

## PREFACE

*Peter Mackridge*

“I much doubt Crete being a *picturesque* country in any way, or that it will repay much trouble in seeing it. Its antiquities, etc. *so* old as to be all but invisible; its buildings, monasteries, etc. nil; its Turkish towns fourth-rate. Rats O! and gnats.”  
 (Edward Lear, *The Cretan Journal*, ed. Rowena Fowler (Dedham: Denise Harvey, 1984), p. 31 (15 April 1864))

**1. Preamble**

Professional photoportrait of R.M. Dawkins by G. Maragiannis, Herakleion, 1903<sup>1</sup>

R.M. Dawkins first came to Crete during the period of his Craven Scholarship, which was awarded to him by Emmanuel College, Cambridge as a reward for his Double First in the Classical Tripos. Under the terms of the scholarship, he spent the academic year 1902-3 attached to the British School at Athens. During this period, in early 1903, excited by Arthur Evans’ discoveries at Knossos, he sailed to Crete not only to familiarize himself with the recently discovered Minoan finds that were housed in the archaeological museum at Herakleion, but also to take part in one of the excavations. In a letter to Xan Fielding (19 January 1952) he writes that he landed at Suda Bay, from where he rode to Candia (the Venetian name for modern Herakleion)<sup>2</sup> “three days by

<sup>1</sup> Photo from the Dawkins archive, University of Oxford. The photographer Maragiannis was employed by Arthur Evans to take photos of Knossos during the excavations there: Ann Brown, *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2000), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The name Candia derives from the Arabic *khandaq* ‘moat’, which the Arab conquerors of Crete used as the name of the town they founded in the 820s as the capital of the Emirate of Crete. The Byzantines continued using the name in the form Χάνδαξ. The current name Ηράκλειον was the name of the port of

way of Retimo and the house of a very drunken man in the Pylopotamos valley;<sup>3</sup> in those days the road did not go further from Canea than the Izzeddin prison.”<sup>4</sup>

He first carried out archaeological work at Palaikastro on the east coast of the island in March-June 1903 under the direction of R.C. Bosanquet, who had initiated the excavation the previous year. Dawkins continued to dig at Palaikastro (soon directing the excavations) in 1904, 1905 and finally in 1906, the year in which he became Director of the British School, a post he continued to hold until his resignation in 1914.<sup>5</sup> From 1906 to 1910 Dawkins led the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Later, back in Crete, he excavated “the magnificent Kamares cave” on the southern slopes of Mount Ida (Psiloreitis) in the summer of 1913 and at Plati on the mountain plateau of Lasithi in 1914. In a letter to Patrick Leigh Fermor (17 January 1952) he notes that J.L. Myers was the first person to point out the characteristics of Kamares pottery on the basis of some pieces that peasants had brought down to the museum.<sup>6</sup> Dawkins goes on to say that “it was the first time such pottery had been seen, really since Minoan times. [Arthur] Evans went up to the cave but it was too full of snow to do anything; the year I was there there was much less snow than usual”. Plati in 1914 was the last site that Dawkins excavated.

It was during his very first excavation in Crete that Dawkins began to acquire a close acquaintance with the modern Greek language and a profound interest in medieval and modern Greek history and culture. It is remarkable that at Palaikastro in 1904 he wrote down the words of no fewer than 953 *mantinades* (sung couplets) which were recited to him by a couple of local men during the course of three evenings. This interest in medieval and modern Greek spurred him to carry out fieldwork on the Greek dialects of Cappadocia in Asia Minor in the summers of 1909, 1910 and 1911. He was the first to carry out a systematic study of these dialects and, because of the First World War and the subsequent expulsion of the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Turkey during the period 1923-5, he was the last scholar to be able to observe Cappadocian Greek being spoken in its homeland.<sup>7</sup> After completing his work on Cappadocian Greek, Dawkins set off in the summer of 1914 on what he planned to be the first of a series of research trips to the region of Pontus in north-east Turkey to study the Greek dialects spoken there, with the ulterior aim of producing a companion volume to his Cappadocia book. This time he was prevented from completing his project by the outbreak of the Great War, at which point he had to leave Turkey in a hurry. After a short spell in Britain, he worked with his close friend and fellow archaeologist F.W. Hasluck as a

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Knossos in ancient times; it was revived by Greeks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to refer to the modern town. Tozer notes that in 1874 only “a few persons of the upper class prefer to call it Herakleion” (Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean*, p. 72).

<sup>3</sup> I can’t tell whether by the misprinted Pylopotamos he means Mylopotamos or Yeropotamos; more likely the former.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins’ letters to Xan Fielding and to their mutual friend Patrick Leigh Fermor are housed in the Patrick Leigh Fermor Archive at the National Library of Scotland (Acc.13338). I am grateful to David McClay for his valuable help in locating this correspondence for me.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins resigned from the British School with the intention of settling in Britain; but fate had other plans for him.

<sup>6</sup> J.L. Myers, “Prehistoric polychrome pottery from Kamárais in Crete”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 15 (1893-5), pp. 351-6. Dawkins probably means that they brought the pottery to Iosif Hatzidakis, who gave it to the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion.

<sup>7</sup> Since that time Cappadocian Greek has been studied by a number of Greek scholars, and today it is being studied by Mark Janse of the University of Ghent, mostly on the basis of material collected and published by Dawkins.

cipher expert in the “Bureau of Information” (intelligence organization) attached to the British Legation in Athens.<sup>8</sup>

The War then brought him back to Crete in 1916 as a member of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. Towards the end of this three-year stay in Crete (1916-19), he began to plan a book about medieval and modern Crete. The material for this never-completed book is now at last, after a whole century, published on this website.

## 2. Dawkins’ life till 1919<sup>9</sup>

Richard MacGillivray Dawkins was born in 1871. His father was an officer in the Royal Navy who ended his career as a rear-admiral. He was educated at Marlborough College, from where he moved on to study electrical engineering at King’s College, London, but he dropped out after two years. In 1892 he found a job as a rather reluctant electrical engineer at Crompton and Co. in Colchester, but his parents died within a few months of each other in 1896-7, leaving him with a small legacy that enabled him to enter Emmanuel College, Cambridge to read for a second undergraduate degree in Classics. This, as I have said, was what first brought him to Crete.

Shortly after he left Crete for the last time in 1919, he was appointed to the Bywater and Sotheby Professorship of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford University, and soon afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at Exeter College. During his tenure, which lasted until 1939, he continued to travel abroad – though never to Crete – while dividing the rest of his time between Oxford and the house at Llanddulas in North Wales that he had inherited from an unmarried male cousin in 1907 and where he cultivated a garden containing a number of different plants that he had brought back from Greece. This arrangement (but minus the foreign travel) continued from 1939 until his death in 1955.

Dawkins’ books began with the findings of his researches on Cappadocian Greek (*Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, 1916), continued with an edition of the fifteenth-century Cypriot chronicle by Machairas (1932) and an account of the lives and legends of the inhabitants of the Holy Mountain in *The Monks of Athos* (1936), and ended with no fewer than three volumes of Greek folk tales in the 1950s.

In his book *Mani*, Patrick Leigh Fermor, who had first met Dawkins in 1951, describes him as “the most knowledgeable and charming of neo-Hellenists whose rooms at Oxford, until his recent death, were an Aladdin’s cave of books of Greek history, folklore, language, customs and fairy-tales”.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that his father had been a naval officer was no doubt instrumental in Dawkins joining the RNVR in 1916.<sup>11</sup> It was while he was serving on the depot ship HMS Pelorus in Souda Bay, between Armistice Day and his demobilization in April 1919, that he typed up his notes for his Crete book. An interesting story attaches to the Pelorus. She was built as a cruiser in 1896, and Rudyard Kipling sailed in her during summer manoeuvres in 1897. His story “Their lawful occasions” (first published in

<sup>8</sup> For more details about the activities of the “Bureau of Information” in 1916 see Compton Mackenzie, *Greek Memories* (London: Cassell, 1932 [but immediately banned]; republished London: Biteback, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> For more on his family background and life see my own publications in the bibliography. There is also a wealth of information in Michael Allan (ed.), *Byzantine talks: letters of Norman Douglas to Richard MacGillivray Dawkins and a single letter from Dawkins to Douglas* (Graz and Feldkirch: Neugebauer, 2012), pp. 6-66 and 112-116.

<sup>10</sup> Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Mani* (London: John Murray, 1958), p. 108.

<sup>11</sup> In a letter to Xan Fielding (16 November 1953) Dawkins uses the popular nickname of the RNVR, “wavy navy”, a reference to the wavy sleeve “rings” on the uniform of RNVR officers.

1903, then collected in *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904)), in which a squadron gropes its way up the Channel in thick fog, was inspired by these experiences.

Dawkins was not at all religious himself, but like many people of a conservative nature he valued the structure and order that religion provided to people's lives. Thus his interest in churches and monasteries was not purely historical or aesthetic; it indicated his appreciation of the moral and spiritual significance of religion to the individual and to society as a whole, and its contribution to social cohesion.

Mark Mazower has written that, "as Richard Clogg and others have shown, archaeologists were always natural spies: their knowledge of the language and the terrain, their surveying skills and experience as travellers, made them valuable commodities in times of war".<sup>12</sup> The very purpose of Dawkins' stay in Crete from May 1916 to the end of the First World War as a member of the RNVR was to gather information for the British military authorities about the Cretans' attitudes towards the British and the Germans at a time when Greeks were bitterly divided by their sympathies for the two opposing sides: the king supported neutrality, while his opponents urged for Greece to enter the War on the side of the Entente allies (the British and the French) against the Germans. In particular, Dawkins was looking out for activities and expressions in support of the Germans, which in some cases included providing supplies to German submarines.

In his chronology of the journeys he made during the war he notes that on 11 May 1917: "Left Candia at night for Agios Nikolaos to see Venizelos", but characteristically, he says nothing more about this meeting with the Cretan leader of the pro-Entente Liberal Party that had set up an alternative Greek government in Salonica a few months earlier.

In his published work, Dawkins was reluctant to reveal his own feelings and experiences. In an article about British scholars' reactions to Greece since 1885, Robin Barber has pointed to the remarkable reticence shown by the scholars he mentions. "Books of reminiscence by scholars of their life in and impressions of Greece are rare. [...] One searches [...] through the Acknowledgements and Prefaces of learned volumes – often the most entertaining parts of the text – in the hope of finding some reference to the impact on the authors of the country and her people. But the pickings are meagre."<sup>13</sup> This statement applies to Dawkins as much as to any other British scholar of modern Greece. In an article about Dawkins I remarked that "He appears to have kept his private, scholarly, and social lives rigidly compartmentalized, and we find in his academic work little of the wit and the forthright opinions for which his conversation was famous" (ABSA 202).

At one point in one of his unpublished memoirs he reminisces, without explanation, that "living in secret was what I was accustomed to". Dawkins' need for absolute secrecy in his role as a spy must have reinforced the reticence he had already developed over the years for quite a different reason: as a homosexual he had had to train himself to be very careful when revealing his feelings. He was so secretive that not a single copy of any of his letters has survived in his archive. After Dawkins' death his brother John went through the archive and removed document that he believed to be compromising. One day, however, browsing in his library, a letter fell out of a book. It proved to be from Sir Patrick Coghill, a soldier and Middle East expert and brother

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<sup>12</sup> Mark Mazower, "Archaeology, nationalism and the land in modern Greece", in Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (eds), *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (Athens 2008), p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Robin Barber, "Sense and sentimentality: British scholars' reactions to Greece, 1885-1986", *Anglo-Hellenic Review*, no. 44 (Winter 2011), p. 4.

of the noted Chaucer and Shakespeare scholar Neville Coghill. I was delighted to find that Coghill signed off his letter: “Well, that’s all for now, Dawk, you old Roustika Poustika.” Roustika is the name of a village in Crete with a famous monastery that Dawkins loved, (see ch. 8) while *poustis* (from Persian via Turkish) is one of the Greek words for homosexual.

It is characteristic that the first person singular appears more in the earlier material that he collected in Crete than in later drafts of his book. He began writing his book on the basis of notes made at the time, which record his first impressions of places, but as he redrafted his material he attempted to make it sound more objective and informative. For this reason, in our book we have occasionally included some passages from earlier material in which Dawkins describes his own journeys rather than providing information on what the anonymous traveller might want to learn and expect to find.

That being said, Dawkins’ emotional attachment to Greece is borne out by his Oxford successor and neighbour at Exeter College, John Mavrogordato, who records in his journal in April 1941 that Dawkins burst into his room in tears on hearing the news of the German invasion of Greece.

### 3. Dawkins & Crete

As I have said, most of the material for his planned Crete book was collected while he was serving in Crete during the First World War. During that time he was constantly criss-crossing the island on foot or on mule-back, or else cruising along the coast in a Greek trawler that doubled as a British spy vessel. In his log of the journeys that he made in Crete at that time, he refers to no fewer than 61 trips made on the trawler. As for his land journeys, it is amusing to imagine this ungainly figure traipsing over bare mountains in the August sun, dressed in a three-piece tweed suit supplied by his tailor in Northern Ireland.

Dawkins’ companion “Yanni”, who is mentioned in a number of chapters and who accompanied him on many of his expeditions before the First World War, was Yannis Katsarakis from Palaikastro, his “faithful servant and one-time foreman”, who served the BSA on digs from the time of Palaikastro up to and including Plati in 1913.<sup>14</sup> Yannis was a fount of wisdom and knowledge concerning traditional lore, and in many places Dawkins records information provided to him by Yannis.

Dawkins was particularly drawn to the Venetian monuments of Crete. Dawkins’ love of Venetian architecture was probably kindled by John Ruskin’s work, and he experienced it at first hand during his trip to Venice with the eccentric writer Frederick Rolfe (aka “Baron Corvo”) in August-September 1908.<sup>15</sup> In Crete the Venetians built little reminders of Venice so as to be surrounded by a familiar environment. Examples of these include the *loggia* in Candia (perhaps modelled on buildings such as Sansovino’s Palazzo della Libreria in the Piazzetta next to St Mark’s Square).<sup>16</sup> Dawkins delighted in these bits of Venice, such as a row of gothic windows which is still to be seen today in Hania.

He seems to have been especially attracted to monuments dating from the first centuries of the Venetian period and found that the excessive decoration of the later

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<sup>14</sup> Allan (ed.), *Byzantine talks*, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> For Dawkins’ correspondence with Rolfe see Fr. Rolfe, Baron Corvo, *Letters to R.M. Dawkins*, ed. Cecil Woolf (London: Nicholas Vane, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> See also ch. 17.

architecture was not to his taste.<sup>17</sup> Unlike a number of Greek writers on this subject, who tend to try to find evidence for the Byzantine origins of the various churches and monasteries, Dawkins was content to study the extant and visible buildings and their inscriptions rather than documents attesting to the antiquity of their original foundation.<sup>18</sup>

Like the Christian Cretans of his time, Dawkins habitually talks of the Muslim Cretans as “Turks”, despite the fact that the vast majority of them were descended from Christians who had espoused Islam after the Ottoman conquest in the seventeenth century.

Concerning the Ottoman-Muslim presence in Crete, Dawkins had this to say in a letter to Leigh Fermor (10 February 1955):

I do so wish now that I had used my earlier days in Crete – 1903 and so on – to collect an account of Turkish life in Crete; all now lost. The Christians and Turks were good friends and each religion kept the one going by a sort of pride; it was only in the innermost recesses of a Turkish bath at Candia that I found the Turkish attendant having a nice little meal in Ramadan; he thought he was safe in the dressing room I usually used there, his shamefaced apology was rather funny. And the clock [= tower?] over the mosque that had been the Venetian church of St Mark’s with the clock keeping the time alla Turca; or had [the] two times together.

In a letter to Fielding (19 January 1952) Dawkins writes that when he first came to Candia there were four Turkish baths in use:

in 1902 of course the place was full of Turks and they [the baths] looked fine; I knew well an old dervish, a howler, who got his living by calligraphy, and his nephew, an elegant dancing dervish who was I think by trade a photographer; of course like all Cretan Turks they talked Greek. My Turkish hardly runs to conversations.

(A howling dervish is one who induces a trance through shouting or chanting as opposed to dancing or whirling.)

In his Introduction to his Cretan book Dawkins laments the destruction of fountains in the towns, which he attributes to the departure of the Muslims. When the Ottomans arrived, they sometimes built roofed structures over existing fountains so that they would be more suitable for Muslims to carry out their prescribed ablutions. This was the case with the famous Lions Fountain in Herakleion, built in 1627 by Francesco Morosini (1560-1641), the Proveditor (civil governor) of Crete. When Crete became independent of the Ottoman Empire in 1898, the new Cretan state, as part of its attempt at de-Ottomanization, began demolishing the structures that the Muslims had erected on and around the old fountains. The Ottoman superstructure was removed from the

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<sup>17</sup> “[...] my approach to baroque art was barred long ago by the stern warning: *No thoroughfare this way: by Order, John Ruskin*” (Richard MacGillivray [Dawkins], *Norman Douglas* (Florence: G. Orioli, 1933), p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> Dawkins was never a true Byzantinist. For his contribution to Byzantine studies see Peter Mackridge, “R.M. Dawkins and Byzantium”, in Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (Variorum, Aldershot 2000), pp. 185-95.

Lions Fountain while Gerola was in Crete.<sup>19</sup> When the Muslim population of Crete was forced to leave in 1923, it may have been felt that there was no more need for public fountains, especially since the installation of mains water supply to people's houses obviated the need to go to the nearest fountain to collect water. This seems to be the reason for the removal of the fountain in the main square of Neapoli, which Dawkins describes in ch. 25 but was removed comparatively recently to make way for a Second World War memorial.

At the time when Dawkins was in Crete, the available maps were few and far between, and none of them was very detailed. The Taylor Institution Library at Oxford has a German map that was in Dawkins' possession (though it bears the stamp of the British School at Athens). This is Heinrich Kiepert's 1:300,000 *Spezialkarte von Creta nach britischen Marine-Aufnahmen und Routen englischer, französischer und deutscher Reisenden kombiniert* (Berlin 1897). Dawkins may well have carried it with him while in Crete. Despite its title, there is no explicit reference on the map itself to the routes of European travellers, though the black lines that mark routes between settlements presumably refer to these. By contrast, the modern Anavasi atlas is on a scale of 1:50,000 – six times as large as Kiepert's map.

#### 4. Crete: historical background

It was during the debate on the Foreign Office vote that Stringham made his great remark that “The people of Crete unfortunately make more history than they can consume locally.”

(Saki, “The Jesting of Arlington Stringham” in *The Chronicles of Clovis* (London & New York 1912), p. 91)

Crete became part of the Roman empire from in 69 BC. It was during the period of Roman rule that Christianity came to the island. St Paul, who had already sailed along the south coast Crete while being taken to Rome as a prisoner and even briefly landed there,<sup>20</sup> is said to have later appointed Titus as the first bishop of Crete about 57 AD. After the empire split in two in 334 AD, Crete remained in the Eastern Roman Empire (nowadays usually known as the Byzantine Empire) until the Fourth Crusade of 1204, apart from an important interval when it was occupied by Arabs between 824 and 961 AD.

During and after the Fourth Crusade Crete was disputed between Venice and Genoa until Venice finally prevailed. Crete was under Venetian rule from 1211 until the Cretan War of 1645-69, during the course of which the Ottomans gradually captured the whole of the main island of Crete, leaving only the islets of Gramvousa, Souda and Spinalonga temporarily in Venetian hands. Spinalonga was captured by the Ottomans as late as 1718, just over 500 years since the Venetian takeover of Crete.

The Venetians abolished the Orthodox bishoprics of Crete and imposed Catholic bishops in their stead. This caused a great deal of resentment. The early centuries of the Venetian period were marked by multiple insurrections, many of them led by Orthodox Christian Cretan nobles who felt that their supposed privileges were being undermined. However, as Venetian rule continued, aspects of local culture, such

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<sup>19</sup> In a letter of September 1900, Gerola writes that the fountain had recently been “liberated” from its superstructure (Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 69). Behaeddin's photo of the superstructure concealing the fountain is reproduced *ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>20</sup> See the *Acts of the Apostles*, book 7.

as dress, cuisine, architecture, literature and painting came to be deeply influenced by their Venetian (and Italian and generally western European) equivalents. Indeed, a kind of hybrid Veneto-Cretan culture gradually developed on the island. The majority of the Italian settler families in Crete eventually became native speakers of Greek and converted to Orthodox Christianity, though those who remained Catholics (who also spoke Greek) mostly lived side-by-side with the Orthodox in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect.<sup>21</sup>

In the early fourteenth century the Venetians divided the island into four large “territories” (*territori*): Canea, Retimo, Candia and Sitia. Approximately the same division has lasted until today; Crete is divided into four prefectures Hania, Rethymno, Herakleion and Lasithi (corresponding to the old *territorio* of Siteia). These *territori* came to be subdivided into twenty sub-provinces; this subdivision lasted until as late as 1997. The Venetians used Greek-derived names for most of these provinces, but three of them were named after castles built by the Genoese pirate Enrico Pescatore immediately before the Venetian takeover of the island; until 1997 these three provinces (*επαρχίες*) preserved the names that Pescatore had originally given to the castles: Μαλεβίτσι (Malvesin), Μονοφάτσι (Bonifacio), Μιραμπέλλο (Mirabello), while the Greek name of one province (Κατινούργιο in Greek, meaning ‘New’) was a translation of the name of another of Pescatore’s castle: Nuovo or Castelnuovo (‘Newcastle’). These were probably the only official names of provinces used in Greece in the twentieth century that were not of native Greek origin.

The Ottomans captured Hania and Rethymno early in their campaign to capture Crete (1645-6). The whole of Crete had been conquered by the Ottomans by the autumn of 1647, except the city of Candia and the islands named in the first paragraph of this section. It has been said that “Crete was the main territory won for the Ottoman Empire long after the golden age of expansion had come to a halt”.<sup>22</sup>

The Ottoman siege of Candia, which lasted from 1648 to 1669, is probably the longest siege of a city in recorded human history. After this turbulent period, Crete settled down to a more or less peaceful existence, until the uprisings of the nineteenth century that eventually led to the end of Ottoman rule. The Ottomans restored the Orthodox bishops to the island, while the Catholic inhabitants had to choose between emigration and conversion to either Orthodox Christianity or Islam. Although the Ottomans restored the status of the Orthodox Church, many Orthodox Cretans converted to Islam because Muslims enjoyed certain privileges that were denied to non-Muslims. Some of the Catholic families that converted to Islam preserved their Italian surnames, but with the addition of the characteristically Cretan suffix -akis.

Christian Cretans carried out a number of major revolts against Ottoman rule, in particular the revolt led by Daskaloyannis in Sphakia in 1770, the insurrection of 1821-1824 (beginning in Sphakia) during the Greek War of Independence, the revolution of 1866-1869, and the final revolt of 1896-1897, which eventually led to the end of direct Ottoman rule.

When Dawkins was in Crete, the physical damage wrought during the most recent uprising was clearly evident in the form of ruined Christian monuments and deserted Muslim villages. To put the Crete that Dawkins knew into perspective, I should point out that less than five years before Dawkins first arrived on the island, a huge

<sup>21</sup> For further details see Holton (ed.), *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete* and Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean colonies*.

<sup>22</sup> Simon Price et al., “Sphakia in Ottoman census records: a *vakıf* and its agricultural production”, in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840* (Rethymno 2008), pp. 74-5.



massacre of Christians had taken place. This last uprising of Cretan Christians against the Ottoman authorities was sparked off when a Muslim mob ransacked the Christian quarter of Hania in May 1896. This led to reprisal raids by Christians against Muslims and vice versa, as a result of which large numbers of Muslims left the rural areas and sought refuge in the coastal towns.<sup>23</sup> In January 1897 many Christians in Hania were slaughtered and large portions of the Christian quarter of the town were destroyed by fire. On 25 August/6 September 1898, eight hundred Christians were massacred in Candia, out of the town's total Christian population of one thousand. A Muslim mob stormed the home of the British vice-consul in Candia, Lysimachos Kalokairinos, murdering him and either murdering or abducting his daughter Paraskevi (Skevo), together with her young child, and burning down the building.<sup>24</sup> The victims also included a small number of British soldiers and sailors, whose deaths were described by the British consul Alfred Biliotti as "the real cause of the ending of Turkish rule in the island".<sup>25</sup> Turkish rule over Crete effectively ended in November 1898, when British troops forcibly embarked the last remaining Ottoman soldiers.<sup>26</sup> Dawkins mentions massacres of Christians in passing in chapters 16 and 20, while in chapters 29 and 30 he refers to massacres of Muslims, which took place around the same time.

By this time, Crete had been placed under the control of peacekeepers from the four Great Powers. For this purpose the island was divided into sectors. The province of Canea (Hania) was occupied by the Italians (though the capital city of Canea itself was placed under the control of all four powers), Candia province by the British, Rethymno province by the Russians, and Siteia province by the French.<sup>27</sup> In December 1898 this joint occupation was succeeded by the establishment of an autonomous Cretan State under the suzerainty of the Sultan but under the protection of the Great Powers, with Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner. Officially, the Cretan State lasted until the island was incorporated into the Greek state in 1913, but during the Theriso revolt in 1908 Cretan Christians declared *de facto* Union with Greece before the island's incorporation into the Greek state was internationally recognized as a result of Greece's successes in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

Dawkins spent his time in Crete both during the period of the island's autonomy and after its incorporation into the Greek state. An indication of the difficult and unpredictable conditions in which Dawkins worked when he was outside Crete and in Ottoman territory is given in the following note that he wrote in his copy of Jeannarakis's 1876 collection of Cretan folk songs:

The first copy of this book I had was seized at the customs of Smyrna in the summer of 1903 after my visit to Karpathos and destroyed by the Turks as seditious. With it they destroyed a copy of Passow [a collection of Greek folk

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<sup>23</sup> Holland and Markides 2006: 87.

<sup>24</sup> The Vice-Consul was the elder brother of Minos Kalokairinos, the first excavator of the Minoan palace of Knossos in 1878-9. The residence built by the Kalokairinos family on the ruins of the one destroyed in 1898 now houses the Historical Museum. There is a legend that Paraskevi was not killed but abducted by an Albanian Muslim, who took her to Albania and married her, and that she was briefly discovered there by a Greek soldier who was passing through during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

<sup>25</sup> According to Wikipedia "Ottoman Crete", it was the appointment of Stylianos M. Alexiou as the first Christian director of the revenue service that provoked some Muslims to attack the new clerks and the British Royal Navy detachment escorting them on 25 August 1898.

<sup>26</sup> Holland and Markides 2006: 101, 81.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 2006: 93. The capital of Crete was transferred from Candia to Hania by the Ottoman authorities in 1851. Hania remained the capital until 1971, when that title was returned to Herakleion.

songs published in 1860], and three copies of *Δωρικόν ψήφισμα Καρπάθου*, a rare pamphlet.<sup>28</sup>

During the First World War and beginning in 1915, a political schism occurred in Greece between Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos and King Constantine – and their respective supporters among the Greek public – over whether Greece should enter the First World War on the side of the Entente (Britain, France and their allies) or whether it should remain neutral. This schism reflected the division of Europe as a whole between the Entente and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria and their allies). Each of the two Greek factions rightly believed that the outcome of the war would have a decisive impact on the future of Greece, and neither faction wanted their country to support the losing side; but they were divided between contradictory forecasts of which side would be victorious.

As the war went on, anti-Venizelists gradually became more pro-German. The German government, through its embassy in Athens, funded a propaganda mechanism that aimed to influence Greek public opinion. The methods employed included the payment of substantial sums to Greek newspapers to act as mouthpieces for German propaganda. Intelligence gleaned by pro-monarchist espionage was also relayed to the German authorities. Against this background, the competition between the Entente and Germany to attract Greek public opinion to their side was intense, especially during 1915-16 when part of Greece (the province of Macedonia with its chief city of Salonica) was occupied by Entente troops while that country was still nominally neutral.

In the autumn of 1916 a provisional Greek government (known as the Government of National Defence) was set up in Salonica by Venizelists, while the monarchist government still held sway in Athens. The Salonica government declared war on the Central Powers in November 1916. From mid-1916 to mid-1917, when the king was deposed, the monarchist government persecuted thousands of its political opponents, sending some of them to prison and others into internal exile, while sacking civil servants, military officers and policemen. Between 1917 and 1920, in retaliation, the Venizelist government that established itself in Athens adopted tit-for-tat tactics against their own opponents.<sup>29</sup> Against this background, it is not surprising that Britain was deploying intelligence-gathering agents such as Dawkins in Greece.

Although we have been unable to locate Dawkins' intelligence reports from Crete to London, we can surmise that he was chiefly engaged in gathering information on enemy spies and on persons supplying German submarines with benzine and food, as well as in monitoring the positive or negative attitudes of Cretan public opinion towards Britain's war effort. During the first months of his service in Crete (May-November 1916), Greece maintained its neutrality, but from then onwards the country was split between two governments, the one in Salonica fighting the Central Powers alongside Britain and France and the other in Athens remaining neutral. There was a gap in Dawkins' service in Crete from late November 1916 to early March 1917. During this period he worked on the island of Syra (Syros) as chief of a unit censoring

<sup>28</sup> Dawkins is referring to a pamphlet about an ancient inscription from the island of Karpathos: C. Wescher & E. Μανωλακάκης, *Δωρικόν ψήφισμα Καρπάθου* (Athens 1878).

<sup>29</sup> The information in the above two paragraphs is partly based on three chapters in the volume *1915-2015: 100 χρόνια από τον Εθνικό Διχασμό* (Argos 2018): Str. Dordanas, “«Αυτός ο προδότης δεν έπρεπε να επιζήσει από την απόπειρα της 21<sup>ης</sup> Ιουνίου»: αντιβενιζελισμός & γερμανική προπαγάνδα στην Ελλάδα του Εθνικού Διχασμού”, pp. 46-54 (esp. 49-51), E. Hatzivassileiou, «Εθνικός Διχασμός και διεθνές περιβάλλον», pp. 131-138 (esp. 137), Liana Louvi, «Όψεις της Ευρώπης στον ελληνικό Διχασμό», pp. 139-149 (esp. 141).

telegrams.<sup>30</sup> Dawkins' posting to Syra was a consequence of momentous events that had just happened in Athens. On 18 November, according to the Julian calendar then operating in Greece (1 December according to the western Gregorian calendar) Anglo-French troops came to Athens with the intention of occupying the city. They were met by gunfire from Royalist troops and reservists, which killed many of the French troops. Royalists then embarked on a pogrom against Venizelist civilians, who were dragged from their homes, beaten (and in some cases killed or maimed) and imprisoned. Three days later the British Military Control Office and the Intelligence Bureau left Athens and set up their headquarters on Syra. It must have been a few days after this that Dawkins was transferred there (I am assuming that Dawkins' reference to late November is in accordance with the Julian calendar). Syra was the most suitable place for censoring telegrams sent to, from and within Greece because it was the base of the British-owned Eastern Telegraph Company. By that time, like almost all of the rest of the Cyclades islands, Syra had declared allegiance to the Provisional Government of National Defence in Salonica.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of 1916 there was a very real prospect of the Entente going to war against the king's government in Athens. From June 1917 onwards, however, when Venizelos became prime minister of the whole of Greece, the November 1916 declaration of war against the Central Powers was fully ratified. I don't know what effect the change of Greek government had on Dawkins' activities in Crete itself, except that his monitoring of local newspapers would probably have become redundant as a result of Greek censorship once Greece had joined the Entente allies in June 1917.

Ever since the foundation of the Greek state, Britain was one of the "protecting powers" of the Kingdom of Greece, together with France and Russia. Britain kept an eye on Crete as a possible base for its navy. As Robert Holland writes, "Malta apart, potentially the most valuable Mediterranean possession for Britain (Crete and Suda Bay) was one they never actually acquired, though they were often suspected of the ambition, and English influence was always a feature of Cretan politics from the 1840s onwards."<sup>32</sup>

Oddly, however, the period during which Dawkins did most of his travelling in Crete – the First World War – was a comparative peaceful period in local history, coming after the uprising and intercommunal massacres of 1896-8 and the Theriso revolt of 1908, and before the compulsory exchange of religious minorities between Greece and Turkey in 1923. During the War there was no armed conflict and no forced migration that directly impinged on Crete.

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The Cretan state began to bring modernity to the island. As Dawkins saw it, modernity for Crete meant fewer "Turks" and more roads ("The Turks went and roads came": ch. 1). Michael Llewellyn Smith writes that "in 1897 there was only one proper carriage road, from Suda to Canea, five miles long".<sup>33</sup> Dawkins witnessed much road-building in Crete. He and a colleague write in 1913 that "the carriage road from Candia to the Messará [plain] has been opened as far as Hagia Varvára, which lies high up on the

<sup>30</sup> These dates are taken from Dawkins' "Journeys during the War", while the reference to his duties is based on Mackenzie, *Greek memories*, p. 417. The same author implies (*Aegean Memories* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1940), p. 100-1) that Dawkins was the only member of this censorship unit who knew Greek.

<sup>31</sup> Mackenzie, *Aegean memories*, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Holland, "Via or Vita? British experience in the modern Mediterranean", in Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (eds), *The Ionian Islands: aspects of their history and culture* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), p. 69.

<sup>33</sup> Llewellyn Smith, *The Great Island*, p. 97.

central watershed of the comparatively open part of Crete between Ida and Dikte. [...] Beyond Hagia Varvára [i.e. to the south] there is nothing but the old mule track, which runs along a valley to the south of Ida and reaches Kamares by way of Panasós, Gérgeri, Nívríto, Zaró and Vouroúsi.” The same authors add a detail that tells us much about the state of Crete in their time: “The village of Kamares, [...] having always been Christian, has none of the ruined or deserted Turkish houses which now give so sad an appearance to many of the villages of the plains”.<sup>34</sup> Elsewhere Dawkins mentions that the first wheeled vehicles that the people of eastern Crete had ever seen were the wheelbarrows that were brought there by the British archaeologists.

By the time Dawkins first went there, the demographic situation of Crete, in terms of the proportion of Christians and Muslims, had radically swung in favour of the Christian element.

Pashley estimated that in 1834 the total population of the island was 129,000, of whom 83,000 (64.4%) were Christians and 46,000 (35.6%) Muslims; this figure, however, does not account for the Jewish population. He estimated that the rural population was 108,000, consisting of 81,000 (75%) Christians and 27,000 (25%) Muslims, although these percentages seem to be suspiciously neat. His estimates of the population in the three largest towns are indicative of the fact that urban Cretans were overwhelmingly Muslim:

- Megalo-Kastron (Candia): 12,000, of whom 11,000 Muslims (91.7%) and 1000 (8.3%) Christians;
- Hania: 5,800, of whom 5,000 (86%) are Muslims and 800 (14%) are Christians and Jews;
- Rethymno: 3,200, of whom c. 2,800 (87.5%) are Muslims and c. 400 (12.5%) are Christians.

Pashley reckoned that in 1821 the total population of the island had been twice as large as in 1834, i.e. at least 260,000 to 270,000; he also reckoned that the total population at the beginning of the Venetian period had been about twice as much again, i.e. about 500,000 or 600,000. The huge decline in the population is accounted for by massacre, emigration and famine, with particularly steep declines during the revolts that marked the first 150 years of the Venetian period and the revolt against Ottoman rule in the 1820s. If it is the case, as Pashley claimed, that the 1821 population was divided equally between Christians and Muslims, we can see that a much larger number of Muslims than Christians either lost their lives or left the island during the 1820s.<sup>35</sup>

The continuing diminution of the Muslim population is shown in the first official census to have taken place in Crete, in 1881. According to these figures, the total population had grown considerably to 279,165 but only 26.2% of these were Muslims.<sup>36</sup>

The population of the island in 2011 was 623,065; this is similar to the figure of 500-600,000 that Pashley estimated as the population of Crete on the eve of the Venetian takeover in the early thirteenth century.

Cretan history since the early nineteenth century has featured a series of massive bouts of violence separated by peaceful intervals during which the survivors have rebuilt their homes, their places of worship and their lives. The most recent such

<sup>34</sup> R. M. Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner, “The Excavation of the Kamares cave in Crete”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 19 (1912/13), pp. 4-6.

<sup>35</sup> All the above figures are based on Pashley II 325-326.

<sup>36</sup> Holland & Markides 2006: 82.

outburst of violence was during the Axis occupation, which lasted from May 1941 to May 1945.

The Axis occupation is just one of the momentous events and situations that have radically changed Crete since Dawkins' time, in terms of the visual appearance of the towns, the countryside and the people themselves, and in terms of their culture and way of life. Most of the island was occupied by the Germans, but the Italians occupied the less mountainous eastern Crete (Lasithi and Siteia) till Italy capitulated in September 1943. The Occupation was preceded by the Battle of Crete in May 1941, which involved the bombing of towns. Parts of the historic centres of Hania and Herakleion were flattened by German bombs in May 1941; Hania was bombed for seven days, from 20 to 26 May, and Herakleion was intensively bombed on 25 May. Axis forces in 1943 numbered 75,000, as against a Cretan population of 400,000.<sup>37</sup> Acts of resistance by Cretans and their allies (including the abduction of General Kreipe by Patrick Leigh Fermor and his associates) brought about reprisals involving not only mass slaughter of civilians but also the destruction of whole villages (including historic monuments). However, a lot of such destruction was carried out – without any strategic or punitive motive – by German troops as they retreated from the island. The destruction of villages was followed after the War by rebuilding without respect for traditional architecture.

Other major changes that have happened to Crete and its people during the last 100 years include the following:

#### *Internal migration*

“Though there is cultivable land by the sea in Sphakia, the coast was conspicuously lacking in settlement through the 1000 years from the late Roman period/first Byzantine period up to the age of tourism. Settlements are sometimes located 1 km or so inland, but are not directly visible from the sea; examples are the deserted Trypiti village at Peradoro, and Agia Roumeli (the old village).<sup>38</sup> Avoidance of coastal locations is usually attributed to insecurity; as late as 1867 eastern Sphakiotes did not live on the Frangokastello plain because they feared raids from the sea.”<sup>39</sup>

Before and during Dawkins' time, long stretches of the coast, especially in the south, were uninhabited. Outside the towns, most people used to live in inland villages; in the case of shepherding communities, they would have two abodes, one in a low-lying village for the winter, the other in a village on higher ground for the summer, while the menfolk would spend the summer even higher up in huts on the mountain pastures (*madares*). The Cretans were not traditionally a seafaring people, and in any case, until the nineteenth century the coastal areas of Greece were dangerous because they were periodically raided by pirates, who would not only steal goods but also capture local people whom they would sell as slaves.

#### *Mass tourism*

Today it is precisely the coastal strips that attract the highest density of foreign visitors, so that the beaches, which were formerly deserted and distant from human habitation, are now lined with hotels, bars, cafés, tavernas and souvenir shops (with a few exceptions such as the bay of Itanos in eastern Crete). Yet the tradition of seasonal

<sup>37</sup> Anthony Beevor, *Crete: the battle and the resistance* (London: John Murray, 1991), p. 239.

<sup>38</sup> By Samaria the authors mean the village of that name inside the Samaria gorge.

<sup>39</sup> Nixon et al., available at <http://sphakia.classics.ox.ac.uk/emccv1989.html#m20>.

migration still exists, in so far as many Cretans who run tourist facilities in modern settlements on the coast spend the winter in their homes in older villages in the hinterland. At the same time, there has been huge migration from villages to towns.

“Hersonissos and Malia were the ‘hottest’ place to be in Crete during the ’80s. Tourist packages promised wild nights and non-stop partying until morning, making these two tourist villages the ultimate summer destination for careless [sic] holidays – mainly for foreigners. North-western ladies were falling under the ‘spell’ of ‘greek kamaki’ (which basically means ‘chick fishing’, with a harpoon to be precise, referring the unique Greek flirting style!), money and alcohol was plentiful and everybody was happy!”. This was the “myth” according to one website, whereas the “reality” was “Stories of crazy tourists doing unspeakable things on the streets of Malia and Hersonissos are often on the Greek news! And it wouldn’t be an exaggeration to claim that it is a bit dangerous to walk around in Malia during summer, since half-naked and often drunk tourists drive around like crazy with ATVs [quad bikes]!”<sup>40</sup>

Related to both migration and tourism are other phenomena, such as the purchase or building of primary or secondary residences by non-Greeks and the construction of airports, major roads and hundreds of tracks that scar the hillsides. These tracks are often clumsily bulldozed and inadequately drained, so that the first torrential downpour of rain gouges deep gullies in the surface which render the track impassable. The road building, in particular, has resulted in the partial or total obliteration of most of the old mule-tracks, which were among the most important monuments of Crete, bearing witness to a continuity of culture spanning several millennia, the interstices between their stones also providing a habitat for countless plants and insects.

### *Films and celebrities*

The tourist development of Crete has been boosted by cinema and television and by associated visits by stars and celebrities.

The online International Movie Database lists 80 titles of films and TV series that have been shot on location in Crete. Early examples of these include two 1957 films: *Ill Met by Moonlight*, based on the abduction of General Kreipe, and Jules Dassin’s 1957 film *Celui qui doit mourir*, based on the novel *Christ Recrucified* by Cretan Nikos Kazantzakis, filmed at Elounda and starring Melina Mercouri. At least two international films were shot in Crete in 1964: *Zorba the Greek*, also based on a Kazantzakis novel and starring Anthony Quinn and Alan Bates; and *The Moon-Spinners* starring Haley Mills, which was also shot in Elounda (including picturesque nearby windmills) as well as at Agios Nikolaos and Kritsa. The whole cast of this film, plus Walt Disney himself, stayed at the newly built Minos Beach Hotel at Elounda. Later Agios Nikolaos was used as a location for the BBC television serial *The Lotus Eaters* (1972-3), and Elounda was used as a location for another BBC serial, *Who Pays the Ferryman?* (1977). These serials, in particular, encouraged British people not only to visit Crete but to buy first or second homes there. More recently, a Greek television serial – the most expensive that country has ever produced – was based on Victoria Hislop’s novel *The Island* (Greek title: *To nisi*, 2010-11), and Jackie and I were amused (and faintly appalled) to see that a row of “old” buildings that had been constructed at Plaka near Elounda (opposite the islet of Spinalonga) to lend greater “authenticity” to

<sup>40</sup> <http://cretazine.com/en/crete/travel-explore/crete-360/item/52-myth-realities>, quoted verbatim.

the film set were still standing (and are presumably destined to remain there indefinitely), one of them even sporting a faux-19<sup>th</sup>-century inscription.

Elounda, in particular, caught the imagination of film makers, film stars and movie-goers. Hollywood stars were regularly to be spotted at Elounda's luxury hotels. "Elounda, which locals call the St Tropez of Crete, was a poor fishing village in the 1960s. 'But in the late 1960s Minos Palace was created,' explains [Hotel Manager] Harry [Maranghides]. 'Then Mr Kokotos designed Minos Beach – completed in 1971. [...] Minos Beach was the most luxurious Hotel in Greece,' continues Harry. It created a demand for luxury on the east coast just north of Agios Nikolaos. With demand on the rise for super luxurious hotels on this coast, next project for Mr & Mrs Kokotos was Elounda Bay completed 1977, sold a year later.'"<sup>41</sup>

According to the "Cretan myths and realities" website, the myth was that Elounda was "A favorite destination for the international jet set, including Hollywood stars, super rich Saudi princes and so on!" Looking for the perfect place to get married, Jennifer Anniston is said to have considered "the Elounda Beach Hotel in Crete which offers packages for weddings in Greece from \$2,300". Meanwhile Elounda Peninsula All Suite Hotel reportedly includes "Crete's only resort golf course".

I leave it to the reader to imagine the cultural and environmental impact of all this development. Some innovations can be reversed, however. Back in the 1960s and 1970s, the Roman-era tombs carved into the cliff at Matala were a favourite haunt for hippies, but also of celebrities including Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin and Cat Stevens. Now, however, the cliff area is fenced off as an archaeological site, and entrance to them is controlled by guards who close the area off at night.

## 5. Dawkins' proposed book

The geographical layout of thirty-one chapters in Dawkins' book is from west to east. In this he seems to follow Gerola. Nevertheless, as he says in his Introduction, before his travels in the First World War Dawkins knew eastern Crete better than the western part, since he was digging at Palaikastro and Plati: "Before this I knew Siteia region well and a lot of Lasithi and Mesara and all the land [?way] east from Candia; also Canea to Candia" he writes in his log of "Journeys during the War".

Dawkins neither intended, nor had the opportunity, to carry out a systematic survey of Crete. Instead, he recorded what he discovered on his way while carrying out various missions, whether these were related to archaeology or espionage. In ch. 26 he writes: "But of these delectable rides I have very few notes. I can do no more than set down the series of villages as I have from time to time passed by. And as it has always been with the intention of wasting no time, each of the routes has for one reason or other commended itself." This passage is unusual for two reasons. First, it is one of the few places where he refers to his means of transport: "rides" implies on horseback or muleback. Second, he explicitly refers to the fact that on most of his journeys he was in a hurry to get his job done – though he never reveals what that job consisted of. As for riding in a carriage, he only explicitly mentions this in ch. 2, where he refers to taking a *sousta* (trap or gig) from Skines to Hania. In view of the age-old modes of transport that Dawkins normally uses, it strikes us as almost an anachronism when on two occasions in his list of "Journeys during the War" (appended to this Preface) he

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<sup>41</sup> <http://orbitwithgillian.com/?tag=crete>.

tells us that he travelled on a bus: “July 27<sup>th</sup> [1916]. Candia by bus to Peza and Arkalohori”; “September 16<sup>th</sup> [1916]. Agios Nikolaos by bus to Neapolis”.

In ch. 24 Dawkins writes: “Archaeology lies outside the plan of this book.” Nevertheless, he seems to have devoted an inordinate amount of time and space to recording inscriptions (this was in fact one of the chief tasks assigned to him during his first excavations) – especially when they had already been recorded by Stefanos Xanthoudidis and Giuseppe Gerola.

Dawkins’ interest in the Venetian monuments of Crete was no doubt influenced by Gerola, whose monumental work *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta* was published in four volumes (each 35 cm tall and totalling more than 2000 pages) from 1905 to 1932/40, although he never visited Crete after 1914. During his mission in Crete in 1900-1902, Gerola took 1642 photographs, most of which are included in his volumes, although the complete collection of photos was not published till much later, by Curuni and Donati in their book *Creta Veneziana*.

In 1900, at the age of twenty-four, Gerola was sent to Crete by the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti to carry out a systematic study of the considerable Venetian remains on the island: fortifications, aqueducts, castles, churches, monasteries, and various other public and private buildings, many of which remained in use in his time, and in many cases have continued to be used up to the present day. The Venetian Institute was aware that the end of Ottoman rule in Crete and the foundation of an autonomous Cretan state had two important consequences for the Venetian monuments: (a) the end of inter-communal violence and the greater ease of communication with local officials on the island meant that it had become both safer and easier for foreign archaeologists and other scholars to work there,<sup>42</sup> and (b) the new Cretan state began to subject the towns to a process of modernization and expansion, which entailed a certain amount of de-Venetianization and de-Ottomanization: buildings that were felt to symbolize foreign domination – or were simply obstacles in the way of new town plans – were becoming targets for demolition. But the destruction had begun even before this: Gerola bewails “the demolition mania” of the Russians occupying Rethymno immediately before the foundation of the Cretan state in 1898, who spared little of the town’s walls.<sup>43</sup>

Gerola disembarked at Candia for the first time in January 1900. He soon decided that it would be artificial to confine his work to the study of the Venetian monuments of the island and that it was necessary and desirable to study also the churches built by the Orthodox Christians during the Venetian period, which tended to be influenced by the architectural styles of the Venetians. Gerola remained in Crete for a total of 26 months before completing his mission in July 1902.

Gerola was tremendously proud of “the glorious days when Candia was the splendid capital of one of the Serenissima’s most prized possessions”.<sup>44</sup> Of Gerola Dawkins remarked to Leigh Fermor: “Crete he regards of course as an Italian island to which a few Greeks have somehow strayed but on the architectural side he is good” (17 January 1952). Indeed, Gerola’s mission took place at a time when Italy was planning

<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, well before this, the Italian archaeologist Federico Halbherr had been excavating Phaistos, Agia Triada and Gortyn, and he was able to facilitate Gerola’s mission.

<sup>43</sup> Gerola’s letter of October-November 1900 is printed in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 75. He also notes the historical importance of the city walls of Candia (Herakleion), which had remained in perfect condition, unlike the walls of many cities in Italy, which had been demolished for the sake of expansion (*ibid.*, 87). Now, he continues, the Cretan government wishes to do the same thing. He persuaded the Venetian Institute to protest to the Cretan government about these plans (*ibid.*, 91). In fact, the Venetian walls of Herakleion have for the most part been allowed to remain to this day.

<sup>44</sup> Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 76.



to gain control of various areas in and around the Mediterranean, which it increasingly saw as an Italian lake. These plans bore fruit with the Italian takeover of Libya and the Dodecanese from the Ottoman Empire in 1911-12 – before Gerola left Crete for the last time in 1914.

Gerola's systematic and thorough coverage of the topic no doubt made Dawkins feel more than a little diffident about the contribution that he might be able to make to the study of these monuments. Like Gerola, Dawkins worked with the first two government-appointed ephors (superintendents) of archaeology in Crete, Iosif Hatzidakis (1848-1936) and Stefanos Xanthoudidis (1864-1928), who together founded the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion, which moved into a purpose-built building in 1908. Xanthoudidis was ephor of archaeology of Crete from 1900 to 1915 and subsequently director of the Museum.<sup>45</sup>

While he was preparing his Cretan material, Dawkins did not have the advantage of seeing the fourth and final volume of Gerola's *magnum opus*, which was published after Dawkins last left Crete in 1919. The section on Greek inscriptions in that volume (pp. 390 ff.) was prepared in collaboration with Xanthoudidis, who had begun this enterprise in 1898, before Gerola's arrival on the island, and published a large collection of them in 1903, followed by a volume of them in 1909. The manuscript of this section of Gerola's fourth volume had just been completed when Xanthoudidis died suddenly in 1928 without seeing it published. Part of his volume IV was printed after the outbreak of the Second World War, and in a note added at the end of that final volume Gerola remarks presciently that that he is aware his work will sometimes be "the last surviving evidence of these perished monuments" (IV 599). Many of the grand Venetian buildings of Hania were indeed destroyed in the German bombardment of May 1941.

But enemy bombardment was not the only cause behind the destruction of historic buildings in Crete. In ch. 29 Dawkins remarks ruefully: "The total absence of historic or aesthetic feeling and the furious chauvinism inspired by Greek education, combined with the natural destructiveness of the peasant who also is apt to believe that all old buildings contain treasures, make a formidable combination before which already many, and in the near future probably most, of the historical monuments of later Greece are likely to succumb".

Among the other writers who preceded Dawkins in his Cretan explorations, and whose work he consulted, were Pashley, Spratt and Tozer. The two-volume work *Travels in Crete* (1837) written by the Cambridge Classicist Robert Pashley (1805-59) on the basis of his explorations from February to September 1834, present a detailed and accurate picture of Crete in the period immediately after the Greek War of Independence, at a time when Crete (which had failed to be united with the newly independent Greek state) was governed by an Egyptian administration that restored order to the island (1830-41).<sup>46</sup> Pashley was accompanied in his travels by Antonio Schranz (1801-65), one of three artist brothers, whose fine engravings illustrate his book.

In 1834 Pashley passed by a great many ruined and deserted villages and felled olive groves, the physical results of the destructive violence with which the uprising that began in 1821 was fought and was crushed over a period of ten years. He writes

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<sup>45</sup> The present museum, built in 1935 on the same site, stands on the corner of two streets named after these Cretan archaeologists.

<sup>46</sup> The British refused to allow Crete to become part of the new Greek state, but insisted that it be placed under Egyptian control in order to avoid reprisals from the Sultan. In fact, the Egyptian administration largely improved the condition of the Christian Cretans (Holland and Markides 2006: 82).

that almost all the villages in Crete “may be said to be in ruins”; he also mentions innocent civilians being massacred: he refers to “the almost total extermination of the male inhabitants in some parts of Crete”, either killed or driven into exile or captured as slaves (II 121).

Captain Thomas Spratt, R.N. (1811-88) was a geologist and surveyor. His *Travels and researches in Crete* (1865), based on the survey of the island which he carried out from 1851 onwards, contains accurate descriptions of the physical geography, geology, archaeology and natural history of the island. Apart from his book, he produced the first proper nautical charts for Crete. His researches were presumably intended to provide the British government with information that would be useful if it decided to set up military bases on the island.

In a sense, Pashley, Spratt and Gerola had already done most of the exploring and describing before Dawkins, so he must sometimes have felt that there wasn't very much left to describe. However, Dawkins didn't have the works of these men with him while travelling, which explains why he sometimes either duplicates information they provide or contradicts it.

The Revd Henry Fanshawe Tozer (1829-1916) was a Fellow of Exeter College (like Dawkins after his appointment at Oxford but before Dawkins' time) and (also like Dawkins) a skilled botanist and folklorist. He was a pioneer of the establishment of geography as a subject taught at British universities. Among Tozer's works that might have interested Dawkins are *Researches in the highlands of Turkey* (1869), *Turkish Armenia and eastern Asia Minor* (1881), *The Greek-speaking population of southern Italy* (1889), and *The islands of the Aegean* (1890, reprinted 2012). This last work, based on Tozer's journey in the spring of 1874 to the Greek islands, including Crete (only two chapters: 2 and 3), is the one that Dawkins refers to in his Crete book. However, in his correspondence with Patrick Leigh Fermor, Dawkins calls Tozer a “clerical don” who travelled all over the Near East but never liked the people at all; “I could never see why he went” (19 January 1955). In a letter to Xan Fielding (25 February 1952) Dawkins writes that Tozer “wrote a book on the islands but had no feeling for the people whom I think he disliked in a quietly gentlemanly way and that isn't the way to write a book.”

On the other hand, Tozer highlights the devastation that he witnessed in the aftermath of the 1866-69 uprising. He remarks that not a village was left standing: houses belonging to Christians and Muslims alike had been looted, gutted and burned, and the remaining villagers were “half-starved and half-clothed” (48-9). He shrewdly points out that “an insurrection in Crete is almost an internecine struggle” (35), since the intercommunal violence (which was additional to the extreme violence meted out by Ottoman troops) amounted to an often savage civil war between Christian and Muslim Cretans who shared the same language and the same genetic descent.<sup>47</sup> And he adds that people avoided repairing their homes because they were convinced that another insurrection would break out within a decade – which it did in 1878, as he points out in a subsequent footnote on p. 75. Intercommunal violence in Crete was the struggle between opponents and supporters of the ruling regime, the former indignant at the local Muslims for having taken the easy way out by making common cause with the rulers and thus betraying the traditions and interests of the Christian population, and the latter fearing they would lose their privileges, their livelihoods and even their lives if the rebels got there way.

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<sup>47</sup> Similarly Spratt I 116.

Another earlier travel account of Crete that Dawkins sometimes consulted is *Camping in Crete* (1913) by an author who rejoiced in the name Aubyn Trevor-Battye. However, in a letter to Leigh Fermor (18 February 1952), Dawkins says Trevor-Battye was in Crete only to observe birds: “he kept as far away from the Cretans as he possibly could”.

What kind of book was Dawkins aiming to write. Perhaps the clearest evidence of his intentions is contained in letters he wrote to his friend and British School colleague F.W. Hasluck, from which I quote two extracts:<sup>48</sup>

I am copying out my Cretan travel notes; they are a great quantity and make a fine miscellany; plans of & inscriptions from monkeries, descriptions of roads and villages, traditions, superstitions, proverbs, and oddments of all kinds. As a book it would deal with very little except Venetian Turkish and Romaic (that is nondidascalic) Crete. How would (The island of) Candia Crete or Kirit Adasi do for a title?<sup>49</sup>

“Romaic” was the (now obsolete) term for the colloquial modern Greek language and the culture that went with it. By “nondidascalic” (i.e. non-schoolmasterly), Dawkins probably meant both avoiding the ancient and adopting an informal approach to his material. One of the alternative titles he suggests in this extract includes the Venetian name of the island (Candia), while the other is Turkish (*Kirit Adasi*, properly *Girit Adasi* ‘Crete island’).

My great standby these last weeks has been transcribing on the typewriter all my travel notes on Crete [...]. I find my material includes an account with sketch plans of nearly every monastery in Crete with the local accounts of the foundation and copies of the inscriptions which date the buildings; Descriptions of roads and the scenery and remarkable objects passed by them; A good deal of folklore and local traditions of the Politis kind; Notes on animals plants trees and ideas connected with them; Notes on the different kinds of houses with sketches of the plans of older Venetian houses; Notes on Venetian remains. Notes on churches (all of which as far as it is Venetian will be in Gerola). Notes on trades and handicrafts etc.<sup>50</sup>

His “notes on trades and handicrafts” are particularly valuable and interesting. He describes various traditional crafts and the implements and mechanisms associated with them, such as keeping bees, milling flour, pressing oil from olives and extracting salt from salt pans.

