a number of committees to deal with specific community problems. Council and committee members were required to meet within two days after the elections to choose their presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries and treasurers.²¹ The president of the administrative council presided at the General Assembly and represented the community in all legal matters. Where the system was extended vertically, to the municipal and provincial levels, the same applied and the mayor became the legal representative of the constituents, signing any important documents.

What, then, were the duties of the councils and committees? At first, the main committee for 'popular self-government', (the 'village council') was set up to take care of all community problems.²² Its duty was specified as covering the management of public/community property (including the upkeep of, and access to, forests, grazing lands/herds and other business transactions for the community), the levying of local taxes and the creation of revenue to stimulate the village economy.²³

Council duties also included - as they do today - the imposition of a labour-service in community projects where and when necessary; the registration of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths; the dealing with general correspondence and the keeping of community and court accounts as well as the minutes of all the meetings held.²⁴ The local council was considered the overseeing body which was expected to coordinate, guide, supervise, control and have the power to annul decisions made by the sub-committees. In this it was supposed to act in accordance with the general wishes of the community. Later, council duties were to include matters concerning health, education and the 'morality' of the people²⁵ as well as the organization of community and other public services such as lighting, drainage and public transport. The extent to which the newly elected councils in the liberated areas were able to carry out these duties is not known. It should be noted that the pre-war councils had similar duties and the same duties are nominally undertaken by the elected village councils today.

On the municipal and provincial levels, the council was to deal with public works such as road-building and maintenance, irrigation projects, public health programmes and relief, and the financing of other projects through taxation, loans and compulsory labour. Under the conditions of occupation not many of these programmes were carried out though relief and other smaller, labouring projects were undertaken. A provincial council was also responsible for supervising funding and all financial transactions in its area of jurisdiction. All such duties are now undertaken by municipal councils and the nomarchy, the state-appointed provincial administrative body.

The main committees, or sub-committees, created during the occupation period included the committee of 'popular security', some kind of welfare committee and

church and school committees. The latter were a continuation, or reorganization, of the pre-war village bodies whose main duties included fund-raising and general maintenance of both the church and school. The welfare committees dealt primarily with food relief and were of crucial importance both to the resistance forces and to the local inhabitants during the occupation period.²⁶

The committee of 'popular security' also gained considerable importance in the liberated areas of Greece and represented a radical and experimental arm of self-government. In general, this committee was responsible for maintaining law and order in a village; for appointing rural guards and, if necessary, enforcing the decisions of the popular courts. The stated duty of the Security Committee was "to protect the life, honour and property of the people".²⁷ In the event of the collapse of the state's policing authorities, this committee was essential for maintaining a minimum of harmony in the villages during the occupation period. The committee also brought together a variety of different aspects of village political life, maintaining the community's 'judicial functioning',²⁸ and placing the responsibility for matters of law and order firmly in the hands of the local inhabitants. The committee of 'popular security' was responsible for appointing fieldguards, water-chiefs, cowherds/shepherds/goatherds and horse-keepers in the summer months. This committee also kept an inventory of arms held in the village which could be called on if necessary. The committee was also responsible for organizing night-watches and village guards. In fact, the former duties of the committee had long been practised - though intermittently - among the mountain villages and had been reorganized before 1941.²⁹

All village policing duties are today divided between different authorities as well as being represented, by and large, by outsiders. The local

police, responsible for general law and order, are invariably from other areas of Greece and are not allowed to serve in the province of their birth/origin. Policemen are also posted elsewhere at regular intervals. The village council is responsible for appointing water-chiefs, shepherds and so on, though the candidates names must be submitted and approved by the Nomarch. Field and forest-guards come under the jurisdiction of a separate agronomical inspectorate responsible to the Ministry of Coordination (Home Affairs). There is, still, a civil guard (TEA) in many villages, set up specifically to combat communism after the civil war and strictly controlled by the appropriate state department. Finally, any matter pertaining to the courts is now outside the jurisdiction of the village, though the fieldguard may still issue writs to do with agrarian disputes and check that people attend their hearings, as either defendents or witnesses.

Apart from the various committees set up during the Occupation, the question of adult literacy was investigated for the first time³⁰ and several text books for schools were printed by EAM and issued during this period. Local entertainment, theatres and recitals were also encouraged and flourished in many places.³¹

7.iii. The Structure and Operation of Peoples Justice

Side by side with the system of administrative self-government, the structure and operation of Peoples Justice was defined and developed. Up to 1944, and in practice, justice was seen as an integral part and branch of self-government. In the formulation of the PEEA's Acts, however, justice was conceived as entirely separate to local administration. Although the separation of the two does not seem to have seriously injured the institutions,³² it does raise questions concerning the unity of social life and issues about certain social relations and the legal framework within which they operate. To see the two systems as part of the same self-governing structure was an important recognition of the relationship between social organization in general and its legal forms. Putting administrative/economic and judicial powers into the hands of local inhabitants, not only gave villagers a genuine control by endorsing (making 'legitimate') their activities and by creating standards of universality and equity, but it helped prevent certain outside interferences (which were outlawed by the system of SG) and the 'mystification' of certain relations. All forms of authority and office became directly accessible and accountable.

On the village level the institutions of popular justice and administration continued to operate together.³³ The changing relationship has been outlined above. Eventually, three types of court functioned in the areas of Free Greece - the Peoples Courts, the Review Courts and the Supreme Courts. Towards the end of the Occupation as much as two-thirds of the country was held to be under this system of popular justice.³⁴ The system

of justice, however, began in a simpler form and gradually evolved into a 3 court system. The aims of popular justice, the court proceedings, the role of the 'peoples delegate', and the question of penalties evolved between 1942-44 and differed from place to place. These differences were also dependent on extraneous factors. The major developments in the sphere of local justice are reflected in the Codes.

Poseidon outlines the main principles of Peoples Justice as it was first applied in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon. Its article 2 states that,

justice becomes popular³⁵ and is meted out by the people, for the people.

For the execution of justice, peoples courts of 5 members were elected in each village and hamlet. The president of the court was also a member of the Administrative, Committee for Popular Self-Government. And the court was explicitly held to be,

free from any interference but comes under the continuous guidance, supervision and control of village public opinion

in the form of the General Assembly. The latter, however, could not act as an Appeal Court.

All proceedings were free of charge and any idea of legal expenses ruled out. Most importantly at this stage, the old legal system of the state was considered abolished and the peoples courts not bound to it 'in any way'. Likewise any idea of necessary legal training was ruled out,

The presence in the courts or interference by anyone in the form of a lawyer has no meaning, is useless and therefore not allowed

These were principles and practices based on the earlier local experiments with 'conciliatory committees' in the mid-1930s.

In addition to the village courts, a 'Divisional Peoples Court' was set up. This comprised all the presidents of the village courts in a specified area of jurisdiction. This court acted as an Appeal court of the second instance and as such could sanction, annul or modify decisions made by the village courts. It also acted as a first instance court in hearing cases between two/more different villages. The Divisional Court did not, however, hear cases between two individuals from different villages. For this purpose a special 'mixed' court was formed composed of popular magistrates from both of the villages concerned. If the matter concerned agrarian damage in particular, the court was formed from the village where the damage had occurred.

The 'peoples delegate' of the Divisional Court, was the 'responsible member' (ipefthinos) of EAM.³⁶ This member was considered the representative of public opinion whose duty it was to introduce and summarize court cases, to summons the litigants and witnesses; to pass opinion on the guilt/innocence of the accused and to try and reach out-of-court settlements. He had, however, no vote and could not attend the final deliberations of the court. The office of people's delegate was originally envisaged as one of guidance and assistance, of ensuring that peoples justice was properly meted out and of assisting the newly elected magistrates in their task.³⁷

An important aspect that emerges from the Codes is what offences are excluded from the jurisdiction of the popular courts and what penalties were considered appropriate at different stages. Interestingly, animal theft was excluded from the jurisdiction of the popular

c o u r t s .

There was no reason given for this omission but animal theft was one of the most pressing problems in the Evritanian countryside at the time. Certainly, the theft of livestock carried severe penalties in the pre-war years: a minimum of six months internal exile and/or permanent exclusion from holding a civil servant job. The very commonness of the crime, which led to many inter-kin hostilities and feuds may have played a part in deciding to exclude it from the jurisdiction of the popular courts and place it within the jurisdiction of the guerrilla or martial courts. In other words, it may have been seen as too emotive an issue for village arbitration. General food shortages at the time, which at first increased the incidence of animal theft, may have also played a part in making the decision.

One informant³⁸ claimed that in the pre-war years 50-60 cases of animal theft per week came to the magistrates courts of Karpenisi. The severity with which the offence was considered by magistrates, the informant explained as due to the following,

..... because animals were considered the private property and basic means of livelihood of their owner

That is, the informant elaborated, animal theft was considered a fundamental offence against a person's right of survival. This attitude was shared by the resistance forces, though they themselves were sometimes accused by villagers of stealing animals. According to the same informant, the other main reason why animal theft was severely viewed by the (pre-war) authorities was,

..... because it was considered a very primitive thing to do, that is behaving like ancient tribes people (sic) (GE 1978 FN)

This explanation touches on more complex issues. It suggests the upholding of the status quo but it also implies a certain dislocation between what was defined as crime by the law or state and a social reality which may have been defined by very different local conditions. There is no evidence to suggest that local villagers saw animal theft as 'primitive'. Conditions of local banditry, local debts and issues of honour and revenge all played a part in the incidence of the crime. The incidence of animal theft did, however, drop after EAM/ELAS appeared in Evritania and partly as a result of their strict policing.

Treason, spying, military crimes and offences 'against the lives of the people or partisans', and robbery were also excluded from the jurisdiction of the popular courts and were heard by the guerrilla/martial courts. In the villages of Ktimenion and DoloPON, divorce could be heard by the popular courts but the formation of 'family councils' was considered preferable. These were made up of members from the interested parties who would meet and discuss the issue attempting to reach agreement. A member of the local village court could be called in but only to offer "impartial advice and suggest rational solutions" (Poseidon Art. 2). The 'family councils' drew on the experience of the pre-war conciliatory committees.

In fact, divorce was extremely rare³⁹ - and still is in these villages - but, as now, there were 'marital issues', which required arbitration. Most common among these were breach of promise of marriage, seduction of underage girls, 'stolen' marriages, elopements and issues arising from dowry payments. The solutions meted out by the popular courts concerning these issues were not always successful.

One informant mentioned a case,

.... a young man was forced to marry a girl he had initially shown interest in and 'tangled' with. Afterwards (i.e. the war) he refused to recognize the marriage imposed by the courts and left her. (GE 1978 FN).

The penalties imposed by the courts comprised fines and 'reasonable' compensation for damage, which was mostly in kind. Poseidon (article 2) specified that anything over and above this could be given only in 'exceptional circumstances', which, however, it does not describe. Detention was explicitly ruled out (partly because of the problems involved in holding anyone) though the partisans could be "invited by the president of a court to help impose the court's decisions if there was a refusal to comply with them". (Poseidon Art. 2)

In its early stages the main aim of Peoples Justice was to keep the proceedings of the popular courts as simple as possible. The emphasis was on making every endeavour to reach agreements between the contending litigants. The goal was not to arbitrate on a case but to reach amicable solutions. In this sense, popular justice was at first more flexible and partly because it referred to a small area which had already been practising forms of local arbitration. In the case of a hearing, the court issued a written summons - though no official stamp was required. It had the power to call for more witnesses if necessary, and to be a witness was considered a 'moral obligation' towards the community. The court then took time to take into account all the evidence that had been produced and it could set up a specific committee of experts to assess agrarian damages, determine the existence of boundary marks and so on.⁴⁰

The elected president of the court presided over the hearing which was always public and held in a public place.

The public feature remained a characteristic of the village courts in most places, even though subsequent Codes attempted to make its public nature conditional on such criteria as whether the case to be heard was considered a 'threat to public order'.

The president of the court decided who could speak and in what order, and at the end of each hearing he was obliged to ask if anyone had anything to say only in favour of the accused. The last word belonged to the accused him/herself. After that no-one could add anything and the court retired for secret deliberation.

One informant⁴¹ recalled a case where a young partisan had been accused of informing to the Italians. He had been brought to court by the village policeman. At the end of the hearing during which evidence had been submitted against the partisan, the president asked if anyone had anything to say for the accused. A co-villager rose and said he could attest for the character of the accused and demonstrated that the evidence presented was contrary to the nature of the partisan against whom he felt a wrong accusation had been brought. As a result the case was reheard and eventually the impending sentence reversed. This procedure could lessen sentences or even change the whole situation.

Some people⁴² divide the development of self-government and popular justice into two main stages. The first stage is dominated by EAM/ELAS in the background, whose very presence created a certain amount of order, and during which time the application of self-government was based more on a general consensus of what was right and what was wrong. And a second stage of codification, where the 'laws' followed in the first stage were written down and instituted and general proceedings became more organized.

The following concerns court proceedings,

.... in stage one, the general court audience were asked to give their opinion of the hearing. This could cover any aspect: concerning the character of the accused, the actual proceedings, the behaviour of the officials, the pros and cons concerning the outcome, the sentence and so on. In the second stage this aspect became more organized, it was instituted that the president of the court was obliged to ask anyone if they had anything to say for the accused, only for and only concerning the accused (SP 1977 FN).

In fact the development of the institutional practice involved more than this. It involved local tradition and practice, the various experiences gained and the stage reached in the war against the Germans. The distinction between the two stages, however, underlines the changing relationship between the written Codes and actual village practice, as well as the increased attempts by the EAM command to organize and delineate practice through the Codes.

By the time Decision No. 6 of the Joint GHQ's appeared in 1943, the system of peoples justice was already well developed and various modifications had been introduced. In the process, certain of the original principles had been dropped and these were never reinstated. Most significant from 1943 onwards is the toleration of the old legal system as co-existing with the system of Peoples Justice. No attempt is made in the Codes to define its jurisdiction in relation to the popular courts.⁴³

The principle of excluding all trained lawyers and the abolition of all legal fees and expenses, also began to be eroded, although a system of legal aid,

whereby the community and not the individual carried the expenses, was envisaged for the village level. In some cases, the 'peoples delegate' was replaced by a paid secretary who acted more as a Public Prosecutor and who had to have a minimum legal education. In other cases the 'peoples delegate' was given added powers and authority over and above the elected organs of popular justice. More stringent qualifications were eventually introduced for all the members of the courts, thus, in effect, excluding the participation of many potential candidates.

The offences excluded from the jurisdiction of the popular courts also varied through time and from place to place. Notably, civil concerns involving matters of inheritance, ownership and divorce were eventually, totally excluded from arbitration by the popular courts.⁴⁴ Similarly, penalties and the harshness of sentences varied. Civil and penal offences were separated as the whole system of justice developed and was obliged to meet new requirements.

Chapter 7 - Footnotes

1 The information in this chapter is based on a close study of the Codes and eye-witness accounts of the practice of self-government during the occupation. It also draws on discussions with a number of key informants who were actually involved in the system at the time. Talks with these informants were carried out in Athens, Thessaloniki and Trikkala. The information is also based on discussions with a number of villagers in Agios Vissarios, in the village of AN and a number of villagers from the Trikkala area.

For full details of the six main Codes issued between 1942-44 (when, by whom they were formulated and where) see Appendix 4.

7.i.

2 The 'peoples delegate' had a variety of mediatory and/or coordinating activities. He (it was invariably a man) was usually appointed by the Security Committee from among its members. His principle duties were to seek out- of- court settlements, summon the litigants and witnesses, transmit decisions to the Security Committee for execution and appeal cases and relevant documents to the 'peoples delegate' of the relevant higher court(s). cp. Stavrianos 1952 p. 49. See also Appendix 4 for 'Ipefthinos'. Usually, the 'peoples delegate' was an EAM member. As time went on, he gained greater powers.

3 Reprint of Sterea Code from Series 'Documenta tou Ellinikou Prodevtikou Kinimatos' number 19 pp.17-29.

4 A justification for this appears in a footnote to the Code which claims that no-one intended to completely disband the old regular courts - contrary to the stated claims of the earliest Code - See Kastrinos (1963/4).

5 Reprint of Provisions from 'Documenta tou Ellinikou Prodevtikou Kinimatos' number 19 p.38

6 The previous Codes provided for far greater decentralization. Of course, the PEEA had not then been formed and there was no centralized body as such.

7 Though this did not affect the practice as far as is known, and never had time to do so.

8 Beikos (1979) Vol 1 & 2 passim

9 Reprint of ACT 55 p.64

10 i.e. like Foreign Policy, Public spending, general economic aims of Greece and so on.

11 As in the other PEEA Acts, this is mainly rhetorical as its power is limited by the provisions of the Code itself. See Art. 11 & 28 op.cit. p.63 & p.67.

12 Although the Report does discuss questions of supervision at length, outlining the basic principles on which this is to be based.

13 See Appendix 3 for translation of Resolution A.

14 Viz. Art. 61 - summons; Art. 41 - freedom of defence; Art. 61 - preliminary hearings to be public; as well as other articles concerning penalties and the facility of bail.

15 See Appendix 4 for details of these Codes which were, in effect, little more than political slogans.

7.ii.

16 See Beikos (1976 & 1979: Vol. 1: 62 ff for citation of Code Poseidon. Information also from my own informants (DT 1978/9 FN), (MP 1977 FN).

17 Ibid Zeppos 1945 and Kastrinos, 1963-64; Arseniou, 1977 Vol.II :301-306.

18 See Appendix 4.

19 See Appendix 4.

20 See, for example, (GE 1978 FN) who was a magistrate in a regional Appeal Court (Agrinion) as well as in the provincial one of Karpenisi.

21 See Codes in Appendix 4. Supported by informants: (MP 1977 FN), (JT 1978/9 FN), (GE 1978 FN).

22 & 23 See Poseidon Art. 1, Sterea Art. 13, Decision No. 6 Art. 7 and PEEA Act 55 where question of local revenue are dealt with in detail and informants ibid.

24 The Codes vary in the specification of these duties. Viz. Decision No. 6 and PEEA Act 55 don't mention labour service or village registries; only the Provisions mentions dealing with general correspondence. Sterea Code stresses that the 'general interests of the community cannot be contrary to those of the people, recognized individual rights or national interests' though it doesn't specify what these are.

25 PEEA Act 55 Art. 7.

26 See, for example, Beikos (1979) Vol. 1 for the success of these in area of Ktimenion and Doloapon.

27 Poseidon Art. 1.

28 Beikos op.cit.

29 Poseidon also stresses the importance of 'following local custom' in the payment of rural guards - another indication that the Code put into writing what was actually occurring. Decision No. 6 sets up two separate committees, one to deal with the organization of rural guards and to arbitrate on all agrarian matters (i.e. it removes the latter from the jurisdiction of the local courts), the other to be responsible for organizing a civil guard and offer its services to the resistance (as guards, observers, plane-spotters or even fighting men). This committee also had full police duties responsible for security and order in the village and general 'cleanliness'.

The Sterea Code adds to these duties, inspectorate duties and specifies, like the Provisions the role of the 'peoples delegate'. PEEA Act 55 suggests the setting up of vintaging and harvesting dates as one of the tasks of the committee. It is not certain, however, whether this provision was limited to the war period, in which case harvesting would have been monitored for security reasons, or whether it was a measure relating to the more general economic policy the Code envisaged, where it would be a matter of supervising agriculture as a whole.

30 The Sterea Code is the first Code to mention the question of adult literacy, though both the Provisions and PEEA Act 55 mention the raising of the 'educational and moral standards of the inhabitants' more generally.

31 See, for example, Kotzioulas (1976), Alexiou, (1976), Arseniou, (1977)

7.iii.

32 Most informants asked about this said it did not seem to make much difference either way and they could not say that one system was better than the other, though in practice the two remained intimately related.

33 The separation of the two institutions, especially as foreseen in the Acts of the PEEA, raises the question as to how much actual power is possible without accompanying judicial power or a legal basis. The difficulty was partly recognized at the time - see Explanatory Report of PEEA Act 57. See also below chapter 7 for discussion of this point in greater detail.

34 See Zeppos (1945), Stavrianos (1956), Kastrinos (1963/4).

35 This and the following quotations are from Poseidon article 2. See Beikos (1976) p.16ff. My translation.

36 Appointed by the Divisional Committee for Self-Government. See also footnote 2 above and Appendix 4.

37 In the later Codes this office assumed more importance and finally threatened to become an aspect of direct government control and interference.

38 ie A lawyer who had also served as a popular Magistrate in a second instance local court in both Karpenisi and Lamia. He himself witnessed a case (heard in a guerrilla court) concerning animal theft during the occupation period which led to the public execution of the offender.

39 I could find no recorded case of divorce in Agios Vissarios since 1939 - though there were two separations known to me.

40 Such committees of assessors had traditionally existed. See Chapter 6:v of this thesis.

41 A member of the committee for local justice in Trikkala.

42 (SP 8.12.1977 FN.)

43 For details of the differences as outlined in each Code see Appendix 4.

44 For further discussion of the implications of this see below chapter 8.iv. and Appendix 4.

Chapter 8 - Peoples Justice, Land, Economy and Law in Evritania: The Context for Self-Government

8.i. Land and the Self-Governing Institutions. A Question of Reform

In the context of the landholding situation of Ktimenion and Doloapon during the 1940s, and in the context of the local EAM committee's attempts to deal with the problem of land, the earliest developments of the self-governing institutions¹ may be seen as more radical than subsequent ones. More radical in the sense that the institutions went further towards aiming for the overthrow of the power structure through the dissolution of existing socio-economic relations. And more radical in the sense that the institutions sought to bring about changes in the legal bases relating to those major socio-economic and political relations.²

In other words, the earliest self-governing institutions represented more than reforms, or more than provisions for a temporary administrative system in the event of occupation. However, it is only in the context of events specific to a small area and specific to the activities of the local EAM committee in that area, that the self-governing institutions assume this greater 'revolutionary' importance. The revolutionary step was never taken by EAM-ELAS as a whole. In general terms, both the institutions and the Codes appear as reforms which ultimately failed to challenge the established order. At best, the development of the institutions has been seen as a temporary measure taken in exceptional circumstances to ensure the survival of the community. Or it is seen as part of an attempt by the leadership of EAM to prepare the 'grassroots' for a future change in the

power structure which, in the event, never took place (Cristidis 1978).

As Tsoucalas (1969) has pointed out,

.... despite the socialist inspiration of EAM, the reforms outlined were radical only insofar as they aimed at giving the peasants a place in society (the movement of self-government and peoples justice helped in the formation of) a new political consciousness through the creation of democratic State structures which gave the people, for the first time in history, some power to decide their own destinies (and represented a radical attempt) to implant truly democratic principles in the Greek countryside (in accordance with) the long traditions of the Greek mountain people. (p.62)

Despite this there were,

notably no provisions either to facilitate or to preclude any kind of land₃ distribution - still less collectivization (p.62)

Tsoucalas suggests that the reluctance of both the Communists and EAM to proclaim or set in motion a more radical programme for land reforms may be partially explained by the specific conditions of the rural population at that time. Some land reforms had already been undertaken by Liberal governments in the 1920s and 1930s, the majority of cultivators were small-holders and there were few 'landless peasants'.

The lack of a land reforming programme was also a failure on the part of EAM, Tsoucalas goes on to argue, and "goes some way in explaining the relative ease with which the unchallenged supremacy of EAM was shattered when, after liberation, the political battle took the form of open class struggle".⁴

In other words, according to Tsoucalas, EAM imposed its leadership but not its ideology. In addition, he argues, the encounter with the self-governing institutions and their principles had been brief and "too impregnated with the special and external phenomenon of National resistance" (p.63).

Beikos (1979) also recognized, as did the PEEA in their later Reports, that the institutions of popular power did not openly, or ultimately, affect existing 'bourgeois relations', as they refer to them. If by this Beikos means property relations, then it is true, when the local EAM committee met in the winter of 1942 in Evritania,⁵ it unanimously rejected the confiscation of large private estates (chiflikia) in the province, despite villagers' demands for them to do so and despite the shortage of available arable land for small-holdings. It has been suggested⁶ that the unwillingness to confront the question of land reforms was a tactical one. Firstly, national liberation was considered a priority over all other matters. Secondly, 'ownership experiments' were not possible within the agreements made between the different resistance groups.

Only Poseidon, with its explicit provision for the abolition of the 'old law', and the earlier experiments of self-government in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon during the 1930s, came near to constituting a revolutionary act in this sense. For in abolishing the old law, an attempt was being made to abolish the legal basis of the status quo as presented in the village, if not to abolish the whole regime which was reflected in that law. By instituting the proceedings of the peoples courts; by giving villagers the responsibility to arbitrate 'according to conscience'; by means of 'dialectical reasoning'⁷; and by including in the popular courts' jurisdiction aspects of civil law (that is, matters of inheritance, ownership, divorce and dowry) an

explicit attempt was being made to undercut "bourgeois justice and therefore bourgeois relations of production" (Beikos 1979: Vol.2.: 35).

Land reforms, nevertheless, remained a pressing issue and one of the most serious that EAM confronted and attempted to solve in the area of Ktimenion and Dolopon. The villagers' need for more land and the problems posed by the unused chiflikia, monastic estates and unexploited state lands (mainly in the form of forests) were critical. How to bring about changes in the landholding structure and how to fully exploit these lands for the benefit of the local inhabitants, had been on the agenda for many years and had flared up intermittently into violent disputes and protests.

In this chapter I will describe the landholding situation in Agios Vissarios today. The purpose of the description is to locate facets of the rural economy in both the present and the past; to portray aspects of life in these mountain villages while the institutions of self-government flourished in the 1940s, and to point to any changes that have occurred in respect to landholding. I venture that the structure of landholding has remained much the same since at least the early 20th century though the uses of land have changed, especially since the war.

I will then outline the different kinds of landholding that have existed/exist in Evritania. I will consider the chiflikia, the monasteries and the forests of the province and the local attempts at land reform made during the early 1940s. I will also consider aspects of 'traditional' community cooperation and how all these factors were reflected in the self-governing institutions and the written Codes. Finally, I will discuss what I term the legal context of the institutions and the Codes. My aim here is to point to the multifaceted context in which the institutions of self-government were able to develop. I also wish to emphasize the complexity of an ongoing relationship between the state and these mountain

villages. The self-governing institutions reflected a phase in this relationship in a number of ways. The relationship today has also been informed by a particular past. Understanding this relationship and how it was expressed in the activities of the 1940s, helps explain why the self-governing institutions, obviously rooted in local village life, nevertheless failed to radically alter existing conditions and why the institutions appear to have had so little, obvious, lasting effect.

8.ii. Landholding and Agriculture in Evritania Today

8.ii.(a) The Situation in Agios Vissarios

The distribution of land throughout the village population into relatively equal smallholdings, the lack of large tracts of arable land and the accompanying difficulty of developing productive agriculture have characterised the villages of Evritania for at least 160 years.

