

A VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN NAXOS
— COMMUNAL LAND AND SHEPHERDS OF FILOTI —

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Filoti, where we stayed for ten weeks in the autumn of 1977, is an inner mountain village of Naxos Island. Naxos is the largest island of the Cyclades group which is situated in the southern part of the Aegean Sea. The islands of the Cyclades constitute one "nomos" (prefecture), an administrative district of which there are fifty-two in the whole of Greece, and contain eight smaller administrative districts called "eparchie." The whole of Naxos Island comprises one of the eight eparchies and is further broken into 22 smaller local units: 21 "koinotites" (village communities) and one "deme" (municipality). Filoti is one of the twenty-one koinotites in Naxos. About eight hours of ship-travel from Pireus brings us to Naxos City, the only port town on the island. Filoti is reached after a forty-minute busride from this port town.

The Greek word "koinotis" literally means *commune*. But we can single out several aspects or elements of social and economic life in Filoti that may serve to refine the definition of koinotis as it is used to describe a phenomenon of contemporary Greece. First of all, koinotis is local self-government by a "proedros" (president) and councilors elected by the villagers, and consequently it has its own budget and its own civil servants. In the second place, koinotis often coincides with a parish of the Greek Orthodox Church. Koinotis Filoti has its own parish church and its own village priest who is married and settled there, exerting a great influence on his parishioners. The third aspect of koinotis is that it always has an elementary school for its own children, and therefore it is also a regional unit of elementary education of this country. In the fourth place, koinotis is also a territorial community of people who share a common dwelling place and a common place of production, since the houses of villagers constitute a compact settlement and most of their land and fields are placed within the communal district.

And lastly, koinotis is often a body that has communally owned land which is used chiefly for the grazing land of sheep and goats within its administrative district. This last aspect of koinotis is very important for Filoti, which is a fairly pastoral village both in terms of the occupations of the villagers and in the relative importance of shepherd villagers' income-source. In this paper, I shall survey this aspect of Filoti paying attention mainly to the way of life of shepherds and their relation to the communally-owned pasture land.

Settlement and Communal District

Greek village communities are generally divided into two kinds of space: one is the compact settlement area where the villagers' houses are concentrated, and the other is the surrounding area, still a part of the communal administrative district, comprising the villagers' land and fields. Referring to contemporary Messenian villages, S. Aschenbrenner states that "Following prevailing Mediterranean custom, the people of this area have a strong inclination to a nuclear residential area, set like a hub in the midst of their surrounding fields."¹⁾ Many village communities of Messenia have only one or two compact settlement areas in their communal districts. And this seems to be the case in almost all other regions of Greece as well.²⁾

Table 1 Number of Communities and Settlements in Greece

Regions	Municipalities	Communities	Settlements
Greater Athens	37	19	16
Central Greece	47	878	1,828
Peloponnese	34	1,327	2,471
Ionian Islands	6	285	585
Epirus	12	554	1,042
Thessaly	18	515	911
Macedonia	48	1,130	1,881
Thrace	8	152	548
Aegean Islands	25	373	960
Crete	11	572	1,402
Total	256	5,805	11,691

Source: Geographical, Administrative and Demographical Development of Greece, 1821–1971. (National Center of Social Research.) Vol. 3, Athens 1976. (in Greek) p.293

Table 2 Number of Communities and Settlements in the Cyclades

Eparchies	Municipalities	Communities	Settlements
Andros	1	23	76
Thira	0	26	59
Kea	0	5	32
Milos	0	11	42
Naxos	1	21	52
Paros	0	8	35
Syros	3	8	31
Tinos	1	12	49
Total	6	114	376

Source: Geographical, Administrative and Demographical Development of Greece, 1821–1971. (National Center of Social Research) Vol. 3, Athens 1976. (in Greek) p.301

Today, Greece is divided into two classes of local government: municipalities (demoi) and village communities (koinotites). According to the census of 1971, there are 256 municipalities and 5,805 village communities in Greece (see Table 1). And this census also counts 11,619 settlements (oikismoi) within these 6,061 (256 + 5,805) urban and rural local governments.³⁾ Consequently, one local community (demos or koinotis) consists of 1.9 settlements on the average. In the case of the above mentioned, Messenia Nomos has 494 settlements in 8 municipalities and 274 village communities, that is, 1.7 settlements per community. As for the Cyclades Islands, the mean number of settlements per one community is a little larger than that of Messenia and the whole of Greece. The Nome of Cyclades has 376 settlements in 6 municipalities and 114 village communities (3.1 settlements per community) (see Table 2). But even in this region, quite a number of village communities have only one settlement in its district and it may safely be said that the single-settlement village community is the most typical one of the region.

On Naxos Island, consisting of one municipality and 21 village communities, 52 settlements are found (2.4 settlements per community). We can find here the unusual village community of Halki which has 7 hamlets dispersed within a small communal district on the olive-growing inner plain called Tragea.⁴⁾ But this is an exceptional case. As a matter of fact, 11 village communities out of 21 have only one settlement each (see Table 3). Six village communities have two or three settlements. The Municipal and Communal Code (1954) recognizes the villages with over 500 inhabitants and an elementary school as legal village communities.⁵⁾ Thus one would expect the eleven single-settlement village communities mentioned above to have fair-sized populations of over 500 people. But the fact is that many of them now have populations of between 100–500, and only a few have settlements actually inhabited by over 500 people.

Table 3 Number of Settlements in the Communities of Naxos

Communities	Settlements	Communities	Settlements
1. Filoti	1	12. Kinidaros	1
2. Danakos	1	13. Meranes	4
3. Apiranthos	2	14. Engares	1
4. Damarionas	3	15. Galini	1
5. Halki	7	16. Potamia	3
6. Moni	2	17. Sagri	5
7. Koronos	4	18. Agios Arrenios	2
8. Skado	1	19. Glinado	1
9. Mesi	1	20. Galanado	1
10. Koronis	6	21. Vivris	1
11. Keramoti	1	22. Naxos	3

Source: Map of the Nomos of Cyclades, 28-2 revised in 1972 by National Statistical Service of Greece.