There was much of the antiquarian about Dawkins. His Crete book seems uncannily similar to the book about Surrey that was planned by the seventeenth-century English antiquarian John Aubrey: a haphazard record of antiquities and natural history, which the author was never able to complete.<sup>51</sup> Aubrey had a similar nostalgia for

<sup>48</sup> The Dawkins-Hasluck correspondence is housed in the Dawkins Archive, ARCH.Z.DAWK.15.

<sup>49</sup> Dawkins to Hasluck, 23 February 1919.

<sup>50</sup> Dawkins to Hasluck, 18 March 1919. Among many other things, the pioneering Greek folklorist N.G. Politis published a two-volume collection of folk traditions under the title *Παραδόσεις* (Athens 1904). I should warn the reader that some of Dawkins’ sketches (plans of buildings etc. and inscriptions) are in pencil on tinted paper and therefore don’t reproduce well.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Rawlinson had to put Aubrey’s Surrey into a semblance of order before it could be published, 22 years after Aubrey’s death. Aubrey also left his *Monumenta Britannica* unfinished. Other instances of 17<sup>th</sup>-century British antiquarian volumes include Elias Ashmole (1617-92), *The Antiquities of Berkshire* and Robert Thoroton (1623-1678), *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677). Many more

monasteries and generally for the medieval. Like Aubrey, Dawkins recorded numerous inscriptions, as well as some superstitious beliefs that he encountered on his travels. It is telling that the only book that Aubrey published in his lifetime was a compendium of British superstitions and tales entitled *Miscellanies*. It is no coincidence that in one of his letters to Hasluck that I've just quoted he describes the content of his planned book as "a fine miscellany".

The reason why Dawkins shows a particular interest in church bells is that they were prohibited under Ottoman rule, as their ringing was considered by the Muslims to be too blatant a sign of Christianity. This probably lasted until perhaps the last few years of Ottoman rule. Until this time bells had had to be safely hidden, while metal or wooden *simandra* were used instead.<sup>52</sup> Dawkins talks about *simandra* (*semantra*) in ch. 8.

Dawkins was deeply conservative: he believed that the old ways are best, and he detested innovation. In his Crete book he repeatedly expresses his loathing for the recent fashion for using pitched rooves covered by red tiles imported from France rather than the traditional Cretan flat rooves known as δώματα. His objection was to the flat tiles used in northern France rather than the semi-cylindrical Roman tiles that are characteristic of the French Midi. In ch. 2 he makes it clear that he had no objection to the latter type, which he calls "old-fashioned local semicircular lapped tiles".

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It is impossible to write about the material that Dawkins had prepared for his book without mentioning its shortcomings. To start with, Dawkins was legendary for his ebullience, vivacity and humour. The novelist Compton Mackenzie, who served with him in Syra in 1917, wrote of him: "He is, and was, one of the outstanding conversationalists of our time, full of an irrepressible geniality [...]".<sup>53</sup> Yet these characteristics are absent from his material on Crete. The little book that Dawkins wrote about his friend, the novelist and travel writer Norman Douglas, begins with the following sentence: "Whenever a man writes a book, he puts, and must put, into it something of himself; it must be to some extent a picture of his own character."<sup>54</sup>

Yet Dawkins' remark on his friend Maurice Bowra's book on Callimachus can be applied perfectly to his own writing about Crete: "I don't know why a man who talks in such a lively way should write so unlivably" (to Leigh Fermor, 8 March 1953). Congratulating Leigh Fermor on his recent book *The Violins of Saint-Jacques: A Tale of the Antilles*, Dawkins writes that the book is "really splendid; its flooding copiosity delighted me; I really like my stuff a bit rich and fruity; I have not the taste for the very dry austere article so much affected now" (5 September 1953). By contrast, he didn't think much of Lawrence Durrell's book on Rhodes, *Reflections on a Marine Venus* (1953): "the thing fundamentally wrong is that I can't help feeling that Durrell finds

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were compiled in the 17<sup>th</sup> century but not published at the time (or ever); such volumes continued to be compiled in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>52</sup> Concerning Cyprus, according to Michael Given and Marios Hadjianastasis, "Landholding and landscape in Ottoman Cyprus", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 34 (2010), 58, the Ottomans banned the use of church bells there when they captured the island in 1570, though this was more because of the urgent need for bronze for cannons than for any religious persecution. The ban lasted till 1856. The *simandro* was actually preferred by the Orthodox Church; it was used in Cypriot monasteries as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century. "Its cultural associations and capacity for more intricate rhythms more than made up for its lesser carrying power, until European influences in the second half of the nineteenth century stimulated the construction of neo-classical bell-towers" (*ibid.*).

<sup>53</sup> Mackenzie, *Aegean Memories*, p. 101.

<sup>54</sup> MacGillivray, *Norman Douglas*, p. 5.

himself, and expects the reader to find him, very much more interesting than Rhodes. And I don't believe he is" (ibid.).

Dawkins' remarks of some parts of Crete are quite inadequate. For instance, he is very disappointing on Rethymno, which today is one of the most charming towns in Crete, with many remains of fine Venetian buildings still standing. The majority of the buildings in Vernardou Street, for instance, date from the seventeenth century or earlier; this is very unusual indeed for a street in Greece. Among those Venetian buildings still remaining today in Rethymno are the following:

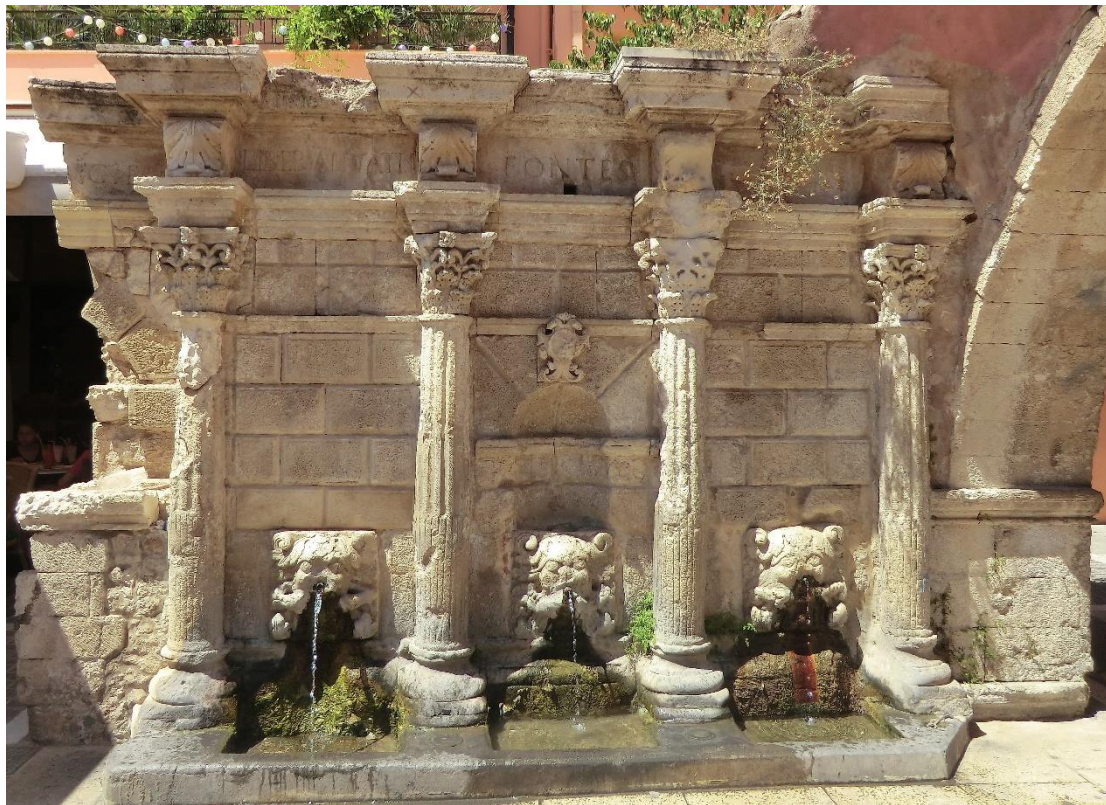


Photo © Benoît Prieur / Wikimedia Commons

- The Arimondi fountain, which was built by the Venetian governor Alvisè Arimondi in 1626 and is now (as it no doubt always was) a much-frequented meeting place<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The arch to the right of the fountain is what remains of a domed structure built in front of the fountain in Ottoman times; this work resulted in the destruction of the beginning and end of the Latin inscription (see St. Alexiou, *Ποικίλα ελληνικά* (Herakleion 2009), pp. 72-2). The photo of the fountain in Gerola IV 62 is very dark because the place was still roofed over in his day. Alexiou supposes that the reason why Gerola didn't published the inscription is that it was more or less inaccessible to him. The same may apply to Dawkins too.



Photo C. Messier:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Θύρωμα\\_οδού\\_Βερνάρδου\\_30,\\_Ρέθυμνο\\_1399.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Θύρωμα_οδού_Βερνάρδου_30,_Ρέθυμνο_1399.jpg)

- The beautifully preserved doorway of the Palazzo Clodio (30, Vernardou Sreet), with its fine inscription reading “A house resplendent with virtue” and dated the Kalends of June 1609, which now houses the workshop where Yorgos and Katerina Hatziparaschou prepare *kataifi* and filo pastry in the traditional way.<sup>56</sup> Rethymno still has many other fine Venetian doorways.

<sup>56</sup> See also Gerola III 246 & 248, IV 233 & 355. Gerola gives the building’s address as via Maomettani 25.



- The restored church of S. Francesco, which now houses the archaeological museum of Rethymno province. Gerola (IV 353) says it had completely disappeared in his time.



IMG\_0373, 24 April 2009 S. Maria degli Agostani, showing the minaret during restoration (now completed) as well as the domes that were added in the Ottoman period.

- The church of S. Maria degli Agostani, which became the Hüseyin Paşa mosque in the Ottoman period but is known as the Neradzé and now houses a music school (corner of Mavrokordatou and Vernardou Streets).

Nor does he mention the Venetian clock tower in Rethymno, the only proper clock tower in Venetian Crete, which was still partially standing (see Gerola III 71ff.) until it was demolished in 1945 to make the street wide enough for cars.

In Candia, Dawkins doesn't mention the fine Venetian cathedral of S. Marco (in "Lions Square").



S. Marco (photo Bernard Gagnon: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21992836>)

Nor does he mention the so-called Palazzo Ittar in Candia, whose ornate doorway survived in Gerola's day, though the building has been considerably modified and simplified in the modern restoration.





The doorway of the Palazzo Ittar opposite the British telegraph office, Candia (Gerola III 208)



IMG\_3226, 23 May 2011 The modernized remains of the Palazzo Ittar in Epimenidou St., Heraklion; the decorative mouldings, pilasters and capitals that surrounded the right-hand door (which Gerola describes as “perhaps the most beautiful of those [doorways] that survive in Candia”) have disappeared.

Although his wartime travel log indicates that he visited the island of Gavdos on 1 November 1916, Dawkins says nothing about it in his draft text. In a letter to Xan Fielding (19 October 1953) he mentions that he has two juniper trees in his garden in north Wales, which he planted from seeds gathered on Gavdos, “one very flourishing but neither producing the aphrodisiac berries so highly valued locally; they might have cured the unhappy condition of Hitler and Goering and the rest of them” (to Fielding, 22 October 1954).

His material contains no description of Siteia, though it does contain a photograph of the town.

Some other sections of his material are very scrappy, relying almost exclusively on information already available in Gerola’s and Xanthoudidis’ publications. Notable among these are the sections on the churches of Kandanos (ch. 2) and on the churches of Kritsa (ch. 25), some of which are among the most remarkable in Crete. In the case of Kandanos and Kritsa, Dawkins can be excused because it would have been difficult to carry one of Gerola’s weighty volumes with him on his travels, even if he possessed a copy of his own; he therefore had to mug up Gerola before his visit, then look back and check his own findings against Gerola’s after the event. In addition, as I’ve already said, the fourth volume of Gerola’s magnum opus, containing a large corpus of inscriptions, wasn’t published until 1940 and was therefore unavailable to Dawkins when he was preparing his Cretan material.<sup>57</sup>

Among important aspects of Cretan culture that Dawkins doesn’t mention are the following:

- Music (except passing mentions of a lyra at 9 and 20 and religious chanting at Angarathos monastery); note that in both references to the lyra he describes it as a “fiddle” and never mentions the violin, which is played in western Crete. He famously lacked an ear for music, but he did leave a remarkable unpublished notebook containing the words of almost 1000 *μαντινάδες* (rhymed fifteen-syllable couplets) that he transcribed from two informants at Palaikastro.<sup>58</sup>
- Dancing (except one description of a *zeybekiko* – which is in any case not a native Cretan dance<sup>59</sup> – in ch. 22, in which he misunderstands the meaning of the word, and a passing mention in ch. 9; also in ch. 24, which is a special case).
- The vendetta (except two cases of revenge killings between Christian and Muslim communities).
- The *agrimi* (the Cretan wild goat, *Capra aegagrus cretensis*, sometimes known as the Cretan ibex).
- Embroideries, despite the enormous importance of the rich collection of Greek island embroideries that he made in collaboration with A.J.B. Wace in 1906-1907 and donated to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1950;<sup>60</sup> the

<sup>57</sup> It is perhaps significant that the fourth volume of Gerola is not to be found in the Bodleian Library, which possesses the first three volumes. None of Gerola’s volumes is to be found in Dawkins’ own library, which is currently housed in the Taylor Institution Library.

<sup>58</sup> “953 couplets from Palaikastro in East Crete: taken down on three evenings from the mouths of Constantinos Exapolytakis and Constantinos Mourakis, and transcribed in phonetic spelling; taken down spring 1904” (Dawkins Archive: ARCH.Z.DAWK.7(1)).

<sup>59</sup> Dawkins’ lack of familiarity with the urban working-class culture (including the music) surrounding the *zeybekiko* – and the *rebetiko* music associated with it – is evident in his remark to Leigh Fermor, presumably in response to a request for information: “Of these *mangades* [*manges*] I have never really heard at all” (17 January 1952).

<sup>60</sup> “Between them they collected over 1200 pieces of embroidery, which are largely still intact as collections. Dawkins bequeathed his entire collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in

very few brief references to embroidery in the Cretan material are concerned exclusively with objects in Greek churches and monasteries.

He makes only passing references to a particularly significant aspect of Cretan culture, namely sheep-rustling.<sup>61</sup> In a letter to Fielding, however, he mentions having found vestiges of sheep-stealing: “exploring the hillside above Kamares cave we found an odd bottle-shaped pothole in the rocky surface, and it was full nearly to the top with the fleeces and bones of sheep; a record of many happy meals on stolen mutton” (19 October 1954).

In one of his letters to Leigh Fermor, Dawkins mentions witnessing an event he doesn't refer to in his Cretan material, namely the competition, on 6 January, between local men to retrieve a cross thrown into the sea by a priest or bishop: “I saw the Epiphany divers in the harbour of Candia; it was a fine sight; and it was a rare delight to see the bishop in full vestments blessing the naked boy when he brought in the Cross” (19 January 1955).

Despite what one might have expected of someone who very soon became a professor of Greek language and literature, Dawkins' drafts for his Crete book never mention Cretan literature, from Chortatsis and Kornaros in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries to Kondylakis at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> – not even in passing when he talks about their birthplaces (Rethymon, Siteia and Viannos respectively). He possessed an 1890 edition of Chortatsis' tragedy *Erofili*, at the end of which he pencilled a note that he had finished reading it at Agios Nikolaos on 14 March 1918. His library also contains four different editions of Kornaros' long narrative poem *Erotokritos* (including the monumental first critical edition published in 1915 and inscribed to him by its editor, his friend Xanthoudidis), but there is no evidence in any of these copies that he read the poem.<sup>62</sup> Dawkins' library contains a copy of Kondylakis' highly entertaining comic novel *Patouchas*, published in volume form in 1916, but it is practically unmarked. It also contains a copy of Ioannis Damvergis' collection of stories entitled *Oi Krites mou* (1898).

Dawkins was more interested in the literary productions of folk culture: songs and tales. He saw himself, in contrast to travellers like Tozer and archaeologists such as Arthur Evans, who “never learned to talk more than the most rudimentary [Modern] Greek” (letter to Fielding, 28 January 1952), as one who loves the “people”, the uneducated rural folk. When he was sent a typescript of the original Greek text of *The Cretan Runner*, the memoir of the resistance against the Nazi occupation by the barely literate George Psychoundakis, Dawkins was thrilled by the native brilliance of what he calls “George's masterpiece” (to Fielding, 29 November 1952). Dawkins translated a few pages of Psychoundakis' narrative and gave them to Neville Coghill, who was equally impressed. Dawkins wrote to Fielding that “really people like George Ps make one feel that all educational establishments, except for reading and writing and teaching manners, ought to be shut down; the fit ones pick it all up for themselves and the unfit

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1950”: Ann French, “The Greek embroidery collecting of R.M. Dawkins and A.J.B. Wace”, in Michael Llewellyn Smith, Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Eleni Calligas (eds), *Scholars, Travels, Archives: Greek History and Culture through the British School at Athens* (Athens: British School at Athens, 2009), p. 77. Dawkins' collection of embroideries seems to include very few, if any, objects from Crete: see the Victoria & Albert Museum's publication Pauline Johnstone, *A guide to Greek island embroidery* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

<sup>61</sup> See ch. 6, 12, 15, 24, and a note about sheep-stealers at Anogia in ch. 13, which he intended to develop but in the end failed to do so.

<sup>62</sup> Dawkins makes just one bibliographical reference to Xanthoudidis' edition, but it is to a linguistic point made in the editor's introduction rather than to the text of Kornaros' poem.

can neither be taught nor are much worth teaching” (to Fielding 14 May 1952). After receiving an advance copy of Leigh Fermor’s translation of *The Cretan Runner* he wrote to Fielding only one month before he died: “I am enchanted with it. George was one of those rare God-sent illiterates who pull off the thing by a sort of instinct. [...] It ought to be a great success and Paddy has translated it wonderfully” (1 April 1955).

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When he came to type up his material immediately after the cessation of hostilities in the First World War (1918-19), Dawkins was no doubt struck by the unsystematic nature of his material, and by the fact that he wasn’t able to go back and check up on queries he had left open. This may have been the chief reason why he eventually abandoned work on the book, even though he revisited the material and made some later additions. Some of the examples of oral history that he noted in his material were incorporated into his Presidential Address to the Folklore Society in 1930, entitled “Folk-memory in Crete”.<sup>63</sup> He made some additions to his material in 1931, and again in or after 1941. He even added some typewritten notes based on his reading of Alexandros Hatzigakis’ book on the churches of Crete, published in 1954, barely a year before Dawkins’ death, a copy of which he borrowed from Gareth Morgan, who had studied Medieval and Modern Greek at Oxford and went on to serve for many years as Professor of Classics at the University of Texas. The second of these interventions may have been an attempt – inspired by what he had read about the patriotic heroism of Cretan monks at the time of the German invasion of the island in May 1941 – to write a new, self-standing text about Arkadi Monastery.

Dawkins lent his typescripts to the archaeologist John Pendlebury (1904-41), who wrote some neat and helpful little pencil corrections and additions on them, which have been incorporated into our edition.<sup>64</sup> Dawkins also added comments by Patrick Leigh Fermor in reply to certain questions.

The friendship between Dawkins and “the Great Paddy” (as Dawkins describes him to Fielding, 16 November 1953) began in March 1951, when the Oxford professor wrote to the travel writer to tell him how delighted he was by *The Traveller’s Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands*, which Fermor had recently published. In this first letter Dawkins tells Fermor that “what you have achieved is not too common: a good balance between the things you have seen and your personal way of seeing them; the book is therefore neither a Baedeker nor a self centred series of impressions” (3 March 1951). Dawkins must have been painfully aware that his own book on Crete would have lacked one of the essential ingredients of a good travel account: the personal way of seeing things. Even before the two men met, Dawkins was already recommending that Fermor write a book on Greece (23 April 1951). After their first meeting, in Oxford in November 1951, Dawkins writes offering to help Fermor by supplying material for his planned book (it’s not clear what book Fermor was planning at that time). In the same letter Dawkins offers to send Fermor his material on Crete for the latter to pick out anything that might help him in his work. Of his Cretan material Dawkins writes: “this might have been towards a book which I shall never write and it

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<sup>63</sup> R.M. Dawkins, “Folk-memory in Crete”, *Folklore* 41.1 (1930), pp. 11-42.

<sup>64</sup> On graduating from Cambridge, Pendlebury won the Craven scholarship to the British School at Athens, as Dawkins had done before him. He became curator of Knossos for the 1929/30 season and remained for seven years, directing the excavations at Tell el Amarna in Egypt at the same time: see Brown, *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos*, p. 19. From 1936 he directed excavations on Mount Dikti in eastern Crete. He was murdered by German troops in April 1941. For more on Pendlebury see *John Pendlebury in Crete: comprising his Travelling hints and his First trip to Eastern Crete (1928) together with appreciations by Nicholas Hammond and T.J. Dunbabin* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948) and Imogen Grundon, *The Rash Adventurer: The Life of John Pendlebury* (London: Libri, 2007).

would now be out of date”. He goes on to tell Fermor: “You must write a book about your doings in Crete, or rather write a book about Crete in the war with your doings worked in.” The most famous of Fermor’s “doings” in Crete was the leading part he played in 1944 in the daring capture of the German General Kreipe, who was taken by submarine to Alexandria.<sup>65</sup> Dawkins urges Fermor to go to Crete and carry out some research; “but,” he warns, “go soon or your constitution will no longer be able to stand the furious succession of hospitable gorges and the bewildering blinds [drinking bouts] you will have to endure” (27 November 1951). More than three years after they first met, Dawkins was still urging Fermor to write a book on Crete (19 January 1955).

Dawkins’ abiding interest in Crete is evidenced by the fact that he collected about forty drawings of the island by Edward Lear, which he kept in his house in North Wales. After Dawkins’ death, some of the drawings were bought by Steven Runciman. Some or all of these are now in the National Gallery of Scotland, which received them in lieu of inheritance tax from the Runciman estate after Sir Steven’s death in 2000.

## 6. Our experiences

I first went to Crete in the summer of 1966 while I was working for a travel company called the Aegina Club run by Spiro Spiromilio in Athens. In the summer of 1967 I drove around the island with my brother Ralph, taking in places from Kastelli in the west to Sphakia in the south and Vai in the east. In those days most of the roads were dirt unpaved. Subsequently Jackie and I went there many times, normally travelling about by bus. Rather belatedly, in 1988, we first discovered the pleasures of long-distance walking in Greece, when we walked across the Pindos mountains from Pyli near Trikala on the eastern side to Vourgareli (officially Drosopigi) in the west. In 1992 we went with Ralph on our first long-distance walking holiday in Crete, and from 1994 onwards on Jackie and I continued to explore the island almost every year, mostly on foot, usually just the two of us but sometimes with a friend.

One of the things that have greatly impressed us on our journeys has been to find religious buildings that in Dawkins’ time were in a state of disrepair (if not devastation as a result of hostilities in the late 1890s) but have recently been restored, thanks to the devotion and generosity of donors at a time of economic austerity. The religious enthusiasm of the restorers is usually matched by a fine aesthetic sense and a respect for the history of the buildings.

Nevertheless, as the late Gerald Thompson wrote: “A bulldozer can destroy in a day what the patient toil of man and beast have taken centuries to evolve, and time-honoured landmarks may disappear overnight by act of God or the will of man”.<sup>66</sup>

The most striking instance of this destruction that we have witnessed is the Katre gorge, which was on the old north-south route between the north coast and Askyfou. Anyone who travelled by land from the north to Sphakia had to pass through there. This is why it was the site of decisive battles, during the revolt of Daskaloyannis in 1770, during the Greek War of Independence in 1821, and during the Cretan revolt of 1867. Hence Katre gorge was known as the “Thermopylae of Crete”. Pashley records that

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<sup>65</sup> The abduction was futile from a military point of view, and it occasioned vicious reprisals by German authorities against innocent Cretans. The story of the abduction reached a wider public through William Stanley Moss’s book *Ill Met by Moonlight* (1950), and especially through the 1957 film version, which starred Dirk Bogarde playing Fermor. Fermor’s own account of the affair was published posthumously: *Abducting a General: The Kreipe Operation and SOE in Crete* (London: John Murray, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Gerald Thompson, *A Walking Guide to Aegina* (Athens 2003), p. v.

when he passed through the gorge in 1834, the bones of Turkish troops from 1821 were still visible.<sup>67</sup> This is how the novelist Pandelis Prevelakis imagined it looked during the Cretan insurrection in the 1890s:

The gorge was tangled with kermes oaks, holm oaks and female cypresses. Their branches had been floored by the winds that hurtle down from the surrounding mountains. Eagles and falcons floated with slow wing-beats, surveying the rocks in search of corpses. For generation after generation, these huge raptors had been fed by war. The bones from Mustafa Pasha's army, which had been massacred in this narrow passage in '67, still stood out white amongst the low-lying branches.<sup>68</sup>

We walked northwards through the Katre gorge with my brother in 1992 on our way from Komitades via the Imbros gorge and Asyphou to Emprosneros and Vrysses, and it was just as Prevelakis describes it – except that there was no sign of human remains! Sheep were grazing among the stunted trees. It was one of those paths in Crete that you feel must have been in use for thousands of years. We walked the same route four years later with a friend, and we were horrified to discover that, during works to widen the Vrysses-Sphakia road, which is high up the valley, the bottom of the gorge had filled with rubbles that had fallen down the slope as a result of dynamiting operations. We had to clamber on all fours over the huge, sharp-edged boulders, the physical discomfort being accompanied by a bitter taste left in our mouths by this horrific crime against nature and historical memory. I am constantly amazed by the way that Cretans, who are so proud of their heroic history, are quite happy to destroy the natural and man-made features which are living witnesses to that history.

## 7. Our edition

The material for this book consists chiefly of a typed draft of each chapter. It is kept in a cardboard box with the shelfmark F.ARCH.Z.DAWK.12. This was housed in the basement of 47 Wellington Square, Oxford, from 1981 onwards, but in recent years it has been moved to the Bodleian Weston Library.

The appearance of this material is typical of Dawkins' erratic typing, which he tended to blame on the machine rather than on his own problems of physical co-ordination (he was possibly somewhat dyslexic too). He made extensive use of the typewriter because his handwriting was so difficult to decipher, even for himself. (Despite persistent efforts, Jackie and I have failed to decipher a number of words in the handwritten notes he added to his typescripts.) One of the recurrent problems for the reader of these typescripts is that it is often stated that such-and-such a place is "to the eest" or "wast" of another place, obliging us to discover whether he means "east" or "west" – quite apart from the fact that he frequently seems to be confused about the actual compass directions. He was often exasperated by the inaccuracy of his own typing, but he was sometimes amused by it, as when he recalls typing "pissprint" instead of "missprint" [sic!] in a letter to Xan Fielding (19 October 1953). A sample page of Dawkins' typing is reproduced at the end of ch. 24; readers should bear in mind

<sup>67</sup> Pashley II 170-5. He doesn't name the gorge, but it is obvious that he is referring to Katre.

<sup>68</sup> P. Prevelakis, *Ο Κρητικός. Η πρώτη λευτεριά* (Athens: Estia, n.d. [1<sup>st</sup> edn 1949]), p. 69.

that he was 83 years old at the time, but his more youthful efforts are only marginally more accurate.

I have sometimes felt that I'm engaged in the task of reconstructing Dawkins' text, which has suffered from the author's own unsystematic approach, his failure to mention some important and interesting phenomena, and his frequent lapses of memory.

My work on Dawkins' material is a bywork, not a scholarly edition. Our field trips to Crete have been carried out entirely at our own expense, and each of them has only lasted for a few days. Because of failing eyesight, I haven't included systematic referencing to Pashley, Spratt and Gerola, or even Spanakis' wonderful two-volume alphabetical descriptions of the town and villages of Crete.<sup>69</sup>

What you are reading is definitely not a critical edition of Dawkins' material. Jackie and I have made a lot of tacit corrections and a number of omissions, and we've sometimes spliced together two versions of the same description without explicitly saying so.

Dawkins' archive contains a number of photographs taken in Crete. I am unable to tell which were taken by Dawkins himself and which were taken by other photographers, whether amateur or professional. It is likely that some were purchased by Dawkins from local professionals.

One of these local professionals was Rahmizade Bahaettin, usually known as plain Behaeddin (1875-1951). Born in Candia to a family from Turkey (or, according to other sources, born in Constantinople to Cretan Muslim parents), he was the first ethnic Turk to work as a professional photographer in the Ottoman Empire. Following his studies in Paris, he set up a studio in Herakleion, where he printed the first picture postcards of Crete. He travelled throughout Crete photographing people, landscapes and events. Behaeddin assisted Gerola in his researches by developing and printing many of Gerola's photographs, although the Italian researcher took most of his photographs himself; Behaeddin also assisted him in dealing with difficulties in his relations with local Muslims.<sup>70</sup> "Mr Behaeddin" is also acknowledged in Dawkins' report of the 1913 Kamares excavation (p. 3) for his photos taken in Candia.

Not many of the photos in the Dawkins archive are either intrinsically interesting or particularly relevant to Dawkins' text. An exception is a photo of the Priuli fountain in Herakleion, in which the wooden beam propping up the balcony of the Ottoman house at the left-hand edge is still there today. For this reason I have included both Dawkins' photo and my own side by side in ch. 17.

I have long thought that the target audience for our book might be described as "the discriminating traveller". I was delighted to find in the *Times Literary Supplement* (19 November 2010), a reference to the fact that Peter Stafford describes his book *Romanesque Spain* as "a book for the discriminating traveller".

When I'm asked why I decided to work on Dawkins' Cretan material, I'm often tempted to give the answer that George Mallory gave in 1923 to an interviewer who asked him why he persisted in wanting to climb Mount Everest: "Because it's there." From 1981 to the 2010s Dawkins' library and his archive of unpublished papers were housed in the basement of 47 Wellington Square, Oxford, and my office and teaching rooms were in the same building. (Unlike Mallory, I only had to walk down four flights of stairs to reach my goal.) Over the years that I worked in the building (1981-2003) I

<sup>69</sup> Stergios Spanakis, *Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης*, 2 vols (Herakleion 1993).

<sup>70</sup> Most of the above information on Behaeddin is based on Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 71. The authors of that book note that all of Behaeddin's plates, numbering between 1500 and 2000, have been lost for ever, having been thrown into the rubbish by a person unknown in 1982.

often had occasion to consult books in Dawkins' library, and I also spent time investigating some of the contents of his archive, including his autobiographical texts and his plans for various unpublished books. After Jackie and I had seen some Cretan tulips on 9 April 1994 while we were driving in the Amari district with David and Katy Ricks, I noticed that Dawkins had recorded a sighting of the same species in the very same place and on the very same date (9 April 1917). This coincidence was one of the factors that made me decide to try to publish Dawkins' material together with notes of my own referring to the present state of some of the places he describes. But it wasn't until after I retired at the end of 2003 that I could contemplate devoting any time to this project.

In early 2009 Jackie typed Dawkins' text on to a word processor, a task that entailed a good deal of decipherment and correction. In April of that year, armed with the whole of the text and a digital camera, we made the first of many trips during which we explored Crete in Dawkins' footsteps. By now, we had taken to hiring a car for the duration of our trips, and our walking became far less frequent.

Readers may be bothered by my frequent use of the word "apparently" in my notes. I do so because, not being an expert on either Cretan history or on ecclesiastical architecture (besides many other such things), I haven't always been able to check information authoritatively.

It would have been beyond my capabilities to provide GPS coordinates for the places that Dawkins mentions. However, I have occasionally provided references to the Anavasi atlas (see *Atlas Crete* in the Bibliography).

### **Note on forms of placenames and transliterations of Greek words**

I have not attempted to standardize the spellings of names and things throughout Dawkins' text. Dawkins tends to use the Venetian forms of some of the Cretan placenames, which are now obsolete. Thus he writes Candia for Herakleion, Canea for Chania or Hania, and Retimo for Rethymno, just as English-speakers still use the Venetian names for three towns in Cyprus: Nicosia for Lefkosia, Famagusta for Ammochostos, and Limassol for Lemesos. He writes Hierapetra where most people would now write Ierapetra. He also tends to transliterate Greek  $\chi$  as kh rather than ch. He is inconsistent in the way he transcribes combinations of letters such as  $\nu\tau$  (Panteleimon and Pandeileimon both appear with about the same frequency) and  $\mu\pi$  (Melambes and Melabes). He often transcribes initial  $\tau$  and  $\pi$  as d and b, as in Dibaki (Τυμπάκι). This, combined with his frequent use of the accusative rather than the nominative form of Greek names, can lead to spellings such as Bashinamo (Παχύν Άμμο, the accusative of Παχύς Άμμος [Pachys Ammos], which has nowadays been replaced by the slightly archaized feminine form Παχειά Άμμος). He also writes Stromboli for the name of the mountain near Herakleion, instead of Stroumboulas.<sup>71</sup> In some of these spellings he follows Pashley, who likewise writes Dibaki and Stromboli.

We have usually left these particular names as he wrote them, but in the case of other place names I have added (in square brackets) the official modern name where it is substantially different from the form that he uses. I have also usually used a single -s- where the word is spelled with a single -ss- in Greek but Dawkins uses -ss-. He uses both the forms Agios/Agia and Ayios/Ayia 'Saint', but I have standardized these to

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<sup>71</sup> See ch. 1.



Agios and Agia even though this corresponds less closely to the pronunciation. I have written Dawkins' abbreviations HP as Hierapetra and PK as Palaikastro throughout.<sup>72</sup>

I have tacitly expanded some abbreviations and corrected a large number of mistakes that are due to the effect of Dawkins' "fat finger" on his typewriter.

### **My endnotes and my use of square brackets within Dawkins' text**

The material in square brackets within the text are my brief editorial interventions, except where it is marked "JW", in which case the note is Jackie's. These interventions are normally intended either to correct or to supplement Dawkins' text – for example, to add the usual modern form of a placename, as mentioned above. The footnotes (numbered with Arabic numerals) are Dawkins' own, whereas my longer comments are appended in the endnotes (indicated by Roman numerals).

### **SELECT GLOSSARY**

*demodidaskalos*: village schoolmaster

*doma* (pl. *domata*): the flat roof of the traditional Cretan house

*eikon*: icon (portable painted image of saint)

*hieromonk* or *ieromonakhos*: a monk who has been ordained as a priest

*kalderimi*: traditional mule-track paved with stones

*kelli*: monk's cell

*khalepa*: stony and barren stretch of land

*khorphylax*: rural policeman

*mandra*: pen for animals

*metokhi*: outpost of a monastery

*moni*: monastery

*Panagia*: Virgin Mary

*panigyri* (dialect for *panigyri*): saint's day festival

*stavropegion*: a "stavropegiac" monastery, i.e. one owing canonical allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople

*templon*: iconostasis: the wooden or stone screen hung with icons and separating the main part of the church from the sanctuary (which contains the altar)

*xenon*: section of monastery accommodating visitors

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<sup>72</sup> Kiepert's map writes P.K. for Palaikastro, but also for Palaiokastro west of Herakleion.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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## APPENDIX

**JOURNEYS DURING THE WAR [text by Dawkins; material in square brackets and footnotes by Peter Mackridge]**

Before this I knew Siteia region well and a lot of Lasithi and Mesara and all the land east from Candia; also Canea to Candia.

1916

May 7<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Thrapsanos – Viano

May 8<sup>th</sup>. Viano, Agios Vasilis, Kalami, Gdokia [τα Γδόχια], Myrtos, beach to Hierapetra

May 14<sup>th</sup>. At Toplou

May 14<sup>th</sup>. By sea from Sitia to Suda

May 18<sup>th</sup>. Ag. Nikolaos from Suda

May 18<sup>th</sup>. Ag. Nikolaos – Kritsa, Bashinamo – Hierapetra

May 20<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra, Myrtos – Arvi; at noon slept at Arvi by shore

May 21<sup>st</sup>. Arvi to Keratokampos by 8 am

May 21<sup>st</sup>. By trawler Keratokampos to Tsoutsouro and Maridaki by trawler and so by sea to Koudouma – Kaloi Limniones – Matala and then Zakro where I landed and went to upper village

May 22<sup>nd</sup>. Road Zakro to PK and Toplou, visiting Agios Andreas and towards Bai

May 24<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Siteia

May 25<sup>th</sup>. Siteia

May 26<sup>th</sup> [?]. Siteia to Khandras night – Hierapetra night – Bashinamo night to Agios Nikolaos, back to Bashinamo

May 29<sup>th</sup>. To Hierapetra, leaving at 5 am. Then Hierapetra to Thriпти, Orno, Roukaka Ai Mama, Skordylo, Paraspori, Akhladies [Achládia], Piskocephala, Siteia at 10.30

May 31<sup>st</sup>. In Smith's trawler Siteia to Mokhlos; landed, then to Spina Longa, Ag. Nikolaos, Bashinamo, Hierapetra, all by sea

June 2<sup>nd</sup>. By sea Hierapetra – Keratokampos – Tsoutsouros – Koudouma, night to Agia Photia, landed and walked to Hierapetra (torn trousers)

June 4<sup>th</sup>. Sea Hierapetra to Keratokampos watch stunt all night<sup>73</sup>

June 5<sup>th</sup>. Sea from Keratokampos to Janni Kapsa, landed and then to Palaikastro and mule to Toplou and then to Siteia; slept there

June 8<sup>th</sup>. Siteia to Bashinamo, night – Agios Nikolaos, night – Elounda – Spina Longa – Neapolis, night – Ag. Nikolaos, Kalohorio, Meselerous Hierapetra, night, till 12<sup>th</sup> then to Bashinamo

June 15<sup>th</sup> at Suda and trawler to Suda [??] and thence to Athens for WRH[alliday?]

June 24<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia

June 26<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Agia Barbara with WRH where we parted

June 27<sup>th</sup>. Ag. Barbara to Koudouma night; thence trawler to Kaloi Limniones, Matala, Tsoutsouros, Maridaki

June 29<sup>th</sup>. Myrtos, Torsa [Tertsá]

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<sup>73</sup> I don't know what this "stunt" consisted of.

The Agia Barbara to Koudouma journey was by Kato Moulia, Gangeli [Γκαγκάλες], Vayoniá, Loukia, Kapitaniana and Koudoumá

The trawler from Koudouma went to Kaloi Limniones, Matala, Tsoutsouros, Maridaki and on the 30<sup>th</sup> to Myrtos, Tertsá and Zakro. At Zakro I landed and rode to Siteia and slept there June 30<sup>th</sup>

July 1<sup>st</sup>. Siteia to Mesa Moulia night – to Bashinamo night – to Agios Nikolaos night

July [4<sup>th</sup>? 5<sup>th</sup>?]. Trawler from Agios Nikolaos to Khersonesos and Candia, then to Bashinamo

July 6<sup>th</sup>. Landed at Bashinamo and rode to HP, sleeping at Agiasmenos

July 7<sup>th</sup>. To Myrtos and back to HP

July 8<sup>th</sup>. To Ag. Jannis and back (I suppose by Ag. Photia)<sup>74</sup>

July 8<sup>th</sup>. Evening to trawler and so to Matala, and on

July 9<sup>th</sup> to Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma, Tsoutsouros, whence I rode to Mesohorio and slept there

July 10<sup>th</sup>. Mesohorio to Ag. Barbara night – Candia

July 12<sup>th</sup>. Left Candia in Rose's trawler<sup>75</sup> for Ag. Nikolaos, Vrionisi, Siteia

July 14<sup>th</sup>. Afternoon to Marounia, night; to Hierapetra, a very long ride, details of which I don't remember; at HP ill and so to Suda hospital

July 20<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia, Agios Nikolaos and (July 22<sup>nd</sup>) to Elasa, Palaikastro and back to Siteia

July 23<sup>rd</sup>. Still on trawler to Koudouma, Tsoutsouros, Myrtos, in evening Hierapetra, and on 24<sup>th</sup> to Candia where I landed and stayed till the 27<sup>th</sup>

July 27<sup>th</sup>. Candia by bus to Peza and Arkalohori, night, by Viano to Agios Vasilis, night, to Hierapetra

July 29<sup>th</sup>. By trawler Hierapetra to Siteia, Agios Jannis and Candia

July 31<sup>st</sup> to August 6<sup>th</sup> at Candia

August 6<sup>th</sup>. Evening by trawler eastwards, Agios Nikolaos, Siteia, Hierapetra reached in a storm on the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> (Rose's trawler)

August 9<sup>th</sup>. Left Hierapetra in trawler to Siteia, violent storm, stopped at Siteia

August 12<sup>th</sup>. Siteia to Palaikastro and back on mule

August 13<sup>th</sup>. On mule Siteia to Bashinamo, night; Kritsa to Neapolis, night; Neapolis to Candia

August 17<sup>th</sup>. Left Candia in trawler; on the 18<sup>th</sup> at Elasa, then Agia Photia and Hierapetra; left at night and so to Matala, Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma, Treis Ekklesies; on the 19<sup>th</sup> at Tsoutsouros. Then on 20<sup>th</sup> early at Gaidaronisi, then Tsloutsouros, place near Treis Ekklesies, Tsoutsouros again, and on 21<sup>st</sup> to Elasa and Palaikastro

August 21<sup>st</sup>. Rode with Commr [Stephenson] PK to Toplou, night, Siteia and on 22<sup>nd</sup> to Candia

August 24<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Rogdia and back by boat

August 25<sup>th</sup>. By trawler to Agios Nikolaos, night; left Agios Nikolaos by carriage and then mules to Panagia Kroustallenia

August 27<sup>th</sup>. In Lasithi; from Kroustallenia to Agios Giorgios, Agios Konstantinos, Psykhro Plati, Tzermiado, night; to Peza and Candia

<sup>74</sup> John Pendlebury queries this and adds "by sea?"

<sup>75</sup> The other trawler was Smith's: see 31/5/16.

August 30<sup>th</sup>. Evening to trawler; morning at Spina Longa, Agios Nikolaos, Siteia, Elasa

September 1<sup>st</sup>. Cruised round Kouphonisi and to Hierapetra, and

September 2<sup>nd</sup>. To Kaloi Limniones; landing at Matala impossible

September 2<sup>nd</sup> [?]. Rode Kaloi Limniones to Moires, night; to Kharakas near Pyrgos, night; to Alagni and Peza and thence by carriage to Candia

September 7<sup>th</sup>. Left Candia in trawler, Khersonesos, Kakodiávato below Milato (man who swam out for rope, Agios Nikolaos; then on 8<sup>th</sup> to Hierapatra, then Elasa and Siteia and on 9<sup>th</sup> Candia, then to Hierapetra, Tsoutsouros, Elasa and on 12<sup>th</sup> to Candia

September 14<sup>th</sup>. Trawler to Retimo, Suda on 15.IX.16, midday, Friday

September 15<sup>th</sup>. Evening in trawler from Candia to Agios Nikolaos

September 16<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos by bus to Neapolis and next day back to Agios Nikolaos

September 17<sup>th</sup>. Evening, trawler Agios Nikolaos to Kalohorio, Candia, Retimo and Suda

September 20<sup>th</sup>. By trawler to Canea, after dark Kissamo Kastelli, Selino and Sphakia

September 21<sup>st</sup>. At Selino Kasteli

September 22<sup>nd</sup>. At Sphakia and walked up gorge on Vamos road and back

September 23<sup>rd</sup>. Left Sphakia by trawler to Plakia below Myrthios, walked up to Myrthios and embarked again and to Agia Galini

September 24<sup>th</sup>. Left Agia Galini in trawler, landing impossible at Matala, Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma impossible to land, Tsoutsouros for night; storm, and to Agios Nikolaos on morning of 25<sup>th</sup>; in evening to Neapolis; thence by road to Khersonesos and by trawler to Candia

September 28<sup>th</sup>. Trawler to Suda

September 30<sup>th</sup>. Afternoon Suda to Retimo and next day to Candia

October 3<sup>rd</sup>. Early from Candia by trawler to Sisi (and I suppose back to Candia)

October 16<sup>th</sup>. By trawler to Bashinamo, slept at Seager's;<sup>76</sup> by mule to Kalohorio

October 18<sup>th</sup>. Mule Kalohorio to Kritsa, night; to Malles, night; and on 20<sup>th</sup> to Krousta and Agios Nikolaos

October 21<sup>st</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia

October 24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>. At Candia

October 26<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Suda

October 27<sup>th</sup>. Suda to Candia, and 28<sup>th</sup> early at Agios Nikolaos and late at Siteia

October 29<sup>th</sup> [??]. Siteia to Agios Nikolaos, Candia, Retimo, Suda on the 30<sup>th</sup>

[Then 3<sup>rd</sup> to 30<sup>st</sup> repeated, but with slight differences. I've incorporated additional info. in the above. But there are discrepancies: "October 30<sup>th</sup> at Candia"; "October 31<sup>st</sup> trawler Candia to Suda"]

November 1<sup>st</sup>. Trawler to Selino Kasteli from Suda; went to Gavdo

November 2<sup>nd</sup>. Back at Selino and rode to Sklavopoula with Commr [Stevenson/Stephenson]

November 3<sup>rd</sup>. Sklavopoula to Selino, and trawler to Sphakia

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<sup>76</sup> The American archaeologist R.B. Seager.

November 4<sup>th</sup>. On to Keratokampos and walked up to Viano with Commr. I slept at Viano and next day rode to Peza and carriage to Candia.  
 November 9<sup>th</sup>. Left Candia by trawler and on 11<sup>th</sup> off Cavo Sidero; landed at Palaikastro and so to Toplou where I slept  
 November 12<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Siteia, the trawler to Bashinamo and slept at Seager's  
 November 13<sup>th</sup>. Bashinamo to Hierapetra and back  
 November 14<sup>th</sup>. Bashinamo to Kalohorio and Agios Nikolaos  
 November 15<sup>th</sup>. Trawler to Candia  
 November 17<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Candia to Retimo and on 20<sup>th</sup> to Suda  
 November 25<sup>th</sup>. Suda to Candia  
 November 27<sup>th</sup>. Crete to Thera and Amorgos, Naxos etc. and Syra.<sup>77</sup>

1917

March 4<sup>th</sup> 1917. Leaving Syra for Suda. On 5<sup>th</sup> reached Suda  
 March 6<sup>th</sup>. Trawler to Retimo  
 March 8<sup>th</sup>. Retimo to Candia  
 March 12<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Candia to Agios Nikolaos and 13<sup>th</sup> carriage to Neapolis  
 March 14<sup>th</sup>. Neapolis – Kritsa – Bashinamo, night; and on 15<sup>th</sup> Bashinamo to Hierapetra  
 March 16<sup>th</sup>. By trawler Hierapetra to Maridaki and so to Agios Vasilis  
 March 17<sup>th</sup>. Agios Vasilis to Hierapetra  
 March 19<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra to Agios Nikolaos and next day trawler to Siteia  
 March 21<sup>st</sup>. Siteia to Hierapetra by way of Roukaka by old road, passing south of Akhladia, Skordylo and going by Agios Mamas  
 March 23<sup>rd</sup>. Hierapetra to Neapolis and next day Neapolis to Candia  
 March 24<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup>. At Candia  
 March 29<sup>th</sup>. Mule Candia to Pyrgos  
 March 30<sup>th</sup>. Pyrgos to Treis Ekklesies and back on foot. 2 ½ hours there  
 March 31<sup>st</sup>. Pyrgos to Moires, night; to Agia Galini, night, to Melambes and back, night at Agia Galini

April 3<sup>rd</sup>. Agia Galini to Arkadi  
 April 4<sup>th</sup>. Arkadi to Retimo; arrived 10.15 and left at night with post for Vamos; reached Vamos 5 am and carriage to Suda on Thursday the 5<sup>th</sup>

April 11<sup>th</sup>. Trawler to Retimo and next day to Candia

April 26<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Candia to Eremopoli<sup>78</sup> on morning of 27<sup>th</sup> then to Palaikastro and back to trawler at Eremopoli

April 28<sup>th</sup>. Eremopoli to Toplou

April 30<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Khantra<sup>79</sup> and next day Khantra – Siteia, night

May 1<sup>st</sup>. Trawler to Eremopoli and then to Suda

May 6<sup>th</sup>. Suda to Candia by steamer

<sup>77</sup> From now on there are more gaps in his log: see his spacing. He also seems to be travelling less by trawler and more by land.

<sup>78</sup> The site of ancient Itanos.

<sup>79</sup> He has typed '? Karydi' over the top, but this doesn't make sense.

May 11<sup>th</sup>. Left Candia at night for Agios Nikolaos to see Venizelos<sup>80</sup>  
 May 14<sup>th</sup>. Rode from Agios Nikolaos to Bashinamo and Hierapetra  
 May 16<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra to Kroustallenia, I suppose by Prina Kroustas and Kritsa  
 May 17<sup>th</sup>. Kroustallenia to Candia  
 May 23<sup>rd</sup>. Candia to Anoyia, night; Anoyia – Garazo – Arkadi, with difficulty  
 May 25<sup>th</sup>. Arkadi to Asomato, night; Asomato – Spili – Preveli, night  
 May 27<sup>th</sup>. Preveli – Plakia – Myrthios  
 May 28<sup>th</sup>. Myrthios to Rodakino and back  
 May 29<sup>th</sup>. Myrthios to Retimo, night; Retimo to Vamos, night; Vamos to Suda for breakfast on May 31<sup>st</sup>

June 1<sup>st</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia  
 June 6<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Khersonesos and Neapolis by night with post mule and to Agios Nikolaos by 10 am next day  
 June 8<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Hierapetra  
 June 15<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra to Pefkos, night; Pefkos to Viano, night  
 June 17<sup>th</sup>. Viano to Peza and carriage to Candia  
 June 21<sup>st</sup>. By trawler Candia to Eremopoli – Toplou – two days at Eremopoli, then Toplou, Siteia  
 June 27<sup>th</sup>. Siteia to Bashinamo. Fever and next day trawler Bashinamo to Suda

July 4<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia  
 July 12<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Agia Barbara (went to Axendi [?])  
 July 13<sup>th</sup>. Agia Barbara – Parmaras [Apomarmás: Pendlebury) – Rouphás – Voroi, night – Voroi to Agia Galini, night – Agia Galini – Ardhakhtos – Preveli, night  
 July 18<sup>th</sup>. Preveli – Plakia – Myrthios, night  
 July 19<sup>th</sup>. Myrthios – Frangokastello – Hora Sphakion, night  
 July 20<sup>th</sup>. Hora Sphakion – Askyphou, 2 nights  
 July 22<sup>nd</sup>. Askyphou – Prosnero – Vamos, night – Vamos to Suda on 23<sup>rd</sup>  
 July 28<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia

August 1<sup>st</sup>. Candia – Avdhou and Kroustallenia  
 August 2<sup>nd</sup>. Kroustallenia to Plati [Πλάτη] and back  
 August 3<sup>rd</sup>. Kroustallenia – Malles – Anatoli, Hierapetra  
 August 7<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Bashinamo – Phaneromeni midday and night  
 August 8<sup>th</sup>. Phaneromeni to Agios Nikolaos  
 August 9<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Spina Longa, visited island, then by Kardamoutsa to Aréti, night  
 August 10<sup>th</sup>. Aréti to Neapolis and rode all through the night to Candia  
 August 16<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Rogdia – Savvathiana – Phodele – Agios Panteleimon, night  
 August 17<sup>th</sup>. Agios Panteleimon – Galini – spring col [?] plane trees – Bali port, night  
 August 18<sup>th</sup>. On foot up to Bali monastery, evening to Melidoni, night  
 August 19<sup>th</sup>. Melidoni cave – Margarites – Eleutherna – Prines – Margarites – Panormos, night  
 August 20<sup>th</sup>. Panormos to Retimo  
 August 22<sup>nd</sup>. Retimo – Armenoi – Angoustaliana – Myrthios, night  
 August 23<sup>rd</sup>. Myrthios to Rodakino, where built tomb

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<sup>80</sup> Characteristically, Dawkins doesn't describe this meeting with Eleftherios Venizelos, who was to become prime minister of the whole of Greece a month later.



August 25<sup>th</sup>. Rodakino – Skaloti – Kallikrati, 2 nights  
 August 27<sup>th</sup>. Kallikrati – Asphendou – Askyphou – Vryses – Vamos, night  
 August 28<sup>th</sup>. Ride Vamos to Suda arriving noon

September 4<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda to Retimo – Bali – Candia  
 September 13<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Gouves – Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Vrakhasi – Neapolis, night  
 September 15<sup>th</sup>. Neapolis by carriage to Agios Nikolaos  
 September 16<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos – Mesa Lakonia – Goulas – Kritsa, night  
 September 17<sup>th</sup>. Kritsa – Krousta – Prina – Meselerous – Hierapetra, night  
 September 19<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Makriyalo – Lithines – Ethia – Khantras, night  
 September 20<sup>th</sup>. Khantras – Katalionas (half-deserted Turkish village) – Sitanos – Karydi – Magasa, night  
 September 21<sup>st</sup>. Magasa – Palaikastro – Vai – Eremopoli – Toplou, night  
 September 22<sup>nd</sup>. Toplou to Siteia, night; Siteia to Palaikastro, night; Palaikastro to Siteia on evening of 24<sup>th</sup>  
 September 29<sup>th</sup>. Siteia – Eremopoli – Toplou, night; Toplou to Siteia

October 6<sup>th</sup>. By trawler Siteia – Eremopoli – Zakro – Hierapetra  
 October 14<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Meselerous – Kalokhorio – Agios Nikolaos, night  
 October 15<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Plaka, night  
 October 16<sup>th</sup>. Walked Plaka – Vrokhas – Selles – Plaka  
 October 17<sup>th</sup>. Sailed Plaka to Agios Nikolaos  
 October 18<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Bashinamo  
 October 19<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Bashinamo – Spina Longa – Candia  
 October [probably 24<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup>]. By steamer Candia to Suda

November 1<sup>st</sup>. Suda to Canea hotel, night; [2<sup>nd</sup>] Canea – Gonia, night; [3<sup>rd</sup>] Gonia to Kissamo, night; [4<sup>th</sup>] Kissamo – Sphinari – Kephali, night; [5<sup>th</sup>] Kephali – Stomio – Sklavopoula, night; [6<sup>th</sup>] Sklavopoula – Palaiokhora, night; [7<sup>th</sup>] Palaiokhora – Kantanos, night; [8<sup>th</sup>] Kantanos – Souyia, night; [9<sup>th</sup>] Souyia – Skines, night; [10<sup>th</sup>] Skines or Skhineas to Canea and Suda, November 11<sup>th</sup>  
 November [prob. 16<sup>th</sup>]. Suda – Vamos, night; Vamos – Georgiupolis – Episkopi – Roustika, night  
 November 18<sup>th</sup>. Roustika – Retimo; at Retimo till 21<sup>st</sup>  
 November 21<sup>st</sup>. Retimo – Perama, night; Perama – Damasta – Candia  
 November 28<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Arkhanes – Khrysospilotissa – Epano Siphi, night  
 November 29<sup>th</sup>. Epano Siphi – Damania – Kolena – Gandales – Agioi Dekka – Moires, night  
 November 30<sup>th</sup>. Moires – Galia – Agios Phanourios – Vrondisi – Zaros, night

December 1<sup>st</sup>. Zaros – Yeryeri – Agia Barbara – Valianos [Μονή Παλιανής] – Candia  
 December 9<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Peapolis – Agios Nikolaos  
 December 11<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos – Hierapetra  
 December 12<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Agios Nikolaos  
 December 14<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Kasos and Karpathos, arriving Suda December 17<sup>th</sup>  
 December 28<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda – Candia, where with boils till January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1918

1918

January 22<sup>nd</sup>. Trawler Candia – Agios Nikolaos – Siteia – Suda morning of 24<sup>th</sup> [?]