Land is not the only source of subsistence in Agios Vissarios today and it has a limited exchange value. Land is no longer significant as the basis of power though it provides a main source of income for over a quarter of the local inhabitants (26.3%) and a supplementary source for many others.⁸ The ownership of land, however, does have implications for status and may still be considered a potential source of wealth even when it is not used as such. To be a resident villager and a cultivator and to own no land at all is considered a most unenviable fate and a degrading factor. At the same time, as Table 24 shows, land is widely distributed throughout the population so that even those who do not derive their main income from land tend to be landowners and interested in

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

1961/62 (SOURCE: KARAPIPERIS 1972 FROM MIN. OF AGRICULTURE AND ESEYE)

TYPE IN STREMMAS	AV	AH	D	P	II
FIELDS/MEADOWS	2.500	1.490	1.900	1.750	2.140
AGRICULTURAL LAND	1.500	600	1.700	700	900
PRIVATE AGRICULTURAL LAND	1.196	760	1.456	489	808
CULTIVATED LANDHOLDINGS	736	274	639	210	299
IRRIGATED AGRICULTURAL LAND	1.042	201	546	123	14
FOREST	21.885	11.740	14.875	7.115	8.980
TOTAL STREMMAS	28.863	15.065	21.116	10.387	13.221

1977 (SOURCE: MIN. OF AGRICULTURE, KARPENISI) -

TYPE IN STREMMAS	AV	AH	D	P	II
AGRICULTURAL LAND	1.900	500	900	500	400
GRAZING:					
BARE	2.400	900	2.000	4.000	6.000
SMALL TREES	9.700	2.500	5.200	1.600	1.700
SHRUBS	4.900	1.700	5.000	2.000	600
TOTAL GRAZING	17.000	5.100	12.100	5.800	8.300
FORESTS	4.800	6.000	6.500	4.000	10.000
OTHER	300	400	400	300	700
TOTAL STREMMAS	24.000	15.000	20.000	10.600	19.400

TABLE 24 . LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (1977)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	NUMBER WHO OWN LAND	UNWORKED LAND	LAND USED/ RENTED BY/ TO OTHERS	NO LAND	TOTAL IN CATEGORY
CULTIVATORS	81		2	2	83
STOCKBREEDERS	16	1	-	20	37
LABOURERS	10			5	15
TRADERS	12			7	19
ARTISANS	2	1		3	6
SERVICES	5			8	13
PENSIONERS	20	15	2	18	54*
MIGRANTS	27	40	3	176	246 ⁺
TOTAL	173	56	7	239	472

* INCLUDES SOME OF THOSE REGISTERED AS 'HOUSEWIVES' PREVIOUSLY

+ 26 MIGRANTS UNACCOUNTED FOR

having some land.

In general, because land in the village is relatively valueless⁹ there have been few commercial transactions in land in recent years. I learnt of only two cases while I was in the village. In one case, a widow under instructions from a migrant-worker son in Germany bought up several fields from people who had left the village. It was not known what she or her son intended to do with the fields but they were clearly not for cultivation. The widow could not anyway work these lands alone or harvest the chestnuts by herself. In the other case, a childless widow bought a single field from a family who had moved to another village in the province. This widow had made over all her property to an adopted son and it was felt that now 'she wanted something of her own again'. Some people who could afford it have bought land elsewhere in Greece (mainly land with olive trees in and around Lamia). This is seen as an important investment (and an alternative from investing in housing in towns) for future dowry payments and/or for the education of offspring. In most cases land bought in this way has become very valuable over the years.

Despite the relatively few commercial transactions in land in Agios Vissarios, transfers of land still take place at marriage and as part of inheritance at the death of parents or other relatives. Before the war exchanges of property - known as field swapping - were more frequent. These exchanges were usually made in an attempt to make the fields of ones landholding adjacent. Mainly because of the bilateral, equal inheritance system, because of dowry payments in land and sometimes as a result of the way in which a field was acquired, landholding could (and can be) very fragmented with fields at considerable distances apart. Some land has been acquired through appropriation. There is a category of land in Agios Vissarios known as piasmata (ie 'held' or squatters fields). These fields were acquired both

during Ottoman rule and later during the latter part of the 19th century or early 20th century, when villagers in need of more land staked out unused tracts of land where this was available.¹⁰ Piasmata are not, therefore, legally acquired plots of land and there are no original deeds for this kind of land, a factor which villagers consider important. Such fields are now usually recognised as being legally owned and given over by deed in inheritance or dowry payments or they have been sold by migrants from the village. Other land left by Turkish families who had settled in the village was also occupied in this way while some land was redistributed by the state after liberation in the mid 19th century. Some plots have also been acquired from the later dissolution of monastic lands.¹¹ The way in which the patronymic lands have been acquired continues to have status implications for the villagers. Piasmata are still considered by some of the villagers as not being legally owned.

Most of the unused land today is simply abandoned and few attempts are made to sell it. There has been some interest recently in possibilities for tourist development and talk of selling plots of land for holiday homes. Up until 1980, however, no real interest has been shown in the area by tourists and no land has been sold for this purpose. The so-called 'tourists' who do visit the village tend to be relatives and the descendents of those who left the village, or they include the visiting migrant workers themselves. Most of these people already have a claim on some land in the village.

There are several categories of land in Agios Vissarios.¹²

- 1) Privately owned smallholdings which comprise cultivated fields, fields with fruit trees (mainly chestnuts and walnuts, though before the war there were other fruit trees as well, apples, cherries, mulberries, pears, plums) and grazing

meadows. These holdings may be individually or jointly owned. According to available figures for 1976, private holdings constituted 15% of the total land area of the village.

- 2) The state owned forest lands (20% of the village land area).
- 3) Public, community land (63%). This land includes semi-wooded areas, barren mountain slopes as well as more fertile grazing land.
- 4) The church lands (vakoufika). Statistics do not list this kind of land separately. It is not clear, indeed, if Vakoufika are listed or whether they are included in public or private land. It was not possible for me to discover what percentage of the land area of Agios Vissarios was vakoufika. Certainly, 4-5 fields were pointed out as being vakoufika and at least two of these were rented out to transhumant shepherds during the summer.

With migration much of the land in the village has been abandoned. Some of this has reverted to the community.¹³ In general, it is only the fields immediately contingent to the village itself that are now worked (a radius of 0.50 - 1 km). All the land area between Agios Vissarios and the hamlet of AP in the north tends to be cultivated as it is more arable, well irrigated, relatively flat (unterraced) and with many fruit trees. A walk in any other direction reveals the crumbling walls of the once terraced, now abandoned, fields.

According to one source¹⁴ the average number of fields per individual landholding is 3.3 and the average size of each field 1.4 strems., that is, a total of up to

5 stremmata per holding. Other figures put it at roughly double that. The local branch office of the Ministry of Agriculture in Karpenisi, cited in 1977 10 fields per holding as the average, at between 1-1.50 stremmata each, that is, up to 12.5 stremmata per holding. And my own calculations¹⁵ suggest holdings of an average of 6-8 fields at between 1-3 stremmata each, that is, up to 14 stremmata per individual holding (i.e. approximately 3.5 acres).

Unlike other parts of Greece, land in this part of Evritania is not usually reckoned in stremmata or any precise measurement. People tend to talk of fields which may be 'good' or 'bad', large or small, with advantageous dispositions or not (i.e. rocky/stoneless, steep/flat, well irrigated/dry), instead people tend to cite the number of trees in a field. This way of talking about one's land seems to reinforce the view that the land is of little commercial value, that it is not very arable or productive and that it is very variable in quality. A large field, high up on a rocky mountain slope is of little worth compared to a small field which is flat, well irrigated and has many chestnuts trees. At the same time the ownership of some land remains significant even if this is not for immediate economic reasons.

Today it is rare for all the fields of an individual holding to be worked and even chestnuts/walnuts are abandoned if they are considered too distant and no labour is available. The more distant fields may still be used for grazing.

There are no large landowners, resident or absentee, who rent out their fields to tenants, though the letting/renting of fields does occur. Sometimes land is rented to 'outsiders' who have settled, albeit temporarily, in the village. A case in point is the forestguard who is from another village of Evritania but has lived in Agios Vissarios for seven years. He rents a house and three fields from a widow who spends most of the year in Athens.

Otherwise renting tends to occur between kin. In such cases fields may be let at a nominal price or there may be different kinds of sharecropping agreements. The chestnut yield, for example, may be equally divided between the owner and the tenant who does all the labour; or an agreement may be reached on a percentage of the cash received for the crop; or there may be a mixture of agreements. It is usually the owner of a field who seeks to let his or her land. Owners do this either to supplement their incomes or in order to gain access to the crop (normally chestnuts) which would otherwise remain unharvested. Renting out land also helps to maintain the fields concerned for possible future use. In a few cases land has been given to a relative on a more or less permanent basis. The owners here take little interest in the fields and no rent is paid. The relative, however, acquires no legal rights over the land and a regular supply of garden produce or chestnuts may be given or sent to the owners as gifts.

Though the local figures for landholding are scanty, the information I could muster¹⁶ suggests that although the uses to which land is put today have altered, especially since the war, there are similarities in the general landholding patterns. The same categories of land, in similar ratio to each other, are still to be found. Land is widely distributed throughout the village population though holdings tend to be small and the greater proportion of village land belongs to the state and the community (and possibly the church). This distribution of land was a basic cause of discontent in earlier periods, under Ottoman rule, during the late 19th century, in the 1930s and in the early 1940s. When the population of Evritania reached its peak in 1940 the discontent was intensified and often led to violent disputes. Such factors could not be easily ignored by the resistance forces operating in the province during the Second World War.

8.ii.(b) The Disputed Categories of Land

The Monasteries

Most of the monasteries of Evritania acquired their lands under Ottoman rule and mainly during the 18th century.¹⁷ To avoid the various taxes imposed by the Ottoman Turks many villagers gave their land under 'secret and fictitious contract' to local monasteries which for a number of reasons were exempt from the heavy taxes levied on individual landholdings.¹⁸ After liberation in 1821, however, many of the monasteries refused to return these lands to their rightful owners or to communities, so a lot of private and communal land was left in their possession. These lands included cultivated fields, meadows - used mainly for grazing - and forest lands (Vasiliou 1980). There were several cases where the inhabitants went to court over the issue. In general the courts ruled in favour of the inhabitants though the villagers usually had to pay an indemnity to the monasteries. One notable case concerned the village of Paleokastro (due East of AV) and the monastery of Tartarnas (still extant) which took place in 1838 and involved 1,358 stremmata (339 acres). On paper the land belonged to the monastery. Investigation revealed, however, that only two of these stremmata had actually been bought by the monastery. The rest had been acquired through 'fictitious contract' in 1808, the year in which the whole village of Paleokastro had been handed over to the monastery of Tartarnas. After prolonged court action in 1838, the village finally retrieved its lands by court order, though it had to pay 4.500 'piastres' in compensation.¹⁹

By the 20th Century, only two of the 22 monasteries of Evritania were functioning. The rest had

been dissolved and today only a few impoverished ruins remain - in the form of buildings and fields - which have come under the general administration of the Greek Church and are exploited to varying degrees. These lands are, now, collectively called vakoufika.²⁰ They are sometimes rented out at a nominal fee to local inhabitants and the money may go towards the upkeep of the local church or into the general treasury of the Greek Church.

Many Greek monasteries were gradually dissolved by successive post-liberation governments after 1821 and through appropriate legislation. They were partly the object of land reforms. Having lost the particular status they had acquired during Ottoman rule the monasteries were also recruiting fewer and fewer monks and had ceased to be able to manage their own estates. The Orthodox Church, therefore, decided to centralise the monasteries into larger units which would come directly under the administration of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It was felt that in this way, the larger monastic units could continue to function more effectively. Two such monastic units remained in Evritania, Proussos and Tartanas.²¹

By and large, then, the monasteries of Evritania had built up their properties from donations made by local inhabitants, according to the system of 'fictitious contract'. At first, these oral agreements allowed the local people to continue the cultivation of their lands and instead of paying taxes to Ottoman officials, they paid a percentage of their revenue to the monasteries. In time this gave the monasteries considerable power over the local villagers. As monastic properties expanded and as land shortages became a more pressing issue, the existence of monastic lands became a source of bitter discontent throughout the province. Most of the monasteries had been dissolved by the 1930s but large tracts of vakoufika remained, and still remain, unused.

The Estates (chiflikia) of Evritania

The large, privately owned estates formed another category of landholding in Evritania which posed problems to the local inhabitants. Most of these estates came from the Ottoman Turks who even before the onset of the War of Independence had sold them relatively cheaply to individual Greeks. Some of this land was later appropriated by communities or the state which redistributed a certain amount to the landless.

In 1930 there were 22 large, private estates in Evritania (four of these belonged to undissolved monasteries two of which were subsequently dissolved). Seven belonged to individual owners and eleven to the Armed Forces. Eleven years earlier in 1919, at the instigation of a local politician,²² the Minister of Agriculture legislated against any form of large landholding in the province and passed a Bill enabling the handing over of such lands to impoverished or landless cultivators. The estates were, however, still intact in 1930.

By 1940, the problem posed by the estates had become more serious, especially where there were absentee landlords. In Dolopon, some estate owners also held large flocks which were shepherded on a transhumant basis, thus leaving many of their pastures unused during the winter months. In that municipality alone three families owned over 22% of the land. In addition there were other smaller estates amounting to approximately 55.000 stremmata (31%). Six of these 'estates' amounted to only 31.500 stremmata together.

Under pressure from the local inhabitants EAM was forced to confront the problem posed by the larger chiflikia.

The major issues revolved around the appropriation and/or management of the estates. In the event, EAM decided not to expropriate any land but did agree to allow the use of some unworked land, fixing, in appropriate cases, a fair rent to the landlord. The 'more pressing problems of resistance and liberation' were considered a priority.

There are still eight large estates in Evritania, ranging in size from a total of 1.090 stremmata (272.5 acres) to 291.066 stremmata (72,766 acres).²³ Five of these are privately owned by individual families but three are owned as public land by whole communities. Most of the private, family estates are today unused or exploited to a minimal extent. The large expanses of unused land are, however, no longer a challenge to the local inhabitants - except as a reminder that the villagers have somehow been 'passed by'. Depopulation of the province since 1940 has led to a surplus of land and relative to other parts of Greece land is of little commercial value.

The State Forests

A third category of landholding which posed problems for the villagers of Evritania up to the war period comprised the state owned forests.²⁴ The two main issues surrounding the forests were (i) their protection from livestock and damage in general (unnecessary felling, fire etc.) and (ii) the exploitation of the forests as an alternate source of income and for the development of the rural economy of Evritania in general.

The appropriation of forests by the state in the early 20th century had meant some positive protection. This was enforced by the creation of forest-guards, though waste did continue as well as damage by livestock. The latter came to an end with the Metaxas anti-goat law of

1937. With the wholesale slaughter of goats, forestry as an alternate source of income became all the more important. However, no systematic exploitation of forest resources followed.

A campaign for the proper use of the forests of Evritania had began in 1933.²⁵ The Society FEK mentioned in its first circular that,

.... the forests should be handed over to the communities and their exploitation be made systematic through the establishment of cooperatives in every village.

Nothing was done. In 1936 the local paper I Foni again urged the full exploitation of the forests as an important source of income for the local population. The paper set out proposals, which were circulated throughout the province, that factories be set up in various suitable villages.²⁶ Still in 1936 the little timber cut in Evritania was taken to Lamia (Mackrokomi) thus depriving the local inhabitants of both employment and a possible source of income. Up to 1950 very little changed and forest lands around the villages of Fournas, Vraha, Neraida and Moloha were used mainly as summer pastures for about 10,000 sheep owned by approximately 50 transhumant shepherd families. The shepherds derived a total annual income of about half a million drachmas from herding their sheep in these pastures (Beikos 1979: Vol.1.:90/91).

The state finally appropriated the forests in 1952 and set up a sawing mill in Fournas. Between 1952-1959 the mill yielded 120.000 cubic metres of timber, which was as much as the whole province had yielded in the previous 40 or 50 years. By 1961 the mill was employing 1.792 people who worked a total of 82.113 wage-days and supplemented their collective income by a total of 5.5 million drachmas.

The forestry problem, like that of the unused monastic lands and chiflikia remained unsolved at the outbreak of war. The local committee of EAM was also obliged to draw up at least temporary measures to deal with the question of forestry in Evritania.

Following the initiatives of FEK and I Foni, EAM's main thrust was to make the local people feel more responsible for the forests surrounding their villages and to encourage the proper use of trees (like using the more hard wearing plane-tree instead of pine for their bean poles) as a first step towards the full exploitation of the forests. I Foni echoed the sentiments of the time,

the forest constitutes an unfathomable resource and tomorrow's income for the people of Evritania and must, therefore, be cared for like a daughter (sic) (Beikos 1979: Vol.1.:415)

For this to happen, it was recognized that,

the rights to the forest must belong to the communities which are next to them. (Ibid)

In December 1942 the local committee of EAM, based in the village of Kleitsos, drew up its proposals for the management of the forests, which it posted up on village walls, circulated to the other communities of the province and had read aloud in churches. The plan read that,

EAM has re-established justice in this case also, and gives back the forests to their rightful owners, the communities. The communities must now consider the forests their private property and protect them against every threat, against the axe and fire, until that time when their proper use and exploitation by the communities themselves who will profit from this. (Beikos 1979: Vol.1.:415/416)

The proposals were at least tacitly accepted, though in the event of the German occupation little could be done and EAM could not legally enforce its measures.²⁷ The importance of EAM's proposals lay in the principle of recognition. The forests were the property of each community and they should be exploited as such. This is what the local inhabitants had been claiming for at least a decade but they had been repeatedly ignored by successive governments. EAM's proposals also helped in ensuring a minimum of damage was done to the forests during the occupation period. The civil war ended that. Large expanses of forest land were deliberately destroyed.

TABLE 25

The Situation re. chiflikia in Evritania 1982

There are eight large estates in Evritania ranging from a total of 1090 stremmas (272.5 acres) to 291,066 stremmas (72,766 acres). Five of these are 'private' estates and three are owned by communities. 'Private' may also refer to private companies (the largest estate is owned today by the Airforce). Significantly, there is less information available on the private estates.

1. Forests of Kifos

Central Evritania, West of River Tauropos, near Neraida

Extent: 10450 strems.
 Private inheritance of I. Cristodoulias and D. Kostara
 Cultivated land is rented out.

Forest:	4880
Shrub :	3300
Barren :	1520
Bare :	70
TOTAL:	<u>10450</u>

2) Forests of Kokkinovrisis - Kleitsos

East Evritania

Private, unexploited

Forest:	2250
Shrub :	530
Wild :	520
Bare :	300
TOTAL:	<u>3600</u>

3) Forests of Varbariadas

Central West, East of River Agrafiotis, near Monastivaki

Extent: 2330
Private
(No more details available)

4) Forest of Sela

Central Evritania

Extent: 291066
Private
(No details available)

5) Grazing lands of Zampati-Voulpis

West, South of Granitsa

Extent: 5720
Used by community of Boulpis

TABLE 25 cont.

6) Forest of Milia

South of Karpenisi

Extent: 2840
Private

7) Chestnut Forest of Agios Nikolaos (Laspi)

Near Karpenisi

Extent: 1540
Used by community

8) Forest of Vranganion

Central North, source of Agrafiotis

Extent: 1090
Private

(Source: DT. 1981-PC)

TABLE 25 Cont.

8.iii.(a) 'Agricultural Consciousness' in the Villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon

In the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon the economic situation remained critical throughout the 1930s.²⁸ Agios Vissarios and the surrounding communities were in a more favourable position as the cultivation of chestnuts and walnuts had got underway and provided a limited cash crop. Nevertheless, in 1935 Agios Vissarios called a general assembly where the villagers decided the situation had become intolerable. The villagers drew up a petition demanding from the government the immediate improvement of their economic conditions.²⁹

By the end of the 1930s, however, the situation remained unchanged throughout the province. Nothing had been done by the government to improve agricultural conditions and the demand for more land and land appropriations had been ignored. Despite some government legislation the large, unworked, estates in the province remained intact and under-used. In the autumn of 1940 the inhabitants of one village in Ktimenion³⁰ banded together, claimed some of the unused community land in their village and planted a potato crop. By early 1941 this act had created severe tensions both between villagers and between the village and local provincial authorities. The ensuing hostilities finally forced the local branch of the Communist Party to confront the issue of land more directly. The KKE suggested that 'digging a little outside one's boundaries' be permitted as a first step and the Party promised to deal with the problem 'properly' as soon as possible. (Beikos 1979: Vol.1:409).

By the spring of 1942 nothing more concrete had been proposed and after the severe winter of 1941 and the ensuing famine, the situation was as critical as ever.

The difficulties were added to by the return of urban migrants fleeing the occupation in the towns. EAM was by now in charge of these villages and the system of self-government had got underway. The local EAM leadership suggested that the reclamation of new lands be allowed within certain prescribed limits. Only 'fern land' (ie land with no trees) could, it said, be appropriated and preferably land contingent to existing holdings. EAM emphasised that these were only temporary measures and that when a final scheme for the redistribution of land was drawn up, even the newly claimed plots might change hands. EAM had also to admit that it did not represent the state though it was a substitute for it in the circumstances - and that it did not have the power to legally enforce its proposals.

At first EAM attempted to limit the reclamation of new lands and prevent a haphazard or disordered appropriation which might lead to unnecessary damage or village feuds. It was thought, further, that the inhabitants could better defend their case later if newly claimed lands were seen to be contingent with existing holdings. Certainly, something had to be done about the need for more land and EAM tried to manage the situation. However, land reform had been on the agenda for some time and appropriations had been taking place long before EAM was created.

In December 1942 EAM also turned its attention to the forests and finally drew up its proposed scheme for the distribution of land. The new system, actually developed and in force before the occupation and the existence of EAM, prevailed in the villages of Ktimenion and Dolopon for almost eight years. The continuity was broken by enforced evacuation during the civil war and largescale migration from the area over the following years. It was labour which eventually became the scarce resource and not land.

In one sense, then, the self-governing institutions and their codification appeared as an expression of popular demand for certain changes. This demand for changes involved a number of things.

Another important factor which informed both the codification of the institutions and their application was the "agricultural consciousness" of the population where they took root it was mainly smallholders and peasants who formed the base of EAM and whose position in production and the economic situation had long remained unsolved. (Cristidis 1978)

I have outlined aspects of the economic context in which the self-governing institutions were developed. In Evritania this context included the shortage of arable land for individual use, a factor made worse by the increase of population (itself due to other factors) and the ban on goats. I have referred to some of the demands made by the local villagers which had been repeatedly ignored. And I have mentioned some of the attempts made to solve these problems, like the summoning of village assemblies, the setting up of associations and committees and the formulation of programmes and petitions for improvement. There are additional aspects to the 'agricultural consciousness' which Cristidis refers to. One of these is reflected in traditional cooperative activities among the villagers of Ktimenion and Dolopon.³²

8.iii.(b) Traditional Cooperative Activities

A number of cooperative activities, what the villagers refer to as 'traditions' were endorsed by the institutions of self-government or at least codified for the first time during the early 1940s.

There was a custom among the villagers - widespread in Evritania - which had become a kind of common law right by the 20th century (Cp Beikos 1979: Vol.1.:52). After the 15th August families with milk-goats gave a percentage of their milk free to every poor family in the community. The 'poor' families were decided on beforehand by village concensus. Each poor family was given between 5 to 15 kilos of milk so, it is said, they could make their trahana (a type of noodle) for the winter. The notion of a free distribution of 'surplus' produce to the needy of the village found expression in the welfare and other food committees that were set up in the late 1930s and by the later system of self-government. Most of the Codes enact the custom where it is combined with some specification for the establishment of 'distribution cooperatives'.³³

Another prevalent practice among these villages referred to the 'priest's right' (to dikiou tou Papa). According to this practice the villagers came to an agreement with the priest about his 'wages'. These were paid in kind. It was decided by village assembly how much wheat, maize or other produce it was 'appropriate' for the village or each individual family to give to the priest 'in order to enable him to pursue his livelihood and execute his priestly duties'. A first donation was given after the threshing season and a second at the end of the year. In theory the priest was not allowed to demand 'his right' but often villagers were 'compelled' to take their dues to the priest's wife at the appropriate times. As priests came under the control of the central body of the Church during the 1930s and priests started to receive a monthly wage much like other civil servants the practice had ceased to function. The term, to dikiou tou Papa, however, is used to refer to the loaves of bread and other gifts of food still given to the local priest even today. The earlier method of villagers deciding matters in assembly and making direct contributions to or collections for the priest (which also brought the priest

more under the control of the local inhabitants) re-appeared with the establishment of self-government in the 1940s. As a method of payment it is referred to in at least two of the Codes.³⁴

The office of fieldguard had undergone major changes during the Metaxas government in the 1930s. The position had previously been assumed by a local villager who had declared himself willing for the job. His position had then to be ratified by popular consent. The fieldguard usually agreed to a year's work - never more than a year - but sometimes for six months only. Vineyard guards were appointed in the same way but for the period between the ripening of the grapes and the harvest, 2-3 months only. The same was true for waterchiefs who were appointed for the irrigation season.³⁵

When the fieldguard had been chosen by the community, his position was endorsed by the community council and he was sworn in by the local/regional Magistrates Court. The fieldguard wore a white metal cross either on his cap or on his jacket and was allowed to carry his own arms. Everyone whose fields he protected contributed to his pay.

The Metaxas government reorganized the whole system of agrarian security. Fieldguards became a type of civil servant under contract for the duration of a normal working life and they were required to have a full Primary school education as well as to undergo specific fieldguard training. In this way, the fieldguard was removed from direct village control. The villagers no longer had any say in who was appointed and could not dismiss the fieldguard after a year as a sanction for failing in his duties. Gradually, the fieldguard also became synonymous with village informer. The early institutions of self-government, in particular, attempted to reintroduce the old system of popular appointment, collective payment and control over fieldguards.³⁶

Finally, the traditional system of ntamka cultivation was reintroduced in some of the villages of Ktamenion and Dolopon as a response to the land problem.³⁷

A number of other local elements were developed by the institutions of self-government during this period and variously reflected in the Codes. As I have mentioned, food distribution schemes were not new but had already been set up during the 1930s when some had even been recognised by the government.

The practice of forming small committees to solve immediate problems was also common, even before the activities of the 1930s.³⁸

Committees were commonly formed in estimating the damage done to another person's fields, in irrigation disputes or in the management of some specific issue such as the auctioning of community property or in order to raise funds for a particular cause. There was a revival of this practice during the self-governing period of the occupation.³⁹

The introduction of the village assembly touched on a long-standing practice of participation in local politics (though power remained in the hands of the few). The older villagers still talk of the prewar custom of forming informal gatherings to discuss local or national events.

8.iv. The Legal Context of the Self-Governing Institutions and People's Justice

The context in which the first self-governing institutions developed during the 1940s and in which the Codes were formulated is many-faceted. It is not just an historical one - the conditions of war - nor only the socio-economic, political or cultural one characteristic in this case of the mountain villages of north-eastern Evritania. The context includes the locus of a relationship between state power - or the legal system - and economic organization more generally. Understanding parts of this context may help to explain why the institutions of Popular Justice appeared as they did and the kinds of effect they were able to have. It may also explain the limitations of peoples justice in challenging the established (essentially pre-war) power structure.

Marxists have long argued that each mode of production brings into being its own characteristic set of legal relations. In other words, the legal system as a whole is not seen as an autonomous set of rules but is based on and expresses the social reality of a particular epoch (ie a specific economic, political and social reality) and the legal system reflects and corresponds to the general economic conditions of the time.⁴⁰ Law, in this case, is defined as part of the 'superstructure' adapting itself to the "necessities of an infrastructure of productive forces and relations" (Thompson 1975:259). As such, the law is identified with the rule of class. The legal system is set here within the boundaries of the state. Law is considered an expression of the relations on which state power rests and politics are an inherent aspect of the law.⁴¹

The state as a whole, as much as the legal system, is seen as the 'superstructural expression' of the class which happens to be economically dominant at a particular time reflecting, in the realms of political and ideological relations, the 'facts' of production. It follows from this that changes in the legal system necessarily occur with the development of economic relations. In the broadest terms, it has been argued that the historical transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist modes of production entails a series of fundamental, though uneven, changes in economic relations and legal rules and concepts.

All these points have been vigorously debated within Marxism itself. The actual relationship of Law to the political economy in general is considered far more complex than such earlier, more deterministic, analyses imply. A main critique of the ways in which the relationship has been understood has been levelled against the implied reductionism of a one-to-one equation of the rule of law with the rule of class or of the politico-ideological system corresponding exactly to the 'facts' of production; and ^aagainst the very typology in which such analyses have taken place which assumes 'superior' and 'inferior' determining structures.⁴²

Following E.P. Thompson (1975), some main points of contention which bear on this argument can be outlined. I believe, they help in the understanding of People's Justice in the Greek context.

