

# MARTOR



---

Title: "The agrarian question: the agrarian movement and issues of land ownership in Greece, 1821-1923"

Author: Kaiti Aroni-Tsichli

How to cite this article: Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2014. "The agrarian question: the agrarian movement and issues of land ownership in Greece, 1821-1923". *Martor* 19: 43-62.

Published by: Editura MARTOR (MARTOR Publishing House), Muzeul Țăranului Român (The Museum of the Romanian Peasant)

URL: <http://martor.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro/archive/martor-19-2014/>

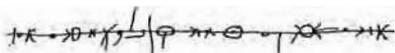
---

*Martor* (The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Review) is a peer-reviewed academic journal established in 1996, with a focus on cultural and visual anthropology, ethnology, museum studies and the dialogue among these disciplines. *Martor* review is published by the Museum of the Romanian Peasant. Its aim is to provide, as widely as possible, a rich content at the highest academic and editorial standards for scientific, educational and (in)formational goals. Any use aside from these purposes and without mentioning the source of the article(s) is prohibited and will be considered an infringement of copyright.

*Martor* (Revue d'Anthropologie du Musée du Paysan Roumain) est un journal académique en système *peer-review* fondé en 1996, qui se concentre sur l'anthropologie visuelle et culturelle, l'ethnologie, la muséologie et sur le dialogue entre ces disciplines. La revue *Martor* est publiée par le Musée du Paysan Roumain. Son aspiration est de généraliser l'accès vers un riche contenu au plus haut niveau du point de vue académique et éditorial pour des objectifs scientifiques, éducatifs et informationnels. Toute utilisation au-delà de ces buts et sans mentionner la source des articles est interdite et sera considérée une violation des droits de l'auteur.

*Martor* is indexed by EBSCO and CEEOL.

# The agrarian question: the agrarian movement and issues of land ownership in Greece, 1821-1923



**Kaiti Aroni-Tsichli**

*Professor of Social History*

*Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences of Athens*

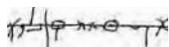
---

## ABSTRACT

Since the foundation of the Greek state in 1830 arises an agrarian issue which until 1923 takes various forms and causes an agrarian movement. This is mainly due to the changing institutional and social framework when new lands are annexed. This article refers to the problem of “national lands”, the lands that belonged to the Ottomans and were appropriated by the Greek state during the War of Independence (1821-1829) in order to be distributed to the peasants. Many uprisings took place between 1833-1852. The solution is found with the First Agrarian Reform in 1871. The article refers also to the problem of the feudal system which existed in the Ionian Islands as well as to the problem of *Tschiftliks* in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia. The latter finds a solution with the Second Agrarian Reform in 1917. Another acute problem is also mentioned: the currant crisis, which appears in northwest Peloponnese at the turn of 19th century.

## KEYWORDS

Agrarian Reform, National Lands, Uprisings, Feudal System, *Tschiftliks*, Currant Crisis.



## Introduction

The terms “Greek agrarian question and agrarian movement”, covering a period over a century from the beginning of the Greek state in 1830 until 1923, do not only depict the various successive phases of the same phenomenon, that is the agrarian problems, claims, movements or revolts. During this period, the agrarian question itself is being transformed. This is mainly due to the varying institutional and social frameworks in which the differing rural problems arise when new lands are annexed.

From the outset it can be said that the agrarian question in Greece, as it appears in different periods of time or social contexts, is related to either land ownership or the incorporation of peasants in the market.

Following the successful Greek Revolution against the Ottoman rule, 1821-1829 and especially after the election of Otto as

King of Greece in 1832 (see map), the dominant problem in agriculture is the question of ‘national lands’, i.e. the lands that the Ottomans had abandoned and were given to the Greek state because of the war. This problem was finally solved with the First Rural Reform in 1871 when these lands were being allocated to peasants and cultivators over a low price.

Another acute problem during this period was brought about by the annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864 (see map), where, especially in Corfu, from the very beginning of Venetian rule, 1204-1797, an extremely feudalistic system was implemented - similar to that of feudal Europe - which, nevertheless, continued to exist during the British Protectorate (1815-1864). Despite the different nature of this question in relation to those of national lands, its settlement is part of the same policy that led to the distribution of national lands.

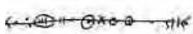
A new period starts for the agrarian

Map 1. Successive territory gains for Greece: 1832, Sterea Hellas, the Peloponnese, 1864 Ionian Islands, 1881 Thessaly, 1913 Crete / Macedonia / Epirus, 1920 Thrace, 1947 the Dodecanese



movement with the annexation of Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece in 1881 (see map), where the dominating issue is the problem of *Tschiftliks* (large holdings) and the consequent problem of *koliyi* (landless sharecroppers) which is aggravated as time goes by due to the reaction of *koliyi* that turns into an uprising. During the same period, a number of other agrarian issues occur, originating after Macedonia and the remaining part of Epirus were liberated and annexed to Greece following the victorious Balkan wars in 1912-1913 and, finally, Thrace in 1920 (see map). The Second Agrarian Reform regulating the main agriculture problem in Greece, the problem of *Tschiftliks*, was effectuated in 1917.

Another question, which is related to the incorporation of the peasants in the market, was the currant crisis that tormented the Peloponnese in 1892-1910. Due to the non-absorption of large quantities of currant, a big crisis of currant burst out. Then, in the areas of the currant cultivation, mainly in Northwestern Peloponnese, dynamic mobilizations of the populations took place, demanding a state intervention policy.



### Rural Uprisings

The nature of the Greek war of Independence against the Ottoman Empire (1821-1829), as it was formed under modernism, was right from its start national, bourgeois, liberal and democratic, having egalitarian-

ism as its central characteristic.

According to the National Assemblies throughout the Greek War of Independence and the “right to war”, all former Turkish territories, state and privately owned, had been appropriated and declared Greek “national lands”, and they had been transferred to the ownership of the Greek state, with a view to be distributed to Greeks as a reward for their participation in the war. (Petrooulos 1985: 272) This was later adopted by Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Governor of Greece (1828-1831). In the meantime, in 1830 a law was passed granting a plot of one *stremma* (1 *stremma* = 1,000square metres= 0.247 acres) to all Greeks so they could build a house with a garden and yard.

This creation of small land ownership was adopted by the three-year Regency of Otto (1833-1835), as well by King Otto’s reign (1835-1862). The aim was to create a nation of small land owners<sup>1</sup> (Petropoulos 1985: 11) who would support the monarchy’s power and at the same time would contribute in diminishing the powers of notables and chieftains. In any case, the Greek state was firm in its promise to distribute national lands to the peasants and did not succumb to pressure from the land owners who asked for national land auctions so that they themselves would purchase them.

The request for building a European and modern society in Greece had to deal with different reactions from many parts, reflecting actions and feelings against modernism and the West and favouring the old traditional ways that are considered to be threatened and endangered (Diamantouros 2002: XI).

In 1833-1852 the Greek kingdom suffers from successive uprisings which cannot be characterized as clearly agrarian, because they are not part of a definite agrarian movement with defined rural demands. Nevertheless, these uprisings could be seen as part of the early history of the Greek agrarian movement because they are carried out by peasants as well as being part of a pro-capitalistic stage of agrarian rebellion. On the other hand, what can be seen as

1) See the introduction of the Volume, page 11

very typical of the situation is that no revolt proclamation contains a claim for the burning issue of national land sharing.

In the newly formed kingdom of Greece, in 1832 (see Map1 above), the Regency tried to shape a modern institutional framework, but any kind of change in any department, mostly in religious matters, in economic measures or matters that had to do with the traditional ways of life would become a reason for uprising (Aroni-Tsichli 2009). We should also mention the policy of the Regency that aimed to fully reform the structure of the Greek Church by bringing into force three main regulations (Frazee 1987: 119-160; Petropoulos 1985: 214-227, 607-611; Dakin 1985: 111-112; Troianos and Dimakopoulou 1999:129-166): first, by declaring the Greek Church as autocephalous following its separation from the patriarchate of Constantinople; second, by transferring the church affairs under the state administration (Greece, Government Gazette 1833; Aroni-Tsichli, 2001a: 144-148) and third, closing down some of the monasteries (Glytsis, Loukos and Belia 1987-1998; Maurer 1976: 593). Only the few Catholic monasteries remained as they were (Laskaris 1924; Freeze 1987: 111-112, 195; Strong 1824: 365). In 1835 the Catholic population in Greece was 17,648 and in 1840 it was 25,000.