Filoti, a single-settlement village, is the largest of all 21 village communities in population as well as in the size of its communal district.⁶⁾ The settlement of Filoti is located at the geographical center of the island, on hills on the northern flank of Mt. Za, the highest point in all of the Cyclades (1,002 m). About 400 white-plastered houses which are so popular in the Aegean Islands are built closely together, densely covering the slopes of two hills. The main road of Naxos runs from the capital of the island, passing through this village along the foot of the hills and continues on toward another large mountain village called Apiranthos.⁷⁾ The settlement of Filoti is situated at the northern end of its extensive communal district which stretches far into the southern mountainous area of the island (see Fig. 1). Most of this communal district is occupied by a rugged mountain range with an altitude of 500–600 meters, through which a few locky mule-paths run from the settlement but no roads. A villager who owns an olive grove at the farthest end of the communal district must ride on a mule or a donkey for four hours to get there from his home in the settlement.

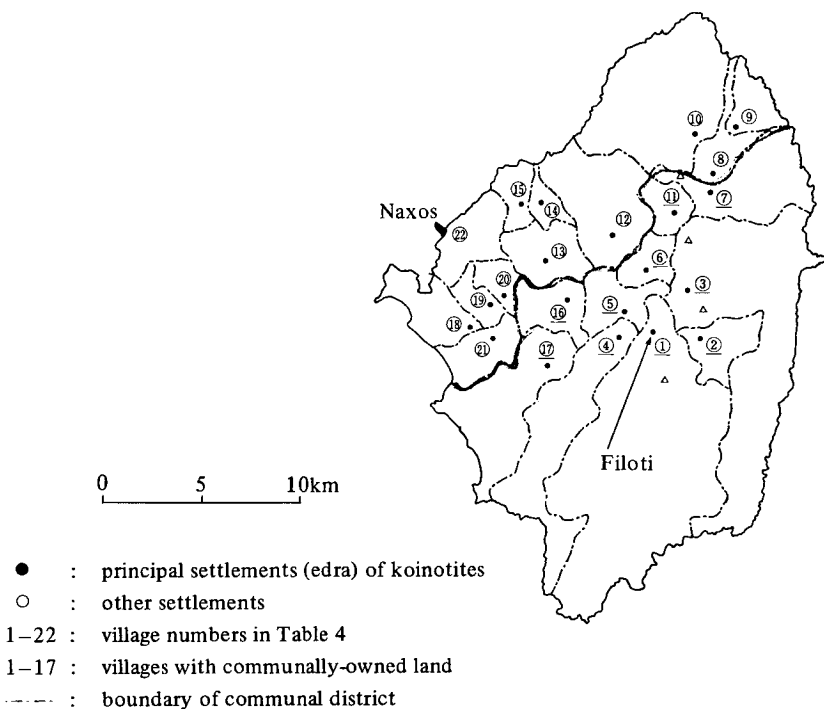


Fig. 1. Settlements and Communal Districts in Naxos

The people of Filoti used to call this mountainous area “exohi” (country-side), in contrast to the “horio” (settlement), the political, social, and cultural center of village life. In the “exohi” of Filoti, one can scarcely find any fair-sized

plots of arable land except for olive groves scattered here and there. The greater part of this "exohi" is mountainous pasture-land, which is mainly used for sheep and goats. Therefore, villagers who have the closest connection with the "exohi" in everyday life are shepherds, pasturing their flocks in this area throughout the year. Only rarely do they possess their own grazing lands privately. A considerable part of the natural pasture land in the "exohi" belongs to the village community.

According to "The Economic and Social Atlas of Greece", 41.3 per cent of the total land area of this country is pasture land.⁸⁾ And most of this vast area is upland natural pasture used for the traditional grazing of sheep and goats. Moreover, it is important to note that 53.5 per cent of all pasture land in Greece is publicly-owned. In Naxos, pasture land amounts to 61 per cent of total surface of the island in contrast with arable land constituting only 23.8 per cent.⁹⁾ But how much common land is there in the communities of Naxos?

Table 4 is derived from data obtained from the office of the Nome of Cy-

Table 4 Communally-owned Lands and Private Lands in 22 Communities of Naxos

Communities	Communal districts	Communally-owned lands	Private lands	Other lands
1. Filoti	93,000	56,000 (62.2)	15,600 (16.8)	21,400 (23.0)
2. Danakos	10,000	5,900 (59.0)	2,900 (29.0)	1,200 (12.0)
3. Apiranthos	68,000	18,900 (27.8)	35,400 (52.1)	13,700 (20.1)
4. Damarionas	32,000	7,600 (23.8)	3,700 (11.6)	20,700 (64.6)
5. Halki	10,000	800 (8.0)	2,300 (23.0)	6,900 (69.0)
6. Moni	6,000	2,700 (45.0)	900 (15.0)	2,400 (40.0)
7. Koronos	22,000	10,200 (46.4)	8,100 (36.8)	3,700 (16.8)
8. Skado	8,000	— (—)	5,000 (62.5)	3,000 (37.5)
9. Mesi	7,000	— (—)	6,000 (85.7)	1,000 (14.3)
10. Koronis	42,000	— (—)	33,700 (80.2)	8,300 (19.8)
11. Keramoti	6,000	1,000 (20.0)	2,000 (41.7)	2,300 (38.3)
12. Kinidaros	25,000	— (—)	18,100 (72.4)	6,900 (27.6)
13. Melanes	12,000	— (—)	6,000 (50.0)	6,000 (50.0)
14. Engares	4,000	— (—)	1,100 (27.5)	2,900 (72.5)
15. Galini	6,000	— (—)	3,100 (51.7)	2,900 (48.3)
16. Potamia	10,000	300 (3.0)	6,200 (62.0)	3,500 (35.0)
17. Sagri	28,000	500 (1.7)	12,200 (43.6)	15,300 (54.7)
18. Agios Arsenios	12,000	— (—)	6,200 (51.7)	5,800 (48.3)
19. Glinado	4,000	— (—)	500 (12.5)	3,500 (87.5)
20. Galanado	4,000	— (—)	900 (22.5)	3,100 (77.5)
21. Vivros	10,000	— (—)	2,600 (26.0)	7,400 (74.0)
22. Naxos	12,000	— (—)	6,200 (51.7)	5,800 (48.3)
Total	131,000	104,100 (24.2)	179,200 (41.6)	144,700 (34.2)

Source: Data obtained from the prefectural office of the Cyclades unit of area: stremma. Number in () are percentages of the communal districts.

clades at Ermoupolis. It shows the total area of administrative districts, communally-owned land and privately-owned land in each of the 22 local government districts in Naxos. What attracts our attention first is the fact that not every village community has its own common land. Ten village communities out of 22 have communally-owned lands. And all of these 10 village communities are situated in the southern part of the island. None of the northern communities has commonly-owned land. It appears that the absence of suitable sites for settlement in the southern part of the island is responsible for the denseness and small size of the northern communities which are at most 3–5 km in diameter. The size of communal districts seems to be an important factor explaining why some communities have commonly-owned lands while others do not.

