



GREEK MOUNTAIN VILLAGES: PLACES OF REFUGE IN AN UNCERTAIN WORLD

Barbara Hutton and Edmund Horan

RMIT University, Australia

Since World War 2 in Europe, village populations have generally declined. In Greece, ancient towns and villages built as refuges in turbulent times have lost population. The high-altitude mountain villages in Greek Macedonia, originally built to escape invaders, also became refuges in World War 2. Presently, any current-day tourist visiting the area would wonder about the decline of these picturesque villages, unaware of their brutal past. In the Peloponnese, Monemvasia, once a thriving wine-exporting city of 40,000 people fell into ruins after wine production was suppressed under Islamic rule. Barely-visible terraces, over-grazed by goats, are now barren. The country bears environmental scars of centuries of hardship. Since the global Financial Crisis, Greek welfare payments have been slashed, while in 2013 60% of workers under 24 were unemployed. However, loyalty to the villages continues. Every winter Greeks descend on the villages to take part in traditional activities coming back to Greece from places as far away as Australia, to harvest olives and renew family ties. Greeks are renewing their subsistence agriculture. Despite current hardships, a village resurgence may result.

Keywords: Sustainable development, Rural decline, Revitalisation.

Introduction

Europe has seen a vast migration over 100 years from villages to cities or even distant countries such as Australia and the USA. This self-sufficient way of life and social networks are at risk of disappearing. Yet in Greece as in other parts of Europe, loyalty to the village-based culture is strong despite the financial imperative to work elsewhere.

Every year in the villages, Greeks congregate from the cities and sometimes from places as far away as Australia, to harvest the olives and celebrate family ties. What is the pull of the village? For tourists, the villages are picturesque. For the Greeks they represent something more: they have been a refuge during hundreds of years of struggle to survive, hence the passionate loyalty which draws people back. Now following the Global Financial Crisis, unemployment in Greece is high. With no-one to turn to, they are again forced back onto their own resources to subsist in the Greek landscape.

Many inaccessible villages in Greece, Italy, Macedonia and other countries were built in Medieval times or earlier, in the “Dark Ages” after the fall of the Roman empire, on mountain crags or lakes as refuges against waves of invaders and raiders seeking slaves.

Originally constrained by the city walls, they are densely built, some with dwellings leaning out over narrow cobbled streets. Some are now tourist destinations; in others, old stone houses are abandoned and crumbling. For city workers raised in the villages, just as for affluent Western tourists, it is tragic to see these ancient villages decline. But tourists rarely know of the history of brutality and poverty behind the

picturesque facade; the hardship that made people leave their traditional villages, and the attachment that pulls them back. The recent wartime history of Greece does not gain much attention. Ancient Greek temples are preserved but little recognition is set up in remembrance of those who fought for freedom from the Ottoman Turkish Empire, the carnage and famine during World War 2, or the subsequent Greek civil war.

This paper examines the history of these settlements in Greece, looking at the history of warfare, invasion and foreign rule and its impact on the village people, their lives, economic survival and the surrounding environment. Finally, it considers the contemporary situation, where Greece as a member of the European Union has again effectively lost control of the economic decision-making in its region. Now in 2017, with 44% youth unemployment, high taxation and limited social security, many Greeks must contemplate a return to a subsistence economy.

Economic, Social and Environmental Impacts of Invasion, War and Foreign Rule

The environment and ecology of Greece and other countries of the Mediterranean rim show the scars of centuries of conflict and foreign rule. Slopes and terraces once wooded or covered in vines are now stony and barren, eroded by overgrazing.

In this paper towns or villages are investigated, to show the impact of historical turbulence on the people, ecology and landscape.

For example, the mountain villages surrounding Grevena in northern Greece (part of Macedonia in World War 2) are considered. The villages were built in medieval times as a refuge against foreign invaders, particularly the Ottomans, and used again for the same purpose during World War 2. Wars, invasions and attacks by slavers have caused massive destruction in the coastal cities of Greece and other Mediterranean countries since ancient times. However, these remote and picturesque mountain villages were created by these upheavals. Without war and invasion, the walled mountains towns might never have been built: shepherds might have grazed their flocks in the high country in summer, staying in huts or caves, but no further development may have occurred.

