

# **Pastoral Life**

## **Report of Greece**

By Ifigenia Anastasiadi

MA in Social Anthropology, PhD Candidate

Panteion University, Athens, Greece

December 2011

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Introduction.....                           | 3  |
| 1. Natural and cultural environment.....    | 4  |
| 2. A man – a shepherd.....                  | 4  |
| 2.1 Definition of a pastoral community..... | 5  |
| 3. Pastoral life .....                      | 7  |
| 3.1 Annual life circle .....                | 7  |
| 3.2 Daily life circle.....                  | 7  |
| 4. Pastoral life today.....                 | 8  |
| 4.1 Life in the mountains today.....        | 9  |
| 4.2 The picture today .....                 | 11 |
| 5. Bibliography.....                        | 14 |

## Introduction

It is highly significant that in the heart of Greece a unique place is located: the timeless bucolic archetype, the place where man-pastor lives in harmony with other creatures of the earth, the place of pure love and simple pleasures, the mountainous place with its forests, valleys and waters: the ideal Arcadia, whose name is given to each idyllic scenery or paradise. It is also not a coincidence that in Greece was born this particular literary genre associated with pastoral myths and idealized life, bucolic poetry (Theocritus), which in turn was for centuries a source of philosophical and artistic inspiration for painters, musicians, poets, from Virgil up to the Romantics of the 18th-19th century. These idealizations are suggesting that even since the ancient years people felt that the ideal pastoral life, if ever existed, was already vanished. But they also underline that mountainous and maritime Greece has always been a predominantly stockbreeding, as well as a naval country. Mountain and sea, both literally and as a representation, dominate geography, economy, as well as its mythical-symbolic system.

The mountain in particular has an important place in the national memory and popular imaginary of Greeks: a fundamental part of the world according to Hesiod, the place of residence of the gods in classical antiquity has become shelter and place of residence of outlaw klephts and centre of the autonomous cooperative communities during the Ottoman rule. It was announced as the ark of Hellenism in the national ideology, and later as a symbol of resistance and freedom, as the home of "Free Greece" –the partisans' state- during the German occupation and the subsequent civil war. And, of course, the mountains were always associated with restless nomadic stockbreeders, who themselves were also identified with the charming attributes of freedom and insubordination.

It's not a coincidence that the intractable klephts of the ottoman era and the bandits of the time of the newly established Greek state, who had their lairs in the mountains, came from sheep breeding populations. The restless and marginal shepherds were familiar with the use of arms and knew better than everyone else the paths, the caves and all the passages of craggy mountains. That's why the State argued that in order to combat theft all pastoral communities who flooded Greece until the 20th century had to settle somewhere permanently.

In the modern materialistic era, the ideological use of the mountain, beneath the influence of ecology, utilizes mountain stockbreeding tradition in combination with new forms of development such as winter tourism in ski resorts and mountain shelters or agro-ecotourism in farm hostels, which are often organized by younger members of breeders' families.

## 1. Natural and cultural environment

Summer is a harsh season for stockbreeders around the Mediterranean. The plains are warm and dry, the meadows wither, springs dry up and animals suffer. This seasonal lack of sufficient food and water is common in many areas around the globe and in Greece as well. The typical solution for stockbreeders is to move their flocks in northern or higher and cooler climates where plenty of food and water can be found. And then again, when winter comes covering everything in snow, they are going to move their herds in milder pastures. These same routes have been followed by the animals well before they were domesticated by man.

This adaptation to the environmental coercion has led to the formation of nomadic pastoral communities for which the continual move is vital. In areas with vast plains or steppes, these movements would entail to cover hundreds of kilometers. Greece, on the contrary, has a particular geography given that at an altitude of 1.000 meters, for example, one may encounter weather conditions occurring hundreds of kilometers northwards and thus "horizontal" movements are transformed to "vertical". So, stockbreeders of Thessaly or Eastern Macedonia carrying their flock to a 2.000 meters height peak of Pindos are spared a course of nearly 600 km. The same applies for stock farmers in Italy, France, Spain, Algeria, since transhumance, namely the seasonal movement of flocks, is a key feature of all the Mediterranean area.