It is also noteworthy that the proportion of privately-owned land in every communal district is fairly low, including those communities without common lands. Privately-owned land amounts to only 11.6 per cent of all land in the community of Damarionas, and 41.6 per cent in all of Naxos. One can see from this there is a considerable amount of other public land aside from communally-owned land in every local district. In fact, all private and communally-owned lands comprise only 65 per cent of the total area of Naxos Island. In the village communities of Filoti, Danakos, Damarionas, Moni and Koronos communally-owned land exceeds privately-owned land in area. The scarcity of privately-owned land in Naxos is, in fact, directly related to the large proportion of pasture lands which are publicly-owned.

Finally, special mention should be made of the large common land of Filoti. Filoti has by far the most communally-owned land among the 10 village communities. It has three times as much as Apiranthos which has the second most. The total area of communally-owned land in Filoti amounts to 56,000 stremmata; this is 54 per cent of the total of communally-owned land in all communities on Naxos. Furthermore, the proportion of common land to the total area of the communal administrative district is also the greatest of all ten village communities (62.2%). As would be imagined, this large common land of Filoti is made up of many pieces of pasture land scattered all over the extensive communal district, which is about 18 km long and 9 km wide. Some 18 thousand head of sheep and goats owned by the shepherds of Filoti graze there all through the year. Flocks of sheep, tended by lone shepherds with staffs across their shoulders, dot the mountainsides of Filoti.

Community and Communally-Owned Land

According to H.F. Alderfer, the communally-owned land of modern Greek village communities historically derives from three sources: (1) land originally owned by a community itself from the time of Turkish rule and kept continuously after the Liberation, (2) land originally belonging to Turks and later divided among the communes, the national government, and the revolutionary leaders after the Liberation, and (3) land donated or bequeathed by individuals.¹⁰⁾ I was

unable to get data on the historical origin of the communally-owned land of Filoti or of other communities on Naxos, but it is not likely that the Turks ever owned that land, most of which is found in the relatively inaccessible rugged mountain area.¹¹⁾ The Turks, as a rule, took for themselves land in the fertile plains and in the cities. Moreover, it is known that at most 10–15 families of Turks lived in Naxos during Ottoman rule.¹²⁾ Therefore, common land in Filoti and other communities on Naxos probably was land that had traditionally belonged to community from the time of Turkish rule or before.

I. T. Sanders gives four ways in which land was held in Greece under Turkish rule.¹³⁾ The first form of land holding was under the right of sovereignty by which vast expanses of land belonged to the Turkish state and to the Sultan. Parts of this land were subsequently granted to individual Turks as fiefs. This land was located chiefly in the richest parts of Greece. The second form of land holding was by monasteries and religious foundations. The third form was individual, the small plots owned privately by inhabitants of the autonomous big villages called "kephalochoria." These settlements were usually in the mountain or hill regions. Because of their poor soil and inaccessible location, they remained relatively free from Turkish control and were not as controlled economically as other parts of Greece. This type of property was in the tradition of small holdings preserved from Byzantine times. Frequently these small lands were planted with olive trees and grape vines.

And the fourth form of land holding was ownership by the communes themselves. The Turks allowed the communes which had existed prior to the occupation to continue with the same administrative institutions. These autonomous communes (cities and villages) elected representatives called "demogerontes" (elder) to govern themselves. The occupying Turks also respected the communally owned property reserved for the needs of communes in general. This property was mainly pasture and woods, and administered by the demogerontes above mentioned.

Thus, the ownership of land by communes was an important form of land holding and was common throughout Greece under Turkish rule. Though it is difficult to say how far back the origin of the Greek village community as a rural self-governing unit goes,¹⁴⁾ we can safely say that much of its development as an autonomous body was in the days of Ottoman rule. Since the Turks were mainly interested in tribute and maintenance of a military establishment, they allowed the Greek inhabitants a fair amount of independence. Especially on the islands and in the most mountainous regions, the Greeks enjoyed much autonomy. Many self-governing communes and confederations of communes existed throughout Greece and the Aegean Islands.¹⁵⁾ They were ordinarily called "koina", "koinotis" (commune) or "politeia" (state). The communes of Parikia and of Naoussa were on Paros Island. As for Naxos, three "konia" were recongnized by the Turkish authority from the year 1621 on. One was for the Catholic inhabitants of the island, another for the Orthodox population of the island's capital town, and the third was the "koinon" for all the other villages in Naxos which numbered about twenty.¹⁶⁾ It is probable that village Filoti participated in the last one, and that

except for the representative sent to the federation of all villages in Naxos, its communal administration was separate and autonomous. The elected communal authority performed such functions as tax collection, appointment of communal employees, administration of school and church, the calling of assembly when the need arose, and finally, the administration of communally-owned land and property.¹⁷⁾

After the independence, the government of King Othon which wanted to centralize the state gave a strong blow to autonomous local communities. By legislation in 1833, Greece was arbitrarily divided into nomes, eparchies and demes. The demes were established as the basic units of local governments of the new state, but were given little power. The village community was not recognized as a regular local unit. Each deme was composed of several village communities gathered arbitrarily without regard to their historical backgrounds. Naxos Island was also artificially divided into five demes of approximately equal population. They were the demes of Apiranthos, Tragea, Koronis, Vivros and Naxos.¹⁸⁾ Between 1834 and 1845, the village of Filoti was united with the neighboring village to the east to form the deme of Apiranthos. But from 1845 to 1912, Filoti was made a part of the deme of Tragea, the center of which was Halki, the nearest village of Filoti.¹⁹⁾ By a law enacted in 1912, each village community was recognized for the first time after the Liberation as a regular unit local government.