While the villages and their subsistence crafts have survived, the Grevena district has one of the highest rates of population decline in Greece. In 2006, there were 225 births but only 37 occurred in rural areas. There were 393 deaths, 255 in rural areas, so the death rate in rural areas was about seven times the birth rate (Kede 2010). The villagers still practice traditional organic subsistence farming. Eco-tourism is starting to be popular and this could bring revenue into the villagers, encouraging young people to remain there.

The population of these inaccessible villages is now in decline. Arguably, this is partly because there is no war. These refuges have served their purpose: there is little reason, in peace time, to endure the isolation and hardship of a subsistence life on mountains that are snowbound in winter. The environment however remains beautiful and pristine. Eco-tourism may be a source of future income, pointing to long term survival of these village communities. These concepts of rural decline have been developed in Tozzi, L., Horan, E. (2012), Goulding, R., Horan, E., and Tozzi, L. (2013), and Goulding, R., Horan, E. and Tozzi, T. (2014).

Another example, Monemvasia on the Peloponnese coast illustrates the impact of an earlier invasion. Built as a refuge against invading tribes in the 5th century, it held out against Arab invaders, becoming a centre of Christian culture and a thriving wine growing area. It exported the strong, sweet Malmsey wine referred to in Shakespeare's "Richard the Third". At its peak it had a population of 40,000 to 50,000 people and forty churches, but fell under Venetian domination and was sold to the Ottoman Empire in 1715. Wine was forbidden under Islam, and the wine trade suppressed. Monemvasia declined from a trading city, exporting silks, purple leather, honey, wine and oil, to a subsistence economy. By 1770 only 150 Greek families lived in Monemvasia, and the last resident moved down from the fortress in 1911.

Monemvasia is fortunate in having records (Klaus and Steinmuller, 1980) of its exports over the centuries. As well as olive oil these initially included furs, timber, animals and grain; later they included

luxury craft items and Malmsey wine; and finally goats' cheese, maize and onions. These records tell the story of a changing environment: once wooded with wild animals and clearings for vines, grain and olive groves; later intensively terraced to produce wine and olive oil for export, while a large urban population produced crafts; finally, only a few vegetables and goat herding. By the 20th Century the terraces were eroded and strewn with bleached stones.

Other factors causing hardship are the financial crises and recession which have occurred in Greece and Cyprus since the fallout from the GFC subsequent to Greece joining the European Economic Union are examined. In Northern Europe and the western world these problems are often characterised as self-created: The Greeks are accused by some of asking for financial bail-outs when their problems were caused by laziness or tax evasion. But the current crisis cannot be understood without an awareness of the recent history of Europe. For many in Greece, the enmities and alliances of World War 2 are being played out again in the current crisis.

The European Union and central banks organised the bail-out of the Greek banking sector but severe Greek government spending cuts were imposed. Germany, one of the major EU powers, played a central role in this. In 2013, with 27% unemployment and more than 60% of the workforce aged under 24 out of work, with increased taxes and lower welfare payments, many Greeks were plunged into poverty. Some Greeks point to the contrast with the aid and bail-outs which Germany received after World War 2: the Marshall plan and debt forgiveness.

The current economic problems have reduced the incentive for young Greeks to leave the villages in search of work in the cities. Some Greeks have returned to the villages to undertake agricultural enterprises. The current financial crisis will put economic pressure on Greek society at all levels, but could be linked to a self-sufficient village revival movement.

The Mountain Villages of Greek Macedonia – World War 2

Many European villages and towns were originally built on remote islands, rocks, mountains or in lakes, as a place of refuge in times of invasion and war. People could flee at short notice to hide in caves, forests or mountains. This has happened many times during the course of history. A similar history led to the settlement of Venice, built out on islands in a lake in the 5th Century as a refuge against invading tribes. Other defensive villages were built in the Middle Ages around Grevena, in mountains near Thessaloniki. The name Grevena itself dates from the 10th Century, but many villages date from 14th and 15th Centuries when the Christian populace moved up into the hills to escape Ottoman invaders.