## 2. A man – a shepherd

Although Greece is a rather small country, it has extreme differences and contrasts in its geomorphology: from concrete mountain ranges in the mainland to small scattered isolated islands in the sea. In this environment we can distinguish different categories of "Mediterranean nomadism". The simplest form of stockbreeding, which is also combined with agriculture, is the maintenance of small herds and the transhumance over short distances only for the animals and those necessary to guard the flocks, while families stay in the village<sup>1</sup>. Another category is the case of "semi-nomads": they have a fixed point of reference, usually a mountain village where families live during the summer and which they consider as their homeland. In winter, stockbreeders, accompanied by their families, emigrate in lower pastures. The "semi-nomadic" stockbreeding community is scattered into several smaller groups wintering in different pastures. Finally, there is the case of "real nomads" who have no permanent place to stay neither during winter nor during summer, but they are on the move all year round in order to find pastures to graze their flocks.

---

<sup>1</sup> We use the so-called "historical" present tense even for phenomena which, as we note in the text, have changed over the years.

The first of these categories still survives throughout Greece, even on the islands. In this category of stock farming only men are mobilized, while women are involved in other production tasks (milking and cheese-making). Seasonal movements are towards the hills and mountains close to the place of residence, although sometimes moves require multi-day courses, particularly in Crete.

In the category of “semi-nomads” mainly belong Koutsovlachi of Pindos, the Tzoumerkiotes, Agrafiotes, Koupatsarei, Valtetsiotes etc. Finally, in the category of the “real nomads”, usually without any homeland, belong Sarakatsani and Arvanitovlachi (Karagounides). The nomads and semi-nomads cover long distances and often the journey to or from winter pastures require the household and the flock to be on the road for over a month.

### ***2.1 Definition of a pastoral community***

The archetypal pastoral ethnic group in the southern Balkans and especially in Greece is Sarakatsani, which until the mid-20th century preserved their legacy untouched by the passage of time, perpetuating in their life and art elements of “prehistoric primitivism”, keeping the keen interest of many scholars vivid until today.

This paper, thus, will focus on nomadic livestock breeding and in particular on Sarakatsani community, since they were the major form of socioeconomic organization of the pastoral world in Greece.

The main body of Sarakatsani “commonwealth” was the “tselingato”, a large cooperative formation which had the extended family in its core. Around a large family with many sheep, other families gathered, mainly relatives, the “soi”, and non-relatives, the “smichtes”, creating the “tselingato”. The “tselingato” is an exemplary form of social organization and a type of primary production co-operative for joining several flocks. The owners of large herds can ensure, in this way, the necessary manpower and weaker families - who could not meet their needs on their own- can get support for the production, distribution and sale of their products. The system of socio-economic functioning of “tselingato” does not differ from that of the extended family and perhaps the first stems from the second. The demarcation line is that the extended family is based on blood ties while the spirit of “tselingato” is based on the logic of common interest. However, internal agreements between the members stood as ethical obligations, since they were regulating family relations on the basis of the inviolable rules of unwritten customary law, which ensured the smooth functioning of the system and eliminated the conflicts between its members. Actually, the “tselingato” and the polynuclear-extended family were in direct interdependence and their development and decay were parallel. The members of the “tselingato”, as the members of the extended family, develop strong relations of solidarity ensuring cooperation and mutual protection.

Each “tselingato” had a chief shepherd, who had to have social, moral and leadership skills, to be perfectly aware of the issues of stockyards, of geographical space, of weather and of the market since he was taking

all the decisions, he represented the “tselingato” everywhere and governed the economic, social and family life of the stockyard. His advisors were the elder men of the “tselingato”. The role was usually hereditary but a hard-working virtuous and talented shepherd could conquer the position, especially in the years after the Second World War, when large “tselingata” were limited or scattered.

The chief shepherd is the most important person of the co-operative. He is holding a crook shorter than other’s shepherds, since he isn’t engaged in farming but in rare cases, he is the only one who has a riding horse, the “bineki”, and his hut is located in the centre of the settlement. Nothing can be done in “tselingato” without his permission, but he does not intervene in matters affecting the personal lives of families. He should behave with fairness, objectivity and generosity in order to enjoy the respect of everyone and to ensure his prestige as well as order and peace in the “tselingato”. Twice a year, in autumn and spring, before any movement and change of settlement, the chief shepherd along with the heads of the families participating in the “tselingato”, are settling their bills and he gives account for his management.