February 1<sup>st</sup>. To Syra and Athens – Melos – Suda on February 19<sup>th</sup>

February 23<sup>rd</sup>. Trawler Suda to Candia

March 2<sup>nd</sup>. Candia – Kato Vathia – Elaia – Anopolis<sup>81</sup> – Episkopi – Angarathos

March 3<sup>rd</sup>. Angarathos – Sabas – Sophoros – Thrapsino – near Rossokhoris and Nipiditos – Emporos – Viano, night

March 4<sup>th</sup>. Viano – Amiras – Pefkos – Mournes – Mythoi – Malles

March 5<sup>th</sup>. Malles – Anatoli – Kaloyerous – Hierapetra

March 7<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra to Khantra going along the sea and then leaving Lithines on left

March 8<sup>th</sup>. Khantras – Katoliones – Sitanos – Karydi – Magasa midday and evening at Toplou

March 9<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Eremopoli and back

March 10<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Agios Andreas and back

March 11<sup>th</sup>. Toplou to Siteia

March 12<sup>th</sup>. Siteia – Tourloti – Bashinamo, night

March 13<sup>th</sup>. Bashinamo – Agios Nikolaos

March 14<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos to Neapolis by carriage

March 15<sup>th</sup>. Neapolis to Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Candia on 16<sup>th</sup>

March 22<sup>nd</sup>. Candia – Agios Myron – Gorgolaini – Agia Barbara, night

March 23<sup>rd</sup>. Agia Barbara straight to Candia

March 24<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Agia Barbara – Voroi

March 25<sup>th</sup>. Voroi – Dibaki – Asomaton<sup>82</sup>

March 26<sup>th</sup>. Asomaton – Retimo

March 27<sup>th</sup>. Retimo to Suda by carriage (this journey with Major [Anstey] to find aerodrome site)

April 4<sup>th</sup>. Suda – Vamos, night

April 5<sup>th</sup>. Vamos to Retimo by old road along the sea

April 6<sup>th</sup>. Retimo – Monopari – Myrthios

April 7<sup>th</sup>. Myrthios – Karavos – Preveli, night

April 8<sup>th</sup>. Preveli – Gorge – Spili – Asomaton, night; [9 April] from Asomaton visited Thronos and Meronas; second night at Asomaton

April 10<sup>th</sup>. Asomaton – Monastiraki<sup>83</sup> – Agia Galini, night

April 11<sup>th</sup>. Agia Galini – Pitsidia – Matala – Hodigitria, night

April 12<sup>th</sup>. Hodigitria – Kaloi Limniones – Pigaidakia – Apezanes, night

April 13<sup>th</sup>. Apezanes to Pyrgos by plain, night

April 14<sup>th</sup>. Pyrgos – Epano Sipi, night; Epano Sipi – Kanli – Kastelli – Candia; reached Candia 15<sup>th</sup>

April 22<sup>nd</sup>. Candia – Kastelli – Pediada, night; Kastelli – Panagia – Kroustallenia, night; Kroustallenia – Neapolis, night

April 25<sup>th</sup>. Neapolis – Agios Nikolaos, night

April 26<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos – Bashinamo – Hierapetra, nights

<sup>81</sup> Pendlebury suggests the last three places should be in reverse order.

<sup>82</sup> In ch. 10 he says he was at Asomato on 27 March.

<sup>83</sup> In ch. 10 he says he was at Monastiraki on 11 April.

April 29<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Agia Photia – Mavrokolympos and up valley to Stravodoxari, night; Stravodoxari – Siteia, night

May 1<sup>st</sup>. Siteia – Toplou – Eremopoli  
 May 2<sup>nd</sup>. Eremopoli – Toplou for Easter  
 May 7<sup>th</sup>. Toplou – Siteia  
 May 8<sup>th</sup>. Siteia – Bashinamo  
 May 9<sup>th</sup>. Bashinamo – Hierapetra  
 May 10<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra to Myrtos by the sea  
 May 11<sup>th</sup>. Myrtos – Arvi – Amiras – Viano  
 May 12<sup>th</sup>. Viano – Skhinias – Drapeti – Tepheli – Epano Sipheri  
 May 13<sup>th</sup>. Epano Sipheri – Kanli – Kastelli – Candia  
 May 20<sup>th</sup>. Candia – Anoyia, night  
 May 21<sup>st</sup>. Anoyia – Khalepa – Perama – Panormos, night  
 May 22<sup>nd</sup>. Panormos – Drakonero church – Retimo  
 May 23<sup>rd</sup>. Retimo – Georgioupoli – Canea  
 May 24<sup>th</sup>. Canea – Suda  
 May 29<sup>th</sup> [?]. ?? by trawler Suda – Candia

June 3<sup>rd</sup>. Candia – Agia Barbara  
 June 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup>? Agia Barbara – Voroi, night; Voroi – Agia Triada – Dibaki – Agia Galini, night; Agia Galini – Saktouria, near village – Kerame – Preveli, night  
 June 8<sup>th</sup>. Preveli – Plakia – Sellia – Phoinikia, Rodakino, night  
 June 9<sup>th</sup>. Rodakino – Komitades – Khora Sphakion, night  
 June 10<sup>th</sup>. Khora Sphakion – Anopoli, night  
 June 11<sup>th</sup>. Anopoli – Agia Roumeli, night; Roumeli – gorge – Samaria – Xyloskalo – Omalo, night; Omalo – Kantanos, 2 nights  
 June 14<sup>th</sup>. Saw churches at Kantanos  
 June 15<sup>th</sup>. Kantanos – Paliokhora and back  
 June 16<sup>th</sup>. At Kantanos, saw Agia Anna and Ai Stratigos  
 June 17<sup>th</sup>. Kantanos – Nea roumeli – Alikianou – Canea  
 June 18<sup>th</sup>. Canea – Suda  
 June 27<sup>th</sup>. Trawler Suda – Candia

July 3<sup>rd</sup>. Trawler Candia – Suda  
 July 18<sup>th</sup>. Steamer Suda – Retimo  
 July 19<sup>th</sup>. Retimo to Candia

August 1<sup>st</sup>. Candia by Kaki Rakhi to Angarathos  
 August 2<sup>nd</sup>. Angarathos to Kroustallenia  
 August 3<sup>rd</sup>. Kroustallenia to Malles  
 August 4<sup>th</sup>. Malles – Myrtos – Hierapetra  
 August 9<sup>th</sup>. Hierapetra – Roukaka  
 August 10<sup>th</sup>. Roukaka – Siteia, night; Siteia – Khantra, night  
 August 12<sup>th</sup>. Khantra – Roukaka – Bashinamo, night; Bashinamo – Agios Nikolaos  
 August 14<sup>th</sup>. Agios Nikolaos – Khersonesos, night  
 August 15<sup>th</sup>. Khersonesos – Candia  
 August 16<sup>th</sup>. Candia to Suda

Stayed at Suda

December 7<sup>th</sup>. Suda to Candia and 11<sup>th</sup> Candia to Suda

December 20<sup>th</sup>. Suda – Agia Triada – Tsangarolo – Gouverneto, night

December 21<sup>st</sup>. Gouverneto – Suda

December 27<sup>th</sup>. Walk with Major to Kampos, Nerokourou, Suda

Stayed at Suda till sent home in HMS Superb at beginning of April and demobilised in London the day after arrival from Sheerness on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1919.

## CHAPTER 1 DAWKINS' INTRODUCTION

This book is based upon journals and notes taken in Crete between the years 1903 and 1918, and therefore aims at giving a picture of the life and appearance of the island as it was in that period of transition from the old Greco-Turkish Crete to its present condition as a part of free Greece. It will not be out of place to inform the reader of the circumstances of my visits to Crete. Every spring from 1903 to 1906 and again in the early summers of 1913 and 1914 I was in Crete working at archaeological excavations on behalf of the British School at Athens, at first at Palaikastro in East Crete and later in 1913 at the cave of Kamares and in 1914 at the village of Plati in Lasithi. During these years I made not a few journeys in the island and spent many winter and even summer months at Candia, working for the most part in the Museum there but at the same time seeing much of the life of the island. In 1916 I returned to Crete in the service of the British Naval Station at Suda Bay and remained almost continuously in Crete till the month of April 1919. During these years I was continually cruising round the coasts of the island and made many overland journeys. It was in these years that I made the acquaintance of the western part of the island.

Depicting then as it does a phase of Cretan life that is now past, the book is therefore in a sense one that is out of date before being written. But much of the matter deals with things which either do not or it is hoped will not change; the rest will have some historical interest and if its merits deserve may be consulted much as we now consult Pashley and Spratt.

The island of Crete lies like a great bar across the southern end of the Aegean Sea, running roughly east and west. The western passage from the open Mediterranean is interrupted by the island of Cerigo [Kythira], the eastern by Rhodes and, within clear sight of Crete, by Casos and Carpathos. Crete is thus not only a bar to the Aegean, but a bridge between the peninsula of Greece and the south-western corner of Asia Minor, a bridge some *////* miles in length and of a width varying from *////* to *////* miles.<sup>1</sup> It is thus one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, containing *////* square miles, and exceeded in area only by *////* with *////* square miles and *////*.<sup>2</sup>

Natural divisions make it easy to understand the geography of Crete. The island from west to east contains three great and one lesser mass of mountains. These are first the White Mountains south of Canea, next Ida, now called Psiloriti, between Retimo and Candia, next Lasithi, the ancient Dicte, between Candia and the Isthmus of Hierapetra,<sup>3</sup> and lastly the lower mountains of Siteia at the extreme east of the island. These mountain regions divide so narrow an island into distinct areas, each of which is dominated by one of the towns. Thus all the land to the west of the White Mountains looks towards Canea. Retimo dominates the country between the White Mountains and Ida, and Candia, with subsidiary centres in the Mesara plain, the country between Ida and Lasithi. The isthmus to the east of Lasithi belongs to Hierapetra, though modern conditions are bringing Agios Nikolaos into greater prominence. The land east of the high mountains of Siteia has as its centre the town called Siteia, or in Greek more properly Limani Siteias, the Harbour of Siteia.

On these lines a description of Crete falls into the following divisions, and on these I have based the headings of the chapters in this book.

1. The country west of Canea and the White Mountains, with Canea and Akrotiri: Chs 2-4.
2. The White Mountains and Sphakia, and Apokorona: Chs 5-8.

3. Retimo and with it the Valley of Amari and the mountains of the province of Agios Vasilis which border the sea from the White Mountains to the Gulf of Mesara: Chs 9-12.
4. Mount Ida and the country to the north and south: Chs 13-16.
5. Candia and the land between Ida and Lasithi to the north of the watershed: Chs 17-20.
6. The Mesara plain and the mountains between it and the sea: Chs 21-23.
7. Lasithi and the country to the north and south: Chs 24-26.
8. The Province of Mirabello: Ch. 27.
9. The Isthmus of Hierapetra: Ch. 28.
10. The mountains of Siteia as far east as a line drawn almost due south from Limani Siteias. This is a natural boundary as it is formed by two great valleys, one running south from Limani Siteias to Praisos and the other running up north from the southern sea by way of Lithines: Ch. 29.
11. The high plateau east of this with its seaward valleys and the peninsula of Kavos Sidero: Chs 30-31.

Until the last years of the nineteenth century the condition of Crete was very much what it had been ever since the Turkish conquest more than two hundred years earlier. Since then has come the political union with Greece and with it many changes in the life of the people and in the appearance of the island. The most striking of these only made their appearance in the years subsequent to my Cretan travels. These are the expulsion of the Turks and the rapid increase of carriage roads.

Nothing has so much altered the character of the Cretan towns since these notes were taken as the departure of the Turks; and from the point of view of the traveller very much for the worse. Candia especially, which was in some ways hardly inferior to Rhodes in beauty and interest, was when I last saw it little more attractive than any ordinary small provincial Greek town. Crete under the Sultans I never saw; the extent of the Turkish population both in the towns and in the villages is shown graphically on one of Kiepert's maps, and the Turks amounted to perhaps 1/10 of the whole population.<sup>4</sup> When Turkish rule gave way in the nineties to an occupation by the powers, many Turks left the island for Asia Minor. It is interesting to note that a colony of them went to Adalia where they still preserve the Greek language, which all the Cretan Turks had adopted; very few of them knew more than perhaps a very few words of Turkish.<sup>5</sup> With these Turko-Cretans of Adalia I spoke in 192/ and found that they live there somewhat segregated from the other Turks with their own café and bath, and that the children born there are still talking Greek in preference to Turkish. To return to Crete: the result of this first movement was that the Turks left the villages for safety and gathered in the towns, and in the first years of this century there were Turks only in the five towns in Crete – in Canea, Retimo, Candia, Hierapetra and Limani Siteias. To these may be added the few Turkish fishermen in the island of Spina Longa, turned out later to make room for the lepers.<sup>6</sup> Their houses in the villages were deserted and the village mosques fell into ruin. By the time of the war<sup>7</sup> some of these village Turks had returned to their homes, at least for the purpose of cultivating their fields; but even this was, I believe, confined to the north-eastern parts of the province of Monofatsi, always one of the most Turkish parts of Crete. But this return was of no real significance; the Turkish element in Crete was doomed. A striking mark of this was the destruction of minarets, [since] the mosques, which had been in Venetian times Latin churches, [were] now by a further vicissitude made into churches for the Greek rite. The destruction of fountains in the towns and the cutting down of the little gardens which the Turks thought ornamental to

a town had been earlier outward signs of the change from Islam to Christianity. And finally in 1923 came the removal of the Turkish population. Before leaving this subject it is of interest to note that it was commonly held that many of the Cretan Moslems were of Venetian descent. At the Turkish conquest it seems that the poor remained constant to Christianity; the wealthy apostatised to save their lands, and in Crete the wealthy were, many of them, the Venetian settlers. In 1923 it may indeed be said that these people paid for the sins of all their predecessors, whether Turkish or Venetian.<sup>8</sup>

The Turks went and roads came, and few things alter a country more than the construction of carriage roads. When I first went to Crete in 1903 the only roads were these: from Canea to Suda Bay and so to the fort of Izzeddin, ultimately to reach Retimo; three miles or so of road eastwards from Candia; a beginning of a road to Neapolis, of which the only other part made was a bridge below Avdou;<sup>9</sup> the road from Candia to Knossos; the beginning of a road to Arkhanes and to the Mesara plain; perhaps a piece westwards from Canea. These I believe were all. By the end of the war the following roads had been made: from Canea west to Alikianou and perhaps further; from Canea, I believe, a road to Theriso, but on this I never went; from Canea to Retimo; of the Retimo-Candia road the piece had been made from Retimo to Perama, and the construction was being continued up the Mylopotamo valley; from Candia the westward road towards Retimo went to the foot of Stromboli;<sup>10</sup> from Candia to Agia Varvara, which was to lead over into the Mesara plain; from Candia to Peza, which had the advantage that when one went to Lasithi it was not necessary to go over the terrible track over the Kaki Rakhi, the Bad Ridge, which well deserved its name;<sup>11</sup> from Neapolis to Agios Nikolaos; from Hierapetra to Bashinamo<sup>12</sup> it was just possible to drive. These were all the roads then made. Elsewhere it was still necessary either to take mules or to walk. A few cabs at Canea and Candia, mostly with the windows closed by red blinds and used for giving a mild airing to the veiled wives of the wealthier Turks, were almost the only vehicles to be seen, and even when I left almost the whole of the island had still to be visited in the old way, with horses and pack mules. And the successive wars had made mules both scarce and dear in Crete. As I saw Crete in this way it will always be convenient for me here to reckon distances in hours riding, the pace being, it is to be understood, about three or four miles an hour. On this basis Crete is from end to end a week's journey. By aeroplane it is about two hours. By carriage when the roads are all made, it will be – perhaps it now is – about four days.<sup>13</sup>

The late date of road-making means that horse vehicles have played only a small part in Cretan travelling. With very few exceptions the roads were made after the invention of motors, and the island therefore is passing directly from the pack-mule stage of transport to the modern motor car.<sup>14</sup>

Another thing which has greatly altered, and for the worse, the appearance of Crete is the appearance of the red roofing tile imported from France. I think it may be said that before 1906 all the roofs in the villages were flat. Practically the only tiled roofs in the island were in the towns and these were of native make with tiles of the usual south European shape with a semi-circular section. The old flat roofs were made thus. First rafters were laid across. In the better houses these were square planed beams, but in the older cottages the unshaped trunks of trees, often of the wild olive, were used. How foreign the squared beam was appears from its foreign name, *trava* (τράβα), Latin *trabs*, Italian *trave*. Above these rafters the better houses had neatly plaited matting made of reeds and the common houses simply bundles of brushwood. Above this again was earth, often mixed with seaweed. This earth was called *πηλορόδωμα* and a kind of shaly earth called *λεπιδόχωμα* was very often used.<sup>15</sup> The surface was kept smooth by rolling, though the stone rollers so commonly seen in the Cyclades were never, I think,

common in Crete. The walls rose a little above the edges of the roof, so that all the water flowed off at certain points, often going into a cistern. The effect was always most beautiful: a little grass grew on the roofs and the colour, being that of the earth, harmonised in a wonderful way with the whole landscape. They were warm in winter, cool in summer. But against them it must be said that with the summer heat they dry and crack and so when the autumn rains come there are few houses in which the roof does not drip with muddy water.<sup>1</sup> But by 1908 or so the pinkish red scientifically moulded flat French tiles had begun to reach Crete, and during the war it was rare to see a village without one or more houses roofed with them. It is a pity that their colour, ugly in itself, in the Cretan landscape looks positively hideous. Where there are many of these new roofs, the look of a place is quite transformed. Their coming has, however, stimulated the manufacture of the much less offensive native tiles, which are largely made at Khersonnesos.

It is interesting the way in which these French tiles were used. In the towns hip roofs had always existed, but they did not reach the villages at once with the new tiles: the village architects only felt their way to them gradually. At first they used the new tiles for simple sloping roofs with a very slight incline, a roof as like as possible in fact to the old flat roof. Then the slope increased, and a gable was made with a ridge. Lastly in some places during the war the builders grew bold and made hip roofs.<sup>16</sup>

There are in Crete a few new settlements which have been made to suit the requirements of trade or of some social want. The oldest and largest of them is Neapolis in a valley to the north of the Lasithi mountains. The valley contains numerous large villages and is fertile; the New City serves as a commercial centre for these places and is set on the east and west road from Candia to Mirabello. Khourmouzis writing in 1842 gives a list of the villages in the valley which he calls Skaphi, but does not mention Neapolis at all. We shall see below that it was founded about 1860. It is now the largest place in the district, the seat of the bishop.<sup>17</sup>

The rest of these new settlements are less important, and all are by the coast. I give the list beginning from the west. All but Agia Galini are on the north side of Crete. And naturally, for the south coast is so much exposed to bad weather that it has hardly any coasting trade, and moreover faces not Greece and the islands but the open sea towards Africa. The settlements are:

Kolimbari, on the coast by the monastery of Gonia in the west corner of the Gulf of Canea. It was formed for administrative purposes and to have some sort of outlet to the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Touzla, the Place of Salt, at the top of Suda Bay was founded for the Turks who were removed from Suda Island. This took place after the 1866 rebellion when the present arsenal at Suda was constructed.<sup>18</sup>

Yoryoupolis (*Γεωργιούπολις*) on the low-lying coast west of Retimo was founded in the time of Prince George.<sup>19</sup> The people are mostly from Askyphou. The situation on a knoll at the mouth of the Armyros river is damp and unhealthy.

Panormo is a village by the sea east of Retimo near the mouth of the Mylopotamo valley. Its old name was Kastelli, on Kiepert's map Rumili-Kastelo [Rumeli-Kastelo]. There was formerly a castle here, whence the old name of the place, and a few houses. Now there are a number of new houses for which the castle has probably been made to furnish much of the building material; in any case only very

<sup>1</sup> [Ms. note:] It is satisfactory to me to think that when I had to construct the houses for [?] station on the [?site] of [?] I had [?followed] [?????]. The buildings [were to be handed over to Toplou [?????]] the site.

<sup>2</sup> See Trevor-Battye p. 55.



scanty remains of it are to be seen on the rock by the sea which is the nucleus of the settlement. The place serves as the port to take off the carobs produced in quantities in the Mylopotamo valley. The old name is not now in use; Panormo, the Universal Harbour, was probably simply invented and applied to the place when the new houses were built; it is exactly the sort of colourless name which is particularly grateful to the modern Greek ear, like Neapolis, Kalokhorio [Good Village], and others of the sort.<sup>20</sup>

Plaka is on the coast at the mouth of the bay of Spina Longa. It consists of only a row of small houses and looks new. I associate it with the expulsion of the Turks from Spina Longa island. The Turks themselves went for the most part to Limani Siteias, where they could continue their trade as fishermen, but some place was needed for trade purposes and to serve as a depot for the leper settlement which was put on the island.

Bashinamo was, whilst I was in Crete, very much on the increase and will no doubt soon cut out Kavousi as the important point on the north side of the Isthmus of Hierapetra. It is on the sea and steamers stop there. The road from Neapolis to Siteia was to pass through it, and here too would be the branch road to Hierapetra.<sup>21</sup> A fairly good khan<sup>22</sup> was established there where one can sleep in comfort. I speak below of Mr Seager's house there.<sup>23</sup> The name Bashinamo is in Greek *Η Παχεία Άμμος*, the Deep Sand. It is naturally generally heard in the accusative and this sounds in Cretan exactly as *tim Bashinamo*. It is interesting that in a proper name, which I am assured is an old one, the word *άμμος* preserves its old feminine gender; in common Greek nowadays *άμμος* is always masculine.<sup>24</sup>

Palaikastro on the east coast of the Siteia peninsula is another comparatively new place. The inhabitants of the villages on the plateau, Magasa and perhaps Karydi, who have always had their olive gardens down here by the sea, came down and built houses at Palaikastro after the insurrection of 1866 when things in Crete became better for the Christians. They avoided thus the winter cold of the upper villages and had the convenience of the sea for boats and easier access to their low-lying fields. Most of the people now have two houses, one above at Magasa and another at Palaikastro.<sup>25</sup>

Agia Galini at the mouth of the Amari valley is a new place although the name is old.

The people are all from Melabes.<sup>26</sup> Nearly all the houses there are quite new.

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> Crete measures 260 km from east to west and between 14 km and 60 km from north to south, according to the online Perseus Encyclopedia, s.v. Crete).

<sup>2</sup> According to Wikipedia: 8312 sq. km. (3,209 sq. miles); exceeded by Sicily (25,460 sq. km.), Sardinia (23,813 sq. km.), Cyprus (9,251 sq. km.) and Corsica (8,681 sq. km.).

<sup>3</sup> By Lasithi Dawkins means here not the Lasithi plateau but the Lasithi mountains (*Λασιθιώτικα βουνά in Greek*).

<sup>4</sup> According to Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1813-1914* (Madison, Wisconsin 1985), p. 117, in 1872-4 Crete had 90,000 Muslims and 120,000 non-Muslims, making the proportions approximately 43% to 57%. The estimate of the proportion of Muslims must be exaggerated, since many had already left the island by that time as a result of intercommunal violence. The Kiepert map that was in Dawkins' possession and is currently in the Taylor Institution Library (see my Preface) is not the one that contains indications of population.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins doesn't make it clear that the Cretan Muslims (whom he calls "Turks") were descended from two different groups: the vast majority from Christians who converted

to Islam after the Ottoman conquest, and a smaller number from Turks who settled in the island. The former group continued to speak their native Greek, while the latter (like most of the Venetian settlers before them) soon adopted the local language. Muslim Cretans who moved to Turkey in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century continued to speak Greek in their new homes. Adalia is Antalya in southern Turkey. In fact, in 1897-8 a large number of Cretan Muslims successfully petitioned the Sultan to settle elsewhere in the Ottoman empire, with the result that there are colonies of their descendants living in Libya, Lebanon and Syria as well as the south coasts of Turkey as far east as the Gulf of Alexandretta or İskenderun. The compulsory exchange of religious minorities under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) brought the remaining Muslim Cretans to Turkey, mostly to the west coast.

<sup>6</sup> See ch. 27.

<sup>7</sup> He means of course the First World War.

<sup>8</sup> The survival of many Italian surnames in Crete today (with the addition of the characteristic Cretan suffix -akis) suggests that many Cretans of Italian Catholic origin became Orthodox Christian, and their descendants remained so during the Ottoman period. However, one also finds Muslim Cretans who had similarly Italian surnames, such as Hüseyin Muharrem Litsardakis, who in 1892 opened the elegant draper's shop called "*Οθωμανικόν Au Bon Marché*" (Ottoman Au Bon Marché), which today houses a hairdresser's in what is now no. 8, Agiou Mina St, Herakleion. The surname Litsardakis, which is also borne by Christian families in Crete, must once have been one or other of the Italian names Licciardi and Lizzardi.

<sup>9</sup> See ch. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Dawkins writes Stromboli (which is the name of a volcanic island north of Sicily) and (in ch. 13) Strombolo for what is actually Stroumboulas (the 336-metre mountain immediately to the west of Herakleion). All these names ultimately derive from Ancient Greek στρογγύλος 'round'. The Sicilian name for Stromboli is Struògnuli, from Ancient Greek Στρογγύλη.

<sup>11</sup> Kaki Rachi is north of Kounavoi, east of Archanes and south of Herakleion.

<sup>12</sup> This how Dawkins normally writes the name of the village of Pachia Ammos; see below.

<sup>13</sup> Nowadays the whole island can be crossed from east to west coasts in about five hours.

<sup>14</sup> For references to *kalderimia* (paved mule tracks) see ch. 8, 18 and 29. The sudden and rapid pace of modernization in Crete during this period is similar to the sudden entry of the Middle East into modernity as described by Eugene Rogan in *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (New York 2015).

<sup>15</sup> Dawkins' text contains a lot of queries concerning the Greek terms. I have used the terms found in Pangalos' dictionary of Cretan dialect. Pangalos derives *πηλορόδωμα* from a hypothetical ancient word *πηλοδόρωμα*.

<sup>16</sup> A hip roof is one in which all four sides slope down towards the walls, and there are therefore no gables.

<sup>17</sup> For more on Neapoli ('New City') see ch. 25.

<sup>18</sup> By the top of Suda bay Dawkins means the area at the west end, which includes the settlement today known as Souda. Turkish *tuzla* means 'salty place' or 'salt pan'. The Byzantines and the Venetians had salt pans there. According to Spanakis, in 1870 Mehmed Rauf Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Crete, drained the salt pans at Tuzla and built a village there, which he named Aziziye in honour of Sultan Abdul Aziz, and where he settled 150 Muslim families who had been living on Souda island. This is now known as Kato Souda.

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<sup>19</sup> Prince George of Greece was High Commissioner of the Cretan State from 1898 to 1906.

<sup>20</sup> There was an ancient city of Panormos, but not where the settlement bearing this name is situated today (which was formerly called Kastelli); the erroneous position is due to Andrea Cornaro (16<sup>th</sup> cent.), according to Stylianos Alexiou, “Πόλεις της βορείου παραλίας της Κρήτης”, *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26 (1974), pp. 34-53. The name Panormos has an illustrious ancient history, being the name from which the Sicilian placename Palermo derives.

<sup>21</sup> These roads exist today.

<sup>22</sup> Turkish *han*, Greek χάνι ‘inn’.

<sup>23</sup> The American archaeologist R. B. Seager. His house and his hospitality are mentioned briefly in ch. 28.

<sup>24</sup> The name means ‘Thick Sand’. There is something odd about Dawkins’ story. His name for the place, Bashinamo, must be based on hearing the *masculine* form του Παχόν Άμμο, which would have been pronounced in Crete *to bashinámo*. Dawkins’ use of this form may also have been an in-joke among British archaeologists, a play on the phrase “bashing ammo” (i.e. striking ammunition). In 1630 Basilicata uses the form Pacchianamo (Spanakis II 618), which represents the accusative of the feminine form. In today’s Standard Modern Greek, *ammos* ‘sand’ is once again feminine, as in Ancient Greek, and the official name of the village is Παχειά Άμμος.

<sup>25</sup> For more on Palaikastro, where Dawkins conducted excavations in 1903-6, see ch. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere he writes this place name as Melambes. For more on Agia Galini see ch. 7.

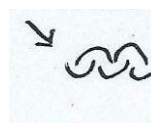
## CHAPTER 2 WEST OF CANEA

[Itinerary: Canea – Plataniás – Gonia (night) – Kissamos Kastelli (night) – Sphinari – Kephali (night) – Stomio – Sklavopoula (night) – Palaiokhora (night) – Kantanos (night) – Temenia – Rodovani – Souya (night) – Skinies [Σκινέζ]<sup>1</sup> – Canea]

### Plataniés [Plataniás] 2nd November 1917

This village is on the road by the sea from Canea to Gonia. It is built on a high rock which on the sea side is precipitous, and the road passes between it and the sea through a hamlet which is a sort of lower town.

All along the sea there are kilns for local tiles so that here nearly all the roofs are of the old-fashioned local semicircular lapped tiles and there are neither *domata* nor French tiles.



### GONIA MONASTERY *TIS ODIGITRIAS*, 2 NOVEMBER 1917<sup>2</sup>



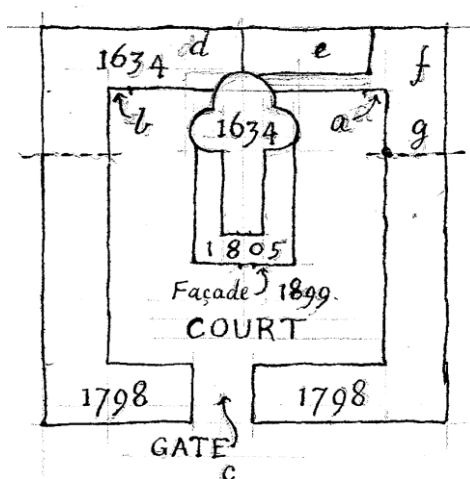
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GONIA and the WHITE MOUNTAINS.

L. Hyshe Lith.

Pashley I 26

At the western corner of the Gulf of Canea lies the monastery of Gonia, dedicated to the Hodhiyitria, *Ὁδηγήτρια*, the Virgin of Guidance. The buildings lie between the sea and some rising rocks ten minutes beyond the new village of Kolymbari. There is only a single field between the monastery and the sea, over which there is a fine view from a terrace of the monastery just behind the apse of the church.



- a. door of *igoumenikon* [abbot's quarters] with an inscription over it<sup>3</sup>
- b. fine door of Venetian style
- c. fountain opposite gate with inscription
- d. a large hall with a mark of a cannon ball on the wall inside
- e. terrace facing the sea at the back of the apse of the church which has therefore no free way round it
- f. *igoumenikon*
- g. on upper floor new *xenon* [guest quarters]

The monastery was founded rather before 1634 and the first abbot was a certain Vlasios. He was succeeded by Benedict, in Greek Venédhiktos,<sup>4</sup> who died abroad when on a mission to collect alms for the monastery. The oldest parts of the buildings are due to Benedict. These are the nucleus of the church and the eastern part of the court as far as the wavy line on the sketch-plan. The date is given by an inscription, I think in capital letters, on the west side of the dome of the church outside, just on the line where the curvature of the dome begins. It runs:

Thou who rulest on high, guard for ever this lofty building, that it may never fall, a great glory to Thee. June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1634

In the Greek it makes an elegiac couplet:

Υψόροφον διέποις τόδε ωκοδομούμενον αién,  
ακλινές υψιμέδων πάμμεγα σείο κλέος  
Ιουνίω 1 αχλδ' <sup>5</sup>

In this older part of the building I note a large hall with a mark of a cannon-ball on the wall inside, 'd' on plan. South of this, 'e' on plan, is a terrace facing the sea at the back of the apse of the church, which therefore no free way round it. In the SE corner are the abbot's rooms, the *ηγουμενείον* [abbot's quarters]. Over the door, 'a' in the plan, is a damaged inscription further obscured by whitewash. I could make out only the word *πείθεσθαι*, to obey. Nor could Xanthoudidis read it; he thought it might also not be in its original position. He managed to read parts of an elegiac couplet:

ΠΕΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΟΥ . . . . ΡΗΤΟΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΣΧΕΙΝ  
ΠΑΘΕΑ ΧΡΙΣΤ. . . . ΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ. . . ΕΧΡΟΥ<sup>1</sup>

Of which one can only say that the general sense is that mortal men are exhorted to obedience and endurance of suffering because thus they will follow after Christ.<sup>6</sup>

At 'b' on the plan is a fine door in the Venetian style, and at 'g' a new guest-house has been constructed on the upper floor. The two lateral apses of the church are to be noted. This is a plan typical of the churches on Mount Athos. Besides the door at 'b', other marks of style are two doors with ogee arches and the square windows with

<sup>1</sup> Xanth., *Αθηνά* XV pp. 49-163.

cornices above them as at Bali. These belong to the end of the Venetian period and thus fit in with the date 1634 on the dome. Xanthoudidis [p. 121] tells us that it was founded just at the end of the Venetian time and that the name is therefore not found in the Venetian lists of monasteries.

The rest of the court, that is all the western part of it, was built in 1798 and a fountain outside the gate, ‘c’ in the plan, seems to me to be of the same date. It bears an inscription in six lines and below them the date. I transcribe it in minuscule, completing the accentuation:

Πηγὴ χαριτόβρυτε ὕδωρ / μοι βλύσον ὕδωρ γὰρ ζοηρόν / ἥδιστον παντὶ γένει.  
Οικοδομή/θοι διὰ δαπάνης του πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου πρώην Κρήτης  
κύ[ρ] / κυρ Καλλινίκου· αὐγούστου ιθ / Α.Ψ.Η

The first part down to γένει forms two “Byzantine iambics”, ζοηρόν counting as two syllables. The translation will be:

Graciously flowing spring, flow with water for me, for quickening water is most sweet to all men. This was built at the expense of the most holy metropolitan formerly of Crete Lord Kallinikos. August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1798.

The date is a little doubtful. The third figure is not clear. I took it to be a koppa, Ϟ, which is for 90. Xanthoudidis thought that there was no figure at all intended and therefore reads the date as 1708. My reading would make the fountain the same date as all the western part of the courtyard.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after this date the monks enlarged the church on both sides and at the west; this was in 1805, and lastly they added a new west front in 1899. The monks have a story about the building of the 1805 additions, and in a book of rules for the monastic life preserved in the monastery there appears to be a note about this matter, the building of what is described as a “side church”, a *parakkhision*. That they were building could of course not be concealed from the Turkish authorities and a permit had to be bought. But instead of buying one for a church they bought their permit for an olive mill, which would presumably cost less than for a religious building. In any case their record is that they paid some 5500 piastres for the permit and 4500 for the expenses of the building. I did not take down the exact figures, but they illustrate well the scale upon which the Turks made their profit out of the Greeks.

Outside the gate there is a loose slab of stone with the date 1805. It is likely to have come from the façade as built at this time.

Twice also the Turks attacked the monastery. Xanthoudidis mentions an attack in 1645 [1634].<sup>8</sup> It was also bombarded in the troubles of 1866 from a ship, the name of which was given me as the Xekatiniaris. I have mentioned the cannon-ball in the big hall. There are also marks of shot on the outside of the apse, but the only shot which did any harm was one which broke through the dome of the church, broke the chandelier inside and then by a miracle passed out of the door of the church. The Turks got into the monastery and were on the point of burning it when they saw a body of Christians coming to the rescue and took to flight.

Below the abbot’s quarters is an oil mill, worked when I saw it by an oil engine. Lying about I saw the fragments of one of the old wooden olive presses, μάγγανα, of which I describe one on pages 5-7 below.

The most interesting thing I saw at Gonia was a MS book of 1800 copied from an earlier MS now lost. This consists of a list of donations given by people who wished

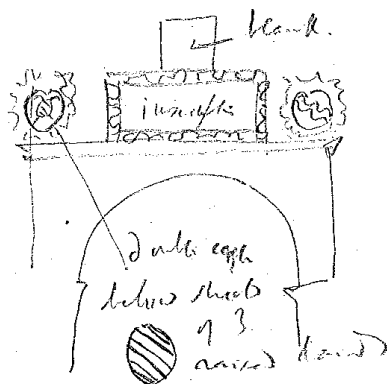
to be remembered by name in the services of the monastery. Further gifts after 1800 have been added by later hands. The first page contains the title of the book and is written with as many abbreviations and compendia as possible, and is the most extreme thing of its kind I have ever seen. It is the work of the scribe Stephanos Stratopoulos, who evidently was anxious to show what he could do in this line and how hard he could make it to read what he wrote. A dervish friend of mine in Candia valued his ornamental inscriptions – he was himself an expert calligrapher – in exactly the same way, and once showed me with pride the gem of his collection, an inscription which no one at all could read. The gifts are in many cases surprisingly small; just a very few piastres were enough to secure an eternal remembrance. The entries end with the formula “διό εγράφη εις την αγίαν πρόθεσιν να μνημονεύεται αιωνίως”, ‘therefore he was inscribed in the holy “credence” that he should be remembered for ever’, or else “να μνημονεύεται παρρησιαστικώς και μυστικώς αιωνίως”, ‘that he should be remembered for ever both in the open and in the secret prayers’.

Kolymbari, which I have already mentioned as ten minutes to the Canea side of Gonia monastery, is quite a new place. I understood that it had been founded for administrative purposes. Trevor-Battye says (p. 55) that it was built in connexion with some iron mines not very far away. Trevor-Battye notes that *Cichorium spinosum* is common here near the sea. This is a succory<sup>9</sup> which grows in sandy places near the sea making little thorny bushes about the size of a large sponge. The flowers are of the same clear pale blue as those of the ordinary succory and the young shoots are eaten as a salad. It is abundant also on the seaward slopes of the *kastro* of Retimo and again on the path by the shore eastwards from Siteia all the way from below Agia Photia and to where the path to Palaikastro leaves the shore at Agios Andonios.

### KISSAMO KASTELLI, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1913<sup>10</sup>

I was only here this once except once earlier when I landed at night with Stephenson. The castle lies just inland of the sea and adjoined the squalid little town now half in ruins owing, I suppose, to the departure of the Turks. The castle has good walls and just outside it to the west I found a piece of mosaic pavement recently uncovered by the rains and by it the ruins of a lot of buried *pithoi*. Xanthoudidis tells me that buried *pithoi* are regarded by the peasants as marking old dyers shops. There is an inner fort inside the castle and over the door of it is this inscription in a panel as in sketch:

FRANCISCO ERRICIO PRINCIPE  
 HIERONIMO MERCELO CYDON  
 . RECTORE .  
 LAVRENTIVS CONTARENVS REGN  
 . PROCONSVL .  
 ARCEM HANC E FVNDAMENTIS  
 . RESTAVRAVIT  
 .M NI 25                      1635





Inside this inner fort on a building to the right is a much defaced lion of St Mark. On the steps of a house leading up from the ground outside to the first floor is the relief here sketched. All the work is in relief and surrounded by the billet moulding with ten to a side.<sup>11</sup>

**KISSAMO PROVINCE, written at Kephali<sup>12</sup> November 4<sup>th</sup> 1917.**  
**Road from Kissamo Kastelli to Kephali**

About 9 hours. The road rises from Kastelli, passing through Lousakies, which is a wide valley with scattered hamlets to the north of the mountain St Elias. In the valley there are many scattered farms, mostly now ruined as having belonged formerly to Turks. The region is wooded and very pretty with gardens. We did not pass through the village itself. To the east rises the high ridge called Palaiokastro, which is the site of Polyrrenia.<sup>13</sup> Then over the watershed and almost as far as Porro Mesoyia, which is just on the left as the road turns to the south. Just about here one sees both the gulf of Kissamo and the eastern sea at the same time. Then the road goes along the slopes over the sea to the south and one sees the site of Phalasarne<sup>14</sup> and behind it the steep cliff called Akrotiri Koutris.

The slopes are quite green but the heather and arbutus have been in most places burned to get grasses. In 4 hours one reaches Sphinari in a valley near the sea, the valley filled with olive trees and gardens. Thence by fine slopes of arbutus up and down steep hills to Kampos. On the way there is a glimpse north of the island and harbour of Grabusa, though at this distance I could not make out the fort. Thence by slopes of increasing bareness to Keramití [Keramoti], Amygdalokephali and, in the dusk, to Papadiana and Kephali within the Inakhos valley.<sup>15</sup> Just before Papadiana [just before Amygdalokephali?] the road turns from the sea and slopes and enters the steep and narrow Inakhos valley which runs down long and straight with olives on its bottom and lower slopes, and its lower parts white with gypsum.

**OLIVE MILL**

All over Crete I knew the old wooden olive presses had given way to imported steel presses, and of the old machines only a few broken fragments were ever to be seen. But on this route near Amygdalokephali I passed an old olive mill with a wooden press still complete, though no longer in use. Such a press I saw in 1903 in Carpathos and described in a number of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, with a drawing which I reproduce here.<sup>16</sup>



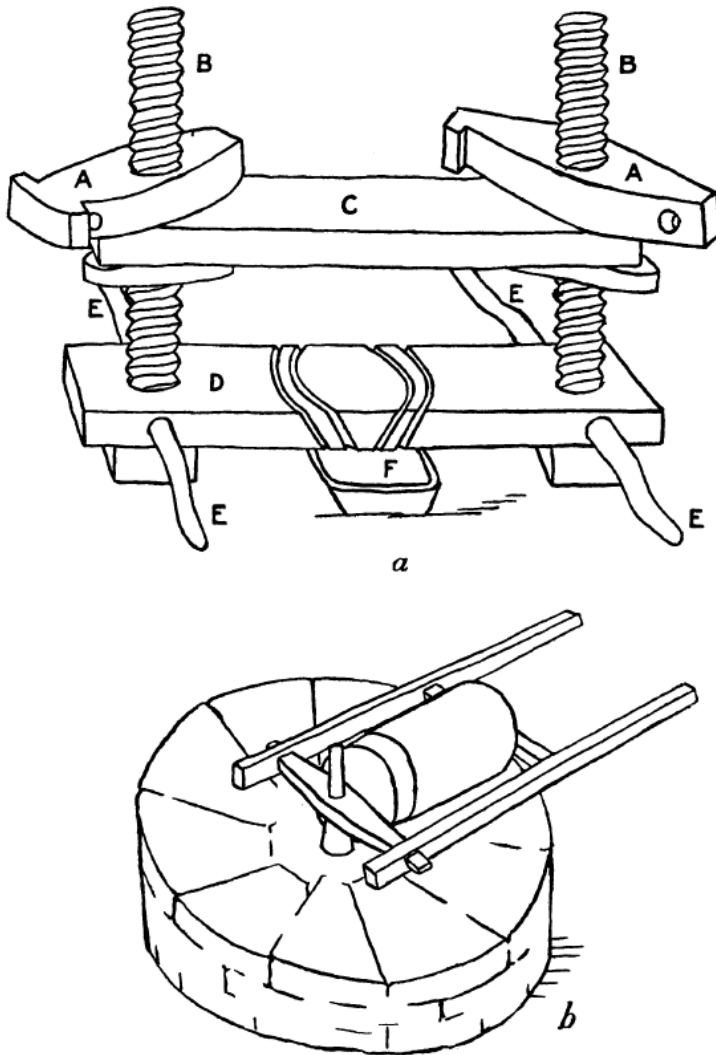


FIG. 11.—WOODEN OLIVE-PRESS AND OLIVE-MILL.

The Carpathian press had with it in the same building a somewhat primitive form of olive mill, designed to be worked, not by a mule, but by a couple of men. The press is in Crete called *μάγγανον*. The Cretan names for the various parts of the machine as indicated by the letters in the cut are as follows:

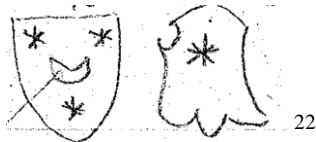
- A. These wooden pieces with a female screw turned round by means of levers to exert the pressure are called ‘the turners’, *οι στρόφες*, and the similar smaller pieces below the beam which serve to support it are called ‘the little turners’, *τα στρόφια*. In Carpathos the upper piece is called *το σκιντήλι*, and for the lower piece I got no name.
- B. The vertical spindles are called *τα αρδάχτια*, the Cretan form of *αδράχτι*, the classical *άτρακτος*, the spindle used for spinning. In Carpathos they are called by the corresponding form, *αγράττι*.
- C.D. These are respectively ‘the upper’ and the ‘lower plank’, *η απάνω* and *η κάτω σανίδα* [the lower beam with the circular place for the pile of bags]. In Carpathos *πλάντρα* is used instead of *σανίδα*.
- E.F. For these parts, called in Carpathos *η αντιπάτια* – the feet which keep the machine steady – and *η σκάφη* – the bowl – I did not get the Cretan names.

By the press were a number of bags plaited from rushes in which the pulp of crushed olives was placed for pressing. The bags when full would take the form of a much flattened sphere with the opening in the middle of one flat side, and of them a suitable number were piled up on the centre of the lower beam. They are called *σφυρίδια*, meaning in modern Greek ‘baskets’ and is from the ancient [blank].<sup>17</sup> I have seen them on sale at Canea for use as doormats, because they are not used with the modern steel press. For this they use a pile of square packets made by folding coarse goat’s-hair cloth, the sort of cloth made on the single-treadle looms which I describe elsewhere in my notes from Hierapetra.<sup>18</sup> Like other bundles tied up with kerchiefs, these are called by the Turkish name *bokhtchá*<sup>19</sup> – ο μποχτσάς, οι μποχτσάδες. The old-fashioned bags I have seen, I think in Crete [either at Palaikastro or in Karpathos], are also woven in some way from goat’s-hair yarn; they are called *malathounia* – τα μαλαθούνια. I do not know the derivation of this word, but Protodikos, who drew most of his material from Rhodes, tells us that the *malathouna* is a basket made of rushes in which honeycombs are pressed to extract the honey.<sup>2</sup>

### KEPHALI in west Crete, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1917<sup>20</sup>

The village stands mostly on a knoll rising on the right bank of the Inakhos valley near its top, but lowish and out of sight of the sea. Further up there are said to be many chestnut trees and the so-called *kastanochoria*.<sup>21</sup> On the ridge of the knoll is the old Venetian church of Khristos [Μεταμόρφωση του Χριστού] with frescoes and many graffiti. I copied two coats of arms with dates 1376 and 1486 and the date March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1529. In the date 6745 – 5508 = 1237 the first two letters are too uncertain to be of any value and it may be 1745. αψηλε

1376          1486          6 mayi 1520



Towards the east are pilasters supporting the rib in the vaulted roof and on the face of the north is a painted inscription regarding the builders. I read on it κόπου και εξόδου, and the doctor who was with me told me that Gerola had made out the names Anna and Moschou. According to the doctor, Gerola also found portraits of the founders, but I could not, nor any place for them.<sup>23</sup> There is also an inscription on the upper part of the south pilaster.

<sup>2</sup> Protodikos, *Ιδιωτικά της νεωτέρας Ελληνικής γλώσσης*, p. 43.



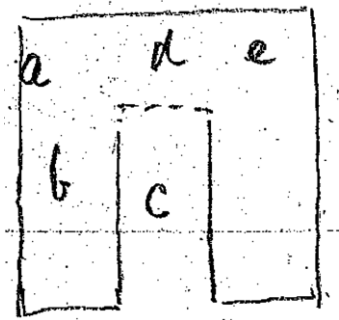
Gerola II, Table 8



IMG\_0913: The cypress mentioned by Dawkins (October 2009)

In front of the church a very old and very fine cypress is said to mark the tomb of Kantanolis [George Kandanooleon or Gadanoleos], who fought against the Venetians.<sup>24</sup>

On the top of the knoll of the village near the church is the *πύργος του Καλλέργη* [Kallergis' mansion], the remains of a very fine Venetian house now a good deal bedevilled, first by Turks and now by Christians. I give the plan.



- A. Very fine ogee arch over niche, figured by Gerola,<sup>25</sup> with billet moulding
- B. Oil press
- C. Court with doors and windows (with square lintel) on each side. End wall new.
- D. Living rooms



IMG\_0914 The villa from the north

The two-winged plan is to be noted, as it is the same as the plan of Alidakis' tower at Prosnero.

Lower down the valley is Kouíneni [Κούνετι, since renamed Βάθη] with many red roofs.

### STOMION 5 November 1917

From Kephali we went down the Inakhos valley to Stomion. The few houses lie a little to the north of the mouth of the valley and are concealed by the rising ground behind them so that at first there seems to be no place there at all. All the lower part of the valley is of white gypsum with a few pines which have suffered much from fires.

From Stomion we went by a path over the mountains to Sklavopoula, where we slept the night. Our guide was the *telonis* [customs officer] of Stomion as the path is not one that could be found without a guide. This took four hours and we passed over the shoulder of the south-west corner of the island. At Cape Krio which is the corner there is a church mentioned by Xanthoudidis as having a lot of names inscribed in it, but I did not go down this way at all.<sup>26</sup>

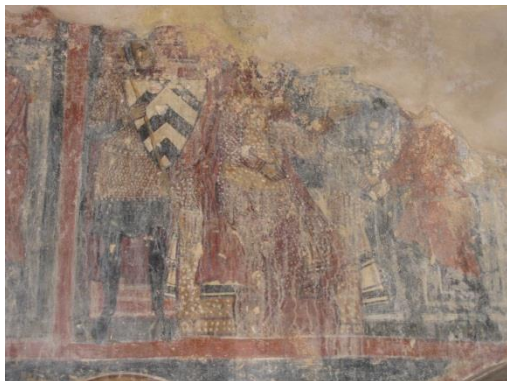
### SKLAVOPOULA, 2-3 November 1916<sup>27</sup>

First visit there with Stephenson;<sup>28</sup> slept the night there. The Sklavopoula valley is full of isolated *metochia* [outlying monastery properties] with big ruined houses of Turkish beys. The Turks have now gone to live in Canea but in some cases still own the property.

Roofs nearly all flat. Very northern, bare look about the place; very different from east Crete and not so pretty. (This was my first landing in west Crete.)

### SKLAVOPOULA, 5th November 1917

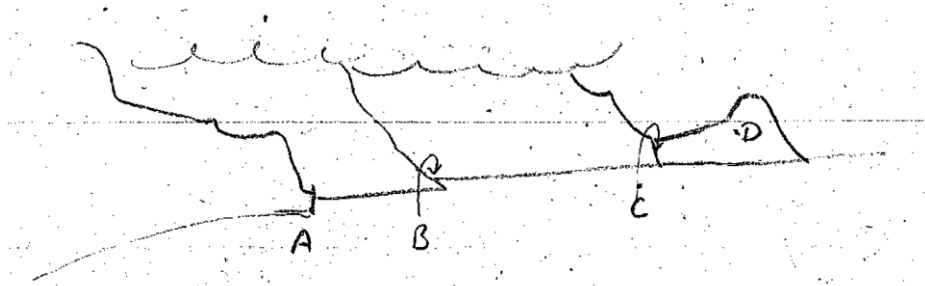
Slept there coming from Kephali and Stomion. No red tiled roofs. Many ruined houses of Turks. The village divided into two halves by the ridge of the hill. The western, where we slept, is Piso Sklavopoula or Παράδικα *vel sim.* [Παπαδιανά] and that on the east side is Póde (Πώδε) Sklavopoula. On the ridge is a shop or two, and the site of a projected and already begun new church.<sup>29</sup> In Póde Sklavopoula are three old churches.



The lowest down the hill is Metamorphosis with a fresco of the founder carrying the church. Just above is the Koimisis<sup>30</sup> with a fresco of the founder and a picture of Hell on the west wall with several pictures of tortures especially on the north side of the west door. Above this is Agios Georgios [at Póde] with scanty remains of frescoes and figure of St George.

IMG\_0902 Fresco in Agios Georgios at Póde Sklavopoula

I failed to find the church of Ai Stratigos at Pelekánou lower down the valley. I went down next day to Palaiókhora, passing down valley with its derelict Turkish farms.

**PALAIOKHORA, 6<sup>th</sup> September 1917**

Sketch of view to the east taken from the peninsula at Palaiokhora. A is Souya; B Agia Roumeli; C Sphakia; D the village of Sakhtaria. When I did the sketch the tops of the mountains were all covered with clouds.

The peninsula of Palaiokhora is quite flat on the top and a part on the edge of this raised plateau towards the isthmus, which is much lower, is occupied by the ruins of the battlemented fort. Between the sea and the flat raised top of the peninsula there is on the south a fairish, and on the east a narrow, strip of land. On this strip on the east are the graves of the Turks who formed the garrison here (date?). The graves are marked only by a few shingles and small uncut stones. The isthmus itself, on which the village is, is low and quite flat. The houses are on its southern part just below the fort. Only a few red-tiled roofs. In 1897 I was told that British ships came here and took off Turkish refugees, I imagine from the numerous now more or less ruined Turkish farms in the Sklavopoula valley. The houses are mostly on the east side of the isthmus where they come right to the sea, and here Yeronimos Yeronimakis has his house, a *kamaroto spiti*. But boats can land on either side according to the weather, just as at Loutra near Khora Sphakion.

**CHURCHES IN KANTANOS VALLEY<sup>31</sup>**  
**Written at Kantanos, 7 November 1917<sup>32</sup>**

The valley from Palaiokhora to Kantanos (Κάντανος) is roughly divided into three districts. The lowest is Kedros [το Κάδρος], then comes Kakodiki (Κακοδίκι), and the region at the top, where the narrow V-shaped valley broadens out into undulating country surrounded by higher hills, is called Kantanos. In Kakodiki there is a hamlet called Beilitika (Μπειλίτικα) and the head of police at Souya, who comes from there, told me (8 November 1917) that Kakodiki got its name thus. Formerly all the district from Palaiokhora up to Plemeniana was called Kedros (Κέδρος), but the Turks at Beilitiko impaled a Christian and for this reason the upper part of the Kedros district in which Beilitiko lies was given the name of Κακοδίκι, as from κακή δίκη [“bad justice”].

None of these three districts, except perhaps Kantanos, has a central village with the name, but the names apply to the districts which are inhabited each by a number of scattered hamlets. This way of living is in Crete peculiar to Selino<sup>33</sup> and may be seen in the three valleys of Kephali, Sklavopoula and Kantanos. It gives the country quite a different aspect, as the tightly packed villages with lanes and little open place in the middle are quite unknown here.

This Kantanos valley has a great number of frescoed churches of which the frescoes are to be found in Gerola, as least as far as they are the portraits of founders. With the aid of his lists I visited a number of these churches, those in the valley at this time, and those in the Kantanos district at a later visit.

I give the list with my notes on them always referring to Gerola:

1. About 1½ hours from Palaiokhora in the Kedros [Kadros] district is a hamlet called Vlithias (Βλιθιάς). As one ascends the valley on the left of the road are the remains of a round tower and a piece of polygonal masonry,<sup>34</sup> and a little further on, 5 minutes below the road which is on the left side of the valley, is the hamlet of Vlithias and at its edge the church of Christos.<sup>35</sup> This is perhaps Gerola's church of the Redentore at Zevremiana in Kedros [Kadros], although there must be some mistake as Zevremiana is in fact close to Kantanos.<sup>36</sup> It is a small oblong building with ribs across the roof and two shallow bays on each side in the usual Venetian style. Date 1359.



The frescoes are not good. At the west end of the north wall is a very long painted inscription giving the date. I copied the first line:

Εν έτει σωξζ ανακενή[σθη] etc.,

which gives the date 6867-5508 = 1359 for a restoration of the church.

In the hamlet of Beilitika in the district of Kakodiki there are three churches.<sup>37</sup> The hamlet itself consists of a few houses and shops, where we had lunch. The three churches are scattered among the fields but all quite close to the knot of shops and to the main road. They are the Evangelismos (2), the Metamorphosis (3) and Ai Stratigos (4).



IMG\_2639 Evangelismos, Beilitika

2. *Ευαγγελισμός της Θεοτόκου* [Παναγία Ευαγγελίστρια].<sup>38</sup> A long painted inscription on the west wall south of the door ends with the date ,Ϟωμ 6890[6840]-5508 = 1382 [1332]. Then there are three frescoes of the founders:

A. on the south wall a priest as donor with the inscription<sup>39</sup>

(μνήσθητι) του δούλου του Θεού Ιω(άννου) ιερέος...  
[remember the servant of God Ioannis, priest]

B. below the long inscription on the wall is a child with the inscription

μνήσθητι Κύριε την ψυχὴν της δούλης ... I read no more.  
[remember, Lord, the soul of thy servant]

C. on the north wall a woman and above her written

μνήσθητι Κύριε την ψυχὴν της δούλης ... and I read no more.

Into the outside of the walls there are built in fragments of Doric triglyphs and pieces of an ancient gutter.

3. *Μεταμόρφωσις του Χριστού*.<sup>40</sup> There is an inscription over the west door but the plaster has almost entirely fallen down and I read none of it. It probably gave the date. On the east end of the north wall is a picture of the founder and I copied at least some of the inscription as below [not reproduced here]:<sup>41</sup>

There are also many graffiti: I copied [not reproduced here]. A given date 6808-5508 = 1300, probably.