But even during the long period from 1833 to 1912, the village communities constituting the demes continued to exist as separate entities. Village communities were operative within the demes and maintained ownership of communal property. In fact, one provision that was later added to the legislation of 1833 legalized the village community as an owner and administrator of communal property: "In case several villages are united to form one deme, each of these villages shall reserve its own property... and its own administration of this property. And this property cannot be merged unless the united villages unanimously agree and the villages that do not have rights to the property purchase a share in it".²⁰⁾ The administration of communally-owned land was entrusted to a committee of three men elected from among the legitimate members of the village concerned. Thus, even when village communities were not considered regular local governments of this country, the land which traditionally belonged to villages continued to be owned by the villages and not by the demes.

The law enacted in 1912, which became the fundamental legislation for Greek local government from that time on, divided all of Greece into demes and village communities. Boundaries were fixed at that time, and since then have not radically changed. On Naxos Island, the five demes were replaced by sixteen autonomous village communities, one of which was Filoti.²¹⁾ Although some aspects of the system of Greek local government, of course, have changed since then, the village community has remained one of the basic units of local governments and has consistently been the owner and administrator of its own communally-owned land.

With this background established, let us look now at communally owned property of present-day Filoti. On the main street, a short distance from the

Center Square or “kentro”,²²⁾ we find a one-room village office. It serves not only as the office of a clerk called the “grammatikos”, the sole full-time civil servant of the village, but also as the meeting place for the village president (proedros) and six village councillors (meli). The proedros and village councillors are responsible for such tasks as the registration of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths, the preparation for communal tax rolls, the making of an annual budget, the maintenance of roads and wells, and the administration of communally-owned land and property. For these tasks, the village office keeps several sorts of rolls, including the cadastre of communally-owned land.

The cadastre of communally-owned land, or “ktimatologion”, is kept in each community that owns such lands, and a copy is also kept in the prefectural office. The cadastre of Filoti was made in 1939 and comprised sixty separate numbered pages.²³⁾ Each sheet recorded a separate piece of land. The communally-owned land of Filoti thus consisted of sixty pieces of land in 1939. But when I stayed there in 1977, the cadastre contained only 57 sheets; three pages (pages 8, 9, and 57) had been taken out because of lawsuits on these lands (see Table 5). On the front of every page, the sort of land, its area, a description of its location and boundaries, its estimated value, and so on are entered. On the back of the page, a line-map of the land is sketched in pencil with the place names of neighbouring areas noted. In a blank space on the map, the name of the plot of land and its size expressed in stremmata is written in. (see Fig. 2)

Table 5 Communally-owned land of Filoti

No.	stremmata	No.	stremmata	No.	stremmata	No.	stremmata
1.	3,000	18.	1,200	33.	800	48.	1,000
2.	3,000	19.	450	34.	1,000	49.	300
3.	8,000	20.	1,500	35.	2,000	50.	100
4.	4,000	21.	700	36.	500	51.	40
5.	10,000	22.	700	37.	500	52.	200
6.	20,000	23.	250	38.	500	53.	200
7.	10,000	24.	600	39.	500	54.	200
10.	500	25.	500	40.	120	55.	100
11.	3,500	26.	50	41.	70	56.	25
12.	250	27.	1,500	42.	800	58.	600
13.	9,000	28.	200	43.	500	59.	300
14.	900	29.	800	44.	200	60.	10
15.	3,000	30.	500	45.	1,000		
16.	500	31.	200	46.	4,000	Total	103,845
17.	1,500	32.	150	47.	2,000		

Source: Book of Ktimatologion of Filoti compiled in 1939.

Almost all pieces of communally-owned land in Filoti are classified as "mountain pasture land" except a few which are called "rocky areas." The fifty-seven pieces of land are not all physically separated from each other. An extensive area is often divided into several lots and registered separately on as many pages. The vast area covering all of Mt. Za, for example, is divided into four parcels of land centering around the peak of this mountain, and registered on pages 45, 46, 47, and 48. The sizes of the fifty-seven pieces of land vary widely from 10 to 20,000 stremmata. The area of these lands have not been surveyed exactly, but only roughly and exaggeratedly estimated by the villagers. This explains why the total area of the fifty-seven pieces of land given in the page of the cadastre amounts to 103,845 stremmata, which exceeds not only the number recorded in the prefectural office (56,000 stremmata), but also the total area of the administrative district of Filoti itself (93,000 stremmata). And the value of these lands estimated in 1939 also varies widely depending upon distance from the settlement and its quality as grazing land. While the land around Mt. Za registered on pages 45-48 is worth only 20 drachmes a stremma, a plot of pasture land near the settlement is estimated at 6,000 drachmes per stremma.

It was impossible for me to locate all fifty-seven pieces of land on a map of Filoti. Although the villagers know where each of these communally-owned lands is and how to get there, they do not find it necessary to know the sites of these lands on a map. Whenever I asked a villager to point out the site of a piece of communally-owned land on a map of Filoti, he would always take me outside and show me the way, indicating a mule-path over the mountains.

Shepherds as Villagers

Sheep and goats are an inherent part of the rural life of Greece. A short stay in Filoti made me familiar with these animals as well as with donkeys and mules. They are everywhere in Filoti, both in the settlement and in the "exohi." But the sheep and goats in these two different parts of the village have distinguishable economic roles. Those found in the settlement are domestic and kept for the use of the family. Most of Filoti's households, including non-agricultural ones, keep some sheep and goats in their small enclosure within the settlement. These animals supply the villagers with milk and cheese for everyday consumption. These animals are usually called "oikosita" (domestic). On the other hand, the sheep and goats in the "exohi" are raised in flocks under the keen eyes of shepherds (poimin) in order to produce cheese, meat and other goods for market. They are called "poimenika" in contrast with the "oikosita." Data obtained from the Agricultural Cooperative of Naxos also distinguishes the animals kept in the settlement from those pastured in the peripheral areas. According to the data on Filoti, the number of "oikosita" are 1,100 goats and 700 sheep, while the number of "poimenika" are 10,000 goats and 6,400 sheep.²⁴⁾

In accordance with these different roles of animals, the villagers of Filoti may also be divided into two parts: shepherds and the remaining villagers. In

1977, Filoti had roughly 320–330 households. And some 100 households were supported mainly by the stockfarming of sheep and goats. The remaining households consisted of ordinary farmers (*georgoi*), laborers (*ergatis*) and other non-agricultural occupants (see Table 6). Of course, the shepherds of Filoti are different from the transhumant shepherds in continental Greece.²⁵⁾ They are villagers of Filoti and have permanent dwellings there. Their wives and children live in the settlement all year round. They tend their flocks in the mountain pasture land of Filoti throughout the year. Most of them own not only flocks but also a few pieces of land for growing fodder, olive trees, and grapes. Therefore, as the proedros of Filoti told me, they are not genuine shepherds, but are “*georgo-ktinotrophoi*” (farmer-stockbreeders). In the telephone book in my favorite village coffeehouse, the occupation of these shepherds of Filoti was also expressed as “*georgo-poimin*” (farmer herders) in contrast to other ordinary farmers (*georgoi*). Thus, they are neither shepherds nor farmers, but both. Nevertheless, their main occupation and main source of cash income is the pasturage of sheep and goats. Their cultivation is of a self-subsistence nature or at most a secondary income source. Cultivation for them is equivalent to farmers keeping several sheep or goats for family consumption.