In the hierarchy of “tselingato” women, as members of a patriarchal structured family, occupy the lowest levels despite their hard work and substantial offerings (in carrying building and burning wood, in the building of huts and other structures of the stockyard, in cheese-making, in wool treatment, in weaving, etc.). In the same position is even the chief shepherd’s wife and mother of his descendants, who runs the household, brings up the children, runs all women's jobs, while working as a productive force. Young girls also must obey all elders and engage in women’s jobs. The children, until their seventh year, have almost complete freedom, without the obligations imposed on the rest. However, through the daily contact with women they are initiated in all sorts of customary laws of the traditional life of “Sarakatsani” and start imperceptibly their social education and integration. Family members are obliged to obey one another, while being in charge of hard tasks and subjected to strict rules of social behavior. In order for this system to survive and not explode by conflicts and discontent, “Sarakatsani”, like any other traditional culture, has created many outlets, such as social esteem that stems from fulfilling obligations and work, the satisfaction from the assumption of responsibilities and competences but also the hope of future reward. In this context, the conjugal-nuclear family undertakes the perpetuation and succession, while the extended family provides the common prosperity determined largely by economic factors. In this pyramid a common ancestor becomes the leader of the families of male offspring.

A reputable “tseligato” used to be in the old times the one whose flocks consisted almost exclusively of sheep. Sheep were considered the wealth of Sarakatsani as the greatest earnings came from them. "It's stuff from God", they said. "The goats are from the devil."

The value of a stockyard was estimated over sheep and a proper chief shepherd had a large number of sheep and a few goats, which were in attendance of women alone.

One of the key responsibilities of the chief shepherd was to find and secure the best and richest, and therefore most popular, summer and winter pastures, to calculate precisely how many animals each pasture can nourish. According therefore to the size and quality of grazing he had to arrange the size of his stockyard, that is how many “smichtes” will follow with their flocks. The agreements with “smichtes” and salaried shepherds were made before the beginning of their journey and were valid for six months -that is for a season. The agreements were renewable every six months if the collaboration proved satisfactory for both sides. The chief shepherd at the end of each season -spring and autumn- was settling all the bills and was sharing the profits according to the number of animals each “smichtis” had. The salaried shepherds were taking a pre-agreed wage, known as "roga".

### **3. Pastoral life**

#### ***3.1 Annual life circle***

Early May and mid-November, around the big orthodox feasts of St. George and of Saint Demetrius the routes of flocks were flooded with nomads: the stockbreeders who were heading towards the mountains or going down to the pastures. They were leaving their domed huts, loading horses and mules with their children, the elderly, necessary clothing, pots and utensils, food, poultry and other pets, and started following more or less well established routes with predetermined stopping points to avoid any possible damage to crops and friction with farmers. Often after days on the road, they were reaching their destination. In the mountainous pastures they had to build again their households, their huts, the sheepfolds, the milking point, the “Struga<sup>2</sup>”, to distribute the animals in the meadows, to set up the dairies, to organize the defense against sheep-rustlers and wild animals (wolves, bears etc). Especially during winter, when stockbreeders had left the mountains, which they considered their native place and shelter, and they were among the usually hostile farmers, who were afraid of encroachments and damages, or next to other breeders, who claimed perhaps the same pastures, they had to show great care and discipline and be constantly alert to defend their rights.

#### ***3.2 Daily life circle***

The “tselingatō” had a common fold for the sheep of all members and they divided them according to their qualities: the “zigouria” (sheep over one year old), the “sterfa” (ewes that haven’t given birth), and the “galaria” (ewes that have given birth and produce milk). Then the chief shepherd designated roles to the

---

<sup>2</sup> A circular space made out of stone or wood with entrance and exit, where milking takes place

shepherds: the “zigourei” (those looking after sheep over a year old), the “storfarei” (those attending ewes that haven’t given birth), the “galariarei” (shepherds for milking the ewes), “gastriarides” (for pregnant animals), the “kriarades” (for rams), and the “valmades” (for horses). The shepherds may have had small flocks of their own in “tselingato” (and they were called “smichtes”) or they could be salaried shepherds.

The processing of milk and cheese-making was usually taking place within the sheepfold and skilled craftsmen were appointed, especially for the production of hard cheeses. By the sale of cheese they were making their balance: they counted the cost of food, shepherds’ wages etc. and divided them to calculate how much corresponded to each sheep. They could estimate everyone’s payment, depending on how many sheep each “smichtis” had.

#### **4. Pastoral life today**

Until the 19th century stockbreeding in Greece was almost entirely nomadic. Poor farmers, who, even after the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman rule, continued working either in small privately owned lands or in land-estates (“tsifliki”) of Turkish or Greek landlords, had only oxen for plowing, a domestic pig, a donkey or mule for transportation, a few goats to produce milk and cheese for the family.