IMG\_2635 Ai-Stratigos, Beilitika

4. *Αἱ Στράτιγος* [Αρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ] – ten minutes higher up the valley than the shops.<sup>42</sup> It has a nice west door with Venetian billet moulding. Inside three bays on each side separated by ribs. In the easternmost bay on the north side is the archangel on horseback, his halo done in raised plaster. On the west wall (position nearly sure) a long inscription mostly destroyed beginning + MNHCΘKETACΨYX...<sup>43</sup> and on the lower part of the west wall a representation of hell in 12 panels, 6 on each side of the door in two rows of three each.<sup>44</sup>

There are a number of graffiti:

a. [Graffiti not reproduced]

b. 1420

i.e. 21 March 1435 A.D.<sup>45</sup>

5. St George at Plemenianá.<sup>46</sup> Below this church is a medicinal spring.<sup>3</sup> At the bottom of the west wall to the north of the door are 6 panels of hell mostly destroyed.<sup>47</sup> One is

<sup>3</sup> See Xanthoudidis, *Αθηνά* [vol. 15 (1903)], p. 112.



marked *ο φονέας* [the murderer]. On the north wall is a long inscription published by Xanthoudidis [p. 112]. It gives the date [of the paintings]  $\epsilon\zeta\lambda\text{IH } 6918-5508 = 1410$ . On the south [north] wall is a picture of St George riding to a city. Behind him rides a little figure perhaps of the founder inscribed [inscription not reproduced]. The saint is marked [*ο άγιος Γεώργιος*].



IMG\_8818 “The murderer” in St George at Plemeniana



IMG\_8817 St George with companion

6. Plemeniana, Church of Christos.<sup>48</sup> The church has two [three] arched bays on each side, and about 40 years ago it was lengthened towards the west. Old marbles are built into it. On the south side on the pilaster between the bays is a long inscription hard to read, and below it a much destroyed kneeling figure and in the east bay on the south side is a painting of a kneeling woman.<sup>49</sup> These are no doubt the founders. There are graffiti and I copy one of 1426 on the north pilaster.<sup>4</sup>

1426  
hic fuit<sup>50</sup>

At Kantanos on this visit I got to only two ruined churches with remains of frescoes which offered nothing of interest.

On 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> June 1918 I went to four frescoed churches in the Kantanos district – all within half an hour or less of the village – having got their names from Gerola. I was then told that near Kantanos there are 101 churches but one is hidden in the earth (*χωσμένη*) and cannot be found. The hidden church contains treasure and is also haunted. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month I went to Palaiokhora and back. These churches are:

1. Panagia at the hamlet of Zevremianá [*Παναγία Μεσοσπορίτισσα* (or *Μυρτιδιώτισσα*), *Τζεβρεμιανά*],<sup>51</sup> a small church of usual type with two slightly sunk bays on each side. In the eastern face of the first bay on the south side are the kneeling figures of the founder and his wife holding the church in their hands, inscribed [inscription not reproduced here].<sup>52</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Xanthoudidis, p. 113. [Xanth. gives other graffiti; Tsougarakis 2015: 66.4 give fuller version of this one.]



IMG\_8819 Panagia, Tzevremiana. Founder and wife (or possibly founder and Panagia); they are standing, not kneeling.

There are numerous graffiti. I copy:

a. on first bay in north wall followed by two more lines

1393 hic fuit Petrus

b. in first bay on south wall with one more line below it: 1549 and below again 1450 etc.<sup>53</sup>

2. Agia Kyriaki at Lampiriana.<sup>54</sup> Frescoes in very bad repair. Frescoes of two founders on each side of the church, but the inscription almost entirely gone.<sup>55</sup>



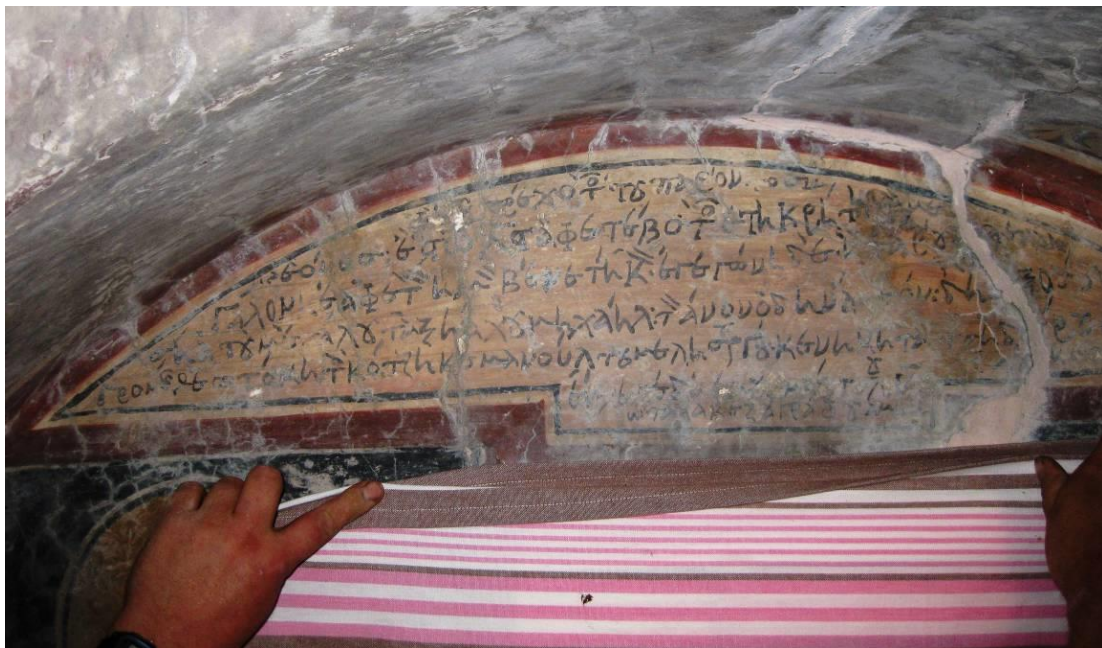
Church of Archangel Michael at Kavalariana

3. Ai Stratigos [Archangel Michael] at Kavalarianá, ¼ hour from Kantanos [to the north-east] with the finest of all these frescoes of founders. There are numerous figures of donors, the men dressed in red and white, all given in Gerola.<sup>56</sup> The regular

type of inscription for a founder is [inscription not reproduced here], and this serves in general in these churches. Above the portraits of the founders there is on the south side a long minuscule inscription which I did not read.



IMG\_2661 (12/10/2010) Michail Archangelos, Kavalariana: portraits of founders (cf. Gerola II, Table 10.3 (p. 401)



IMG\_2663 Michail Archangelos, Kavalariana: minuscule inscription with the name of the painter Ioannes (Pagomenos)



IMG\_2641 Agia Anna, Anisaraki

4. Agia Anna [at] Anisaraki,<sup>57</sup> with good frescoes and with the usual two bays on each side. In the bay on the south side are the founders: a man and a woman holding the church and inscribed

“Prayer of servant of God John ... and his wife.” So much I could read.<sup>58</sup>

In the spandrel above the arch of the bay in the west corner of the north wall is a long inscription in capitals now much destroyed. I read (the last line evidently had a date):

[The divine and venerable temple of St Anna was renewed from the foundations and painted with the contribution of Georgis [son of Petros] and his wife [and] Michael [son of Petros] and his wife [...]]

date probably 6.37-5508 = 629 to 1429 of which 1429 is the most likely. No date later than this is feasible.<sup>59</sup>



IMG\_9402 The donors George and Michael, sons of Peter, and their wives



IMG\_9399 St Anne suckling the Virgin Mary.



Thr Panagia at Anisaraki (not mentioned by Dawkins) containing 14th-15th cent. frescoes

### Road from Kantanos to Souya, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1917

The road first ascends the hill out of the wide Kantanos basin. At the top there is a view over the sea to the west and over Gonia or Kastelli to the north. It then descends to Temenia with a medicinal spring said to be good for stone and gravel. It has a wooden spout as the water is said to corrode stone, and from this quality has its medicinal power.<sup>60</sup> Close to the village on a knoll is the church of Christos, for which see other note [on next page]. Then down towards Rodovani, which I left on the left hand and went to Kalomoires, a hamlet lower down the valley with the Panagia church described under Rodovani. All this district is very green with heather and arbutus. The right side of the steep Souya valley is mostly gypsum and so bright white. This was quarried until the war and shipped at Souya. A fair number of pines, but often burned. Souya now consists of a few houses on a piece of flat land at the mouth of the river. The valley from Rodovani downwards is so narrow and steep as to be almost a gorge. I saw here the narrow-leafed sage and one piece of *Spiranthes*.<sup>61</sup>

At Temenia no tiled roofs. Kantanos is mostly tiles and the other villages hereabouts have some, but they are generally of the local make and so much less offensive than the red French tiles. The local tiles being set in plenty of mortar are warmer than the French and stand the wind better.

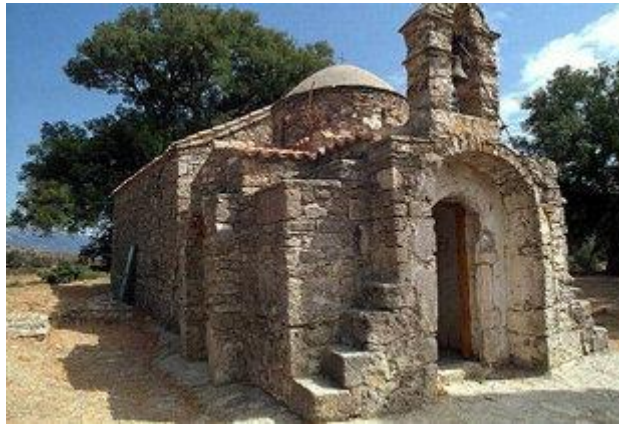
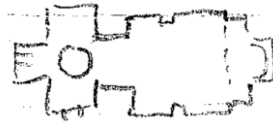


IMG\_2651 Sotiros Christou, Temenia

**Temenia, church of Christos, Thursday 8 November 1917<sup>62</sup>**

Going from Kantanos to Souya I passed Temenia and then Rodovani, each with a church.

In the Temenia neighbourhood on a little knoll with fine *prines* at the east end is the little church of Christos [Ναός του Σωτήρος, Σωτήρα Χριστού] (Gerola's Redentore).<sup>63</sup> It is of the usual Venetian style with two bays on each side and on the roof frescoes. Those on the walls have been for the most part whitewashed. The oddity is that a tiny domed cruciform church has been tacked on to the west end of the simple church so that the plan is<sup>64</sup>



The same church (Christ the Saviour) at Temenia

On this part of the road from Kantanos to Souya the wooded Omalo mountains are in front, to the south the sea is visible over the top of the Souya gorge and to the right is the ridge of Hyrtakina [archaeological site NE of Paleochora], the lowest part of which is mostly white gypsum.

**RODOVANI, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1917<sup>65</sup>****Church of Panagia at the locality Kalomoires in Rodovani district<sup>66</sup>**

This is the ruin of a Venetian oblong church with the usual two shallow bays on each side. On the east end, the north wall and the part of the west wall to the north of the door survive, and the frescoes with which they are covered are suffering much from exposure to the weather and steadily getting washed out. In the east bay of the north wall are the founders, the man carrying the church with, above him, the head of Christ who blesses him from out of a cloud, and behind him his wife. The inscription on him runs:

δ[έησις] του δούλου του Θεού Γεωργίου το[υ] Γαδανωλέον[τος] και συνβίας  
αυτού Μόσχαν. Δέ[ησις] των τέκνων αυτού αμήν.<sup>67</sup>

[Prayer of the servant of God George Gadanoleon and his wife Moscha and their children. Amen.]



The donors of the church of the Panagia at Rodovani, Georgios and Moschana Gadanoleos

The part of the west wall preserved shows that there was a crucifixion over the door and on each side of it a group of figures. On the arm of the cross preserved is written *τις δόξις* and the preserved group on the north side consists of a kneeling figure, then a weeping figure, probably St John, some mocking Jews and the centurion Longinus pointing to Christ with his hand thus [*sketch of hand*] and on his round shield the inscription:

Λόγγηνος ο εκατόνταρχ[ος] ιδών τον σι[σ]μ[ό]ν και τα γενόμενα έφοι  
αλλιθώς Θεού υιός ην ούτος.

[When Longinus the centurion saw the earthquake and those things that were done, he said “Truly this was the Son of God”]



IMG\_8837 Panagia at Rodovani. The centurion Longinus

**Souya and the road from Souya to Skines (and Canea), 8<sup>th</sup> [9<sup>th</sup>] November 1917<sup>68</sup>**

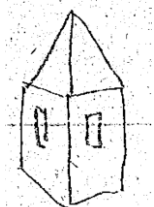
At Souya in front of the most western house is a fragment of mosaic pavement with (?),<sup>69</sup> panther, deer and leaves in white, black and red. Coarse work. There are a few fragments of columns lying about here and there.

**9<sup>th</sup> November 1917, Souya to Skines.** The road goes up the valley to the pass just before which is the village of Agia Eirini, amongst trees, cypress, walnut and olive. Lunch on potatoes at a cobbler's. I passed near the village later going from Omalo to Kantanos crossing this route. After the pass the road descends the northern slopes of the watershed. All this region consists of deep valleys with steep sides covered with heather and arbutus scrub. I note how much commoner arbutus is in west than in east Crete. On the south, that is the Souya side, as well as on the north, are scattered hamlets; see note on Kantanos [above]. At the top of the pass there is a view over Canea, the island of Agios Theodoros [Agioi Theodoroi] and the monastery of Gonia at Kolymbari. Skines is in the low land and I slept there. Next day by *sousta* to Canea, the road not passing through Alikianou.<sup>70</sup> The low country is pretty but not very interesting.

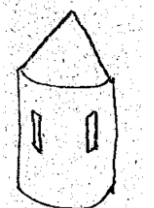
**17 June 1918:** road from **Kantanos** over the watershed of the island to Nea Roumata [between Kantanos & Skines]. This is an ascent of 2½ hours and then a descent of the same over hills covered with a more or less burned black scrub of heath and arbutus. This makes the country very much greener than most of Crete. The view from the high part is over Kissamo bay and the point beyond Grabousa, the islet of Pontikós [Pondikonisi] west of Grabousa, Agios Theodoros island and the Akrotiri mountains.

**HOUSES****4 November 1917**

**Chimneys** [cf. ch. 12] common at Kephali and Amygdalokephali on west coast of Crete. They are very white, rising out of the flat roof, and consist of one or two square blocks of masonry, each finished above with four slightly rising faces like a very flat pyramid, and above them a cylindrical top with side slits. Built chimneys of one kind or another are general in west Crete. In the centre and east they use an old *pithos* and over it to keep the rain out often tilt a bit of wood over it.

**Same day**

A. Sketch of built chimney seen by road from Canea to Gonia. It is like the Preveli chimney but has only one opening on each side



B. Round built chimney seen in the valley between Palaiokhora and Sklavopoula



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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> The name of the village Skines between Chania and Souya is of the same origin as the name of the two villages in eastern Crete called Skinias (cf. ch. 21). Both of the names are masculine singular and both refer to a group of lentisk trees (σκίνος 'lentisk'). The difference between the two names is due to dialect differences: σκινιάς in eastern Cretan dialect corresponds to σκινές in western Cretan. I have adjusted Dawkins' Skinies to Skines in all instances below.

<sup>2</sup> Psilakis II 577ff. and esp. 586ff. We visited the monastery on 12 April 2009.

<sup>3</sup> 1869 Ιουνίου ΙΘ' (June 19), I think.

<sup>4</sup> His surname was Tzangarolos, according to Psilakis II 587.

<sup>5</sup> Xanthoudidis, *Αθηνά* 15, p. 122 and Psilakis II 587; still there in good condition 12 April 2009.

<sup>6</sup> 12 April 2009: This inscription has since been re-cut: Πείθεσθε μονασταί ηγήτορι πάντα δε πάσχειν / πάθεα Χριστού ήδεσι τοις εγγθονίοις εχθρού. In addition, on the south side of the church, above a cistern, is the following inscription, which contains many abbreviations and oddities: «ΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ ΞΑΝΗΚΑΚΗ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1842».

<sup>7</sup> Between the Ψ and the Η there is definitely a dot (not a koppa), as there is between Α and Ψ. Therefore Xanthoudidis is right: the date is 1708.

<sup>8</sup> Xanthoudidis mentions the Turkish landing of 1634 at p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> An alternative English name for chicory: JW.

<sup>10</sup> The town owes its name Kastelli to the castle, which was built by the Genoese adventurer Enrico Pescatore, who controlled large parts of Crete from 1206 until 1211, when the Venetians expelled him (Tsougarakis 1988: 344). Michael Llewellyn Smith (p. 25) writes that "the arch-pirate Enrico Pescatore, the Genoese Count of Malta, landed and quickly took control of the island in 1206. He embarked on an energetic building programme, strengthening the Cretan defences with fortresses which the Venetians took over and used to hold down the islanders and to repel the assaults of corsairs and Turks". The Venetians drove out Pescatore and controlled Crete from 1211 onwards.

<sup>11</sup> There is a photo of the gate in Gerola IV 236. On the same page Gerola also has a photo of the coat of arms, which he dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and attributes to the Da Molin family. We didn't see any of this when we visited the castle in April 2009. Much of the walls are inaccessible, being inside (or abutting against) people's private property. Gerola didn't publish the inscription, but as far as it is legible in his photo, Dawkins' seems to be correct; the letters bottom left that Dawkins couldn't read probably spell ANNO.

<sup>12</sup> On the way to Chrysoskalitissa monastery, which Dawkins didn't visit.

<sup>13</sup> Polyrrenia declined in favour of its port of Kissamos after the Roman period. The name Palaiokastro emerged during the Venetian period (Tsougarakis 1988: 344). In recent years the village has reverted to its ancient name.

<sup>14</sup> The site of Phalasarna was rediscovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Robert Pashley and Captain Spratt.

<sup>15</sup> "Inakhos valley" seems to be a mistake. It is marked as Ξηροπόταμος on maps. He may be thinking of the nearby ancient city of Inachorion.

- <sup>16</sup> “Notes from Karpathos”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 9 (1902/1903), p. 196.
- <sup>17</sup> Pangalos says the word means sacks made of goat-hair and derives it from Ancient Greek σφυρίδιον or σπυρίδιον.
- <sup>18</sup> These notes have not been found.
- <sup>19</sup> Spelt *bohça* in modern Turkish.
- <sup>20</sup> This is a conflation of two sections. We visited Kefali on 15 Oct. 2009.
- <sup>21</sup> He means Elos, which we visited on 15/10/09. An annual chestnut festival is held there in late October.
- <sup>22</sup> Tsougarakis 2015: 85-91 give 95 graffiti from this church. The 2 coats of arms copied by Dawkins are Tsougarakis 14.49 & 14.81, reproduced on p. 286. The one on the left in Dawkins’ typescript is in reality accompanied by the date 1486 (Tsougarakis p. 88). The date March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1529 is actually “6 magi 1520” (Tsougarakis 14.57). The *αψη* may be Tsougarakis 14.53 (*αφε* = 1505).
- <sup>23</sup> Dawkins seems to have misunderstood: the doctor must have been talking about a single fresco. Gerola prints a colour copy of the founders’ portraits in Table 8 at the end of vol. 2 (p. 399). Aikaterini K. Mylopotamitaki, “Η ενδυμασία των Κρητικών στην εποχή της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)”, *Archaiologia kai Technes* 84 (September 2002), p. 22, reads the names of the founders above their portraits as Anna and Moschanna. For Moschanna see Rodovani below.
- <sup>24</sup> The name Kandanoleon means the Lion of Kandanos.
- <sup>25</sup> Gerola II 264.
- <sup>26</sup> Xanthoudidis (114-117) calls it Κριού μέτωπον. Dawkins also seems to have missed Chrysoskalitissa Monastery, which must be the church mentioned by Xanthoudidis, and Elafonisi.
- <sup>27</sup> According to Xanthoudidis 116, it is thus named because Nikephoros Phokas brought in Slav settlers in 961 to replace the indigenous population that had lived there before the Arab conquest. We visited on 15 Oct. 2009.
- <sup>28</sup> Perhaps the commander of the trawler on which Dawkins was travelling. He spells the name Stevenson on 5 Nov. 1917.
- <sup>29</sup> The (then) new church is Christos. There were two cafes nearby in 2009.
- <sup>30</sup> Also known as the Panagia.
- <sup>31</sup> This is rather a poor section; Gerola has much more detail.
- <sup>32</sup> The village of Kandanos itself was razed to the ground, and about 180 of its inhabitants killed, by German troops on 3 June 1941. After this they erected a number of memorial plaques. One of these is inscribed with the words (in German and Greek): “Here stood Kandanos, destroyed in retribution for the murder of 25 German soldiers”. In spite of this inscription, Kandanos has been rebuilt since the War.
- <sup>33</sup> Selino is a province covering the SW corner of Crete. The Venetian fortress of Selino was at Palaiochora.
- <sup>34</sup> We saw this from outside 12/10/10.
- <sup>35</sup> Εκκλησία του Χριστού on left side of road going north (below the road at the layby with sign saying Βλιθιάς). Very plain outside, inside apparently restored but locked when we visited (the keyholder was collecting olives).
- <sup>36</sup> Dawkins seems to be confused. On p. 331 Gerola describes S. Salvatore at Plemeniana but adds in a note that it could as well be assigned to the *frazione* of Zevremiana. Gerola also mentions it on pp. 54-5 and figures it in Tavola 9.1 (p. 400). This is in fact the church of Christos at Plemeniana that Dawkins refers to below.
- <sup>37</sup> Beilitika (alternatively pronounced Belitika) is on the east side of the ravine, the opposite side to Vliithias.

<sup>38</sup> The church is in the middle of the hamlet, down a path past the priest's house. We saw it from outside 12/10/10; the priest was out. Gerola transcribes the inscriptions (IV 462-3).

<sup>39</sup> Gerola: S. Maria, photo in II 331, fig. 381, left. Gerola says there are two priests, Giovanni and Niceforo: see right-hand photo for the latter.

<sup>40</sup> We didn't find this church.

<sup>41</sup> The inscription is in Gerola, Tavola 9.2, who says it is the founder Martha; see also II 330 and IV 460 (S. Salvatore at Beilitika).

<sup>42</sup> This was locked when we visited. It is next to the large modern church of Agia Triada, and there is a cemetery within the precinct of the two churches. The west façade (pictured) is rather battered.

<sup>43</sup> Xanthoudidis 113 has only ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚĒ. Transcription in Gerola IV 461.

<sup>44</sup> Gerola II 342.

<sup>45</sup> Tsougarakis 2015: 111-12 have graffiti from this church. RMD's (a) is Tsougarakis' (fuller and more accurate) 45.5, while RMD's (b) probably corresponds to part of Tsougarakis' 45.3.

<sup>46</sup> Gerola II 331 and Tavola 9.3. He republishes the inscription recorded by Xanthoudidis with some corrections (IV 459). We visited this and the next 3 churches on 7 and 9 May 2016.

<sup>47</sup> Gerola II 342. No painting was visible at bottom of the west wall when we visited. The small figure riding behind St George wears a curious hat and carries a quiver full of a large number of arrows. We couldn't find Dawkins' medicinal spring, only a modern (dried-up) βρύση with a tap at the top of the slope behind the church.

<sup>48</sup> Μεταμόρφωση του Σωτήρος. Gerola II 331 (S. Salvatore).

<sup>49</sup> Figured in Gerola, Tavola 9.1.

<sup>50</sup> The 1426 still visible on the pilaster between the first and second bays on the south side, but there is no sign of the inscription on that side, nor of the kneeling woman.

<sup>51</sup> Gerola II 331 ("S. Maria"). The Archaeological Service sign calls it Μεσοσπορίτισσα, but Samantha, the Greek-American who runs the taverna at the village of Kandanos, assured us it's the Μυρτιδιώτισσα.

<sup>52</sup> See Gerola II, Tavola 10.2, and IV 457.

<sup>53</sup> Tsougarakis 2015: 116-17 give neither of these.

<sup>54</sup> S of Kandanos village. Gerola II 332, including a photo ("S. Domenica").

<sup>55</sup> Gerola identifies several of the figures by name. We visited on 9 May 2017; the frescoes are too faded to be reproduced. Gerola IV 456 transcribes what remained of the inscriptions. In the graveyard outside church there is the grave of a recently deceased couple named Andreas and Eleni Kandanoleon.

<sup>56</sup> Gerola II 33 and Tavola 10.3 & 4 ("S. Michele", 1328, painted by Giovanni Pagomeno). Gerola shows 14 figures, several of whom he identifies by name. Gerola transcribes the minuscule inscription (IV 453) and reads the date as 1327-8.

<sup>57</sup> Ανισαράκι, 3 km from Kandanos. We visited the church on 2 June 2017.

<sup>58</sup> More founders (total 9) are identified by Gerola (II 333). Most of the paintings illustrate the life of St Anne – a unique phenomenon in Crete and almost unique in Greece, according to Thetis Xanthaki, "Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση», *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, Περίοδος Δ', Τόμος ΛΑ' (2010), pp. 71-86. With the use of an infrared image of the foundation inscription and the assistance of the palaeographer Agamemnon Tselikas, Xanthaki now reads the original date as 1352, a date which, in her view, corresponds to the date of the paintings.

<sup>59</sup> The inscription is transcribed in Gerola IV 451-2. The only word that Dawkins couldn't read is 'priest'.

<sup>60</sup> Temenia is famous for producing soft drinks made with the local water.

<sup>61</sup> A kind of orchid also known as ladies' tresses.

<sup>62</sup> We saw inside 12/10/10.

<sup>63</sup> Gerola II 236 (plan) and 237 (photo).

<sup>64</sup> This is a plan of the inside, not the outside, where the north and south walls are straight.

<sup>65</sup> According to Tomadakis, in *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών* 1 (1938) p. 425–31, the place probably took its name from a Croatian mercenary during the Venetian period.

<sup>66</sup> Gerola II 333 & Tavola 9.4. Gerola correctly gives the name as Kalomiri (Καλομοίροι). The church is in a very out-of-the-way spot, lower than the village of Rodovani, but with a lovely view across the valley from the door on the south side. Cretan ebony on hillsides around. We were guided to the church on 8/5/17 by Manolis Petrakis, chair of the local cultural society, who also runs a café. The church has been rebuilt; a plaque outside the door records that it was restored at the expense of N.I. Maderakis in 1970. The door on the south side leads to the narthex. When we visited the church it was full of rats, which stank the place out. The frescos of the founders are much damaged.

<sup>67</sup> Moschan should be Moschanna: cf. Moschanna at Kephali above. The inscription is transcribed by Gerola (IV 469).

<sup>68</sup> Σκινές on map, south of Αλικιανού.

<sup>69</sup> A lion according to a handwritten note on Dawkins' typescript by Pendlebury.

<sup>70</sup> A *sousta* was a trap or gig, i.e. a one-horse, two-wheeled spring carriage. This is the only occasion on which Dawkins mentions this conveyance.

## CHAPTER 3 CANEAN AND SUDA<sup>1</sup>

### Foundation of Canea

Canea was founded by the Venetians to keep the Greeks in subjection in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Pashley quotes an interesting passage recording this from the entry for the year 1252 from a manuscript *Cronaca Veneziana*:<sup>1</sup> “The Greeks of the island of Candia have always been badly disposed towards the Venetian Government, not content to dwell under it. With this knowledge the Venetian Government planned to found a city between Candia and Retimo<sup>2</sup> and in this way the site of Canea was made a city, and many men of noble birth were sent to dwell there on the terms on which the rest of the men of noble birth were sent to Candia.” The error of the chronicler as to the position of Canea is curious.

### Canea Siege

Canea is still surrounded to some extent by its Venetian fortifications, though the gates have disappeared since the Turk left and especially on the south the wall has been sadly diminished and is still more threatened. Their historic charm is antipathetic to the Greek.

The best stretch of walls is that to the west of the town, which is in general form an oblong, with the two short sides on the east and west, one long side to the north along the sea and the other to the south where the gate stood; this side has been much destroyed and on the site of a part of the wall a large market erected, doubtless more sanitary than the old bazaars, but of a painful ugliness.<sup>3</sup>

But it was these walls which sustained the siege of 1645 when the Turks took the town after attacking it for [60] days and thus got their first footing in the island, after the preliminary occupation of the island of Saint Theodore. We have a contemporary account of the siege by the Turkish traveller Evliya Effendi [Çelebi], who was present as the chief Muezzin to the Commander-in-Chief, Yussuf Pasha. Seven batteries pounded the walls and after twenty days the Moslems began digging mines, a method largely used in the subsequent siege of Candia. A large mine was blown up on the west side of the town, “and with it seventy yards of the wall, with all the Infidels upon it, who were sent through the sky to hell.” The Venetians were for holding out, the Greeks for giving in. First one of these came down by a rope ladder to make terms for the Greeks, and then ten Greeks came over and embraced Islam. In defence of what was technically a treachery, it is to be remembered that the Greeks were only exchanging one master for another, and the indolent Turk was often better to the Greek than the grasping Venetian. There is to this day a saying in Crete [...].<sup>4</sup>

But in spite of these overtures the Venetians held out. The end was a surrender, and “the Infidels embarked for their accursed country.” The Venetian general blinded himself, not to have to see “the crosses upset and the green banner of Mohammed

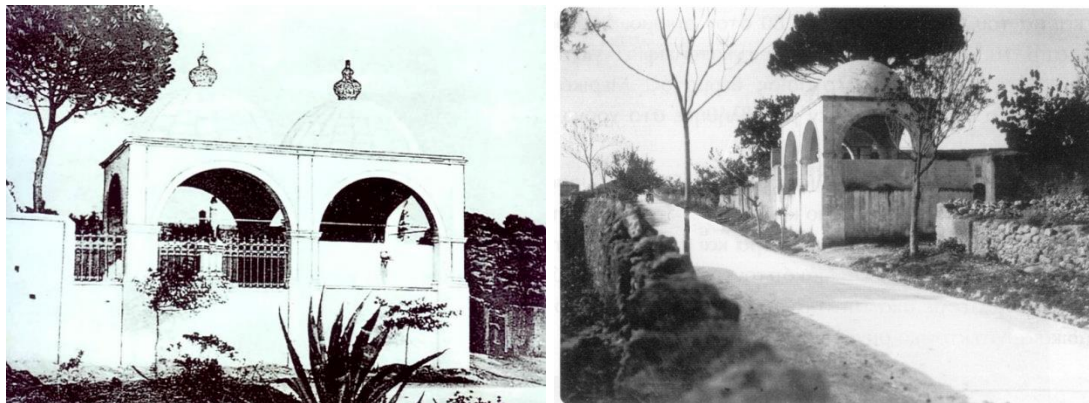
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<sup>1</sup> Pashley, I, p. 4. The MS is Codice xix, p. 226 of the catalogue of the Marcian Library, and is entitled *Cronaca Veneziana dal primo Doge Paoluccio Anafesto, cioè dall'anno DCXCV sino al MCCCCXXX* [695 to 1430]. The passage quoted runs: “Li Greci de l'isola de Candia ano avuto sempre mal animo contra la Signoria de Venetia, non contenti star sotto quela. Cognosando la Signoria de Venetia, la delibero de far una cita fra Candia et Retimo [Pashley points out that this is a mistake] per astrenzer li diti Greci, et cusi fo edificado la tera di la Cania, et in quel luogo sono mandati molti zentilhomeni ad habitar de li, con le conditione che sono mandati li altri zentilhomeni in Candia.”

waving on the spires.” “All the churches were converted into mosques, and the first Friday prayer performed in the mosque of Sultan Ibrahim”, the name given to the Venetian church of San Nicolo. “The clarions sounded after the prayer was performed, the shouts of Allah pierced the skies, and a triple salute was fired, the report of which shook not only Rome and Irak, but the whole of earth and Heaven.” A Christian fleet, Venetian, Tuscan and Papal, came six days too late to help the town: “but when they saw the port full of the Ottoman fleet and the ships of the Barbareses [seamen from North Africa] cruising before it, when they saw the belfries turned into minarets, and the Crescents in the place of the Crosses, they sighed heavily, ‘Good-bye Canea! Good-bye Canea!’ and sailed in despair for Suda.” Part of the island submitted at once: three hundred deputies from the population arrived within a week. As for the parts that did not give in, “from seventy to eighty thousand men were immediately dispersed over the seven hundred and seventy miles of the island, taking booty, day and night, in the ways of God. Gold, silver, brass vessels, fine boys, pretty girls, were carried in immense numbers to the Ottoman camp, where there was such an abundance that a boy or girl was sold for eighteen piastres.”

Retimo soon fell, but afterwards the work of the Turks was not so easy and the taking of Candia held their army for close upon twenty-five years. Evliya adds a curious story of the end of the conqueror Yussuf Pasha. He was accused to the Sultan of holding back from the treasures of Canea “three great tubs of gold, three millions of money, and a golden column.” He was put to death, but nothing was found except the column wrapped up in felt, and it was not of gold but of yellow stone and was built into a mosque. But wherever Yussuf got it from it was a treasure for it had the property, of course because of its yellow colour, of curing persons afflicted with jaundice, who “are cured by touching it three times on a Saturday.”<sup>5</sup>

In such a siege many Turks were killed: Evliya mentions the good number of “martyrs”. The Moslem who falls [confirming?] his faith becomes a ‘ghazi’, a warrior-saint, and thus is often given a splendid and much [??] tomb. Of such tombs there are possibly two on the outskirts of Canea.



The double *türbe* (mausoleum) of Ghazi Osman Barbous and Hamit Beyzade in old photos, showing the stone-pine (*Pinus pinea*, also known as umbrella pine).



IMG\_2626 The same *türbe* today (now the Koumbes [dome] rotisserie), at the corner of Odos Irakleiou and Odos Panagouli, to the left of the road to Souda, without the stone-pine.

Other [sic] Turkish monuments at Canea are a pair of fine domed tombs. One of these is about ten minutes outside the town on the left side of the road to Suda. It is a double tomb consisting of twin domes side by side, under each of which is a tomb. It appears that some hundred years ago, or rather more, a local landowner founded the tekke of dervishes which stands a little way off on the other side of the road. The dervish is buried under one dome, and the pious founder under the other. The whole is now overshadowed by a beautiful stone-pine (*koukounaria*). This I was told locally and by the Candia dervish and calligrapher Sheikh Hadji Hilmi. Another Candia dervish, Hilleli Bey, however, told me that it is the tomb of a dervish, perhaps a Bektashi, called Ghazi Marbou, the warrior-saint Marbou [Barbous] who fell in the siege.

But the other tomb of this sort is certainly of a warrior, the Ghazi Mustapha. It lies about ten minutes outside the town to the south of the Turkish cemetery on the road to Perivolio, and like the other tomb is shaded by a great stone-pine. On the top of the usual dome (*koubes* [Turkish *kubbe*]) is an iron lattice-work ornament looking like a pear-shaped birdcage, and above this a crescent and the whole topped by a flat-shaped vane.<sup>6</sup>

The stone-pine, *Pinus pinea*, Trevor-Battye thinks (p. 193), was introduced by the Venetians. Other introduced plants are common and to be seen just here: the prickly pear (φραγκόσυκο), which is, however, never very abundant in Crete; the aloe, used everywhere for making hedges, the only disadvantage of which is that the plant exhausts the soil round it – βυζένει το χωράφι [it sucks the juices out of the field]; and lastly a big yellow oxalis.<sup>7</sup> This was first introduced not long ago because it is used for a yellow dye, hence called *boyas* (μπογιάς). Now there are few provinces in Crete without it and it is a perfect plague, naturally being poisonous to cattle.



Canea showing the mosque and palm tree on the quay (Dawkins archive) [IMG\_0545].

Today there are still not a few marks of the Venetian and Turkish cities, though both are rapidly disappearing.<sup>8</sup> The landing from the sea is peculiarly charming. The harbour with its galley sheds, and the mosque and palm tree on the quay must be much as Tozer saw them in [1874], though the Lion of Saint Mark over the sea gate has fallen a victim to progress.<sup>9</sup> But there are still a few traces of the Venetians inside the town and several churches, turned by the Moslem conquerors to mosques, and now for the most part undergoing a second change into Orthodox churches. Although in fact here the Greeks, but without the excuse of religious enthusiasm, are doing exactly what the Turk is blamed for having done, their general opinion is that these buildings before the conquest were Greek churches, a delusion which goes far to justify their action.

### **Canea churches, 27 October 1917**

The Venetian churches still surviving in the town are the following. Plans and details of them are given by Gerola.<sup>10</sup>

1. The big church of San Nicolo forming most of the east end of the Splanza square.<sup>11</sup> Formerly Hunjar Djamissi [Hünkâr Camii] and lately made into a church again. In February 1919 I went up the minaret, which has two galleries, with the S.N.O. [Senior Noncommissioned Officer]. They talk of pulling down the minaret. Gerola calls it Ibrahim.<sup>12</sup> In October 1917 it was being used as a barrack, but now (1919) it is a church.

In the lane which continues the north wall of the church towards the east, on the right side there was a house with a broken coat of arms on the lintel and the words PAX HVIC DOMVI. So in October 1917. In February 1919 I observed that the lintel had been freshly knocked about and the letters broken away by Greek fanatics.<sup>13</sup>



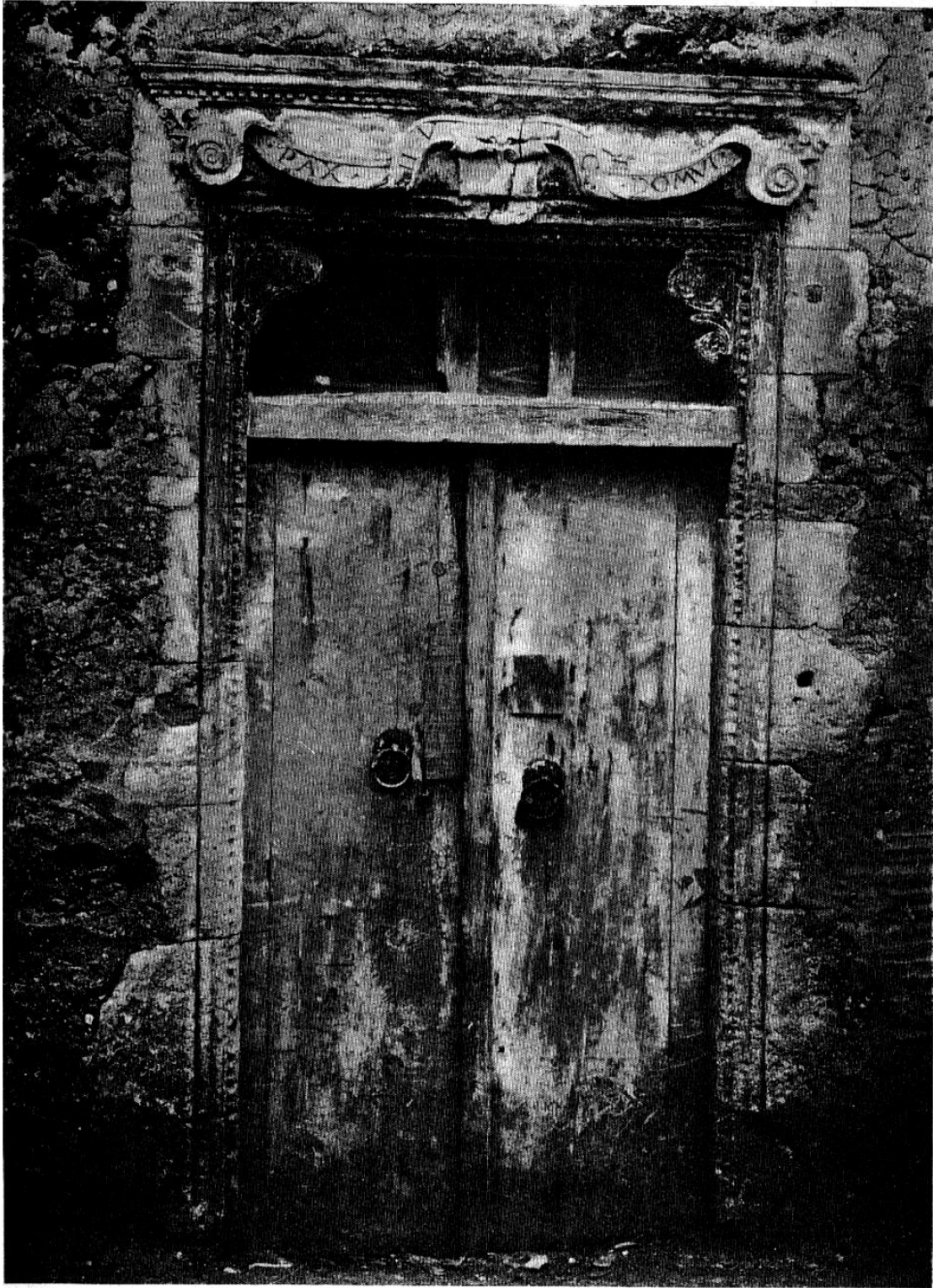


FIG. 135 — CANEA — PORTA DEL N. 15. (285).

Gerola's photo of the doorway mentioned by Dawkins immediately above (III 231)

2. In a steep street, as one goes up from the back to the government house, there is on the right the mosque *tou kastelliou*, now used as a barrack by the Christians and called by them the church of St Catherine. ? Gerola's St Mary's and Mosque Kapitan Moussi [Musa] Pasha.<sup>14</sup>



IMG\_2615 Interior of St Francis' church, which has been the Archaeological museum since 1962

3. On the west side of the main street [Odos Halidon] from Venizelos Square<sup>15</sup> to the edge of the town<sup>16</sup> is a courtyard and by it the mosque of the Conqueror of Canea, Yussuf Pasha, before the conquest the church of St Francis.<sup>17</sup> The present RC church of St Francis is close by on the same side of the street [further up the street] in a little court back of the street with the crossed hands of the order over the entrance on the street. This was still, in 1918, a mosque, but in the Balkan war the Christian soldiers burst in and broke the tombstones in the court outside and smashed the lamps and did some damage.<sup>18</sup>

4. St Rocco with inscription and date at the NW angle of the Splanza square, now at least in part a police-station.<sup>19</sup>

The Greek cathedral off the main street is the church of the *Trimartyres*. I did not see the inscription Xanthoudidis publishes, and the church is new and as ugly as only Greek churches know how to be.<sup>20</sup>

### **November 1918**

Inscription over the arched door of a house which blocks the end of the street which runs up to the governor's house by the Eastern Tel. Co. It is in capitals picked out now in black paint:

REGIMINIS VIGILAN TA IN AVGVSTA FORMA CONSTRVCTVM ARCHIVVM EX ANG  
MDCXXIII ANNO DNI



IMG\_2623

The date shows that the door has been rebuilt and the blocks put back in the wrong order. It may be restored:

REGIMINIS VIGILAN[TIAE] ARCHIVVM EX ANG[VS]ITA IN AVGVSTA FORMA CONSTRVCTVM  
ANNO DNI MDCXXIII

Each block has lost a little at the ends and the rearrangement having put the biggest block in the middle regardless of sense.<sup>21</sup>

[*ms note*] In the Jewish quarter behind Φιρκάς<sup>22</sup> near the houses with sarcophagus [?] a house with a very fine Venetian front [?] on 2nd floor windows [*sketch*] with balconies and pilasters by windows. Windows arranged as in Venetian palaces.<sup>23</sup> 22/11/19.



IMG\_3042 Odos Angelou, 11 May 2011

### Latin inscriptions in Jewish quarter

In the street leading west from the Venizelos Square by the sea there is, on the left side as one goes from the square, a Venetian house with, on the first floor outside, an inscribed plaque below a coat of arms. Bearings perhaps a tree. It reads:

NVLLI PARVVS  
EST CENSVS  
CVI MAGNVS  
EST ANIMVS



IMG\_0954 Zambeliou St, 18 October 2009

I have a photograph of it taken from a window opposite to it by surgeon Gray.<sup>24</sup>

At the end of this street is an arch and facing it the mound of the town walls. Against the mound at the top of a flight of shallow steps is a much battered lion of St Mark with the left half of the book gone.<sup>25</sup>



IMG\_2613 Venetian lion from the Porta del Colombo, possibly the one described by Dawkins, now in courtyard of St Francis church



Porta del Colombo, leading from Sandrivani Square into the citadel, with the lion described by Dawkins. The Corso (now Odos Kanevaro), which crossed the citadel from west to east, is immediately beyond the gate. The inscription over the gate gave the year 1625 (Gerola IV 179). A photo in Gerola IV 105 (reproduced in Spanakis II 812) shows the other side of the gate. The gate was apparently demolished in 1918.



IMG\_0952 18 October 2009

Turning down towards the sea from near the end of the street with the inscription above is, on the left (the west side of the street) a house with above the door the inscription:

MVLTA TVLIT, FECITQ[UE]  
ET STVDVIT DVLCES  
MDCVIII

PATER, SVDAVIT, ET ALSIT,  
SEMPER REQVIESCERE NATOS  
IDIB IAN

and so they may have rested until 1644 [= 1645] when the Turks took Canea.<sup>26</sup>

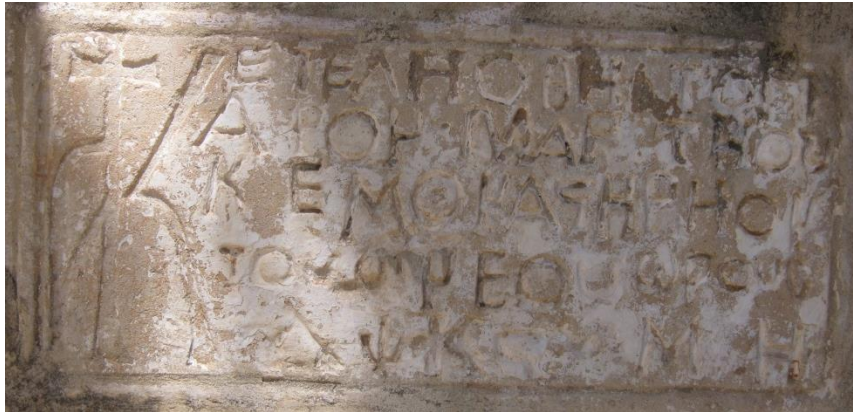
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There are several **churches and monasteries in the neighbourhood of Canea** worth noticing. They lie between Canea and the mountains which rise to the south, being the foothills of the White Mountains.

#### **Agia Triada near Perivolia by Canea, 19 March 1919<sup>27</sup>**

In the fields rather to the east [=NE] of Perivolia is the monastery of Agia Triada. It is the property of the Sinai monastery and is now looked after by a monk from this part of Crete but who has lived at Sinai, whence he came 5 years ago. There are lay people there looking after the farm. The place consists of a little court and the church which forms rather a part of the irregular east buildings than the centre of the court. That is, the court looks as if it had sprung up round the west front of the church, rather than had been first built as a square and then the church put into the middle of it. Owing to the importance of the west door, everywhere the space to the west of the church is larger than the part behind it and this is rather a strong case of this. The place is rather tumbledown and I was told that the Turks broke it up a good deal in 1897. The date of the foundation is given by a very clumsily carved inscription set in the west wall of the

court. The meaning of the final M H I do not know,<sup>28</sup> but it gives anyhow the date of the completion of the building as March 25<sup>th</sup> 1726.



IMG\_8857: “The present Monastery of the Lovely Mountain was completed 25 March 1726 M H”

The monogram to the left is the sign of the Sinai monastery and reads A(yia) K(aterini).<sup>29</sup>

The threshold of the west door of the church is formed by a white marble grave slab of which the top left-hand corner has been broken away and the letters, owing to the position of the stone, much worn. I made out:

AG:<sup>TO</sup> OCTAVO  
SVERONONO  
| DEFUNCTUS  
INGEN] TI LVCTV DIL FC<sup>SI</sup> FAMILIA  
[complete line] PRÆVNTE FVNVS  
COMITANTI E \ ... !! EORVM LACRIMIS  
ET CONSEQVENTE VNIVERSALI  
TOT DIFFERENTIVM NATION[VM] MÆRORE  
HIC SEPVLTVS JACET  
CVDONIÆ ANO SALVTIS MD CCXXXVI  
SEPTING... S M M

And below this there are eleven more lines in smaller letters, of which I could make nothing, though perhaps with a squeeze something might be done.<sup>30</sup>

Clearly the tomb of some Venetian or at least Frank who died in 1736, regretted by all the three elements of the population – Greek, Turk and Italian.

An inscription of 1850 in capitals with no accents, built in on the southern part of the western front, is the latest in the place. It records how a monk of Sinai, who had, for many years and with many journeys, served the monastery of Saint Catherine, being himself from a village near Candia apparently called Khristokhori (or Khristos near Malles), came here in 1845 and rebuilt the church and monastery buildings.<sup>31</sup> His name was Gavriel Diakonidis, and he calls himself a Cretan of Candia. It may be noted that the Sinai monastery has these affiliated monasteries all over the place and keeps a monk at each to look after the interests of the mother house, and there are always Sinai monks wandering about looking after monastery property, and these persons are not very popular with the local clergy any more than the friars were in England. For the Sinai church at Candia, see Candia St Matthew and the poem in *Khristianiki Kriti*.<sup>32</sup>

On the way to Suda Bay, some short way from the road, lies to the right and nearer Suda than Canea the **monastery of Khrysopigi**.

Near Mournies is a monastery of Agios Eleftherios where Pashley saw the crucifix now at Χρυσοπηγή; Tozer says it is a “small building, with a church in the Byzantine style, but without any pretension to architectural effect” (p. 35).<sup>33</sup> I did not go to it. From it presumably Venizelos, born at Mournies, has his name. Tozer (pp. 37-39) describes monastery and the crucifix with an undated figure in silver gilt kept here, remarking on its rarity (figure on p. 37). Tozer also mentions the three English sailors buried in the court: these graves are on the south side of the court. Pashley (I.19[-20]) saw it at the monastery of Agios Eleftherios, Χρυσοπηγή being then deserted. He speaks of the miracles worked by the piece of the Cross said to be inside it.

**2x**<sup>34</sup> **October 1917.** Khrysopigi monastery between Suda and Canea with inscription over gate, published by Xanthoudidis.<sup>35</sup> Church in middle of largish regularly built court. The monastery is old but has been at some time burned by the Turks. The church has a good carved screen dated 1865. I went there when the monks were sharing out the grapes from the vine which grows over a trellis in the west part of the court and gave me a bunch. I never saw such immense bunches.<sup>36</sup>

### **Mournies near Canea, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1919**

I walked from Suda to Khrysopigi and thence to **Agia Moni**<sup>37</sup> which is in the plain amongst the olives ten minutes north of Mournies. It is a *metokhi* [outpost of a monastery] of Megali [Megisti] Lavra of Mount Athos and has two monks of the Lavra looking after the place, both being from Thasos.

The court was burned in 1896, as is recorded in an inscription on a marble slab set in a lunette over the outer side of the west gateway, the inscription in accentless capitals.<sup>38</sup>



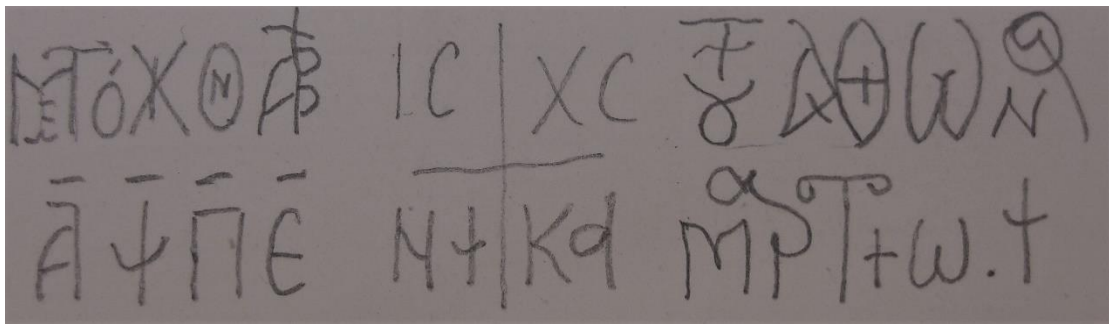
IMG\_3051 Moni Megistis Lavras, west entance, 11 May 2011.






IMG\_3051 Detail of above. Cross with 1785 inscription incised in arch, and plaque with 1896 inscription in arched recess above it.

On the arch below is inscribed the date of the foundation 1785, the inscription being on either side of a floriated cross on the keystone:<sup>39</sup>



is the seal of the Μεγάλη Λαύρα [Megali [Megisti] Lavra], cf.  at Αγία Τριάδα [Agia Triada].

The church was rebuilt after an earthquake in 1856, as is recorded in an inscription in accentless capitals over the west door [inscription not recorded here].<sup>40</sup>

Of the court, only the west side, in which is the entrance gate, and the north have been rebuilt. The other two are ruins patched up into a wall. Monks come here from Athos for 5 or 6 years and then go back.<sup>41</sup>

From here I went to Mournies and so for an hour up in the gorge to not far from the first village, Kerame, beyond which are Akhlades and Theriso. On the shoulder of the mountain on the east side is the church of Hypapanti, which belongs to Agia Moni and in the gorge where a spring comes out is Agia Varvara with a group of plane trees not very old. These or one of them is said never to lose its leaves because the Ten Saints once sat below it.<sup>42</sup> Cf. similar story at Kandanos.

The gorge is rather a V-shaped valley and very pretty with views down over Halépa and the sea and up to the snowy mountains. I noticed a lot of the bushy St John's wort as at Thriftí [near Kavousi in E Crete].

The church of Agia Varvara is like a rustic copy of the late Venetian type of the Nerokourou churches, probably what local workmen made of the Venetian model. A similar copy is the church of Christos at Fournés near Alikianóu.

In Mournies are the scanty remains (the battered façade) of what must have been a fine Venetian house. It has a quatre-foil window [sketch] like the double windows at Bali [sketch]. It is on the left of the long street as one goes from Canea; the ruins of the house where Venizelos was born are on the other side, now marked with [?] and filled with flowers.<sup>43</sup>



IMG\_5074 Venizelos' house at Mournies, showing its condition before restoration (photo Fred. Boissonnas); Dawkins attests that it was already in ruins in 1919.



IMG\_3045 The restored house, 11 May 2011

**Agios Elias between Mournies and Nerokourou, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1919<sup>44</sup>**



IMG\_8864 Profitis Ilias, 10 May 2016



Gerola's photo (II 292) showing the church before restoration (and the addition of the concrete belfry).

This church stands by itself on a knoll rising amongst the olive trees on the flat land just north of the range of hills which bound the Canea plain to the south. It is of white stone and high for its size. Xanthoudidis has a photo [fig. 9] of the west front which has been cracked down but is now repaired. It is good Venetian work and looks very renaissance. It has two inscriptions on the west front cut in big clear capitals without accents. On the lintel:

ΕΔΕΜ · ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΝ · Η (a) ΛΙΟΥY [...].  
 ΚΑΙ · ΝΑΟΝ · ΟΙΚΕΙΝ · ΘΝΗ ΤΟΣ · ΩΝ · ΜΑΚΑΡ · ΔΕΧΟΥY<sup>45</sup>

(a) is a blank space taken up by the plaster which stops the crack in the façade. The inscription forms two iambic lines but the end of the first is much worn away.<sup>46</sup>

On the cornice of the west front there is another inscription of the same style. It is in three lines and separated in the middle by a coat of arms on a floriated shield, the bearings being two transverse bars [= bands] running down from left to right:



IMG\_8863 Profitis Ilias: the coat of arms

ΟΥΡΑΝΟΘΕΜΜΟΝ ΕΜΠΥΡΑΡΜΑΤΕ  
 ΠΕΤΡΟΝ · ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΙΕΡΓΗΝ  
 ΕΡΓΑΤΗΝ ΔΟΜΟΥ ΣΑΩ αΦϜΗ

i.e. Nursling of heaven, thou of the fiery chariot,  
 Save Peter Kaliergi who built the church 1598<sup>47</sup>

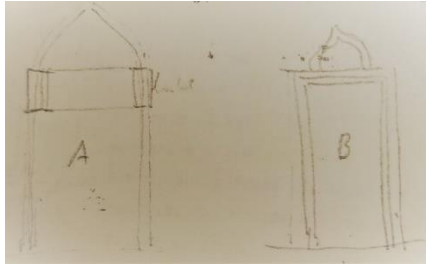
the date being, thus, a little earlier than the debased churches of the late Nerokourou type.

**March 19<sup>th</sup> 1919**

**Late type of Venetian church – as at Nerokourou and Tsikalare [τα Τσικαλαριά]**

There is a type of very late Venetian church which consists of the usual oblong vaulted nave with a niche and has a west door. The inside is quite plain with no frescoes and has a small projecting cornice round the spring of the vault. There are no sunk bays in the walls and no roll or billet mouldings: these belong to the earlier type of Venetian church which is found at Kantanos. Over the west front is a belfry consisting of an arch supported by two pillars for one bell, or of three pillars for two bells. The two Tsikalare churches are examples. Also the west door is characteristic. The mouldings run square up the jambs and across the lintel and over the lintel is a niche framed by an ogee arch. But this niche is now only an ornament meant at most to take an inscription or a picture. As it is narrower than the width of the doorway, it no longer fulfils its structural purpose of taking weight off the lintel. It is merely a decoration and far from relieving the lintel

rests full upon it. Over the door there is often a round window. This kind of church runs bigger than the Kantanos type and the gable is apt to be steeper.