Table 6 Major non-agricultural Occupations in Filoti

Carpenter	2	Baker	2	Priest	2	Office clerk	10
Blacksmith	2	Barber	2	Teacher	2	Taberna*	3
Tinsmith	2	Butcher	4	Postman	3	Coffeehouse*	3
Shoemaker	1	Grocer	9	Village clerk	1	Tobacco shop*	5
Tailor	2	Painter	6	Agrophilakas	2	Olive-mill*	2
Peddler	2	Electrician	3	Sexton	1	Garage*	1
Mason	10	Doctor	1	Mule porter	10	Stone-quarry*	1

(* : Keeper)

The shepherds of Filoti graze most of their flocks on the communally-owned pasture land paying a tax of six drachmes per head a year to the village.²⁶⁾ This pasturing tax is imposed only on the “*poimenika*”, not on the “*oikosita*” kept in the settlement for family consumption. The proedros and the Council must prepare a roll of tax payers and report it to the Nome of Cyclades every year. This roll lists the number of animals and the tax for each shepherd feeding his flocks on the communally-owned pasture land. Table 7 is taken from the section of the tax roll for 1977 entitled “Decision number 44/77. Tax imposition according to heads of animals pasturing.”

First of all, the roll lists in alphabetical order the full-names of all householders who use the communally-owned pasture land. The total number of such householders is 93. Since all of these names are different, we can see that in 1977 there are at least 93 householders of shepherds in Filoti. The communally-owned land of Filoti is used not only by members of the community, but also by some neighboring villagers who are required to pay twice as much as Filoti residents. But

this list includes only villagers of Filoti. And it probably also excludes villagers of Filoti who use only their own private pasture lands, though I do not have any data on them. When I asked the proedros the number of shepherds in Filoti, he replied, but without showing any foundation, that there were 105. Taking these facts into consideration, it can safely be said that in 1977 Filoti had about one hundred households of shepherds. After the names of householders appears the number of animals they are pasturing on the communally-owned land. The largest number is 550 and the smallest is 25; the average is 140. There are six households that have over 300 animals and twenty-five households with under 100. The number of animals in Filoti is 12,845.

Table 7 Shepherds of Filoti and Pasturing Tax in 1977

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	AA	180	145	30	870	210	1,080	32	GD	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
2	AB	80	75		450		450	33	GE	100	95		570		570
3	AC	80	75		450		450	34	HA	100	95		570		570
4	AD	60	55		330		330	35	IA	100	95		570		570
5	AE	110	105		630		630	36	IB	130	125		750		750
6	AF	550	145	400	870	2,800	3,670	37	IC	90	85		510		510
7	AG	120	115		690		690	38	ID	70	65		390		390
8	AH	200	145	50	870	350	1,220	39	IE	25	20		120		120
9	AI	130	125		750		750	40	JA	100	95		570		570
10	AJ	130	125		750		750	41	JB	50	45		270		270
11	AK	135	130		780		780	42	JC	300	145	150	870	1,050	1,920
12	AL	300	145	150	870	1,050	1,920	43	JD	250	145	100	870	700	1,570
13	AM	200	145	50	870	350	1,220	44	JE	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
14	AN	300	145	150	870	1,050	1,920	45	JF	205	145	55	870	385	1,255
15	BA	60	55		330		330	46	JG	100	95		570		570
16	BB	300	145	150	870	1,050	1,920	47	JH	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
17	BC	60	55		330		330	48	JI	100	95		570		570
18	BD	120	115		690		690	49	JJ	280	145	130	870	910	1,780
19	CA	100	95		570		570	50	JK	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
20	DA	95	90		540		540	51	JL	160	145	10	870	70	940
21	DB	95	90		540		540	52	JM	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
22	DC	95	90		540		540	53	JN	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
23	EA	150	145		870		870	54	JO	160	145	10	870	70	940
24	EB	200	145	50	870	350	1,220	55	JP	160	145	10	870	70	940
25	EC	30	25		150		150	56	JQ	100	95		570		570
26	ED	80	75		150		150	57	JR	95	90		540		540
27	FA	40	35		210		210	58	KA	130	125		750		750
28	FB	150	145		870		870	59	LA	200	145	50	870	350	1,220
29	GA	450	145	300	870	2,100	2,970	60	LB	150	145		870		870
30	GB	120	115		690		690	61	LC	150	145		870		870
31	GC	80	75		450		450	62	LD	100	95		570		570

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63	LE	100	95		570		570	79	OH	140	135		810		810
64	LF	100	95		570		570	80	OI	120	115		690		690
65	LG	200	145	50	870	350	1,220	81	OJ	105	100		600		600
66	JS	80	75		450		450	82	PA	100	95		570		570
67	LH							83	QA	100	95		570		570
68	LI	25	20		120		120	84	QB	135	130		780		780
69	MA	280	145	130	870	910	1,780	85	QC	60	55		330		330
70	NA	100	95		570		570	86	RA	50	45		270		270
71	NB	30	25		150		150	87	RB	50	45		270		270
72	OA	150	145		870		870	88	SA	400	145	250	870	1,750	2,620
73	OB	150	145		870		870	89	SB	90	85		510		510
74	OC	60	55		330		330	90	SC	170	145	20	870	140	1,010
75	OD	120	115		690		690	91	SD	150	145		870		870
76	OE	120	115		690		690	92	SE	35	30		180		180
77	OF	250	145	100	870	700	1,570	93	TA	30	25		150		150
78	OG	200	145	50	870	350	1,220	Total		12,845					97,010

Source: Tax roll of Filoti in 1977. Decision number 44/77. Tax imposition according to heads of animals in pasturing.