Apart from religion, important causes for uprisings were the new economic measures (Greece, Government Gazette 1833; General State Archives 1833; Glytsis, Loukos and Belia 1987-1998; Maurer 1976: 593). Any new measures or even a simple change in the collection of existent taxes was cause for rebellion. In the independent Greek State, even though some taxes had been abolished, the tax of the Tenth (Ashar) still existed, which was assumed to be one of the highest and all peasants had to pay (Dertilis 1991: 273-288 ; 1993: 43). In addition, a new taxation that was imposed on the cultivators of national lands as a usufruct tax and reached 15% ,unleashed a storm of protest (Petmezas 2003: 60-65). That happened because the peasants were not used to pay any

usufruct during the Ottoman rule.

The Regency undertook these measures so a strictly centralised system could be established, urged certain discontented groups to express their dissatisfaction, thus revealing a complex of controversies and rivalry (Aroni-Tsichli 2004a). What is mostly evident among the various actions of the opposition is the widespread conflict between the countryside and the capital. The areas with the highest autonomy during the Ottoman rule, Mani (Aroni-Tsichli 1994: 11-57) in the Peloponnese as well as the old areas of the Armatoli<sup>2</sup> of Sterea Hellas, were the areas where most uprisings took place during King Otto's reign.

An important reason for the strong dissatisfaction and protest against the politics of the Regency was the settlement of the military issue. The Regency decided to adopt the western military system and to create an army composed of non-Greek mercenaries that the Regency could fully control. These measures resulted in breaking the few remaining forces of the Greek regular army and especially the irregular forces of the War of Independence. Almost all these people became bandits (Kleftes).

Banditry and uprisings were the two main characteristics of the Greek country. Among all socio-political issues of the time, these two facts were the most obvious ways of social protest since they reflected a way out for the rural population in its attempt to survive in an insecure society. However, by the end of 1837 when the law for conscription was passed in order to create a national army and to abolish the mercenaries forces, it was considered to be the most anti-popular law of that period and caused many reactions for years to come, as well as the uprising of the islands of Hydra and Spetses in 1838 (Aroni-Tsichli 2009: 179-189).

The rebels proclaimed that their uprisings were due to the fact that the goals of the War of Independence in 1821 had never been achieved and their perception that the religion of their forefathers was in danger. The proclamations of the uprisings that

2) "Armatoloi" were armed groups of Greeks who were in the service of the Turks and guarded main cross-roads, country roads, mountain passages as well as persecuting the Kleftes.

took place in the ten-year period of King Otto's total monarchy (1833-1843), apart from protecting the Christian Orthodox religion, demanded also a constitution for the Greek people. Following the Constitution granted by King Otto, the main demand in the proclamation of uprisings from 1843 and henceforth was the proper application of the constitution and the provision for change of government. It was indeed impressive to notice that there was not a single demand concerning rural matters on behalf of the rebels. For example, the major request for distributing national lands to landless peasants is nowhere to be found, neither in the revolutionary proclamations, nor in the policy statements of political parties that undertook the country's administration through elections.

According to the Constitution of 1844, almost all Greeks over 25 would acquire the right to vote, provided they had a profession or proprietorship of any kind. Only paying guests or apprentices were excluded from this right<sup>3</sup> (Aroni-Tsichli 1994). Later, with the Constitution of 1864, universal suffrage was established for the male population (Alivizatos 1981; Mavromoustakou 2003: 27-50).

However, the introduction of parliamentarianism (1844), a new political system, did not bring any significant improvements in the life of people. Although they had the right to vote, they did not have the ability to fully comprehend all constitutional matters. Even in the Memoirs of Makrygiannis, general in the Greek War of Independence, the constitution expresses a set of rather traditional values and the struggle to pursue and restore them and not just a charter of political and parliamentary rights (Theotokas 1985).

The successive uprisings during the period of King Otto's reign were misleading for the people since there was no actual difference in the leaders' intentions and goals. Matters became even more complicated as some leaders of the uprisings would, after some time, offer their support to the opposite front and fight against the group of an-

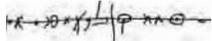
other uprising, which had exactly the same demands (Weber 1976: 248).

In conclusion, the rebels of the multiple uprisings wanted to preserve the 'good old times', traditional religious practices, traditional local autonomy and privileges, and to return to the traditional economic policies, which they more or less idealised. But their demands did not go any further.

Uprisings in Greece after the War of Independence did not affect social structures and institutions at all. The conflict did not lie among social groups but among groups of interest.. Moreover, the uprisings in Sterea Hellas (Roumeli) and the Peloponnese (Moria) in 1848 were not ideologically related to the revolutionary movements of 1848 in the rest of Europe. (Aroni-Tsichli 2009: 317-326). Proclamations of the Greek rebels in 1848 did not include any social claims as, at the time, Greece was not dealing with the same social problems as the West, or as the European South-East, where the national problem is evident. (Sakellariou 1848: 322; Vournas 1952: 105,127; Sfyroeras 1976: 135; Skopetea 1987: 289; Brekis 1984: 192). On the other hand however, the uprisings of 1848 did not include any modern ideas, but were a mere repetition of the uprisings of 1847 or earlier than 1847 and a return to the past which, in their minds, was now idealised (Aroni-Tsichli 2001b: 15-28; Aroni-Tsichli 1999a).

Traditional uprisings (1833-1852) during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862) appear as revolutionary acts of the rural classes against poverty and the dire living conditions they had to face and for which the new state with its modern institutions were to blame. However, there were armed movements of the rural population that was at a clearly pre-industrial and pre-capitalist stage. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that these uprisings also expressed a kind of social protest to the fact that the establishment of the new national and centralised state failed to fulfil the unformulated expectations of the Greek people who had fought for their independence.

3) In the fields of politics and the right of vote, there is a differentiation in Greece regarding what is mentioned in the Introduction of the Volume.



### First Agrarian Reform (1871)

It has already been mentioned that, during the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman rule, all Ottoman land properties fell under the Greek state which promised to distribute the land to the Greeks as their reward for fighting during the War (McGrew 1985; Petropoulos, 1985: 272; Karouzou 1989). The Greek State took care to consolidate its wish by including the distribution of these lands to their cultivators in the Constitution of 1844 (article 105), as well as in the Constitution of 1864 (article 102).

It is not possible to determine the expanse of national lands in the freed areas as there is no cadastral property registry (Damianakos 2002: 188-191). According to estimates however, national lands in the majority of the Peloponnese, amounted to more than half of the arable land (McGrew 1985: 237-242; Petmezas 2003: 25-26; Tsoukalas 1977: 71-74; Vergopoulos 1975: 106; Greece. Newspaper of the Parliament Debates, Period 3, Session B', v.A', p. 404). Out of a population of 700,000-800,000 inhabitants, Greek land owners were estimated to be 80,000-200,000 against 500,000 landless. It should also be noted that apart from these lands, large areas were owned by the Church (Aroni-Tsichli, 2004b; 2001a: 148).

The Greek State was firm in its promise to distribute national lands to the peasants and did not succumb to pressure from the land owners who asked for national land auctions so that they themselves would purchase them. Without settling for good the distribution issue, the state had made at times individual arrangements (1834, 1838, 1848) in order to satisfy specific groups such as Independence soldiers, widows and orphans, endowments to soldiers' daughters, settlement of refugees in unredeemed lands. More successful had been the 1835 endowment law that distributed national lands by auction to all the Greeks, military or politicians, that had taken part in the War of Independence, over a low price that was to be reimbursed in

36 instalments for the purchase of the lands (Greece, Government Gazette 1838).

This law, though, was not popular with the agrarian world because it did not grant land for free (Petropoulos 1985: 272-275; Greece, Government Gazette 1835). However, all these national land allocations refer to a limited area of 265,000 to 500,000 stremma.

Hence, during this first period, the Agrarian Question never became a social conflict between two opposing groups as, in this case, the land owner was the state itself. Therefore, the matter of rehabilitation of landless peasants was accepted by everyone (the Greek government, landless cultivators, small holders, medium and major landowners) as a fair claim on the peasants' part. The debate was constricted to how the distribution of the lands would take place, if they would be given for free or if the new owners would have to pay an amount of money to the state. It has to be pointed out that during that period the allocation of national land did not have such a social nature because the cultivators of these lands were the ones who controlled them. They could sell the land or give it to their children as inheritance. Moreover, the usufruct they had to pay for the national lands was much more to their advantage than being sharecroppers for a landowner.