A. Door of the early or Kantanos type of Venetian church with the mouldings carried right round past the lintel and an arched niche above relieving the lintel of much weight  
 B. West door of later Nerokourou type with arched niche over door reduced to a useless ornament. Also the arch is ogee.



C. Front of Nerokourou type

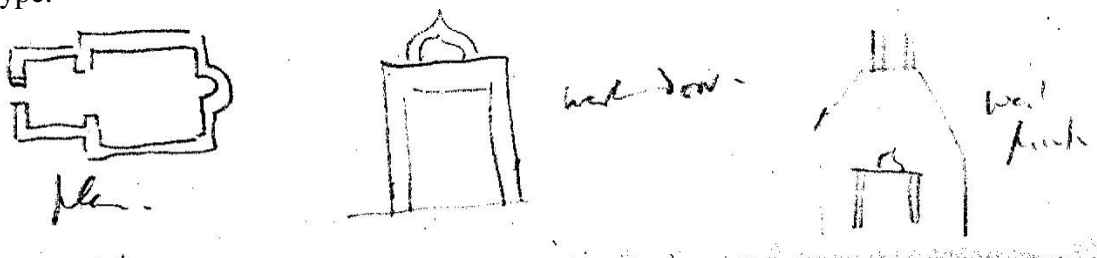
**Nerokourou, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1919**

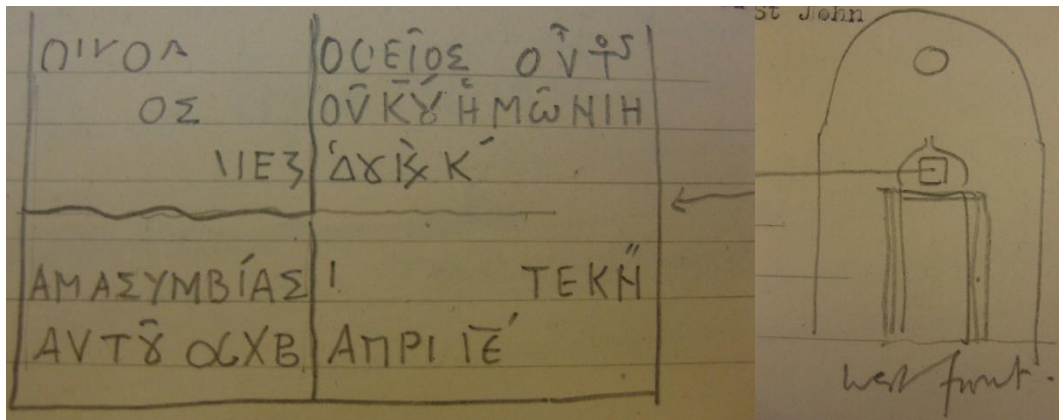
In the fields below the village of Nerokourou is the church of Agioi Sarantes (so called locally).<sup>48</sup> It is of the late Venetian type or Nerokourou type. See note on churches. Now not used. Inside over the W door is a stone tablet in the form of a scroll set in a floriated border with an inscription copied also by Xanthoudidis [p. 104]. The stone is split down near the end of the lines and also has a big hole in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> lines. (Note that Mikhail Arkhangelos at Tsikalarea has an inscription in just the same position. In capitals.) I could not see accents as light very bad [inscription not reproduced here]:

The hole in the slab has caused us to lose the name of the founder. The date is 1636.<sup>49</sup>

The belfry over the west front is ruined.

A little to the west of this in the fields below Nerokourou is a church which, from an eikon, seems to be of St Basil. It is clearly of the same date. It consists of two churches set end to end with an arch between. The western is the smaller and has a characteristic door of the late or Nerokourou type. The eastern bigger church has the internal cornice and a round window in the west wall higher than the roof of the smaller church. The mouldings of this window and of the door are markedly of the clumsy late type.



**Tsikalare(a) (near Suda), 20<sup>th</sup> December 1917. 2 churches of late Venetian style****Church of Christos or St John<sup>50</sup>**

i.e. 1602, April 15th

This church stands on the right of the path just on the west side of the little wooded gulley that runs down from the mountain west of the village. It is called St John in spite of the inscription. The inscribed slab has been broken into four and the surface much gone, and the founder's name was on the lost 4<sup>th</sup> line. Inside there is a cornice and the church has N and S windows. Now deserted and doorless, but with vaulted roof in good order. Fine view over Suda.

The Church of Mikhail Arkhangelos is on the opposite side of the same gulley a little higher up [in the upper quarter of Tsikalaria]. Building much like the church above with cornice inside. Looks very late Venetian or possibly a bad copy of Venetian work. On the west wall inside above the door and below a round window there is an inscribed plaque read by Xanthoudidis, but I found the light too bad to read it. Xanthoudidis also saw an inscription in the apse which I failed to find.<sup>51</sup>



IMG\_2629 Michail Arkhangelos, Tsikalaria, 10 Oct. 2010 (locked)

### Suda Island

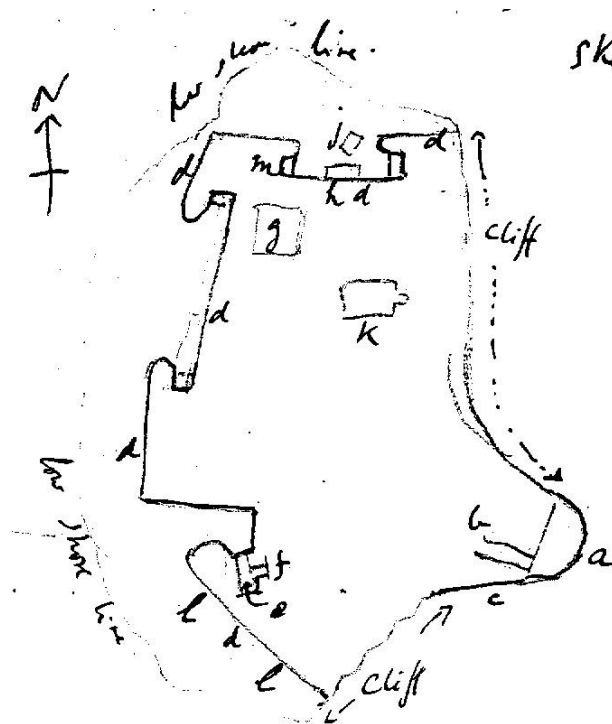
In situation the Suda Island is very like the fortified island of Spina Longa, though the position is not so picturesque. This Suda Island guards the entrance of Suda Bay, the best harbour in Crete. The Venetians treated it just as they treated Spina Longa: wherever it is not made inaccessible by steep cliffs they fortified it, on the north side by a curtain and two hammer-headed bastions in the Candia style, and on the south by a polygonal fort, like that which at Spina Longa stands above the main landing place. These two pieces of fortification, the former surmounted by a high square fort, again the Candia style, guard the two entrances to the harbour. The gate of the fortress is on the west, thus facing the harbour. In the interior of the fortress are a few houses, a lighthouse and the old Venetian church of St Nicholas. This was used by the Turks as a mosque and the stump of the minaret which they added is still to be seen at the SW corner of the building. It now supports a temporary belfry. The interior has been newly fitted up as a church. All the interior of the fortress is full of cisterns, the only source of water. In the recess on the north side between the two hammer-headed bastions and so just at the foot of the curtain wall is a Turkish tomb surmounted by a dervish's 12-gored fez in stone. This is the tomb of the dervish who took the fortress by assault from the Venetians, Ghazi Baba Zapheirakis.

On this island, one of the last to yield to the Turk, the Turkish flag equally remained latest and was only hauled down finally, the last to be flown in Crete, in 190? [February 1913].



IMG\_8811 View of Suda Island from the Koules at Aptera (i.e. from SW)

## Sketch plan, 29 August 1917



- A. Polygonal fort commanding S entrance to harbour  
 B. Sloping underground passage forming approach to polygonal fort  
 C. Wall  
 D. Walls, all pretty shoddy work, earth-faced with stones  
 E. Covered entrance  
 F. Arched portal with pilasters  
 G. Raised fort over salient as at Candia  
 H. Built niche with a lamp at the foot of the wall  
 J. At one end is the tomb of a dervish called Ghazi Baba Zapheirakis with 12-gored dervish fez in painted stone. Ghazi Baba Zapheirakis was killed in the assault and buried here. The tomb has lately been used again and has a cloth covering: a man lately killed on the island was buried here.  
 K. Church. Venetian church of St Nicholas, then a mosque; the stump of the minaret still remains at the SW corner. Now a church again and minaret stump used as belfry. The kube[kubbe]-like porch certainly Turkish

L. Later buildings here outside the wall M. Probably a door inside this bastion, as a passage to such a door leads down from the inside

Note: The greater part of the east side and a part of the S is all cliff and has no wall.

## Murder Story, Suda, 31 March 1919

Walking today on the Izzeddin road, I fell in with a peasant from Kalamitsi near Vamos who told me his life history. He was a little drunk and not always very articulate. When he was a boy of fifteen or so, his brother was murdered. He went to his mother and said 'Never you mind' (*mi phovasai*). He then went and changed his old clothes and put on his best with his best boots and all (*stolizomai*) and took a knife and pistol and went to find the man. He told him to stand without moving and then ripped him up. In this narration it was remarkable the insistence on his best clothes and his pride in the achievement. The best clothes is a very Greek touch, cf. the Spartans combing their hair at Thermopylae. After this he fled to the mountains where he lived two years. As he was a man of forty or so, this took place about 25 years ago, and so in Turkish times. He then escaped in a caique and went to Smyrna where he ran an oven and did, it seems, pretty well. But after a few years there he was mixed up in a café brawl, in the course of which a Turk was killed, though he says he had nothing to do with it. Anyhow, he thought it best to get away at once and came back to Crete, probably just about the time of the revolution here, and has lived here since as a respectable man much proud of his early achievements. He had no trace of compunction, nor any idea of the law.

This is, I think, the first time that a man has confessed a deliberate, cold-blooded murder to me.





IMG\_8812 View of Itzeddin fortress (built 1872) from the Koules at Aptera

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> According to Korais, *Atakta*, IV 530, the word, meaning both 'moat' and 'palisade', is from Latin *sudis* 'stake'. Clearly the original meaning of the word in Greek referred to a means of defence.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins refers immediately below to the geographical error: the order of the three towns, from west to east, is Hania – Rethymno – Herakleion. At this point Dawkins omits the following from his translation: "to ?confine [restrain?] the said Greeks".

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins is referring to the Porta Retimiota. The Municipal Market, which was built on the site where the Venetian Piatta Forma bastion stood, is now justifiably a tourist attraction. The gate stood immediately to the west of the Piatta Forma.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins does not provide the saying. He may have been thinking of a saying such as: "Κάλλι' έχω Τούρκου μαχαιριά, παρά Βενετσάνου κρίση" (I'd rather have the Turk's knife than the Venetian's judgment).

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins is quoting and paraphrasing from *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century* by Evliya Efendi, translated from the Turkish by The Ritter Joseph von Hammer [...] (London 1842), vol. II, pp. 80-83.

<sup>6</sup> As is apparent in the first of the old photos above, such an ornament appeared on each of the two domes of the double tomb. It's not clear whether Dawkins is confusing the double with the single tomb, or if both of them had such ornaments.

<sup>7</sup> *Oxalis pes-caprae* (Bermuda buttercup), introduced from South Africa: JW, The Greek word is actually *μιογιά* (feminine).

<sup>8</sup> After Dawkins' time the old city of Hania was devastated by the German bombing of May 1941.

<sup>9</sup> The mosque, built immediately after the capture of Hania by the Turks, was dedicated to Küçük Hasan Pasha, the first military governor of the town. The minaret was demolished in 1920, but its stump remains. The palm tree is no longer there today (not even in 1940s photos). Some of the galley sheds were demolished to make way for the Customs house. By “the sea gate” Dawkins probably means the Porta Sabbionara (Kum Kapi), which has recently been restored (albeit without a lion).

<sup>10</sup> Gerola II 104, 131-40, 160-1.

<sup>11</sup> More recently the square was officially named 1821 Square, but it is still known as Splantza by local people.

<sup>12</sup> Gerola II 138-9 calls it Sultan Ibrahim. The minaret has recently been restored.

<sup>13</sup> This inscription (‘Peace be to this house’) must have been in Odos Rousou Vourdoumba; there is no trace of this lintel now. See also photos in Gratziou 2010: 29, 36 (Αγ. Νικόλαος των Δομνικανών [της Σπλάντζας]). Gerola IV 344 points out that the inscription is a quotation from Luke 10.5.

<sup>14</sup> Dawkins seems rather confused here. “The steep street” must be Odos Lithinon, whereas the Cattedrale di S. Maria, later mosque of Kapetan Musa Pasha (photo of the interior in Gerola II 104), stood on the site where there are now Minoan excavations, in Agias Ekaterinis Square, on the north side of Kanevaro St and the east side of Kandaneondos St. It was completely flattened by German bombing in May 1941. The phrase *tou kastelliou* means ‘of the citadel’, the citadel being the higher area of the town that was walled by the Byzantines.

<sup>15</sup> This square next to the Venetian harbour is popularly known as Sandrivani



(left) IMG\_2609 Basin from the Venetian fountain.

(right) Sandrivani Square (now Venizelou Square), Chania, showing the Ottoman shelter for the fountain; the impressive 6-storey building on the corner of today’s Halidon and Zambeliou Streets has now been reduced to only two storeys, possibly as a result of German bombing in 1941.

(‘fountain’ in Turkish) after the Venetian fountain with two or three basins decorated with lions’ heads that had stood in the centre (see the one remaining basin in our photo 2609 above, which was removed from the square and is now outside the Archaeological Museum). After the Ottoman conquest the Venetian fountain covered by a large shelter, which was demolished in the 1890s, though part of it can still be seen inside the Remetzo restaurant. The square was the traditional gathering place for Christians, while the Splantza was frequented by Muslims. It is notable that it had already been renamed after the Cretan politician Eleftherios Venizelos as early as 1917 or 1918. Venizelos (1864-1936) was prime minister of Greece 1910-15, 1917-20 and again 1928-32.

<sup>16</sup> Dawkins means the southern edge of the part of Chania that was enclosed within the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Venetian walls.

<sup>17</sup> St Francis was the largest Latin church in Hania. It is now the Archaeological Museum. See photos in Gratziou 2010: 29, 30, 41, 42, 43, 48,

<sup>18</sup> See Gerola II 131-2. Over the street entrance there is also an inscription: “Hospitium Capuccinorum MDCCCLV” [1855]. The final sentence of this para. refers not to the 1855 church but to the older and larger church of St Francis. The courtyard to the north of the church houses some of the museum’s exhibits.

<sup>19</sup> For San Rocco see Gerola II 160-1. The inscription is dated 1630. It was being used as a guard house in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>20</sup> The cathedral is called Trimártyri. Xanthoudidis 96 mentions an inscription brought from a Turkish house, in a small churchyard to the north of the cathedral. I couldn’t find it in Oct. 2010.

<sup>21</sup> The exterior of this house, at the top of Odos Lithinon, has recently been restored. The inscription, dated 1624, is still in the configuration that Dawkins records. The house is part of the rector’s palace complex gathered around the tiny square.

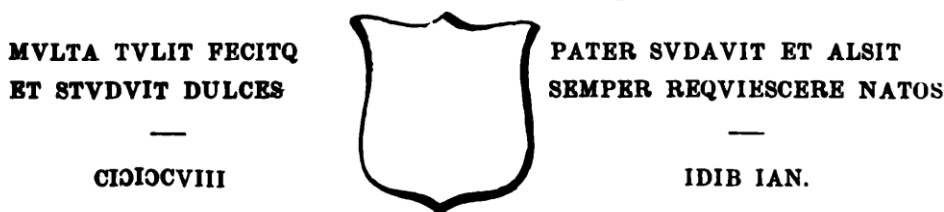
<sup>22</sup> Firkas is the name of the fortress in the NW corner of the old town. The name is originally Turkish: *firka* ‘(military) division; (naval) squadron’.

<sup>23</sup> He seems to mean the use of single or double/multiple windows on the first and higher floors of *palazzi* in Venice, according to the width of the rooms behind them.

<sup>24</sup> The Jewish quarter was in the NW corner of the old town. The inscription that Dawkins records reads: ‘No one is deemed small whose spirit is great’. This inscription is still there outside a building at Odos Zambeliou 39 or 41. The building is at present an empty shell, but it was being used as an open-air restaurant in May 2011. I can’t find the photo he mentions Dawkins’ archive.

<sup>25</sup> The lion, now in the courtyard of the Archaeological museum, was originally above the arch of the Porta del Colombo, in Sandrivani Square.

<sup>26</sup> This is over a passage leading from Odos Moschon to Odos Theofanous (both of them are off Odos Zambeliou), next to the Madonna dei Renier (which is next to the Palazzo Renier). Here is Pashley’s illustration (I 4):



The inscription can be translated as “The father suffered and did much, undergoing heat and cold, and strove to ensure that his children would enjoy sweet repose. 13 January 1608”. The first line is a variation on Horace, *Ars poetica*, l. 413: “Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit” (He suffered and did much in his youth, undergoing heat and cold). According to Gerola IV 345, the inscription was once surmounted by a bust of Domenico Orio, whose family resided there.

<sup>27</sup> The date of this section appears on its second page. Μονή Αγίας Τριάδας Σινά; we visited 10 May 2016. Psilakis II 329ff.

<sup>28</sup> Nor did Xanthoudidis = 48?

<sup>29</sup> This is confirmed by Xanthoudidis 100.

<sup>30</sup> This slab is now in the courtyard on the ground to the north of the chapel. It is now very worn; I couldn’t clearly make out most of Dawkins’ reading. The inscription is not in Gerola, Xanthoudidis or Psilakis.

<sup>31</sup> There is a Christos near Malles today, while the only Christochori that I can find is a now deserted village SW of Rethymno.

<sup>32</sup> I omit Dawkins' transcription of the inscription; it is given by Psilakis II 330. There is another inscription nearby recording Gavriel's death in 1854.

<sup>33</sup> Both Pashley and Tozer (35) point out that crucifixes, being three-dimensional, are rare in the Orthodox Christian world.

<sup>34</sup> The date must be twenty-something.

<sup>35</sup> Xanthoudidis p. 99, plus photo in fig. 8; Psilakis II 283ff. Now a nunnery, with many nuns, well kept and probably much visited. There is a coat of arms below the inscription over the gate.

<sup>36</sup> The trellis is no longer there.

<sup>37</sup> Xanthoudidis p. 102; photos in Gratziou pp. 92 & 107. Αγία Μονή Σαρακήνα: Psilakis II 317ff.; Μ. Μεγίστης Λαύρας on map; no sign outside. On 11 May 2011 the front gate was open; very clean and well kept, newly painted (you could still smell the paint), but no monks. Old olive tree outside west entrance.

<sup>38</sup> Psilakis II 326. At the end Dawkins reads the year 1903, Psilakis 1902; Dawkins is right.

<sup>39</sup> Psilakis II 324. The bottom of the cross has tree roots at its foot; the symbol is repeated in relief over the pediment above the entrance.

<sup>40</sup> Psilakis II 326.

<sup>41</sup> North buildings now very newly rebuilt. East & south walls (i.e. outer walls) rebuilt, but no cells except a roofless bakery and a nice toilet against E wall.

<sup>42</sup> On 11 May 2011 we didn't find church of Agia Varvara but saw plane trees down in the valley.

<sup>43</sup> This was rebuilt in the 1960s as Venizelos museum, closed when we visited on 11 May 2011.

<sup>44</sup> Xanthoudidis pp. 102ff; photos in Gratziou p. 92 & 107: Προφήτης Ηλίας. For the inscriptions see St. Alexiou, *Ποικίλα ελληνικά* (Athens 2009), 70-1, and Gerola IV 421. We visited it on 10 May 2016.

<sup>45</sup> Xanthoudidis p. 103; 12-syllable couplet; Xanthoudidis doesn't read the word indicated here by [...]. Alexiou reconstructs the inscription to mean "Thou that dwellest in Eden, which is equal to the fire of the sun, may thou also dwell in this church, since thou wast a mortal".

<sup>46</sup> The end of the line is probably even less legible now because of whitewash.

<sup>47</sup> The inscription was already published in Xanthoudidis 1903: 103 and Gerola II 421. As Gerola points out, the Kalliergis (or Kallergis) were one of the noblest families in Crete. Alexiou states that the inscription consists of two 12-syllable couplets (the raised dot · marks the line break) and that the two adjectives that make up the first line of the inscription are not attested anywhere else. All this is evidence of high degree of the competence and inventiveness in Ancient Greek that existed in Crete at the time.

<sup>48</sup> We failed to find either of these churches on 11 May 2011. Nerokourou doesn't appear in the index of Gratziou's book.

<sup>49</sup> There is a sketch of this inscription in Gerola IV 422. Dawkins read the date as 1536 (which he misprinted as 1636), but Xanthoudidis and Gerola read 1594.

<sup>50</sup> Xanthoudidis (p. 105) says it was originally the church of Christos, then it was rededicated to St John. There is a sketch of this inscription in Gerola (same page).

<sup>51</sup> Both of these inscriptions were published by Xanthoudidis (p. 106); one of them is dated 1602. They are also transcribed in Gerola IV 423. Gerola (II 247, with photo) wrongly identifies this church as S. Maria and corrects himself tacitly in vol. IV.



## CHAPTER 4 AKROTIRI AND THE MONASTERIES

The northern coast of Suda Bay rises sharply from the water. At the top of the ascent is the abrupt edge of the plateau which forms the greater part of the peninsula of Akrotiri. On this edge are the three villages Korakies, Aroni and Sternes, the houses being just visible from Suda. The natural way to visit the peninsula is to start from Canea and go by the new road which is to connect these villages. When I was there it had reached Aroni. I was then at Suda, and so took a boat across the bay and landed on the north side [of the bay] at Tsiphti Monastiri, a ruined church by a tiny harbour just below the village of Aroni. A rough path leads up to the village and the edge of the plateau. The ground is at first flat, but gradually sinks to a long valley running east and west. The north side of this valley is formed by the hills which run along the northern coast of the peninsula. They get higher towards the east and culminate in the conspicuous conical hill called Vigla, the Look-out Point. Below and in front of Vigla seen thus from the south appears the long, almost horizontal, line of the ridge or terrace described by Trevor-Battye, p. 42. His photograph of the mountains shows this ridge very well.

The village of Aroni [Sternes?] presents nothing remarkable, but a few yards to the east on the right-hand side of the new road there is a gateway into a field with an inscription on the lintel. It is a lame elegiac couplet of no great age, and runs:

*Ω Σπυρίδων σοφέ καί Χριστοίο μέσγιστ' ιεράρχα,  
ημάς λύτρωσαι της κακίης Βελίαρ.<sup>11</sup>*

O Spyridon the wise, and most holy hierarch of Christ, save us from the spite of Belial.



The path from Aroni to the Tsangarolo Monastery of the Holy Trinity goes by Calgado, near to which is a small monastery of St John the Merciful. There are a few Venetian traces in the buildings, and in the court an arched tomb of the same period.

The church forms the back of the courtyard. It is a dependency of Tsangarolo and is now used only as a farm. I found one monk there looking after the olives which were being made into oil. The month was December 1918. The name I heard as Calgado is marked on the map Calangado.<sup>2</sup>

Photo of tomb from Internet

The country from this point as far as the northern hills is an open moor covered with an abundance of thyme and such plants. On this account bees in their hives are brought there from the mainland to take advantage of the aromatic flowers.<sup>3</sup> I passed a train of mules (I think in the month of June) loaded with beehives tied in cloths on the road from Canea to Alikianou, all bound for Akrotiri. We passed them as quickly as possible, for one mule had succeeded in jolting its load loose and the bees were thoroughly aroused and escaping in swarms. The more they got out the more the mule kicked and the more restive the other mules became, and the less willing were the

<sup>1</sup> *Μέσγιστ'* is illiterate for *μέγιστε*, and *Βελίαρ* for *Βελιάλ*.

muleteers to make any attempt to re-adjust their load. I do not know how they got on for the four or five hours they had yet to go.

I walked from the N side of Suda harbour, lunched at Agia Triada and slept at Gouverneto. The next day I walked back to Suda.

**Monastery of Tsangarolo [Μονή Αγίας Τριάδας των Μουρτάρων ή Τζαγκαρόλων]<sup>4</sup>**



IMG\_0214, 13 April 2009

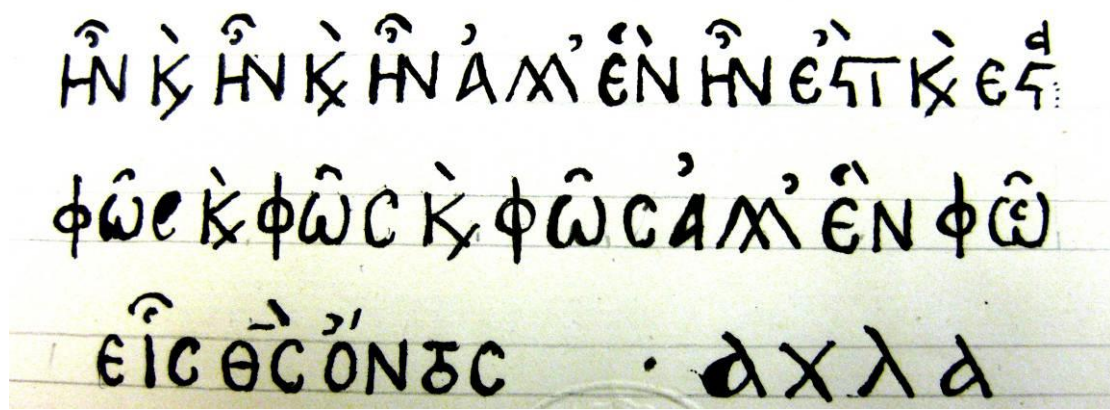
The monastery of Agia Triada (Holy Trinity), called Tsangarolo from the name of the founders, lies amongst olive groves at the very foot of the northern range of hills. It is probably the most imposing monastery in Crete, laid out in a fine spacious style, with an imposing portal over which is a high belfry. The approach is directly to the front by a long walled road with cypresses on each side. But the cypresses are not at all fine specimens, and they must have been replanted since Pashley's visit, who speaks of the lofty cypresses he saw here (Vol. I, p. 20).

This noble foundation has, like all monasteries, fallen on comparatively evil days. Its idiorrhythmic<sup>5</sup> constitution is probably a trace of its earlier splendour. The finely planned façade, the court with its orange trees, the stately if rather baroque west front of the church are all impressive, and the whole gives an appearance of having been planned at one time and carried out according to one idea, which is not at all common in Greek monasteries. It has not in fact the rather slipshod put-together-by-chance look which they generally have, a look not of course without its homely charm. Tsangarolo is a glimpse of the more civilised ordered world of Italian building. The only blot on its dignified decay is the ugly red roof on the eastern side of the court, all of which has a rather rebuilt appearance.

The entrance is in the middle of the west front of the monastery. The gate is at the top of a flight of steps, which rise above an arch, and thus the way in immediately faces the west front of the church. This arrangement and the high belfry over the gate make an impressive façade. Along the wall of this front to the north of the steps is a range of nineteen mangers, which suggests the scale of life and entertainment in the old days. There is also a horse-block.<sup>6</sup>

I found fifteen monks there; in Pashley's day there were ten only, but he was told that before the Greek revolution there had been forty, and besides these, ten more at the various dependent houses, *metokhia*. Also my fifteen possibly included lay brethren, whereas Pashley says expressly that his ten were all Fathers, *πατέρες*, that is ordained monks, *ιερομόναχοι*.

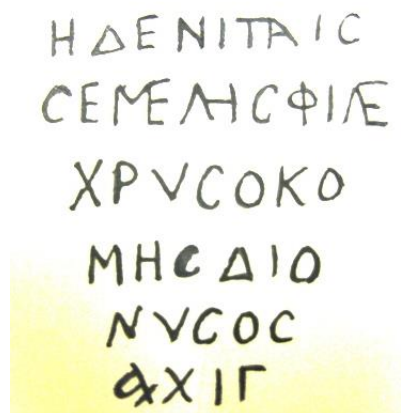
Over the gate is the following inscription of the year 1631 in honour of the Trinity (21 XII 1918):<sup>7</sup>



It may be rendered:

“Was, was, and was; but One was, is, and shall be:  
Light, light, and light; but one Light, one God truly: 1631”

At either end of the west front of the monastery is a door with an arched top and an inscription. The southern one has on the keystone:



the first line being an error for *ήνιδε*, so that the meaning is: “Behold friend, the son of Semele, gold-haired Dionysos, 1613.”<sup>8</sup> The northern one has *τοῦ ἐλέους σου Κε πλήρης ἡ γῆ*, “The earth is full of thy mercy, o Lord!” with an eagle in the keystone. The



northern door now leads to an oil mill, but I think the inscription shows that the south room was originally a cellar for wine and the north one a granary.

The inscriptions outside the monastery are completed by those on an arched doorway on the south side, near the south-west corner of the building.<sup>9</sup> Round the curve of the arch are two inscriptions, the outer one in Greek accented capitals, and the inner one in Latin, also in capitals. The Greek is: “ὦ θάνατε θάνατε θάνατε τῶν μόχθων τέρας [πέρας] καὶ σωτηρίας λιμῆν” [o death death death, the end of toil and the haven of salvation] and the Latin words are a translation of it: “O mors o mors o mors erumnarum portus et meta salutis”.

Above the arch is a defaced coat of arms, which possibly once bore a skull and crossbones, and below it is the inscription:

ΤΑC .. ΠΤΡΑ Ο ΘΑΝ..... ΕΛΛΑΙΣ Ε.....

The first part may be restored as “τα σ[κή]πτρα ο θάν[ατος]”, and the whole taken to be some moral reflexion about death and sceptres.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the present use of the room may be, it would seem from the tenor of the inscriptions that it was intended to be an ossuary,<sup>11</sup> and it is in fact underneath the mortuary chapel of the monastery which is inside the court at this same south-east corner. Of this chapel Pashley (vol. I, p. 18) gives a drawing, and on p. 22 a description.

In the vineyard to the south of the monastery is a large winepress, and over the spout the usual cross with the letters IC XC NI KA [Jesus Christ conquers] and the date 1820.<sup>12</sup>

We now come to the inscriptions on the west front of the church. On the cornice are the Greek capital letters ΒΓΥΘΠ, which Pashley (vol. I, p. 21) suggests stand for “Βάθος γνώσεως, ὑψιστος Θεός, τρισυπόστατος Παντοκράτωρ”, “Depth of Wisdom, God most high, in three Persons Almighty”.

Over the west door is engraved in accented capitals:

ΕΙC ΘC ΕΝ ΤΡΙΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΡΙΑ ΕΝ<sup>13</sup>

Then on either side of the door are the inscriptions of the founders. They are cut on blocks let in as part of the original design of the front. The one on the south side is in Latin capitals, and the one on the north in the usual Greek accented capitals with contractions. Both are to the same effect, that the two brothers Jeremy and Lawrence of the noble family of Tsangarolo founded the monastery at their own expense, both being priests and celibates. Jeremy started the work and departed this life. Then Lawrence completed what his brother had left undone and in the year 1634 raised from the foundations this very beautiful church.

I give the Latin text and then the Greek, first from the close copy I made in a notebook (20 December 1918) and then a transcription:

PRECLARO A SINU ZANCAROLE ~~PRO~~ PRO SAPIE CRETĪ, HIEREMIAS SAPIEN-  
 SAPIENTISSIMUS ET LAURENTIUS SOLERTISSIMOUS GERMANI, AMBO  
 SACRIFICI ET INIVGES, MAGNA CUM IMPENSA ET ACRIMONIA TALIA  
 GESSERUNT ILLE ENIM SUFFICIENTER INCEPTIS LABOREM IMPENDIT  
 EVVMQUE CONFECIT HONESTE HC VERO PROPAGATOR ILLIUS VOTI  
 SUPPLEVIT RELIQUUM ET HOC PERPULCHRUM FUNDITUS TEMPLUM  
 INSTAURAVIT.

PRECLARO A SINU ZANCAROLE PRO  
 SAPIE CRETĪ, HIEREMIAS SAPIENTISSI  
 MUS ET LAURENTIUS SOLERTISSIMUS  
 GERMANI, AMBO SACRIFICI ET INI  
 VGES, MAGNA CUM IMPENSA ET A  
 CRIMONIA TALIA GESSERUNT ILLE  
 ENIM SUFFICIENTER INCEPTIS LA  
 BOREM IMPENDIT EVMQUE CON  
 FECIT HONESTE HIC VERO PROPAGA  
 TOR ILLIUS VOTI SUPPLEVIT RELI  
 QUUM ET HOC PERPULCHRUM FU  
 NDITUS TEMPLUM INSTAURAVIT<sup>14</sup>

The one on the north side runs:

ΟΙ ΕΞ ΕΥΓΕΝΩΝ ΦΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΖΑΝΚΑΡΟΛΩ  
 ΦΥΛΗΣ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ Ο ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΟΣ ΤΕ Ο Θ  
 ΑΜΑΣΙΟΣ ΟΙ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΑΜΦΩ ΘΥΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΖΥΓΕΣ ΧΕΙΡΙ Π  
 ΟΜΗΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΔΟΙΜΑΝΤΟ ΟΜΓΡΩΝ ΡΘΝΙΚΑ  
 ΝΩΣ ΑΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΣΙΩΣ ΑΦΝ ΠΝΩΣ ΕΝ ΟΔΕ ΤΟΝ  
 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΚΟΙΝΩΣ ΚΟΠΟΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΕΙΠΤΕΣ ΕΞΕΠΕΡ  
 ΑΝΕ, Κ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΚΑΜΗΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΘΟΝ ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ  
 ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕ ΑΧΛΔ

Οι εξ ευγενών φύντες της των Τζανκαρόλων  
 φυλής Ιερεμίας ο σοφώτατος Λαυρέντιός τε ο θ  
 ασμάσιος οι αυτάδελφοι άμφω θύται και άζυγες χειρί π

ολλή και δαπάνη τάδε εδοίμαντο· ο μεν γαρ τούργου ικα  
 νώς απάμενος οσίως αφύπνωσεν· ο δε τον  
 αυτόν εκοίνω σκοπόν εχων τουλειπές εξεπέρ  
 ανε, και τον περικαλλή τούτον ναόν εκ θεμελίον  
 ανήγειρε αγλδ [= 1634]<sup>15</sup>

The church therefore dates to the time of the founders.<sup>16</sup> But a good deal of alteration was done on the façade in the 1850s by the monk Parthenios. The upper part of it is now formed by a big terrace [on the upper storey above the west end of the church], from which one enters two little chapels, which are placed underneath the two western domes of the church. The northern of these two chapels has over the door an inscription to the effect that it was built by Parthenios in May 1854:

εικοδομήθη δι' εξόδων του πανοσιοτάτου κ' Παρθενίου εν έτει 1854 μαϊ 5<sup>17</sup>

and over the door of the southern one is the same name and the date July 7th, 1854: "ΠΡΘ . ΙΕΡΜΧ . 1854 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ 7".<sup>18</sup> Two years after this, in 1856, the same monk Parthenios built the flight of steps which leads up outside the north side of the church and gives access to the terrace.<sup>19</sup> The tablet has this inscription:

δι' ιδίων εξόδων του κτίτορος των άνωθεν παρεκκλησιών Παρθενίου  
 ιερομονάχου εν έτει 1856 μαϊου κ'<sup>20</sup>

It appears therefore that the whole upper part of the façade with its terrace and chapels and probably also the western domes over these chapels are all the work of Parthenios. As Pashley remarks, the church was probably not yet finished when the Turks took Canea in 1644 [1645], though the founder had got far enough up the façade to insert his inscription. Pashley implies that when he saw it was still unfinished, and he was there in 1834; it therefore appears that what Parthenios did was to complete the work left unfinished owing to the Turkish conquest by the original builder Lawrence Tsangarolo.

Two more inscriptions complete all those which I noticed inside the monastery. One is in the cloister outside the guestroom over the lavabo niche, and is the palindrome commonly found in such a position:

ΝΙΨΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ

“Wash thy sins not thy face only”<sup>21</sup>

The other is over the door in the south-west corner of the court:

αι αι όντως λη μετά λαιμόν άπανθ' ομότιμα

I do not understand it.<sup>22</sup>

Pashley, in a note on p. 22, gives two more taken from the Psalms and the Book of Maccabees, but omits to say where they were cut, and it is this which as a rule gives these inscriptions whatever interest they may possess.

Gouverneto, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1918<sup>23</sup>

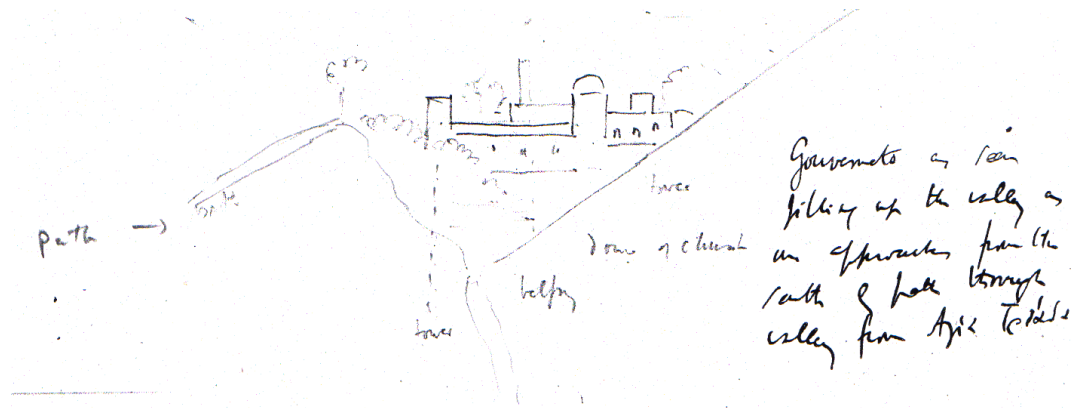


IMG\_0227, 13 April 2009

The road from Agia Triada to Gouverneto goes ten minutes west to the farm of Koumares, which belongs to Gouverneto. It is from the details of the building clearly of Venetian date, but much spoiled and rebuilt. Here the path turns to the north and approaches the mountains, entering a narrow winding valley among the hills.

[This paragraph taken mostly from a fuller version headed 'Flowers', but with a few amendments.] Here I found the variety of sage with a narrow crinkled leaf and big flower with a fine red calix. It is a west Crete plant and here the common sage is not abundant as in east Crete; in fact round Suda and on Akrotiri I don't see it at all. The crinkled leaf sage I found first at Askyphou and on the slopes down from it to the north; then at Meronas; a little above Suda towards Malaxa and on the road to Izzeddin, and I think in other places in west Crete, but never in central or east Crete.

The valley gradually widens as it rises to a small, level, cultivated space in the middle of which is Gouverneto. The sketch was taken at the first view of the building. Twenty yards beyond the monastery is the highest point of the valley forming a col looking out north over the sea, which is reached by another valley running down north. So the monastery lies in a pass between the sea to the north and the plain of Akrotiri, and just south of the highest point of the pass.

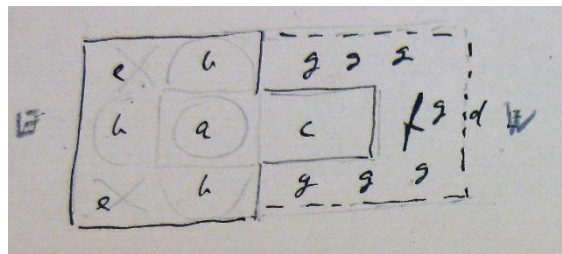


“Gouverneto as seen filling up the valley as one approaches from the south by path through valley from Agia Triada”

The monastery of St John the Hermit, called Gouverneto, is much more rustic in appearance and in every other way than Tsangarolo, which is the most civilised monastery in Crete. It is quite countrified and shows hardly more traces of the greater world than do such places as Hodigitria or even Koudouma. The roofs are mostly flat, but a few have local tiles, and there are unfortunately some of the ugly pinkish red French tiles.<sup>24</sup> It is a square building, mostly of one storey only, with low towers at the corners. Of these, the one at the south-west has been almost destroyed and the south-east one a good deal disguised. Each tower has corbelled hatches for defence against enemies and there is a similar hatch over the main entrance. After Toplou it seems to me the best example in Crete of a fortified monastery, a place which could stand at all events some sort of siege. Like Agia Triada [Tsangarolo], the building was interrupted by the Turkish conquest. It was also burned by them somewhere about 1821.

The constitution is coenobitic, like most of the poorer and more primitive monasteries. To lead the more comfortable idiorrhythmic life monks must have some money of their own, and such monks, I think, do not go to these little places, they prefer the larger, better equipped monasteries.

The earliest date to be found is on the lintel of the main entrance. The words are on the scroll. They are: *Στενή η πύλη και τεθλιμένη<sup>25</sup> η οδός η αγάγουσα<sup>26</sup> εις την ζωήν* – Narrow is the gate and strait is the way that leadeth unto life; and below them is a cross with the usual initials IC XC and the date ΑΦΛΖ, 1537.<sup>27</sup> Above the scroll is a niche with a new (1883) eikon of the Virgin orans as η Κυρία των Αγγέλων [the Mistress of the Angels].



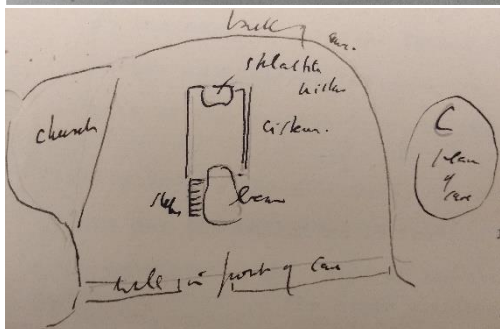
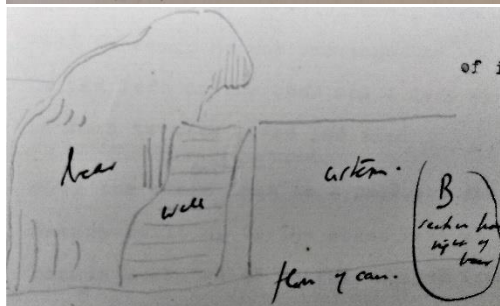
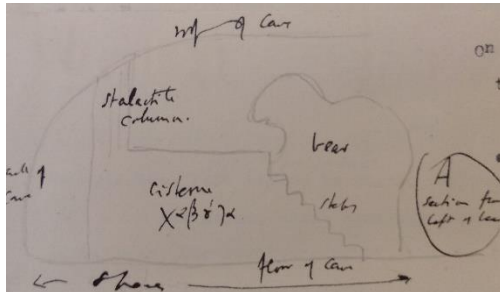
- a. Dome
- b. Apses (Athos plan)
- c. [Level vault?]
- d. Belfry
- e. Little pyramidal roofs
- f. Terrace
- g. Newer part of church

In the middle of the little court is the church, very much like a smaller version of the Tsangarolo church: the same terrace over the west part, the same spherical dome, and the same plan with two side apses, like the monastic churches on Athos. The lower part of the west front is florid Venetian work, but at this point the builders were interrupted by the Turkish conquest. All the eastern part of the church is on a smaller scale than the

western, and the upper part of the west front and the belfry above it seem to be of the nineteenth century. How much of the later parts of the church were built after the conquest, and how much was only built after the destruction at the beginning of the nineteenth century I could not clearly make out. The spaces at the NE and SE corners of the church between the apses are covered with odd little pyramidal roofs.

From Gouverneto I went on to the sanctuary of St John the Eremite, called the Katholikon. The monks say this was the first site of their monastery, but they were much disturbed by pirates and, in obedience to a vision of the Virgin, left the site and came up the hill and built Gouverneto. Gouverneto, it may be noted, is not visible from the sea.

The path to the Katholikon leads north from Gouverneto. It at once crosses the col and then descends the valley which leads down to the sea. We first pass on the right a rock shelter dedicated to the Virgin and therefore called in general Panagia.<sup>28</sup> It is an open cave with a flat roof and flat floor, but is so curious that it merits a special description. Its general arrangement will be plain from my sketch plans. At the back there is said to be an opening into another cave, but of this I saw nothing.



The front of the cave is shut off by a wall and the left part of it is walled off and fitted up as a church of the Panagia, but the greater part of it is left open behind the front wall, which does not go up to the roof. In the middle there is a large oblong built cistern filled by the dripping from the roof, built up between a stalactite pillar at the back and a mass of rock at the front end. One can get up to the lip of the cistern by steps built up against the side of this mass of rock which is called the *arkouda* and is supposed to be a bear which came here to drink and was turned into stone by the Panagia. It is very much the shape of a large animal reared up to drink and has a mouth in which they say teeth may be felt, but I could not feel them. In front of the cave there are some ruined buildings and remains of a garden. No one now lives there.

Pashley was here (Vol. I, p. 24) and says it was called the Cave of the Bear and from it the mountains had the name of the Mountains of the Bear. He wondered "that no legend was attached to this natural object". At Magasa we shall see a bear helping a negro, *αράπης*, to guard a treasure [ch. 30].

A little below Panagia the path, about ½ an hour from Gouverneto, begins to zigzag and then descends by steps, (about 140: Pashley) into a narrow gorge, where some way above the sea is the Katholikon, the sanctuary of St John the Eremite. Level ground has been made by throwing a big arch across the gorge; all the rest is crag. As one descends the steps to the arch or bridge, to the left is the rock and a deep cave in it where the eremite is said to have lived and died.<sup>29</sup>

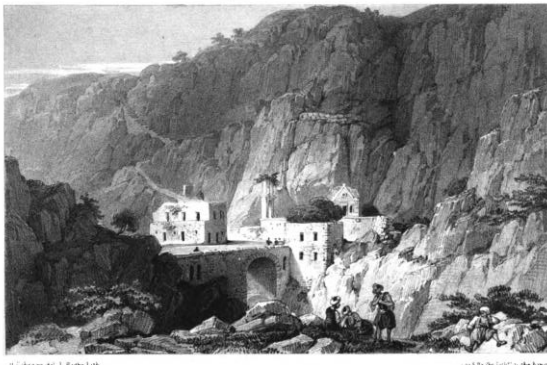
Below the cave the steps continue and lead to a rock-cut church with a late Venetian façade built up to the sheer face of the cliff. Behind this façade a church of

#### 4: AKROTIRI AND THE MONASTERIES

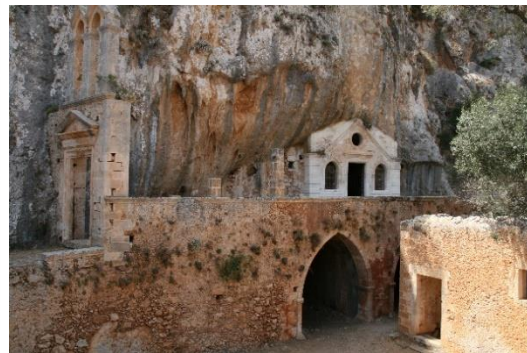
barrel-vaulted form has been hewn out in the rock and dedicated to the eremite. In front of the church are several now ruined buildings on the space at the edge of the flat formed by the top of the arch. Here the people assemble at the *panagyri*. Here too was the original site of the monastery which afterwards removed to Gouverneto.

Pashley, Vol. I, opposite p. 27, has an excellent drawing of the site. In his day the buildings in front of the church, now ruined, were well preserved. The façade of the church which I have just described is on the right of the other buildings. The path leading to the sanctuary would be in his foreground.

Inside the cave on the left of the path and quite near the entrance there is, on the left [right], a cistern and on the right [left, now covered] a hollow containing a mass of human bones. They are supposed to be the bones of hermits killed by the Turks. Pashley went to the end of the cave and gives a picture of the stalactites, which he says do not compare with those of the famous grotto on Antiparos. He says that both Pococke and Sonnini<sup>30</sup> very much exaggerate the depth of the cave. I went no further in than to see the cistern and the bones. Pashley found it about 470 feet deep and near the end an altar. I was told that deep in the cave there was an eikon and the bed in which the hermit died hollowed in the rock.<sup>31</sup> The types of eikons are often interesting, and in the church of Kambi on the hills south of Suda I saw an eikon of this St John the Hermit. It showed the hermit standing in a V-shaped valley with the sea in the background. I think there is another similar eikon at Gouverneto.



Pashley I 26



IMG\_0235 Gouverneto in 2009 (photo Dimitris Tsougarakis)



IMG\_0238 Dittany growing in the same spot, 13/4/2009

The whole site is very grand. There is some wood in the gorge, but the effect is due to the narrowness and rocky desolation of the site. The herb dittany grows on the rocks on the face of which the steps are cut leading down to the cave and church. It is mentioned, too, by Pashley, p. 26, who gives classical references and to Meursius, *Creta*, II, 11. Trevor-Battye, too, quotes this observation of Pashley's, but makes the curious error of confusing the Cretan dittany, which

is a kind of basil, *Origanum [dictamnus]*, with the totally different plant, *Dictamnus fraxinella*, Moses in the Burning Bush. Neither here nor anywhere else where I have

seen it did dittany seem to be a common plant: being collected for trade, it is probably growing rarer and rarer. [(In another hand) Now grown for trade purposes at Arkhanes – MP (or HP?).]<sup>32</sup>

And now for the story of this St John the Eremite. In the library of the monastery of St Elias called Roustika [see ch. 8] there are two copies of the service composed in his honour. It was composed by George Velimas (Γεώργιος Βελημάς) and printed at Venice in 1787 at the expense of Ioasaph Gavalas (Ιωάσαφ Γαβαλάς), the abbot of Gouverneto (Γδερνέτο). The title of the books is: *Ακολουθία του οσίου πατρός ημών Ιωάννου του ερημίτου του συνασκήσαντος εν τη νήσω Κρήτης μετά τινων άλλων συνασκητών αυτού εννεήκοντα εννέα* [Service of our Saint John the Hermit who lived the ascetic life in the island of Crete with ninety-nine other ascetes].

This is the account it gives of the saint. He came originally from Egypt with thirty-six followers. In Cyprus he collected thirty-nine more and in Adalia another twenty-four. With these ninety-nine he came to the island of Gavdo off the south coast of Crete – his companions were ninety-nine and not a hundred because the hundredth and their leader was Christ. The ninety-nine crossed over to Crete and by a mistake left John alone in Gavdo. He then followed them to Crete, crossing over the sea miraculously by using his gown as a boat and his staff as a mast and part of his gown as a sail. The book, p. 39, describes the wonderful voyage which he made with faith in the name of the Lord [Greek text not reproduced].

When he came to Crete he went to Akrotiri and lived in the cave at Katholikon, where he became so doubled up by penances and mortifications that a shepherd took him for a beast and shot him. His companions, who did not come with him to Akrotiri but had remained at Azoyirea (Αζογυρέα) on the south coast, all died, according to their prayer, at the same moment. To this the Gouverneto monks added that he used to go on all fours and therefore the shepherd took him for an animal and shot him. The man then tracked the wounded saint to the cave by the blood and found the cave lit up by a miraculous light. He entered and was forgiven by the saint who then died. The blood is said to be still visible inside the cave. The Roustika book says that the cave on Akrotiri was made a church and this corresponds with the story of the monks that their monastery was first at Katholikon, where their patron lived and died.

The memory of the ninety-nine companions is still preserved at Azoiros (Αζόϊρες), the place called in the book Azoyirea [Αζογυρές]. It is on the hillside a little to the east of Palaiokhora. I have seen it from a distance but never been there. A boy of Kandanos, Stelios Apostolakis, who was taking me to see some of the frescoed churches there, told me about the cult there. Quite close to the village there is a church and a cave of the Holy Fathers (των Αγίων Πατέρων), in which they lived the ascetic life (ασκητεύανε). A bed cut out in the rock is shown in the cave and there is a widely visited annual festival in their honour. He did not know their number but seemed to think they were about five and twenty. Nor could he give me any idea what their eikon was like. He further told me that these Fathers once sat beneath a plane tree which is still to be seen near the spring at the village of Kandanos, and that in consequence of this the tree never loses its leaves. I saw it: it is certainly a good size but does not look very old, nor does it seem to differ from any other plane tree. Nor could I learn if it really is evergreen. I mention elsewhere [below] plane trees in Crete credited with being evergreen, and see too Theophrastos.

Nov. 11<sup>th</sup> 1920 Oxford. Miss Manou tells me that the St John who has the cave in Akrotiri cures fever and is therefore called *ργολόγος*.<sup>33</sup> Inside his cave is what is taken for a carved serpent.



**Evergreen plane trees**

Sonnini, I, p. 382

Pococke II, part I, p. 263

Kandanos qv

Mournies qv

Spratt, II, pp. [40-42], discusses evergreen plane tree said to exist by the ancients (Pliny) on the banks of the Lethe [Lethaeus].<sup>34</sup>

Spratt was taken to two at Lutraki near Khania, like ordinary planes except as having a thicker leaf.

Spratt heard of another near a monastery near Khania and at Meres [Moires], a village below Gortyn. A peasant from Vourvolete [Βουρβουλίτης, also near Gortyn] told him that two grew near that village.

**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> *Βελίαρ* is correct (though *Βελιάλ* is an alternative form): see II Corinthians 6.15.

<sup>2</sup> The fortified monastery of Άγιος Ιωάννης Ελεήμων (16th-17th century) has now been restored, though it is normally locked and deserted. Its olive-oil press has also been restored. The monastery stands on the edge of the village of Pazinos on the east side of the road to the airport. The old name Γκαλαγκάδος (Galagados) was changed to Παξινός in 1957 (and subsequently Παζινός). Antonia, the local café lady, told us on 25/4/13 that people moved to Galagados from Stavros (on the north coast of the peninsula) to escape from pirate attacks.

<sup>3</sup> There were still hives in abundance there on 4/4/2009.

<sup>4</sup> Psilakis II 225. We visited 13/4/2009 & again Oct. 2009. Lovely approach road lined with cypresses. The surrounding olive groves have now been largely replaced by vines. Huge new metal wine vats outside SW corner; also a modern wine press. The monastery's organic products (wine and olive oil) now widely sold. Ongoing restoration of buildings around courtyard.

<sup>5</sup> Greek Orthodox monasteries are divided into cenobitic and idiorrhythmic. Cenobitic monasteries are those where the monks own the monastery in common and share the same facilities (except their cells), whereas in idiorrhythmic ones each monk lives independently.

<sup>6</sup> Still there in 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Psilakis II 227.

<sup>8</sup> Psilakis II 227 reads (wrongly) ΘΑΔΕΝΠΠΑΙΣ.

<sup>9</sup> None of the following inscriptions are in Psilakis, I think.

<sup>10</sup> I read ΤΑ ΣΚΗΠΤΡΑ. Presumably the original import of this phrase is related to the sentiments expressed in the poem "Death the leveller" by John Shirley (1596–1666): "Death lays his icy hand on kings: / Sceptre and Crown must tumble down."

<sup>11</sup> It is indeed the ossuary; skulls are kept in glass cases. Manousos Liantakis (since ordained as Father Symeon) showed us into it on 13 April 2009.

<sup>12</sup> The vineyard is still there.

<sup>13</sup> Psilakis II 227.

<sup>14</sup> Psilakis II 227-8; Pashley I 21; for both cf. Alexiou 1999: 176-7.