- * 1. No. of household 2. Name of householder 3. Number of animals pastured in communally-owned land 4. Number of animals charged 6 drachmes per head 5. Number of animals charged 7 drachmes per head 6. Tax amount of 150 or less animals 7. Tax amount of animals over 150 head 8. Total tax amount.

The amount of tax for each shepherd is registered in the last blank. Since five animals are exempted from taxation for every household, this amount T can be found by the following equation; when the number of pastured animals (A) is 150 or fewer: $T = 6 \times (A-5)$. But because this is a progressive tax, after the first 150 the tax is raised from 6 to 7 drachmes per head. As a result, when there are more than 150 animals, the equation is as follows: $T = 6 \times (150-5) + 7 \times (A-150)$. A shepherd pasturing 80 sheep or goats pays $6 \times (80-5)$ drachmes, while shepherds pasturing 200 animals must pay $6 \times (150-5) + 7 \times (200-150)$ drachmes. The total revenue from this pasturing tax comes to 79,010 drachmes. But this represents only 1.9 per cent of Filoti's revenue in 1977. The importance of communally-owned land in Filoti, therefore, does not derive from its financial role in supplying tax revenue, but from the fact that it supplies shepherds with a cheap means of production and consequently supports the existence of almost one-third of the villagers. As a matter of fact, the largest cash income of Filoti, as the proedros told me, is secured from the production of cheese and meat.²⁷⁾

In Greece, there are many different systems for the administration of sheep and goats, and as a result, there are many ways of life for shepherds or livestock-owners.²⁸⁾ But laying aside differences in detail, two fundamental ways of livestock administration can be distinguished. One is the semi-nomadic way of transhumant shepherds or ranchers, and the other is the settled livestock-owner's way of tending their flocks at one place throughout the year. Most of the sheep and goats in Greece (85 per cent according to data from several decades ago and

now probably less than that) are raised in the former way of administration.²⁹⁾ Of course, this semi-nomadic way itself is subject to wide variations. Some Vlachs in northern Greece regularly move back and forth between a summer pseudo-alpine pasture and a winter lowland grazing place, owning neither land nor permanent dwellings at the summer nor the winter camp.³⁰⁾ Other sorts of shepherds have home settlements and permanent dwellings in mountain villages and use communally-owned village land as summer pasture, but drive their flocks down into the plains which they rent from private men, other communities, or the state and tend their animals there during the rainy winter months.³¹⁾ The third arrangement is the case of livestock-owners who live in villages on the plain and own winter pasture for their flocks, but send them to mountain pasture in the summer with shepherds hired cooperatively or individually. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of sheep and goats (about 15 per cent in the data mentioned above) are raised by settled inhabitants of plains villages. They are mainly farmers, and therefore their sheep and goats are put together into one flock and grazed by one or two shepherds of the village, who take them out of the agricultural field area to the pasture in the morning and bring them back to the village in the evening.³²⁾

The stockbreeding of Filoti obviously belongs to the settled type of animal administration. On large islands with similar conditions to continental Greece, such as Crete and Euboea, one can find small-scale transhumance.³³⁾ But on Naxos Island the environment does not force the shepherds to practice this kind of livestock administration. The livestock-owners of Filoti are settled villagers, but they are shepherds rather than farmers. They are not essentially farmers who are engaged in farming and at the same time own a number of small animals. Neither are they shepherds hired to tend a combined flock of the village farmers' sheep and goats. They possess their own flocks that are often large enough to support their families, and they tend their animals for themselves all the year round. They are literally village-settled shepherds.

Every shepherd of Filoti has a home in the settlement and his place of work in the "exohi." His pasture land often lies at a distance of 3–4 hours from the settlement, and in such cases, he can hardly afford to go there and come back home every day. So he has another simple stone-built cottage in the "exohi." This cottage, usually called a "mitato", is part of a small homestead enclosed with a low stone fence and equipped with the installations necessary for livestock breeding. This homestead as a whole is called a "mandra", and is the base of the daily pursuits for the shepherds. He grazes his animal on the communally-owned pasture land near this base. But his "mandra" itself is placed on his own land. He works three days a week, typically, tending his flock there, and then comes back home to spend the other half of the week with his wife and little children, leaving his animals under the care of his son or brother or cousin. If a shepherd household has only one man, he must stay there all the time. Therefore, a few households or families may manage their flocks jointly.

Now, let's examine the case of three shepherd brothers with whom I got acquainted during my stay in Filoti. All of them, B (50 years old), S (48 years old) and D (41 years old) were born in Filoti. Their father was also a shepherd

and their only sister married a shepherd of Filoti. Two sons of B likewise became shepherds. The houses of these three brothers in the settlement are all part of their wives' dowries. Their father's house was dowered at their sister's marriage. They inherited jointly their father's estate of 500 stremmata that is located at a three hours' distance from the settlement. There they have a "mandra" equipped with a cottage and a large "dexameni" (reservoir) for sheep and goats.³¹ About 300 olive trees are also planted there. The three households of brothers use this estate jointly and equally. According to B, they own 500 sheep and goats in common. (But for the purpose of computing the pasturing tax, 200 animals belong to the household of B, 205 to S, and 100 to D.) They tend their flocks by turn, produce meat and cheese jointly and divide the products equally. The amount of cheese produced per household varies from 500 to 700 kg a year. They also produce meat and wool, which are sold to dealers from Athens or Naxos city. They use a communally-owned plot of land of 1,000 stremmata near their "mandra", and pay about 3,000 drachmes per year for pasturing tax. They also privately lease a field of 100 stremmata for growing fodder from another villager, paying rent of 1,000 drachmes a year.

On the islands, the breeding season of sheep and goats begins in October and continues until January. During these months they repair the "mandra" and take care of breeding. In January and February, they slaughter newly-born lambs and kids and sell them to dealers. The busiest season for the shepherds of Filoti is the cheese-making time that begins in February and lasts until September. But cheese-making is done most intensively in February, March and April. During this period, shepherds are so busy that they cannot come back home to the settlement for two or three months at a time and just stay in their "mitato". Every morning, the three brothers milk their own animals and then put milk together into a large cauldron called a "kazani" to make the curds for cheese. Thus, cheese is produced collaboratively and is divided equally among them. In seasons when daily work in the "exohi" is not so hard, they take turns tending their animals for a few days at a time, and then return home.