The characteristic of land proprietorship in that period is the coexistence of all kinds of proprietorship (minor, medium, major). Within the lands that had been liberated after the Greek Revolution of 1821, there had been some Tschiftliks (5% of total). The peasants assumed that the national lands were enough to satisfy everybody, so they did not stake their claim to the expropriation of these few Tschiftliks which had not devolved to the Greek State as national lands because they had remained as compact properties during the signing of the London Protocol for the Independence of Greece (February 3rd 1830) and had not been occupied by rebellions. Even the Tschiftlik owners of these lands were content with the legal consolidation of their



rights as the Roman-German Law stated and which identified full proprietorship of the land having adverse consequences for the koliyi who were to lose their traditional rights as the Ottoman law and the Greek common law stated, thus becoming simple hired agrarian workers. These Tschiftlik owners had not tried to exercise their rights in practice against the koliyi until the annexation of Thessaly (1881).

Paradoxically, however, although during King Otto's reign numerous uprisings broke out, national land distribution was not a demand, nor was this or any other agrarian claim included in the political party proclamations.

Finally, the national lands allocation to peasants was settled with a law fifty years after the beginning of the Greek War of Independence in 1871 (Franghiadis 1993; Karouzou 1990). It seems that by then the conditions were ripe for such an arrangement in Greece too, since other European states had also ventured allocating large land properties to landless peasants. Additionally, it can be observed that since the middle of the 19th century, major land owners had already started to lose interest in land occupation and turned to acquiring high positions in public administration and politics.

The first agrarian reform was implemented by the government of Alexandros Koumoundouros when Sotirios Sotiropoulos served as Minister of Finance; this reform dictated the division of 2,650,000 stremma of a total value of 90,000,000 drachmae to 357,217 allotments at a low price. After national lands were distributed, land ownership in Greece was characterized by the equal existence of small, medium and large rural ownership each of which covers approximately 1/3 of the total of arable lands (Franghiadis 1993; Vergopoulos 1975: 110; Tsoukalas 1977: 74; Mouzelis 1978: 35; Dertilis 1977: 44). According to the 1879 census, the rural population in Greece amounts to 254,000 families, and therefore the Agrarian Reform in 1871 answered the agrarian question as almost every Greek peasant

owned a rural plot.

King Otto's aim to create a nation of small land owners who would support the power of the monarchy was realized<sup>4</sup> The Greek peasants of that period were in their majority pro-royalists and voted for conservative parties (Legg 1969: 325-327).

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that this 1st Land Reform in Greece is not strongly based on the principle of social justice. This target belongs mainly to the 20th century. In Greece, although one of the basic targets of the Reform of 1871 was the reward of the Greeks for their participation in the liberation of the country, another important target as well was the institutional consolidation of the right in full proprietorship, whether this involved national lands or Tschiftliks etc, with the ulterior purpose of making the market function unhindered<sup>5</sup>.



### **The agrarian question of Corfu (1864-1868)**

Immediately after the annexation of the Ionian Islands into the Greek state (1864), a crucial agrarian question arises especially in Corfu (Marcoras 1868; Moustoxidis 1848). The administrative structure of the Ionian Islands is completely different from that of the mainland, due to their constantly different foreign occupation.

Corfu fell under Venetian rule after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 (Bacchion 1956). So from the beginning of the Venetian rule (1204-1797) an extremely feudalistic system was implemented, similar to that of feudal Europe, which, nevertheless, continued to exist during the following years as well as during the British Protectorate: 1815-1864 (Anogiatis-Pelé and Prontzas 2002). The Venetians had allocated to the nobles plots of land, the so called feuds<sup>6</sup>.

This feudal system surviving through the centuries was still in place when the Ionian Islands were annexed to Greece, as an obsolete and fossilized medieval institution under which Corfiot peasants were particularly burdened (Asdrachas 1996: 21-37; As-

4) See to the Introduction of the Volume.

5) Therefore, we observe a differentiation regarding what mentioned in the Introduction of the Volume.

6) In bibliography the term "timars" in the Ionian Islands is used for western type feuds as well, even though the two systems, Feudal and Timariot are completely different.

dracha and Asdrachas 1985). According to this feud system, rich land owners - the feud holders - assigned the cultivation of their plots to peasants (Pantazopoulos 1962). The situation was even further complicated because of the variety of plot assignments. The peasant who could not afford to pay the rent for the plot turned to moneylenders who, in the end, made claims on the plot itself. Money lending had been a plague for Corfiot crofters even after the annexation of Corfu to Greece, when the feud system was abolished and laws favouring farmers were enacted. More often than not peasants, not being able to fulfil their obligations to their lenders, were dragged to courts and then imprisoned due to the old law on detention.

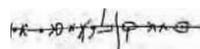
Another factor that was making things ever worse for peasants was the way that agricultural products, and especially olive oil, were handed to the land owners (Constantini 1996: 11-19). What was making this difficult to sort out was the fact that peasants were forced to pay tax on olive trees in oil and not olives. This is the reason why it was necessary to pre-estimate the amount produced. But estimators were appointed to the task by the land owners and they over estimated the future amount of olive oil to be given to their boss; as olives in Corfu were collected from the ground, it was long after the estimate had been made. It was, therefore, possible during this long period that olives were damaged and the crop was lower than the peasants' expectations. However, even in this case, peasants were forced to give the amount agreed upon at the time of the pre-estimate. This unfair system was catastrophic for many Corfiots who were indebted on the basis of an assumed income. If the peasant failed to give the pre-estimated amount of oil, he was detained. If the peasant was delaying his instalments of three consecutive years or was deemed to be neglecting farming the plot, then the land owner evicted him and the plot reverted to his ownership. This is the so-called "reversion".

As soon as the Ionian Islands were annexed to the mainland, this burning agrar-

ian question in Corfu was set on the table (Sideris 1934: 57-58). Besides, peasants were already demanding social justice. To this effect, fights were also given by the Corfiot agrarian deputies to liberate peasants from the medieval feudal oppressions, which caused a number of reactions on behalf of the parties involved. The strong arguments of the old regime as well as the fights of the supporters of the peasants are all evident in the opposing parliamentary discussions, as well as in the newspapers and in the pamphlets of the time (Aroni-Tsichli 2005a: 593-607; Progoulakis 2003; Greece Parliament 1968).

Despite reactions and the polemic raised in Corfu by the parties involved between 1864 and 1868, a series of laws was enacted that, with subsequent amendments, freed the inhabitants of the "countryside" from the obsolete medieval feudal system of the past and set the foundation for the small land ownership (Kouris 1868). However, peasants lived in squalor for a long after that as implementing legislation on agriculture required funds which were nowhere to be found due to the lack of credit institutions and agricultural banks.

Finally, once and for all a solution to the agrarian question in Corfu was brought about with the laws enacted by the P. E. Venizelos administration in 1912-1914 which dictated that still existing "enduring weights" to the Domestic Administration of Corfu [Εγχώριον Διαχείρησιν Κερκύρας] were abolished without reward, and those towards private entities with reward paid by the Special Fund with resources from exported products, mainly the oil exports tax (Sideris 1934: 57-58). The last remaining "weights of the past" were abolished in 1925.



### **The Agrarian issue in Thessaly: the Problem of Tschiftliks The second Agrarian Reform in 1917**

As has been the case of the Ionian Islands (1864), Thessaly and the area of Arta, that formed part of the Ottoman Empire, were

annexed to the Greek state in 1881 following diplomatic procedures which had started in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Before Thessaly and the region of Arta in Epirus were annexed to Greece (1881), the fertile expanses of these areas had been governed by the Ottoman law (*tasarruf*), dictating that the right to own does not mean right to absolute ownership of the land (Ioannidou-Bitsiadou 1983). According to most probable estimations in 1881, among 658 villages only 198 were “free” and approximately 460 were *Tschiftliks* (Sivignon 1992: 117-175).

During the prime period of the Ottoman Empire the main feature of the Ottoman land ownership was the *timarion*. The *sipahi* to whom the *timarions* were allotted had no right of ownership over the land. There were army officers who were forced to march out with a precise number of soldiers after having been invited by the *Porte* and, instead of a wage, they took over the collection of the Tenth for life (Asdrachas 1999: 23-83; Tsopotos 1912: 47-48, 89-107; Pantazopoulos 1987; Vergopoulos 1975: 54-56). With the gradual decline of the *Timariot* system when the Ottoman expansionist wars came to an end and the dominant owners of *timarions* did not offer to the state any military services, the prior *timariotic* partition in Thessaly, Macedonia and other districts of Greece were substituted by *Tschiftliks*.

According to F. Braudel (1982: 67), *Tschiftliks* already appear for the first time in 17th century, marking an innovation. The process of creating *Tschiftliks* in the Hellenic region developed in the same way it generally happened in the Balkans. A characteristic case of creating *Tschiftliks* is the practice Ali Pasha of Ioannina used. By using terrorist methods, he forced many villages to become *Tschiftliks*, in order to be granted protection from the predatory raids and the vulgarities that he himself provoked. Thus, although he did not own even one of the *Tschiftliks*, he and his sons ended up having 263 *Tschiftliks* in the region of Thessaly, a number that tallies with 66% of the major properties of Thessaly.