Firstly and most simply, as Thompson points out, though as a body of institutions and personnel the law may be assimilated to the ruling class and is manipulated by them, it is clearly more than this. Not least because it contains within it alternate definitions of justice and the law. Secondly, the typology of superstructure and infrastructure which allows for this kind of analytical assimilation, separates off the law in

such a way that is misleading and misses the multiplicity of its meanings and functions. For the rules and categories of law can be shown to penetrate every level of society affecting a variety of social behaviour, helping to define men's rights, statuses and their identity, setting the limits to the class structure (Thompson 1975:260ff). The processes by which this occurs, however, are far from simple.⁴³ The law is an ideological system,

..... particular rules and sanctions which stand in definite, active and often conflicting, relation to social norms (Thompson p.260).

Perry Anderson (1980) sums up this aspect of law when he writes that,

..... in a capitalist social formation, law is essentially an ideological system whose specificity is at the same time to be by definition materialized through the political institution of the State, where its primary function is the regulation and protection of economic property (p.70)

What seems important, however, is not that, as ideology, the law in everyday life may obscure real power relations by making legal forms of power appear equally available to all, nor that power relations in general may be obscured by the seemingly neutral and equitable system. The point is, as Thompson argues, that the law also functions as the legitimation of the entire social system and, as such, cannot simply be separated off as the ideology assimilated by the state apparatus of the ruling class. It is also ideology supported by and part of the practice of the 'ruled'. Law in this sense has to meet standards of universality and equity in order to be at all operable even as the protector of class hegemony. By

definition such standards, however scant in actuality, also make the law to some degree independent of 'gross manipulation' by those in power. It can become an instrument which can also be used to limit that power (Thompson 1975:263).

In one way then, Thompson argues, the 'ruled' have as much need of law as the 'rulers'. The ruled also need to legitimate their positions within a given system. As Thompson puts it, it is not simply a case of the 'economically-dominant being supported by the law, versus the propertyless-antagonists-of-law', but a question of alternate definitions of property rights, of power, and alternate notions of justice which are contained and fought out within the single legal system. (Thompson p.261).

It is because of this duality that the law may become the forum within which certain kinds of (class) conflict may be fought out and sometimes resolved.⁴⁴ Herein, it may be argued, lies the significance to the Evcritanian villagers of setting up alternate legal systems in the form of arbitration committees and peoples courts, and the importance of 'legitimising' their actions.

Law is not just an element of an ideological superstructure manipulated by those in power. It also defines productive relations,

actual agrarian practice as it has been pursued through time, for the cultivator in his daily occupation moves within both the visible and invisible structures of law (Thompson 1975 p.261).

Land-use rights and the setting of boundaries are included in this definition. As such productive relations are only meaningful in terms of their definitions at law.⁴⁵

Within this general framework it is possible to examine the mechanisms of a given legal system in its relation to change and, in this case, to the institutions of Peoples Justice as they appeared in Evritania during the 1940s.

As regards change it is helpful to divide the 'legal mechanism' into two broad categories.⁴⁶ The one concerns the law both as an ideological system and as defining actual productive relations. The law may be written or simply implied as

the shared understanding of what constitutes the sine qua non of the established social system, indispensable for existing economic relations - but not to be confused with constitutionally protected human rights (Koundouros 1974:19/20)

In E.P. Thompson's terms this category of law can be described as the "congruities" of the social formation. "The 'necessary' rules, expectations and values as people live particular productive relations" (Thompson 1978: 21). Thompson argues it is not possible to exist in conflict the whole time. It is necessary to go along with a generally defined status quo, in conformity with a body of socially accepted rules, in order for society to 'happen' at all.

The second category of the 'legal mechanism' refers to legal rules consequent on the operation of an established social system but which are not indispensable to it (Koundouros p.21). Assuming that every legal system contains alternate notions of law and thereby constitutes a potential forum for conflict (and resolution) what is important about this double categorisation is that the first category cannot ultimately be challenged through normal legal procedures.⁴⁷

The second category can be challenged, modified or adjusted to any relative change in the power structure. This category of law suggests Thompson's "contradiction" of the social system,

..... first, the conflict between the way of life, the norms of the local and occupational community, and that of the "outer" society; and, second, the ways in which the essentially exploitative character of productive relations are experienced, and give rise to the expression of antagonist values and to a general criticism of the "commonsense" of power (Thompson 1978: 21/2)

The dual distinction implies that the law can be used to carry out reforms and certain changes within the established social system but it cannot be used by itself to carry out decisive action to overthrow that order. In this context changes in the law appear, not to alter the system but - often - to harmonise discrepancies which have arisen or simply to point up the contradictions of that system.

These considerations help in understanding the stated intentions and the practice of Popular Justice in the villages of Evritania as well as their effects. In order to bring about a fundamental reordering of the social system changes are necessary outside the legal system and not just through it. A reordering in this respect implies changes in the sphere of productive relations and in the legal establishment of government and constitution.

It was, in fact, only the earliest institutions of popular justice as they appeared in the villages of Ktimenion and DoloPON, and the Code of Poseidon as their first written expression, that were actually conceived as functioning within such a framework of revolutionary intent. For as we have seen attempts were simultaneously being made to

bring about changes in productive relations (mainly through land reforms) and to 'abolish' the existing 'bourgeois legal system'. This revolutionary intent was quickly circumscribed by the development of the institutions and the aims of the leadership of EAM. In the end, the institutions of Peoples Justice were faced instead with harmonising discrepancies which had arisen as a result of the collapse of basic state power. The earlier activities, too, addressed themselves to specific local problems and did not envisage a widescale reordering of the power structure.

Although the members of the local EAM committee had drawn up a scheme for the distribution of land in the area of Ktimenion and Dolopon (under persistent pressure from the local inhabitants) they had at the same time rejected proposals for the outright appropriation of large private estates on the grounds that the "time was not ripe for such drastic measures" and, significantly, because EAM was concerned to stay within "the limits of what was legally possible" (Beikos 1979: Vol.1:410).⁴⁸

The more modest aims which informed the later institutions of Peoples Justice were justified in terms of the 'necessary tactics' demanded by the conditions of occupation. The relationship between the law and the established order was recognised in the Code Poseidon as it was. What was clearly at stake was not just the reformulation of specific laws but of legal ideology and justice itself.

In this sense and taken as a whole, the activities of the 1930s, the resistance institutions and the written Codes were remarkable and innovatory. They were in conflict with the established legal system but more concerned with the morality of law and the expression and development of alternate methods of 'lawful' action than with the overthrow of the whole system.⁴⁹

The justification for not allowing the institutions to develop beyond these early stages was

expressed in terms of the conditions of occupation and the general aims of the resistance movement. The Explanatory Report to PEEA Act 57 of 1944 clearly states,

The completed version of popular justice cannot be made now as the determination of a peoples democracy goes beyond the aims of the National Liberation struggle

The same report, however, recognized that the solution to the whole issue did not lie simply in adjusting the legal system but required the transformation of "bourgeois relations and existing relations of production",

It is clear, that a completed version of popular justice will exist only when social relations can be regulated by a body of laws, of genuine peoples' justice, which will mirror and correspond to the relations of production in tomorrow's popular democracy.

Ultimately, then, the institutions of peoples justice appear as attempts to deal with the conflicts which had arisen in the power structure and not as a serious threat to the existing order. At the same time, alternate notions of law found brief expression but were not adequately supported by other, economic, changes throughout the system in order to have lasting effect.

In this sense, as Mexis (1975) has pointed out, the 'legal system' of the resistance can be said to have sprung from the National Liberation struggle. It found particularly fertile soil in an area where the local people had already been practising forms of popular arbitration as a result of another set of specific conditions. The institutions of self-government helped to define and set the pace of social needs within the context of a weakening state, of occupation and struggle, but not necessarily beyond it.

The institutions systematised certain political and social changes that were already taking place in this rural world, as well as expressing needs of local villagers and the legal development of new social relations. But these were ultimately the 'new social relations' and 'justice' of an exceptional national and social situation.

The movement for self-government did not bring about radical and far-reaching changes in these villages but developed trends that had existed or had been germinating for some time.

Chapter 8 - Footnotes

- 1 ie together with their codification in Poseidon.
- 2 Cp. Moore (1963:82) on the definition of Revolution as opposed to Reform.
- 3 As already mentioned, the first Code Poseidon is exceptional in that it has to be considered in conjunction with the activities of the local EAM committee of the area. Decision No. 6 makes no mention of land appropriation/redistribution but does mention the state owned forests (art. 5) and provides for 'free access to (the forests) for the homeless and poor'. The Stereia Code explicitly states that 'in no case can the courts order a land appropriation. They can, however, order 'the temporary occupation by poor or landless peasants of the district after fixing an equitable rent for the owner' (art. 65). The Provisions make a similar case for the 'temporary settlement' of the landless (art. 133). As regards the more general concerns relating to property, this Code also outlines two provisions for the explicit protection of monastic lands (Arts. 20 & 107). The only implicit reference to ameliorating the general agricultural situation is made in its provision for the formation of cooperatives (art. 21), but this concerns produce and not land or the working of lands. In the PEEA Acts the whole issue - fundamental socio-economic relations were removed from both the local level and from debate itself, by excluding from the jurisdiction of any of the popular courts matters of inheritance, ownership, or divorce. (Act 12: art. 3b; Act 57: art. 10). Except for Poseidon (and PEEA Act 57 which only recognizes the problem) none of the Codes deal with the question of the old law and legal structure.
- 4 This 'failure' is nevertheless only part of the complex of reasons for the eventual defeat of EAM. For a clear indication of the many issues involved see for eg. Lars Baerentzen (1980) and Sarafis & Eve (1990).
- 5 This was the same committee that later drew up a scheme for the distribution of land in the area.
- 6 Beikos (1979 Vols 1 & 2) and Tsoucalas (1969).
- 7 Beikos (ibid) makes this point - stressing the importance of 'dialectical thinking' as a new method employed in the courts opposed to other methods of argument (ie. using a 'thesis', 'antithesis', 'synthesis' format).

8.ii.

8 See Table 24.

9 A field of 2-3 stremmata, on the outskirts of the village, relatively flat and with fruit trees could be bought for 110.000 drs. in 1978. Relative to other parts of Greece, especially coastal areas, this is not only cheap but considered 'giving the land away free'.

10 See chapters 4.iii., 6.ii., 7.i.

11 See 8.ii.(b)

12 See Table 23.

According to the local branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, only 20% of all landholdings are used today.

13 By law, property, including livestock, unclaimed for a certain period reverts to the community.

14 Karapiperis, D. (1972) who cites Ministry of Agriculture figures 1961/2.

15 A sample of about 10% of all holdings (i.e. about 16 holdings out of a total of approximately 150). In the end I was only able to follow up information on about 7 of these but they represent: (a) the largest properties with the best fields, (b) average holdings both 'good' and 'bad' fields and (c) small holdings both 'good' and 'bad' in terms of fields.

It should be added that this average represents the land that is today workable by a household of 2/3 persons. In the past (before the war) most households 'owned' (ie used) more holdings especially for growing wheat and maize. The villagers had fields on slopes facing the village which are now forested and state owned. No archival materials exist for further details.

16 i.e. from local informants and what they could remember.

17 Vasiliou (1980) in private correspondence.

18 For such reasons see Zachythinis (1976) and Chapter 4 above.

19 Term for an Ottoman denomination, of unknown value here.

20 See chapter 4.iii. above for the origin of the word.

21 In 1834 the Church Fund was founded. This institution represented the monasteries of Greece and was responsible for amassing revenue from produce grown on monastic lands and from the sale of monastic property, after dissolution. In 1909 another Fund, the General

Ecclesiastical Fund, was founded for the same purpose but it was disbanded at the end of 1930 due to its complete failure to properly manage its properties. In its place the Organization for the Management of Church Property was set up (law 4684/1930 enacted in 1931). Details from Vasiliou (1980) private correspondence.

22 Georgos Kafantaris, Liberal (Venizelist) MP for Evritania between 1905 - 1933.

23 See Table 25 for details

24 Evritania is rich in forests: there are almost 2 million stremmata of forest land. 65% of the province is forested. ATE publication (1961).

25 See chapter 6.ii.

26 Viz. Fournas, Kleitsos, Hohlia, Vraha and Moloha - A sawing mill was finally created in Fournas in 1952, Kleitsos and Vraha today supply the mill. Hohlia only uses what the village needs from the surrounding forests and the forests of Moloha remain totally unexploited.

27 Despite the example set by the Society FEK, Decision No. 6 is the only Code in which the forests get a mention. The Code states (art. 5a) that the local financial sub-committee will also be responsible for the 'protection and development of the forests' and will issue special permits to specially appointed 'forest clerks' to collect firewood; and that "free access will also be given to the very poor, those who have lost their homes by fire and the families of those serving in national organizations".

There is, in fact, a fleeting reference to the appointment of forest-guards and the protection of forests in the Sterea Code (art. 17), as there is in the Provisions (art. 18). The latter, however, states that arson or damage to the forest amounting to more than 500.000 drachmas falls within the jurisdiction of the Guerrilla/martial, not village, courts.

8.iii.(a) & (b)

28 This was expressed by the illegal appropriation of land which in one village, Platano, led to the death of 9 villagers in 1932. See Beikos (1979 Vol.1.:408ff).

29 See chapter 6.ii. and Appendix 3.

30 The village Platano where the earlier tragedy had occurred.

31 See Appendix 3.

32 Agricultural Coops became an important feature during the occupation. See Ardelidis (1975) who discusses the history of the cooperative movement in Greece since the turn of the century as well as the formation of cooperatives during the occupation. And Papagarifallou (1977a) on PEEA's legislation on cooperatives.

33 See for Stera Code (art. 16) and the Provisions (art. 21).

34 See Poseidon (art. 4) and Decision No. 6 (art. 5b). NB the PEEA did not provide for a church committee at all.

35 See appended note on 'nerofori' at end of these footnotes.

36 Poseidon in particular, with its (art. 4b), endorsed the reintroduction of the old system of payment and control of the fieldguard. The other Codes make no precise specifications but ensure that, in other respects, 'all the organs of self-government come under strict and continuous control by the local people and are directly accountable to them'.

37 See Appendix 3 for description of the system. It was reintroduced by the local EAM committee in its scheme for the distribution of land and upheld in these villages for a period of nearly ten years.

38 See, for example, Beikos (1979), Vasiliou (1964-5a) and as corroborated by various informants.

39 This practice is clearly reflected in Poseidon (art. 1) not only in its use of the term 'committee' as opposed to 'council', but in making provisions for the setting up of small committees to assess agrarian damage, give family counsel and so on.

8.iv.

40 Cp Marx (1859),

The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which the rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness ...

and Marx (1845/6,)

..... civil law develops simultaneously with private property out of the disintegration of the natural community

41 Since, that is,

The State is the form in which individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests, and in which the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomized, it follows that the State mediates in the formation of all common institutions and that the institutions receive a political form. (Marx 1845/6)

42 EP Thompson is a main protagonist in the attack against the limitations of Structural Marxism of the Althusserian type, but in Anthropology others have also attempted to break away from what is seen as the confinements of such rigid typologies - See, for example, Bourdieu (1972) and Godelier (1982) for two different kinds of example. See also my Introductory chapter 1.iv.

43 Also Cp Engels 1890 who was mindful of this,

The basis of the law of inheritance is an economic one. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to prove, for instance, that the absolute liberty of the testator in England, and the severe restrictions imposed on him in France, are only due, in every detail, to economic causes. Both react back, however, on the economic sphere

and see Koundouros (1974) for discussion of this point.

44 See P. Anderson (1980) for a critique of these views. Anderson argues that EP Thompson tends to accept the notion of 'rule of law' too uncritically, and too readily extolls its virtues of imposing inhibitions on the power of rulers and acting as an arena for the solution of class conflicts. Anderson claims that this is not borne out by empirical, historical evidence.

45 As Thompson cites (1977:261) the freeholder, the tenant and landless still have recourse to law over work conditons, pay, assault etc. It should be noted that in his examination of law here, EPT is also attacking the notion of infra/super-structure. He argues that because the rules and categories of law penetrate every level of society, it cannot be usefully analyzed in terms of a superstructure distinct from an infrastructure. Anderson (ibid), however, has pointed out that law can be empirically omnipresent in society, as Thompson shows, but still remain analytically a level of it, as Poulantzas (1975) for example, has argued. That level may then be elevated as 'a superstructure' above an economic base, while being indispensable to it. (Anderson 1980: 73).

46 I am indebted to Koundouros (1974) for this classification.

47 There are many laws which, in effect, protect the notions of private and individual ownership of the means of production in a capitalist system, but they cannot be legally challenged as there is no express reference to them in any 'Bourgeois Constitution' (See Koundouros 1974:15-21).

48 According to Beikos (1979), the basis for this more reformatory, rather than revolutionary attitude, can be traced back to the 6th Convention of the KKE's Central Committee in 1934, which had declared that the Revolution of workers and peasants in Greece, when it came, would have a 'bourgeois-democratic' character. This implies that even the KKE were not, at the time, aiming for fundamental changes in the sphere of productive forces or in government and state power.

49 This is clearly expressed in Poseidon art. 2, the Provisions art. 60 and PEEA Act 57 art. 1 and its Explanatory Report. While Poseidon and Circular 4 in general, suggest that an attempt was being made to challenge the social order through legal forms. The concern to incorporate local customs, old traditions and the idea of the 'will of the people' - aspects hitherto ignored by the official law, clearly express the notion of an alternate view of justice and peasant ideas of lawful.

Footnote No. 35

Watering

Before the war and up to the 1950s the villagers (up to 50 persons or more) would collect at appropriate points to dig/clear the irrigation canals. Once collected there they would decide among themselves who would be in charge of the watering rota system for each particular area during the summer months. They would discuss who was the most eligible as 'water-chief' (neroforos lit. water-carrier) according to how responsible they were, how many other obligations they had, to what extent they were in need of the extra money and so on. Everyone present then voted by a show of hands and it was decided how much each villager would pay the neroforoi for their services, in money or kind.

The summer watering of garden plots within the village and those on the outskirts (gardens with beans, tomatoes, onions, potatoes, some maize) and of the fields (maize with beans, beans and chestnuts) begins in June. Today the village council appoints a number of people as water-chiefs and their task is to ensure that each villager's plot(s) and field(s) is/are irrigated in rote between the dry months of June and the first rains in September. The duties of the neroforos involves informing each inhabitant when their turn comes up and from whom they will be taking the water supply and opening up and closing (i.e. digging) the appropriate canals in

order to divert the water.

Most people agree that this system of irrigation has been in operation for as long as they and their grandparents remember - though its organization through the village council is more recent (surprisingly, it was impossible to discover how recent, no-one not even those in the Nomarch offices could agree). Before that, the claim is made, 'people fought over the water, there were court cases all the time, quarrels and much ado', people cut each others water supplies off or refused to pass on the supply at the appointed time. There are still a few disputes during the watering season but they tend to be limited and contained, more in the way of grumbles. This is partly because water is not in short supply in the village - especially in the summer when the streams are brimful from the mountain snows - and partly because the disputes can be easily focused on to the water-chiefs who can find quick redress through the community council.

The villagers who wish to be appointed as neroforoi (or they may be nominated by other villagers) make an application to the village council which then decides who is the most suitable, still according to the criteria mentioned above. The names of those chosen are then sent to the provincial head office (the Nomarch) where they are officially endorsed. It then becomes an official appointment which is legally binding.

The irrigation canals are dug and/or cleared in May and early June by all those concerned. Water is diverted from the neighbouring or nearest stream into these canals. Smaller channels are then dug to divert water from the canals into one's fields. Some canals are permanent, i.e. built in concrete, but they will still need clearing by spring.

The president of the community announces the day and time that people owning fields in particular areas should collect and go and clear the canals. On the boundaries with other villages, the setting of a day is synchronized by both the presidents concerned. When the canals are cleared irrigation begins and the neroforoi take charge of the distribution.

The water-chiefs are paid by the villagers according to how many fields/garden plots each one has. There are usually two neroforoi appointed to deal with the village plots (upper and lower neighbourhoods) and another 2-4 for the outlying fields. They can each earn up to 5-6000 drs. for 50 households in the village and up to 23.000 drs. for fields. Garden plots are watered every 8-12 days and fields and trees every 15 days. Both men and women can be chosen as neroforoi, though it is usually men who are appointed for the field work.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

B E F O R E A N D A F T E R

CHAPTER 9 - DEPOPULATION OF THE PROVINCE: MIGRATION IN GENERAL AND THE CIVIL WAR

Migration is a fact of everyday life for the villagers of Agios Vissarios. Widescale depopulation, especially since the war, has affected the rural economy, agriculture, productivity and labour relations, and continues to do so. Migration has also indirectly affected local political relations and contributed to changing the local bases of power as well as other aspects of social life. The most dramatic depopulation of Evritania resulted from the war itself and, in particular the civil war. It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider the effects of civil war when discussing migration.

The consequences of the civil war and of migration have been similar. Both are topics of constant and everyday discussion. Songs are still sung referring to both and everyday conversation is punctuated by the disruptive effects on village life of both migration and the civil war. To consider both together shows how the development of a particular community follows in some respects and in others differs from the trajectory of the nation as a whole.

In this chapter, I will outline general migratory trends in Evritania and reconsider aspects of the civil war. The importance of the civil war for the villagers of Evritania has already been referred to in the thesis.¹ I have argued that the civil war not only had far-reaching consequences for village life and remains a major resonance in contemporary social relations but that the civil war had major implications for my own fieldwork. I have also argued that the civil war is a key to understanding how a particular history is conceptualised and used in the

present. Finally, analysing the effects of civil war also helps to explain why the self-governing institutions of the occupation period had so little obvious lasting effect on the mountain villages concerned.

I have chosen to divide the migratory movements from the province into three distinct phases which I will discuss separately. The phases are:

- 1) The relatively steady migration of the early 20th century, both to urban centres of Greece and to the USA.
- 2) The dramatic 'political migration' between 1940-50, the result of war and civil strife, and
- 3) The intensified migration of the early 1960s. This phase corresponds to economic opportunities which had opened up in other parts of Western Europe (and especially in West Germany) and to internal industrial developments in Greece which had been assisted by the injection of foreign capital.²

9.i. Early Migration from Evritania

In Evritania, the traditional solution to the problem of earning a living from insufficiently productive agriculture has been migration. Evidence suggests that even during the Ottoman period migration to urban centres occurred though it was more infrequent and involved the richer eschelons of the community or those who had established some sort of agreement with the Turks.³

By the end of the 19th century migration was more common. Istanbul was the favoured destination and migrants were oriented towards clerical and mercantile activities in the still existing Greek diaspora communities (cp Mouzelis 1979). At the turn of the century emigration to the USA began to be more usual for the whole of Greece and involved a different category of unskilled labourer migrant.

Most of the early migration from Evritania took place between 1907 and 1920 when the population of the whole province was reduced by 5.515 persons. After that, and partly as a result of changes in USA immigration policy the population of Evritania grew. It reached its peak in 1940 with a total of 53.474 inhabitants. Between 1940 and 1950 12.803 people left the province and between 1961-1971 a further 10.183 left.⁴

The first phase of migration relates to the urbanization of Greece which had become significant by the end of the 19th century, though emigration to the USA had also gained momentum in the first two decades of the 20th century (cp Mouzelis 1979, Tsoucalas 1969). What characterises this period of migration is the fact that men tended to migrate alone for most of their working

lives. Migration to the USA usually meant joining the bottom rungs of the working classes and living in conditions which were perceived as being too difficult to contemplate bringing families over even if this had been financially possible. The distance meant that regular visits to one's village were ruled out. These factors had social as well as economic consequences.

Remittances took the place of visits and began to assume an important supplement to local resources for the first time. A result of this was that US emigration had the effect of assisting the mountain villages to retain their patterns of life.⁵ This type of, essentially male, migration, meant that women had to assume a greater share in the management and cultivation of family lands. Often women did not see their male relatives - including fathers, brothers, husbands and sons - until they returned to the village as old men. It was common for a young man to marry before he emigrated, leaving behind him a pregnant wife. Other men had marriages arranged for them by correspondence and it was sometimes years before the wedding ceremony actually took place and the marriage was consummated. On rare occasions a girl chosen in this way might be sent to join the husband abroad. Those who could manage it returned to the village to marry and then visited their wives at infrequent intervals during their working lives.

Cultivation could still be undertaken by the women - and where relevant their growing families - so production was maintained at a relatively constant level. Those whose husbands managed to send significant sums of money could afford to hire labour, invest in new land and create for themselves a relatively good standard of living. In general, however, a young wife had to work her lands and/or those of her husband with the assistance of sisters, mothers and in-laws or affines, relying on

remittances and often working as a casual labourer herself.

The women who passed their lives in this manner complain bitterly that they actually married their mothers-in-law and not their husbands! The hardships, the uncertainty of regular remittances, the long periods with no communication with their husbands, the difficulties of managing a household and agriculture single-handedly are still painfully recalled by the descendents of early migrants and the surviving widows of later migrants. These women typically spit out 'he only came home to die! And what good was he to me then!' The sentiments are echoed in the large number of folk-songs still sung by the older villagers. The songs tell of separation and xenitia, an emotive term meaning 'abroad' or 'a place of strangers' and suggesting a state of being away from home unwillingly, or of being deprived of or exiled from home. To be away in this sense is considered 'the worst fate that can befall a person'.⁶ Civil servants (ie teachers, policemen, doctors) in the village today are considered to be in this kind of exile, and concern was shown me for similar reasons. The most important feature of xenitia for the villagers is the lack of a supportive kin group who, in the villagers own words, 'can speak up for you'.

By and large, the migration of the early 20th century did not seriously disrupt life in the village though emphases were changed. Women assumed a more important role in agriculture and there was a greater dependence on remittances as a supplementary source of income. Remittances, however, were never enough to form a serious investment or economic alternative. Productivity stayed at a relatively constant low level and the same crops were grown in the same ways. The lack of adequate communication with the absent migrant workers meant a corresponding lack of infiltration of new knowledge and new life styles which could disrupt old patterns. Most of those who stayed behind in the village remained in ignorance of the ways of the 'outside world'.

9.ii. The Civil War in Evritania

The next two phases of migration that I delineated (ie the political migration of the civil war and emigration in the 1960s) did far more in a much shorter time to deplete the population of the province. Altogether nearly 24,000 people left Evritania in the thirty years between 1940 and 1970. The first phase (1940-50) is closely related to the civil war and period of evacuation (1947-50).

The civil war fractured the more or less continuous history of the mountain villages of Evritania. It put an end to the possibility of the earlier experimental forms of local self-government occurring for many years to come. The result in Agios Vissarios and neighbouring communities was that none of the problems so vociferously tackled during the 1930s were again broached. At the same time, the civil war brought about a profound transformation of village life within a few years and for most people marked the abrupt end of an era. Thereafter these mountain villages fell into rapid decline.

The break in continuity manifested itself at every level, demographically, topographically, in agriculture, politically and in social relations as a whole. The human death toll,⁷ evacuation from the villages (many people never returned to their villages after evacuation), and increased migration for direct political reasons, not to mention those imprisoned or in concentration camps, extensively depopulated the whole province. The widescale destruction of houses, fields, forests and livestock had a number of consequences for agriculture but also changed the villages physically. New houses, often temporary shacks, had to be built on different sites. Nearly all the fields beyond the

immediate periphery of the villages were abandoned forever. Some of the prewar problems of land shortages were eased but this was matched by the loss of working hands.