- <sup>15</sup> Psilakis II 228 (copy and transcription).
- <sup>16</sup> The church is devoid of frescoes, except that there is a modern Pantokrator in the tall dome.
- <sup>17</sup> Psilakis II 242.
- <sup>18</sup> Checked by PM; not Psilakis.
- <sup>19</sup> Not accessible to the public in April 2009.
- <sup>20</sup> Psilakis II 242.
- <sup>21</sup> Not Psilakis.
- <sup>22</sup> This is indeed what the inscription says: Psilakis II 227 has δη. Possibly the meaning is: “Alas! alas! everything is indeed equivalent after the throat” (i.e. all food is the same [i.e. only fit to be expelled] once one has swallowed it). Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Λόγος ΛΓ', Πρὸς Ἀρειανούς, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτόν, Ζ': “Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαινοῦμέν τι τῶν μετὰ τὸν λαίμῶν ὁμοτίμων, μᾶλλον δὲ, ἀτίμων ὁμοίως καὶ ἀποβλήτων”
- <sup>23</sup> Μονὴ Γδερνέτου: Psilakis II 193ff.; otherwise known as Η Κυρία των Αγγέλων [The Mistress of the Angels] – the name of the icon mentioned below by Dawkins. We visited on 13 April 2009 and in Oct. 2009.
- <sup>24</sup> These are still there!
- <sup>25</sup> Dawkins' reading is accurate. Psilakis II 220 emends to the grammatically correct *τεθλιμμένη*.
- <sup>26</sup> Psilakis, correctly, reads *απάγουσα*.
- <sup>27</sup> Correct; not recorded by Psilakis.
- <sup>28</sup> Ναός της Αρκουδίτισσας (Our Lady of the Bear): Psilakis II 204.
- <sup>29</sup> Edward Lear (many of whose drawings of Crete Dawkins later bought) drew the Katholikon in 1864: see <http://edwardlearandcrete.weebly.com/>.
- <sup>30</sup> Richard Pococke, *Voyage in the East and other countries*, vol. 2 (London 1745); C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, fait par ordre de Louis XVI, et avec l'autorisation de la cour Ottomane* (Paris, an IX [1801]), 2 vols + 1 vol. of illustrations.
- <sup>31</sup> We didn't reach the far end of the cave, but some cavers showed us a photo they'd taken of the icon there.
- <sup>32</sup> Dittany is still grown commercially in Crete. See also ch. 15.
- <sup>33</sup> The Greek word denotes someone who concerns himself with fevers. There are similar legends attached to different churches dedicated to St John.
- <sup>34</sup> This is the most famous evergreen plane in Crete, the one at Gortyn mentioned by Pliny, Theophrastus and Spratt: Europa is said to have given birth to Minos and his brothers under an evergreen plane there. The evergreen plane growing there today is most probably a scion of the one that grew there in antiquity and gave rise to this legend. Dawkins doesn't seem to mention evergreen planes at Mournies elsewhere in his material. Apparently about 50 evergreen planes have been identified in Crete.

## CHAPTER 5 SOUTH COAST AND GORGES<sup>1</sup>

There is a strong contrast between the north and the south coast of Crete. Almost all the low ground by the sea is on the north coast. On the south the mountains fall almost directly into the sea. The only low ground on the south coast is the long stretch east and west of Hierapetra from south of Lithines [east of Hierapetra] to Myrtos [west of Hierapetra], and the opening of the Mesara plain on the beach below Dibaki [Τυμπάκι]. On the north we have the gentle slopes of Kissamos, next of the Retimo district, then all the bay of Candia and the gulfs of Mirabello and Siteia; the steep stretches of coast are only such pieces as that between Candia and Retimo, which break the general gentle character of the country. The higher parts of the mountain spine of Crete lie closer to the south than to the north. A result of this is that the towns lie on the north coast. On the south there is no considerable place except Hierapetra. Khora Sphakion and Palaiokhora are villages only.

**[Paths, from E to W]** But this mountain wall is not uninterrupted. Everywhere it is crossed by paths leading up from the little harbours: Kaloi Limniones [officially named Kali Limenes] is the best, and only on the south coast of Crete could it ever be called a Fair Haven. Some of these paths follow valleys, like the Myrtos valley [the Myrtos river and the Sarakina gorge towards Males] or the valley to Stravodoxari and Roukaka [now named Stavrochori and Chrysopigi]. Sometimes they go over dips in the hills like all the paths from the Mesara to the sea, to Treis Ekklesies [presumably from Παράνυμοι along Μουσουλκή river via Αμπά gorge], to Koudouma [from Σόπατα?], to Leda [Λέντας], to Kaloi Limniones [from Odigitria monastery?]. Sometimes again they go through narrow and incredibly precipitous gorges. These gorges form such a feature of the country that it will be well to enumerate them in order, beginning from the east and proceeding along the coast to the west.

**[Gorges, from E to W]** The gorges begin south of Palaikastro and the coast consists of a wall of mountains from Cape Plaka [on east coast, next to Palaikastro] all the way round to Makriyalo, a wall interrupted by a series of narrow gorges. The first runs from the hamlet of Kokhlakies down to Karoubes [Karoumes, on east coast south of Cape Plaka]. The next, which is impassable, is from upper to lower Zakro.<sup>2</sup> This gorge is like a knife-cut slashing through the barren hills. South of Zakro the hills retreat a little and along the coast there lies the narrow strip of flat land called Xerokampos, and this is connected with the high country round Khandra by at least one gorge [presumably Ziros]. I went up by this way to Khandra after exploring Xerokampos to look for *anticas* at RCB's request.<sup>3</sup> The mountain wall turns round the SE corner of Crete, coming back again to the shore, and this southern part is broken by a gorge which comes down from near Khandra, passed by the village of Perivolakia, and debouches on the sea by the little monastery of Ai Yanni Kapsa, perched on a shelf close above the sea immediately to the east of the mouth of the gorge.

Along the south coast the wall ends just west of Ai Yanni Kapsa, where the broad Lithines valley comes to the sea, and we have next the strip of flat land lying in front of the Siteia mountains [Ορνό & Θρουπή?], then the plain of Hierapetra, and then the rough country between Lasithi and the sea. This is broken by the gorge of Arvi (Trevor-Battye, p. 147) which, only a few yards wide, carries down the water from the higher ground east of Viano to the plain of Arvi by the sea, and after this are the wider openings which lead down first from Viano to Keratokampos, and then from Mesokhori and the Mesara to the huts at Tsoutsouros.

Westward of Tsoutsouros, in the hills to the south of the Mesara, the gorges are not so marked and the little places that shelter by the sea under the wall of mountains are reached rather by passes than through gorges. Thus from Tsoutsouros westward it is by mountain paths through dips in the hills that there is some communication, first with the hermitage of Maridaki in its little valley, then with Treis Ekklesies, the monastery of Koudouma, then with Leda and Kaloi Limniones, and lastly, after round Cape Lithines [Λίθινο], with the cove of Matala. Beyond this there is a gap in the hills formed by the opening of the Mesara plain, and the long beach below Dibaki, and presently by the opening of the Amari valley and the new settlement of Agia Galini. Then the mountains come down to the sea again and a wall begins which continually rises until the formidable barrier of the Sphakia mountains, dying away again towards Cavo Krios, the SW point of the island.

The gorges which cut these mountains are from east to west as follows. Two lead down from the upper land round Koxare to the valley behind Preveli. The eastern one is, I believe, impassable; the western one contains the road from Retimo and the north to Preveli. It is called *to kroutaliotiko to pharangi* [Κουρταλιώτικο: PM]. The valley behind Preveli, shut off from the sea by the Preveli mountain, is drained to the east by a miniature gorge; on the west it opens on the sea with the flat land below Myrthios [i.e. the area of the modern settlement of Plakias]. This village is approached by its own gorge [Κοτσιφού]. West of the Myrthios plain a path runs along the irregular slopes over the sea, crossing the mouth of the slash in the hills which carries down water to Rodakino.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly to the west [of Myrthios] there is a flat strip by the sea which reaches almost to Khora Sphakion. On this strip close to the sea lies the Venetian fortress of Frangokastello, and on the inner edge of it a row of villages which serve as the winter habitations for the mountaineers, each being connected by a gorge with a high village whither the people go in the summer to pasture their flocks. Thus the first of this string of villages is Kapsodasos and by it Patsianos. From them a gorge ascends to the mountain plain of Kallikrati. Then Vouvas is the winter village of Asphendou<sup>5</sup> and Komitades of Askiphou.<sup>6</sup> Passing one more gorge which leads, I believe, to no village<sup>7</sup> – I went up it once for two hours and found nothing – we reach Hora Sphakion.<sup>8</sup> From here all the way to Palaiokhora the mountain wall is as close to the sea as it is in the stretch south of the Mesara, but here it is much higher and more threatening. The path west from Hora has therefore to ascend to the plain of Anopolis and descend to Loutro.<sup>9</sup> It takes only a third of the time to go by boat. After Anopolis the road keeps high, but dives down into the wonderful ravine, on the western ridge of which the little village of Aradena clings. Then it winds to the sea and [after following the coast for a long distance] reaches the mouth of the Roumeli gorge, the last and the most formidable and wonderful of the series [Samaria gorge]. A narrow valley to Souya [Agia Eirini gorge] and a wider one to Palaiokhora [the one from Αζογυρές?] complete the connexions of the interior with the south coast. The west coast, though the mountains come near to the sea, does not present the same uncompromising wall of hills as guards the south and a part of the east where, indeed, the only openings giving easy access to the heart of the island are at the isthmus of Hierapetra and at the mouth of the Mesara plain by Dibaki.

From the sea this formation gives a most inhospitable look to the island. Except Hierapetra and Khora Sphakion there are no towns or villages of any size to be seen. Many of the villages are entirely hidden; others look down on the sea only from some considerable height. And to the absence of harbours, except such small coves as at Matala<sup>10</sup> and such open roadsteads as at Hierapetra and Dibaki, must be added the violent local winds caused by the closeness of the high mountains. When the weather

elsewhere is fairly calm, the sea close to the coast is lashed by squalls that seem to swoop down directly from the hills and tear the surface into spray.

Each of these gorges has its own character: some are very narrow, some very deep, some well wooded, some bare. I describe them in their proper place.

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> Many of the places mentioned in this chapter recur in greater detail in other chapters, particularly IX, XII, XXII, XVI.

<sup>2</sup> This gorge is no longer considered impassable, though it is advertised as the “Gorge of Death”!

<sup>3</sup> The word *anticas* was used by Greek country folk to refer to small ancient objects which they had discovered, and which many of them traded with foreign visitors. R. C. Bosanquet was director of the British School at Athens from 1899 until Dawkins succeeded him in 1906. Presumably Bosanquet asked Dawkins to tour villages buying ancient objects from the inhabitants. This was a practice already adopted by Arthur Evans.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps from the Κρυονερίτης mountains.

<sup>5</sup> Vouvas is actually west of the Ασφεντιανό φαράγγι. Vouvas and Nomikiana have their own gorge: το φαράγγι της Κάπνη/του Κάπνη. For connections between highland and lowland villages see ch. 6.

<sup>6</sup> These two villages are connected via the Imbros gorge.

<sup>7</sup> The Σφακιανό φαράγγι, with a path marked on modern maps that leads to the Niato area in the middle of nowhere.

<sup>8</sup> According to Tsougarakis (1988: 337), nothing is known about Chora Sphakion until the Venetian period.

<sup>9</sup> Nowadays, however, there is also an E4 path running parallel to the coast.

<sup>10</sup> In Minoan times Matala was the port of Phaistos. In Roman times Matala and Leben (modern Lendas) were the two harbours of Gortyn.

## CHAPTER 6 ASKYPHOU AND DISTRICT

[Itinerary: Komitades – Nimboros [now officially called Imbros] – Askyphou – Prosnero [now officially called Embrosneros]; Asphendou; Kallikratis]

The coast to the east of Hora Sphakion is not as precipitous as it is to the west. There is a strip of low barren land between the hills and the sea, and this strip reaches almost as far as Rodakino; hence as far as Myrtos [near Hierapetra] the coast is steep. On the low-lying strip by the sea is Frangokastello. At the foot of the hills is a series of small villages: Komitades, Vouvas, Kapsodasos, Patsianos, Skaloti and others. In the winter these are full of people, in the summer they are all but deserted. And the reason is that they serve as winter villages for the people who all the summer live up in the mountains. For these hills are cleft by a series of gorges already mentioned, and at the top of each gorge there is some little plain amongst the hills containing a village, and the people have in general two houses, one in each, for winter and summer use, much like the people of Magasa and Karydi who at the season come down to the lowlands of Palaikastro [in eastern Crete].

Of these upland plains perhaps we may count four. By far the largest with several hamlets in it is Askyphou, approached through a gorge [Imbros gorge] from Komitades. A path from the plain leads northwards over the hills and descends to Prosnero and Vamos and so to Canea. A little south of the Askyphou basin is the smaller hollow of Nimboros. South-east of Askyphou is Asphendou, the summer village no doubt of Vouvas, which is reached by a path probably through a gorge, but I have never traversed it. When I went to Asphendou it was over the hills from Kallikratis on my way to Askyphou. Asphendou differs from the others in being more open to the sea, which is in fact visible over the top of the hills from the village. The situation of the place is thus not so much like a basin as like a coal shovel.

Kallikratis, which is to the east again, is like a smaller Askyphou and is reached by a gorge from Skaloti.<sup>1</sup> This gorge drains the plain; in fact all these places have thus no need of *katavothra* [limestone swallow-hole] to keep them from becoming lakes like the plain of Lasithi see ch. 24]. The road through the gorge is new. The lower part of it is V-shaped and in the upper part there is fine rock scenery, but it is in no part so fine as the gorge between Komitades and Nimboros.<sup>2</sup>

All these villages should now be described on their respective routes. I begin from the west.

Komitades I have already described [ch. 5] as one of the villages on the coast route from Myrthios to Hora Sphakion. It is situated just at the mouth of the narrow gorge which opens first on the hollow containing the hamlet of Nimboros. I went over the ground in July 1917, starting from Hora Sphakion. At Komitades the path enters the gorge through which it goes for two hours between steep rocks, wooded with wild cedar. Dittany grows on the rocks. The gorge is extremely narrow, in some places only about eight feet wide between the rock walls, clearly cut out by water. Then the gorge opens upon the little mountain-surrounded plain of Nimboros, and then passes over a col and down into the larger basin of Askyphou.

All this region of the White Mountains is full of local stories. At Suda Bay I met a Greek lieutenant called Mikhali Koutroumba, and he took me to see his parents who live in the winter in a little cottage above the road from Suda to Izzeddin. The house is just above a café by a big plane tree which served as bounds for our sailors. The father is from Nimboros and they live there in the summer. The wife [MK's mother] is from

Kapsodasos. [The following sentence is from a separate sheet dated 31 March 1919:] They told me the versions of the stories I have recorded from Askiphou [ch. 12]. They told me that near Nimboros there is a cave and in it lived a monster (*therio*). A shepherd nearby found that his *yiaourti* [yoghurt] was always eaten and set his boy to watch. The boy saw the monster come out of the cave and eat the *yiaourti* and then the monster ate the boy. The father vowed to build a church at the place where he should kill the monster. The dying monster vomited up the boy but he was already dead (δεν ήζεινε). The church built was the old church of Christos at Askyphou, which is still standing.

Askyphou is a larger place in a larger basin. The hills are still fairly well wooded, and the hamlets are all round the edge of the plain, like an inhabited Nida [see ch. 15] or a smaller Lasithi. A sign of modernity is the red roofing, common and ugly, of which Kallikratis as yet has none. On a double-peaked low hill which juts out into the plain are the ruins of two Turkish forts. These were built like many other forts by the Turks in 1869 at the end of the great insurrection and held by them until 1877. The ruined castle which overlooks Hora Sphakion from the east is another.

Askyphou stories [overlap with Nimboros stories above]. In the gorge near Nimboros a little above the path (I think on the east side just before reaching Nimboros from Hora, but I did not note this at the time) is a cave called του φιδά το σπήλιο [the serpent's cave]. A hunter who used to deposit his game near the cave noticed that it was always eaten. He found it was a snake and pursued the snake as far as the hamlet of Goni (Γωνί) in the Askyphou plain, vowing to build a church at the place where he should kill it. He killed it where the church του Χριστού at Γωνί stands, the oldest church in Askyphou. I did not visit the church. According to another version the snake had eaten the child of the man and when it was killed the child was found alive inside the snake.

A woman of Askyphou was carried away by the Turks to an island. She prayed to the Cross to bring her back and was miraculously removed and recovered consciousness in the church του Σταυρωμένου [of the crucified Christ] at Μουρί near Khora Sphakio to the north [south].

Prosnero, called locally Proinero, is most famous for the now ruined house of Alidakis, a wealthy Turk who was besieged and killed in his house by the Christians from Sphakia in the year 1774. He had large property in lands but above all in flocks of sheep and goats, and it was with the inevitable result of quarrels with the shepherds of his neighbours.

A notable possession of Alidakis was the great cistern of Krapí, a big open-walled cistern still to be seen. It lies south [north] of Askyphou not long after the path passes the lip of the basin and begins to descend. From Krapí, where there is however no village, there was a carriage road going down to Vrisi [Vryses] and leaving Prosnero to the left.

The story of Alidakis' death is given us in Gregorios Papadopetrakis' *History of Sphakia*, pp. 158ff., and is preserved also in a long ballad. In both cases it is of course presented from the Sphakiote point of view.<sup>3</sup>

The immediate cause of the attack on Alidakis was a quarrel between his people and the shepherds of Papasiphis at the place called Poros tou Mantili at Kallikratis. This place is a valley leading out of the Kallikratis plain to, I think, the west; at the mouth of the valley are a few houses. I have been a little way up the valley from Kallikratis. They quarrelled about the limits of their grazing grounds. Then some of Papasiphis' flocks were carried off by Alidakis' people to Prosnero. Papasiphis then pillages Alidakis' flocks and dairies. Papasiphis captured and killed. Alidakis collects forces both Turks and Christians. The Christians gather together forces at Askiphou. The

tower at Prosnero attacked. The first attackers were posted to shoot Alidakis as he came out of the house (I suppose the gate of the court) in the morning. They missed fire. Then some of Alidakis' people fled and the remaining 120, mostly Christians, were besieged with him in his house. All were killed and the house burned, and it and the village pillaged with the Turkish and the Christian houses. The spoil was taken to Askiphou. Killed: Turks 150, Christians 50, Sphakiotes 18 men and two girls. Date spring of 1774 but the quarrel began earlier; I note the date about 1770.

I note that the fact that Alidakis had so many Christians with him and that the Sphakiotes pillaged the Christian as well as the Turkish houses in Prosnero indiscriminately looks as if the affair was just as much a quarrel between hungry the mountaineers of Askiphou and Kallikratis and the richer landowners, as it was between Turk and Christian. But the narration in Papadopetrakis admits that both Turks and Christians were enemies of the Sphakiotes and upbraids other Cretans for their ingratitude to the Sphakiotes. There is not much doubt that sheep-stealing brigandish mountaineers can never have been popular with the lowlanders, whatever their religion.<sup>1</sup>

### **Prosnero Tower of Alidakis, 22 July 1917**



Alidakis' house, April 1992

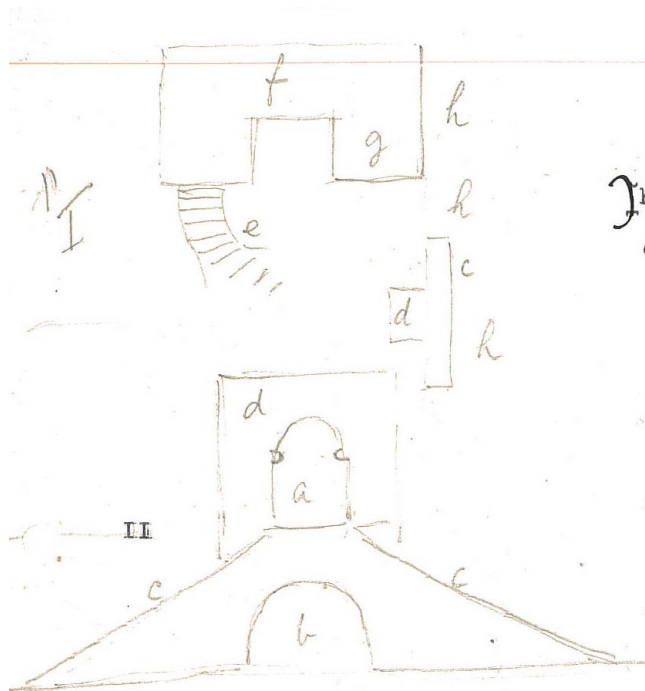
Finely built with stone mouldings and strong stone ashlar corners. The entrance is to the south by a square gate with an arch which is approached by two inclined planes, one on each side. This brings one into the court and there on the right are a set of steps which lead up to the first floor of the house. The house has a ground floor of a long vaulted hall, perhaps 20 yards long, entered directly from the court. On each side of the entrance is a wing, the right-hand one destroyed and shown as a ruin in Pashley's sketch, the one on the left being a vaulted room containing an oven. The steps from the

<sup>1</sup> v. T[revor] B[at]tye, 82-83 & Spratt I 53 for Sphakiotes plundering both Turks and Greeks in 1859, and Pashley I 313 for Sphakiotes plundering Arkadi worse than Turks [also ch. 10 here].



court lead up to a terrace (G), from which opens the door of the upper rooms. The first entered is H, which has on the left a big arch and below it a hearth and behind it a chimney (I). From this chimney one can see that there was no higher storey, although people now say that there was. Pashley shows it as it is at present; no higher. The destroyed right wing had also a terrace, as is shown by broken fragments left at its edge by P. Over the right half of the big hall is a terrace open to the sky and, although walled round, it was always open as the door Q to the spiral staircase has a dripstone over it. Round this terrace K is a wall with a double loophole (T) at the back, at the corner (N) the corbels for a turret which has now disappeared, and to the right, at M, a large arched window. The wall round this terrace was originally all about 8 feet high. The side towards the front of the house had no continuous wall, but an opening stepped up at each side (P). Through this opening one got out on to the (open, unwall) destroyed terrace L answering to the terrace G, and the steps towards A served as access to the roof of H and Q. These steps are well preserved; those on the opposite side which led nowhere are much more destroyed. This terrace K with its wall was perhaps protected by an awning. [Small sketch of roof H & Q, and destroyed steps, not reproduced here]

The great hall was the public room opening on the court. The oven is probably where it was originally. The upstairs rooms are the private part of the house with private access to the hall by the spiral staircase. The terrace K gave a view out from the private part of the house and is protected from observation by its wall. This type of two-winged house [can be found] also at Kephali in W. Crete.



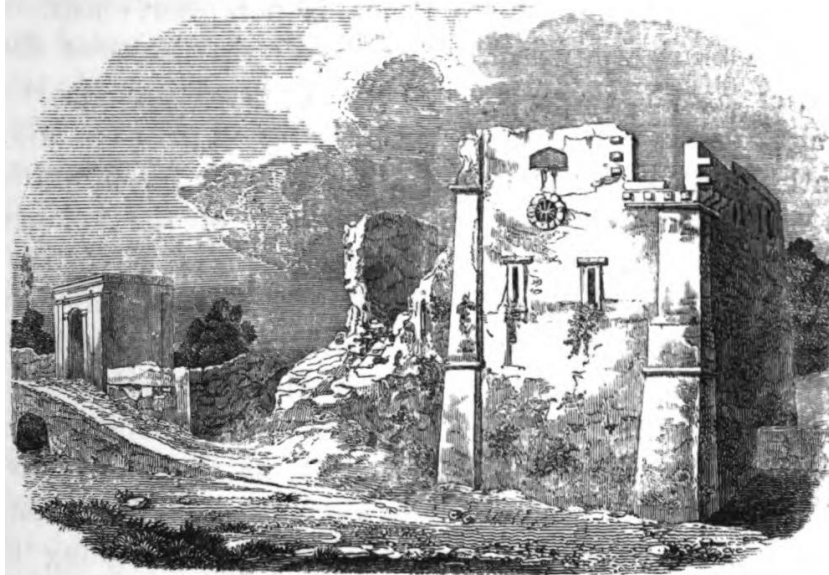
I. General plan of house and court  
The court now neglected with a few outbuildings round it

II. Elevation of gatehouse and approach to court.

- A. Entrance
- B. Archway over which the approaching sloped ways, C C, are constructed
- C C. Approaches to the entrance to the court, which is at a higher level than the road, in elevation in II, in plan in I
- D. The gatehouse in elevation in II, in plan in I
- E. Steps leading up from the court to the entrance on the first floor of the house
- F. The house itself (for details see plans on next sheet)
- G. The rebuilt part of the house
- H H H. The public road

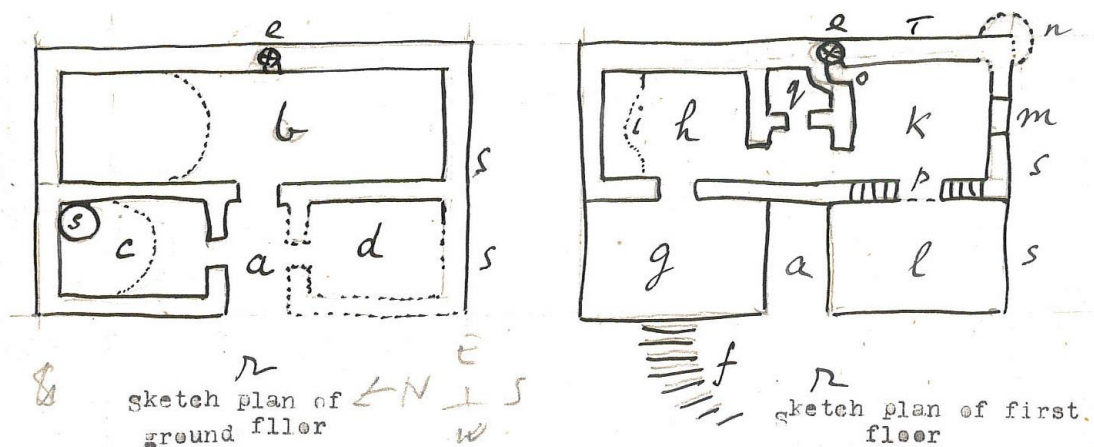
The house stands in the outskirts of the village of Prosnero and still bears the name of Alidakis. It is inhabited by Christians as there are now no Turks at Prosnero. I spent midday there coming down from Askyprou to Vamos.

Good drawing of this house in Pashley.



ALIDHAKI'S TOWER AT PROSNERO.

Pashley II 159



- A. Entrance to ground floor hall, open to sky
- B. Big vaulted hall occupying all back half of ground floor
- C. Vaulted room with oven (S)
- D. Rebuilt wing with red tiled roof in place of *doma* [flat roof]; nothing old here.  
Pashley's view shows this wing as in ruins, perhaps result of siege.
- E. Spiral staircase from ground floor hall to upstairs rooms
- F. Steps leading from court (R) to first floor rooms
- G. Open terrace
- H. Room with hearth (I) with arch over it to catch smoke
- I. Hearth
- K. Open terrace with wall all round it

- L. Red tiled roof of new wing. Originally no doubt a terrace like G and approached by opening in the wall P
  - M. Window in wall surround terrace
  - N. Ruined turret at corner of walled terrace
  - O. Entrance to spiral staircase E
  - P. Entrance to destroyed terrace. On east side the terrace wall rises in steps; those on the right evidently led up to the roof over H and Q; now broken down
  - Q. Inner room. Of the details of how the stair fits into this room I am not sure, but I know that the stair is in the thickness of the wall
  - R. Courtyard
  - S. Public road
  - T. Double loophole
- 

The next gorge to the east is that at the top of which lies Asphendou and at the bottom Vouvas. The day I came to Asphendou all the village was out of doors by the church at the funeral of a girl. As she was carried to the grave the coffin was open to show the face of the dead, an old practice now being suppressed.<sup>4</sup> The church has a flat roof like a house.

Of churches with flat roofs I have seen only three and all in Sphakia. Two are in Askyphou, one at the hamlet of Kare and the other at Amoudari. And this one at Asphendou is the third. I have been into the second and third and took especial note of the Asphendou church. Outside they look just like a house with a flat roof [δώμα] and a dome. Internally they are vaulted and all these three are of the double type, with two barrel-vaulted naves separated by a pillar, so that the vaults spring on the outer side from the side walls and on the inner side from the crowns of two arches which span the spaces between the east and west walls and this central pillar. In such a church the vaults usually show on the outside and form a double-gabled roof. But where the roof is flat, the walls are all carried up to the level of the crowns of the vault and the whole space then levelled up with earth. The plan, owing to the double nave, is not far off a square, with the two apses protruding from the east wall [sketch not reproduced here].

The next pair of villages to the east is Kallikratis in the hills and, at the bottom of the gorge, the winter village of Skaloti.

Of Kallikratis there is a good deal to be said.<sup>5</sup>

### **Sphakia country. Journey from Kallikratis – Asphendou – Askyphou to Vrises. 27 August 1917**

Kallikratis is like a smaller Askyphou. The plain is drained by the gorge leading south, the road in which is new. The lower part of this gorge is V-shaped and the upper part narrow with fine rock scenery but never so narrow as the Askyphou gorge. The plain is mostly vines. The only red roof is that of the new church.<sup>6</sup> Near the church is the opening of the ravine called *O poros tou mandili*, the boundary between the lands of Alidakis and of Papisiphis who lived in Kallikratis.

Patsianos is one of the villages on the coastal plain, but I was told at Kallikratis that somewhere to the south, and so not far from the sea, there are two deserted villages, Old Patsianos and Xiropolis. They seem to have been destroyed by Algerine pirates: an excellent hint to the inhabitants of these parts to have a second village in the hills to flee to when the village by the sea was threatened. The people at Kallikratis, however, believe that they were destroyed by a vampire, a *katakhanas*, who used to come down

at night from the church of St George in the eastern part of Kallikratis.<sup>2</sup> It is also in the eastern part of the Kallikratis plain that the Drakolakkos Dragon Pit] was pointed out to me.

Στην Άμπελο ο Γερλή Αγάς εκάτσε τυροκόμος,  
μα χάλασέν του το τυρί και βρώμισεν ο κόσμος.  
[At Ambelos Yerli Aga stopped to make cheese,  
but his cheese went off and stank the place out.]

I was told at Kallikratis that this Aga in 1866 went from Candia to Sphakia to carry off girls; at Ambelos between Asphendou and Askyphou the Sphakiotes killed him and all but one of his men, and made this rhyme.<sup>7</sup>

Phoradolakkos [Mare Pit] is the place near Kallikratis where the people of Alidakis had a quarrel with the people of Papisiphis of Kallikratis. I don't know where this is, but I think it is distinct from Alidakis' big cistern near Krapí on the way from Askyphou to Prosnero.

## BEEHIVES

In the gorge leading up to Kallikratis, on the western side, is an extraordinary apiary. The gorge is narrow and the rocks on both sides precipitous, but fifty or sixty feet above the floor of the gorge the cliff is broken by a sloping shelf and on this are placed about a hundred beehives of the flower-pot shape\* with holes round the bottom [sketch not reproduced]. Access is gained by a tree-trunk which serves as a ladder. The hives are set on little walls (terraces: δέτες, sg. δέτης). The present owner's father put them there and ate the honey at Kallikratis. I saw hives of the same shape in a big apiary on the road from Bali to Melidoni. It is more common, at least in old Greece,<sup>8</sup> to have longish clay tubes placed horizontally with a disc of wood at each end.

\*[Ms note:] These are common at least [?] central Crete. Later (1918) a man was taking honey and brought down a loose boulder which fell on his mule which was waiting below and killed it. John<sup>9</sup> told me he had heard this.<sup>10</sup>

## BOOTS

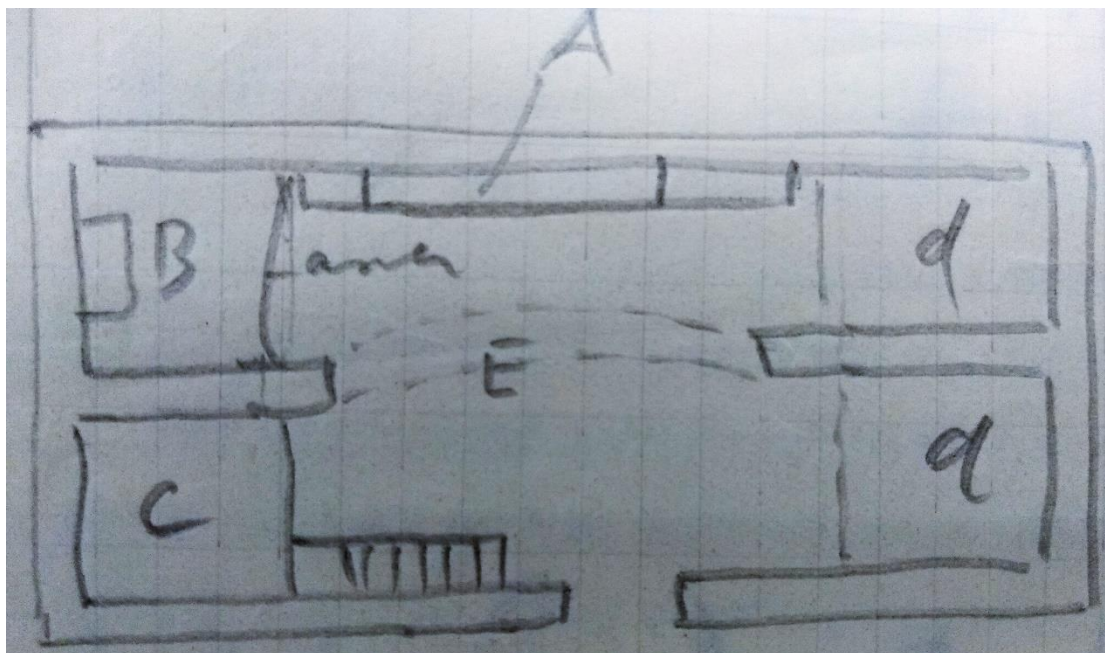
Kallikratis 26 August 1917. At Askyphou 21 July 1917 I said that δόμος (pl. δόμοι) was a wooden sandal with leather straps. This was a misunderstanding: At Kallikratis I learned that it is a pad made of a rolled-up strip of leather. Two of these are affixed to each boot, one on the sole and one on the heel, and they save the sole from wear, but it requires some practice not to trip up. They have all but passed out of use, but one man is said still to wear them at Askyphou.



Later I saw a man wearing them at Kritsa, where they are called δομάρια.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Istoria ton Sphakion* by Greg. Papadopetrakis, p. 24. See Pashley, II, 226, who has the story wrong. P. 28. In describing Kallikratis he says "in the east of the plain is the little church where the *katakhanas* was".

## HOUSES



Plan of *kamaroto spiti* of which I saw several at Kallikratis.<sup>3</sup> Often no windows. Glass never. The recesses are much deeper than in such houses in Siteia and therefore the plan is much more oblong and less square. They are better built altogether than such houses in Siteia, floor earth; the flat roof supported by the trunks of trees called *dhokaria*, not by the imported sawn and planed rafters called *traves*.

Key to sketch:

- A Built bench.
- B Hearth under open chimney. This recess has an arch in front of it to keep the smoke from the rest of the house.
- C Sleeping platform (*sofas*) reached by built staircase.
- D Sleeping platforms reached by wooden ladders.
- E The main arch of the house.

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> In fact the Kallikratis gorge goes to Patsianos.

<sup>2</sup> According to Simon Price et al., "Sphakia in Ottoman census records: a *vakif* and its agricultural production", in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840* (Rethymno 2008), p. 89, Askyprou belonged with Vouvas, Imbros to Vraskas, Asphendou to Kolokasia, and Kallikratis to Patsianos and Kapsodasos.

<sup>3</sup> The story of Alidakis is also told briefly by Pashley II 169.

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<sup>3</sup> Original sketches rather squarer than this.

<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, this is still normal practice in the Greek Orthodox Church.

<sup>5</sup> Yet he says very little!

<sup>6</sup> The double-naved church of the Panagia was built in 1890.

<sup>7</sup> The lengthy song from which this couplet is taken actually refers to a battle fought in July 1821, during the Greek Revolution. According to the song, the Yerli Aga (a title given to the leader of the native-born janissaries) came to Sphakia from Candia with several thousand troops to kill, loot and abduct women. They were routed on the small mountain plateau of Ambelos.

<sup>8</sup> After Greece's territorial gains from the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars (1912-13), it became customary to talk about the New Territories (the northern mainland and various islands, particularly Crete) in order to distinguish them from the "Old Greece" (the southern mainland and many other islands) which had constituted the Kingdom of Greece until then.

<sup>9</sup> I don't know whether Dawkins means John Pendlebury or some local Yannis.

<sup>10</sup> Dawkins provides fuller details of Cretan beehives in ch. 14.

<sup>11</sup> These additions to the soles of Cretan shepherds' boots had already been described by Spratt II 155.



## CHAPTER 7 FROM KHORA [SPHAKION] TO OMALOS

[Itinerary: Glykia Nera – Anopolis – Aradena – Agios Pavlos – Agia Roumeli – Samaria gorge – Omalos]

About two miles west from Hora Sphakion by the sea and a mile east of Loutro is a place of which the story is told by Gregorios Papadopetrakis in his *History of Sphakia* (*Ιστορία των Σφακίων*). This is Glykia [Glyka] Nera, Sweet Waters, and it was here that on Holy Thursday, April 7<sup>th</sup> 1821, the elders of Sphakia met together and resolved to join in the struggle for freedom from the Turk. There is a church of the Holy Cross, *του Τιμίου Σταυρού* there. I have never been to this place where it seems fresh water comes out just by the shore as it does by the Church of St Paul near [Agia] Roumeli. This is a general mark of the formation of these regions, and the fountain from which the Hora is supplied is as close to the sea as possible, just on the western border of the town. There is also by Glykia Nera a place in the sea where fresh water may be drawn up from the sea itself with a bucket. This I saw done when early in 1916 I went round Crete in the *Jonquil*,<sup>1</sup> and the water was nearly quite fresh. Some of our party landed, I think, at Glykia Nera itself.

But the road leading westward from the Hora does not go by the sea: the rocks fall so sheer that it would be impossible. The path at once ascends the hill – it is conspicuous from the sea – and enters a narrow but not deep gorge. The name of this is given in *Χριστιανική Κρήτη*, I, p. 494, as the Dizzy Gorge, for so I suppose we should render the name *Νίλιγγας και Τλιγγας, φάραγξ μεταξύ Χώρας Σφακίων και Ανωπόλεως*.

An hour and three quarters from the Hora the col is reached and presently the little upland plain of Anopolis, planted with corn, olives, figs and many mulberry trees, with several settlements, mostly placed at the edges of the plain like the hamlets all round the plain of Lasithi. Only in the middle of the flat ground lies the place called Kambos, *Κάμπος*, The Plain *par excellence*. Here is the police station where I slept. It and two other houses are the only ones in the place with red tiles. All the rest keep to the old fashion. Here too, close to the station, are the ruins of the house of Daskaloyanni,<sup>2</sup> and at Kambos too I was shown the place on the slopes of the White Mountains where he is said to have been caught by the Turks, though this story does not agree with the general account that he was taken treacherously by the Turks when he went under safe conduct to Candia. Nearby too is the old double church, now whitewashed inside. Outside it are old arched tombs still in use for the temporary burials which are the custom of the Greeks.

On the south edge of the plain is the hamlet called Gyros [south-west of Anopoli]. From here one sees very well the slopes of the White Mountains all dotted with wood and even what seems to be the summits are visible. In Gyros there are two notable buildings. One is the old house called the House of Georgios Zavetis [Zabetis?], which still has a good doubled-arched window with square dripstone and dogtooth ornaments all in the late Venetian style. The other is the eighteenth-century church of St Spyridon. On the lintel of the west door is an inscription cut in good capitals with accents and breathings. A good deal has been broken away from the middle, but the only thing entirely lost is the Christian name of the Vardoulakis who erected the church in July 1760 in honour of “our father among the saints Spyridon the wonderworker”. The surname, of which the consonants of the first two syllables are uncertain: *P* or *B*, and then *P* or *B*, and *A* or *Δ*, may be restored as I have done, because Pashley (II, p.



245) mentions a man of Anopolis called Manusis [Manousos] Vardoulakis. The inscription reads:

Θ Θ Κ Θ Θ Θ Σ  
 αψξ ινδικτιώνος η εν μηνί Ιουλίω  
 ανηγέρθη ο ναός [του εν] αγίοις πατρός ημών  
 Σπυρίδωνος [του θαυματουργού υπό του δού  
 λου του [Θεού ..... Βαρδ]ουλάκη

[1760 in the eighth indiction in the month of July was erected the church of our saintly father Spyridon the miracle-worker by the servant of God [...] Vardoulakis]

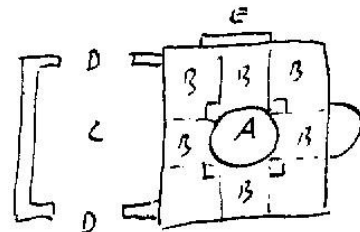
Of the letters in the first line I can make nothing.

On the hill to the south of the Anopolis plain, which separates it from the steep slope down to the sea, lie the remains of walls which mark the site of the ancient city of Anopolis. I went up to this place from Gyros with the policeman. From the top there is a view over the coast lying far below and a birds-eye view of the peninsula of Loutra [Loutro] and its two harbours. In my notes I see that one looks down over Loutra as from a balloon. On the peninsula is the tower of a ruined windmill: it had been broken by the wind and in general the winds are so violent in these regions that there are no windmills in Sphakia. Perhaps, too, the winds are not regular enough for the old-fashioned Cretan windmill that could only set its sails one way and therefore needed regular winds blowing always in the same direction. However this may be, all the milling in Sphakia is done by water power. Hence the very existence of the hamlet of Roumeli [where there is a watermill run by the abundant water which comes down from the gorge]<sup>3</sup> and probably some of the corn goes or went to be ground at the watermills in the gorge by Myrthios [where the next nearest mills are to be found].<sup>4</sup>

On the site of the ancient city of Anopolis is an old Turkish fort, possibly of those that were built after the great insurrection of 1866. By the fort is the church of St Catherine. The Turks tried first to build their fort on the top of the church, but the saint always threw the stones down. A Turk, too, tried to defile the church and all his entrails fell out. After these disasters the Turks left the church alone. It is not old: it is said to have been built by a descendant of Daskaloyanni as a thank offering for his son's recovery from an injury to his head.

West of Anopolis the plain continues like a shelf on the slope of the mountains. Then it is cut by a gorge as it were by a knife. The road goes down into this gorge and at once ascends from it to the village of Aradena, which lies on its western lip.<sup>5</sup> At the very edge of the precipitous side of the gorge is the cruciform narthexed church of St Eleftherios. The church is of the cross-in-square type as appears from the plan:

- A. Dome
- B. B. Barrel vaults
- C. Narthex covered with a barrel vault
- D. Arched openings to narthex
- E. Ruined tomb with arch above



Inside the church there are remains of frescoes, and on the inner face of the capital of the NW pier is an incised inscription which seems to contain the date 1411 [fragmentary inscription not reproduced here].

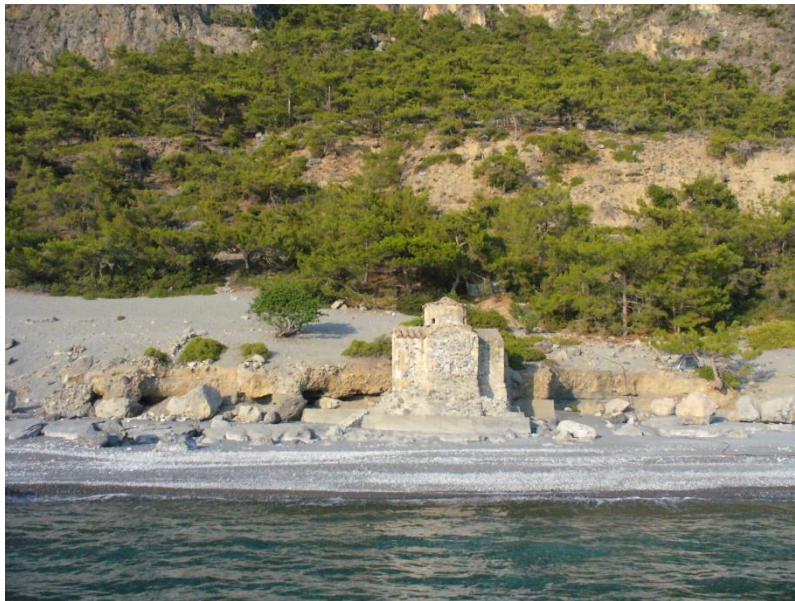
On the outside of the dome earthenware basins have been let in. The east window is double with an oblong shaft between the lights and an oblong tapering capital of the usual kind.

The houses nestle among many trees and all the buildings have a curious ruddy tinge from the red earth used instead of mortar. The place is oddly primitive and as out of the way as any village in Crete, but the really notable and wonderful thing is the view to the east over the gorge.

After leaving Aradena the road continues on a level among the small pine-trees until it descends by zigzags to the coast and where it passes the church of St Paul.

### **Agios Pavlos near Agia Roumeli, 11 June 1918**

From the Aradena plateau the road descends to the sea by very steep zigzags. Of this slope called *η Σελλούδα* the road has in great part been recently paved and is very steep indeed.<sup>6</sup> The descent begins sharp from the plain like coming over an edge. Shortly after the path reaches the sea there are behind sheer cliffs and below them screes, both with pine trees. The path lies along the screes near the sea.



The chapel of Agios Pavlos (10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century)

Three quarters of an hour east of Agia Roumeli on a little built platform placed just where the beach gives way to the rocks is the little cruciform domed church of St Paul, details much weatherbeaten and the frescoes inside all but entirely disappeared. The action of the salt on the masonry makes it look as if freshly pointed, the mortar looks so white. Inside there is a string course round the spring of the roof and the proportions are good. The church has very much of that casket-like look of small Byzantine work and in its lonely situation looks like a little treasure dropped there. This very civilised, refined look adds to the look of desolation, like a jewel dropped and lost in a wilderness.<sup>1</sup>

Below the church, just at the edge of the waves, fresh water runs out among the sand and shingle for several yards, and by scraping a hole one gets a very cold and quite fresh draught within a foot of the point reached by the waves. This is really very

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<sup>1</sup> [Ms note by Pendlebury] And out at sea. Trevor Battye p. 86 & p. 217.

striking.<sup>2</sup> Nearer to Agia Roumeli water comes out in the same way but too close to the waves for it to be possible to get it. Every time one makes a hole to collect it a wave comes up and floods the place.

### Agia Roumeli, 11 June 1918

The small knot of houses and the police station where I stopped are all to the west of the river. In this little delta is the mill, a café, a very few houses, and the water rushing through great thickets of oleander all in flower down to the edge of the beach. Just above the houses is the old church of the Panagia, and by it about 150 wicker beehives. There are hereabouts too the remains of the ancient city. The view westwards is closed at once by the mountains coming down to the sea. To the east one sees as far as Selouda, the slope down which the road from Aradena zigzags to the sea level. A fairish amount of wood. The scenery here at the mouth of the gorge is very bold with a great crag to the east, and the way in which the view is cut off on both sides makes the place seem very much out of the world, as indeed it is. Just above the hamlet by the sea is another hamlet equally called Agia Roumeli with houses amongst trees but no room for fields at all. Just below it is the church of Agia Triada by the roadside. It has this inscription on the lintel over the west door [fragmentary inscription containing queried date “?1765” not reproduced here].

The same evening I reached Omalos and have no notes of the journey. The [Samaria] gorge narrows at once after leaving the sea. The most wonderful point is the Portes, where the river flows some 15 yards wide between vertical walls of rock and one must wade. A little above this is the point where it rises from the ground. Then, in a deep hole just at the end of the gorge, is Samaria tucked away amongst its mulberry trees, and then begins the wooded ascent to the Xyloskala,<sup>7</sup> passing the church of St Nicholas under its great cedars with wild peonies, and then the steep,



Church of St Nicholas in the Samaria gorge

though much exaggerated for difficulty, ascent until one suddenly comes to the lip and finds oneself in the grassy plain of Omalos. Just at the top, one place in the *skala* is a little giddy, but what gives it its character is the great amphitheatre all round, and on the left a high, absolutely bare mountain of rock seen across the gulf, up the side of which the path goes. Then, when one gets over the lip, the scenery suddenly changes from the

<sup>2</sup> Pol[itis], Παρ[αδόσεις] no. 197: tradition that St Paul was baptized in the water and that it is therefore fresh now and not salt. See Pashley II, p. 259. But Pashley says nothing of the [?]; cf. also Löher, Kretische Gestade, 1877 p. [?286].

austerity of the deep slope and the top of the forest to the grassy flats. The view from the edge of Omalos looking back is wonderful. At the lip one sees the valley of the *skala*, but a few yards in this is quite hidden and one sees the grassy field suddenly end and there, beyond the great gulf, rises the big bare rock.

The scenery here is on a larger scale than anywhere else and none of the other gorges in west Crete can compare with it. Samaria is thus for some part of the year quite cut off. The path down from Omalos is closed by the snow and the gorge below from Agia Roumeli is impassable because the water is too deep at the Portes.

Omalos is some size and is like a more fertile Nida, but with much lower mountains around. The hamlet is at the north end near where the path goes to Lakkos [Λακκοί]. I left the plain on the west side and went to Kantanos. I slept in a hut used for cheesemaking which was temporarily taken for a police station. There is on a knoll a big two-storey house belonging to a rich man lately dead who has an enclosed garden by the station. Though two-storey and conspicuous on its knoll, it is not offensive as it is so very bare and suits the place.<sup>8</sup>



The house of Hadzi-Michalis Yannaris at Omalos

### **Peonies near Agia Roumeli**

The great cedars by the chapel have evidently been spared when their fellows were mercilessly destroyed. The wild peonies, when I passed by, were in seed so I do not know their colour. But I have seen the white variety in flower in the woods on the slopes of Lasithi above Kritsa, and in 1903 I saw the plant in the same region, between Kalamafka and Kalohorio. It would probably be a commoner flower in Crete if more of the woods in which it prefers to grow had been left: it requires shade and some moisture.

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### **Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> I don't know whether this was the sloop HMS Jonquil, or (more likely) a much smaller boat.

<sup>2</sup> Daskaloyannis (1725-71) is considered to be one of the great Cretan heroes. His real name was Ioannis Vlachos, and he was a shipbuilder and shipowner in Sphakia. He was the leader of one of the many insurrections that broke out in Greece at the instigation

of Catherine the Great during the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74. In the spring of 1770 Daskaloyannis and his men killed the Ottoman tax collector and a number of Cretan Muslims. They continued their guerrilla operations till Daskaloyannis and a number of his men were captured. He was flayed alive in June 1771. Hania airport is now named “I. Daskaloyannis Airport”.

<sup>3</sup> The village of Agia Roumeli was within the gorge (now abandoned). The present-day settlement of Agia Roumeli on the coast dates from the era of tourism.

<sup>4</sup> Bracketed material from separate slip “Mills (Αγία Ρουμέλη)”. According to Simon Price et al., “Sphakia in Ottoman census records: a *vakif* and its agricultural production”, in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 17645-1840* (Rethymno 2008), p. 96, the Samaria gorge is the only place in Sphakia where water mills have operated in living memory. Dawkins makes no mention of the special privileges that the villages of Sphakia enjoyed under the Ottomans, where they formed a *vakif* [religious foundation], the income from whose taxes was supposed to go to support the poor of Mecca and Medina (*op. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> The zig-zag *kalderimi* (stone-built path) running across the Aradena gorge is one of the most spectacular paths in Crete, if not in Greece. A road bridge was built over the gorge for the first time in 1987. In this way Agios Ioannis, which had been the last village in Crete to be unreachable by car, was at last joined to the road network (Oliver Rackham and Jennifer Moody, *The making of the Cretan landscape* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 158).

<sup>6</sup> We climbed the Selouda from the chapel Agios Pavlos to the village of Agios Ioannis in 1992. It was indeed very steep, and the going was made more difficult because the paving stones had slid away or had become covered by scree in various places. When he says the “road” has been “paved” Dawkins means that the paving stones of the path had recently been re-laid; what we today would call a road Dawkins calls a “carriage road”. We also drank fresh water by scooping it from under the sand as the waves retreated, as Dawkins describes below.

<sup>7</sup> By Samaria Dawkins means the village of that name (the only settlement in the gorge), which was abandoned by its inhabitants after the gorge was declared a national park in December 1962. Llewellyn Smith (1965: 135) describes Samaria, as “the remotest village in Crete”. The point at which one enters the gorge at the north end is called Xyloskala (literally wooden staircase/ladder) because the local people had built a kind of rough wooden stairway to help themselves get in and out of the gorge. This has since been replaced with a stone path with a balustrade.

<sup>8</sup> This was the house of the rebel leader Hadzi-Michalis Yannaris (1833-1916). There’s a bust of him in the garden of the house.

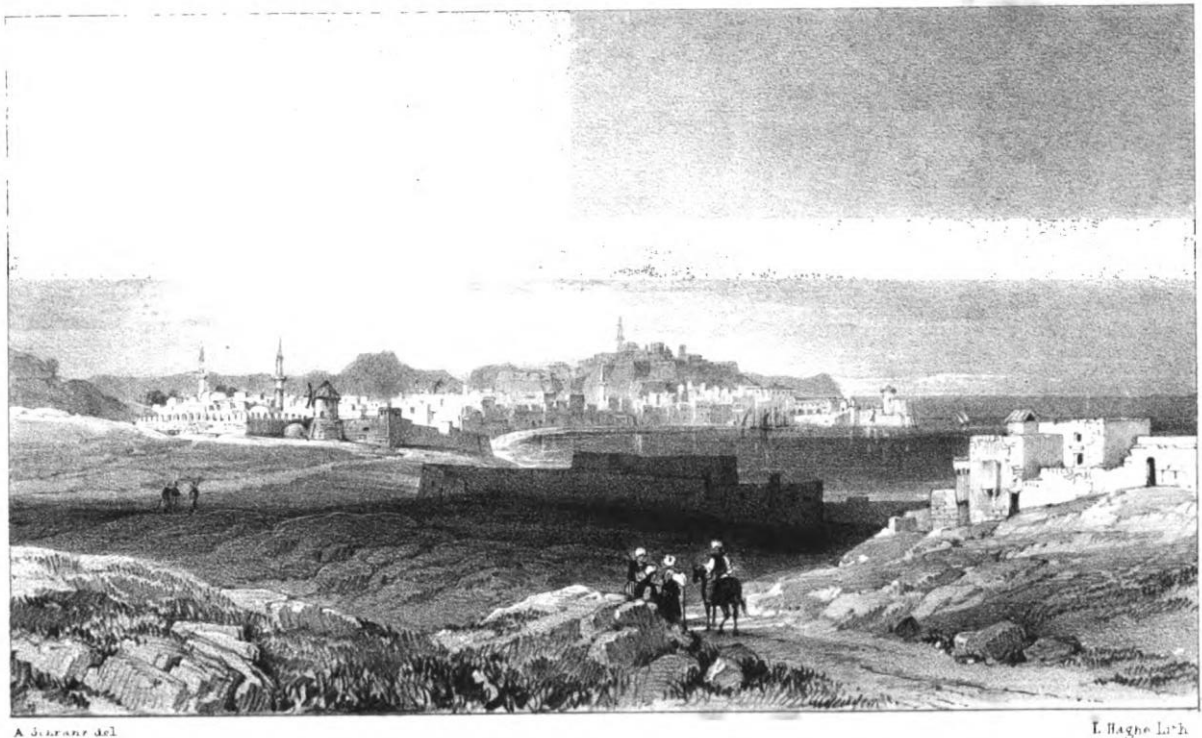
## CHAPTER 8

### SUDA BAY TO RETIMO; THE MONASTERY OF ROUSTIKA

The carriage road runs along the southern slopes above Suda Bay [i.e. on the south side of the bay] with a view across the water to Akrotiri and, at the mouth of the harbour, the fortified island of Suda. At the mouth of the bay it passes the fort of Izzeddin, now used as a prison, and then descends to the village of Kalyves, The Huts, by the sea. Somewhere at this point the road stopped for many years, but by the time of the war it had been continued as far as Retimo, which tended to put out of use the old mule road to Retimo which went along by the sea. From Kalyves the road goes on to Vamos, which has become for all traffic the centre of the province of Apokoronas. To it descends the track that leads over the mountains from Sphakia. From Vamos the road continues to the place marked on Kiepert's map as Halmyros, where salt springs rise near the sea much as they do at the other places of the same name in Crete. There is one near Candia and another near Agios Nikolaos. At this Halmyros, called more commonly Armyro [now officially Almyros], the salt springs are about half a mile east of the new village of Yoryoupolis, close to the old path to Retimo just after it leaves the new carriage road.

Yoryoupolis, *Γεωργιούπολις*, is quite a new place and is named after Prince George, during whose term in Crete [as High Commissioner] it was founded. The houses are on a knoll and grouped round a rustic square. To the west a river flows out to the sea. An abundance of eucalyptus trees have been planted to dry the air and help to keep away fever. The people are, I believe, for the most part from Askyphou. The object of the foundation was, I suppose, to provide a convenient port for the villages of Sphakia and to save the people the necessity of taking their goods either to Canea or to Retimo. Hora Sphakion itself, being on the inhospitable south coast, is not of much use as a port.