Ali Pasha had also many *Tschiftliks* in other parts of Greece: 411 *Tschiftliks* in Epirus, 100 in Macedonia and 172 in Aetolia-Akarnania (Triantafyllidis 1906; Aravantinos 1895: 604-606 ; Giannopoulos 1972 ; Alivisatos 1932: 143; Petmezas 2000: 75; Newspaper of the Parliament Debates, 1883: 906, 915-916; Newspaper of the Parliament Debates, 1882: 202). After the extermination of Ali in 1822 by the *Porte*, these vast areas were confiscated and then given over to Ottoman functionaries.

The institution of *Tschiftliks* is assumed to have contributed to the decline of the classic Ottoman proprietorship status in favour of the *Tschiftlik* owners, thus leading to a transition of the proprietorship status, in a way, to a form of total proprietorship, yet without achieving the establishment of full and unlimited private landed property, during the period of the Ottoman Empire, that was completed with the foundation of independent Christian States in the Balkans (Vergopoulos 1975: 64; Karouzou 2006).

In *Tschiftliks*, the landowners held the property which was cultivated by the peasants according to the system of share farming on a part of the produce, while the state preserved its bare ownership. In essence, this was a kind of “continuous partnership” between the land owner and the peasant. In this relationship, the peasant, according to the Ottoman and custom laws, was linked for life to the land and bore a transferable hereditary right on it, as well as other traditional rights on his house, the forests, pastures, vineyards, fresh water sources on the *Tschiftliks*; this meant limiting the ownership of the land owner (Hatzigiannis 1910: 10-19; Karavidas 1982: 171-172, 111-122).

This situation changed completely in Thessaly and Arta in Epirus when, following the annexation land owners - according to the bare and complete ownership of the Roman-German law of the Greek State - perceived their relation to share peasants as a simple tenancy given that the land had been relieved of the tangible rights of *koliyi*.

Already before the annexation of part

of Epirus and Thessaly to Greece, Ottoman landowners, fearing a possible nationalisation, hastily sold their properties (Sfika-Theodosiou 1989). The new buyers of these Tschiftliks belonged mostly to the Greek Diaspora, including Andreas Syngros, Constantinos Zappas, George Zarifis, Christakis Zografos, Constantinos Karapanos, Pavlos Stefanovik-Skylitsis, Evangelos Baltatzis, who made their purchases in good prices making the best out of the sell out in the markets of Constantinople.

Charilaos Trikoupis, Prime Minister at the time, did not attempt an agrarian reform in Thessaly and the Arta area in Epirus. In fact, he tolerated the absolute Tschiftlik system anticipating that these purchasers would invest important funds in Greece, essential for modernizing and industrializing the country. In addition, he believed that these new Tschiftliks owners would venture modernizing agriculture in Thessaly; this was not the case, however, with only a few exceptions. Not only these landowners did not seek to modernize agriculture, but on the contrary, they contributed to an even greater shortage in grain production as they preferred to free from cultivation continuously larger expanses, making use of Trikoupis' favourable provisions (such as tariffs on grain imports, abolishment of the Thessaly customs office), and then rent them to traveller livestock peasants at high prices. Thus, grain cultivated areas decreased by 42,4% from 1885 to 1897 (Agriantoni 1986: 285; Sfika-Theodosiou 1989: 184-187).

The conflict between Tschiftliks owners and koliyi following the annexation was brought about because these landless share croppers. They refused to accept the aggravation of their situation as a result of the new demands of landowners according to the new ownership status which was alienating them from their traditional rights (Triantafyllidis 1974: 35; Hatzigiannis 1910: 18). That is, according to the law in force at the time in the Greek State, landowners had the bare ownership of the lands in their possession, whereas koliyi had lost all rights

on the land they farmed. Koliyi manifested their struggle in refusing to sign the yearly tenancy contracts imposed by the Tschiftliks owners. In refusing to pay additional tax and kicking out foremen or any other Tschiftliks representative and, in general, in their refusal to accept the new order originating from the new legislation - dictating bare ownership of the landowners on the lands that themselves had been farming for generations- more often than not led to their eviction from the lands following the expiry date. These fighting claims of the koliyi resulted in never ending quarrels and friction leading often to bloody conflicts, violence and arrests, given that state officials, the gendarmerie, the army, court decisions etc., represented the interests of the Tschiftliks owners (Aroni-Tsichli 2005b: 53-82). At this early stage, the agrarian issue, making its first steps in the area of Arta, was aggravated in dozens of rebellious other villages, mostly in the area of western Thessaly (Triantafyllidis 1974: 35; Pachis 1882: 37-43; Arseniou 1994: 34-35).

The Government under Th. Deliyannis attempted to solve the problem of Thessaly and in January 1896 submitted five draft laws to Parliament, suggesting for the first time the expropriation of 1/8 of arable lands from every Tschiftlik in Thessaly. In this way, that 20-25 stremma would be given to each landless share cropper along with the house they lived in, providing for the way of payment and other measures and aiming at the development of agriculture in Thessaly (Hatzigiannis 1910: 30-32; Sideris 1934: 73-74). However, Deliyannis did not manage to move to voting and referred the draft laws to a special committee whose findings bore no substantial result; the reason was the reaction of Tschiftliks owners on the one hand and the Greek-Turkish war in 1897 on the other. As Greece was defeated in this war, more hardship was in store for the people of Thessaly (Louvi 1998: 145-159).

Despite the peasants' continuous and strong resistance, from the annexation of Thessaly to the beginning of 20th century,

their claims had not been incorporated into a structured fighting framework and did not bear any kind of modernizing vision. It was mainly looking to the past in an attempt to restore an obsolete regime of share farming, as this had been applied under the Ottoman rule; this regime recognized the relation of the *koliyi* as a relationship of “continuous partnership” between the *Tschiftlik* owner and the share cropper. In this “partnership” croppers had many rights and their relationship with the land owner included not only obligation, but also tangible terms.

Despite the importance of the problem for more than three decades, an organized peasant movement failed to be born, as did some agrarian body or party. This is not a surprise, considering that many of the members of Parliament of the area were *Tschiftliks* owners themselves.

In the eve of 20th century many changes took place and the first round of the struggle by farmers in Thessaly, as described until now, was about to come to an end. At this point, the peasant movement was strengthened and changed its form and content to run alongside the labour movement of the time. Now, the peasant movement in Thessaly did not restrict itself to the reaction of peasants towards foremen, the gendarmerie, and so forth, but attempted to articulate new claims in new, modern forms of negotiation such as massive actions, protests, and rallies taking place in the large cities of Thessaly. These ended in addressing resolutions to the government, the parliament, and the King by forming associations and committees. In this phase, the centre of the struggle is transferred from the country side of western Thessaly to mostly the urban centres in eastern Thessaly (Aroni-Tsichli 2005b: 145-197).

The peasant movement was significantly pushed forward by the establishment of agrarian associations such as the Agrarian Association of Thessaly in Larissa in 1904, the Farming Union in Trikala in 1906, and culminating with the Farming Lowland Association in Karditsa in May 1909 under the presidency of Dimitrios Bousdras. It

was this way that the struggle claiming the expropriation of *Tschiftliks* was organised and welded together.

The presence and activity in Thessaly of Marinos Antypas was quite typical. He aimed at raising the living and education standards of the peasantry. He served for a few months only as a foreman in the estate of his uncle, G. Skiadaressis in 1906. Because of his struggles and his subsequent assassination, Antypas has been one of the two symbols of the peasant movement in Thessaly, the other symbol being the Kileler incident itself (Karanikolas 1988: 197-206).

In the first decade of the 20th century, intense farmer claims were targeting the landowners as much as the state itself, since large expanses from the *Tschiftliks* of large landowners such as Stefanovik, Zappas, Zarifiks were now property of the State either as a bequest or following a takeover at a low price.

The need to solve the problem originated in a Law passed in 1907 by the government of G. Theotokis, allowing for the distribution of land to landless peasants. The reason for enacting this legislation was the wish to reinstate the refugees who had arrived to Greece from Eastern Rumelia, Bulgaria and Romania, following the persecution of Greeks with rural ownership. The law provided for voluntary and non-obligatory expropriation and was addressing refugees and not indigenous peasants. The *Tschiftliks* owners had not reacted at the Parliament's vote because the law was rather obscure and they didn't realize that indigenous landless persons were made eligible for the plot.