9.ii.(a) Evacuation

For the people of Agios Vissarios a major event of the civil war was the enforced evacuation from their homes in 1947. Today, the villagers return to this event again and again,

..... the andartiko (ie civil war), the bandit war, came upon us in 1947 and we left, we were exiled. I went to Lamia and spent three years there. 1950 we came back everyone left. They collected in the centres, in the central cities (MAR. 1979 FN).

It was July when we left. Our men (National Army) were already in Karpenisi and had arranged with the Nomarch, who knows with whom else, to come and take us from our villages. And we went together women and children from place to place hiding from them (groups of Left and Right). I took the two girls and two goats, that's all. Not that we ate anything of the goats because they (National Army) took our food from us in Karpenisi and whatever else they (National Army and Red Cross officials) could find in the shops. (GranEL. 1979 FN).

..... At last they said to us, go now! you'll go to Karpenisi or Lamia, wherever, you must go from here. As we passed our houses we saw all our things thrown out. One granny took a coat as she passed and she was crying Altogether we were three, my mother, myself and that granny, and about twenty families from here. We set off and they (soldiers) took us as far as the ridge. I didn't say a word but in the morning I

said I'm not going to Karpensisi with the others, I'm going to Lamia so we left without shoes we left and the old women were crying. (AMIG. 1979 FN).

Some had already left their villages by 1947, out of fear of the 'white terror' or reprisals from the forces of the Left.

I was a girl then and with two other girls I had to flee and we went as far as Epirus we went from village to village to Karpensisi and then up north to Epirus. We tried to flee the Communists but they caught us and took us north. We managed to escape them and gave ourselves up to the soldiers for protection I was so frightened when they (Democratic Army) took us because I had a photograph of my brother in my pocket who was a policeman in Lamia. (STEN. 1979 FN).

Others had left under instruction from their husbands or co-villagers,

I was hanging the washing on the line. There were clothes still soaking in the tub and they (partisans) passed. My two girls were in the house. It was the first days of October in the year 1946 ... I was washing the clothes in the yard ... and my husband passed with the others on the path above the house. When he saw me washing he came down (and said), wife are you still here? you must go quickly, go to the town this very night, there is danger here the 'X's' are coming ... and then he went as quickly as he had come. What was I to do with the washing still wet and even my shoes not dry? I didn't have another pair. Then some women passed and told me the same, their husbands had passed. Take the children and go to the town, but not through the valley they said. (GranEL. 1979 FN).

Evacuation meant that the physical continuity of the village was broken for the first time since its settlement.

We left (Agios Vissarios) with nothing. in the village of D ... they ("X"s') had even executed 40 people. And the maize and the corn a few feet high and soon ready to be cut and when we returned everything was overgrown and everything destroyed, no village anymore ... (GranEL. 1979 FN).

Nothing was the same anymore, there were houses burnt and others without their rooves ... there were grasses and weeds growing everywhere, out of the cracks in the walls, right up to the doors, from inside the windows. It was so high where there should have been paths, and all over the square ... then I noticed them, wild cats. There were wild cats everywhere! ... We saw people we knew, neighbours we'd come with but grew afraid of them. You could never tell anymore, who belonged to whom. Each family kept its secrets to itself. That was the worst, no-one to know any more. (ASMIN 1978 FN).

The break up of the village had a variety of consequences. The social community was dispersed. Commonly held values and criteria for judging everyday events and behaviour were made inappropriate when removed suddenly from the boundaries of the community to which they referred,

Even your own (ie kin) were not to be trusted then. Families were broken down the middle and they have never forgotten. And if one man was to kill who was to say it was wrong? And if another took your goat to eat or helped himself to your garden who was to bring him to justice? And if you helped your neighbour who knows what trouble could come ... (GranEL 1978 FN).

The sense of inappropriateness was expressed in a more light-hearted way by a woman describing the attempts of the Democratic Army in 1947 to recruit her daughters to its ranks. For this woman joining up contravened a moral code of how women in general should behave,

Some girls went, some even wanted to. Whoever heard of such a thing! Not mine, I told them, you want to make whores of them? I told them straight. And tell me how will they sleep, cold under the trees at night when wolves might come and who knows what other mischief? And them so far from their home and mother. What do they know of such things? I asked them, and they not married yet ... But they got others from the village ... they put pants on the women, the shame of it! like men they made them and gave them guns to hold and they not knowing to write their names even, and anyone could deceive them for their lack of cunning! (ARET. 1978 FN)⁸

The loss of the social community was expressed in a very different manner by a woman describing the death of her partisan husband who went missing in the mountains,

... they never found him. So he lies forgotten, thrown away somewhere. Not even his bones to honour and to take back to the village in a cedar box. He didn't deserve such a fate. He didn't want to go (ie join the Democratic Army) and now he's thrown away like a bit of peel ... my husband left his home alive, didn't he deserve to return to it even as a box of bones? He was a family man and now he's died without family or house. (GranR 1979 FN)⁹

As refugees the villagers had to forgo nearly everything

they owned, and most importantly, their means of livelihood. This only added to an already critical economic situation as foreign remittances had come to an abrupt end in 1941 with Greece's entry into the war, and by 1945 there were also 'unemployed' ex-partisans back in the villages. The loss of property, of all one's possessions and the social implications of this as well as the economic ones, is a theme which is constantly repeated in the vivid descriptions of leaving the village,

... so I left the washing there and even my shoes ... and I took the children and a blanket for the little one. Nothing else. I left everything. All we had in the house as it was, not a single needle with me. Nothing. I carried the little one strapped to my back like a sack of corn, the other walked by my side. And I had no shoes even because they were wet and not ready to wear. (GranEL. 1978 FN).

... I had the girls' trousseaux in the chest behind the door, we had to leave it all, the embroidered sheets, the woven rugs, the silk my husband had brought back from America. Everything in its place and the girls not wed yet! The Relief (Red Cross) in the town gave us packets later: two sheets and a pillowcase for the girls still unmarried. What is the good of it? I told them, who will marry them now? Where will they get a dowry from? (GranAG. 1978 FN).

In this situation one or two were able to be a little more enterprising,

I don't remember when it was - only I know it was then when the andartiko happened and we went to Karpenisi and they (partisans) killed my husband (in fact he was killed in the crossfire between the National and Democratic Armies) ... we bundled everything up and we went. I even took my loom. All the trousseaux of the girls, and me and my loom. And I set it up there where we stayed for three years and I wove

for the neighbourhood. They saw what I made and I couldn't escape: you'll make me one!, you'll make one for me! I made things for everyone. I wove for the people for as much as they had ... (ASIM. 1978 FN).

For most, however, evacuation meant the loss and destruction of a whole way of life,

They came in the morning and took me and my mule ... and they (National Army) said to the other ones (soldiers) tie this one up well she has many things in her house and she will try to escape. You can tie me up if you like, I said, but I won't go with the others. I want to go to my house, I have bread ready to bake. No, they said, no bread and the house is closed and there's nothing left. All right, then, I said, and they took me to the square. And there was a little girl, 15 years old ... they had all the things from her house, the goats, the mattresses, the radio, everything from her house had been brought there and the girl was crying saying Mother help me! ... I said to her, quiet! they'll kill us all but she was crying ... Now we don't live the same any more. Things were different before. (AMIG 1979 FN).

For many villagers one of the worst aspects of civil war was how disputes and social relations in general often assumed national political significance in which, however unwittingly, few could remain neutral,

People used the civil war to fight out personal animosities and hostilities, that was the worst. People who didn't like each other before or had some long standing complaint or quarrel with one another, used this as a basis for killing and fighting each other. (PANV 1978 FN).

At a funeral wake in October 1978, a group of older women started to recall such events, how families had been destroyed and how any relationship could become politically dangerous.

One woman told in lurid detail of how the younger son of a family known to her had killed his sleeping brother because he was 'on the other side', but how the brothers had also fought for years about the family inheritance. Another told about a girl who had joined the Democratic Army and fought her brothers serving in the National Army. They had refused to acknowledge her ever since. A third remembered a neighbour's son who had been called up to serve in the National Army but had school friends with the Democratic Army. He had met up with one, tried to help him and finally endangered both his own and his friend's life.

It was not surprising that the civil war had spontaneously become the topic of conversation at the funeral wake. The civil war entered most discussions and any death in the community triggered the memory of those earlier losses. What was remarkable in this gathering of women was that their political backgrounds were very different and some had not spoken to each other for many years. Indeed, there was one woman present who had not been to the village since the civil war. One woman was the wife of an ex-member of the National Guard. After the civil war he had become the head of the TEA in the village, owned the state monopoly shop (selling matches, paraffin and salt) and was secretary to the village-born rightwing MP of the Province. His son was the MP's chauffeur in Athens. Another was the wife of an ex-ELAS partisan who had fled to Hungary - badly wounded - during the civil war. He had left his daughter in the village with his wife but taken his 10 year old son with him and educated him in Hungary. He had returned to the village in 1974 and his son had settled in Athens. A third woman had fought with ELAS and then fled with her partisan

husband to Poland where they had raised their two daughters. They had returned to Greece - but not to the village - for the first time in 1978.

The women were bitter, they remembered atrocities ("... we found an arm, just an arm when we were collecting firewood on the slopes of Karpenisi. We never found the body." -PIN. 1978 FN) but they all thought it necessary to 'speak their story'. They agreed that village life had been destroyed by civil war that they had been 'fanaticised' by a situation that they could not well understand.

The truth is the British caused the civil war. They fanaticised people so if you said to one man 'Communist' he would go to kill you, or to another about the other side, the same. It wasn't like that before in the village. They fanaticised us. We were working in their hands but we didn't know the deeper reasons. They were decided in Yalta by the big powers. (PV 1978 FN).

The civil war overturned the relative order of the occupation period when the different 'sides' (the Germans and 'us') were more clearly defined and the resistance groups more distinct.

What are the things that have happened and now we fear to speak to one another? It wasn't like that at first, there was still an order, we helped ourselves. It wasn't so bad after all when they (EAM-ELAS) were in our villages and ran our affairs ... (RYE. 1978 FN).

By 1946 also as a result of anti-EAM-ELAS propaganda and the 'white terror' - it was no longer clear to many villagers which group stood for what and which to

trust. Thus a woman fleeing the village illustrates her confusion,

Before we reached the village of N ... they (partisans) appeared and stopped me and said, where are you going? I'm going to Lamia, I said. Your identification, they said. I have none. If we let on about you here, they said, they (partisans) will kill you. All right, I said, if they kill me they kill me. ... I want to go on. So they let me go on and we left. Before we reached the village of P ... an old man from our village appeared. Who are these partisans or soldiers? I didn't know how to communicate with him. At last I took my life into my own hands. I said, come here old man, who is in the village partisans or soldiers? He said, don't worry it's soldiers. Go right round the village for if you go through it they will catch you, go to the village of A ... and that's what we did ... They (partisans and soldiers) left nothing: houses, fields all damaged and destroyed. (AMIG. 1979 FN).

Another woman, whose husband had been in the National Army, expressed surprise that the partisans of the Democratic Army were at all human,

After we left the village in 1947 and found shelter in a sheep-pen on the mountain. In the night while we slept two of them (partisans) came. They banged on the door and shouted for us to come out one by one with our hands over our heads. Now we are finished, we thought, well and truly done for ... Then one of us ... took courage suddenly and shouted that we were only women and children without a gun between us. They made us come out all the same. We expected the worst. Then they said we could go back inside again and we would be all right, they would protect us. We told them where we were going but we didn't say

about our husbands. You could never be sure, each (side) as bad as the other. (KOUL. 1978 FN).

9.ii.(b) Return

The upheavals of the civil war and evacuation and its human losses did nothing to aid production when the villagers returned to their communities. The cultivated areas had grown wild, fruit-trees and gardens had been burnt and livestock killed. The loss of labour as well as of crops and homes made it all the more difficult to continue where the villagers had left off and cultivation and shepherding never regained their prewar levels. The production of cereals, pulses on a large scale, or of fruit were abandoned. Shepherding and related activities such as cheese-making and weaving were, by and large, left in the hands of the few Sarakatsani, transhumant shepherds from Agios Vissarios. The cultivation of chestnuts, partly because it was not labour-intensive, was increased after 1950 and became a main cash crop. The loss of labour and the increased production of a single cash crop, however, undercut the remnants of any self-sufficiency that had existed before the war. The changes in production also meant the loss of cooperative agricultural practices and customs which in the past had contributed to creating a sense of community. Now the village survives on the marketing of chestnuts and walnuts, on subsistence agriculture, on foreign remittances and on dreams of getting out of the village. It is only the old and the sick who are forced to stay.¹⁰ In general, the postwar situation meant that people were further inclined to leave the village and only too pleased to take up the opportunities offered elsewhere, such as in West Germany, in the early 1960s.

When the government started to repopulate the villages of Evritania in 1950, many people did not

return. Some because their horizons had broadened beyond what they thought of as the confines of the village or because they had managed to find employment or a niche for themselves elsewhere,

They didn't all return to the villages, many remained in the towns or they left Greece ... They found a better life, or they went abroad to Canada, Australia, America ... (MARIN 1979 FN).¹¹

Others could not face returning to their devastated villages or homes or to the memories of that period,

My brother suffered a lot then, in those years, that's why he never returned, why he didn't come back. It was a better life elsewhere and he went to find his fortune and forget in America (PV 1978 FN).

Of those who did return some found it hard to resettle in the changed conditions and changed atmosphere and they moved back to a town or emigrated. For girls, marriages outside the village became (and still are) most desirable or newly weds were encouraged to set up house in town and dowry payments began to be made with this aim in mind.¹²

9.ii.(c) Political Repression

In most of the villages of Evritania few of the Left, or former partisans, remained. Those who ventured back even long after 1950 were met with a variety of difficulties and carefully watched. One man who returned to Agios Vissarios from Hungary as late as 1974 continues to be avoided. He summed up his point of view,

It is difficult seeing my enemies every day, sitting there in the kafenion as though nothing has happened. (KH 1979 FN).

This situation has contributed to the silence surrounding the earlier events of occupation and resistance and especially the institutions of self-government. On a practical level, those who were obliged to leave Greece or those who decided to put the past behind them and start new lives elsewhere have contributed to the silence by being 'unavailable' for comment. Others prefer silence. It was the only way to begin recreating village life or it is simply safer,

The village does not know me as leftist. I keep my mouth shut. If you open your mouth you are Left. If you keep it shut you are Right.¹³

The majority of villagers, however, were forced into silence. Not only in the more obvious ways described above but because a major consequence of the civil war was to deprive villagers of a framework within which to interpret the earlier events of self-government and to deprive them of a language in which to discuss the events beyond the strictures of what was officially sanctioned. As I have suggested, the Ottoman past provides a vehicle for some discussion of the occupation self-government. Overall however, the enforced silence goes a long way in explaining why the self-governing institutions appear to have had so little lasting effect.

The case of Thanasis, the only openly avowed Communist in Agios Vissarios, is illustrative of the political effects of the civil war. The resonances of civil war, however, which work themselves out so clearly in his case are by no means straightforward. Thanasis

joined the resistance forces of ELAS in 1942 at the age of sixteen and in 1947 enlisted in the Democratic Army. His father and two brothers, also ELAS partisans, were killed. He was captured almost immediately in the early stages of the civil war and sentenced to death on the evidence supplied by four co-villagers. His sentence was commuted at the last minute and he spent the next 16 years in prison. He was released in 1964 and decided to return home. In the face of almost total opposition this was a brave decision.

Because of his previous record it took him several years to acquire an Agricultural Pension, to which he was entitled. He did so only when he found someone, not from the village, 'to speak for him'. In 1966 the province was again devastated by earthquakes and landslides. Most villagers acquired a government grant to rebuild their houses. Thanasis was prevented from getting one. In 1967, with the coup which brought Papadopoulos and his dictatorship to power, he was again arrested and beaten up 'to keep him quiet' and he spent several months in hospital as a result.

Significantly, other villagers are frightened to be seen with him and he usually sits alone in the kafenion. This was still the case in 1978 when I arrived in the village. Although many villagers privately think him 'a good man' - he accords with village standards of being 'honourable' and hard-working and has many chestnut trees - publically they will shun him for fear of being 'coloured', that is, for fear of jeopardizing their own political reputations. This is crucial in a situation where villagers depend on the local MP and other officials to get their children educated and jobs outside the village.

As I have said, the most notable change in political life after 1950 was the persecution and prohibition of any leftwing or progressive party in Greece and a corresponding distrust of anyone on the Left which permeated all social relations.

Thanasis' case shows how the civil war remains a resonance in certain social relations. What is interesting however is that the use of this particular past is not an invariable element but combines with other factors in different situations. Thanasis' enemies in the village, for example, 'warned' me about him, calling him 'a liar' or 'a bad man' and even 'a drunk' (which he clearly is not), never actually naming him a Communist. Similarly, on his return to Agios Vissarios in the early 1960s, offers of marriage were made to Thanasis by several of his political opponents including one who had given evidence against him during the civil war. None of these people had changed their stated political affiliations since then and, indeed, given the position members of the KKE in the province found themselves even in 1978, the men offering their daughters in marriage may have jeopardised their own standing in the village. Political differences, or the civil war, do not, however, seem to have been evoked at that point. Rather Thanasis was assessed according to different, local, criteria. He had above average landholdings¹⁴ with a good potential yield of chestnuts. He was literate and generally considered hard-working and 'honourable'. The men considering Thanasis as a son-in-law offered good dowry payments and hinted at using their more acceptable political positions to his advantage. It was also hinted that should the marriage take place the ensuing kin relation would take precedence over political differences. The father-in-law, in other words, would assume a mediating role with the authorities if the occasion arose, though, it was understood, there would be pressure on Thanasis to change his political affiliations. In the end, Thanasis refused to marry anyone from Agios Vissarios and married into a 'left' family from a neighbouring village. Once Thanasis did this, the political differences were re-invoked and enmity maintained as being entirely due to the civil war. The interim period of relative conciliation was obscured and in fact, when the Junta seized power in Greece in 1967,

one of the men who had offered his daughter in marriage played an instrumental role in getting Thanasis re-arrested.

9.ii.(d) The Memory of Civil War

The case of Thanasis raises the more general question of how the civil war is used today and what it has come to mean. I have already remarked on the constant reference to the civil war in Agios Vissarios. This reference assumes a number of forms. Remarkable is the fact that evacuation from the village in 1947 and the period of 'urban living' are constantly recalled in a manner which suggests they are events which took place only recently. "Oh! we were staying in Karpenisi the day we saw them"; "I know the weather's not so good there. I lived there for a while. That's when I got my bad chest" (the bad chest was the result of a bullet wound); "When we lived in Lamia we saw those shops". Statements like these can be confusing to an outsider until one realises they refer to evacuation 40 years earlier. Similarly, descriptions of past wealth, of a woman's trousseau or other household possessions, descriptions of houses and gardens all tend to be followed or preceded by phrases such as 'before they came and took us away', 'that was before they destroyed all our things', 'of course, that was after they had come'. Where they and them are rarely specified these phrases too can be confusing.

Over and above this kind of talk, there is a tendency to blame any ill fortune in the family on the civil war. Informants who considered themselves less prosperous, with fewer fields or with less members as migrants, would explain their position in terms of the civil war. This type of justification finds vigorous approval in public even if later the same witnesses give other reasons for that family's position. Even informants who explain their

own fortunes in terms of the civil war in a gathering of villagers might give a different explanation in private. The tendency to blame the civil war for any ill fortune is sometimes combined with statements about what part the informant or his/her family played during the civil war. Most people attempt to put forward their neutrality. They were not on either side. Neutrality is the ideal to which everyone aspires and is often underlined by pointing to the partisanship of other families. Women are more likely to be excepted from any bias but in general few of the villagers are neutral in the sense they aspire to. Bipartisanship is gauged by the terminology used to discuss the civil war. The common use of the vague 'then' and 'they' when talking about the period is an attempt to neutralise the facts.

The civil war has now come to express not only real but threatened disorder. As such it is used to represent other types of relationships. Many current agrarian disputes, for instance, are often couched in terms of the civil war - 'Georgios was on opposing sides to Jannis then' - when it emerges they involve contemporary issues. Disagreements among kin may also be attributed to the civil war when more recent causes are at stake,

... it is because then (ie civil war), one side of the family with them (the Left), her husband with the others (the Right) and I don't know what else besides. Now they can't agree where the boundary lies, so they are not talking and only remembering the past .. (Grant 1979 FN)

Actually, the boundary disputed in this case had only been set in the 1960s when the land in question was divided. On a number of occasions women hissed abuse at someone they saw passing whispering to me,

you know, he (or she) was with them. On the other side then.

Almost invariably it turned out that the women were involved in a personal feud with the passerby. Usually

this involved a minor agrarian dispute, someones sheep had pushed into their field and eaten some maize, someone had collected chestnuts from their tree. Sometimes the dispute had arisen from more intangible causes: Dimitroula had cast the evil eye on someone's garden and now the beans were diseased; Panayiota had called Sortiria a spendthrift; Someone else had accused Jannis of being a miser. Even these disagreements were couched in terms of the civil war. On the other hand, I was also frequently told that a person was 'not good', 'bad politically' when it turned out they had identical political views, were on the same side during the civil war and the source of conflict lay elsewhere.

The fact that the civil war is used in this way obviously derives from the actuality of that past and the kinds of effect it has had on the community. That the civil war is not an invariable element in the mediation of certain social relations, however, implies two things. It emphasises the fact that the source of conflict in certain contemporary disputes often lies squarely in the present even where an idiom of civil war is used. Secondly, it seems to suggest that the civil war is not only a means of negotiating the past in certain social relations but it is a way of talking about the village as a whole. I will return to this point in my conclusions.

9.iii The Migration of the Early 1960s

The wartime experiences created the bases for far-reaching disruptions in the mountain villages of Evritania. Postwar developments such as the introduction of electricity to the province and the building of roads added to these changes. Further emigration, especially to West Germany, when it came in the 1960s, led to a drastic drop in agricultural production and to labour shortages all over Greece (Cp Mouzelis 1979).

A main characteristic of this later phase of migration is that it became a family affair. Men no longer emigrated alone but took their wives and families with them. Even the new generation of migrants to America returned to their villages to find 'suitable' wives but once married took them back to the USA. Others married among the Greek communities in America but often from their own Evritanian 'stock'.¹⁵

Today the wives and children of these migrants return to the village more frequently than in the past - often for 2-3 months in the summer - as do other relatives from the urban centres of Greece. Most obviously they bring with them the promise of a better life elsewhere thus, in effect, contributing to the trend to migrate. The paradox here, as du Boulay (1974) among others has noted, is that the village continues to survive at all in "its village-centred terms" (p. 235). For the village is constantly perceived to fail in terms of the outside world. Everybody agrees that the village offers 'no kind of life'. There are no real work opportunities and what exists is hard, unproductive and unremunerative.¹⁶ There are few prospects for improvements in the standard of living or for changes in material wealth. Educational facilities increasingly pose a problem. Schooling up to 3rd year secondary is provided for in the village but it is threatened with closure as more people leave. Any education beyond this level involves the child leaving the village at least on a weekly basis. There are no adequate medical facilities in or near the village. Worst of all for some of the visiting migrants, the resident villagers are 'backward' and 'ignorant' and one is 'forced to behave in certain ways when in the village'. Even the youngest children talk about leaving the village as soon as they can. Yet when in the village everyone subscribes to the values of the village and migration continues to support its existence. Remittances which never amount to more than allowing relatives back home to survive sustain this kind of existence.

The belief everyone leaving the village carries with him/her that they are emigrating in order to remain (ie at least to be able to return in retirement or build a 'holiday home' in the village) both validates village life and supports continued migration.

The migratory patterns in Evritania during the 20th century - alluded to only briefly here - are indicative of a number of factors. They suggest, as Lineton (1974) argued so convincingly for the Pelopponese, that migration was and is built into the internal and external arrangements of the particular area both structurally and historically. Migration obviously occurs for a complex of reasons. The instigating force for it in Evritania was primarily economic - agriculture was insufficiently productive and production itself difficult in that geographical context. The economic factors, however, are also linked to other national and historical ones. The overall effect for Evritania was a loss of labour from the area which left the agricultural sector unable to reproduce itself.¹⁷ Migration, then, has also occurred for a conjuncture of historical reasons and after the war for very particular political ones. Once such a migratory process has been set in motion it is obviously difficult to arrest. Other forces stimulating migration are continuously brought into play. These include such factors as the proliferation of modern views deemed inappropriate to village life, the introduction of an ideology by which urban becomes better than rural (though NB over the last 3-4 years there have been substantial changes in these attitudes) and where life away from the village is seen as the only road to survival.

The pattern that emerges in a village like Agios Vissarios is that limited cultivation continues to provide a basic subsistence while remittances are used for immediate consumption. Sometimes remittances are used to maintain a 'modern', essentially urban style of living at variance with the actual economic and/or social conditions

in the village.¹⁸ Migration also means draining the village of its educated and skilled working population while for many years it is the remaining villagers who foot the bill for that education and training. In other words, resources together with villagers are continually being transferred from the village.¹⁹

In short, migration from the village has brought about a structural contradiction. On the one hand, it has resulted in narrowing gaps between the village and the 'outside world' and in changing perceptions of this very relationship. On the other hand, migration continues to emphasise the remaining differences, making villagers even more aware of their dependence on a way of life which maintains such differences. The way in which the civil war is remembered today articulates, among other things, this very contradiction.²⁰

CHAPTER 9 Footnotes

1. Chapter 1 (ii) and (iii)
2. See Svoronos, N. (1953), Vergopoulos (1975B), Mouzelis (1978).

9.i.

3. See Chapters 4 and 5. Oral testimonies (TKARA 1978 FN), Vasiliou (1978-80) discussions and private correspondence.
4. See Chapter 2 Table 2 : p.145
5. Cp McNeill, Hardy, Darbyshire, Smother (1948) who make this point.
6. Cp the following popular Demotic song:

Xenitia, Death, Sorrow and Love
They weighed the four to see which was heavier
Ah! Xenitia was heaviest ...
I begged my fate not to send me away but she
did not hear me. She sent me away for 40 years
...

(There are many versions of this song. This was sung by K.R. May 1978 (FNT)

9.ii.(a),(b),(c)

7. 70 people from Agios Vissarios were killed during the civil war period (9% of its then population). This does not include those who died on the Albanian front or during the famine and occupation. In the neighbouring D. 40 people were executed over and above those who died, or went missing during the war period.
8. The family of the informant were sympathetic to the Left and in fact one of her daughters was recruited to the Democratic Army. She later went to America from where she has recently returned. The daughter's return has occasioned a number of family disputes concerning inheritance. The 'nastiness' of the daughter is put down to her involvement in the civil war.
9. A strikingly similar point is made by Beikos (1979 Vol 1:431 fn)
10. It is a remarkable feature that among the permanently resident male population in the age range 16-35 many are disadvantaged. Of the 10 known to me 8 had little or no education beyond 11 years, were ESN or had noticeable physical defects. 7 were unskilled labourers

(though one of these had been a radiographer in the Army and as such was very competent and had even set up a pirate radio station for a short period) and sought work as such though they also had their own land/sheep, 2 of the ten were educated, civil servants (post office and telephone) but one is no longer working in the village (he 'commutes' on a weekly/four daily basis) and is now planning to leave with his family. Two others of the ten are setting up elsewhere/have already done so.

11. The informant has adult children in all these places.

12. As Friedl (1959A, 1963, 1976) has shown dowry also acts as an important transfer of wealth from the rural to urban sectors. Dowry is considered by villagers in Agios Vissarios to be a type of investment.

13. Vermeulen, H. (1974 p.37) quotes this but it also sums up very similar attitudes in Agios Vissarios.

14. A main reason for this is that the family land was divided at an early stage between him and his brother. Thanasis' father and two other brothers were killed during the civil war.