The carriage road to Retimo goes on eastwards, passing always a little inland through a series of villages, the last of which are Atsipopoulo and Prines. The road winds down over the bare slopes around Atsipopoulo over country well wooded with the *velanidi* oak. Before reaching Retimo it coincides with the old mule-path by the sea and enters Retimo in the same way. This old path from Yoryoupolis first passes along the beach and then all along the rocky coast as far as Retimo. This seaboard route is extremely rough and toilsome and is called by the very fitting name of the *Kakon Oros*, the Bad Mountain.<sup>1</sup> I have passed it several times, once in heavy rain and once by night [*added from another sheet*: I did this beach once in the night with the post from Retimo to Vamos, which was the least pleasant]. As it approaches Retimo it leaves the coast and goes a little inland, joining the new carriage road. All through it is paved with the roughest and most irregular *kalderimi*.



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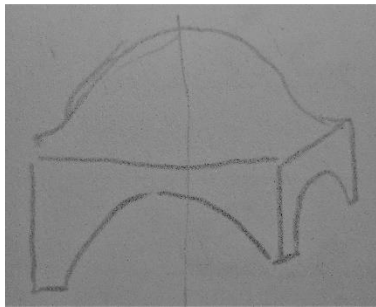
L. Haghe Lith.

R E T H Y M N O S

© Murray &amp; Pomeroy 1878

Rethymno from the east (Pashley I 100)

The approach to Retimo is fine and was not long ago very much finer. The castle, on the eastern side of which the town lies, stands up very impressively; on the very top is a domed mosque, but the loss to the effect by the destruction of the minaret has been very marked. Just before the town was reached there is a spring and this was covered by a very beautiful Turkish dome resting on four open arches; these dome roofings, whether open like this one or closed as over a tomb, are called by their Turkish name of *koubé* [*kubbe*]. This particular *koubé* no longer exists. During the war it was already in bad repair and in 1918 I noticed that it had either fallen down or been destroyed. It is a thousand pities that this and so many other beautiful buildings have disappeared owing, of course, to the very natural revulsion of the Greeks to anything which could remind them of the Turks. Patriotism is much stronger than aesthetic feeling, and it has been of no avail that these Turkish structures had a quality of elegance and quietly natural beauty that placed them in quite another world than anything constructed by the Christians in Crete one may say since antiquity.



If now we leave aside both the new and old roads from Yoryoupolis to Retimo and make a detour inland, we shall pass through some of the most beautiful scenery in Crete and also be able to visit the monastery of Roustika. My own route to Roustika was by way of Dramia and Episkopi and Ariropolis [Argyroupoli], and I thus passed very close to the Lake of Kurnas, the only lake in Crete. I did not myself visit it, but it has been excellently described by Mr Trevor-Battye.



**Aryiropolis** is in a fine situation on a kind of spur of the hills, on what the Cretans call a *mouri*, *μουρί*. In the village are two Venetian churches, Agios Nikolaos and Panagia Baroutsis [Μπαροτσιανή], named from the [Barozzi] family. The latter is a fine church with columns close to the walls inside, though the effect has been rather spoiled by whitewash. It has a chancel-arch decorated with trefoil-shaped holes; this is figured by Gerola.<sup>2</sup> In the village over a door on a lintel is a part of a Latin inscription: OMNIA·MVNDI·FVMVSET·V. At each end of this lettering is the capital of a column and on the right there is a piece of a further lintel block which evidently once had, as the villagers say it had, more letters – of course, the rest of VMBRA.<sup>3</sup> This was noted too by Pashley [I 84]. Near the village are, as far as I remember, for my notes are not clear on the point, the remains of a sort of laid out pleasure for walking in. Like this inscribed lintel, it must have belonged to a good Venetian house. Another trace of the Venetians is at Agios Constantinos, a village nearby. Here there are the ruins of a fine house of the Venetian period. Over the door is a coat of arms, a good deal worn and of the bearings I could only make out a horizontal band.

Xanthoudidis told me that Aryiropolis was until recent years called The City, *η Πόλις*, but as the neighbours used to laugh at this name, I suppose because the village



was not much like Constantinople, which is to the Greeks *η Πόλις* – the City par excellence – and insisted upon calling it *Γαϊδουρόπολις*, Donkey Town, or *Σαμαρόπολις*, Saddle Town, the people changed its name to Ariyropolis, *Αργυρόπολις*, the Silver City. Khourmouzis, writing in 1842, calls it *Γαϊδουρόπολις*, Donkey Town, but adds a note to say that it is also called the Silver City. Spratt in [1858] (II, p. 119) says that Lappa – this is the ancient name of the places, the ruins of the ancient Lappa being quite nearby – was in his time called *η Πόλις*, the City, and mockingly Donkey Town. The reason for this, he says, was that the people behaved in a cowardly manner in the struggles with the Turks that preceded the battle of Navarino.

Such changes of names are not very uncommon in Crete and the spirit which leads to them, mockery and the desire to escape mockery, has led to the disuse of several old names of both interest and beauty. The substitutes are invariably dull and, like most modern municipal inventions, without either charm or interest, but for the inhabitants they have the immense advantage of being so exactly like other names as to offer no handle of any sort for derision. Here are some other examples from Crete. There was, on the coast of the Gulf of Mirabello, a city called in ancient times Istron, and this name, in its modern form Istronas, survived as the name of the present village near the old site at least until Pashley made his map of Crete in 1837.<sup>1</sup> Since then it has totally disappeared. Again, it was Xanthoudidis who told me the reason. The name Istronas reminded the people and, what was worse, their satirical neighbours, of the phrase *strono to moulari*, *σρώνω το μουλάρι*, “I set a saddle on the mule”. The old name therefore began to seem comic and derogatory and the people therefore simply gave it up and now call the place by the quite colourless name of Kalo Horio, the Good Village; and so it is likely to remain, at least until the next local movement towards fishing out and refurbishing ancient and obsolete names. So too even more recently the village in East Crete which was called, when I was first there in 1903, Stravodoxari, the Crooked Bow, has changed its old name for the banal Stavrochori, the Village of the Cross.<sup>4</sup>

The neighbouring village, now called Agios Stephanos, was then called Ghra. This name was given up probably because it seemed comic that a village should have the name of a kind of gun, or perhaps it was too near to *γραιά*, which means an old woman and in East Crete is pronounced *γρά*, *ghra*, exactly like the name of the village. Here again the general modern mania for banishing any of the local oddities or peculiarities which give an interest to life has played its usual melancholy part.<sup>2</sup>

### Roustika<sup>5</sup>

The monastery of St Elias, commonly called Roustika, lies about five minutes' walk from the village of the same name. The buildings lie on three sides of a square court; the north side is closed by a rail and in the middle of it is the gate of the monastery with an inscription over it dating to 1641. The church is close against the south side of the court and near it is the abbot's room. This is a pleasant little old-fashioned place, very far from the modern ideal of high rooms and ostentation. On the right as one enters the monks were, when I was there, building a high two-storey guest-house, but it was not then finished. Its height makes it very much out of keeping with the old low buildings. As is usually the case, the new guest-house, whilst it adds to the comfort, detracts immeasurably from the beauty of the place. Here at Roustika, though most of the roofs

<sup>1</sup> Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Here I draw upon a paper called ‘Folk-Memory in Crete’, published in *Folk-Lore*, XLI (1930); the special reference is to p. 17. For instances of these changes in place-names in other parts of Greece I refer to an article by Politis in *Λαογραφία*.

are now of the new French tiles, the general effect is extremely pretty. I know of no monastery in Crete which has the same quiet compelling charm. The court slopes slightly to the north, and the ground is just the bare rock, in the cracks of which trees have managed to find a living; they are not large but apparently flourishing. I noticed lemons, a walnut, vines on trellises and especially a beautiful myrtle. This grows up with three quite clean stems and a spreading head like an olive tree. When I saw it in November it was heavy with berries. This and an old tree growing in a similar way with a trunk in front of the club at Nicosia are the two finest myrtles I have ever seen.

The inscriptions on the buildings support Xanthoudidis' opinion that the monastery, like many others in Crete, was built at the end of the Venetian period. The oldest inscription is on the belfry. It runs: '1637, July 20<sup>th</sup>. With the prayers and at the expense of the servant of God, the priest and monk Metrophanes Vlastos, abbot'.<sup>6</sup>

Next after the belfry, and no doubt the church, the monks built the gate. The inscription over it, which I have already mentioned, runs [not reproduced here].<sup>7</sup>

The formula is the same as the first inscription: '1641, July 1<sup>st</sup>. With the prayers and at the expense of the servant of God, the priest and monk Metrophanes Vlastos, who was also abbot, formerly called Markomanopoulos'. Thus we have recorded the activities of the abbot Metrophanes, surnamed Vlastos and descended from a man called Marco-Manoli.

The last of these building inscriptions is in capital letters on the north wall of the church. It runs [not reproduced here].<sup>8</sup>

That is: '1831, in the month of .... This church except the belfry was built from the foundations at his (? whose) expense and with the co-operation and contributions of certain Christians'. The name of the month was left a blank because when the inscription was cut the exact month was not known, and afterwards it was never filled up. This building in 1831 involves some previous destruction, and Xanthoudidis is probably right in his conjecture that this was in 1821 or about then.<sup>9</sup> Nothing else has been built since then except, I think, the new guest-house.

But we have another inscription dated to 1596 which mentions the family of the abbot Metrophanes who built the belfry and the gate. A few yards north-west of the monastery is the now ruined church of St John the Evangelist, called the Fragrant [Αγ. Ιωάννου του Μυρωδῆ]. In this church Xanthoudidis saw and read, but only by means of a glass and with great difficulty, an inscription in capital letters. A few years ago the church fell into ruins and the monks brought the inscription to the monastery and put it under the arch of an altar-tomb in the south-west corner of the court. It was broken across by its fall and the last line damaged, so that where Xanthoudidis read *Μανολη*, only an *η* is now left. As I copied it in so much better circumstances, it is not strange that I can give a more correct copy than he was able to. It runs [Greek text not reproduced here]:<sup>10</sup>

And in English: 'This church was built in the name of the holy (and) glorious apostle and evangelist, the friend and virgin, John the Divine, in the year 1596 on the eighth of the month of October, at the expense and by the zeal of the lady Viola Vlastopoula, one time (wife) of Master Constantine, and of Master Gerasimos Petropoulos, one time Marko-Manoli'.<sup>11</sup> In this inscription the occurrence of the names Vlastopoula and Marco-Manoli make it plain that the persons are some relation to the abbot Metrophanes, who surname was Vlastos and he was kin to the Marko-Manolis.

In the abbot's room are some old books, but they say that in 1866 two monks took away their treasures for safety and the Turks seized the caïque. But the books they now have are in a lamentable condition mostly with the frontispieces gone. In particular I noted an apparently old Psalter in Turkish in Greek characters; two copies of the

*akolouthia* [liturgy] of John the Eremite [see ch. 4]; Lausiac history; a fine set of *Minologia* [books containing the lives of the saints celebrated in a particular month] printed at Venice; a gospel book presented by the Russians during the occupation [1898 onwards]. Many of the books contain the formula, which I neglected to take down in the Greek, ‘This book belongs to the Moni of Agios Elias Roustika and whosoever alienates it may he fall under the curse of Agios Elias’. In one book there is the addition ‘until he return it’.

### **Roustika: the bells**

Pashley, Vol. I, p. 97 [99], tells us that in the courtyard were suspended three bronze bells of Venetian make, bearing the founders’ names and the dates 1634 and 1636. Of these two are still there. The larger one hangs in the belfry. It bears four reliefs of the usual kind – Gerola shows examples – and the inscription, which I give from Xanthoudidis’ copy: DOMENICO MACHARINI FECE MDCXXXVI.<sup>12</sup>

The small bell hangs outside the church below the belfry. It has the date MCLXV [MDLXV] and in a square cartel the inscription SANTINUS / DE. REGIS / MEDIOLANN / SI.F. OPVS. Above the inscription is a relief of the virgin, on the other side of the bell a relief of St George.<sup>13</sup>

As for Pashley’s third bell, on the margin of the copy of Xanthoudidis’ paper in the monastery library someone has written in Greek: ‘There is also another small bell in the little church of Kera with an inscription in relief in a square cartel: DOMENICO / MACHARINI / F. MDCXXIII (1624)’. I know nothing of the church of Kera, but it would seem to be near the monastery and, though the date is 1624 and not 1634, this may well be Pashley’s third bell.<sup>14</sup>

Of such Venetian bells in Crete Gerola gives a list of no less than [48],<sup>15</sup> to which I can add the bell at the monastery of Agios Pandeimon near Phodele. Dr Xanthoudidis has told me that Venetian bells are sometimes dug up in Crete. They were brought to the island in the Venetian period. Then, when the Turks came, the people buried them to keep them safe as the Turks have a great dislike of bells: they think, it seems, that in every bell there dwells a demon who speaks with the soul and that the sound of the bell is his voice. This hatred of the Turks for bells partly accounts for the use in Greek monasteries of *semantra* instead of bells, though there is also the fact that the *semantron* is cheaper and more suited to everyday use because it does not carry with it the idea of festivity which is almost inseparable from the bell. At least since Turkish times *semantra* have been in common use in Cretan monasteries. The common form I have noticed is a half hoop-shaped iron bar suspended by a cord passed through two holes in it. Struck, it produces a loud harsh clangour. The wooden *semantron*, a long plank generally split at the ends and suspended by the middle, of which Curzon in his *Monasteries of the Levant* gives a drawing, is certainly not usual in Crete: it seems to belong to Athos and monasteries further east, where again I have never seen the Cretan iron hoop *semantron*. At Toplou they have several of the iron hoops, and one iron slab used for the purpose. The bells there are all new and were put up when Cyril was abbot, that is around and about 1910. They all bear his name. Not only bells were hidden from the Turks. Eikons, too, were sometimes buried and therefore sometimes found. These real discoveries give a basis to all sorts of miraculous finds of the sort. A dream of such a hidden bell led to the British School excavation of a Minoan house at Plati in Lasithi in 1914. A woman dreamed that a bell was hidden underground. The peasants dug in the place indicated and found Minoan walls. These were reported to the authorities and we obtained a permit to excavate the place.

### Roustika to Retimo

From Roustika to Retimo is three hours. The first two hours we follow the old *kalderimi* paved road, and then join the new carriage road to Retimo. All this first part of the journey is through a deep luxuriant valley with a view behind towards the White Mountains and below a view over the sea. This is I think the most beautiful part of Crete. It has not any of the wild grandeur of Sphakia, but for charm and the contrast between fertility and snowy mountains and sea it is only rivalled, and on a much smaller scale, by Zakro.

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#### Peter Mackridge's notes:

<sup>1</sup> The Kakon Oros is marked on the Kiepert map on the Rethymno side of Petres; the path, and indeed the old road that succeeded it, seem to have run closer to the sea coastline than the modern road. There is also a Kako Oros east of Herakleion, mentioned, e.g., by Pashley I 265.

<sup>2</sup> Gerola II Tavola 6 ("S Maria dei Barozzi").

<sup>3</sup> "Everything in the world is smoke and shadow". Gerola IV 370 reproduces the whole inscription; at that time, he notes with an exclamation mark, the piece of stone with the letters MBRA projected to the right of the right-hand arch.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins includes a similar reference to the names Argyroupoli and Istron(as), among others, in his article "The place-names of later Greece", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 32.1 (1933), p. 11-12. The stories of Istronas and Stravodoxari are retold in his "Folk-memory in Crete", p. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> Psilakis II 147ff. calls it Μονή Προφήτη Ηλία Ρουστίκων.

<sup>6</sup> Greek text in Xanthoudidis 153, Gerola IV 476 and Psilakis II 154.

<sup>7</sup> Greek text in Xanthoudidis (and photo 12), Gerola IV 476 and Psilakis II 154. Dawkins, like Xanthoudidis, reads the date as 1641, while Gerola reads it as 1644.

<sup>8</sup> Greek text in Psilakis II 156 (photo) & 169 (transcription).

<sup>9</sup> Pashley I 98 was told by abbot that the monastery was destroyed by Muslims in the Revolution.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Xanthoudidis 154, Gerola IV 475 and Psilakis II 174. Gerola's transcription corrects the name of the foundress that Xanthoudidis had misread. Dawkins' reading, which dates from well before the publication of Gerola's volume, is identical to that of the Venetian scholar.

<sup>11</sup> I think a more accurate rendering of the last part of the inscription would be "the lady Viola Vlastopoula, (?wife) of the late Master Constantine, and of Master Gerasimos Petropoulos, son of the late Marko-Manoli".

<sup>12</sup> Xanthoudidis 154

<sup>13</sup> Curiously, Dawkins makes the same mistake as Xanthoudidis, who prints the date as MCLXV, i.e. 1165 (!); this was clearly a misprint, since X adds "(1565)". This was the only bell we looked at carefully; I read the date as MDLXV.

<sup>14</sup> Xanthoudidis, like Dawkins, only saw two bells. The "church of the Kera" is presumably the church at Livadi in the village of Roustika, which is dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin.

<sup>15</sup> Gerola II 370-375.

## CHAPTER 9

### RETIMO – PROVINCE OF AGHIOS VASILIS<sup>1</sup>

Of Retimo I do not find much to say.<sup>2</sup> It has lost much since Tozer was there in [1874]. He tells us (p. 46): “Turkish town [...], lined with bazaars, and wooden houses with projecting roofs and balconies.” I have been told of these balconies which were a feature of the place. They belonged to the Turkish houses and behind their screened windows the Turkish women could look out on the street. The town during the occupation was in the hands of the Russians, and it was at this time that the balconies were removed.<sup>3</sup> The pretext was public health; there can be little doubt that the real reason was to pay off old scores and annoy the Turks. Public health, too, is as a rule invoked for the removal of Turkish street fountains, previously, it is true, allowed to become choked up and, to prevent the cleanly Turk from using them, converted into receptacles for rubbish. The town walls disappeared at about the same time. Of mosques I note two: the Anghebet mosque near the police station, converted in 1917 into a church of the Panagia,<sup>4</sup> and the Khatzi Ibrahim mosque at the corner of the two main streets and so near the little harbour.<sup>5</sup> This has a very Venetian exterior with rusticated blocks. Both of them were Venetian churches, the details of which are to be found in Gerola.



IMG\_5394 Our Lady of the Angels, 13/4/2013  
(see endnote iv)



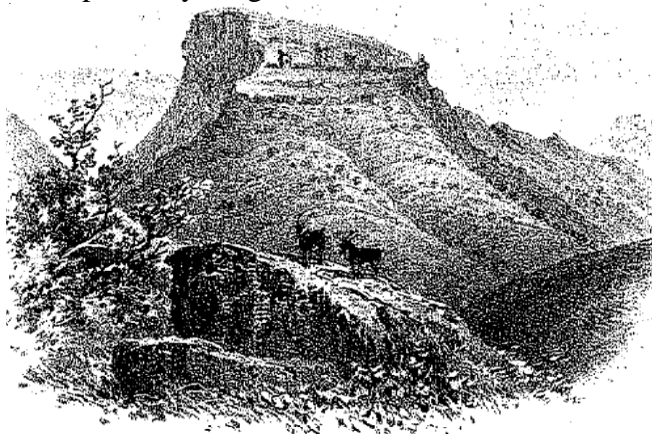
The former Venetian loggia (see endnote v)

On the other side the new built up sea-front is an undoubted improvement and it will be hard to deprive the tiny harbour of all its charm. The view of Ida is delightful; from here it shows itself as a snowy wedge, more striking than the long ridge which it appears when seen from Candia.

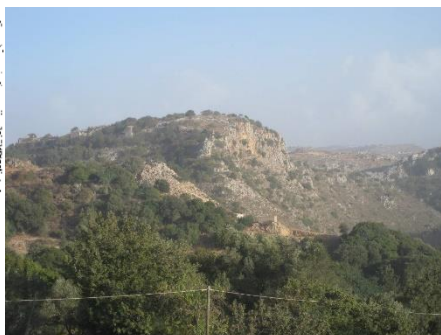
Icon-maker's workshop.

### Retimo to Myrthios

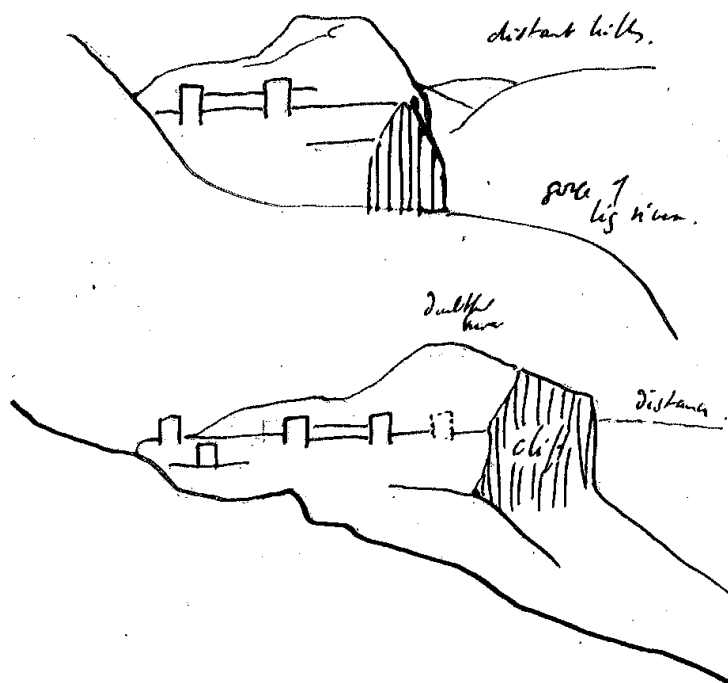
The road from Retimo due south to the province of Agios Vasilis ascends the hills and comes to the village of Armenoi, which lies in a beautiful basin thickly overgrown with *velanidi* oak trees. Thence the usual road goes on south through Photeinou, a ruined Turkish village in a pretty glen.<sup>6</sup> But we turned west just before reaching Armenoi and rode through its [huge deciduous] oak wood to Kástellos and thence (1½ hours) to Monopari village, which having been formerly Turkish is now almost all in ruins. From it we had a good view to the south of the castle of Monopari,<sup>7</sup> which it would have taken too long to visit, the ground being very rough. From the village we descended and crossed the river by a stone bridge, this being the river which enters the sea east of Georgiupolis [actually Petres, I think]. Thence by Kato and Epano Malakia [Malaki] and so over the *khalepa*, leaving Oi Koumoi on the left, down to Ais Yannis. Before the village the path gives views to the east over the valley of Koxare and passes through wood [sic] of oaks and female cypresses. Thence to Myrthios through the gorge called Tou Kotsiphou to pharangi. Fine views all the way but bad road. Country round Monopari very rough and beautiful.



Monopari Kastelli (Spratt II 115)



IMG\_2678 Ruins of Monopari castle from road just below Monopari hamlet (14 Oct. 2010)



Monopari is a crag precipitous on the west side and with the sloping north end fortified with towers; see sketches:

- a) From the road near Monopari village: distance 1 to 2 miles. Only the middle wall is quite certainly a wall.
- b) From below the village of Monopari. Distance rather less. Only one wall is quite certain.

Just below the village [of Photeinou] as one approaches it from Retimo is a wayside shrine with a printed *eikon* representing an angel with a flaming sword in his right hand and a pair of scales in his left, standing upon a dead body. There is no lettering, but it represents no doubt St Michael as the angel who takes the souls to judgement: St Michael in his role of *Psykhopompos*, the conductor of the dead.

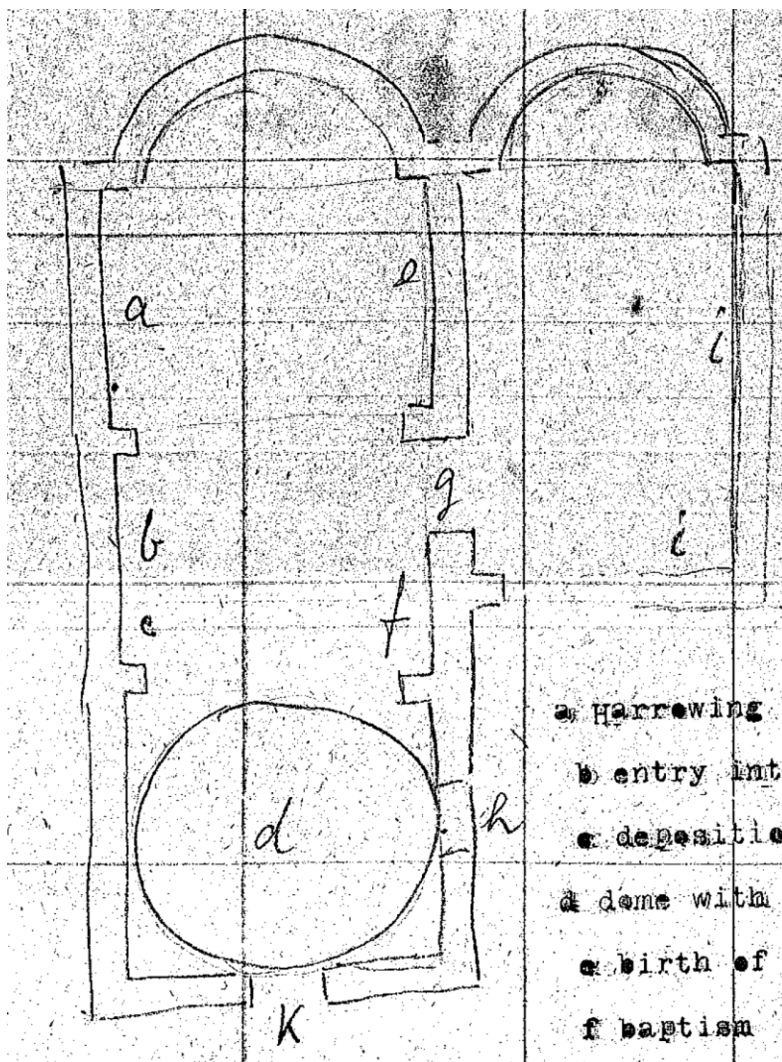
The road then crosses the watershed of the island with a fine group of female cypresses, and then passes through mountainous country with views down upon the valley of Agios Vasilis and the village of Koxare. The view to the south is indeed fine. On the left is Ida, then the mountains of Kentron [Kentros] and Vouvala,<sup>8</sup> then the two gorges which lead down to Preveli, and then on the right the gorge through which the path goes down to Myrthios. Going further south we can go to Agios Yannis and then down the gorge to Myrthios. This gorge is called the Gorge of the Blackbird, *tou kotsyphou to pharangi* – *kotsyphos* is the ancient *kossyphos* – and whilst impressive enough is not so fine as the Preveli gorge further east [*scarcely legible handwritten note*: which has more character [?]]. If we go through this we make for the little village of Phrati which stands at the top of the two Preveli gorges on the narrow sharp ridge which separates them. The eastern gorge has no path through it; the western is the Kourtaliotiko Pharangi and leads us straight down on the right bank of the Megapotamos to the upper monastery of Preveli [Kato Preveli, I think].<sup>9</sup>

Also, instead of going down the Kourtaliotiko Pharangi we can, after getting into the Agios Vasilis valley, turn east to Spili, a big village facing west under a conspicuous cliff. To the north of this cliff the path to the east winds up the hill, crosses the watershed between Spili and Mount Kedros and descends to the Amari valley and the Monastery of Asomaton by way of the village of Yerakari.

Yerakari as a name is the genitive of Gerakaris and means the Village of the Hawker, a reminder that in Venetian Crete this was a favourite sport. It is now quite forgotten. A trace of it, however, survives in the name given to the little bells attached to the bow of the little Cretan fiddles played at village dances, the *lyra*. These bells, shaped just like those worn by English children when they play at horses, are called *yerakokoudouna*, hawk bells, as similar bells used to be attached to the hawks' jesses. There is also a now much ruined fresco in the church at Galia reproduced by Gerola which shows a man with a hawk on his wrist.<sup>10</sup>

### **Yerakari village. 8 April 1918<sup>11</sup>**

In the village of Yerakari is the old church of the Venetian period of St George with a patch or two of frescoes still left.<sup>12</sup>



On the left of the road as one comes down the Yerakari valley to Amari is the much finer church of St John. [8 April 1918:] Much ruined double church on left of road as one comes down the Yerakari valley to Amari. The south church has no roof. The frescoes in the north church are much above the usual standard. Quite ruined, no door, not used any more for service, too ruinous. Dome on pendentives. Drum very rustic with blind arches on its outside and three slit windows.

IMG 0342 (21/4/09) St John below Gerakari, now re-roofed and somewhat restored





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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> The former province of Agios Vasilis is now known as the Municipality of Agios Vasileios.

<sup>2</sup> Tsougarakis 1988: 330-1 writes that Rethymno is completely unknown to Byzantine sources, but that the persistence of the name since ancient times suggests continuous occupation, though there is no archaeological evidence to prove it. It is difficult to justify Dawkins' neglect of Rethymno, which is one of the most attractive towns in Greece, containing whole streets that have remained almost unchanged since Venetian times.

<sup>3</sup> Some covered balconies are still there today – unless they have been restored.

<sup>4</sup> In an earlier version Dawkins writes, after Anghebet “(vel. sim.)” and adds “at end of street running from harbour to east [= west]. [...] No doubt a Venetian church.” This is the Κυρία των Αγγέλων (Our Lady of the Angels, also known as Μικρή Παναγιά) in the square of the same name, at the corner of Abatzoglou & Nik. Foka Streets) – originally S. Maria Maddalena of the Dominican Order (cf. Gerola II 144-5, whose photo shows that the façade has since been altered beyond all recognition). The minaret of the mosque, added in 1680, collapsed soon after it was built. Angebut Ahmet Paşa was appointed *beylerbeyi* of Crete after the capture of the city of Candia. The police station is still in the square now named Πλατεία Ηρώων Πολυτεχνείου.

<sup>5</sup> This was the Küçük Hadji Ibrahim Ağa mosque, the former Venetian loggia (not a church as Dawkins says), built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Michele Sanmicheli. It is situated at the corner of Palaiologou and Arkadiou Streets. For a time it used to be the Archaeological Museum, then (from 1991 to 2015 when the museum housed was in the Fortress) the Archaeological Museum shop, until the museum was moved to the former church of St Francis, originally a Venetian Catholic church which was later converted into a mosque (see photo in Gerola III 66) whose minaret was demolished in 1930. At least six other former mosque buildings remain in Rethymno, only one of which was purpose-built rather than being a converted church. This exception is the Valide Sultana mosque, built in 1670 and under renovation and not visitable in April 2019. It is situated within the block bounded by the following streets: Tombazi (where the entrance would be via no. 17), Kapsali, Dimakopoulou and Ethnikis Antistaseos. The minaret of this mosque, likewise being restored, was apparently built in 1878. For the mosques of Rethymno see

<http://www.patrickcomerford.com/2012/07/in-search-of-surviving-mosques-of.html>.

<sup>6</sup> We visited this village (του Φωτεινού) on 14 Oct. 2010. It is on a branch of the road south of Armenoi, and the road has recently been continued towards Agios Vasileios. A thriving village, with well-kept houses, nestling in a dip between rocky hills. A Christian population seems to have settled there after 1922 from other parts of Crete, including Sfakia. In the village there is a Venetian fountain photographed by Gerola II 54.

<sup>7</sup> The name is apparently from Bonriparo (Gerola I 265) or Boni Reparii; it was built or renovated by Pescatore (see ch. 2, note 10).

<sup>8</sup> Βουβάλα: Melambes and Orne are on its slopes.

<sup>9</sup> Some of this information is repeated in ch. 11. Dawkins usually writes Kroutaliotiko; we have corrected this throughout.

<sup>10</sup> For this fresco at Galia see ch. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Dawkins doesn't mention that Gerakari is famous for its cherries. Gerakari (including the church Dawkins describes below) was razed to the ground by German troops on 22

August 1944. Psychoundakis wrote an elegy for the village, which is published in his book *The Cretan Runner*; reproduced in Stoneman, *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece*, 283-5. The German occupiers carried out similar reprisals against the partisan villages of Kendros (Gerakari, Gourgouthoi, Kardaki, Smile, Vryses, Drygies και Ano Meros), as well as Krya Vrysi in Agios Vasilis.

<sup>12</sup> Gerola has no photo or plan of this church, but he mentions it in a footnote, II 288. The art historian Olga Gratziou (personal communication 16 May 2014) informs me that she had not been aware of this church, but that, to judge by Dawkins' sketch, it is another of the Cretan "double churches" which, she claims, were used by both Orthodox and Catholics.

**CHAPTER 10**  
**RETIMO TO AGHIA GALINI (ARKADI MONASTERY AND**  
**AMARI VALLEY)**



A. Schwan del.

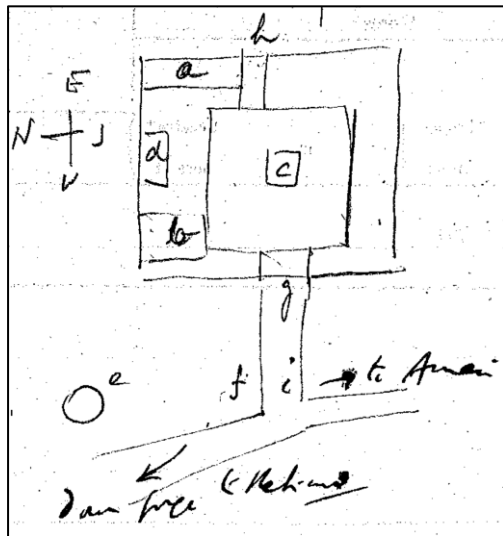
L. H. G. sculp.

MONASTERY OF ARKADHI

Arkadi Monastery before its destruction in 1866 (Pashley I 308-9)



Arkadi Monastery since its reconstruction (Internet)

ARKADI. April 4<sup>th</sup> 1917<sup>1</sup>

Rough plan made at first visit

- A. The place where the explosion was
- B. New guest-house
- C. Church
- D. Refectory where there was a massacre
- E. Heroon
- F. Outbuilding with Venetian steps
- G. Main entrance
- H. Back entrance
- I. Place of cannons

Ten kilometres east of Retimo the road to Arkadi branches off inland and in 2 hours one gets to the monastery (note: I came the reverse way on this first visit). At this point there is a high rolling plateau 500 metres above the sea and quite near the north edge of this is the monastery. A new church ten minutes north of the monastery is nearly on the edge of this plateau. At a later visit I came to Arkadi from, I think, Anogia and lost the way a good deal and arrived in the evening by recognising this new church and making for it, as it is conspicuous a long way off whilst the monastery itself is hidden from the north and east by the rising ground upon which this church stands. It can be seen from the sea, but the monastery itself cannot.

A gorge wooded with scrub cuts into this plateau and almost at the top of this gorge at its east side is Arkadi. From the gorge one sees only the Heroon and the tops of a few trees by the *moni*. After crossing the watershed one descends in to the Amari valley. The monastery just sees a V of sea through the gorge and sees the top of Ida rising over the nearer land, with its north slope facing Candia and its south Phaistos. The view is bare and flatly wild. Just to the north is a fine group of stone-pines.

Vines grow round the monastery but it is too high for olives. The square monastery is plain outside, mostly two stories and with flat roofs like a very much larger Toplou, only as it is so much larger it has not the tower-like aspect of Toplou. The entrance is on the west side, and the west side of the court has an arcade on each of the two stories. In the middle of the court is the church with fine Venetian front, much marked with Turkish bullets. As the church was burned out in 1866 the *templon* [iconostasis] is quite new and made of deal and not at all good, with eikons of the horrible Europeanised school, the impulse towards which is, I believe, Russian. The new *xenon* is where the old abbots' quarters were which, being of wood, were burned in 1866. It is a 2-storey building with a red tiled roof which rises above the rest of the monastic buildings and very much detracts from its look of age, making a very jarring note. But it is the only blot on Arkadi. A very comfortable blot with good beds. In the court there are a few rather blighted trees.

D in the plan above is the present refectory where, in 1866, 36 Christians were killed. The Turks approached the monastery on November 8<sup>th</sup> (or 9<sup>th</sup>) and planted

cannons at I in plan opposite the main gate which they broke down.<sup>2</sup> They then rushed in. Many Christians from the neighbourhood had taken refuge in the monastery. There was some slaughter and then a man cried out: "Those who do not wish to fall into the hands of the Turks, follow me." They went to the back entrance, H in the plan. To the north of this entrance was the powder store, A in the plan. The people stood at the entrance of this store, which was onto the passage to the gate, and got on the roof of it (it was of one storey), and the man who had called upon them to follow him fired his pistol into the powder magazine. The place then blew up. The present back door is new. It is built in a good imitation Venetian style and much better than the Greeks ever build nowadays, and so is all the building at this corner except the foundation and the threshold upon which the man stood and fired his pistol. The store has been partly rebuilt with a barrel vault which is only completed at the north end. But this uncompleted vault and the present walls all belong to an unfinished beginning of rebuilding the ruins of 1866. Nothing of the building as it was then is left except the lowest part of the walls. So the vault now seen is not broken but incomplete. To think it broken by the explosion is wrong. It also ends regularly with one course, like a building left off and not like what would be left after an explosion.

This is all of some interest because it shows that the common picture of the explosion, of which there is a version in oils in the guesthouse at Arkadi, is quite fantastic. The present abbot who gave me these details told me that the picture does not represent the facts at all. The picture, reproductions of which are very common in cafés all over Greece, represents a vaulted hall and an opening in the floor towards which a venerable monk advances holding the cross in one hand and a taper in the other to fire the powder in the magazine below, whilst all round the people are awaiting death in heroic attitudes.

After the explosion 120 persons surrendered to the Turks and 36 shut themselves up in the present refectory (D in the plan). The Turks parleyed and after shooting at the door they were let in and killed all the 36. The old door with bullet holes in it is preserved as a relic nailed up against the SE wall of the room. The door of the refectory is in the south wall opening, not onto the great court, but onto a little side court in the body of the buildings. This little court has on its west side the now walled up door that led to the old abbot's quarters, which were where the present guesthouse is.

Over the door of the refectory is the inscription:

+ΠΙΑΜΜΕΓΑ ΜΟΧΘΟΝ ΔΕΞΑΙΟ ΒΛΑΣΤΟΥ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΟ  
ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΑ Ω ΜΑΡΙΑ ΦΙΛΤΡΟΝ ΑΠΕΙΡΕΣΙΟΝ ΑΧΟ<sup>3</sup>

[Accept the immense labour of abbot Vlastos, o Lady Mary, boundless source of love.

1670]



The Heroon (Monument to the Heroes), then and now (photos from the internet)

The Heroon is a six-sided two-storey building with a dome. It was built since the end of the Turkish government. Before this the bones were kept in a building “like a windmill” and probably much less conspicuous.<sup>4</sup>

The lower story contains the bones of the victims of the 1866 massacre and the upper is a room with relics, to which access is gained by a flight of steps. In the middle of the floor is a square hole through which the bones below are visible. In the room is a glass-fronted case containing a display of skulls with bullet wounds and sword cuts, on either side on the wall wreaths of artificial flowers. On a table is a visitors’ book.

There are now about 20 monks at Arkadi. They are very hospitable.

All these details of the massacre I got from the abbot and record them as the local tradition, which differs a good deal from the version in the common picture.

At a later visit to Arkadi I was shown their very rich treasure, which contains very fine church embroidery, the finest certainly in Crete.

A little later, Lawson told me that the nomarch [provincial governor] of Retimo told him that the explosion was caused by a peasant called Diamantakis firing his pistol into the powder store.<sup>5</sup> This confirms the abbot’s story as told to me.

Tozer visited Arkadi (pp. 52-55) in 1874 and thus only 8 years after the massacre. He found the monastery in ruins with only two survivors, a monk and a boy, living in the ruins, and no more than two or three rooms habitable. He gives a good account of the massacre, but remarks that the fury of the Turks was perhaps inspired by recollections of an earlier occasion when the Christians had killed a number of Turks in this same monastery. Of this earlier and less well known slaughter an account is given by Pashley (I, pp. 310-313). His story is that in the winter after the great revolution began, and so in 1821-1822, parties of Sphakiotes came to Amari, and the Moslem leader Iatimeles came from Retimo with 80 men to preserve order and established himself at Arkadi. The Christians, 400 in number, gathered at Thronos, a village to the south near [Moni] Asomaton, on the evening or perhaps the eve of the feast of Saint Antonios, and came in the early hours of the morning to the monastery. The monks admitted them by a postern, which can hardly be other than the back door by the powder magazine where the Christians blew up the powder magazine in 1866, and a surprise attack was made

before daybreak. Some [Turks] were killed before and some after a surrender, and of the whole 80 only 8 or 10 escaped. Of the Christians only 7 were killed. The Turks' revenge came in 1866, but on the wrong people. The earlier affair was only one more instance of the lawless violence of the Sphakiotes; the victims of 1866 were peasants from the neighbouring villages. Pashley's guide, a Sphakiote, gave as an excuse for the slaughter after the surrender that the Christians could not restrain themselves when they saw the murderers of their kinsmen, but then let out the fact that it was a deliberate piece of treachery to prevent these picked Turks escaping out of their hands: "Den itoni diaforetikon na girisosin opiso eis to Rithimnos."<sup>6</sup> Arkadi has had no reason to love the Sphakiotes and the abbot said to Pashley that the visits of the Sphakiotes to collect money nominally for the war had been more disastrous to them than any treatment from the Turks.

### Αρκάδι, 25 May 1917

Inscription on west façade of church:

ΑΦ. ΚΛΜΧΤΖ. ΠΖ.

explained as 15. Κλήμης Χορτάτζης. 87 [i.e. 1587], Clemens Chortatzis being an abbot.<sup>7</sup>

### Story about Arkadi<sup>8</sup>

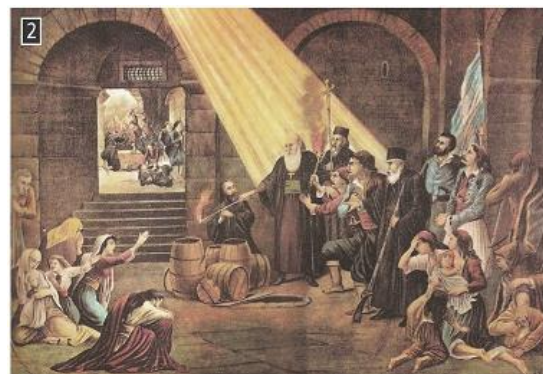
At Rodakino the mason who was building the tomb for the drowned officer told me that when Arkadi was sacked in 1866 it rained everywhere else and by a miracle was fine only at Arkadi because God wished that it should be destroyed. "Perhaps there was a sinner there." At first, as the Turks entered, each one was killed by the defenders and then they broke down the door with cannon. The abbot killed himself with a bullet below the chin and also fired the power. This inconsistency the man did not observe. According to the story as told at Arkadi, neither is true.

### ARKADI<sup>9</sup>

*Three images that Dawkins may have had in mind when writing this section*



Giuseppe Lorenzo Gatteri, *Olocausto di Arcadi* (before 1884)



A popular lithograph



Theodoros Vryzakis, *Arkadi* (c. 1867)

Everyone who travelled in Crete in the early years of this century must be familiar with a picture which was hung everywhere in village cafés: a coloured print of the blowing up of the powder magazine at the monastery of Arkadi near Retimo; and it is hardly likely that a picture so popular is not still to be seen. The scene depicted is a large stone room. In the middle of the floor is a round hole and advancing towards this is a venerable figure: a monk in long robes with a fine beard. In one hand he has the cross, in the other he holds a lighted taper which he is at the point of throwing down the hole to explode the store of gunpowder in the room below. Behind the monk is a terrified crowd of people, men, women and children, tearfully resigned to an heroic death. The Turks are at the point of breaking in. For the Christians who have taken refuge behind the sacred walls it is a choice of death or slavery. Heroically they have chosen death and in a moment the powder magazine will blow and all will be over.

That there was an explosion of gunpowder at Arkadi in 1866, when there was a great insurrection against the Turks – the last serious insurrection before the successful moment in the nineties, is true enough, and this picture, of which there is a version in oils hanging in the guestroom at the monastery, embodies the popular idea of how it took place. Yet in fact it seems to have happened quite differently and I write this to give the account of the tragic story as it was told me by the abbot in 1917, he knowing the story as the monks of the monastery have handed it down. In what form it reached England, when Swinburne wrote his *Songs before Sunrise* and makes mention, in “Ode on the Insurrection in Candia”, of “rent Arcadion” I do not know.

Before coming to the abbot’s story a few words may be said on the earlier history of the monastery which will present the main characters in the drama: the monks of Arkadi and the Christians of the surrounding villages; the Turkish forces, whose centre was a few hours off at the port of Retimo; and lastly the warlike Christians of Sphakia, the mountainous villages to the west on the slopes of the White Mountains –



the mountainous mass of the western part of the island lying between Suda Bay and the sea to the south. These hardy mountaineers, always the centre of opposition to the Turks, had been almost as formidable to the less warlike Christians of the low-lying villages, and their part in the story of Arkadi is not unimportant.

Of Arkadi just before the 1866 insurrection we learn a good deal from Robert Pashley's *Travels in Crete* published in 1837. Pashley was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was travelling in Crete in 1834. In volume I, pages 310-13 he writes of Arkadi. He narrates that, at the time of the Greek War of Independence, the Sphakiotes spread over the province of Amari and both there and at Retimo fought against the Turks. A Turkish leader, Iatimeles, came with 80 men from Retimo and seized Arkadi. Christians from Sphakia were admitted to the monastery by the monks and there was fighting. The Christians fired the monastery and the Turks surrendered, but in spite of this they were slaughtered. Very few Christians were killed. Very few Turks escaped: their bodies were thrown in the well. Pashley's companion and guide was a certain Captain Mania [Maniás] from Askyphou in Sphakia.<sup>10</sup> He said that when the Christians had driven the Turks out of the abbot's lodging where they had taken refuge and saw many Greeks lying dead, one finding his brother, another his cousin, and another his companion, they were overcome with fury and killed the Turks. [Captain Manias added that] There was also another cause of the massacre: the Christians saw that these Turks were the first and the finest fellows in Retimo and there seemed nothing to be gained by letting them return to Retimo. Forty-five years later the Turks at Arkadi cannot have forgotten this event, and of forgiveness there could be no question. So things were ripe for the 1866 disaster.

In 1874, only eight years after the disaster, Tozer was at Arkadi. Once regarded, he says, as the largest and richest monastery in Crete, it was then a mass of ruins. Of the disaster there were only two survivors; the other monks had come in from the outside. One of these survivors guided him round the ruins of the monastery. The Turks opened the siege from the front of the monastery and from a postern at the back. They broke in, the powder magazine was fired and many perished. A further 36 were killed in the refectory, about 60 others elsewhere, and the monastery was fired. This was the narrative of an eye witness of an event then quite recent. Tozer remarks that, savage as this was, the Turks had the earlier slaughter of their own people to avenge.

It will be noted that Tozer's account makes no mention of the heroic abbot [Gabriel Marinakis] who is the central figure of the traditional picture. He merely says that the Christians set fire to the powder.

In 1917 I was in the entirely rebuilt Arkadi and the abbot gave me the full account of the massacre as it is remembered in the monastery. The traditional picture, of which there is a version in oils in the guestroom, is, he said, really quite inaccurate in most points.

On November 8<sup>th</sup> – or 9<sup>th</sup> – the Turks came and planted a cannon opposite the main gate of the monastery. They broke this down and rushed in in a body. Many Christians from the near villages had taken refuge in the monastery and there was some slaughter. Then a man cried out: "Those who do not wish to fall into the hands of the Turks, follow me." By a tradition of which J. C. Lawson informed me he was told by the Mayor of Retimo that this man was a peasant called Diamantakis. He led the people to the postern gate at the back wall of the monastery and near it was the powder magazine. He did not lead them out of the building, but blew up the powder. Nothing of the [original] building is now left except the threshold on which Diamantakis stood. The roof was blown right off, but [the building] has been partially rebuilt.

After the explosion 120 persons surrendered. What happened to them all the abbot did not make plain, but 36 shut themselves up in the room now used as a refectory and it is interesting that this is exactly the number given by Tozer. The Turks parleyed after shooting at the door. They were let in and then killed all thirty-six. This door with the bullet holes in it is preserved as a relic nailed up against the SE wall of the room.

It will be seen that, in this recent account and the account given by Tozer, there is nothing inconsistent and they may be taken as very close to the truth. Much of the trouble seems to have been due to the turbulence of the local heroes from Sphakia. It was they who had killed the Turks at the first encounter. The victims of 1866 paid for this, but they were more local peasants than Sphakiotes. The abbot gave Pashley his views on the question. The visits of the Sphakiotes, nominally to collect money for the war, had been more disastrous for them than any treatment from the Turks.

Although the monastery lies high up, quite near indeed to the central watershed of Crete, it is yet in a hollow which makes it from some directions not easy to find. I came to it from the east over a very rough, stony ground which in Crete is called *khalepa* and which was cut by ravines so that the monastery only came into sight when we were quite close to it. This hidden position may have something to do with a version I was told of the destruction of 1866. When the Turks were approaching it was a very misty day and nothing could be seen except that over the monastery there was a patch of sunshine which made it conspicuous. The patch was taken as a miracle and a sign that the destruction of the place was God's will: it may be that there was some sinner in it. This story I was told on the beach below Rodakino on the south coast of Sphakia. The beach is now known as the place from which the German general [Kreipe] kidnapped by Patrick Leigh Fermor was packed off for Africa.

That places have been protected by a miraculous mist is a not uncommon idea. Thus, the monastery of Koutloumoussi<sup>11</sup> was saved from an attack of Turks who could not find it and turned their weapons against one another. Nearer home, the Celtic god would cast a mist over the Isle of Man when danger threatened. But this Cretan story is the only example I know of the miracle reversed by a miraculous illumination instead of a miraculous mist.

Rodakino, with the not far off large village of Kantanos, was destroyed by the Germans when they invaded Crete.<sup>12</sup>

### **Moni ton Agion Asomaton near Amari, 3 April 1917<sup>13</sup>**

On this first occasion I visited for an hour at midday on my way from Agia Galini to Arkadi, where I spent the night, it being my first visit there.

A courtyard with a church in the middle, like Arkadi but smaller and poorer (I wrote this account after seeing Arkadi, where I went in the evening). Church has no *templon*. From the Abbot's room, which is in the east range, a wonderful view of the fertile valley and beyond it the steep cliffs like buttresses, and above them the snowy wedge of Ida. In the court a very fine bay tree.

I note that in 1011 [sic] they changed abbot, and my then host Gabriel has retired and is succeeded by the ex-soldier Agathangelos,<sup>14</sup> who has a cell quite like a house, which he has built himself in the north range. Another nice monk there is an old man who does carpentering in the two-storey *kelli* in the west range. He treated us to a very fine wine. The cellar of the *moni* is in the north range, and I have several times been taken there for drinks by the cellarer.

[*Ms. note:*] Visited by Tozer in 1874 (p. 56), who says that “from a beam on one side of the court are suspended three Venetian bells”, two dated 1633 and 1639, concealed and discovered in 1873, with relief figures. Xanthoudidis tells me that many of the bells were hidden and have been discovered: it was to find a bell in connection with a dream that [the peasants dug?] at Plati.<sup>15</sup>

### Monastery των Ασωμάτων, Amari, 27 March 1918

The road from Dibaki by Asomato to Retimo [as opposed to the road from Ag. Galini] goes by Klima and Apodoulou, not Monastiraki.<sup>16</sup> A very bad road and not very interesting but with fine views of the mountain Kentron [Kentros]. Reached Asomato with Major Anstey late after losing our way in the dark.

Over the gate of the monastery are parts of an inscription that presumably belonged to the earlier gate. They include the date 1612 [= 1692],<sup>17</sup> very likely the date of the foundation of the monastery [unlikely]. The blocks form part of the lintel:

ΘΕΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ Θ...  
[ΑΝΗ]ΓΕΡΘΗ ... [ΜΕ]ΛΧΙΣΕΔΕΚ  
ΠΡΟΣΤΑ[ΤΟΥ] ΑΧΙΒ<sup>18</sup>

[By the divine might of God [...] was erected [by] the *prostatis* [leader and suppliant] Melchisedek 1612]

[*Ms addition:*] The 4B is less likely as 1692 just after the conquest is not a likely date.<sup>19</sup>

The blocks are clearly out of order. The gate has been rebuilt and the date of the rebuild is given on a block above these older fragments; it is 1847 (ΑΩΜΖ).

### 25 May 1917

I read inscription Η ΘΕΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ [etc.] and record an inscription above it running:

ΑΩ ανιγέρθη η πύλη αυτή και πάντα τα εν αυτή φυλλατόμενα διά επιστασίας Ιωσήφ καθηγουμένου πιστού προστάτου και νέου κτήτορος της αγίας μονής ταύτης ΜΖ.<sup>20</sup> [“18 This gate and all that is guarded within it was erected under the supervision of Joseph faithful *prostatis* and new founder of this holy monastery 47.] Presumably τα εν αυτή φυλλατόμενα are the fragments on the older gate.

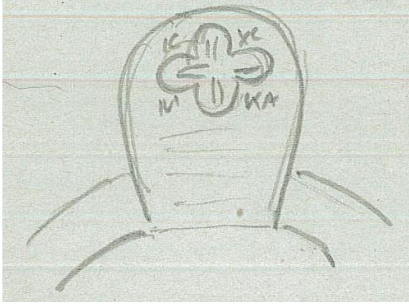
In the space over the door of the church there is an inscribed block not built in, which is perhaps a part of the old inscription over the gate. I did not measure the letters to see if they are of the same height. It runs:

ΕΙΑΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΩ  
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΥΤΑΠΑΝ<sup>21</sup>

### Moni ton Asomaton, Amari, 8<sup>th</sup> [?] April 1918

On the south side of the church outside it is a flat built tomb with the inscription

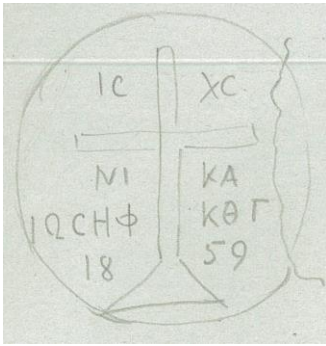
ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΥΡΙΑΕ  
 ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ  
 ΜΑΝΑΣΣΗ  
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙ  
 ΤΟΡΟΣ Α.Ψ.Ο.Ε<sup>22</sup> i.e. 1775



This is the same Manassis who is recorded in the inscription over the door of the stable which is among the outbuildings on the north side of the court. Over the arched door is a keystone, as in the sketch, and below the cross on it is the inscription:

ΜΟΧΘΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ Μ  
 ΑΝΑΣΗ ΙΕΡΟ  
 ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ Κ. ΚΑ  
 ΘΙΓΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΥΤΗΣ  
 ΜΟΝΗΣ ΑΨΞΗ<sup>23</sup>

i.e. 1768, seven years before his death.



On the outer wall of the monastery, on the north side of the gate, between the gate and the plane tree on the left as one enters, is this inscription of 1859 of the abbot Joseph, done in small pebbles set in the plaster. There are a lot of inscriptions in this style at Preveli.<sup>24</sup>

I noted that the old part of the *moni* is the range of buildings on the south side of the court which look Venetian of the Bali style in parts. The rest is newish, much dating from the time of the abbot Joseph, see inscription above.

### Moni ton Asomaton, Amari. 3 April 1917

I was shown the treasures of the monastery. In the church is a silver covered eikon of the three archangels with the date ΑΨΝΕ = 1755 and on another eikon – but here my note is not clear – the date ΑΧΙΟ, that is 1610.

In the south-east corner of the court, the last room on the east side next to the abbot's cell is a room lately fitted up as a library and treasure room with some fine church embroideries in glass cases.<sup>25</sup> I noted:

- a stole worked in gold and colours on red satin dated ΑΨΞΕ (1765)
- ditto on yellow satin dated ΑΧΟΗ (1678) and inscribed *Αθανασίου ιερομονάχου Καφάτου ΑΧΟΗ*
- ditto on red satin dated ΑΧΠΘ (1689)
- an *epigonatidion* on red satin dated ΑΨΝΕ (1755)
- one leaf of a minuscule gospel with  $\mu$  for  $\beta$

The most interesting book is a folio copy of the works of St Cyril of Jerusalem, Paris, 1720, which has the inscription *Conventus Burdigalensis ordinis Rae Mariae de Mercede catalogo inscriptus Dono Dominae de Fayet 1722*. A later inscription in the book is 'Δημος ΓΧ Στεφαν [sic] 1858 γρ. 186 (= γρόσια)'

Below this is the inscription: 'νῦν δὲ ὑπάρχει τοῦ Δωροθέου Σταυρίδη Κρητὸς καὶ αὔριον τίς ἤδεν' [Now it belongs to Dorotheos Stavridis the Cretan, but tomorrow who knows].

These latter inscriptions show that by 1858 it had got into the Levant, and by 1864 was in the possession of the Cretan Dorotheos Stavridis, whose name Dorotheos shows that he was a monk. The abbot told me that this Dorotheos was an archimandrite at Constantinople and gave the book to the monastery, but how it got to Constantinople is unknown. Nor is it known why Dorotheos gave it, but it may be guessed that he was or had been a monk there or was from the neighbourhood and had some home link with Asomato.