Other social strata offered mobile support to the struggle of peasants in Thessaly. The middle class / bourgeois and middle class intellectuals were on the side of peasantry of Thessaly, taking over - in general terms - the leadership of the peasantry movement. Bringing together intellectuals was further reinforced in 1908 when the Sociological Society was established by Alexandros Papanastasiou, Spyros Melas and Alexandros Delmouzos (Papanastasiou 1988; Damianakos 2002: 191-194). The La-





among the countries of Eastern Europe where agrarian reforms took place, Greece came in second as far as the allocated surface of land to farmers was concerned (Vergopoulos 1975: 178-179). Consequently, the rural policy of the Greek State regarding land ownership was placed among the most radical ones of its time. The rapid rise of the middle class, which was directly connected to the industry, as well as the development of the impersonal capitalistic system and the increasing state interventionism, had contributed greatly to the formation and materialization of this radical rural policy of the Greek State.

Therefore, the formation of a great number of minor domestic exploitations that arose from the agrarian reform did not hinder the penetration of capitalism. On the contrary, the Greek domestic agriculture optimally integrated in the capitalistic system through the mechanisms of the market.



### The crisis of the curren<sup>7</sup> in Greece (1892-1910)

The economic structure of Northwestern Peloponnese during 19th century is associated with the cultivation and trading of the curren (Kalafatis 1990: 212-218; Panagiotopoulos 1980; Sakellaropoulos 1991: 89-92; Patronis 1993a; Patronis 1992). Due to the continuously increasing demand of curren abroad, in the mid-19th century Greece had become a quasi mono-exporting country (Franghiadis 1990). The expansion of the curren cultivations spurred after the unexpected opening of the French market during the 1870s, attributed to the destruction of the French vineyards from the grape-disease phylloxera. Moreover, France absorbed lower quality curren as raw material for mass consumption wine, namely raisin wine (Augé-Laribé 1907: 21-95; Garrier 1973; Pech 1975; Pizaniias 1988: 71-80; Patronis 1993b). On the contrary, all the other countries consumed curren as a dried fruit. Especially in England, a per-

manent and steady customer, they absorbed high-quality curren, since they used it for making meals and sweets, especially the traditional English pudding, widely spread to all social ranks.

The prosperity since mid-19th century had benefited all the categories of peasants as well as the townsmen in the areas of Northwestern Peloponnese, who were almost exclusively occupied with curren cultivation and curren commerce. Therefore, the curren crisis at the end of 19th century that was brought about by the overproduction and non-corresponding absorption of the product when the French market closed, led to a huge economic and social crisis. The fall in the prices of the curren and of the revenues from the exploitation of land that followed, neither led to an exclusively capitalistic agriculture, nor did it result in the creation of a strong agrarian party, as it happened in other countries (Mouzelis 1978: 204; Dertilis 1977: 129; Liakos 1986: 114-115)<sup>8</sup>. A decisive stage, that directly concerns the current study, is the protective tariff list in the import of curren that the French Minister of Agriculture, Jules Méline, introduced with a law in January 1892 (Barral 1968: 85-87; Agriantoni 1986: 275-276).

Although the proportion of the curren cultivators that turned to emigration or urban pull during that period was substantial, the countryside was not yet devastated. The governments frequently orientated their policy to this direction and the "social issue" commenced to be laid on the table. However, at the same time, the people of the countryside started to constitute a factor that we cannot overlook. In Thessaly, as well as in Northwestern Peloponnese, the peasants affirm strongly their presence, in connection with the burning issues that preoccupy them, and not exclusively for food shortage or a temporary crisis.

In Peloponnese, rural mobilizations took place in an area - one of the more incorporated ones in the capitalistic economy - while the agricultural emancipation has preceded enough to claims of its direct in-

7) Curren vineyard or Corinthian curren is a Greek variety and its fruit (stafilai) give after drying a pre-eminently known Greek product called Corinthian curren or black curren which is mainly consumed as a dried fruit or used for the preparation of food and pastry like for example the famous English pudding.

8) Moreover, at least for the 19th century, the "ideological and political inactivity of the agricultural class" has been particularly stressed.

terest (Aroni-Tsichli 1999b: 108-111, 152-184, Aroni-Tsichli 2006). Through the currant crisis that started in the early 1890s, we witness the transformation of the rural class and its organization under a collective action. Now, except for the traditional methods of rural protest, the currant cultivators protested and fought for their demands using modern negotiation tactics, carrying on a joint fight with the other social classes. P. Barral (1968) considers such movements to be of 'agriculturist type', meaning that there is an agrarian population, which, despite all its diversifications, is opposed to an urban industrialized world; P. Gratton (1972: 9-12) denies the existence of such a society depending on interests. However, he notes that in an economic crisis, small holders and agrarian workers may temporarily side themselves with the big bosses, like for example in 1907 in Languedoc-Roussillon. Commercial and land associations, as well as committees for the organization of demonstrations are created, mobilizations and demonstrations are organized, memos and resolutions in which several demands are stated are sent to the King, the Parliament and the Government. (Gratton 1971: 188-190).

From September 1893, an enormous wave of dynamic demonstrations and mobilizations broke out. However, Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis refused the governmental intervention for the settlement of the currant exports. Finally, in the beginning of January 1895, Trikoupis submitted his resignation and, a little later, failing to be elected in the next general election, left the political scene of Greece for good.

The vital demand that was finally raised was the withholding (*parakratima/ παρακράτημα*) (Newspaper of the Parliament Debates, Period 14, Session A, Meetings No. 43). Through the withholding, a proportion of the currant production excess would be deducted and, under the direct management of the state, it would be transferred exclusively and solely to the domestic industry, aiming at the best possible counterbalance of offer and supply. This demand

did not derive from a specific class, nor did it reflect - as the generally held view is - the interest of individual social groups (for instance, of the currant traders).

The demand for withholding was raised by areas that produced massive quantities of lower-quality currant. These areas constituted the vast majority of the currant production places. On the contrary, the parties that produced fewer quantities, but of fine quality of currant, were against the withholding. This dispute had reached such large extent, that the Press of the time named it a "new Peloponnese war" (Newspaper of the Parliament Debates. Period 14, Session A, Meeting no 38).

Therefore, under the mass pressure from the majority of the currant production areas, the Prime Minister Theodoros Deligiannis passed a new law in Parliament, in July 1895. The withholding was imposed, amounting to 15% in species (Newspaper of the Parliament Debates. Period 14, Session A, Meeting no 46-47). This law constituted the first form of implementation of a currant policy on the part of the state, yet without being able to definitely solve the currant problem (Eftaxias 1898: 15).

In 1899 Prime Minister G. Theotokis introduced in the Parliament a new draft law, which led to the establishment of the Currant Bank in July of 1899 (Sideris 1934). The shareholders of the Bank - whose term was set to twenty years - were all the currant planters who contributed currant fruit through the tax in species or the exporting duty.

Great turmoil was caused and many mobilizations took place in the currant production areas of the Peloponnese in 1903. These upheavals were due to the proposal of an English fund holders' company for the conclusion of a Currant Monopoly Agreement, which had to pass in Greek Parliament. This time, people in all the currant production areas sided themselves over the materialization of this proposal, and pressed the government with demonstrations, resolutions and great mobilizations to adopt this solu-

tion of the currant problem.

However, the distillery industrialists had ranged themselves against the Currant Monopoly Agreement, as their interests had been injured with the annulment of withholding. Furthermore, several merchants, grocers and currant recipients in London were also against the Monopoly. The pressures of the latter to their government, as well as the opinion of the Foreign Powers, particularly England, resulted in a stance against the Monopoly. Considering that the Monopoly Agreement was contrary to the terms of the already existing Commercial Agreement of 1890 between Greece and England, as well as to the terms of other Commercial Treaties between Greece and other Powers, led the Monopoly Agreement to a dead end and finally in its voting down in the Greek Parliament. An immediate consequence of the Monopoly cancellation in June 1903 was the heightening of the mobilizations and commotions in the currant production areas, resulting in the governments' fall one after the other (Aroni-Tsichli 1999b: 249-293; Kalafatis 1990: 1112).

The settlement of the currant issue was achieved with the signing of an Agreement between the Greek State, the Currant Bank and the Bank of Athens. This was ratified by Parliament in July 1905 on the basis of the Agreement, and an Anonymous Society was established under the name of the "Privileged Company for the Production and Trading of the Currant" or "Unified" [Eniaia/Eviaia] (Greece. Newspaper of the Debates in the Parliament 1905)<sup>9</sup>. With the establishment of the Privileged Company, the Currant Bank was abolished. The Privileged Company did not belong to the currant producers, but it was a private, profitable enterprise (Agriantoni 1986: 227; Sideris 1934: 86-87).