15. The preference for marrying among Greeks and particularly from one's own village is not only explained as having to do with 'knowing the family' or 'having the same ways' but in the following way,

One reason they (villagers from Agios Vissarios) come back to marry in their village even after years away, is because American wives - and American born Greek wives too - won't agree to settle back in the village after retirement. They have learnt other ways and want much more than the village offers. But if they come from the village, well, then you can make them remember. (PV 1979 FN).

16. There is even less incentive to stay in the village now that the chestnut trees are rapidly dying. They were struck by an unknown disease in the early to mid 1970s, agronomists have visited but apparently nothing can be done. In recent years the disease has spread more rapidly and nearly everyone has been affected. Some villagers have lost all their trees.

17. My intention here is merely to point to the importance of migration for the village and outline the main trends. Migration is a complex issue and I have not sought to analyse it in depth. (Lineton 1971, du Boulay 1974, McNall 1976, Mouzelis 1978 all make important points about migration in Greece, though others have too). To place migration from Evritania in to some kind of context,

however, the following points can be made. Steady migration from the province began during the late 19th century as the expanding nation state attempted to incorporate the more depressed rural areas. This in itself was the result of a particular conjuncture of economic, historical and social forces related to the rest of Europe. The expanding nation was not, however, (for similar conjunctural reasons) able to develop its agricultural sector satisfactorily, certainly in areas such as Evritania. The lack of significant economic developments in a context of rising national expectations and consumption trends merely added to the growing trend to migrate. At the same time foreign emigration was being encouraged nationwide as Greece's expanding but small industrial sector was unable to absorb all surplus labour from the countryside. In such a context migration from the province gained momentum (though its rates were also variously affected by external factors such as US immigration laws) resulting in further depressing the area or at least in sustaining the rural economy at a certain low level. A villager could survive with a supplementary income from remittances (2% of the annual per capita income in Evritania in the 1970s) but could make no important investments or changes in agriculture. Remittances are anyway risky as they reflect recessions abroad as well as the whims or fortunes of the migrant workers themselves. (Cp McNall 1976).

18. This factor was epitomised for me by the discovery that several of the returned migrants (ie those who had spent all their working lives in America and had returned to the village in retirement with pensions from the USA) had brought with them from America complete and 'modern' bathroom suites. These were placed in a room but in most cases never plumbed in or used. They were there for visitors to admire but the owners returned to washing with a bowl of water in their yards or sheds like the other villagers.

19. Cp Friedl op.cit. see footnote 12 above.

20. With reference to the points made at the beginning of this chapter it should be noted that the civil war obviously plays and continues to play a part in local political life. The way in which migration has affected changes in local power bases and political relationships is referred to in more detail in Chapter 6 and, in a different way, in Chapter 3.

10.i. The Main Issues Summarized

In the thesis I have considered how historical processes may be seen to structure certain 'popular mentalities', like memory. Such mentalities incorporate the actual experiences of men and women and constitute an ongoing discourse with a particular past. They comprise a body of data to be investigated, provide some of the terms for understanding such data and often make sense of otherwise obscure elements. The investigation of such data also suggests at which point anthropology and history might combine into a single practice in the examination of certain social phenomena.

In looking at the ways in which a particular history is represented, it becomes clear that memory is profoundly influenced by discourses and experiences in the present. This makes memory a very complicated construction as well as a very active process which bears directly on contemporary social life. At the same time, memory can be seen in different ways and at different times (and, indeed, in different societies) springing from a wide variety of categories and mobilized for a variety of reasons (Popular Memory Group 1982). I have been concerned with the memories arising from particular historical events which have contributed to shaping a whole nation and about which there are many different discourses, some violently opposed to each other.¹

10.i.(a). A Particular Past

I set out to investigate aspects of the Second World War and its effects today on a number of mountain communities in Central Greece. Attention was focused on the village of Agios Vissarios where I was based during my fieldwork and from where most of my data are drawn. The self-governing institutions which emerged in these villages during the German occupation of Greece, constituted the main area of interest during the early stages of my enquiry.

The particular history to which I refer in the thesis, however, is not only comprised of the decade of war (1940-1950) nor of the self-governing institutions of the occupation period. It includes, in particular, the civil war (1946-49), but also an Ottoman past. The latter are periods of special significance to the local villagers and have been, and are, variously reconstructed and represented by them. This is a factor which emerged from the investigation itself.

10.i.(b). Self-Government and Its Context

At the start of my fieldwork I posed three main questions. These were concerned with the nature and legacy of the wartime, self-governing, institutions and their historical, politico-economic and social context. I asked, firstly, to what extent postwar developments in a number of Evritanian villages had been affected by the war period and especially by the self-governing institutions. Secondly, I wondered whether and how village/state relations had been altered by the war years and/or the institutions of self-government. Finally, I posed the question as to whether the latter had influenced particular social relations or ways of thinking.

These questions raised other issues. These included looking at the conditions under which the institutions of self-government arose; the extent to which they were 'imposed' or were seen to be the spontaneous outcome of certain events; whether similar practices had previously occurred in the area, and how the institutions related to other aspects of local or central government and/or 'outside' authority in general. The issues also led to questioning how power, kinship or other social relations ² might have been affected by the wartime institutions of self-government, to give the villages concerned - and especially Agios Vissarios - a distinctiveness today.

10.i.(c). Social Memory

In attempting to tackle the above questions several factors became crucial. Firstly, the significance the past has both in terms of its material effects on village life and in terms of how it is remembered by the local inhabitants, led to an important reformulation of my assumed historical periods ³ and to a change of emphasis in the investigation. Secondly, the ways in which people are seen to experience, represent and use their particular history in the present, became a fundamental part of my attempt to reconstruct past events and consider their effects on the present. Finally, such issues were seen to be related to the ways in which the villagers today create and maintain an identity in terms of their past. These factors lie at the base of what I have defined as social memory.

In the rest of the chapter I will reconsider the questions posed at the beginning of my fieldwork in the light of the main issues outlined above, briefly

summarizing my conclusions. I will then go on, in the final section of the chapter, to develop a hypothesis about social memory in Agios Vissarios. In this, I see social memory as articulating both a time-space dichotomy and other contradictions implied in the past-present relationship imposed by particular historical events.

10.ii. The Questions Posed

I return, here, to the questions I outlined at the start of my fieldwork.

1. What does the present social organization of Agios Vissarios owe to the decade of war and especially to the institutions of self-government of the early 1940s?

The way in which the local inhabitants remember their past led me to reformulate my historical periods. In this, the wartime institutions of self-government appear, neither as isolated, exceptional, nor as decisive events. They appear as part of a much longer process. This is born out by earlier activities, such as those which took place during the 1930s and immediately preceding the 1940s, as well as a more general historical context of regional autonomy in the area. The wartime institutions, however, have also been assimilated to those earlier events - through memory - and find expression in the representation of those former periods.

At the same time, the civil war emerges as crucial and determining. The civil war in this sense is the historical watershed and not the end result of earlier self-governing activities. Postwar developments and the contemporary economic and social organization of both Agios Vissarios and much of Evritania, are defined by the civil war.

The civil war brought about a radical transformation of village life within a few years and for most people marked the end of an old era and the beginning of changing and widening horizons. The break in continuity manifested itself at every level: demographically, topographically, in agriculture and in a variety of social relations. The most notable change in political life was the prohibition of any 'leftwing' or progressive party after the civil war. The way in which the civil war was subsequently interpreted by the dominant, rightwing status quo, influenced political thought as well as publically instituted representations of the past. In these senses, thinking in both the past and the present had to change. History had to be reformulated and memories be adapted. This was assisted by the official version of events and a particular terminology. The rest remained obscured or, at best, has found less direct means of representation. As a result of these events and this process, the Ottoman past acquired a new significance.

Thus, it was the civil war, and not the German occupation - in Evritania at least - which set the parameters to changing socio-economic conditions and to a variety of representations, in the postwar village. The way in which the village is daily perceived in its relation to the 'outside' constitutes a major aspect of the new kinds of thinking brought about by the civil war. This brings me to the second question I posed at the start of my fieldwork.

2. Were village/state relations altered and/or determined by the institutions of self-government or the war years in general?

The conditions of war and of occupation threatened existing power relations both within the village and between it and outside authority. The development of the self-governing institutions in the

early 1940s overturned those relations⁴, allowing for their redefinition (the attempts at which are clearly reflected in the written Codes) and for new and experimental forms of local and popular government to be put into practice. Nevertheless, the civil war was again definitive.

The civil war assisted in putting an end to the relative autonomy of the Evritanian villages. In another way, however, the civil war also put an end to what had been seen as state indifference. Benefits came to the village after the war, in terms of roads, electricity, telephones, improved education. With these benefits came an increasing dependence on the state, greater mobility away from the village, and a greater emphasis on securing new kinds of personal ties ('patrons') with people in acceptable positions of authority in the workings of the state.

Attitudes to the state which before the war had been largely those of antagonism, anger and resistance - and which during the 1930s and early 1940s had led to widescale protests and the development of alternate administrative, economic and legal systems - changed into attitudes of dependence, resignation and fear. The village could no longer be thought of as a defensible and valid entity in itself. Simultaneously, a new awareness and different ambitions fostered by the civil war (and evacuation) came into play. These, too, contributed to undercutting a sense of community. On the one hand, they led to a rejection of 'village life' (on one level at least) and, on the other, to increased emigration from the village.

3. How did these events affect specific social relations, representations of the past and popular mentalities in general?

I have referred throughout the thesis to some of

the major effects of the war period, or more precisely, of the civil war. I have indicated in what ways particular types of thinking, and how representations of the past, have been variously informed by these events. I have also referred to geographical, earlier historical, and socio-political factors, all of which work themselves out in social memory. What emerges is that the actual experiences of men and women continuously reformulate their cognitive structures. This has a double aspect. It suggests that both lived past experience and perceived experiences of the past lie at the basis of certain kinds of memory. It also means that contemporary and everyday experiences influence representations of that past. Together, past, present and perceived experiences create a discourse which is social memory.

This process is reflected in numerous ways and often within a variety of ongoing, contemporary, social relations. Thus, for instance, factors of geographical and socio-political inaccessibility, coupled with elements of autonomy developed under Ottoman rule, underlie aspects of contemporary life, informing memories. Topographical features are used to outline social distinctions that are perceived to have existed, but more importantly, distinctions that exist in today's village. Other such distinctions are glossed over to reveal symbolic values.⁵

The process outlined above is also reflected in kinship. Aspects of kinship have been redefined and in some senses put to new uses since the civil war. Neighbourhoods in Agios Vissarios are no longer set by the patronym. In fact, the patronymic grouping no longer exists as a meaningful entity. Yet it is kinship - defined by the patronym - that is used to mobilise support in local elections, and it is the patronymic grouping which is still upheld in staking a variety of contemporary claims in the social life of the village. At the same time, notions of kinship as a whole were severely

threatened by the civil war where families were divided and the reliance on a kinsman/woman could no longer be assumed. Yet a kin relation is still valued above all others and attempts are made to establish links modelled on kinship in a variety of contexts.

The loss of working hands resulting from the civil war has meant a widening of kin categorization in the recruitment of labour. Simultaneously, the decline in community and non-kinship based activities has led to a re-emphasis of kin ties in the execution of certain agricultural tasks. And, again, notions of kinship continue to play a part in a number of economic transactions, though sometimes to negative effect (see Chapter 3.ii.). The civil war, however, continues to interpose between kin relations in a novel (postwar) way and often becomes an idiom of dispute among kin.

The household has also been affected. Households appear to be structured in much the same way as they were throughout the 19th century but this structure is now based on absent (and in some cases, 'denied') members as well. Thus 'the household' now incorporates members living as far away as America and who may never return. This does not make the household a viable economic unit but the household nevertheless depends for its survival as such, on remittances from the absent members.

Political power has long been dispersed and is no longer village-based in any significant sense. Its dispersal is reflected , in part, in the history of individual patronymic groupings. Ironically, however, it is by reference to such a history that claims to power and status continue to be made in the village. Since the civil war, political acceptability (being 'on the Right') has informed most political relations whether they are of a patronal kind or in electoral terms. References to

one's 'patronymic past', and especially to illustrious forebearers, appear as an alternative to such strictures.

The structure of landholding in Evritania as a whole has remained much the same, at least since the War of Independence of 1921, but the uses of land have changed. Few of the crops grown before the war are still cultivated and land is under-exploited and of little market value. The categories of land in the province, which were vociferously disputed throughout the 1930s, and before, are no longer relevant in the same ways. The civil war put an end to any demands for agricultural improvements, and other major socio-economic issues have been abandoned by villager and successive governments alike. Migration from the village has intensified, again during the 1960s, and the village is daily condemned as a viable place in which to make a living.

In contrast, village life and its perceived shared values are also continuously upheld.⁶ The Ottoman period provides one of the main vehicles - through memory - for the validation of village life, emphasizing both the autonomy of the village and its survival through time. Over and above these factors, the past continues to be used to make a different order of claims for the present.

The past provides a discourse on a variety of social relations within the village today, laying claim to a number of statuses and positions, as well as to a general village identity.

10.iii. The Double Dichotomy

Social memory, which retains particular historical moments, keeping them alive through a continuous discourse in which past events and relations combine with the present, bears on the identity of the village in certain ways.

This identity is largely predicated on a type of double dichotomy.

In general, the historical past of the village is conceptualised through a dichotomy of space. This has a double aspect. Firstly, it suggests that the community is defined spatially in socio-geographic terms.⁷ Thus the identity of the village is inseparable from a specific and historical location: the mountains of Agrafa, the foothills of Mount Velouchi, particular tracts of patronymic land, fields, gardens, trees, houses. Secondly, and through memory, the village is defined in its spatial relation to society at large, in terms of 'them' and 'us'. These aspects are summarized by such common sayings as

No-one sits on our heads for long up here! or
Here we are in Agrafa , that means unwritten,
unknown.

and also by such sayings as

People don't come here, they have passed us by
...
We are a million miles from civilization!

At this level, spatial identity also corresponds to the lived experiences of the community.

After the civil war, the fact of such spatial opposition could no longer be maintained. Administrative areas were redefined by the state, place-names officially changed, fields, gardens and trees disappeared and roads were built. New villages in new locations were erected to replace those which had been destroyed. New, and often temporary houses were built which no longer resembled the old ones in any way, or the uses which they had been put in the past. The spatial boundaries of the village had been variously and increasingly threatened since the inception of the Greek nation-state in 1821, but they were

now destroyed. The village and the state became, in one sense, a single unit. The civil war - and especially evacuation -, widescale emigration and finally, the new divisions within the social community engendered by the facts of civil strife, all acted to break down old spatial boundaries.

Spatially, 'them' now included all those who had left the village but who were still considered part of the community. In other words, the community itself was divided into 'us' here and 'them' abroad, and it looked outwards in redefined ways. The community, however, was also divided into 'them' and 'us' in other ways. There were those who had fought on the government side ('us', now) during the civil war and those who sympathised with the left ('them', now); there are those today more closely linked with the state ('them') and those who remain 'true villagers' ('us').⁸ This division is further complicated by the general desire to become one of 'them', through education and civil servant jobs, and to leave the village. Thus, in the event of the civil war, a time-dichotomy of 'then' and 'now' assumed a new importance.

The 'then-now' dichotomy, however, is not a simple juxtaposition, for neither the past nor the present time are uniform.⁹ 'Then' is a static time, exemplified in particular by the Ottoman era. In another way (Ottoman) 'then' is outside time altogether as it outside lived memory. Yet simultaneously, the perception of the Ottoman period is also subject to changes and deals with transformations in contemporary village life and aspects of a more recent, 'unacceptable', past. Less obviously, 'then' refers to the innovations of the 1930s period and the self-government of the early 1940s, but seen against a backdrop of permanence. Such permanence, in fact, that the innovations are hardly worth remembering. In everyday speech, 'then' also refers to the civil war

itself which, in contrast to the Ottoman past, is the epitome of discontinuity, impermanence and transformation.

The civil war, however, plays a refracting role within social memory. It embodies a spatial notion which also represents a time concept for the present. As such, the civil war connects fracture (the break-up of the social community and geographical dislocation) with ideas of temporal discontinuity ('now' as opposed to 'then').¹⁰ Thus, here, the civil war stands for an articulation between a notion of past-as-distance and one of now-as-nearness.

Within this dichotomy, the present - 'now' - becomes the contrast to the earlier, static, Ottoman past, representing a time of rapid changes and into which the civil war continually intrudes in daily life and discourse. At the same time, 'now' is a relatively ordered period in comparison to the civil war. It remains a present, however, which continues to recognise (through the civil war as an idiom of dispute) the contradictions of village life and its vulnerabilities. In other words, the civil war in social memory also acts to integrate the past within the consciousness of the present while emphasizing social and temporal discontinuities.¹¹

The civil war represents one part in a complex of features which go towards making up the identity of the village. This it does both in fact (the village bears the physical scars) and conceptually. The relationship the civil war establishes between the past and the present is one of discontinuity. If the social memory of the civil war does act in this way - representing dis-connection, instability and the refraction of historical time - then it helps explain the obscuring of other historical periods or events: the obscuring, for instance, of the period of
r e l a t i v e

'spatial' stability and social continuity immediately preceding the war in the 1930s, and the events of the early 1904s. These periods belong to the 'past' and therefore cannot explain discontinuity in the present.

Thinking in the present - 'now' - the 'postwar village', represents another part of village identity. The permanence of the community is held together by reference to an Ottoman period which represents a type of ongoing, essentially unchanging and 'traditional' village life.

Social memory in this case encapsulates important aspects of the contemporary community. It suggests, firstly, that despite events following liberation from Ottoman Turks in 1821, and in spite of the disintegrating effects of the more recent civil war - despite history - the village exists and has an enduring past. The notion of 'then-distance' here represents a temporal concept of continuity and a spatial one of the durability of a separate village identity in the present. Thus, the ways in which social memory deals with the Ottoman period is important because it stands for an enduring proof of the possibility of continuity and non-refracted historical time. The memory of an Ottoman past acts as an assurance of a continuing sense of village identity which is distinct from the state but still part of the Greek nation.

Secondly, the personal history, or biography, of an individual villager, or the past of a patronymic kin grouping, is mapped out by social memory. That is, personal experiences of specific past events and their representation, social relations and implied statuses in the present, are revealed through this type of historical discourse reflecting aspects of today's village.

In what ways are such representations of the past held to be integrated within the consciousness of the present? In other words, how does social memory, which is

predicated on the the type of double dichotomy outlined above and which lies at the basis of village identity, work itself out?

In Table 26 I have summarized the main hypothesis about the workings of such historical discourse. In it I attempt to show how different historical periods/events are represented in the village within a context of opposing spatial and temporal boundaries. Each (dotted) line shows how different historical periods are remembered and accounted for today and how they are articulated within the contemporary community.

The long period between 1821 and 1922 (discourse 1), during which the Greek state developed and regional autonomies were successively eroded, in general is obscured by social memory. This is partly the result of the essential powerlessness and political irrelevance of the rural population during this period (cp. Pina-Cabral 1987:724). A sense of this past is, however, maintained indirectly in terms of an overall, unifying, Greek national identity. This is important for, among other things, it contributes to the 'spatial identity' of the village.

The 1930s (discourse 2) are lost within a generalised past time. Elements of the period, however, are maintained in other ways. These elements comprise the final attempts of Evritanian villagers to resist outside authority, to redefine their relationship to the state, and to improve local conditions, all of which lay behind the activities which took place during the 1930s. These are maintained in the now subdued tensions which exist between the village and any outsider. They are expressed in the conflicts between different groups or individuals within the village and reflected in the disagreements between those thought to have local power and/or wealth

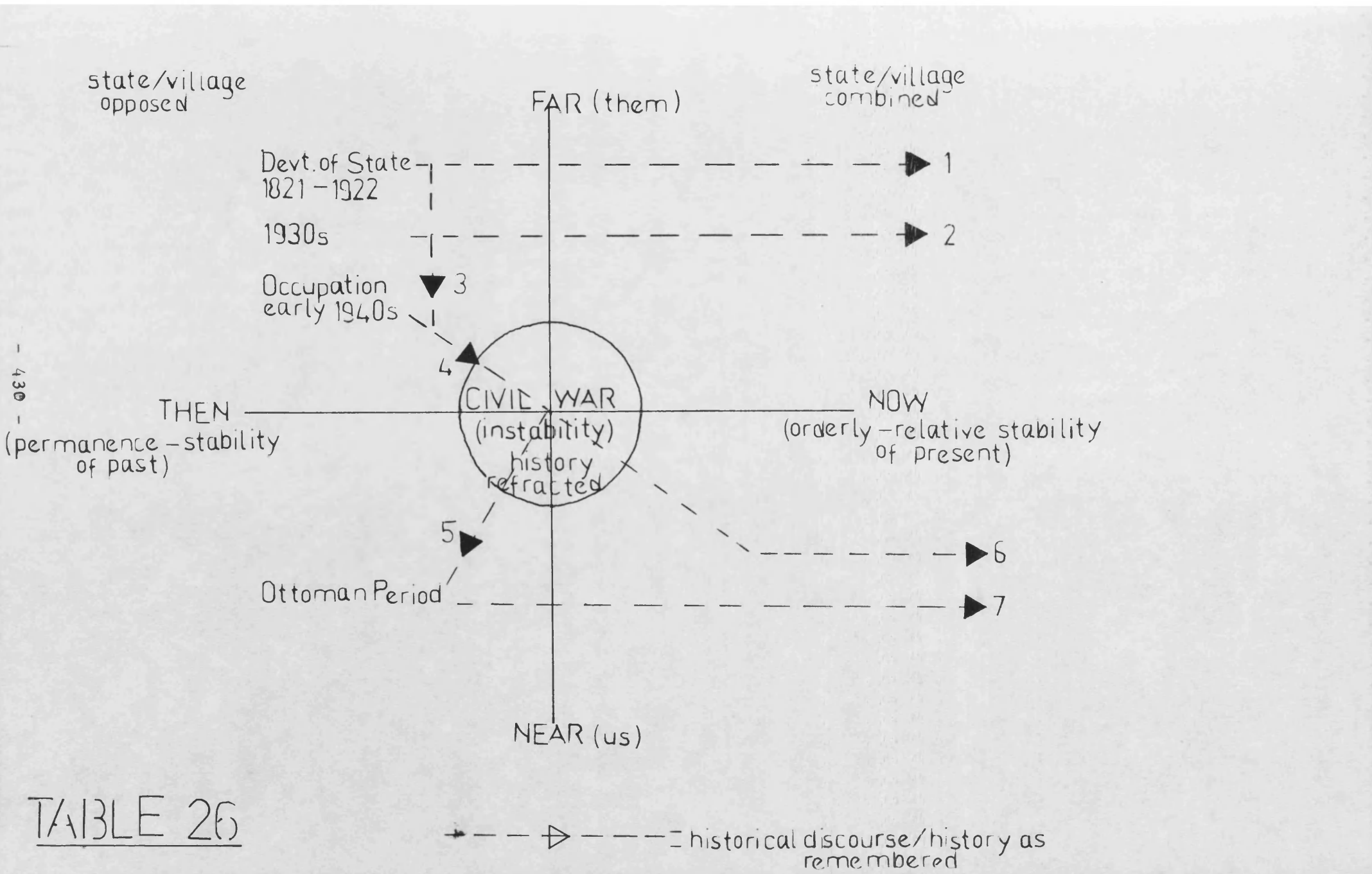


TABLE 26

1. The period of state development (1821-1922), maintained today only as a sense of unifying, national identity.
2. 1930s period, part of the 'stable past', though it is ongoing in subdued tensions between the village and the 'outside' and expressed in conflicts between different groups/individuals within the village.
3. Elements (eg.existence of clearly defined foreign enemy, old regional autonomies, conflicts with outside powers etc.) of both 1. and 2. 'reappear' in the self-government of the occupation period, early 1940s.
4. The institutions of self-government during the occupation period. These now disappear into the civil war period where they are refracted into.....
5. The Ottoman period, which, through memory, becomes a vehicle for expressing certain elements of the past, in particular elements of 4. Or.....
6. Contemporary historical discourse. Refracted by the civil war, memory here articulates between the farness-of-the-past and the nearness-of-the-present.
7. The Ottoman period, as the farness-of-the-past is also maintained as the continuity/stability-of-the-present.

and those without, which intermittently flare up in the community. The elements of this past are also expressed in the attempts to gain advantages within the workings of the state (ie acquire state grants, pensions, loans, higher education and civil servant jobs for one's children) at the expense of more communal benefits, and in the attempts to establish special relationships with those perceived to be in positions of power, at the expense of closer, kin relations.

Both, aspects of the development of the Greek state (with its implied concomitant acts of resistance) and elements of the 1930s (the experimental forms of government) are also relocated and 'reappear' in the occupation period with the institutions of self-government (discourse 3). This, however, has occurred in a limited sense : conflicts with a 'foreign' enemy; with outside authority in general; questions about regional and community autarky; about the law, and the issue of local improvements, were re-expressed in the institutions of self-government and their codifications. But the wartime self-government has been obscured by social memory. And all these issues have 'disappeared' into the civil war period (discourse 4) which has become the dominating discourse. Or, the issues have been refracted (by the social memory of civil war) into an Ottoman past (discourse 5).

The Ottoman period now becomes a vehicle for the expression of certain kinds of event throughout history : activities aimed at retaining autonomies, experimental forms of government. The Ottoman period, which represents the farness-of-the-past is now, also, maintained as the continuity/stability-of-the-present (discourse 7).

Other aspects of the past are refracted by the civil war directly into contemporary historical discourse. The civil war here articulates between the distance (and perceived 'stability') of the past and the nearness (and

relative - in comparison to the civil war - order) of the present (discourse 6), but, exactly because of the civil war, this is now a present which is threatened by impermanence and dis-order.

In short, for the village to maintain its continuity and thereby an enduring identity, historical discourse must stress a double dichotomy. This has been necessary, as local autarky was progressively eroded and the boundaries of the community successively redefined in terms of the 'outside'; in the face of migration and the reasons which gave rise to it; and finally, as a result of the civil war which truncated historical continuity, overturning the known order of key aspects of social life.

Social memory in Agios Vissarios, then, is predicated on a double dichotomy. A spatial one ('far/near'; 'them/us') which separates the village from the state but makes it always part of the Greek nation; and one which acknowledges impermanence and the power of distinctions, but confirms the durability of the social community as a single entity. And a time dichotomy ('then/now'; 'before/after') which continuously recreates the past to explain the present.

CHAPTER 10 Footnotes

10.i.

1. This does not only occur at the local level: there are also several 'official' versions of events. Firstly, the more or less uniform one propagated by postwar governments in Greece and which, by-and-large, discredited the whole resistance movement, attributed the civil war to 'a handful of fanatical thugs' (variously described) and which kept thousands of patriotic resistance fighters in prison until the mid 1960s. The version propounded by the group of British Establishment and academic figures (usually themselves involved in undercover military missions in Greece during the German occupation) constitutes another official version (see, for example, Woodhouse, C.M. 1948, 1965, 1976, 1986). Both versions reflect in their way the beginnings of the pervasive Cold War ideology following World War Two. The first is more easily discredited for being both crude at times and so fanatically anti-Communist, though, as I have argued, it has entered many local historical discourses in a variety of forms and a number of Greek laws reflected this version until very recently (Cp Koundouros 1974) The second version is now being hotly debated as a younger generation of historians and political scientists have access to more recently released archival material, and with the help of opposing discourses from people involved at the time and now allowed back into Greece for the first time since the civil war.

10.i.(b)

2. Gender, the missing word here, is also an important variable. I have not looked systematically into gender differences (the differential effects of the civil war on men and women, and so on) in the thesis (although some are implied). It is a study which I intend to follow up as it became clear in the course of my fieldwork that there is a difference in how men and women 'remember' their history and interpret it; differences in the use of words; an alternative historical discourse. These issues also relate to questions of 'power' and 'monopoly' over the past.