Large flocks of sheep and goats and the many horses and mules belong exclusively to stockbreeders. They control land transports, the caravans, often even threshing. Traders will step out from their communities and they will be the first to form free guilds - craft and trade communities in the mountains of mainland Greece. The interdependence of agriculture and stockbreeding is given. The productive formation of the agricultural land-estate (“tsifliki”) was interwoven in an “antithetical complementary” relationship with the livestock formation of “tselingato” as it was based on vassal relationships, on the extensive cereal crops and on the rental of large areas during fallow for grazing and fertilization.

After the gradual liberation and the formation of the Greek state, plains are gradually colonized. With the redistribution of “national lands” in 1871 farms expand and the rivalry between farmers and stockbreeders for the use of the land turns against stockbreeders. With the dissolution of land-estates (“tsifliki”) in northern Greece and the further distribution of land to landless smallholders and refugees from Asia Minor, after 1923, nomadism receives an even harder blow. Nomads remember this period as the devastating “spoil of pastures” which deprived them of their winter pastures. Most of them combine agricultural with livestock farming as they have to find permanent settlements, a process which accelerates after the Second World War with the radical social changes Greece is facing.

The rural exodus, the violent depredations of livestock and the insecurity that prevailed after the Civil War stripped the mountainous stockbreeders from their flocks. But the indifference of the state when things

calmed down, gave the coup de grace. During the '50s and '60s, and despite adversity, nomadism carried on until the early '70s, when this unique way of living started fading out.

The first postwar data on pastoralism were gathered by Angeliki Hatzimichali, who recorded almost all the families of Sarakatsani in Greece. According to her records there were 10,604 families of transitional and established Sarakatsani with 1,729,141 goats. The geographical distribution, in 1955, on the basis of their mountain location during the summer, was, according to Hatzimichali, as follows:

|                | “Tselingato”<br>(cooperative formation) | Families     | Sheep & goats    |
|----------------|---|--------------|------------------|
| Peloponnese    | 174                                     | 355          | 70.770           |
| Epirus         | 323                                     | 1.875        | 285.440          |
| Macedonia      | 401                                     | 2.555        | 525.670          |
| Central Greece | 775                                     | 1.400        | 264.030          |
| Thessaly       | 129                                     | 530          | 78.215           |
| Thrace         | 37                                      | 905          | 179.750          |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>1.839</b>                            | <b>7.620</b> | <b>1.403.875</b> |

#### ***4.1 Life in the mountains today***

Descendants of those stockbreeders, who once flooded the mountains and plains with their flocks, continue even today to follow the age-old habits of going up and down every winter and summer to winter pastures and summer meadows, respectively. Most of these remaining nomads move to areas around the mountains of Epirus and Thrace, but one can come across moving flocks in the Peloponnese, Macedonia, and Crete.

However, they don't live in huts anymore and their transportation is made by trucks or even trains. Nowadays, almost all of them have turned to agriculture as well and the big pastoral communities have been largely eliminated or have turned to small family farms. Their main residence is now down at the plains and the mountain has become a summer resort, especially for younger generations.

Thanks to them though, the mountains regain their life during the summer. If stockbreeders weren't present, especially in the first difficult post-war decades, keeping the villages alive and the houses preserved, most of these remote areas would have vanished and would not be able to witness the current relative recovery which is ensured by the return of those who emigrated for holidays, mainly pensioners. Stockbreeding is now the only productive activity, including of course the shops necessary to cover the needs of visitors and residents. The handicraft industries of wool textiles, the "kiratzides" with their transportation animals, the tailors, the "kapotades" making cloaks, the cheese-makers, all professions that relied on breeding tend to disappear or to turn to touristic and cultural businesses. The festivals, the revival of old customs, the love for the village, the memories and local traditions, the stories about bandits and klephts are now dominant.

These joys though are not enough solace for the transitional stockbreeder who is generally at a disadvantage compared to all other farmers. Despite the long time they may have settled in villages at the plains they are still considered as "strangers". Their homes are usually on the borders or outside the village and they have little or no land at all.

The transitional stockbreeders are much worse off economically and socially compared to all other breeders and, thus, the "typical" problems of the profession are magnified: continuous daily work, the constant smell of sheep, irregular schedule, minimal mechanization, reliance on milk traders, difficulty to find brides –the descendants of chief-shepherds are obviously an exception. The list of the difficulties doesn't stop here: stockbreeders have to combine the ups and downs with children's school, they have to maintain two houses, children usually refuse to become breeders, and it's rather difficult to combine some crops with the seasonal movement from the mountains to the plains. The most important problem though is undoubtedly the social and economical marginalization of transitional stockbreeders when they are in the plains.