With the establishment of the Privileged Company, a new period began for the history of the currant issue. This Company was dissolved in 1924, since meanwhile new conflicts had arisen between the aforementioned company and the currant producers

and, thus, the Self-Governed Currant Organization (ASO) was established (ΑΣΟ) (Sideris 1934: 227-243).

However, after 1905, the old vigor of the currant issue began to fade due to many reasons, such as the emigration of many currant growers to America or to major cities in Greece. Another reason was the differentiation in the types of cultivation: tobacco and the production of grapes that could be used in winery started to replace the currant in 1910. The extirpation of currant grapevines was done with a payment of an indemnification to their growers (Evelpides 1956: 123; Pizanias 1988: 99).

Nevertheless, the fact that contributed to a large extent in the reduction of the great tension of the currant issue was the so-called "currant reformation" in 1905 by the government of Demitrios Rallis. According to the Agreement, by which the Privileged Company was established, the prosecutions of the currant producers for their old debts towards the Currant Bank stopped, and the terms on the basis of which the Privileged Company would make the settlement of their relations with those old debtors would be defined.

In a way, these enactments favored the entry of agriculture in a modern, urban society and everyone accepted them. Furthermore, through several organizations - agricultural, land, commercial associations - as well as through several mobilizations-demonstrations, manifestations, resolutions and other protests - the foundations of a corporation activity were laid (Kalafatis 1990: 1112). However, the study of the main laws that were passed during the currant crisis reveals the indecision of the state to proceed to a bold and efficient initiative.

As far as the currant population is concerned, we notice that the agrarian movement during the currant crisis is a movement that unifies the classes against the unfavorable economic conditions. The agrarian movement in Northwestern Peloponnese (1893 - 1910) constitutes a great agrarian protest, a "global rebellion" of the area (Aroni-Tsichli 1999b; 332-343). Regard-

9) Analysis and critique on the currant Agreement of «Ενιαία» see France. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, (AMAE) Nouvelle Serie, Grèce (NS/GR), Vol. 1, 2, 5, 51, and in the AMAE, Correspondance Politique, Grèce (CP/GR), Vol. 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 and Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale (CCC) Patras, Vol. 6, 7 and Great Britain. Foreign Office, Public Record Office, London, (F. O.), 286, Vol. 428, 431, 437, 457, 458, 463, 468, 470, 478, 479, 481, 483, 485, 486, 493.

ing the political and social messages, this fight was characterized by its conservative content. The political trend that prevailed in the agrarian movement during the currant crisis was directed by the urban class. Therefore, the initiatives did not derive from the agrarian class. They were directed by major proprietors, currant merchants, political parties' agents or personalities of the area, doctors, lawyers etc. Consequently, the fight of the currant growers did not take place within the bounds of a fight of the classes, as it started to happen in labor environments of the time, mainly because there were many categories of peasants. So, at this phase, the fight of the classes did not touch the currant production provinces.

The revolution of the currant production areas of Northwestern Peloponnese were the instinctive outburst of populations that suddenly found themselves in a kind of economic limbo. Exhausted by the blows of an unfavorable coincidence which they were not prepared to face and to which, they desperately tried to resist and threatened by an imminent destruction, the people involved in the growing and trading of currant, were activated proclaiming a local and universal "rebellion of despair". The big crisis of the currant growing affected the entire population of the area. Moreover, in the economic and social history of agriculture, "the Mediterranean vineyard was the first one to be harmed" (Bardissa 1976: 33; Sagnes 1978: 3-30).

In conclusion, the movement of the currant production provinces of the Peloponnese during currant crisis can be characterized as an apolitical movement. A movement of rebellion against the economic destruction and sordid poverty, the agrarian movement of the years of the big currant crisis left deep scars in the collective local psychology. There was a protest of a population that tried to maintain not only their living standards, but also a way of living according to the vineyard ways and customs, the vineyard "culture". Finally, it was the movement of a unanimous local defense that was fed with the power of a "Mediterranean"

feeling for the defense of the main Mediterranean product, the grapevine, against the increasing economic crisis. In addition, we can consider the currant crisis as a first symptom of the negative consequences of the integration of agriculture in the international capitalistic market.

ΣΥΝΟΨΗ

## Conclusion

Following the Independence of Greece till the distribution of national lands (1871), the dominating agrarian issue was the problem of the distribution of national lands to peasants. Paradoxically, however, although during King Otto's reign numerous uprisings broke out (1833-1852), national land distribution was not a demand, nor was this or any other agrarian claim included in the political party proclamations. Those successive uprisings cannot be characterized as clearly agrarian ones because they were not part of a definite agrarian movement with defined rural demands. Nevertheless, these uprisings could be seen as part of the early history of the Greek agrarian movement because they were carried out by peasants and also because they were part of a pro-capitalist stage of rural rebellion.

Immediately after the annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Greek state (1864), a crucial agrarian question arose, especially in Corfu, where a feudalistic system similar to that of feudal Europe continued to exist. The medieval feudal system was abolished with a series of laws between 1864 and 1868.

Both the allotment of national lands in 1871 and the settlement of the agrarian question in Corfu were animated by the same prescriptive rules.

In both Peloponnese and Thessaly, where acute agrarian movements appeared at the turning of the 20th century, the land proprietorship status, the crops, landed relations and working and living conditions of the residents in general were completely different.

In southern Greece and especially Peloponnese, small and middle domestic hold-



ings had been established as the dominant form of proprietorship which expanded in 1871 with the allotment of national lands and very soon affiliated to the merchandized cultivation of the currant. In these regions the agrarian question did not exist. Only during the currant crisis at the end of the 19th century did agrarian mobilizations appear in northwest Peloponnese that aimed at state intervention for the settlement of the problem arising from the great surplus of undisposed currant. Still, the confrontation of this crisis did not divide the social body. On the contrary, all social groups jointly confronted a crisis due to a juncture that had arisen from the international market and not from landed relations.

On the other hand, in Thessaly, where grain was cultivated, major land ownership with *Tschiftliks* and *koliyi* (dependent peasants) was prevalent. With the annexation of Thessaly and Arta 1881, a burning agrarian question appears for the first time in the Hellenic area with the aggravated juxtaposition between two social groups: *Tschiftlik* landowners, (in whom the state itself was included in some cases) on one side and *koliyi*, or small land cultivators, on the other side, both claiming the same lands. So, in that case, a sheer social agrarian movement emerged. The same problem was confronted by the new regions of Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace that united with Greece after the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. The *Tschiftlik* problem was solved with the radical agrarian reform that commenced in 1917 and was completed in 1923. Yet, it could also be added that the agrarian struggle, emerging in these northern areas of Greece, also expresses the reaction of the traditional agrarian world to a broader market or, in other words, the vibrations that the embodiment of peasants caused to such a market.

It must be pointed out that in Greece the two major reforms (1871 and 1917-1923) that resolved the question of national lands and the *Tschiftlik* question respectively were basically imposed from high quarters. The Greek peasants did not manage

to organize themselves autonomously into a powerful agrarian party, as it happened in other Balkan countries during interwar, when Bulgaria, for example, had the most powerful agrarian party in the Balkans. In Greece, discontent and the reactions of the rural strata actually hemmed in within the limits of the bourgeois conflict of the political parties. The Greek Agrarian Party had just been founded in 1922 and, as far as the number of its members is concerned or the political influence it exerted, it composed a petty force in the Greek political life.

In consequence, it is interesting to note that the Greek peasants did not pursue the conquest of immediate political authority for many decades. As for the differentiation between North and South, it is noted that in southern regions, the so-called "Old Greece", the peasants were in their majority pro-royalists, at least during the 19th century, and voted for conservative parties. On the contrary, peasants in northern Greece were always radical in their political views, in relation to those of "Old Greece" and voted for progressive parties.

In conclusion, it can be said that the three agrarian questions of the 19th century, that is to say, the question of national lands, the question of early uprisings and the agrarian question of Corfu, were related to the transition of the agrarian world and agriculture from a pre-industrial and pro-capitalistic framework to a liberal nation-state framework that released land from "feudal" or other burdens and placed it in the merchandized circuit, thus making it merchandise.

The question of the currant and *Tschiftliks*, that characterized the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, was related to the embodiment of Greek agriculture in the market and the problems that arose from this embodiment.

Consequently, the 1st Agrarian Reform of 1871 did not have so much a social feature as an institutional one: it remitted total individual proprietorship from legal ambiguities (state ownership, sharecroppers' occupation, etc.), making it so that it could be



placed as merchandise in the market.