10.i.(c)

3. My assumed historical periods refers to the fact that, at first, I isolated the war years which I saw as comprised of occupation and resistance and the self-government 'movement'. The latter, I took to be discrete, crucial and determining. What became clear was that history was not divided in this way by the local inhabitants.

The occupation years belonged to a past where the Ottoman era was of significance, and the civil war becomes the war years and is all important and determining (see Chapter 1.i-iii).

10.ii.

4. The institutions were, ofcourse, partly enabled by these conditions though forms of self-government had found expression in earlier periods.

5. By symbolic values I refer to the processes whereby, for example, real divisions of the civil war might be glossed over to suggest a united front in some cases; or alternatively, where the civil war is used to represent any form of social conflict in the community; or to the way in which 'andartes' is used as a generic term for all (left & right & other) involved in the civil war; or, again, to assertions (contrary to documentary evidence) that no Ottoman Turks reached the village - suggesting that the Greeks were undefeated, unsubduable; or the common reference to Turks 'living above' the village, the Greeks 'below', suggesting the opposite view, of defeat.

6. Examples of this are to be found in such common sayings as 'We know how to live properly here'; 'You cannot find better or more healthy air/water/food up here'; 'We still talk to each other, they don't in the cities'; 'We love and care for our children in villages - the city is no place to bring up kids!'; 'We can leave our houses unlocked'; 'Where would you find such peace?' and so on.

10.iii.

7. The close association between the experience of the community and specific stretches of land is discussed by Pina-Cabral (1986, 1987) who argues that such an association helps to explain resistant attitudes to certain kinds of change: to the building of new roads and other projects and developments which are not initiated by the community. In the case of Agios Vissarios this type of association may also throw light on the frequency and violence of boundary disputes, be they between villages or within the community and it emphasizes the inseparability of location and history, of space and memory. 'Geo-spatial' features link to both individual and communal identities and the underlying opposition between 'ours/mine' and 'theirs/foreign' (xeno).

8. This division has also derogatory senses in so far as it is sometimes linked to education (upheld)/illiteracy (bemoaned).

9. See Pina-Cabral (1987), Popular Memory Group (1982), Zonabend (1984).

10. According to Pina-Cabral (1987:721) this

preservation is achieved by
manipulating temporality through a set of rituals
which rely on repetitive time. Thus the
destruction of community autarky is interpreted
in terms of irreversible (linear) time, whilst
its maintenance is dependent upon repetitive
(cyclical) time

I am arguing that the civil war is interpreted as linear
and destructive but as it also acts to merge time and
space it contributes to the preservation of the social
order (it is part of village identity).

11. Cp Tonkin (MS nd : 24,25) who makes the
point, though arguing for a very different context. Tonkin
maintains that social discontinuities are often preferred
to temporal ones.

APPENDICES 1 - 4

1. Further Notes on the Economy of Agios Vissarios
2. Election Results/Tables and Political Information
3. Translations of the Various Circulars Issued
During the 1930s
4. Details of the Codes for Self-Government and
Peoples' Justice

APPENDIX 1

Further notes on the village of AV and its economy.

The Occupational Structure

Although figures show (see Table 27 and other Tables at end of Appendix 1) that the majority of people living permanently in the village today are actively involved in agriculture, the official categorisation of occupations is never accurate and may be misleading. Both the ways in which surveys/census are undertaken and the ways in which forms are completed are questionable. There are a number of reasons for this which have been documented elsewhere (see for example, White C. 1980).

In AV, the majority of women both before the war (1939 Community Registry) and today (1977 Electoral Registry) are usually registered as housewives. With the introduction of Agricultural Pensions (OGA) this categorisation changed in some cases. Housewife is, however, misleading as most village women are directly involved in agriculture even when their husbands derive their main income from another source, such as shopkeeping. Similarly, women registered as unoccupied tend to be girls between the ages of 12-20 years who do not attend school and are living at home 'waiting to be married'. In most cases they participate in the household's agricultural and/or other activities. Although in more recent years daughters have been discouraged from working in the fields in order to secure a 'good marriage' and they have tended to assume the duty of running the household, taking over from their mothers. The category unoccupied may include boys who, for one reason or another have left school early (but may be fully employed in agriculture), and the invalided.

Both the registration of 'housewife' and 'unoccupied' - as well as the more recent practice of not sending daughters to the fields - are a reflection of an attitude towards manual work which, more and more, is considered inferior and undesirable among villagers. It is also a reflection of social values which define occupation mainly through the male head of household and where a woman's contribution to the household economy - and agricultural economy in general - tends to be officially concealed. The category pensioner may also be misleading as many of those of pensionable age who draw State pensions are still actively involved in agriculture. This category includes those drawing pensions from abroad (USA) migrants who have retired to the village where they may still engage in agricultural and/or other activities. Official figures may be inaccurate for other reasons. Many of those permanently resident in the village today carry out some agricultural activity even if their main occupation is listed as something else. Some stockbreeders, for instance, carry out cultivation and some cultivators also have sheep.

Shopkeepers tend to have land which they continue to cultivate as might an electrician, plumber or carpenter. In other words, economic roles are not highly specialised and there is not a well defined division of labour among those who remain in the village (this may not be true for other parts of Greece. cp. Friedl 1962).

Those with no land at all and no livestock who do not engage in agriculture tend to be 'imported' officials who are serving a term in the village (e.g. policemen, teachers, doctors) or those who have settled in the village for similar reasons (e.g. the priest). Men who have subsequently married into the village or have settled in it for other reasons and have no/little land form another category. In the majority of the married cases the men are likely to have access to agriculture by helping to work the fields of affines or may own some land through a wife's dowry. The other type includes cases of siblings who settled in the village after a brother/sister married there. They tend to have bought a bit of land, to have rented some or they are involved in some other activity, such as shepherding, with the sibling.

Even those who rely on casual labour (building or agriculture) may nevertheless be cultivators in their own right or at least own land which they no longer work. This may be because there is a shortage of labour or because they have no fruit trees, or because they do not consider the land viable for other reasons. Labouring jobs tend to be seasonal and those with little valuable land may hire themselves out in the peak season (ie at harvest times) and work on their own land at other times. In some cases, either one of a married couple may seek a labouring job to supplement their joint income. This includes picking olives near the plains of Lamia during the autumn harvest.

In brief, any categorisation of occupation only shows main sources of income in this case (though it omits the group who rely primarily on foreign remittances). And it illustrates more the ways in which villagers define their own - and each others - occupations. A factor which has implications for questions of status and class.

In this context, occupational categories are not the same as class. (I use class here to refer to an historical category describing the relations between people in the productive process over time, and "how they become conscious of these relationships, enter into struggle, form institutions, transmit values in class ways" (EP Thompson 1979:20)). In this respect information on the occupational structure and income distribution can only provide "a series of approximations which illustrate only partial aspects of social class". (Roxborough 1979:72).

By and large, the villagers of AV are 'equal' in relation to their position in the productive process and in relation to the ownership of the means of production. There are no huge wealth differences between those living in the village today. There is no rigid division of labour (specifying social relations of production which would divide the villagers into direct producers and those who appropriate the fruit of their labour, for example) and economic roles are not highly specialised.

A good example is the community secretary who is officially a civil servant with a highly esteemed clerical job and paid a salary by the state. He also owns land, is a cultivator, hires no labour, and has sheep which he and his wife tend. As such he is like many of his co-villagers.

Another reason why occupational categories cannot be equated with class here lies in the fact that class is not only an economic but a 'cultural' formation. Classes, in this usage, are based on social relations of production but they are also forms of "historically constituted social practice and shared feelings and perceptions". (Roxborough 1979:70)

It is the shared experience, perceptions and 'transmission of values in class ways' that for me make the villagers of AV part of the same 'class'.

What people do within such a "class" framework, however, and the implications of the occupational structure are important in other ways and for other social and political relations.

The village hierarchy is made up of a composite of occupation, relative wealth (which tends to find expression in spending patterns and style rather than actual differences of amount), influence and power, none of which are solely determined by production or the ownership of the means of production or of property.

Success does not come from engaging in the productive sector of the economy but from the manipulation of the political process. Here relationships with people outside the village - of different classes - tend to be more significant, (in many but not all respects), than solidarity between equals within the village (see Chapter 3.i.).

It can be argued that when the political process can no longer be manipulated in this way and relationships with people outside the village are in some way blocked, as they were during the occupation, solidarity between equals within the village seems to assume a more significant role. This factor probably helped in the establishment of local forms of government and cooperation during the occupation period.

Appendix 1 Continued

Stockbreeding and Transhumant Shepherds

As already mentioned, some cultivators in AV also have sheep, or more commonly, those with sheep often have their own land. There are 13 families in AV who live primarily off their sheep and have flocks of over 30 head (the average in this group is in fact 55) and there are several families who have flocks of up to 30 head. The latter group are more likely to have land and engage in some cultivation. Often they give their sheep to the larger stockbreeders during the summer when the sheep are herded together on the mountains. They pay the shepherds for the service and collect the milk yield themselves every few days.

In addition to the families who have sheep, there are also 6 families (two kin groups) of transhumant shepherds in the village. Both groups share flocks of 600 sheep and over. These people, of Sarakatsani origin, live in the village during the summer months and return to the plains of Lamia during the winter (October - May). Originally their houses were in AV and they built straw huts when on the plains. Now they have houses in both places. Some (ie shepherds from surrounding villages) have settled permanently in the plains. These shepherds do not own land in the village - though one of the kin groups is said to have owned a field which it no longer uses. They rent community land on the mountains for their sheep.

Locally, these transhumant shepherds are called vlachs (not to be confused with the koutsovlachs, see Campbell 1964, Leigh-Fermour, P. 1966). The term is used in a number of different ways denoting a variety of things. In AV it is usually used to denote occupation or at least someone who lives by their sheep and has little or no land. Vlach also has derogatory connotations meaning someone stupid, coarse, uneducated. In general however the shepherds are not looked down on in the village and most people insist that there is little distinction between the vlachs and the villagers. It is often said, for instance, that 'now there are no longer vlachs, before, years ago there were, but not now', or 'now they (the vlachs) are villagers like us, villagers, you can't tell the one from the other'. Certainly, there is no obvious difference in dress or custom and there are cases of intermarriage with other villagers. Their language is the same though there seems to be a slight difference in accent. Villagers let their fields to the shepherds when and if they are required as when early snows fall. The sheep are milked and yoghurt and cheese produced for sale. Wool is also sold and prepared for weaving.

Nearly every household in the village has at least one goat which provides the family with a regular supply of milk (for cheese and yoghurt) and a kid for Easter or special celebrations. The goats are sent out daily in the village herd for which shepherding is done on a rota system. Each person is obliged to shepherd the whole herd one day per month for each two goats they own. You can send as many goats as you wish in the communal herd providing you can fulfil the shepherding obligation. Most admit they would have preferred a permanent paid shepherd to do the job but there was none available in the village when I was there.

Forestry

Apart from agriculture and sheep rearing, another important source of income for the villagers is afforded by the Provincial Forestry Commission. Those who work for the Forestry Department are organised into state appointed forestry cooperatives. The number of members in each cooperative and the way they operate are defined by the extent of forest land appertaining to each village. The amount paid to each worker may depend on how many cubic metres of wood are cut by the individual cooperative during the year (specified by the Forestry Department itself) and how much wood is sold by the Commission. Work tends to be seasonal and includes the clearing of forest roads, chopping up fallen/diseased trees, pruning and planting as well as felling. The wood cut provides timber for the sawing mill at Fournas as well as for domestic use by the villagers concerned. After a day's work each worker is allowed to cut some wood for his own use - and sometimes this is sold to others in the village. The average amount earned by a cooperative worker in 1977 was 500 drs. (approx. £7.00) per day, excluding what they managed to cut for their own use. Working days in a good year can amount to 120 or more. Each worker can, therefore, earn approximately 60,000 drs (approx. £900) in a year. In 1977 the forestry cooperative of AV cut 350 cubic metres of wood for trade (ie the sawing mill) and 150 cms for domestic use (firewood).

Chestnuts and Walnuts

The main crops in AV today are chestnuts and walnuts. Chestnut cultivation began in the late 19th century but systematic and intensive production as a cash crop did not get underway until after World War 2.

There was, it seems, always an abundance of wild chestnut trees on the slopes surrounding the village (see for example, Leake 1935, Loukoupoulou 1966) and chestnuts were sometimes used as animal feed for pigs. The more systematic cultivation of the trees, however, was initiated by an abbot serving at the monastery of Prophet

Elias during the early 19th century, known locally as Papa-Loris (Father Elarius) (Vasiliou 1963). After liberation from the Ottoman Turks Papa-Loris was responsible for dispersing the large monastic flocks and dividing up the monastic lands (see Chapter 4.iii.). It was from that time that the chestnut forests began to spread and many trees took root within and closer to the village.

It is on record (Vasiliou 1962/3) that Papa-Loris, who was a Cretan by birth, returned to Crete in 1845 and came back to AV with various chestnut saplings which he subsequently grafted on to wild chestnuts in one particular area of the village. Only two of these finally took root and produced the large, sweet chestnuts common today. After this, and mainly at the initiative of another villager, the inhabitants of AV began to graft their own trees. Young trees are still grafted today to produce the larger sweet chestnuts used for marketing and these chestnuts are still called kritika (i.e. Cretan).

Before the Second World War chestnuts were not intensively cultivated though several households were already deriving a substantial income from this source. Before the War, a greater variety of crops were grown for subsistence, including wheat and maize, barley and rye though in small amounts.

Walnut production also got underway after World War 2. In the early 1950s there was some trade in walnut wood though it never took off. An Italian merchant is said to have opened up the first road for vehicles to AV with the purpose of setting up a regular walnut wood export business. He is said to have bought two large trees (at 300,000 and 20,000 drs respectively) but was not seen again.

The chestnut trees are grafted when they are 2-3 years old. They usually start producing in their 4th year, (though not more than a couple of kilos of fruit at this stage). The young trees have to be pruned of their fruit as the pods do not open and fall but dry on the trees. There is less planting of new trees nowadays though it still occurs. Seedlings are cultivated or trees regenerate themselves from fallen chestnuts. During the last 10 years disease has killed many of the chestnut trees and production has dropped dramatically.

In 6-10 years a tree is producing anything from 2-30 kilos of fruit. A medium sized, mature tree can produce anything from 40-80 kilos (the average is 40/50) and exceptionally large fertile trees can produce 100 and more kilos per year.

The chestnut trees are irrigated throughout the summer months and the ground beneath each tree is cleared both before and after the actual harvest.

The chestnuts fall when the pods (zines) ripen and split open. This means that collection from each tree cannot take place all at once but is spread over several days, usually a week or ten days. After the harvest the chestnuts are sorted into size and stored in sacks waiting collection by the merchants (see Chapter 3.ii.) though some are left unsorted and sold at lower prices. The chestnut harvest takes between 15-20 days. Usually individual households work together (see Chapter 3.iii.) with migrant members often returning to assist.

The average yield of chestnuts per household is approximately 1000 kilos. A random sample of 5 households' yields is as follows:

- Household (1) 100 k from own fields,
1000 k from rented fields (average)
- Household (2) 400 k from own fields,
45 k walnuts (small)
- Household (3) 1500 k from own fields (average)
- Household (4) 2800 k from own fields (large)
- Household (5) 2200 k from own fields (large)

Walnut trees need no production care (i.e. grafting, pruning, watering), and a fully mature large tree can produce 700 kilos or more of walnuts every second year. Most of the people with walnuts in the village have mature trees and I learnt of no systematic planting while I was there. The trees need up to 15-20 years to produce a reasonable crop and then do so every other year. The walnuts do not drop to the ground like the chestnuts but are beaten off the trees with long wooden poles. After they are collected they have to be peeled of their outer pod (which exudes a staining juice used for brown dye), washed and laid out to dry for up to 15 days. Those with walnuts tend to have fewer chestnuts and vice versa.

The production of chestnuts and walnuts is not labour intensive and can, in most cases, be managed by a single household of 2-3 persons (see Chapter 3.iii.). It is therefore well suited to an area where there is a shortage of labour and where the majority of working hands are middle-aged and over.

Wheat and maize cultivation do not only require much more labour but are not well suited to the mountainous conditions. Bakojiannis (1962), for example, makes the following observations:

In 1960 1 stremma of land produced 40 (okades)* of wheat at

	3.50 drs =	140 drs
but cost of production	=	229.40 drs
therefore = loss		89.40 drs

1 stremma produced 130 (oks) of maize at

	3.50 drs =	455 drs
but cost of production	=	589.50 drs
therefore = loss		134.50 drs

compared with 1 stremma in 1977 produced 600 (kilos) dry beans at

	100 drs =	60,000.0 drs
and cost of production	=	32,250.0 drs
therefore = gain		27,750.0 drs

* 1 oka = 3 lb, 1 kilo = 2.25 lbs approximately

Because of the difficulties of producing wheat there has long been a problem of obtaining enough flour for family needs in mountain areas of Greece (at least until the setting up of the ATE). Bakojiannis (1962) estimated that in 1960 a 6-membered household would need 3.800 - 4.200 drs for its annual bread needs and the value of bread then was equal to,

210 (oks) of cheese	(x 20 drs)
233 (oks) of honey	(x 18 drs)
1400 (oks) of apples	(x 3 drs)
525 (oks) of walnuts	(x 8 drs)

TABLE 27:

COMPARATIVE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1939		TOTAL	1977		TOTAL	REMARKS
	MALES	FEMALES		MALES	FEMALES		
Cultivators	88	49	137	32	51	83	
Stockbreeders/ Shepherds	51	7	58	22	14	36	
Casual/Agricultural Labourers	53	33	86	10	5	15	
Traders ¹	5	-	5	10	9	19	
Artisans ²	16	-	16	3	2	5	
Services ³	7	-	7	12	-	12	
Housewives	-	93	93	-	74	74	
Unoccupied ⁴	8	24	32	2	9	11	
Pensioners	4	13	17	14	25	39	
Teachers	1	-	1	3	4	7	Only one actually from AV
Students	1	-	1	10	4	14	All Absent
Migrants in permanent employment elsewhere ⁵	46	5	51	142	130	272	
TOTAL			504			587	

1. Traders: Shopkeepers, Butchers
 2. Artisans: Blacksmith, Cobbler, Carpenter, Tilemaker - also included Tailor and Seamstress
 3. Services: Barber, Miller, Electrician, Plumber, Forest/Fieldguard, Postman, Priest
 4. Unoccupied: Includes Invalided
 5. Migrants: Includes Professionals, Clerks, Labourers, Servants and those registered as simply housewives

TABLE 28:

PRODUCTIVITY

Kilos per Stremma	AV		AH		D		P		H	
	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975
Maize alone	74	-	600	150	45	300	174	-	-	-
Maize & Beans	-	16	50	110	-	200	76	200	79	60
Beans alone	30	100	171	70	40	70	30	-	-	-
Wheat Soft	-	-	-	-	-	300	-	150	-	-
Hard	-	-	-	-	80	300	-	150	120	-
Trefoil	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	37	NK
Grass (for fodder)	208	170	50	313	237	93	136	300	152	300
Potatoes	166	470	-	700	-	520	68	800	35	800
Other Veg.	NK	1000	457	425	127	994	251	180	248	110
Fruit Trees (total amount in kilos from:)										
Fruit trees	-	25000	-	8500	-	15000	-	28000	-	12000
Chestnuts	80000	71000	4000	5000	4000	21000	NK	15000	300	-
Walnuts	15000	5000	2100	1200	2500	6000	3276	8000	6000	4200

TABLE 29:

a) CROPS CULTIVATED IN STREMMAS

	AV		AH		D		P		H	
	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975	1965	1975
Maize	-	-	70	7	400	13	51	-	-	-
Beans	300	10	70	7	400	7	51	-	-	-
Maize/Beans	-	100	6	20	-	130	1	10	10	6
Wheat	-	-	-	-	10	7	-	18	5	-
Trefoil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Grass	120	440	50	186	80	140	68	100	110	200
Potatoes	3	70	-	8	-	25	13	10	50	5
Other Veg.	150	17	7	4	70	9	33	10	44	4
Chestnuts	17300	15193	260	380	1000	575	800	700	22	-
No. of Fruit Trees	3m.	3790	683	606	11600	1085	1862	1430	1250	1340

b) LIVESTOCK

	1965	1977	1965	1977	1965	1977	1965	1977	1965	1977
Pack Animals	66	77	44	26	108	90	43	30	40	21
Cows	117	20	91	19	134	96	63	17	39	3
Sheep	8300	600	280	150	600	480	440	350	1210	600
Goats	520	300	85	100	750	900	180	220	400	230

TABLE 30:

COST OF PRODUCING CHESTNUTS/WALNUTS

LABOUR REQUIRED	CHESTNUTS	WALNUTS
Clearing Fields	3 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 3000	3 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 3000
Planting	2 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 2000	-
Grafting	3(days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 3000	-
Watering	8 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 8000	-
Beating	-	3 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 3000
Picking	20 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 4 (persons) = 40000	15 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 3 (persons) = 22500
Transport from field (Hire of animal)	(2 days loan) = 1000	(2 days loan) = 1000
Treating/Sorting	4 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 4000	8 (days) x 500 (daily wage) x 2 (persons) = 8000
Total Expenditure	= 61000	= 37000
Gross Income (from	3000 (kilos) ¹ x 35 (drs) = 105000	800 ² (kilos) x 50 (drs) = 40000
Profit	= 44000	= 3000

(The daily wage for 1977 was 500 drs per day. It was less for women. Now it is more for both).

1. This is higher than the average calculated at 150 trees each producing 20 kilos.
2. 800 kilos per annum is taken as the average in this case.

TABLE 31:

LABOUR AND LABOUR TIME REQUIRED FOR CHESTNUT/WALNUT CULTIVATION

TYPE OF WORK	MONTH	CHESTNUTS (DAYS)	WALNUTS (DAYS)	NUMBER OF LABOURERS FOR TIME STATED
Planting	December-February	2/3	Rare now	2
Grafting	May	3	-	2
Watering	June-September	8 (every 15 days)	Optional	2
Clearing Fields	September/October December/February	3 (x 2)	3 (x 2)	2
Beating Tree	October	-	3	1
Picking	October-November	(up to) 20	15	3/more
Podding/Cleaning	November	-	8	2
Sorting		4	0	2
Drying		0	15	-
Total Labour Days		41	29 (+ 15 days drying = 44)	16

APPENDIX 2

Political Information, Election Results, Tables etc.

The following includes a list of the main political parties and election results for Evritania between 1926 and 1977.

According to the available information the figures have either been broken down for each of the villages of the former municipalities of Dolopon and Ktimenion, (with the village of AV appearing always at number 1), or for the province as a whole.

For the purposes of comparison the village of AN, south of the capital Karpenisi has also been included (number 3). The reason for this is that it has been consistently considered the most 'left-wing' village of the Province.

TABLE 32:

ELECTION RESULTS OF THE VILLAGES OF KTIMENION & DOLOPON 1956 - 1977

	1956	TOTAL NUMBER OF VALID VOTES	ERE	DE	KP (In %)
1	AV	313	73.80	22.36	0.31
2	AH	135	45.18	22.22	/
3	AN	369	25.74	57.99	/
4	D	285	57.54	31.92	/
5	H	115	66.95	33.04	/
6	P	107	85.04	12.14	/
7	K	250	28.80	47.60	18.40
8	S				
9	M	199	54.27	43.21	2.01
10	N	369	29.26	50.07	5.69
11	KL.	435	29.88	65.97	3.44
12	F	521	26.10	74.28	0.19
13	V	267	51.68	43.44	4.86
14	K				

1958	TOTAL NUMBER OF VALID VOTES	ERE	EDA	KP	PADE
1	376	72.87%	2.92	19.40	0.53
2	159	54.71	/	37.10	6.28
3	440	42.72	11.36	18.86	6.81
4	338	59.76	/	37.57	/
5	145	63.44	/	22.75	11.72
6	140	85.00	1.42	12.14	0.71
7	343	46.64	15.16	34.40	0.29
8					
9	216	68.05	/	30.09	/
10	500	62.60	1.40	10.20	1.80
11	636	54.87	11.00	31.13	3.30
12	650	37.69	7.07	52.46	0.30
13	369	50.94	6.23	43.90	2.98
14	584	59.07	3.93	32.02	2.73

1961		ERE	EK	PAME	
1	414	72.22	16.90	/	
2	168	64.28	33.33	/	
3	464	34.05	53.44	5.81	
4	345	41.15	53.33	/	
5	153	64.70	33.98	/	
6	149	79.19	19.46	0.67	
7	271	48.70	41.32	1.84	
8	272	28.67	69.48	0.36	
9	242	52.47	45.45	/	
10	302	43.37	48.67	2.64	
11	572	49.30	47.02	1.04	
12	688	42.73	53.19	1.45	
13	404	42.57	51.73	0.24	
14	427	43.09	48.94	5.85	

TABLE 32 - Continued

1963	TOTAL NUMBER OF VALID VOTES	EK	ERE	EDA	KP	INDEP.
1	398	27.88	65.82	0.75	/	0.75
2	179	35.19	59.21	/	0.55	3.91
3	462	46.75	29.87	14.06	0.43	1.51
4	389	47.55	69.92	1.02	0.25	4.37
5	175	37.71	52.00	0.57	/	5.71
6	155	27.74	70.32	/	/	/
7	257	31.51	36.18	9.72	5.05	12.84
8	276	44.92	39.13	/	2.17	/
9	249	43.77	52.20	/	0.80	/
10	301	30.56	51.49	2.65	3.65	6.31
11	565	34.51	54.86	0.70	1.06	4.07
12	720	37.08	42.63	3.05	11.25	1.38
13	398	48.99	46.73	0.25	0.25	1.25
14	302	35.76	39.40	6.62	11.58	2.64

1964		EK	ERE-EP
1	324	30.24	68.20
2	149	46.30	53.69
3	396	77.02	20.45
4	322	63.47	33.85
5	124	51.61	44.35
6	134	18.65	78.35
7	295	68.13	30.16
8	271	62.36	32.10
9	243	56.37	41.97
10	261	61.68	34.09
11	619	50.08	46.20
12	646	60.68	36.53
13	324	55.55	42.59
14	269	65.42	31.22

TABLE 32 - Continued

1974	TOTAL NUMBER OF VALID VOTES	ND	EKND	PASOK	EA
1	370	75.94	12.97	4.32	3.24
2	161	74.53	18.63	6.83	/
3	399	54.88	19.79	7.51	10.52
4	374	60.96	27.54	6.41	1.33
5	117	70.94	18.80	4.27	1.70
6	144	88.19	6.94	0.69	0.69
7	206	63.10	8.25	17.96	4.36
8	265	44.15	24.52	13.96	1.88
9	286	46.50	32.51	13.16	0.69
10	244	72.95	9.01	11.47	2.45
11	585	72.30	17.60	3.24	1.53
12	735	58.09	13.06	1.36	2.85
13	178	53.93	39.32	0.56	1.12
14	284	40.14	10.21	38.02	4.57

1977		ND	EDIK	PASOK	SYM	KKE	EP	KNF
1	407	75.18	2.95	12.04	0.25	2.95	6.63	/
2	145	54.48	7.59	21.38	0.69	1.38	11.72	2.76
3	410	47.56	10.73	21.46	0.73	14.39	4.39	0.73
4	286	60.84	10.14	23.43	/	4.55	1.05	/
5	49	59.18	12.24	14.29	/	2.04	12.24	/
6	131	67.18	2.29	6.87	1.53	0.76	21.37	/
7								
8								
9								
10								
11	488	57.58	21.11	10.66	0.61	3.48	5.74	0.92
12	693	40.69	36.65	13.28	1.15	4.91	3.17	0.14
13	85	42.35	15.29	5.88	/	/	36.47	/
14								

TABLE 32 - Continued

TABLE 33:

ELECTION RESULTS (IN %) POSTWAR 1946 - 1977

- 1) A COMPARISON BETWEEN FIGURES FOR THE WHOLE OF GREECE AND FIGURES FOR THE PROVINCE OF EVRITANIA

YEAR	1946	GREECE	PROVINCE
PARTY:			
HPE		55.12	35.23
EPE		19.28	13.80
KF		14.39	01.99
EKE		05.96	25.42
(+ OTHERS)			
YEAR 1950			
PARTY:			
KGP		10.67	22.04
KF		17.24	26.56
LK		18.80	15.03
EKE		03.65	12.64
NK		02.50	02.53
EPEK		16.44	12.34
DS		09.70	02.48
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS		02.62	/
REGEN. FRONT		05.27	01.57
'X'		00.84	/
(+ OTHERS)		00.84	/
YEAR 1951			
PARTY:			
ES		36.53	48.83
EPEK		23.49	29.41
KF		19.04	19.07
EDA		10.57	00.46
LK		06.66	02.21
(+ OTHERS)			
YEAR 1952			
PARTY:			
ES		49.22	59.07
EPEK-KF		34.22	40.92

1946 - 1952 ANALYTICAL FIGURES FOR EACH VILLAGE OF EVRITANIA ARE NOT AVAILABLE. FIGURES FROM EKKE (NATIONAL CENTRE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH)

2) A COMPARISON BETWEEN ELECTION RESULTS FOR THE WHOLE OF GREECE, THE PROVINCE AND TWO VILLAGES

YEAR	1956	GREECE	PROVINCE	AV	AN
ERE		47.38	46.39	73.80	25.74
DE		48.15	48.78	22.36	57.99
KF		02.22	03.00	00.31	/
YEAR	1958				
ERE		41.16	56.16	72.87	42.72
EDA		24.42	02.85	02.92	11.36
KF		20.67	31.40	19.40	18.86
PADE		10.63	06.88	00.53	06.81
YEAR	1961				
ERE		50.80	45.14	72.22	35.05
EK		33.65	47.93	16.90	53.44
PAME		14.62	01.18	/	05.81
YEAR	1963				
EK		42.04	38.97	27.88	46.75
ERE		39.37	46.95	65.82	29.87
EDA		14.34	01.98	00.75	14.06
KF		03.73	01.36	/	00.43
INDEP.		00.52	03.03	00.75	01.51
YEAR	1964				
EK		52.71	58.24	30.24	77.02
ERE-KF		35.26	39.17	68.20	20.45
EDA		11.80	/	/	/
YEAR	1974				
ND		54.37	61.00	75.94	54.88
EKND		20.42	20.13	12.97	19.79
PASOK		13.58	11.63	04.32	07.51
EA		09.47	03.90	03.24	10.82
YEAR	1977				
ND		41.84	47.25	75.18	47.56
EDIK		11.95	14.60	02.95	10.73
PASOK		25.34	26.28	12.04	21.46
SYM		02.72	00.58	00.25	00.73
KKE		09.36	03.35	02.95	14.39
EP		06.82	06.86	06.63	04.39
(KNF + OTHERS)		01.97	01.09	/	00.73

TABLE 33 - Continued

3) PRE-WAR ELECTION RESULTS FOR EVRITANIA

YEAR	1928
PK	58.81
LK-KF	39.71
INDEP.	00.33
YEAR	1932
PK	91.95
LK	11.89
YEAR	1933
EPE	67.24
LK	31.32
UNITED FRONT	01.64
YEAR	1936
ERE	40.42
LK	52.79

TABLE 33 - Continued

Conclusions drawn from the tables

Kafantaris of the Liberal (Venizelist Party) held sway as MP in the Province between 1905 and 1933.