Although the villages in the plains are now declared as the place of origin to the basic question "where are you from?", only when the flock takes again the road up to the mountains (in late spring or when schools close for summer vacations), the breeders shall feel at their own land, they then regain the lost pride of their defiant ancestors, and have the feeling of belonging to a community with deep roots in the past. In the village up in the mountain they will probably meet richer and more fortunate people. But they all have in common that they gave their fight in foreign lands; that they didn't compete between themselves but only with "others". Everyone, and especially those who are not shepherds, will move with a crook in hand, as a sign of recognition of the shared past, a tribute to the symbol of the "profession" that kept and keeps the village alive. They will talk to each other on their own language or idiom in order to feel and proclaim that they are "locals" and that this is their homeland –and theirs alone. That is why during the local feasts they will only play traditional music to dance in the center of the village, under the perennial plane trees.

Life in mountainous villages is hard and people often lack the most basic amenities. Much more difficult is the life of shepherds and flocks on the alpine meadows which are two and three hours march apart through dangerous passages and rough tracks, where there are no "forest roads". Animals, people and milk processing tools coexist in primitive huts that make up a stark contrast to the stone-built houses of fine workmanship in the village. Comparatively, life in the plain is a paradise. Moreover, in the plain is the children's school, the Agricultural Bank, the cooperative, the trader who will buy the meat and the milk since its production in the mountain is very poor. However, departing in the autumn for the winter pastures is every time as a departure for foreign lands, it's a new loss of identity and collectivity. Because if in the plains are the material interests, in the mountains there are all the ideas necessary to make sense of life.

#### ***4.2 The picture today***

The picture of farming in Greece today is changing rapidly. The most important factor in this change is the reversal of the ratio between free and yarded livestock. Seasonal transitional stockbreeding, which still exists to some extent in all the Mediterranean countries and produces high quality meat and dairy products, is declining. Nowadays, nearly 800 families are still active in nomadic stockbreeding with around 400.000 animals. In Epirus alone, which traditionally had the higher percentage of animal capital, today scarcely measures up to 100.000 animals, mainly sheep and goats, while cattle are much fewer. It's worth mentioning that before twenty years, in the late 80's, there were approximately 5.000-10.000 families of transitional stockbreeders with more than one million goats and sheep.

Besides the intrinsic professional difficulties that the transitional stockbreeder always had, problems have multiplied nowadays, deriving both from practical as well as ideological factors. The dramatic rise in the price of forage forces relatively small stockbreeders to keep on the traditional way of livestock breeding. Every breeder has the following options: either to buy a pasture, or to rent from a landlord or from the state. Since the private pastures are too few to meet the needs of stockbreeders, one is compelled to pay rent to the state or the local authority through auctions carried out every season.

Nevertheless, pastures' management by local councils has not performed well. The folds and huts built using adept specifications in the early 60s and 80s have not been maintained neither by the authorities in charge nor by the stockbreeders, who refuse to invest in their maintenance, since they do not know whether they are going to be using them the following year.

The main prevailing problems, especially where grazing land is scarce and demand is high are:

1. Grazing land annual auctions are carried out with big delay, only about a month before the flocks head towards the mountains. In this way, many stockbreeders are wandering from mountain to mountain, lacking the basic amenities such as water, electricity, stockyards or lodging for themselves and their families.

2. Due to touristic or electioneering reasons, grazing land auctions are not carried out in some areas although there are available pastures.
3. Even if auctions are carried out properly the excessive starting prices for the pastures lead small scale stockbreeders to resign as they can't afford them.

Because of this regime dominating the auctions, some stockbreeders are forced each season to move from pasture to pasture. The majority of stockbreeders that hold grazing rights on the winter pastures are complaining that their treatment is entirely different during the summer months when they move to a different borough or prefecture for summer grazing. They attribute these difficulties to the fact that their permanent resident and therefore the place where they vote are located elsewhere. Thus, for purely electioneering reasons many pastures are left untapped.

However, transitional stockbreeding doesn't have only these obstacles. Under the influence of new ecological and environmental theories free livestock farming is considered disastrous for the forests especially after a destructive fire when seedlings sprout during natural reforestation. Faced with this dilemma many propose the full enclosure of sheep and goats and their breeding with artificial forage in order to save the forests, without though taking into account the loss of high quality products by animals grazing the rich Greek flora.