The 2nd Agrarian Reform in 1917, though, had a more social feature as it allocated major farms to landless cultivators and *koliyi* for the settlement of the social

question. However, the social feature of this reform did not prevent the full embodiment of the peasants in the market, but, instead, it accelerated it, thus accelerating their subjection to the commercial and banking capital.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agriantoni, Christina. 1986. *The Beginning of the Industrialization in Greece in the 19th century*, Athens: Historical Archives of the Commercial Bank of Greece.
- Alivisatos, Babis Basile. 1932. *La reforme agraire en Grèce: au point de vue économique et social*, Paris: Librairie du Receuil Sirey.
- Alivizatos, Nikos. 1981. *Introduction to the Greek Constitutional History, 1821-1941*. Athens: Ant. Sakkoulas Publications.
- Anogiatis-Pelé, Dimitrios and Prontzas, *Evangelos*. 2002. *Corfou, 1830-1832: between feudalism and colonization*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press. (in Greek)
- Aravantinos, Spyridon. 1895. *History of Ali Pasha Tepelenli*. Athens: Spyridon Kousoulinou Printing House.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 1994. "Formes de révolte état centralisateur. Le cas du Magne dans la Grèce post-révolutionnaire", In *Rapportes du septième Congrès International des Études du Sud-Est Européen*, p. 11-57. Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE). Thessaloniki, Grèce, 29 August – 4 September.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 1999a. "La version grecque de 1848: nouveauté et résistances traditionnelles", In *Rapportes du VIIIème Congrès International des Études du Sud-Est Européen, Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE)*. Bucharest, Romania, 24-29 August.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 1999b. *The Currant issue and the social fights: Peloponnese 1893-1905*, Athens: Papazissis publishers.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2001a. "Views of Europeanism in post-revolutionary Greece. The ecclesiastical policy of the State within the scope of innovation" In *Europe and New Hellenism: scientific symposium*, ed. The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies, 143-162. Athens: The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2001b. "The Greek version of 1848: Modern ideas and traditional opposition." In *Romanticism in Greece: scientific symposium*, ed. The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies, 15-28. Athens: The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2004a. "Peasants and nation building in Greece in the 19th century", In *Proceeding of the fifth European Social Science History Conference*, Humboldt University (Berlin, Germany), 24-27 March.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2004b. "Accumulation and Dissolution of Church's and Monasteries' Great Estates in the Modern and Contemporary Greece". In *Confische e sviluppo capitalistico. I grandi patrimoni del clero regolare in età moderna in Europa e nel Continente Americano*. ed. Fiorenzo Landi. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2005a. "The Agrarian Question of Corfu after the Union of the Ionian Islands with Greece through pamphlets of that time", In *Proceedings of Congress: The Union of the Ionian Islands with Greece, 1864-2004*, ed. Helen Gardikas-Katsiadakis and Eleni Belia 593-607. Athens: Hellenic Parliament and the Academy of Athens
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2005b. *The Agrarian Issue and the Agrarian Movement in Thessaly, 1881-1923*. Athens: Papazissis Publishers.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2006. "The crisis of currant in Greece: protectionism and social conflicts 1892-1905", In *Proceeding of the sixth European Social Science History Conference*, Amsterdam, Holland, 22-25 March.
- Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. 2009. *Rural uprisings in Old Greece, 1833-1881*. Athens: Papazissis publishers.
- Arseniou, Lazaros A. 1994. *The Epic of the Thessalians peasants and their revolts*. Trikala: Philological Historical Literary Association of Trikala.
- Asdracha, Aikaterini and Asdrachas, Spyros. 1985. "In feudal Corfu: from the aliens residents to the "vassali agrararii." *Ta Istorka* 2(3): 77-94. (in Greek)
- Asdrachas, Spyros. 1996. "Rendita feudale e rendita fondiaria a Corfu all' epoca della dominazione veneziana", In *Levante veneziano. Aspetti di storia delle Isole Ionie al tempo delle Serenissima*, ed. Massimo Costantini and Aliko Nikiforou, 21-38. Roma: Bulzoni Editore.
- Asdrachas, Spyros. 1999. *Mechanisms of the rural economy during the Ottoman domination, 15th – 16th centuries*. Athens: Themelio.
- Augé-Laribé, Michel. 1907. *Le problème agraire du socialisme. La viticulture du Midi de la France*. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière.
- Bacchion, Eugenio. 1956. *Il dominio Veneto su Corfu: 1386-1797*. Venezia: Altino.
- Bardissa, Jaume. 1976. *Cent Ans de Guerre du vin*. Paris: Tema éditions.
- Barral, Pierre. 1968. *Les agrariens français de Méline à Pisani*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1982. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l' époque de Philippe II*. Paris: Colin
- Brekis, Spyros. 1984. *The Year 1848 in Greece: PhD thesis*. Athens: University of Athens.
- Constantini, Massimo. 1996. "L' olio della Serenissima, dal commercio alla produzione. Per una storia dell' uso produttivo di un territorio d' oltremare in una strategia mercantilista", In *Levante veneziano. Aspetti di storia delle Isole Ionie al tempo delle Serenissima*, ed. Massimo Costantini and Aliko

- Nikiforou, 11-19. Roma: Bulzoni Editore.
- Dakin, Douglas. 1985. *The Unification of Greece, 1770-192*. Athens: MIET.
- Damianakos Stathis. 2002. *From the peasant to the farmer: the Greek rural society towards of the globalization*. Athens: Exantas
- Dertilis, George. 1991. "Taxation, Social Classes and Politics" In *Modern Greek History Issues: 18th-20th century*, ed. G. Dertilis and K. Kostis, p. 273-288. Athens:
- Dertilis, George. 1993. *Ineffectives or effectuals: taxes and power in Modern Greek state*. Athens: Alexandraia.
- Dertilis, Georgios. 1977. *Social transformation and military intervention, 1880-1909*. Athens: Exantas. (in Greek)
- Diamandouros, Nikiforos P. 2002. *The early building of the modern Greek state, 1821-1828*. Athens: MIET.
- Eftaxias, Athanasios. 1898. *Address regarding the Currant Crisis in the Congress of October 1898, of the B' Session of the Currant Congress*. Athens: Sakellariou Publishing Press.
- Evelpides, Chryssos. 1956. *Agricultural Policy*. Athens: Papazissis Publishing
- Franghiadis, Alexis. 1990. *Peasant Agriculture and Export Trade, Currant Viticulture in Southern Greece, 1830-1893*. Florence: European University Institute.
- Franghiadis, Alexis. 1993. "Réforme agraire et développement de la propriété individuelle en Grèce au 19ème siècle: la distribution des 'Domaines Nationaux', 1871-1887. In *Espace et Familles dans l'Europe du sud a l'âge moderne*, ed. Woolf, Stuart, 53-75.
- Fraze, Charles. 1987. *The Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Independence, 1821-1852*. Athens: Domos publishers.
- Giannopoulos, Ioannis. 1972. "The Tschiftliks of Veli Pasha, the son of Ali Pasha" *Mnemon*, 2: 135-158
- Gilbert Garrier. 1973. *Paysans du Beaujolais et du Lyonnais: 1800-1870*. Grenoble: Presses d'Universitaires de Grenoble.
- Glytsis, Philippos, Loukos, Christos and Belia Eleni. 1987-1998. *Abstracts of documents of the British Department of Foreign Affairs: general correspondence of the years 1833-1835*. Athens: Athens Academy.
- Gratton, Philippe. 1971. *Les luttes des classes dans les campagnes*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Gratton, Philippe. 1972. *Les paysans français, contre l'agrarisme*. Paris: Maspero.
- Greece, Government Gazette. 1833. *The Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece*, No 28, 7 September.
- Greece, Government Gazette. 1835. *The Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece*, No 2, 19 June.
- Greece, Government Gazette. 1838. *The Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece*, No 1, 1 January.
- Greece, Government Gazette. 1917. *The Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece*, No 305, 29 December.
- Greece, Parliament. 1868. *Collection at the Parliamentary C session in 1867 and becoming discussions on the Corfu Question: on land possession, agricultures etc*.
- Greece, Parliament. 1882. *Newspaper of the Debates in the Parliament, Period 8th, Session A, Meeting 32 (8-3-1882)*
- Greece, Parliament. 1883. *Newspaper of the Debates in the Parliament, Period 8th, Session B, Meetings 57 (12-2-1883)*
- Greece, Parliament. *Newspaper of the Debates in the Parliament, Period 17th, Session A, Meetings 50, 52, 53, 54, 56*.
- Greece, Parliament *Newspaper of the Parliament Debates. Period 3, Session B', v. A', p. 404 (Εφημερίς Συζητήσεων της Βουλής, Περίοδος Γ', Σύνοδος Β', τ. Α', σ. 404)*.
- Greece Parliament. *Newspaper of the Parliament Debates. Period 14. Session A. Meeting no 43*.
- Greece Parliament. *Newspaper of the Parliament Debates. Period 14. Session A. Meeting no 38;*
- Greece Parliament. *Newspaper of the Parliament Debates, Period 14, Session A', Meetings 46-47*.
- Hatzigiannis, Dimitrios. 1910. *The agrarian Issue of Thessaly*. Athens: Vergianitou.
- Ioannidou-Bitsiadou, Georgia. 1983. *La structure économique de la Thessalie a la veille de l'annexion (1878-1881)*. In *La dernière phase de la crise orientale et l'Hellénisme: 1878-1881*. Athens:
- Kalafatis, Athanasios. 1990. *Agricultural Credit and Economic Transformation in the Northern Peloponnese, 1864-1900*. Athens: Historical Archives of National Bank of Greece.
- Karanikolas, Georgios. 1980. *Kililer: contribution to the history of Greek Peasant Movement*. Athens: Grammi publishers.
- Karavidas, Kostas D. 1982. *Agrarians: comparative study*. Athens: Papazissis publishers
- Karouzou, Evi. 1990. "Systema de propiedad y "Tierra Nacional": *Reforma y realidades, 1830-1930*." *AREAS 12*: 27-34.
- Karouzou, Evi. 2006. *Institutional framework and rural economy*" In *The development of the Greek economy in the 19th century*, ed. Kostas Kostis and Sotiris Petmezias, σ.175-218. Athens: Alexandraia.
- Karouzou, Evi. 1989. "Possession issues of national land, 1833-1871." *Mnemon*, 12: 149-161
- Kordatos, Gianis. 1973. *The History of the Agrarian Movement in Greece*, Athens: Boukoumanis publishers.
- Kouris, Socrates. 1868. *The duty to the homeland: historical report on Corfu property issues in the newly terminated Parliament Period*. Corfu: Athena Press.
- Laskaris, S. Th. 1924. *The Catholic Church in Greece*. Athens: From Thanou Tzavela Printing Press.
- Legg, Keith. R. 1969. *Politics in Modern Greece*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Liakos, Antonis. 1986. "The possibilities of Marxism's assimilation in Greece in the 19th century." *Bulletin of the Society of Modern Greek Civilization and General Education Studies*, 8:114-115.
- Louvi, Lina. 1998. "From the physical limits of Hellenism in lost crop of Thessaly: the issue of boundaries arrangement" In *The War of 1897: Two-day symposium on the occasion of 100 years*, ed. The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies, 145-159. Athens: The Moraitis Foundation for Literary and Cultural Studies.
- Marcoras, Gerasimos. 1868. *Précis et esprit de la question ag-*