Grevena is now in Greece but during World War 2 it belonged to Macedonia. The high mountain villages were used as hiding places as recently as 1941 to 1945, when Macedonia and Greece were occupied by the Axis powers including Bulgaria and Nazi Germany. Food and fuel was requisitioned, and villagers punished for evading forced labour, or for supporting the Resistance movement. Crete, and the area near Thessaloniki suffered heavy reprisals for resisting the Axis powers.

Greece is estimated to have suffered some 300,000 deaths during the Axis occupation as a result of famine and malnutrition (Gildea et al 2006), particularly in the Great Famine of the winter of 1941 to 1942, before Red Cross aid was permitted. Famine continued in some islands and rural areas to 1945.

Monemvasia: A Historic Model for the Impoverishment of Greece

The Medieval town of Monemvasia was built on a towering off-shore rock, 100 meters high and 1.8 km long, rising sheer above the Peloponnese coast of southern Greece. A narrow walled Medieval road zig-zags up an almost sheer cliff to Monemvasia's rock, overlooked by battlements: anyone attempting to force an entry to the fortress would have been showered with stones. This was the *mone* (one) *emvasia* (entrance) for which Monemvasia was named. Established in about 583 AD as a refuge from invasion, its history sheds light on the fate of many once magnificent Mediterranean cities that have dwindled to small villages.

The history is given in Klaus and Steinmuller (1985) *Monemvasia, The Town and Its History*. Athens and Sparta were ravaged by Goths in the 4th Century; further waves of invasion drove the population of a nearby coastal town, Epidauros Limera, up to the rock.

“The flight of the Greeks to Monemvasia can be compared to the flight of the northern Italians to the lagoons of Venetia, or to (those) of the Dalmatian coast to the reefs of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). In each case the threat of barbarian attack led to the establishment of new settlements,” Klaus and Steinmuller comment. For centuries, pirates and slavers dominated the sea. “The Arabs conquered Crete and Sicily, and forced the residents of Greek coastal cities to withdraw to inaccessible mountainous areas, in order to protect their property from pillaging and their families from slavery. In Western Europe, armies of Arabs advanced through Spain into southern France; in Greece they sacked and destroyed even well-fortified cities like Thessalonica. Monemvasia however did not share this fate. The intense assault of the Arabian pirates could not overcome the invincible walls of the city.” This history is based on the medieval *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (Charanis, 1950). In 746 Monemvasia was described as the most important city on the East coast of the Peloponnese. It remained strategic: in World War 2, when the British army withdrew to Crete, a German garrison quickly replaced the English on the rock fortress.

The rock withstood Norman invasion in 1147 but “crusaders”, Frankish knights, conquered the surrounding territory. The free citizens of Monemvasia were surrounded by lands worked by feudal serfs. Loyal villages, however, supplied Monemvasia with food, and its merchants exported heavy sweet Malmsey wine. At its peak Monemvasia had 40,000 to 50,000 people; 40 churches; schools and libraries. It was linked with the religious centre of Mistra, whose jagged ruins still dominate the hillside above Sparta. But during the 15th and 16th Centuries Greece gradually fell to the Ottoman (Turkish) empire.

Monemvasia surrendered to the Turks in 1540. It was recaptured by Venice in 1691. By then, the countryside was depopulated. Some Greek families who had fled to the Aegean islands returned. Venetian-style churches and palaces were built. But Monemvasia, was forced to trade only through Venice - its currency, the sequin, eventually became worthless. Venice sold the city to the Ottomans in 1715. It was not liberated until 1821.