Boudara, (liberal/centre coalition), was elected in 1903 and played an intermittently important part as local MP until 1956.

In 1935, the Populist Party (LK - see notes) started to get ahead in the province, competing with the Metaxas party which never polled many votes in Evritania.

Boudara (EPEK) important in the Province between 1950-56.

C. Karapiperis (from AV,ERE) takes over in 1950 and is very influential in the Province between 1956-1977.

Results of the village of AN show a consistently high liberal/left vote (including for G. Papandreou), while AV shows consistently high right-wing vote.

Prewar election results for the province suggest that Evritania in general polled a more democratic vote than in the postwar years.

- In 1926 over 58% of the vote went to the Venizelos Party
- 1932 over 91% of the vote went to the Venizelos Party
- 1933 over 67% of the vote went to the Coalition Party of Venizelos and Papandreou
- 1936 after the takeover by Metaxas, a shift to the right with over 52% going to the right-wing populist party (a year after T. Karapiperis, uncle to the 'reigning' MP during my fieldwork, first elected)
- 1946 a higher percentage polled for the Zervas Party than Greece as a whole gave it. (This is partly explained by the fact that the KKE boycotted the elections and many on the Left had already gone back into the mountains or were imprisoned. See Richter 1986).
- 1950 Markezinis (right/centre) Party takes majority vote in the Province
- 1951 Distinct move rightwards with Papagos holding sway
- 1952 Papagos still popular

After that the province votes solidly for 'their' MP - Karapiperis - and the Right, until his surprising defeat in the 1981 elections when he was replaced by the PASOK candidate.

If one compares Greece as a whole, the Province of Evritania, and the villages of AN (with its lib/left tradition) and of AV (with its right tradition) in the postwar period, it can be seen that;

the Province more or less reflects the voting pattern for the whole of Greece though it polls much less for the left and more for the liberals.

AV is more to the right than the Province or the country as a whole.

AN is more left than the Province as a whole but less so than the whole of the country.

This is consistent with the effects of civil war in the province and the departure and persecution of the Left.

Appendix 2 Continued

Political Parties

DE : (Demokratiki Enosis) Democratic Union
G. Papandreou's centre coalition and EDA during electoral alliance of 1956

DS : (Demokratikos Sinaspismos) Democratic Coalition
Coalition of small centre groups led by Papanastassiou, G. Papandreou and Kafandaris in 1946

EDA : (Eniaia Demokratiki Aristera) United Democratic Left
Formed in 1951 from several left parties, including a substitute for the outlawed KKE after the war. Was itself outlawed in 1967

EF : (Eleftherofronon) Free Opinion Party
Founded and led by Metaxas in 1920s and 1930s

EK : (Enosis Kendrou) Centre Union
Founded by G. Papandreou in 1961. Label for most of the centre groups

EKE : (Ethnikon Komma Ellados) National Party of Greece
Founded by Zervas after the war from members of his partisan group. Participated in 1946 elections and in 1950 then broke up and its members joined other parties

EPE : (Ethniki Politiki Enosis) National Political Union
Coalition made up of Venizelist liberals led by Sophocles Venizelos, G. Papandreou and his social democrats and Kanellopoulos and his National Unity Party

EPEK : (Ethniki Proodeftikon Enosis Kendrou) National Progressive Centre Union
Liberal coalition led by Plastiras and Tsouderos in 1950 and 1951, then merged with EK

ERE : (Ethniki Rizospastiki Enosis) National Radical Union
Founded by Karamanlis in 1956. Composed mainly of right elements from ES but also included some centre people

ES : (Ellinikos Synagermos) Greek Rally
Created by Papagos in 1951. Won elections in 1952. Mainly right some centre members. Most later joined ERE

HPE : (Inomeni Parataksis Ethnikofronon) Coalition of Nationalists
Coalition of three parties that fought 1946 elections: Populist Party of Tsaldaris, Reformist Party of Alexandris, National Liberals of Gonatas

KGP : (Komma Georigiou Papandreou) Party of George Papandreou
Continuation of the prewar Democratic Socialist Party. Ran in 1950 and 1951. Won no seats in 1951, then

Papandreou collaborated with ES in 1952

KP : (Komma Proodeftikon) Progressive Party
Minor Party founded by Markezinis after he left ES in 1955. Mainly composed of personal followers involved in his earlier party NEO KOMMA which contested the 1950 elections. Since 1956 has participated in elections only in collaboration with one of the major political coalitions

LK : (Laikon Komma) Populist Party
This party traces its roots to the 'personalistic' groups of the last part of the 19th century. Didn't take shape until the first decades of the 20th century. Until 1951 was a major political group but then most of its members shifted to the ES. Tsaldaris continued to run the party office but it was not involved in electoral politics until after 1961 when it entered a coalition party

ND : (Nea Demokratia) New Democracy
The Party of Konstandinos Karamanlis which came to power after the fall of the Dictatorship in 1974 and was subsequently elected to a second term of office. Now led by Mitsotakis, the present Prime Minister.

PADE : (Proodeftiki Agrotiki Demokratiki Enosis)
Progressive Agrarian Democratic Union
Coalition of right and centre personalities who contested the 1958 elections.

PAME : (Pandemokratiki Agrotikon Metopon Ellados)
Pan-Democratic Agrarian Front of Greece
Label used by EDA in 1961 elections

PK/EK : (Phileleftheron Komma) Liberal Party
Party founded by Venizelos in 1910. Went through many changes, in 1969 its line of descent was the EK

PASOK : (PanElliniko Socialistiko Komma) PanHellenic Socialist Party
The party of Andreas Panandreu, first elected in 1981. Defeated in the General Elections of 1989/90.

SP : (Sinaspismos Proodeftikou) Progressive Coalition

SA : (Sinaspismos Anixartikos) Independent Coalition

NK : (Neo Komma) New Party

APPENDIX 3

Translations of circulars issued during the 1930s

1) Circular of 1935

Circular

To:

All the Community councils and existing institutions of Evritania, the Educational Societies of Evritania, the Lawyer's Society of Karpenisi, the Trader's Society of Karpenisi, the Polytechnical Society of Evritania, the Union of Evritanian Invalides in Athens and the Union of Evritanian Students. To the teachers, students, scientists and all the thinking people of Evritania.
To all Evritanians.

The situation in Evritania is known to all. It is a situation of economic, intellectual and moral wretchedness. Misery rules from one corner of the Province to the other; famine, especially during the winter months, is a general phenomenon and malnutrition is a permanent condition. The extent of illiteracy, intellectual and moral poverty is inconceivable. TB, malaria and other diseases gnaw at the majority of the population without there being even rudimentary medical care. Terrible working, housing and clothing conditions complete the picture of this miserable situation.

Without doubt, the people of Evritania suffer the lowest level of development than any other region of Greece. Without free State education they remain oblivious of their tragic position and their rights; slaves of superstition, dominated by the need for bread, exploiting cunning and natural forces, the people of Evritania are 'fate-worshippers' to an extraordinary extent. They are mostly illiterate, attached to ancient custom and primitive in their exploitation of land and livestock.

Immersed in ignorance, economically underdeveloped and totally unenlightened and misguided, the Evritanian can neither discover the way, nor recognize the tools with which he must struggle to end his unexpressed tragedy. Great ignorance and feelings of inadequacy drive him to subjection, despair and despondancy. His life is an almost continuous tragedy, a desparate fight to produce bread of which he never gets enough.

Until now governments have ignored the countryside, politicians - without exception - have never shown any interest in it. The people have never been taught how to ask for their rights or how to demand that the State show some interest in Evritania. People drown in rivers for the lack of bridges; they fall off cliffs because there are no proper roads; they die from hunger; they are struck down by disease.

They neither protest nor struggle against their conditions. They do not demand that the State take a proper interest in their fate.

In brief, Evritania is the region of the poor, the hungry, of few material resources, of intellectually and morally undeveloped peasants and shepherds. A hundred years of independence has not raised, one iota, the standard of living in Evritania save only in the provincial capital and a few villages which have depended entirely on remittances from emigrants.

According to us, these are the conditions of Evritania and in reality they are even worse. No-one has systematically studied the conditions, no-one has explained the reasons for the pitiful state of affairs, no-one has shown what has to be done or how to do it.

We think it is time to awaken the people of Evritania and seek the immediate solution to all questions of livelihood in the countryside and to raise the standard of living. The peasant must stop 'fatefully' waiting for salvation from above and begin to struggle for freedom from this dreadful misery. He must fight to control his own fate.

What are the reasons for such conditions and what are the pressing problems and needs of our countryside? The mountainous nature and barrenness of the terrain, the lack of agricultural small-holdings, the destruction of agriculture and stock-breeding, the lack of medical care (doctors, medicines, hospitals etc.), the abandonment of the country for the city - these are some of the factors which have led to the present situation.

In the past most of the population of Evritania found escape through migration. Now, however, this has completely stopped as there is so much unemployment in the cities that going there is no longer a viable solution for the rural young. They remain in their villages swelling the numbers of the unemployed, landless and hungry.

Aware, then, of the situation in which most villagers find themselves and conscious of our duty, we intend to work towards economic renaissance and general development. We have decided to cooperate in confronting the problems of employment and to struggle towards solving all the unanswered problems of the area.

We believe that we must create a movement over all Evritania and forge closer links and cooperate with all community councils, different institutions, educational societies and other organizations. In general, we must work with all relevant and progressive groups or movements which agree to assist us in providing the intellectual and moral development of the people which is so lacking in our area; and to help set the people in motion towards solving the many problems, giving them the impetus for progress and development.

For these reasons we are taking the initiative in proposing a Pan-Evritanian congress for the coming summer of 1936.

The aim of the congress will be to study the situation from every point of view; to acquaint itself with the real needs and problems of the area; to study agricultural and stock-breeding conditions and the political and educational demands of Evritania. Further, and this is its most important aspect, the congress aims to put forward practical and decisive ways for solving the problems. To establish that pitiable conditions exist and register the cries of despair are not in themselves enough.

We believe that the Pan-Evritanian congress will lay the foundations for widespread development. It will help organize the Evritanians' fight to improve their conditions. A fight which will be intense and continuous in its efforts to solve all problems of which the most crucial are the following: the question of small-holdings, of maize production and distribution; of communications, financial compensation for the destruction of crops and livestock; of medical care, housing, the unemployed and landless. And the question of economic aid to the poorer communities, and so on.

The congress aims to bring together all progressive groups which wish to be united. It will call on the government, the nomarch (prefect) and politicians of the Province to endorse its proposals and it will oblige the State to take care of our region and to support our proposals. Finally, the decision will be taken on behalf of all Evritanians to fight for relief from their inconceivable misery and ensure that their demands for a decent existence be heard.

In order that the congress succeed, we intend to begin preparatory work immediately to organize community councils by public meeting and bring them into contact with existing organizations and societies, scientists and teachers and assist them in their examination of the general conditions of Evritania and the specific ones of each of its six municipalities. We will also consider the best ways in which to organize the congress itself and elect steering committees in each municipality. The committees should come to the capital as soon as possible to help elect a central organizing committee which will decide the place, time, agenda, speakers etc., and announce the congress. At the same time we propose that every village and hamlet call a public gathering to explain the aims of the congress. The local committees should study the specific problems of each community in conjunction with the general ones of the area and ensure that every village sends a representative to the congress.

To this end we ask you to send us your opinions concerning the idea of the congress, its programme and all topics which should be investigated. We have confidence that every Evritanian who loves his birthplace and responds to our demands will not fail to do his duty and that the various organizations will not object to working even under such rudimentary conditions.

We emphasize, in particular, the role of the educated and enlightened of Evritania, who must help illuminate, guide and lead the rural people towards alleviating their conditions and give them the 'ten commandments' of their rights as human beings and citizens.

Written in Karoplesi 15th August 1935

(various signatures)

From Beikos (1979 Vol 1 pp.68-72) My translation.

Appendix 3 Continued

2) Resolution passed in AV July 1935

At 'Agios Vissarios', Ktimenion, Evritania. Today, Sunday 26th July 1935 at 10.30pm, the inhabitants of the communities of 'Agios Vissarios', Agios Haralambos, Petralona, Domianoï and Hohlias freely assembled in mass-meeting and after various introductory speeches, agreed that they are very unjustly exploited by the State.

They protest about this. Chiefly because the peoples' repeated demands, (for duty-free maize, for assistance to flood victims, for attention to the fact that during the winter because of poverty there is acute famine in the snowed up villages), have been met with deaf ears by the responsible authorities. The people announce the following proposals and appeal to the responsible authorities for the implementation of their demands. The people demand:

1. The immediate establishment of an ATE store in AV (the centre of the five communities), providing maize, salt and paraffin.
2. The selling of maize at its cost price and that maize be donated free to the poorer cultivators, or at least be given on credit.
3. Agrarian clinics be set up with the dispensing of free medicines to the poor.
4. An agronomist be appointed in order to estimate the yearly scourge of damage to crops, to assess compensation for the victims of floods and to guide the cultivators in their agricultural work.
5. The minimum daily wage of the road-workers of Evritania be set at 45 drs for minors and 70 drs for others of both sexes, and the implementation of an eight hour day.
6. A firm undertaking that a road between Agrinion, Karpenisi and Karditsa be constructed.
7. A definite promise that three bridges will be built in AV to lessen the annual damage from floods, and
8. the people demand taxation be reduced for those receiving less than 50.000 drs p.a.

We declare that:

If on this occasion too the State and its representatives turn a deaf ear, we the most peace-loving and law-abiding of Greek agrarian citizens, will throw ourselves into a fierce struggle to ensure that the above demands are met. These demands represent the minimum that tax-paying Greeks are entitled to and are no different to that which the State apportions to other, richer districts of Greece which bear no comparison with poor Evritania.

The elected ten-membered committee is entrusted with signing and sending the above resolution, which has been agreed on, to the responsible persons and to the Press.

The Committee (various signatures* two members from each community)

From the library of Panos Vasiliou. (1979). My translation.

Appendix 3 Continued

3) Proposed Scheme for the Redistribution of Land

We suggest that a Resolution be passed on the following, which will comprise an Agreement for all the village, obligatory for everyone.

1) The distribution of cultivated land should take place. The area to be marked out for this purpose will comprise a single unity and the separate fields (Ntamkes) (i) will be decided on beforehand. Land very close to the village is excluded from the redistribution.

2) The following are also excluded from the distribution:

Meadows (for oxen), grazing lands (for goats), watering places and salt spots. (Alataries) (ii). Pathways for the circulation of the flocks and herds, sheepfolds and stables and milking places. Points which constitute traditional (inherited Fa to So) and necessary passages for people and oxen to patrimonial lands, and places traversed by irrigation canals. Very steep land whose cultivation would require terracing and those areas where ferns grow and afford protection and help hold water above old patrimonial fields are also excluded, as well as small, isolated spots, 'without light', scattered in the forests.

3) The fields in question will be given to the cultivators for a period of five years. For an extension of this period a decision will be made by the village before the five years is out. The village will have the right, to redistribute the distributed lands again after five years. This right becomes invalid if after liberation the government of the land, within the framework of solving all agrarian problems, takes measures which also include the fate of such fields.

4) Cultivation will take place according to the tradition of Ntamka. No-one will have the right to cultivate a crop outside that specified by this system. In contrast, stock-breeders and fieldguards will have no obligation to protect the crops from flocks. After the harvest, the ntamka will be considered free grazing land for stock-breeders and the community in general. For this reason no fencing will be allowed, except in places where the field borders a road, then fencing is allowed along this stretch. Fencing made from branches of tree-tops are forbidden. They may only be made from cedar shrubs, and some pine branches. After the harvest gaps in the fences must be made so the herds may come and go freely. Fruit trees may not be planted in these areas, nor stone-walls be built, nor deep ditches dug, nor sheds of stone or wood be built.

The following are allowed: small, temporary irrigation canals from springs at the top of the fields; small, low walls made from, one/two or three at the most, tree trunks

which it was necessary to fell. Drainage canals which might send snow-water into a neighbouring field is not allowed.

5) The distribution of the land will be carried out by a committee elected by the village. It will not be done according to Lot but according to the judgement and decision of the committee based on the following criteria:

a) If there is no urgent need and the other criteria apply, changes in the reclamation which has already taken place, should be avoided - at least on a big scale - this will ensure that people do not benefit from the work of others, thereby creating complaints and bitterness. No-one should feel their trouble wasted.

b) Those who have few or impoverished holdings and large families - as long as the above criterion is applied - should receive more land relative to others.

c) It is right that those who receive good, fertile land should receive relatively less than those who get poorer land. Only the families who are in the village at this moment have the right to land. The committee will determine who is here and list the individuals of each family. Land is given to the cultivator for his own use and his family's use. Consequently, any form of selling, renting, exchange or trading and part cultivation is forbidden. In the case of being unable, part of the field must be cleared and used and the part that cannot be used will be given to someone else, preferably someone poorer, who must then sow and cultivate it.

The displacement of boundaries between fields which have been set by the committee, is forbidden. In cases of disputed boundaries the five permanent members of the committee will make a decision.

6) A seventeen-membered committee will be formed for the distribution. It will consist of the five members of the community council and twelve other suitable persons, who will be elected by open vote at a general assembly. The committee must include agriculturalists, stock-breeders and experienced people who know the area well as well as being familiar with each family's landholdings.

The committee will be divided into three parts (6 - 6 - 5), one for each neighbourhood (Koritsa, Mesohori, Platano). The village will endow the committee with the responsibility for protecting the forests and distributing the land. The village agrees that only individual trees can be felled and only when it is necessary for the creation of a field. It recommends that the distribution is limited to the fern covered lands, which are considered enough to satisfy the needs for extra land. The few trees found in these areas may be felled.

The task of distribution and division must be finished, at the most, in 15 days from today. After the division has been decided on, the village will collect in assembly and the committee will give account of its decisions, examine chance complaints and formalize the final distribution.

Clearing of the land will begin after the village has given its final approval to the proposed distribution. Anyone who considers that they have been unjustly treated by the committee, or that an oversight was made within the limits set, or that the committee favoured one person or overlooked another, has the right to approach the committee itself. If he is not satisfied by the answer given him or the measures taken by the committee, he may put forward his point of view in a general meeting of the village right after the finalization of the distribution. The decision of this assembly is final.

After the finalization of the distribution and during the winter the five members of the committee who are also the community council, will keep a land registry (iii) for the new fields. The same members will also form a small, permanent committee of distribution to deal with any problems that might arise concerning the new fields.

Notes

(i) Ntamka: method of cultivation and the fields cultivated under this system.

Refers to total of fields in a more or less unitary area, which according to custom, are cultivated each year with one type of crop; e.g. this year wheat next year maize. No other type of cultivation is allowed in the ntamka apart from that decided for that year. This system assists stock-breeding: after the harvest herds/flocks may graze freely on the lands. It also helps regulate irrigation.

(ii) Alataries: salt spots: near watering places salt is smeared on stones for the flocks, usually at ploughing time. After the salt period the stones are overturned.

(iii) A land registry was never kept during the 10 years or so that this scheme was put into practice.

Beikos (1979) Vol. 1 p.418ff. My translation.

Appendix 3 Continued

4) RESOLUTION A OF NATIONAL COUNCIL, 27th May 1944,
Korischades, Evritania

The National Council,

Consisting of representatives of all Greek people, and which met to declare its undaunted determination to fight for the liberation of the country to the end, to destroy fascism and to restore national unity and popular sovereignty, and wishing to define the exercise of power in Free Greece

Declares that:

Art.1 The act of establishment of the PEEA, passed on 10th March 1944, is ratified

Art.2 All authority derives from and is carried out by the people. Local self-government and peoples' justice are the fundamental principles of the public life of the Greeks

Art.3 The National Council is the supreme organ of peoples' sovereignty. The PEEA is invested with the authority ratified by the present resolution

Art.4 The liberties of the people are sacred and inviolable. The nation in arms will defend these liberties from danger, from wheresoever it comes

Art.5 All Greeks, men and women, have equal political and civil rights

Art.6 Work is a fundamental social function and creates the right to enjoy all the rewards of life

Art.7 The primary aim and guiding principle for executing governmental powers, is the national liberation struggle. The National Council, the PEEA, armed and unarmed citizens, serve this aim before all others. The national army, ELAS, is the armed part of the nation and fights for the liberation of the country and for peoples' liberties.

Art.8 The PEEA represents the nation at war to the world abroad and is in command of the national army, ELAS; it controls all public services and has the power to guide and control self-government and peoples' justice

Art.9 The National Council controls the work of the PEEA, ratifies its acts, proposes measures and makes decisions contributing to the success of the national struggle

Art.10 The work of the national Council will continue until the whole country is liberated. The NC may be dissolved before liberation if it so decides on a motion carried by a third of its own members, or by proposition suggested by the PEEA.

Various signatures

PEEA documents NTEPP 15 My translation

APPENDIX 4

The Codes for Self-Government and Peoples Justice of the Resistance

There were six main codes, or groups of codes, for the institutions of SG and PJ developed during the Occupation period between 1942-1944.¹ These were as follows:

1) The 'Eight Commandments' or the Code 'Poseidon'.² This code was formulated in the village of Kleitsos, Evritania, on 4th December 1942, by five members of the district KKE committee and issued under the authority of the local Committee³ of EAM, of which the authors were 'ipethenoi' members.³ The code was applied with elections occurring in the former municipalities of Ktimenion and Dolopon which comprised 13 villages and a total population of 9.275 inhabitants.⁴ It was subsequently adopted in other parts of the Province and in parts of Thessaly where it was introduced by one of the original authors.⁵

2) 'Circular 4'. This code was issued in April 1943. It resulted from an assembly held in the village of Marmara, Fthiotidas, by the District Committee of EAM for the Provinces of Fthiotidas, Fokidas and Evritania, under whose auspices the code appeared. The secretary of the Committee is thought to have been its sole author.⁶ It was never applied as such but represented the first attempt to broaden the foundation for the application of the institutions in a wider area and it formed the basis for some of the following codes, while its terminology caught on in a few places.

3) Decision No. 6 of the Joint GHQs of the National Partisan Bands, was issued on 10th August 1943. The code was drawn up by EAM and agreed to by representatives of ELAS (Sarafis), EDES (Raftopoulos) and the British Military Mission (C. Woodhouse) as well as EKKA (Psarros), all of whom signed it. It was the first code to apply to the whole of Free Greece and not just ELAS liberated territories. In accordance with it - and it was the first to specify electoral practice - elections were held in many places up to 30th September 1943,⁸ and in over 180 communities in Thessaly and Epirus alone. The code was, however, nullified after the outbreak of hostilities between EDES and ELAS in October 1943 and the consequent disbandment of the Joint GHQs. After that no new elections were held in the area of Roumeli. The organs of self-government remained, some using the terminology of Circular 4 and comprising, by and large, a mixture of the latter, Decision No. 6 and the Sterea Code (see below) up until 1st January 1944.

Appendix 4 Continued

4) The Code for Self-Government and People's Justice in Sterea Hellas, or simply, the Sterea Code. This code was adopted on 8th August 1943 for application from 15th August 1943. It was adopted at the first Self-Government Convention (of 450 representatives of the institutions) held in July 1943 in the village of Yardiki, Fthiotidas. It was issued under the authority of the District EAM Committee of Sterea Hellas and was said to have been the work of cooperation between many different people including ordinary partisans. Principally, it was the work of 22 local lawyers who were assisted by a brief (Plan for the Provision of Peoples Justice August 1943) provided by EAM jurists in Athens.

There were no elections held on the basis of this code, nor was it formally or generally applied. However, it was widely used and valid in Evritania - and some other places - up to the end of 1943, and every village in the whole of Roumeli received a copy of the code. It also provided the model for the final plans for self-government issued by the ELAS High Command in December 1943, and it influenced the PEEA's legislative body.

The Sterea Code was created at the same time as Decision No. 6 but quite independently in ignorance of it and in a different place. The fact that the two codes are so similar, both in their provisions and in spirit, is due in part to the influence on them of previous codes and, more significantly, to the fact that they were attempts to codify in writing what was already occurring in practice.