They are typical shepherds of Filoti in that they have about 160 heads of animals per household. Since they have also some olive trees on the land inherited jointly from their father, they are, indeed, "georgopoini". But their working days are mostly filled with the tasks of pasturage in the "exohi", and they support their families by their income as shepherds. The communally-owned land makes this possible by supplying them and other members of the community with cheap and extensive grazing lands. They maintain themselves and their families by their rights of membership in the community of Filoti.

Notes

(1) Stanley Aschenbrenner, "A Contemporary Community". In *«The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment.»* Eds. W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp. Minneapolis, 1972. p.47

(2) Besides the compact settlements that are the most common type in Greece, there are also some line-

settlements in the Peloponnesos. I. T. Sanders writes: "In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley" (Irvin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock, The People of Rural Greece*, Cambridge, 1926. p.45.) About the strong attachment of rural Greeks for the compact type of settlement, see also pp.42-44.

(3) Γεωγραφική, διοικητική καί πληθυσμιακή εξέλιξις τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1821-1971 (ὑπό Μιχαήλ Χουλιάρακη). Τόμος Γ', Ἀθῆναι, 1976. σ.293.
On the definition of "settlement" in this case, see σσ.149-150, σ.256.

(4) See table 3 and Fig. 1. The village community of Halki includes the following seven settlements: Halki (seat of the village), Akadimoi, Kaloxylas, Rahi, Himarros, Tsikalario, and Keramoti. Every community consisting of two or more settlements has a principal one (edra) from which the community is named.

(5) Γεωγραφική, διοικητική... Τόμος Γ', σ.99. On greek local government and its administration, see H. F. Alderfer, *Facts on Greek Local Government, A Preliminary Outline*. Athens, 1950. pp.1-102.

(6) The area of Filoti's communal district is about 93,000 stremmata. The second largest village, Apiranthos has a area of 68,000 stremmata. See table 4. The population of Filoti was 1,664 in 1961, and 1,475 in 1971. But in 1977 when I stayed there, it was 1,100 or so. The decrease in village population seems to be reflected in the number of schoolchildren; the number of pupils in the elementary school of Filoti has been decreasing for the last ten years as follows:

Year	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Number	235	210	224	218	207	200	194	194	189	174	156

During the six years from 1971 to 1977, the population of Filoti decreased 25 per cent. Naxos Island as a whole is also rapidly losing its population: 20,132 (1940), 18,593 (1951), 16,708 (1961), 14,200 (1971)

(7) On Naxos as well as on other Aegean Islands, old and big villages often are situated in the inner mountain area. The settlements of the largest villages in Naxos, such as Filoti, Apiranthos, Koronos and others are all found on mountain peaks or on mountainsides over 400 metres above sea level. V. Sfyroeras, a historian from the village Apiranthos, explains why Greek villages are often found in the mountain area, and not in the fertile plains: "Most of these villages are not more than three to four centuries old, while others were established in last century, if not more recently. ... Long before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, many Greeks sought refuge and security in areas which were not directly exposed to the dangers of Turkish conquest and subjugation to the Ottoman yoke.... Farmers and artisans, who were psychologically and professionally bound to the soil, were unable to hazard migration to distant places. Thus, their only refuge was those places where the Turkish conquest would not reach immediately, at least. The nuclei of new settlements were thus established in the mountains, which were relatively inaccessible, and these settlements continued to exist for centuries until the last World War. ... The basic presupposition in selection of a place for a new establishment was the securing of conditions for unimpeded living. This included release from (1) the oppression of Turkish authority, (2) from the danger of enslavement and from the devastation wrought by a rabble of irregular soldiers or the incursions of pirates. (V. Sfyroeras, *The Greek Village, Historical Elements in its Evolution*. Athens, 1975. pp.3-6). These explanations of Sfyroeras seems to fit his own native village perfectly. A traveller through the Aegean Islands described the settlement of Apiranthos as follows: "Apiranthos is a large village of romantic aspect, with houses built on the edges of precipices, and above it towers Mount Fanari, another peak of the Naxiate range. The houses are, for the most part, yellow with a peculiar lichen. The streets are tortuous and narrow, so constituted that when pirates came the inhabitants could baffle anyone who attempted to enter their labyrinths." (J. T. Bent, *Aegean Islands, the Cyclades or Life among the Insular Greeks*. New and enlarged edition. Chicago reprint. 1966. p.358).

(8) *Economic and Social Atlas of Greece*, published by three institutions: the Center of Economic Research, the National Statistical Service of Greece, and the Social Sciences Centre of Athens. Athens, 1964. See Commentary 319.

(9) *Ibid.*, table 319, 301.

(10) H. F. Alderfer, *Facts on Greek Local Government*, p.74-75.

(11) But it is known that the village of Filoti with its periphery was owned by the French Consul at Naxos from 1801 to the time of the War of Independence. See Τουριστική έρευνα Νάξου, Ἀθῆναι, 1969, σ.30.

(12) Γ.Μ.Μελλισσηνοῦ, Ἡ Νάξος σέ ἀπλη γεωγραφική, ιστορική καί γεωλογική έπισκοπήσι, Νάξος, 1968, σ.199.

(13) I. T. Sanders, *op. cit.*, pp.63-65.

(14) According to Sfyroeras, there are two different opinions among Greek scholars regarding the historical origins of the communal institution of modern Greece: "Either the communities are a protraction of the «ancient autonomous city-state» adapted to new circumstances... or it constitutes the continuation of communal units of the Byzantine era and are a «creation of need and result of indolence and administrative adequacy of the conqueror»". (V. Sfyroeras, *op. cit.*, p.9.)