- ricole de Corfou*. Corfou: Nachamouli.
- Maurer, Georg Lutwig. 1976. *The Greek people*. Athens: Afoi Tolidi.
- Mavromoustakou Ivi. 2003. "The Greek government, 1833-1871: political institutions and administrative organization", In *History of the Modern Hellenism 1770-2000*. Ed. Vasilis Panagiotopoulos. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.
- McGrew, W.W. 1985. *Land and Revolution in Modern Greece, 1800-1880: the Transition in the Tenure and Exploitation of Land from Ottoman Rule to Independence*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.
- Moustoxidis, Andreas. 1848. *Delle cose corciresi*. Corfou : Nella Tipografia del Governo.
- Mouzelis, Nikos. 1978. *Modern Greek Society, Underdevelopment aspects*. Athens: Exantas (in Greek)
- Pachis, Georgios. 1882. "The Agrarian Issue in Epirus." In *Documents*, ed. Adamantios Pelepassis. 37-43. Athens: Agricultural Bank of Greece, 1981.
- Panagiotopoulos, Vasilios. 1980. "The industrial revolution and Greece 1832-1871", In *Modernization and Industrial Revolution in the Balkans in the 19th century*, ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen et al., 225-231. Athens: Themelio.
- Pantazopoulos, Nikolaos. 1987. "Traditional agrarian institutions to the challenge. The case of Thessaly" In *Alexandros Papanastasiou, Institutions, Ideology and Politics in interwar period*, ed. George Anastasiadis, George Kontogiorgis and Pavlos Petridis, 193-253. Athens: Polytypo.
- Pantazopoulos, Nikolaos. 1962. "Timariōtismos kai epimortos agrolēphia en eptanēsō epi Venetokratias." In *Proceedings of the Third Panionio Congress*, 155-195. Athens. (in Greek)
- Papanastasiou, Alexandros. 1988. "The land [belongs] to the growers", In *Alexandros Papanastasiou: research studies - speeches - articles*, ed. X. Leukoparidis, p. 58-72. Athens: Agricultural Bank of Greece.
- Patronis, Vasilis. 1992. *Production agricole et commerce extérieur. Le cas de la région de Patras, 1860-1900*: Thèse pour le Doctorat., Paris : Université Paris I.
- Patronis, Vasilis. 1993a. "Currant and agricultural reform." *Issues of political economy: review of economic and social sciences*. 2: 56-82
- Patronis, Vasilis. 1993b. "The Corinthian currant in the French market." *Ta Istorika*, 10 (18-19): 53-78.
- Petmezas, Socrates. 2000. "Agrarian Economy", In *History of Greece in 20th century, 1900-1922 the beginnings*, ed. Christos Hadziiosif, V. A1, p. 75. Athens: Vivliorama.
- Petmezas, Socrates. 2003. *The Greek agrarian economy during the 19th century: the regional dimension*. Heraklion: University of Crete Press.
- Petropoulos, John Antonis. 1985. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843*, Athens: MIET.
- Pizaniias, Petros. 1988. *Economic history of the Greek raisin, 1851-1912*. Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece.
- Progoulakis, George. 2003. *Between the honor and the money: Corfu in the years of English occupation, 1814-1864*. Athens: Historical Archives of the Commercial Bank of Greece.
- Remy, Pech 1975. *Entreprise viticole et Capitalisme en Languedoc-Roussillon*, Toulouse : Publication de l'Université de Toulouse-le Mirail.
- Sagnes, Jean. 1978. "Le mouvement de 1907 en Languedoc-Roussillon: de la révolte viticole a la révolte régionale." *Le Mouvement Social*, 104 : 3-30.
- Sakellariou, M. 1848. «L'Hellénisme et 1848» In *1848 dans le Monde, le Printemps des Peuples*, ed. François Fejto, 322-. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Sakellariopoulos, Theodoros. 1991. *Institutional transformation and economic development; State and economy in Greece, 1830-1922*. Athens: 1991.
- Sfika-Theodosiou, Aggeliki. 1989. *The annexation of Thessaly, 1881-1883*, PhD diss, Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.
- Sfyroeras, Vasilis. 1976. "A period of domestic disorders and foreign pressure, 1847-1853." In *The History of the Greek Nation*, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon publishers, vol. C p. 132-143
- Sideris, A. 1934. *The agricultural policy of Greece during the expired one hundred-year period, 1833-1933*, Athens: K. S. Papadogiannis publishers (in Greek)
- Sivignon, M. 1992. *Thessaly: geographical analysis of a Greek region*. [La Thessalie, Lyon, 1975] translated by G. Anastopoulos. Athens: Agricultural Bank of Greece.
- Skopetea, Elli. 1987. "1848: European revolution and the Greek inactivity". *Mnemon*, 11: 289
- Strong, Frederick. 1842. *Greece as a kingdom: or a Statistical Description of that country from the arrival of king Otho in 1833 to the present time*. London: Longman.
- Theotokas, Nikos. 1985. "The reflection of real life and dream in the texts of Makrygiannis." *Ta Istorika*. 2(4) 288-
- Triantafyllidis, Sofoklis. 1906. *The koliyi of Thessaly*. Volos: "Panthessaliki" Newspaper
- Troianos, Spyridon and Dimakopoulou, Charikleia. 1999. *The church and the state, the relation between them in 19th century, 1833-1852*. Athens: Ant. Sakkoulas
- Tsopotos, Dimitrios. 1912. *Land and farmers of Thessaly during the Ottoman domination*. Volos: Newspaper Thessaly Printing Press.
- Tsoukalas, Konstantinos. 1977. *Dependence and Reproduction: The Social role of the educational mechanisms in Greece, 1830-1922*. Athens: Themelio.
- Vergopoulos, Kostas. 1975. *The agrarian issue in Greece*. Athens: Exantas.
- Vournas, Tasos. 1952. *The Greek 1848: struggles for social and political transformation in Greece under the influence of European bourgeois uprisings*. Athens:
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.