Alcohol is forbidden under Islam and so the wine trade ended and the terraced vineyards languished. By 1770 only about 150 Greek families still lived in Monemvasia; in 1911 the last resident who lived on top of the rock moved down. Klaus and Steinmuller conclude, “Only during the two months of the tourist season, when the restaurants and cafes of Yephira overflow with the colourful crowds of international tourists, and when the new, foreign owners of the patrician houses and palaces moor their yachts in the bay, can we forget that we are in a sleepy, nearly forgotten town, seemingly at the end of the world.



Yephira and Monemvasia today (Photo: Yanni Tours)

By 1987 the high plateau was an expanse of ruined barrel-vaulted brick houses and the arches of crumbling churches. A causeway had been built to join Monemvasia to the mainland.

In the Byzantine period Monemvasia's merchants were recorded as trading sweet wine, grain, straw, wood, leather, furs, cloth, woollen material, linseed, salted fish and meat, and various animals. The picture emerges of a forested countryside with wild animals, vineyards, fields and flocks. Gradually the forests were cut down. Under the Venetians, the main trade items were again wine, with olive oil, raisins, grain, silk, cotton, wax and cordovan (leather dyed purplish-red). These items suggest olive groves, vineyards, beehives, mulberry trees to feed silkworms, and skilled tradespeople making luxury export goods. A rich red-purple dye known as Tyrian purple, extracted from the Mediterranean Sea-snail *Murex*, was a symbol of high rank in ancient and Byzantine times: it was probably used for the red leather, and for the only item still traded under Ottoman rule (when merchants were permitted to export only to Alexandria) - dark red Turkish fezzes.

The concept of exporting wood or furs from the bare southern coast of Greece now seems bizarre. Even under Ottoman rule there was not enough timber to build the upper storey of houses in wood as was customary in Turkey: in Monemvasia, stone was used instead. In the 1800s, only grain, olive oil, maize, onions and cheese were still traded. Some villagers made a living sewing trousers (Klaus and Steinmuller, 1985). The sophisticated city of craftsmen and traders had gone, replaced by the simple, austere, subsistence economy now associated with Greek villages: goats and a few donkeys grazing on rocky slopes; meals of flat bread, olives, goats' cheese, pickled octopus, onions and wild herbs.

The Environmental Cost of Conquest

Why the loss of topsoil and trees? Why the population decline? In the sieges aimed at starving out the populace of Monemvasia, olive trees were probably burnt. Heavy taxes on villages and even on individual trees and beehives under Ottoman rule, and curtailment of the lucrative luxury trade also took a toll. Loss of the wine trade was probably the main cause of the city's decline. The terraces, stripped of vines, were overgrazed by goats, causing erosion. Bare rocky ground replaced vines and trees.

Similar erosion has occurred in Turkey itself. It also lost its ancient vineyards when Islamic rulers overcame the Greek Christians. Much of its land is now too badly eroded to be farmed; old terraces lie abandoned. The soil is overgrazed by 25 million goats (Yamanlar 2012). Many areas once or currently under Islamic rule are similarly eroded, partly due to subsistence herding of goats or camels, in Southern Spain, Greece, Sicily, Northern Africa, Syria, Israel, the Palestinian territory, Jordan, Iraq, and Arabia.

Rhett Butler, an activist on deforestation issues commented on Ottoman rule in Syria, "The Syrian economy did not flourish under the Ottomans. The population decreased by nearly 30 percent, and hundreds of villages virtually disappeared into the desert. At the end of the eighteenth century only one-eighth of the villages formerly on the register of the Aleppo pashalik (domain of a pasha) were still inhabited." (Butler, 1987).

One explanation put forward was the system of land tenure under Islamic imperial rule. The Arabic *iqṭā'* system was established in the 9th century. To pay the Islamic armies, conquered fields and villages were allocated to the warriors. They did not own the villages and their sons did not inherit them (unless they too fought for the Caliph). This continued under the Ottoman Empire. When money was needed to pay for a modern army, revenue collectors were allowed to extract as much as they could from the villagers, passing on a portion to the Caliphate. No one had a real incentive to conserve the soil. There was no security of land tenure. No surplus was ploughed back into the farm. As taxes rose to pay for wars with the European powers in the 18th and 19th centuries, peasants abandoned their farms. Whole areas were depopulated (Inalcik 1994, Encyclopedia Britannica).