Beyond nomadic stockbreeding, the overall picture of ovine farming in the last years is rather interesting. The population of sheep and goats bred in Greece is approximately 9.000.000 and 5.300.000 respectively, representing a considerable percentage of the EU ovine population (2006 data, from the Ministry of Rural Development and Food).

However, uncontrolled crossbreeding and the unprogrammed application of artificial insemination resulted to the decline of the population - even the extinction of some indigenous races, while the created crossbreed and degenerated types compose a total 90% of the population. The total number of non-crossbreed sheep farmed in Greece barely reaches 700.000 animals and out of the twenty-six Greek races, six have been already extinct.

On the other hand, a genetic enhancement program is applied nowadays on a population of 20.000 to 25.000 goats and sheep of indigenous races (mainly "chiotiko", "makedoniko", "karagkouniko", "mitilinio", "fritzarta" and the "Skopelos" goat) and meanwhile there is a tendency to produce high quality or organic products more suitable to the traditional stockbreeding practices.

The economic branch of ovine farming is characterized by a high degree of diversification between livestock holdings in terms of size, stockyards, production etc. The tendency over the last years is the creation of livestock farming holdings in the plains with the use of folds, cultivated forage, mechanized production and of course greater invested capital. This form of farming shapes socially tolerable conditions but respectively increases the needed capital.

Stockbreeding is of particular importance, given it leads to the development of mountainous and marginalized areas. Indeed, 78% of sheep and 98% of goats are being farmed in such a terrain; in places where this farming is the main productive branch and alternative employment is difficult if not impossible to find.

## 5. Bibliography

- Alexakis, Eleftherios. 2002. "O kyklos anaptiksis tis oikiakis omadas stin orini kinotita Kastanianis Konitsas", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 119-147.
- Anoyianakis, Fivos. 1976. *Ellinika Mousika Organa*. Athens: Ethniki Trapeza tis Ellados (National Bank of Greece)
- Arapoglou, Michalis. 2002. "I egatastasis ston orino xoro tis borias Pindou (19os-20os aionas)", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 185-199.
- Campbell, J.K. 1964. *Honour, Family and Patronage: A study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. Oxford: Calerendon University Press.
- Deltsou, Eleftheria. 2002. "I ikotouristiki anaptiksi ke o prosdiorismos tis fisis kai tis paradosis: paradigmata apo ti boria Ellada", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 231-247.
- Karavidas, K.D.. 1931. *Ta Agrotika*. Athens: Papazisi (photographic reproduction, 1977).
- Kaser, Karl. 2002. "Ktinotrofia, sigenia, oikogenia ke ecologia ston orino xoro tis ditikis Balkanikis (14os- arxes 20ou aiona)", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 97-117.
- Kavadias, G. B.. 1999. *Sarakatsanoi: Mia Elliniki pimeniki kinonia*. Athens : Lucy Bartzioti.
- Kovani, Eleni. 2002. "I oikonomia stis akrories tou fisikou tis topiou", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 217-229.
- Nitsiakos, Vassilis. 1997. *Laografika Eteroklita*. Athens: Odysseas.
- Nitsiakos, Vassilis. 2002. "I istorikotita tou topou. Xrisis ke metamorfosis tou fisikou xorou se dio orines kinotites tis Balkanikis: sigritiki prosegesi", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 201-216.
- Psychoyos, Dimitris and Papapetrou, Georgia. 1984. "I metakinisis ton nomadon ktinotrofon", in *Epitheorisi Kinonikon Erevnon* 53, pp. 93-112.
- Psychogiou, Eleni. 2002. « I dromi ton neron ke ton kopadion: I teleftei nomdes sti vorioditiki Peloponniso", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 163-183.

Rokkou, Vasso. 1985. "I orini poli tis ktinotrofias, poli tis ipethrou. Tria Ipirotika paradigmata: Moschopoli, Metsovo, Sirrako", in *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou Istorias NEOELLINIKI POLI (Proceedings of International Symposium on History GREEK MODERN CITY)*, pp. 75-82.

Xadjimichali, Angeliki. 1957. *Sarakatsani*, Vol. A' and B', Athens

Zakopoulou, Ersi. 2002. "Politiki dimografia tou nomou Ioanninon, 1961-1991. To fenomeno ton katagomenon", in *O orinos xoros tis Balkanikis: Sigrotisi ke metaschimatismi* (eds. V. Nitsiakos and X. Kasimis) Athens: Plethron and Municipality of Konitsa, pp. 265-283.