(15) Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821-1833*. London, 1973. pp.16-21; V. Sfyroeras, *op. cit.*, pp.8-13; A. E. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia, 1354-1883*. Thessalonica, 1973. pp.545-561. For instance, a French traveller, A. F. Didot, wrote about the local self-government of Chios

Island under Turkish rule: "The Greeks there have almost complete self-government, and the form of their administration is a sort of aristocracy. Every year, «four old men of the people» (dimogerontes) are chosen from the richest and most distinguished class. They give account at the end of each year of their administration which is unpaid, and, in relinquishing their annual charge, each one of them designates his successor. These are the people who regulate matters, judge the differences that have risen between Greeks, and even Greeks and Turks. Sometimes the Turks themselves choose this kind of high court, in which the notables sit, to judge their own differences. They can, it is true, appeal to Ottoman justice, but then the demogerontes no longer wish to receive their complaints, and put them in a way outside the law..." (*The Movement for Greek Independence, A Collection of Documents*. Edited and translated by R. Clogg. London, 1976. pp.13-14.)

(16) Γ.Μ.Μελλιτσσηνοῦ, Ἡ Νάξος, σ.199. V. Sfyroeras, op. cit., p.10.

(17) H. F. Aldelfer, op. cit., p.3; I. T. Sanders, op. cit., p.220.

(18) At that time, Naxos Eparchie included the islands of Naxos, Paros, Antiparos and several islets in their vicinity and was divided into 10 demes in all, but Naxos Island itself covered only the 5 demes given above. see Γεωγραφική, διοικητική... Τόμος Α', Μέρος Ι, Ἀθήναι, 1973, σσ.107, 122.

(19) Γεωγραφική, διοικητική... Τόμος Γ', σσ.122, 150. see also Τόμος Α', Μέρος ΙΙ, Ἀθήναι, 1974, σσ.9, 18, 27, 36, 46, 88, 154, 223, 313. The population of the village of Filoti was second largest after Apiranthos in the last century.

	1879	1889	1896	1907
Filoti Village	1,541	1,570	1,753	1,796
Deme of Tragea	4,100	4,064	4,431	4,661
Apiranthos Village	1,816	1,833	1,982	2,195
Deme of Apiranthos	1,984	1,988	2,145	2,421

(20) Γεωγραφική, διοικητική... Τόμος Α', Μέρος Ι, σ.100. H. F. Alderfer, op. cit., p.5.

(21) Γεωγραφική, διοικητική... Τόμος Β', 1975, σσ.1-47. At that time, Naxos Eparchie still included Paros, Antiparos and other islets. This eparchie was divided into 22 village communities without any municipalities. And Naxos Island was covered by the following 16 village communities; Naxos (4), Agersani (1), Apiranthos (3), Vivlos (3), Damarionas (3), Engares (2), Kinidaros (3), Koronidos (3), Vothri (2), Melanes (2), Moni (2), Potamia (1), Sangri (1), Skado (1), Filoti (1), and Halki (8). (The numbers in parentheses indicate settlements constituting each of the village communities). In Naxos there were 37 settlements and 6 one-settlement communities in the early years of this century.

(22) Every Greek village has its own square as a political, economical, social and traffic center of the village, though it is called variously from place to place (plateia, agora, kendro and so on). As for the social functions of this village square, see, I. T. Sanders, op. cit., pp. 37-42; E. Friedl, Vasiliika, *A village in Modern Greece*. New York, 1962. p.12.

(23) The title on the cover of this book is as follows: "Κοινότης Φιλιοτιοῦ, Βιβλίον κτηματολογίου καταρτισθέντος ἔτους 1939"

(24) The numbers of animals in Filoti and on Naxos Island are as follows:

	Goats	Sheep	Cattle	Mules	Donkeys	Pigs
Filoti	11,100	7,100	6	197	120	320
Naxos	32,000	25,000	2,220	1,800	1,075	3,500

(25) Regarding this semi-nomadic way of life, see the exhaustive study on the shepherds of Zagori by J. K. Campbell: *Honour, Family and Patronage, A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. New York and Oxford. 1964. See also J. K. Campbell, "The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community" in «Mediterranean Countrymen.» edited by J. Pitt-Rivers. Paris, 1963. and see also I. T. Sanders, op. cit., pp.105-118.

(26) In the past, before special legislation respecting this tax was passed, use of communally-owned pasture land was free. H. F. Alderfer, op. cit., p.76.

(27) Answering our question, the proedros of Filoti ranked the sources of village income in order of importance: (1) production of cheese and meat, (2) production of olive-oil, (3) remittance from kinsmen living in Athens or other places (some 3,000 men and women from Filoti live in Athens as laborers, clerks, merchants and so on). (4) annuity and pensions, (5) wages.

(28) I. T. Sanders writes that there are three different systems of sheep management in Greece. (1) The first is that used by the Vlachs, a mountain nomadic group. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church or the state. They graze their flocks in the plains during the winter, and then drive their herds into the mountains as spring and summer advance. (2) The second is that practiced by the village ranchers who own land in the plains. They graze their flocks there in winter and send them to the mountains in summer. (3) The third is the type connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers keep their

sheep and goats on the plains throughout the year. Their animals are usually combined under the care of shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops (I. T. Sanders, *op. cit.*, p.98). But the first and the second ways of livestock management are same with respect to the practice of transhumance.

(29) *Ibid.*, p.98. According to this author, 70 per cent of all sheep and goats in Greece are raised by the second way of management given above in note 28 and 15 per cent by the first way.

(30) But the Greek Vlachs of Zagori, the Sarakatsani, for instance, since 1938 have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their summer pasture. In the winter they move down from the mountains to the coastal plains. Here many shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at a great cost. See J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, pp.7-8.

(31) One example is the case of shepherds of the Peloponnesos observed by Sanders. See I. T. Sanders, *op. cit.*, pp.99-105.

(32) In northern Greece, including Macedonia and Thrace, the majority of sheep and goats are semi-nomadic. The size of the flocks ranges from 10 to more than 400. Some of the large livestockowners possess more than 2,000 sheep and goats. But in some villages, the sheep and goats of farmers are tended by a few shepherds who take them to the pasture in the morning and bring them back to the village in the evening for milking. See P. P. Vouras, *The Changing Economy of Northern Greece since World War II*. Thessalonica, 1962. pp.119-121. See also the case of Vasilika, E. Friedl, *op. cit.*, pp.30-31.

(33) J. K. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p.1: L. G. Albaugh, *Crete, A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area*. Princeton, 1953. p.279. On the distribution of transhumance in the Mediterranean area, see the map of Elli Müller (F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. English Edition. Vol. 1. New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London, 1972. p.98).

(34) This "dexameni" belonging to the brothers is made of concrete and is fairly large, the length, width, and depth of which are 15, 4, and 3.3 meters.