To luxury hotel owners and tour operators, erosion and depopulation do not matter: tourists are happy with the sun, sea and Classical ruins. Piers Blaikie concluded in his book, *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries* (1985) that soil erosion in less developed countries will not be substantially reduced unless it seriously threatens the wealth of dominant classes. That applies to much of the Middle East, Mediterranean shore and Greece, which was for many centuries ruled by Arab, Frankish, Norman or Ottoman overlords. Greece suffered again in World War 2 and had nothing like a Marshall Plan to rebuild its economy.

The Call of the Village

The tribulations of Greeks did not end with the Nazi invasion and Great Famine. A civil war between Communists, and supporters of the King, backed by Western powers followed. Communist fighters massacred villagers. Communists were also killed during the Civil War. Then in 1967–1974, a Greek military junta seized power, suspending civil liberties, torturing and exiling dissidents. Many Greeks migrated to Australia during this period: the Australian city of Melbourne claims to have up to 300,000 people of Greek origin, making it the third biggest Greek urban population in the world, after Thessaloniki.

The annual olive harvest, in the Greek winter (the tourist off-season), is a time of family reunion when Greeks from Athens and other cities world-wide reassemble in the village to harvest and crush the olives, bottle the oil, eat hearty meals and renew acquaintances with family members.

The fact that people are prepared to return in this manner indicates the strength of their attachment to the ancestral village, whether they live in densely-packed high-rise apartments in Athens or the suburbs of Australia. It indicates the loyalty to a particular village for people living in metropolises of millions of people. Support for the ancestral region is seen in the food they buy. Kalamata olives and Lemnos cheese are labelled by name in many Melbourne supermarkets.

The European Debt Crisis, A New Time of Hardship

Greece joined the Eurozone in 2001. At first Gross National Product (GNP) boomed, along with tourism and petrol imports. But was this increased GNP measuring solid economic growth? Debt was cheap. The government used deficit spending to finance new pensions and government jobs, which masked the underlying lack of industrial growth. Unemployment was 12%, even then. Fuel import dependence was draining the financial reserves of several European nations including Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain (known as the PIGS nations) but especially Greece, whose main sources of income were tourism and shipping, both dependent on imported fuel oil. Greece used fuel oil for some electricity generation and much more for transport between the islands. It imported almost 70% of its fuel compared to less than 25% for the UK. Cyprus was particularly at risk. In 2009 Cyprus and Malta were 100% dependent on imports for their fuel, all of it fuel oil. (EU 2010, 2011).

Two economic problems arose in 2008: the price of oil doubled between June 2007 and June 2008, and international bankers Lehmann Brothers collapsed, triggering the Global Financial Crisis. A sharp downturn in tourism led to lower Greek tax receipts, and investors lost confidence in countries with unsustainable debt. Greece had a high debt to GDP ratio, high dependence on imported fuel, and had defaulted on its national debt in the past, so nervous investors withdrew credit. The yields on two-year Greek Government bonds, traded on the secondary market, skyrocketed from 4% in 2009 to 10% in 2010, and 177% (Bloomberg, 03/12/2012.)

The Greek Government could not service its accumulated debt. It was forced to seek assistance from the European Central Bank, IMF, and EU. A €110 billion bail-out was arranged in 2010 but the Greek

government was required to make severe cut-backs in government spending, employment and pensions, and increase taxes. These measures exacerbated the recession. The debt spiral continued. In spite of the cutbacks in Government spending (or, some would say, because of them) the ratio of debt to GDP was soon worse than ever. When the crisis began, Greek debt had risen beyond the limit set by the European Union of 60% debt to GNP. In 2011, with lower GNP and more unemployment, the ratio of Government debt to GNP was 171% (Eurostat 2012).

By February 2013 more than 60% of the workforce aged under 24 and about 27% of workers overall were unemployed, as Greece entered the sixth year of recession. Social security and pensions had been slashed and unemployment benefits withdrawn after one year. Only 3.6million Greeks remained in work, of a population of 11.3 million, many in poverty (Eurostat Jan 2013; Metro.co.uk 14 Feb 2014; World Bank 25.3.2013).