5) The Provisions for Self-Government and Peoples Justice, or "Additional Provisions to the Sterea Code from GHQs", made public as ELAS Order No. 2929 on 1st December 1943, to take effect from 1st January 1944. This code was formulated by the political staff office of the ELAS High Command and signed by Sarafis and Siantos.¹⁰ Although no elections took place on the basis of this code, it was adopted in all the EAM controlled areas and other areas of Free Greece, except for a small region under EDES in Epirus. It remained the legal basis for self-government in the liberated areas up to the Varkiza Agreement in February 1945.¹¹

6) The Statutes of PEEA

(A) Act 3: 13th March 1944, approving all the administrative measures and provisions issued up to 12th March 1944 by GHQs of ELAS and concerning the government of the Free Areas of Greece.

(B) Act 4: Order for Self-Government of 13th March 1944 (agreed to and passed on 17th March 1944). This brief code for SG came out of the PEEA's first meeting in the village of Viniani, Evritania, and was signed by its Secretary of Justice, Elias Tsirimokos.¹² In effect, it endorsed and put into practice the Provisions of December 1943 with several modifications.

(C) Act 12: Orders for Peoples Justice of 4th April 1944 (ratified on 15th April 1944). This code also came out

of the PEEA's first meeting. It too endorses and puts into practice the Provisions of December 1943, but with radical alteration. Most significantly, its article 1 recognised and revalidated the old, official legal system as the 'law of the land'. Thus, in effect, if it did not render peoples justice inoperable, at least it gave it a far more circumscribed and different role than peoples justice had enjoyed up to this point both in practice and in written form. Act 12's article 2 introduces the death penalty for 'any form of theft'. It is the only code to do so for any offence, (ie within the jurisdiction of the popular courts).

(D) Act 21: 18th April 1944, a one-articled amendment to Act 4: art. 5, giving increased powers to the representatives of PEEA in local government.

(E) Act 46: 20th July 1944, 'suspends' Act 12: art. 1, reinstating peoples justice to its previous position.

The institutions of SG and PJ were more completely dealt with in the following two codes of PEEA, in which - as codifications - the institutions are most fully developed.

(F) Act 55: Code for Local Self-Government, ratified on 11th August 1944 in the village of Petrilia, Thessaly, the second seat of the PEEA's Council. In the code, earlier codes reach completion and SG emerges as a form of government by the working population. The code was presented with an Introductory Explanatory Report, written on 7th August by Siantos to take effect from 15th August 1944. It was signed by all ten members of the PEEA. Although an election date was set, however, elections never took place and, in fact, the code was not even printed for distribution, it was never applied as such. Act 5 first appeared among the last pages of the PEEA's Statutes on the eve of PEEA's entrance into the Papandreou government after liberation in September 1944.

(G) Act 57: Code for Peoples Justice, ratified on 20th August 1944 but signed by only nine of the PEEA's ten members. Its Explanatory Report was written and signed by Elias Tsirimokas. The code had the same fate as Act 55, it was never formally issued or applied, though both codes were valid until the 1950s.

In addition to these six main codes, Provisions for Martial Courts to replace the old partisan courts were issued with the Sterea Code in August 1943 and under the same authority, the Regional Committee of EAM for Sterea Hellas. The partisan/martial courts acted as second instance courts of appeal and for hearing certain offences excluded from the jurisdiction of the popular courts, as well as particular military offences among the fighting men. The PEEA also drew up and approved a number of different Acts all of which subsequently appeared in their Statutes and together constituted the basis to a Constitution for the government of the whole country.

Appendix 4 Continued

There were, in addition, two more codes which dealt specifically with the institutions of self-government, issued by the Democratic Army's General Command during the Civil War of 1947. These were

- 1) Resolution Article 1: 'Concerning the Organization of Popular Power', dated 10th August 1947 and signed by Markos¹⁴ and,
- 2) Resolution Article 2: 'Temporary Provisions for Peoples Justice' dated and signed as above.

These two, brief codes were unearthed in 1977¹⁵ and little is known about the way in which they were conceived, the extent to which they were circulated and where, or their fate in general. For these reasons and because they are scant, echoing the early principles of the first code Poseidon, and did not apply to the Province of Evritania, I have given them little space in the discussion about the institutions of SG.

The organs of SG had already been formed and were functioning in most of the freed territories by the time these codes were written. If the codes were applied in some parts of Greece, they would also have been applied incompletely and for a minimum period because of the civil war, which was by that time raging, and because of the gradual loss of villages and towns to the Greek National Army. Chronologically, however, the two codes represent the last known written expression of the institutions of SG during the war period and it is interesting to note that they return to the basic principles of 'peoples power' outlined by Poseidon five years earlier, though they remain mere slogans for these principles.

I have omitted further details on the structure and principles outlined by each code, but in the following pages have summarized and compared the main points of each code.

TABLE 34:

The Codes Compared. A Summary

APPENDIX 4 ADMINISTRATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT

CODE	PRESIDENTS/MAYORS	COUNCIL	COMMITTEES	GENERAL ASSEMBLY
<u>POSEIDON</u>	<p>PRESIDENT DIRECTLY ELECTED</p> <p>PRESIDENTS ELECTED FROM (AMONG MEMBERS (((</p> <p>PRESIDENT OF CPSG ALSO PRESIDENT OF PEOPLES COURT</p>	<p>"COMMITTEE OF POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT"</p> <p>5 MEMBERS</p> <p><u>DIVISIONAL COMMITTEE</u></p> <p>UNION OF PROVINCIAL COMMUNITIES</p> <p>PEOPLES' JUSTICE A BRANCH OF</p>	<p>"SUB-COMMITTEES"</p> <p>WELFARE 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>SCHOOL 3 MEMBERS + TEACHER</p> <p>CHURCH 3 MEMBERS + PRIEST</p> <p>POPULAR SECURITY 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>COMMITTEE(S) OF ASSESSORS FOR AGRARIAN DAMAGE</p> <p>SELF-GOVERNMENT</p>	<p>'SUPERIOR AND SOVREIGN BODY OF THE PEOPLE' -</p> <p>FUNCTIONS DIRECTLY</p>
<u>CIRCULAR 4</u>		<p>"SELF-GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE"</p> <p>5 MEMBERS (PRIMARYLY IN 'HEAD VILLAGES' ONLY)</p>	<p>AS ABOVE</p> <p>"PEOPLES JUSTICE COMMITTEE" BRANCH OF SELF-GOVERNMENT</p>	<p>AS ABOVE</p>
<u>DECISION No. 6</u>	<p>(PREVIOUS COMMUNITY PRESIDENT REMAINS TO MEDIATE WITH GOVERNMENT AND ATHENS)</p> <p>MEMBER OF PAC ALSO MEMBER OF JUSTICE COMMITTEE</p>	<p>"POPULAR ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE"</p> <p>7 (2) - UP TO 4000</p> <p>11 (3) - UP TO 10,000</p> <p>15 (5) - OVER 10,000</p>	<p>"SUB-COMMITTEES"</p> <p>FINANCIAL 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>SCHOOL/CHURCH 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>AGRARIAN SECURITY 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>SECURITY & ORDER 3 MEMBERS</p> <p>JUSTICE COMMITTEE 5 MEMBERS</p> <p>BRANCH OF S.G.</p>	<p>NOT GIVEN A SPECIAL OR PRIME IMPORTANCE</p> <p>CALLED BY THE COMMITTEES EVERY 2 MONTHS TO GIVE ACCOUNT</p>

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CODE	PRESIDENTS/MAYORS	COUNCIL	COMMITTEES	GENERAL ASSEMBLY
<u>STEREA CODE</u>		<u>"COMMUNITY COUNCIL"</u> 7 (3) <u>"MUNICIPAL COUNCIL"</u> 11 (3)	<u>"COMMITTEES"</u> POPULAR SECURITY 4 (3) + 1 SCHOOL 2 (2) + 2 CHURCH 2 (2) + 2 WELFARE 2 (2) + 1 SUPERVISORY 3	NO PROVISIONS FOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY - ONLY ELECTORATE MENTIONED
	MEMBER OF COUNCIL ALSO MEMBER OF PEOPLES COURT		PEOPLES' COURT BRANCH OF SELF-GOVERNMENT	
<u>PROVISIONS</u>	PRESIDENT AND MAYOR DIRECTLY ELECTED BY PEOPLE	<u>COMMUNITY COUNCIL</u> 7 (3) <u>MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</u> 11 (5) <u>+ NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCIL(S)</u> 5 (2) (FOR TOWNS WITH MORE THAN 10,000)	<u>"COMMITTEES"</u> POPULAR SECURITY 5 (3) SCHOOL 3 (3) CHURCH 3 (3) WELFARE 3 (1) SUPERVISORY 3	PRINCIPLE OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RE-INTRODUCED MEETS EVERY 3 MONTHS
	PRESIDENT (+ VICE-PRESIDENT TREASURER) ELECTED FROM AMONG MEMBERS	<u>DISTRICT COUNCIL</u> 10 (5) <u>PROVINCIAL COUNCIL</u> 15 (3)	SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE 5 (3) SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE 5 (3)	DISTRICT ASSEMBLY PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY
	COUNCIL MEMBER ALSO MEMBER OF PEOPLES COURT		PEOPLES JUSTICE BRANCH OF SELF-GOVERNMENT	

TABLE 34 - Continued

CODE	PRESIDENTS/MAYORS	COUNCIL	COMMITTEES	GENERAL ASSEMBLY
<u>PEEA ACT 4</u>	AS IN PROVISIONS EXCEPT: REPRESENTATIVE OF PEEA TAKES PART IN ALL ORGANS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT NOT ACCOUNTABLE TO PEOPLE. NO SPECIAL MENTION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY. PEOPLES JUSTICE COMPLETELY SEPARATE			
<u>PEEA ACT 55</u>	<p>PRESIDENT</p> <p>MAYOR ELECTED FROM AMONG MEMBERS OF M.C.</p> <p>PRESIDENT OF REGIONAL COMMITTEE</p>	<p><u>COMMUNITY COUNCIL</u></p> <p><u>MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</u></p> <p>18 (6) UP TO 50,000 22 (8) OVER 50,000 + <u>NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCIL(S)</u> 4 (2) + 1</p> <p><u>REGIONAL COUNCIL</u></p> <p>18 (6)</p> <p><u>PANHELLENIC ASSEMBLY</u></p> <p>(REPS. FROM ALL LEVELS, HIGHEST BODY OF S.G.) PEOPLES JUSTICE COMPLETELY SEPARATE</p>	<p><u>"COMMITTEES"</u></p> <p>TREASURY 3 MEMBERS WELFARE ETC. 3 MEMBERS POPULAR SECURITY 3 MEMBERS SCHOOL 3 MEMBERS COUNCIL EMPLOYEES</p> <p><u>MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE</u></p> <p>5 UP TO 50,000</p> <p>(+ TREASURY OFFICE) MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES</p> <p><u>REGIONAL COMMITTEE</u></p> <p>+ TREASURER REGIONAL EMPLOYEES</p>	<p>RESTORED AS 'SOVREIGN BODY OF THE COMMUNITY' DIRECT PARTICIPATION UP TO 500 VOTES</p> <p>COMMUNAL ASSEMBLY OF CITIZENS (REP. PARTICIPATION)</p> <p>REGIONAL ASSEMBLY (REPS OF Cs AND Ms of DISTRICT)</p>

TABLE 34 - Continued

CODE	PRESIDENTS/MAYORS	COUNCIL	COMMITTEES	GENERAL ASSEMBLY
<u>DEMOCRATIC ARMY CODE</u>		<u>"POPULAR COUNCIL"</u> 7 (5) UP TO 2500 9 (7) OVER 2500 <u>REGIONAL COUNCIL</u> PEOPLES JUSTICE COMPLETELY SEPARATE	NO MENTION	SOVREIGN BODY OF VILLAGE ELECTED REPS.

TABLE 34 - Continued

TABLE 35:

THE CODES COMPARED: PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

CODE	REL. TO OLD LAW	STRUCTURE	EXCLUDED JURISDICTION	PENALTIES	FEES/LEGAL TRAINING	PEOPLES DELEGATE
<u>POSEIDON</u>	OLD LAW AND COURTS ABOLISHED AND NO-ONE BOUND BY IT	"PEOPLES COURT" 5 MEMBERS + FAMILY COUNCILS "DIVISIONAL CHCC"	TREASON, SPYING, ANIMAL THEFT, MILITARY CRIMES, ANY CRIME AGAINST LIFE OF PEOPLE AND PARTISANS THESE HEARD BY GUERRILLA COURTS MAGISTRATES REL. TO LITIGANTS THIRD KINSHIP ETC EXCLUDED FROM HEARING	COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE AND FINES ONLY	ANY IDEA OF LEGAL FEES ABOLISHED - LEGAL TRAINING IRRELEVANT AND RULED OUT - OFFICE "OBLIGATORY, HONORARY AND UNPAID"	IS EAM REP. REPS. 'COLLECTIVE OPINION', INTRODUCES CASES, SUMS UP, TRIES TO REACH OUT OF COURT SETTLEMENTS ETC. BUT HAS NO VOTE AND CANNOT ATTEND SECRET DELIBERATION OF COURT
<u>CIRCULAR 4</u>	DOCUMENT NOT AVAILABLE, PROBABLY SIMILAR TO ABOVE EXCEPT:				AS ABOVE	INSISTS THAT PEOPLES DELEGATE NOT AN EAM MEMBER
<u>DECISION No. 6</u>	NOT SPECIFIED, AVOIDS MENTION OF OLD LAW	"JUSTICE SUB-COMMITTEE" 5 MEMBERS "COMMITTEE OF REVIEW" 9 MEMBERS (ELECTED BY ALL PRESIDENTS OF JUSTICE SUB-COMMITTEE IN DISTRICT)	AGRARIAN DISPUTES - HEARD BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE TREASON, ARMED ROBBERY, MURDER, ANIMAL THEFT, ABUSE OF AUTHORITY BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS HEARD BY MARTIAL COURTS	COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE AND FINES	COURT EXPENSES PAID BY LITIGANT IN REVIEW CASES ONLY. SECRETARY OF REVIEW C'TTEE MUST BE TRAINED OFFICIAL OR LAWYER AND PREFERRED THAT POPULAR MAGISTRATES ARE OVER 50 YEARS	NO SUCH MEMBER IN SUB-C'TTEE. SUBSTITUTED BY SECRETARY IN REVIEW C'TTEE. IS MORE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR AND IS PAID.

CODE	REL. TO OLD LAW	STRUCTURE	EXCLUDED JURISDICTION	PENALTIES	FEES/LEGAL TRAINING	PEOPLES DELEGATE
<u>STEREA</u>	AVOIDS DEFINING PRECISE POSITION. (MENTIONED ONCE) MAY USE EXPERIENCE GAINED FROM OLD LAW	<u>"PEOPLES COURT"</u> 6 (3) MEMBERS <u>"DISTRICT APPEAL COURT"</u> 5 (5) + PD (3)	TREASON, MURDER MANSLAUGHTER, RAPE ROBBERY, ANIMAL THEFT, ABUSE OF PERSONS (RE. FOOD & MONEY) MILITARY OFFENCES. THESE HEARD BY MARTIAL COURTS MAGISTRATES REL. TO LITIGANTS EXCLUDED	RANGING FROM FINES TO LONG-TERM IMPRISONMENT	IGNORES FREE PROCEEDINGS COURT EXPENSES CARRIED BY C & M COUNCILS. NO MENTION OF LEGAL TRAINING OFFICE "OBLIGATORY, HONORARY, UNPAID" ONLY FOR	IN PC APPOINTED BY SECURITY COMMITTEE. MAIN TASK TO REACH OUT OF COURT AGREEMENTS. IN AC ELECTED BY ALL PRESIDENTS OF PCS. ROLE MORE SPECIALIZED AND DEVELOPED IN THIS CODE.
<u>PROVISIONS</u>	AVOIDS PRECISE SPECIFICATION. DOESN'T INTEND TO ABOLISH OLD LAW COMPLETELY. AC = SEAT OF OLD MAGISTRATES COURT SC = OLD COURT OF APPEAL. MAY USE EXPERIENCE GAINED FROM OLD LAW	<u>PEOPLES COURT</u> 6 (3) <u>APPEAL COURT</u> 5 (3) + PD (3) <u>SUPREME COURT</u> 5 (3) + PD (1)	TREASON, ROBBERY, ANIMAL THEFT, THEFT/EMBEZZLEMENT OF PROPERTY OF 'FIGHTING PEOPLE OF GREECE', OFFENCES AGAINST LIFE, ARSON OF FORESTS, ABUSE OF POWER BY MEMBERS OF SG AND PJ. THESE HEARD BY MARTIAL COURTS MAGISTRATES REL. TO LITIGANTS EXCLUDED	RANGING FROM FINES, EXILE, DEPRIVATION OF CITIZENS RIGHTS TO LONG-TERM IMPRISONMENT	ALL PROCEEDINGS FREE (ART. 55) COURT EXPENSES CARRIED BY C & M COUNCILS PD OF APPEAL COURTS MUST BE LAWYERS AND ALL MEMBERS OF SUPREME COURTS OFFICE "OBLIGATORY, HONORARY, AND UNPAID THOUGH COMPENSATION POSSIBLE AFTER RELEVANT DECISION OF	OF PEOPLES COURT IS APPOINTED BY SECURITY C'TTEE. OF HIGHER COURTS ELECTED BY PRESIDENTS OF THESE COURTS. SPECIALIZED DUTIES (ART. 48-50)

CODE	REL. TO OLD LAW	STRUCTURE	EXCLUDED JURISDICTION	PENALTIES	FEES/LEGAL TRAINING	PEOPLES DELEGATE
PEEA ACT 12	ARTICLE 1 REVALIDATES OLD LAW AND COURTS	AS IN <u>PROVISIONS</u>	AS ABOVE + INHERITANCE, OWNERSHIP AND DIVORCE. HEARD BY MARTIAL COURTS AND OLD COURTS	DEATH PENALTY FOR ANIMAL AND OTHER THEFT	ALL PDs MUST HAVE LEGAL TRAINING AND MEMBERS OF SUPREME COURTS 10 YRS PRACTICE AS WELL	IN HIGHER COURTS APPOINTED BY SEC OF JUSTICE OF PEEA. JUDICIAL INSPECTORATE ALSO APPOINTED. HAVE OVERALLL AUTHORITY, NOT DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE
PEEA ACT 57	'SUSPENDS' ARTICLE 1 OF ABOVE. BUT NOT CLEAR ON WHAT TO DO WITH OLD COURTS. REALIZES NOT YET DEALT WITH PROBLEM OR DEVELOPED SYSTEM OF JUSTICE COMPLETELY	<u>PEOPLES COURT</u> 5 (5) + PD + SEC. <u>APPEAL COURT</u> 5 (5) + PD + SEC. <u>SUPREME COURT</u> 3 + PD + SEC.	INHERITANCE, OWNERSHIP AND DIVORCE. RAISES PROBLEM OF WHICH COURTS TO DEAL WITH THESE BUT DOESN'T SPECIFY	FINES, DETENTION UP TO 30 DAYS, IMPRISONMENT UP TO 5 YEARS	LAWYERS OF HIGHER COURTS PAID. PD OF AC MUST BE GRADUATE OF LAW AND MEMBER OF SC TO HAVE PRACTICED 6 YEARS ALSO	OF PC ELECTED. IN HIGHER COURTS APPOINTED BY SEC. OF JUSTICE. SECRETARIES OF THE COURTS ASSUME NEW IMPORTANCE ALSO

TABLE 35: - Continued

CODE	REL. TO OLD LAW	STRUCTURE	EXCLUDED JURISDICTION	PENALTIES	FEES/LEGAL TRAINING	PEOPLES DELEGATE
DEMOCRATIC ARMY CODE	NO MENTION	PEOPLES COURT 3 + PD + SEC. APPEAL COURT 5 (5) + PD	INHERITANCE, OWNERSHIP AND DIVORCE. (NOT SPECIFIED WHICH COURTS DEAL WITH THESE)	FINES, PUBLIC REBUKE, DETENTION UP TO 30 DAYS, UP TO 5 YEARS LABOUR	PRINCIPLE OF COMPLETELY FREE BESTOWAL OF JUSTICE RE-INTRODUCED. NO MENTION OF LEGAL TRAINING	ELECTED. ALSO ACTS AS PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN AC

TABLE 35 - Continued

Footnotes to Appendix 4

1. The information on the Codes is based on a selected bibliography as well as conversations with the following:

DT, the only surviving author of the first code Poseidon; A number of villagers from different parts of Greece; Members of the KKE who fought as partisans; a popular magistrate. I also spoke with people during 1976/77 who had been involved in EAM and with the institutions of self-government before I started my fieldwork in the village.

The actual texts (codes) I used were the following:

Poseidon: that reprinted in G. Beikos "Popular Power in Free Greece" 1979 Vol. II. Themelio, Athens pp.133 - 152 (he allegedly had the only surviving copy).

Circular 4: no copy available (information based on what could be remembered about it + bibliography).

Decision No. 6: Reprint from the publications of GHQs of PEEA EAM 1943/4 by MNHMH in Series 'Documents of the Greek Progressive Movement' No. 19.

Stereia Code: Same as above

The Provisions: Same as above

Statutes of PEEA

Act 3, Act 4, Act 12, Act 21 and Act 55 : Reprint from 'Archives of National Resistance', same series as above No. 15.

See also Zeppos (1945) "Popular Justice in the Mountains" Athens.

Act 57 : Kastrinos "Popular Justice and Self-Government in Free Greece 1941-1945" in Historiki Epitheorisi Vol. 2 November 1963 pp.111-141.

Democratic Army Codes : Reprinted in Eleftherotipia December 1978 - January 1979.

2. The code was named 'Poseidon' because its effect was likened to "the god of the sea and his powers to create storms, stirring the murky waters (of reaction) and bringing new, clear waters (of revolution)" etc. See also Beikos op.cit. Vol. 11 pp.159 and DT 27.1.1978 conversation.

The members of the District Committee of KKE responsible for the code were,

- i) Stephos Thanos, a teacher from Sarandaporo (Neraida)
- ii) Apostolis Mallios, agricultural labourer from Vraha
- iii) Vasilis Manoukas, relatively wealthy cultivator from Moloha
- iv) Georgoulas Beikos, journalist from Kleitsos
- v) Dimitri Trahanis, Lawyer (then in his final year) from Fourni

In fact, No. (ii) did not take part as he was away labouring in the plains and he was replaced by Kostakis Rangos, student, from Vraha.

3. The 'Ipfethinos' - or 'responsible one' was the secretary of the local EAM committee, and usually a Communist. His duties included checking identification papers of newcomers to the village, helping local villagers who wished to join EAM/ELAS and executing the orders of district superiors. (It was largely through the Ipfethinoi that the Communists exerted influence in EAM affairs). Overall, the Ipfethinoi were accredited with special qualities, of responsibility, good judgement and fairness, wisdom, integrity etc., and some have described the Ipfethinoi as 'a new kind of man', created by the conditions of war and resistance, and the remarkable achievement of EAM'. (DT. 1978 FN).

As is clear, the local Committee of EAM, did not play a part in the formulation of Poseidon, it was a village development. However, its authors decided to issue the code under the authority of the District Committee as an endorsement of its serious intentions. Similarly it was written in a simplified version of 'katharevousa' (pure Greek) as it was thought this would render it more 'lawful' to the inhabitants who were not used to official documents being written in anything but official 'katharevousa'. This is an example of the villagers' concern with the 'legitimate'.

4) In fact elections of local committees had already been taking place in many villages since the previous August. People had begun to demand a say in the election of the officials who ran their affairs, especially as many had been appointed during the Metaxas government. Community councils were elected (often the same ones re-elected) in Fournas, Kleitsos, Hohlia and Vraha after the appearance of the partisan leader, Aris Velouchiotis, in Fournas on 11th October 1942.

5)
August-September 1943 elections in Thessaly:
EDES 18% in W. Thessaly, 1% in E - less than the average in the whole area.
EAM 10% in W. Thessaly, 90% in E
EDES lost all the towns and suburbs of Thessaly and about 750 villages - it gained 20 small villages. (Arseniou "Thessaly in the Resistance" Vol. 11 P.A. Press Athens 1977, pp.301-6.

6) The District Committee of EAM for Fthiotidas, Fokidas and Evritania had to discuss the decisions taken in the 2nd Congress of the KKE which had taken place in December 1942. Elias Maniatis, was the Secretary of the Committee (PEFFE) and is thought to have drawn up the Circular by himself.

7) EDES (Greek Democratic National League) organised in September 1941 began resistance activities in Epirus in July 1942. Led by Zervas, Colonel Raftopoulos was a leading member.

EKKA (National and Social Liberation) organised in July 1941 active in central Greece until April 1944, when it was dispersed by EAM forces. Led by Psarros. See CM Woodhouse "The Apple of Discord" 1948 and "The Struggle for Greece" 1976 and Sarafis "ELAS" 1980 (English translation) for British Military Mission and Lieutenant-Colonel Woodhouse.

8) See footnote (5). Up to the elections the freed villages in Thessaly had formed their own methods of self-government which, by and large, maintained the same community councils and administration of agrarian cooperatives as had existed under the pre-war government. (Arseniou 1977). Zeppos (1945) writes that Decision No. 6 was 'widely applied' in the areas held by both ELAS and EKKA. But Kastrinos (1963) claims that there was no time to apply the code because of the German purges in EAM/ELAS areas and that, finally, it was applied only in a small area under EKKA - Kastrinos claims that it was the Sterea Code which was designed to fill the administrative gap and was more universally applied.

9) Zeppos (1945) writes that the ELAS GHQs were concerned to work up a code which would make the institutions of self-government in all the areas controlled by ELAS, uniform and homogeneous. For this reason, he claims, a committee was set up to formulate a code which could apply to the whole of Free Greece. As a result the Sterea Code was suspended while a new code was drawn up (Additional Provisions) though it was unofficially applied in some areas like Karpenisi from August - December 1943.

10) George Siantos was the Acting General Secretary of KKE and later successively EAM representative on ELAS command and Secretary for Home Affairs in PEEA.

11) The Varkiza Agreement was signed on 12th February 1945 between the EAM leadership, the British and the Greek government of Plastiras and was the result of long negotiations. Its main provisions were for the disbanding of all partisan units. ELAS was to surrender its arms within two weeks, while EAM was not to be represented in the government though the latter undertook to hold a plebiscite on the question of the monarchy. The KKE was to be allowed to continue its political activities and an amnesty was to be given to ELAS and EAM fighters. (The amnesty did not include offences under common criminal law and as was later proved by subsequent persecutions, there was virtually no partisan activity which could not come under some common law offence).

12) The PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation) was created by EAM on 10th March 1944. Its original 5 members were:

- 1) Col. Euripides Bakirdjes (Liberal Army Officer)
- 2) Gen. Emmanuel Mandakas (Leftist Cretan Officer)
- 3) Elias Tsirimokos (Member of Union of Popular Democracy Party ELD)
- 4) Kostas Gavrilides (Leader of Agrarian Party of Greece AKE)
- 5) George Siantos (Secretary of KKE)

Bakirdjes was later replaced as the president of PEEA by Alex Svolos (the leader of ELD) and five additional members, mostly socialist and liberal were admitted to the PEEA on 18th April 1944.

13) It has been suggested that certain disagreements surrounded the PEEA Act 57: "Code of Peoples Justice" see Beikos (1979) and Kastrinos (1963) as well as some 'mystery' as to why the two codes were never issued at the time (the excuse given was that there was a paper shortage).

14) Markos Vafiades an ELAS capetan and later commander-in-chief of the Democratic Army during the civil war 1947-9.

15) Four chests of documents belonging to the Democratic Army were unearthed amidst the ruins of an old house in a village near the Albanian border on the 17th October 1977. Most of the papers were handed over to the police and are no longer available to the public. Some documents, however, got into the hands of the newspaper 'Eleftherotipia', where they were published between December 1978 and January 1979 in a series of articles by George Mavros.

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