For Greeks in the village there is now little reason to migrate to cities– the jobs and social security are not there, and it is virtually impossible to grow food in a densely-built Greek city. The apartments do not generally have gardens for producing the basic produce for subsistence.

But in reality the economic problems of Europe run deeper than antagonism between Greeks, Germans, Cypriots and Russians. Europe has structural problems. Throughout Europe, industry is undercut by cheaper Chinese manufactures and a declining population is reducing demand. Germany, with a fertility rate of 1.45 children per fertile woman, expects a reduction of 20 million in population by 2060. In Greece, the fertility rate was 1.33 in 2015, implying a severe future population decline. The average fertility rate for the whole of the European Union is only 1.58 per fertile woman. The population is ageing. Retired people contribute little to demand as they generally already have dwellings, furniture, electrical goods et cetera; nor do they contribute much to production.

Our growth-oriented capitalist economic model is based on an assumption of constantly increasing production, sales, and profits. This requires a growing market for the goods. It is pointless to hire employees if demand for their produce is shrinking; to invest in shares if share prices do not rise, or to lend money for new enterprises at return of 1% per annum. Governments cannot employ new public servants if there is no new enterprise to tax. The concept of paid employment itself is under threat. Europe is stepping into a new paradigm: not a growth economy, but an economy of contraction.

In this new paradigm the emphasis is once again on subsistence survival. Europeans can no longer rely on big employers or Governments to provide jobs, cheap fuel, housing and services. Once again there is a need to learn self-sufficiency. The ageing of village populations does not necessarily mean the villages are dying. Young people move to cities for a higher education, to find a spouse, and to educate their own children. But the village is a place to settle down to the serious business of life - working the ancestral lands or bringing abandoned land back to cultivation.

The economic decline in Greece could put further pressure on remote mountains and island villages. On the other hand, it could reverse the migration to the cities. Olive trees provide oil, olives, cash income and wood for fuel. Vines provides wine, fruit, raisins and vinegar. Both require minimal land. Vinegar, herbs, garlic and oil can preserve and transform foods – vegetables, octopus, sardines - into valuable delicacies. Unlike other industries, the agricultural sector has been growing in recent years. Villages have a tourist appeal lacking in the cities. So the village is a refuge in times of economic crisis as well as war.

Will this village revival create lasting change? Some change is apparent in the landscape. This can be seen from satellite images. For example, satellite image of Velies, an area that once supplied Monemvasia with food and wine, reveals lines of dark dots forming complex patterns. Big dots are mature trees. Neat little dots in straight lines are new plantings of young olive trees. Hundreds of thousands of small dots in the countryside and along the coast testify to the resurgence of Greek agriculture. Grape vines have again been planted in the agricultural heartland of the Monemvasia district.

Source: Google Maps.



Satellite photos of partly terraced countryside near Velies, one of the villages that supplied Monemvasia in medieval times. Small black dots show new plantings of olive trees. Large dots are mature trees. Fine lines are grape vines.

References

1. Blaikie, Piers, 1985, *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries*, Longman.
2. Bloomberg, 03/12/2012. <http://www.bloomberg.com/quote/GGGB2YR:IND>
3. Charanis, Peter (1950). *The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece*. 5. Washington, District of Columbia: Dumbarton Oak Papers. pp. 139–166
4. Butler, R, 1987 *Syria-Ottoman Empire* www.mongabay.com/history/syria/syria-ottoman_empire.html viewed 3 April, 2013, (this website publishes deforestation statistics for countries of the world)
5. EU 2010, File: Energy dependency rate - all products, 2010 (% of net imports in gross inland consumption and bunkers, based on tonnes of oil equivalent).png
6. EU 2011, Directorate-General for Energy market Observatory Key Figures June 2011 http://ec.europa.eu/energy/observatory/countries/doc/key_figures.pdf
7. EUROSTAT 2012. *Macroeconomic Imbalances Procedure Scoreboard Headline Indicators, 1 November 2012* http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/MIP_NOV_2012/EN/MIP_NOV_2012-EN.PDF
8. Goulding, R., Horan, E. and Tozzi, T, 2014, The importance of sustainable tourism in reversing the trend in the economic downturn and population decline of rural communities. PASOS Journal. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural (Rural Tourism Experiences) 12 (3). Special Issue. Junio 2014

9. Goulding, R., Horan, E., and Tozzi, L. 2013 Enhancing the resilience of rural communities through sustainable tourism. A comparison of the socio-economic sustainability of small settlements in Europe and Australia. The Overall Rural Tourism Experience (ORTE) and sustainability local community development. University of Aveiro, Aveiro Portugal 4-7 September, 2013
10. Greek Islands Travel Co. 2012: HardTimes for Greek Island Seagulls. Comments and photo of Audouin's Gull from <http://www.greek-islands-travel.co.uk/greek-lifestyle/hard-times-for-greek-island-seagulls.html>, quoting Greek Ornithological Society at <http://www.ornithologiki.gr>. [Both accessed December 22 2012.]
11. Guardian, December 9 2012 *Greek opposition leader calls for European debt conference*. [accessed December 20 2012].
12. Gildea, Robert; Warring, A.; and Wieviorka, O. (editors), 2006, *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: daily life in occupied Europe* (English ed), published by Berg, Oxford.
13. Harry's Greece Travel Guide website [accessed December 20 2012].
<http://www.greeceathensaegeaninfo.com/h-taxi-greece/taxi-tours-greneva.htm>
14. Hionidou, Violetta 2002. Send Us Either Food or Coffins: The 1941–2 Famine on the Aegean Island of Syros. In Dyson, T; O'Gráda, C, ed. *Famine Demography: Perspectives from the Past and Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.181-203.
15. Hurriyet Daily New (Reuters), June 20 2012. *Germany still owes Greece wartime reparations* [accessed December 20 2012]. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/germany-still-owes-greece-wartime-reparations.aspx?pageID=238&nid=23657>
16. Inalcik, Halil, 1994. *An Economic and Social history of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
17. Italian Institute of Statistics, 2009, *Demography in Figures* [accessed February 14 2011]
http://demo.istat.it/bil2009/index_e.html.
18. KEDE Central Union of Municipalities of Greece *Kallikratis reform law text*, 11 August 2010
http://www.kedke.gr/uploads2010/FEKB129211082010_kallikratis.pdf
19. Klaus, Rainer W and Steinmuller, Ulrich, 1980, *Monemvasia, the Town and its History*. English version by Lawrence P. Buck, published by the authors Rainer and Steinmuller.
20. "Metro" Thursday 14 Feb 2013 <http://metro.co.uk>
21. Nicholson, John, 2009. *A Long Road Home, The Life and Times of Grisha Sklovsky*. Australian Scholarly Publishing (North Melbourne).
22. Tozzi, L., Horan, E. Do Small Settlements Offer a Sustainable Alternative to the Growing Emergence of Megacities? *International Journal of Arts & Sciences* ISSN: 1944-6934 : Volume 05 :: Number 06 (Dec 2012)
23. Williams, Philip 2012. "The Odyssey", *Foreign Correspondent*. Australian Broadcasting Commission.
24. World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org/>.
25. Yamanlar, Orhan, 1962. Soil Erosion Classification in Old Countries and the Result of Nine Years of Erosion Surveys in Turkey, *IAHS Redbooks Publication No. 59*, 1962 pp.214-216. International Association of Hydrology Sciences. Online at *Soil Erosion Classification - IAHS*. [accessed December 28 2012]
<http://iahs.info/redbooks/a059/059024.pdf>
26. Yanni Tours- Photo of Monemvasia [accessed December 20 2012]
<http://www.athenstaxitours.org/2010/01/03/four-4-day-argolis-%E2%80%93sparta-mystras-monemvasia-private-tour>