These things are all carefully looked after. The Moni has suffered from the Turks and they say they have lost a lot of MSS. Such a show of church embroidery is rare. As in Pontus, where I saw dated [?] at St George Peristerona, it seems all to date from about 1700 more or less, so this was a good period for this work. Their books were mostly given by the present bishop, but monks don't read.

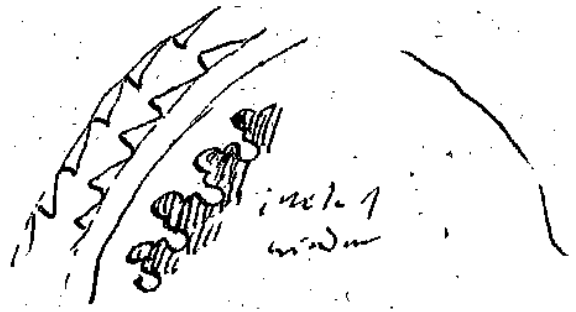
### **Amari, 8 April 1918**

In the village of Nefs Amari the tall belfry of the church is built on a highish rock quite separate from the church. This village with the odd name serves as the capital of the Amari valley.<sup>26</sup>

### **Meronas, 9 April 1918**

Just before reaching the village from Asomato, on left old double church with rude dome and good north door with 2 rows of dogtooth between roll mouldings.

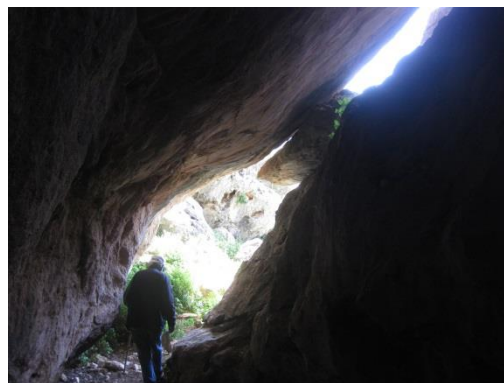
Traces of frescoes. Remains of good south window – Panagia. Sketch of fretted edge of (S) window:



In Meronas village treble church of Panagia with remains of frescoes; later door [the easternmost of the two south doors] is inscribed above μνήσθητι Κύριε των καλλιεργούντων Χριστιανών 1835 [1838] Μα 25 [Remember o Lord the Christians who did good works 25 May 1838]. Two other doors, N and S, are Venetian with arms on S door and on window in N wall. Belfry later.<sup>27</sup> Three apses with external arcades, but pillars gone from central and N apse. This is rare in Crete.



IMG\_8097 Yannis Neonakis outside Mygiospilios cave



IMG\_8099

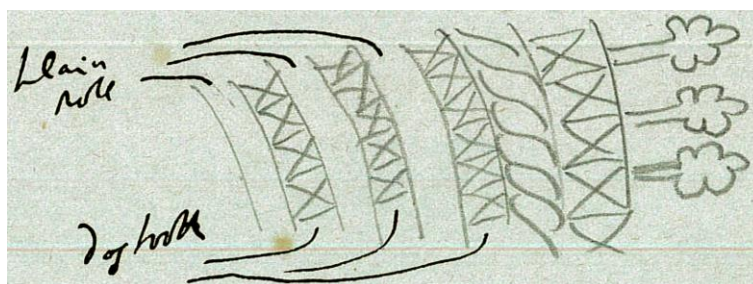
Twenty minutes above the village of Meronas is the *Μυγιόσπηλιος*.<sup>1</sup> The opening of the cave is a gash in the hillside used as a *mandra*. The entrance to the cave proper is very narrow and I did not go into it. By a cleft in the rock (probably the *trypa* [hole] of Vlastos) one climbs out on to the hillside above and presently reaches the *sella tou Digeni*, which is a saddle-shaped rock upon which one can sit. It is high in front and behind just like a saddle. The *vraski tou Digeni* is some way off towards Gerakari,<sup>28</sup> but I could not quite make it out although it was pointed out to me. Skaphidia is a little way off and I did not go there. The *sella* is the well-known thing locally, that and the *vraski*. For all this, see Vlastos' paper on Digenis sites in Crete in *Kritikos Laos*.<sup>29</sup>

At Meronas there is a legend that the Ten Saints persecuted by the Venetian government took refuge in the *Μυγιόσπηλιος*, but were smoked out (in the familiar Turkish way) and escaped and went to Gortyna – Agioi Deka. Here they were martyred.

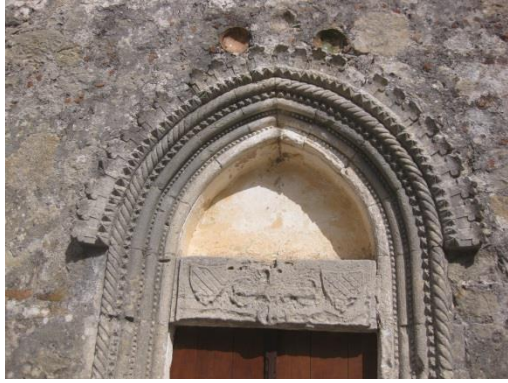
I went to a wedding feast at Meronas where the groom, Antonis, was 18 and the bride, whom he had carried off without the will of her father, still younger.

### Thronos, Church of Panagia, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918

The village lies on a hill about  $\frac{3}{4}$  hour walk from Asomato and I walked out there on a fine morning. In the village is the old church of Panagia. The West door is elaborate and has rich mouldings all round the arch. On the door-posts the same, but with the two outer members omitted.



<sup>1</sup> I was told of this cave and *sella* earlier in March 1918 by a man at Asomato.



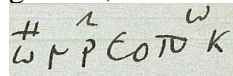
IMG\_8094 West door of Panagia, Thronos



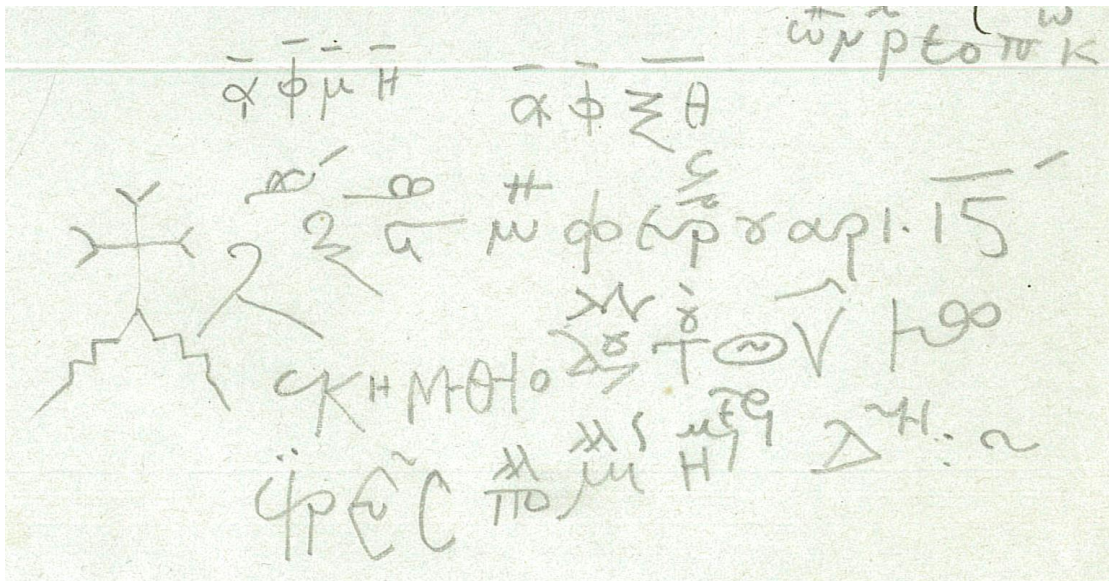
IMG\_8078 Moulding on W door

On the lintel are two coats of arms sketched and a cross between them a good deal worn.

The interior is all frescoed and has a mosaic floor. On the north wall is this graffito, but the top words, the dates 1548 and 1568 [= 1569] and the obscure



[maybe θεοτόκ] do not belong to the main inscription, which records the death of John the Priest on February 15<sup>th</sup> [= 16<sup>th</sup>] 1558 (7066-5508 = 1558):



The abbreviations after *ιερέυς* I give up.<sup>30</sup>

### Agia Paraskevi near Asomaton in Amari, 9 April 1918

Twenty minutes' walk from the Moni ton Asomaton on the way to Thronos is a cruciform church with a high dome which, to judge from the eikons inside, is dedicated to Agia Paraskevi. The south door looks old. The interior is blue washed, but over the altar tomb which fills up the north transept is a painting of a donor. He is on the left and is inscribed in capitals in two lines thus:



δέησις τον δούλων του Θεού Γεωργίου τ[ου] Χορτάτζη  
και της συμβίου αυτού  
[prayer of the servants of God George Chortatsis and  
his wife]

In the second line the plaster is broken, but there is no  
doubt that the name is *Χορτάτζη*.<sup>31</sup>

On the right [= in the middle] of the picture is a  
holder of a book, probably Christ, and on the book I  
read: [inscription (from Matt. XI.28-9) not reproduced  
here]

Gerola II 405

Outside on the south-east angle is a plaque with [diagram not reproduced here] and  
below it this inscription in capitals:<sup>32</sup>

ηγουμενεία Ιεροθέου η τε βρύσις ωκοδομήτο και ο ναός ανεκαινίσθη 1888  
Ιουλίω<sup>33</sup>

[during the abbotship of Ierotheos the spring was built and the church  
renovated in July 1888]

The church stands by itself in the bottom of the wide valley to the south of the  
hill on which Thronos lies.<sup>34</sup>



IMG\_8083 Agia Paraskevi, 30 April 2015



**Monastiraki, Amari valley, 11 April 1918**

At Monastiraki the church of Ai-Stratigos has a good door (west) with pillars one on each side. There are blind arcades on the outside of the north and south walls. See Gerola.



West door, Monastiraki church (Gerola II 277) IMG\_8087, 30 April 2015

**April 9th 1918.** In the fields south of the monastery of Asomato in Amari I saw a quantity of the red tulip. It has a shortish thick stalk with one flower of a fine flesh colour. Also a great quantity of this tulip in a field to the left of the road just below the village of Monastiraki, as I was on the way from Asomato to Agia Galini. I saw this flower also in April 1917 near the village of Amari, my first visit, going Agia Galini – Amari – Asomato – Arkadi. I have never seen it anywhere in Crete but in this neighbourhood.<sup>35</sup>

By Asomato I also saw *Ornithogalum cernuum*, which is not rare in Crete.



IMG\_5584 Cretan tulip at Yous Kambos, 24 April 2013

**27 March 1918.** The road from Asomato to Retimo ascends from the Amari valley and leaves Arkadi on the right, but one sees it [Arkadi is on the left of the modern road]. The road then goes by Mesi and Adela [=Adele] [i.e. to the west of the modern road via Amnato] and reaches the main road by the sea 5 kilometres east of Retimo. The country by Mesi and Adela is very pretty, with olive trees on the slopes. In general these slopes behind Retimo are one of the prettiest parts of Crete.

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> The story of 1866 is very badly told in this first section. He doesn't explain the background to the events, i.e. that Ottoman forces attacked Arkadi monastery because Greek revolutionaries had gathered there. Many civilians had also gathered there for safety.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish forces approached on 7 November; the battle took place on the 8th and 9th.

<sup>3</sup> Greek inscription dated 1670 and referring to abbot Gerasimos Vlastos; Dawkins' transcription, with emendations according to Psilakis II 18.

<sup>4</sup> The Heroon containing the bones of those killed in 1866 is in fact an octagonal building situated 80 metres NW of the monastery. According to one website, "before 1910 the ossuary opposite the gate had been a windmill"; according to another, the monastery's windmill used to stand on the spot where the Heroon was erected. Perhaps Dawkins misunderstood the story.

<sup>5</sup> According to various sources the name of the man was either Kostandis Yaboudakis or Emmanouil Skoulas.

<sup>6</sup> The full version of what Pashley reports Captain Maniás having told him is: "They were the bravest men in Rethymno, and it wasn't desirable that they should return there." Arkadi monastery was recaptured from Yetim Ali by Christians on 17 January 1822 (St Antony's day), but it was set on fire shortly afterwards by Muslims as a reprisal.

<sup>7</sup> This inscription is copied in Gerola IV 479.

<sup>8</sup> Typed on a separate sheet with a different typewriter.

<sup>9</sup> A note at the beginning of this section reads "Last draft (after 1941)", It seems to be a draft for a separate article, no doubt inspired by the German occupation of Crete (1941-44) and the heroic resistance of the Cretan people against it; but the text seems not to have been completed. The reference to Fermor's abduction of General Kreipe (if not the rest of this section) must have been written in or after 1944.

<sup>10</sup> For Captain Maniás (including a portrait of him) see Pashley I 75ff.

<sup>11</sup> Dawkins adds "Khilandari?" Both of these monasteries are on Mount Athos; the latter is Serbian.

<sup>12</sup> The text trails off here.

<sup>13</sup> Psilakis II 347ff. There is a photo of the church and the courtyard in Gerola II 368.

<sup>14</sup> Gabriel Pangalos was succeeded as abbot in 1918 by Agathangelos Lagouvardos, who had fought against the Turks in Epirus in 1912-13. He later became abbot of Preveli Monastery, where he helped allied soldiers escape from the German invasion in 1941: see end of ch. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Tozer makes it clear that bells at Asomato monastery had been buried to save them from the Turks. The story of how the remains of a Minoan house were discovered at

Plati on the Lasithi plateau is mentioned in ch. 8: a woman had dreamed of that a bell would be discovered if people dug in a certain place. See endnote to ch. 24 for the full reference.

<sup>16</sup> Dibaki is more usually spelled Tymbaki. Dawkins often calls the Moni Asomaton “Asomato” for short.

<sup>17</sup> The date 1692 is Gerola’s reading, according to Psilakis II 350.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the beginnings of the two lines of a heroic couplet? See also Psilakis II 350. This inscription was no longer there when we visited the monastery on 19/4/95, by which time it had been replaced by a concrete lintel. According to Psilakis, the abbot’s name was Melchisedek Saounatsos.

<sup>19</sup> Gerola apparently read 4B (i.e. 92).

<sup>20</sup> In Psilakis II 356, emended by PM. This inscription was still over the gate of the monastery in 2009.

<sup>21</sup> It would indeed be interesting if this were more of the now missing inscription over the gate, as Dawkins surmised (Θ continued in EIA, ΠΡΟΣΤΑ continued in ΤΟΥ). This inscription is not given by Psilakis. It was replaced by the following, which I recorded in 1995: “Ο πάνσεπτος ούτος ναός παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχών επί ηγουμενίας Αγαθαγγέλου Λαγουβάρδου εν έτει 1925 ανεκαινίσθη” [This most sacred church of the magnificent Archangels was renovated during the abbotship of Agathangelos Lagouvardos in the year 1925]. This latter inscription was no longer there in 2009, after the church had been renovated once again.

<sup>22</sup> Μανασσή & ΑΨΟΕ according to Dawkins, Μανασή & ΑΨΟΘ [1779] according to Emm. G. Generalis (“Η Ιερά Μονή των Ασωμάτων της Επαρχίας Αμαρίου Κρήτης”, *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών* 4 (1941), p. 12) and Psilakis; it was still there on 19/4/95, but no longer there in 2009.

<sup>23</sup> This inscription is also recorded, in slightly different form, by Generalis, “Η Ιερά Μονή των Ασωμάτων”, p. 13. It is not mentioned by Psilakis, nor is it visible today. However, there is a curious inscription over the eastern of the two doors on the south side of the church, which is difficult to read because it appears to have been deliberately defaced with a metal tool. Below a cross inscribed IB in the top arm, with the letters IC XC N K in the four corners made by the four arms of the cross, the inscription reads: Μόχθως δε Ιω/σήφ καθηγουμέ//νου κε του [?ανεγερού?] του ναού / μνήσθητι Κύριε κε // δούλου σ Μανουήλ [...] / C.K.T. † ΑΩΙΒ [The labour of Joseph the abbot and re-builder of the church. Remember o Lord thy servant Manouel 1812].

<sup>24</sup> The 1859 inscription isn’t in Psilakis, nor was it visible in 2009. On the south wall of a ruined building to the north of the church is the inscription: ΟΙΚΟΣ ΜΘΔ ΙΕΡΜ Κ ΑΓΑΘ ΛΑΓΟΥΒΑΡΔΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ ΔΙ’ ΕΞΟΔΩΝ [ΤΟΥ?] ΤΗ 10 ΜΑΡ 1857 [The house of the hieromonk Methodios and of Agathangelos Lagouvardos was renovated at [his] expense on 10 March 1857] (the second name appears to replace a previous one). Above this: ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΗΣΘΗ ΕΚ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ 1911 [Renovated for a second time in the year 1911]. Over the window to the right of this is an inscription recording a restoration in ΑΩΞΑ [1861]. Methodios was abbot till 1869, when he was exiled to Toplou for baptizing a Muslim woman from Thronos, whose brother had already been baptized (Generalis, “Η Ιερά Μονή των Ασωμάτων”, p. 15). See Psilakis II 357 (photo) and 359-60 (transcription). Psilakis suggests the name Agathangelos Lagouvardos was incised in 1911.

<sup>25</sup> Some or all of these objects were moved to the Historical Museum of Crete in Herakleion after the Moni Asomaton was dissolved and turned into an agricultural school in 1930: cf. St. Alexiou, *A Guide to the Historical Museum of Crete* (Candia 1954), 19.

<sup>26</sup> The village of Nefs Amari is so called to distinguish it from the district of Amari of which it is the chief settlement. Turkish *nefis* means ‘soul, life, self, essence’; thus Nefs Amari is Turkish for ‘Amari proper’.

<sup>27</sup> Date 1829 over easternmost of N windows. Inscription on belfry hard to read (S wall).

<sup>28</sup> Βρασκή: a kind of large earthenware pot.

<sup>29</sup> *Ο Κρητικός λαός*, year 1, issue 1 (May 1909), 12-16. See also Dawkins’ “Folk-memory in Crete”, p. 23-24.

<sup>30</sup> Dawkins seems to read: φεβρουαρι 15 εκοιμήθη ο δούλος του Θεού ιερέυς [...] [15 February the servant of the Lord priest [...] fell asleep]. In fact the figure after “February” is ις’, i.e. 16. All this is incised on the fresco of the second figure from the left (St George or Demetrius: he has a little boy behind him on a horse) inside the north wall.

<sup>31</sup> The fresco has deteriorated considerably since Dawkins’ day, though in recent years work has been done to stabilize it. The inscription is above George’s head. Dawkins doesn’t mention the fresco painted on the wall of the tomb itself (which Greek scholars call ποδιά), which is beneath the fresco he describes. Unusually, the fresco on the tomb wall depicts a secular scene of two horsemen, one of whom appears to be collecting a bulging purse from a man standing on the ground – perhaps Chortatsis collecting tithes from one of his serfs.

<sup>32</sup> Dawkins does not record the fact that this diagram represents the Cross with the lance (on the left) and the reed and sponge (on the right) appearing to sprout from its base.

<sup>33</sup> Ierotheos Troullinos was abbot of the Moni Asomaton from 1879 to 1892 (Generalis, “Η Ιερά Μονή των Ασωμάτων”, p. 15).

<sup>34</sup> The chapel of Agia Paraskevi and its setting are among the most beautiful that can be imagined. The date of construction is uncertain, but it may go back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Jackie and I walk there every time we stay at our dear friend Lambros Papoutsakis’ taverna in the nearby village of Thronos – almost every year. For me the frescos are particularly important because George Chortatsis, who had the church built, bears the same name as the foremost playwright of the Cretan Renaissance, who was an exact contemporary of Shakespeare. The George Chortatsis and his wife who are depicted here – and whose bones are visible inside their (now) glass-lidded tomb – are probably the playwright’s direct ancestors.

<sup>35</sup> Jackie and I had our first sight of these Cretan tulips at exactly the same spot where Dawkins recorded them, and on the anniversary of his sighting (9 April 1994), while driving with David and Katy Ricks.



## CHAPTER 11

### AGIA GALINI TO PREVELI

To the west of the flat beach of Dibaki<sup>1</sup> the hills again come down to the sea, and between them the valley which drains the Amari valley, the Platypotamos, debouches. At its mouth, near the site of the ancient Sulia, is the new settlement of Agia Galini, formed by people who have come down in recent years from Melabes [elsewhere Melambes]. The Mesara plain and the Amari valley both need a port. Matala is too small. The Minoan port to the north of it is now of no use.<sup>2</sup> Boats can land either at Kokkinos Pyrgos on the Dibaki beach or at Agia Galini. Neither of these is more than an open roadstead, and sometimes one is used, sometimes the other according to the weather.

The official name of the little village is Agia Galini, *Αγία Γαλήνη*, but popularly, Xanthoudidis told me, it is called Agios Galinios.<sup>3</sup> A native of the mother village, Melambes, whom I met at Hersonnesos where he was acting as local justice of the peace, told me the legendary story of the name.

9/XII/17. The Empress Eudocia (Athenais), the wife of Theodosios II, had a quarrel with Pulcheria and was banished to the *αγίους τόπους* (the Holy Land). A storm arose and she landed at the site of Agia Galini and founded a convent of nuns dedicated to the Virgin. When this was done the storm ceased and so the place got its name. The Empress then left for the Holy Land.<sup>4</sup>

A little way to the east of the village and on the west side of the river near its mouth lies the cemetery. It is close to the brink of the precipitous bank of the river-bed and the path goes between it and the edge of the cliff. In this cemetery there is a seemingly old church with rudimentary double transepts. It is, I think, described by Gerola.<sup>5</sup> Also somewhere near the mouth of the river are the supposed ruins of the Empress's convent, and with them an ancient church, but this is, I think, distinct from the old church in the cemetery.

From Agia Galini to Preveli there are two roads. One goes by way of Melambes and then turns towards the sea, passes through Sakhtouria and near Kerame [Κεραμέζ] and so to the two Preveli monasteries. The other, which is longer though easier going, lies further inland, passing to the north of the Siderota mountain [Σιδέρωτας] and through the village of Ardaktos [Αρδακτος/Αρδαχτος].<sup>6</sup> This road then goes on to Spili, or near Spili, and descends to Preveli through the gorge called the Noisy Gorge, the *Kourtaliotiko Pharangi*, which I describe below.<sup>7</sup> But if we take the southern route by the sea from Agia Galini to Preveli we pass first through Melambes and then, about three hours from Agia Galini, pass by the little church of St Stephen with its inscriptions.

#### **Road from Preveli to Spili 8 April 1918**

The road is pretty. First it goes from the valley of Yannioú and Mýrthios<sup>8</sup> (which runs parallel with the sea and is separated from it by the hill behind Preveli) up into the Kourtaliótiko or Kroutaliótiko Pharangi and then passes through Phratí, the village at the top of the two Preveli gorges on the sharp ridge which separates them. The eastern gorge has no path. The view of these gorges from below is given by Pashley. Thence it passes through the Koxaré valley to Spíli under its conspicuous cliff, to the north of which the path winds and then descends by Yerakári to the Amari valley running down opposite Méronas. The Kourtaliótiko Pharangi is so called because of the noise the wind

makes in it. The first time I passed down it this was so loud that I thought that rocks were falling.



IMG\_0370 View down Kourtaliotikos Gorge from below Frati, looking south towards Preveli, 23 April 2009; note passing raven

## Melambes

An easy day's excursion from Agia Galini is to ride up to the village of Melambes, which lies on the northern slopes of the mountain called Vouvala. There is not much to see there, but it was the home of the famous Four Martyrs of Melambes. These saints are of the number of the perhaps-to-be-called the Recent Martyrs.<sup>9</sup> These are men who were put to death for their religion by the Turks, for the most part apparently in the later years of the Turkish domination. They have been canonised and their stories and special offices are collected in the *Modern Martyrology of the Greek Church*, a book which forms, as it were, a modern supplement, a bringing up to date of the older offices and of the lives of the earlier saints contained in the Synaxarion. As to the circumstances of their death, it must be remembered that in Turkey the profession of Christianity, whatever disabilities it may have brought with it, has never been a legal offence: what is punished, and that with death, is denying Islam. Very much, in fact, as in Frankish Cyprus, Saracen captives were left alone though encouraged to be baptised. But if after baptism they escaped and went back to Islam then, if caught, they were burned without mercy. Thus it appears that very many at least of these Recent Martyrs were men who had been Christians in secret and had either been found out or had judged the time ripe to declare their true faith, and had made a premature declaration of their true faith. And this occurred not infrequently in the later years of the Turkish rule. There were Crypto-Christians in abundance: the *Lino-Vamvakoi* – Cotton-Linens – of Cyprus, the

*Stavriotai* in Pontus and, in Crete, the *Kourmoulides*, so called from the most famous family amongst them.

And this seems to have been the case with the four Valatakis [= Vlatakis?] brothers, Angelis, Georgios, Emmanouel [= Manouil] and Nikolaos. Some time in the 1820s (I have seen the date 1824 on an *eikon*), the people in Crete thought that their freedom was in sight and that the Turks were beaten. The crypto-Christians threw off the mask, the Turks recovered and executed them as renegades.<sup>10</sup> Another informant told me that they were recognised as Christians because, when all the Turks flocked into Retimo for safety, taking refuge behind the walls from the danger of living with the Christians in open villages, then these four brothers remained behind in the village with the Christians.

A large and very ugly church is now being built to them at Retimo on the site of the old wall, which was destroyed at the end of Turkish times.<sup>11</sup> It is tempting to think that they were executed on top of the wall, just as the British hanged a number of Turks on the walls of Candia at the time of the first intervention in 1898. But this I do not know. I saw at Retimo a sketch for an *eikon* of the martyrs in the shop of a painter who had also a parchment outline of the picture with the outlines perforated so that it could be transferred by pouncing onto a panel and the necessity for drawing be saved. It showed the four youths in a row in haloes and conventional robes, the only touch of realism being their shaven faces and small moustaches. The date was 1824. (4 September 1917: The painter had got the outline I saw from someone else. I asked to see it [= the original] and he had it at once to hand. Below was an inscription with their date 1824.) These *eikons* of Recent Martyrs show a curious vacillation between realistic representations of the actual modern dress and the conventional dress of saints. Thus, these martyrs wear the usual modern moustaches, but in other respects follow the convention. St George the Younger, a New Martyr of Yannina, wears sometimes a *fustanella* [kilt] and fez, with his halo, sometimes inclines to the standard traditional type of St George in what is supposed to be the dress of a Roman soldier, with corslet etc.

Their feast is on October 28<sup>th</sup>. At Toplou I saw the book, *The New Full Compendium*, Candia, 1917, which contains the service in their honour. I quote the verse as showing the style which is dull and thin [quotation not reproduced here].

I am told they were put to death in 1823, but the *eikon* gives the date as 1824. I do not know the manner of their death nor the reason. The service talks of tortures and resistance, but this may be no more than conventional rhetoric.

[on a separate slip] **2.iii.18** Xanthoudides showed me the *akolouthia* [service] of the 4 martyrs of Melabes printed in 1888 in Retimo. It contains as the lesson their life, and they were all originally crypto-Christians who declared themselves openly in 1821. In 1824 when the insurrection was over they were executed by the Turks as renegades at the town gate of Retimo.<sup>1</sup>

### **Agios Stephanos near Agia Galini. 6 June 1918**

Three hours from Agia Galini on the direct path to Preveli – the path near the sea and not inland by Adhraktos which is the easier though the longer road – three hours from Agia Galini on the left of the road amongst the ruins of houses is the little church of St

---

<sup>1</sup> The execution of *three* [4] men is mentioned also by Pashley I 107, who says that they were members of the Kourmoulis clan, who had been crypto-Christians but had openly espoused Christianity in the Revolution; though this may be a misunderstanding of the term Kourmoulis used generically to mean crypto-Christian.



Stephen. Looking east from the church the hill called "Tou Phoka to Selli" forms the skyline and is not far off. The church lies just to the west of the stream in a valley which forms the boundary between the lands of Melabes and those of Sakhtouria.

Inside the church on the north wall is an inscription painted in black on plain plaster which has been left uncovered in the middle of a later layer of plaster. No traces of frescoes.

1720

ΑΝΓΥΣΤΩ - 10  
 ΔΗΑΚΑΙΗΘΕΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΤΩ ΜΕΤΟΧΕΙ ΠΑΤΡΑ ΤΧΔΔ  
 [Λ]ΧΤΧΘΧ: ΦΕΟΦΦΗΧ  
 ( ΕΩΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΟΠΧΛΧ  
 ΤΕΚΗΟΝ ΑΝΤΧΣ

i.e. 1720 Αυγούστου 10. Ανακαινίσθη και το μετόχι παρά του δού[λ]ου του Θεού Γεωργίου [ειερ]έως Χαλκιόπουλου [και των] τέκνων αυτού.

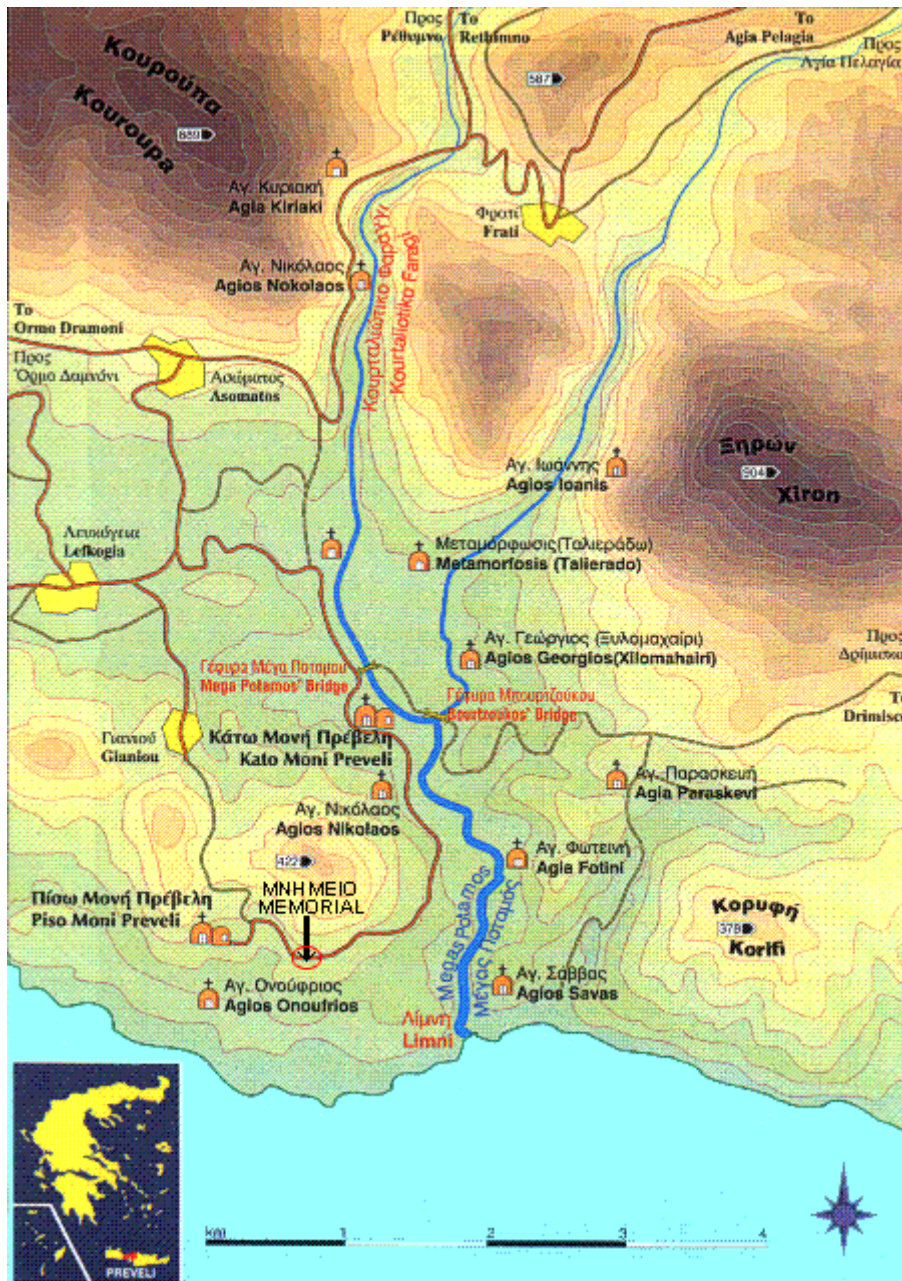
[1720 August 10. The *metochi* too was renovated by the servant of God Georgios Chalkiopoulos the priest and his children.]

The screen is carved. On the north side of the screen a double eikon of St Vlasios and the Virgin and Child, and on the south side a similar double eikon of Christ Enthroned and St Stephen as a deacon. This is inscribed in capitals with accents:

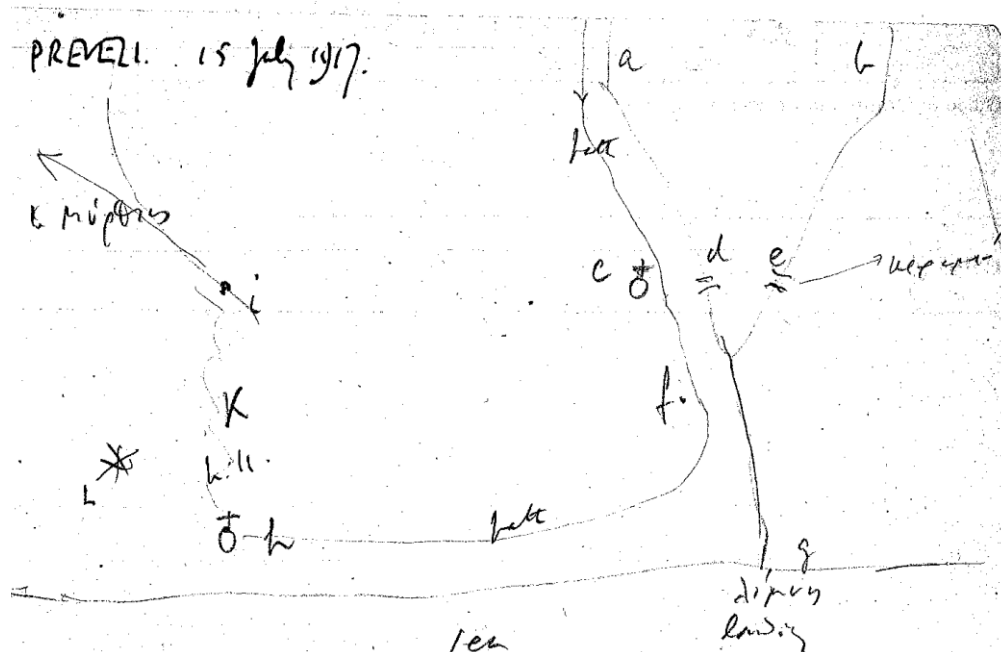
in capitals with accents:-- δεχας των δαδων  
 σου δεσπυτο παντω κρετορ Ιουλιανω Ιερεω των  
 χαλκιωπων και των υιου αυτου Γεωργιωμου  
 Ιερομοναχου και της συνοδους αυτων  
 ο ταπεινω κωροστατικω ο μαλισσερω  
 τικονογραφησαν αχπη 1688

[Prayer of thy servants, o Lord Pantokrator, Ioannes Chalkiopoulos the priest and his son the hieromonk Gerasimos and their companions. The humble Konstantinos Melissourgos painted the icons. 1688]

Clearly a church of the Chalkiopoulos family, founded 1688, restored 1720. With termination cf. Ξανθουδίδης.



<http://www.preveli.org/files/moni/map.htm>

Preveli<sup>12</sup>

Sketch plan of the Preveli monasteries

- A Kourtaliotiko Pharangi with path down it  
 B Gorge with no path. Pashley has a good view of these gorges and the mountain between them from below taken from near the monastery by the river [Kato Preveli]  
 C The monastery by the river (St John Prodromos)  
 D E Bridges built by monastery with long inscriptions not easy to read from position. The one on the east bridge records ανεκαιίσθη ... ΑΩΝΒ ([renovated] ... 1852)  
 F Spring with a ladle chained and marked Εις το μοναστήρι του Πρέβελι 1846  
 G Mouth of the river where there is a landing place on an inlet of the sea whence called Limni but I have not been there and only guess about the inlet; it may be a lagoon formed by the river  
 H The lower big monastery (St John Theologos) where I stayed; Preveli par excellence [Piso Preveli]  
 I The village of Yanniou  
 K Path over ridge up from Preveli and down to Yanniou  
 L High conspicuous [mountain?] [...] from [...] (Κόρακας) below Ποδάκινο

The situation of the Preveli monasteries is shown on the sketch. Parallel with the coast is a long range of mountains, to the north of which is the valley containing Spili, Koxare and Agios Vasilis. This range is cut through by the Megapotamos river flowing through the gorge called the *Kourtaliotiko Pharangi*. Where this river issues from the hills is another valley parallel with the sea containing the villages of Myrthios, Mariou and Lefkogia. This valley is cut off from the sea by the low range of hills on which is the seaward of the two monasteries [Piso Moni Preveli].<sup>13</sup>

The plan shows that the river has a tributary near the mouth joining it on the east side.<sup>14</sup> This also flows through a gorge, but so far as I know there is no path through it.<sup>15</sup> Pashley has a good view of these two gorges and the mountain between them, taken from near the upper monastery. Just above where the two streams join, each is crossed by a bridge built by the monasteries. The path from Sakhtouria and Kerame passes over these two bridges and then comes immediately to the upper monastery.<sup>16</sup> Each bridge bears a long inscription which, from its position, is not easy to read. The one on the east bridge records that it was restored in the year 1852.<sup>17</sup>

At the mouth of the river there is a landing place. The place is called Limni, the Lake, and there may therefore be some sort of lagoon formed by the river meeting the beach, but I have not been there.<sup>18</sup>

As the path from Sakhtouria leads to the upper monastery by the two bridges, so the other approach through the gorge leads to the same point and may now be described.<sup>19</sup> The third approach to the upper monastery is the same road from Myrthios through the valley. It is also usual to reach the lower monastery by a direct path over the hill from the north through the village of Yanniou.

### **Preveli upper monastery of the Prodomos [Kato Preveli!]. Written midday 8 April 1918 at Spili**

The upper monastery of Preveli is very pretty. It has not the wild ascetic look of the monastery over the sea on its bare slopes, but the crowded flat-roofed buildings on the sloping ground amongst trees have a rustic air as of a farm. The church is very big for the little court, so that the buildings cluster closely round it and the court is like a broad passage. It is mostly covered by trellised vines supported by masonry columns. There is a back entrance at the eastern end descending by steps into the court, but the main entrance is by a very small arched door at the north-west corner of the court. This is approached by a sloped paved path at the bottom of which is a space with a large plane tree and the fountain. This is underneath the buildings on the right as one goes up to the door at the back of a domed space which opens at the front with a large arch. It is of the nineteenth century, the date being given by an inscription above the water-spouts. The building above the fountain, and so not part of the court, is I think the guestroom and is probably or even certainly newer than the court and built over the fountain in this way for lack of space.

There are numerous chimneys in the monastery of this form.



### **Preveli [Piso Preveli]**

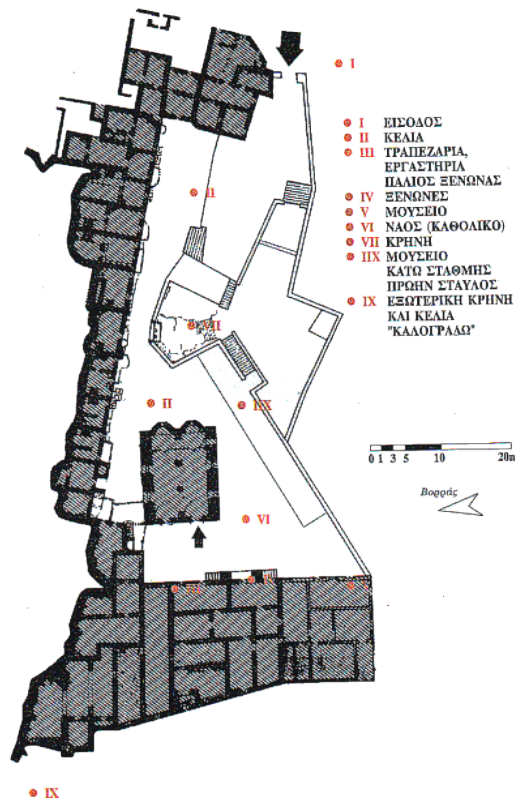
The Preveli church is of the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was redone up in the 20<sup>th</sup>. The oldest parts of the *moni* are the *kellia* which are the range south of the church. But anyhow the place dates only from Turkish times.

The church is double with a good screen and interesting *eikons*, two being dated to 1843 and inscribed δέχου πενιχράν την δέησιν μου κόρη Νικοδήμου επισκόπου Λάμπη (a diocese in Crete).<sup>20</sup> [O maiden, accept the meagre prayer of Nikodimos bishop of Lampe]

A plaque over the west door of the church records that it was built in 1836 when Neilos I was abbot and restored in 1911 under Neilos II.<sup>21</sup>



IMG\_0369 Piso Preveli monastery (tou Theologou), showing chimneys like the ones at Kato Preveli mentioned and illustrated by Dawkins



Plan of Piso Preveli (<http://www.preveli.org/files/moni/sxedio.htm>)

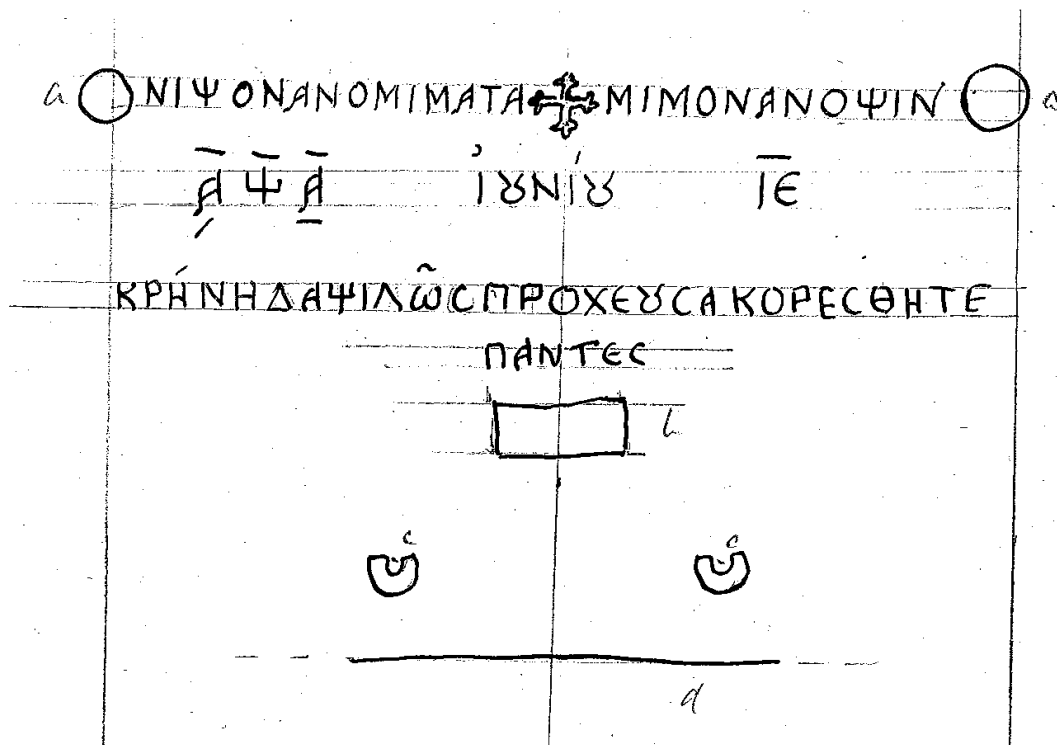
**Preveli 17 July 1917**

**Fountain**

As one enters before going up the steps to the court, the fountain is on the right, two spouts and a trough at the foot of a wall behind which there is the water chamber. Above the wall is the part of the court to the east of the church.

On the upper part of the wall is an illegible inscription and a cross in a circle with IC XC NI KA in tiny pebbles set in the plaster; similar work in the *apothekes* [storerooms] at the north-west corner of the *moni*.

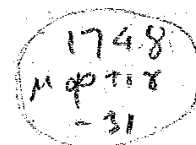
Below this inscription is the stone front of the fountain which has between the top and the spouts the following inscriptions:



- A A rosettes
- B opening
- C C spouts
- D trough

**Preveli 6 June 1918**

The north-west corner of the monastery is occupied by a granary and storehouses and below them a bakery. There is a door too here leading out to a spring and over this outer gate a IC NK cross and to the left of it the date March 31 1748 done in pebbles on the plaster thus.



To the same date apparently belong the refectory and kitchen and the other rooms to the south of this and below the new guesthouse, that is to say the whole west end of the court.

In the granary are several other inscriptions done in pebbles on the plaster. Two big pictures of ships and the date 1793 (my notes are not quite clear but it is nearly certainly in the granary) and three IX NK crosses with these letterings:

a) X C M N  $\frac{\kappa}{\mu} \frac{\chi}{\kappa\alpha}$  ϩ Ι Γ Δ (last letter for ω)

b) X C Θ N  $\frac{\kappa}{\mu} \frac{\chi}{\kappa\alpha}$  ϩ Η Γ Ο

c) X C M Θ  $\frac{\kappa}{\mu} \frac{\chi}{\kappa\alpha}$  Ν ϩ Η Γ Ο

These give the formula (MΘN)  
 XC ( ΘN) ΣΤΙΓΟ (= σταυρός)  
 (M N)

whatever its meaning.

### History of Preveli 17 July 1917

The old blind monk Meletios told me (he is from Kerame, but has been to Athos and I think other places. ?Jerusalem).

The archives of the monastery have been lost. A monk called Ioakeim in 1821 took them to Cerigo and handed them over to the Moatzides family for safe keeping and they are lost.<sup>22</sup> As to its founding in Turkish times, there were three brothers of the village of Preveliana:<sup>23</sup> one became the founder, one became a pirate (*κουρσάρης*), and I forget what the third one did.

The tradition is that a Christian of Preveliana in Mesara killed a Turk. He fled and, saying that he had killed a Christian, threw himself on the mercy of the janissaries at Labini [Lambini] near Spili. The monk called these janissaries Albanides, which he said meant *pallikaria* [brave warriors].<sup>24</sup> The janissaries sent him to Preveli to keep their sheep and suggested that he should buy the land, which he did for 300 piastres. The man became a monk and gradually other monks joined him and the monastery was founded. Later on, in 1796, an abbot, Ephraim, who came from Ardakhtos, got the patriarch to make it a *stavropegion* [a monastery owing canonical allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople]. It is a Koinovion [cenobitic monastery].<sup>25</sup>

The monastery inland at the junction of the rivers was built later to be near the fields. It is dedicated to St John Prodromos [‘the Forerunner’] and the monastery over the sea to St John Theologos. The monastery *tu Prodromou* was burnt by the Turks in 1866; the monastery over the sea escaped.<sup>26</sup>

The man of Preveliana had his 300 *grosia* [piastres] concealed in a heap of stones called *tu Listi o Trokhalos*, which lies on the road from Melambes just below the village of Kria Vrasi.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps he hid it there when he fled from Preveliana to Labini. This is a heap of stones piled over the body of a brigand, to which everyone who passes adds a stone with a curse, and stones are even now said to be added to it. Cf. *to Riaki tou anathematou* at Toplou.<sup>28</sup>

## Folklore

### Noted at Preveli, 7 April 1918, having come there from Myrthios

My host at Myrthios, Panagiotis Hatzidakis, the *demodidaskalos* and brother of the professor,<sup>29</sup> told me that 5 nails were prepared for the crucifixion of Christ and that a thief stole the fifth nail, which was intended for his heart. Christ therefore blessed the thief and that is why thieves are so often successful. Yet I have heard the saying *Ο Θεός αγαπά τον κλέφτη, αλλ' αγαπά και περισσότερο τον νοικοκύρη* [God loves the thief, but he loves the householder even more].

At Preveli, 15 July 1917, I was told (by the deacon who believed it) that when twigs of *Smilax* or plane – these are the two plants most used for the purpose – are cut for making baskets, it must be done when there is no moon (or when the moon is small), otherwise the baskets will rot. Yannis of Palaikastro told me that wood for timber must be cut not only when the moon is small, but when it is waning, otherwise the wood will get full of worms (*λαθρακιά*). Yannis did not believe it.<sup>30</sup>

At Toplou I saw a monk making baskets, and so at Preveli and, as light work, it is considered suitable for monks. In a book at Toplou there is a story of a hermit of the Thebaid going into town to sell the baskets he had made, so it is clearly a very old tradition that monks should make baskets. At Preveli the deacon used to sit in the morning in the shade of the west end of the church and plait baskets. The old blind monk Meletios [or Methodius?] used to come out to sit in the shade and say to the deacon: “Τι κάνεις, διάκε;” “Πλέκω καλάθια.” “Καλύτερα να πλέκεις καλάθια παρά να πλέκεις σκάνδαλα.” [“What are you doing, deacon?” “Weaving baskets.” “Better to weave baskets than weave scandals.”] This was rather a stock joke and I heard it two successive mornings. The old man was an uncle of the deacon and the policeman at Selli, Theodorakis, was his brother.

### March 1918

In Crete people believe that hares change their sex. There is a saying: *Καιρός λαγού, καιρός λαγουδίνας* [Time of the jack [hare], time of the jill]. I noted this somewhere near Agia Varvara or between it and Dibaki.

### Paximadia

Two rocky islets that lie out in the Bay of Dibaki. One of them rises to a peak of more than a thousand feet and is visible not only from all the shore of the bay but from all the western half of the Mesara. The ancient name of the islets is Letoa. They are now called, like many other such islets, *Ta Paximadia*, The Biscuits. They belong to the government, and like other such islands off Crete – Standia, Agios Theodoros, Elasa, Kouphonisi and Gaidaronisi<sup>31</sup> – are rented for winter grazing. The grass grows with the [autumn?] rain, and small cattle are brought over from the mainland and remain there all the winter. In the winter of, I think, 1917-18, this led to a grim event.

On each island a single shepherd had been placed. They could only communicate with one another by signals, and the same with the mainland. Except for an occasional visit of a boat with supplies they were each condemned to spend the winter in complete solitude. This winter, too, the man on the smaller island was known



to be out of health. What happened, I was told by the monks at Preveli. As the winter went on the man on the big island did not see his mate for some time and began to grow uneasy. At last he swam the strait and found the sick man dead in a cave which faced north and so was not visible from the other island. The survivor made signals and people came over in boats from Sphakia, but the body was by this time too far gone to be moved for burial, so he still lies on the island where he died. Later on I met the surviving shepherd at Komitades. I asked him why he did not swim over as soon as his fellow ceased to signal to him. He said that he thought that he must have been taken off in the boat which came from time to time to bring them food. No doubt he was in fact uneasy in his mind and at last resolved to cross and find the truth. From the Admiralty chart, the strait between the two seems to be about /// yards.<sup>32</sup>

[The following cutting from the *Oxford Mail*, 15 November 1944, was found in the file in Dawkins' archive relating to Preveli Monastery]

## Over 500 Allied Troops Saved By Crete Abbot

THE Cretan priest who saved more than 500 British and Dominion troops from falling into German hands after the evacuation of the island, and saw them to safety in Egypt, has died in Cairo, from the privations he underwent hiding in the mountains after the Germans had put a price on his head.

He was the Abbot Agan-thangelos Lagovardos, head of the monastery of Preveli on the south coast of Crete, who in 1942 had been awarded the Order of the British Empire for his great services to the Allied cause. He died from a heart attack while attending a service commemorating the liberation of Athens.

When the last Allied ship left Crete in May, 1941, there were still a large number of troops left behind chiefly Australians and New Zealanders, and some British. Between 500 and 600 of these men were fed, hidden and sheltered by Abbot Lagovardos, who organised a complete underground service for helping them.

## Link-Up on Burma Front

TROOPS of the Fifth Indian Division advancing on Kalemyo from the west have linked up with East African Forces attacking from the north, said Lord Louis Mountbatten's communique quoted by Reuter, to-day.

The main body of the Fifth Indian Division has cleared resistance east of the stockades on the road from Tiddim, eight miles west of Kalemyo.

The East African attack down the Kabaw and Kale valleys is meeting strong resistance six miles north of Kalemyo.

After the capture of Mawlaik, on the Chindwin, East African troops have made further advances.

In northern Burma Chinese troops north-east of Bhamo made only slight advances.

## HIDDEN MORE THAN YEAR

For more than a year they were fed from the monastery and hidden in the homes of his friends, despite the fact that the Germans were carrying on an intense search for the last survivors of the Allied forces.

Eventually the Abbot got a message through to the British Command in Egypt asking that they might be evacuated.

After the relief expedition from Egypt had made contact with the Abbot 78 men were taken aboard. Later a further 200 who had been hidden in the area were brought to the embarkation point by runners and safely taken to Egypt.

Unfortunately, the secret of the rescue of the troops reached the Germans, and they placed a price on Abbot Lagovardos' head. Warned in time by a peasant, he took to the hills before the German force arrived at the monastery.

The monks of Preveli were taken to prison, and the monastery was sacked, but the organisation the Abbot had built up enabled British officers to rescue almost all the remaining British and Dominion troops on the island, who had suffered incredible hardships because of the rigours of the climate and their inadequate clothing.



Inscriptions on western bridge: IMG\_0362 (left of arch)

IMG\_0363 (right of arch; dated 1850)



IMG\_0364 Inscription on eastern bridge (on left side of parapet, on road side; dated 1852)



IMG\_0368 Limni seen from the west, 23 April 2009. In summer what used to be an idyllic beach is defaced by loungers and parasols (but see worse below...)



<http://www.tovima.gr/science/article/?aid=352441> (*To Vima*, 05/09/2010): Limni before and after a catastrophic fire

**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> The flatness of the land around Tymbaki encouraged the Germans to construct an airfield there in 1942. "The village of Tymbaki was evacuated and destroyed, and men and boys from the surrounding villages were forced into labour gangs to level and prepare the ground": Artemis Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor* (London 2012), p. 144. The area is still used as a military airfield.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Minoan port of Kommos. See ch. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Gerola II 226, 228 calls it Agios Galinis.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins retells this story in "Folk-memory in Crete", pp. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Is this Gerola's S. Maria, II pp. 226 and 228 (fig. 233 & 234)?

<sup>6</sup> This road seems to follow more or less the same course as the modern road.

<sup>7</sup> Where he has typed "Kourtaliótiko or Kroutaliótiko Pharangi" Dawkins has added "better" in hand under the first (and in fact more authentic) alternative. Dawkins notes that according to G.N. Hatzidakis ("Γλωσσικαί παρατηρήσεις", *Αθηνά* 29 (1917), p. 191), *κουρταλώ* in Crete means 'I clap my hands'; therefore a more accurate translation in English might be Clapping Gorge.

<sup>8</sup> He means that the valley runs from Yannioú (which I have corrected from Yannoú throughout) to Myrthios, not that the road runs through Myrthios.

<sup>9</sup> In Greek those Christians who were martyred for their faith during the Ottoman period are known as *Νεομάρτυρες* (Neomartyrs).

<sup>10</sup> They were martyred at Rethymno on 28 Oct. 1824.

<sup>11</sup> This is the big church in the *Πλατεία Τεσσάρων Μαρτύρων* on the main east-west road in the middle of Rethymno, at the top of the present-day *Οδός Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως*.

<sup>12</sup> The popular names of the two monasteries are potentially confusing: the inland one in the valley is called Kato [Lower] Preveli, while the one on a height overlooking the sea is called Piso [Back] Preveli, because the road from the north goes past Kato, then back a little to the north to reach Piso. It was from Preveli that the first large-scale evacuations of Allied troops from Crete took place in the summer of 1941: see newspaper article reproduced at end of chapter. For the history of the two monasteries see Psilakis II 385ff.

<sup>13</sup> This is the monastery that is currently in use.

<sup>14</sup> The river runs below Spili.

<sup>15</sup> There seems to be no path there now either.

<sup>16</sup> Kato Moni Preveli, which was abandoned in the early 1970s (Psilakis II 416) and remained derelict, at least until recently.

<sup>17</sup> The western bridge has two old inscriptions and the eastern bridge one, all easily visible: see photos at end of this document.

<sup>18</sup> See photos at end of this document.

<sup>19</sup> This has been described above.

<sup>20</sup> Nikodimos was Bishop of Lampe 1831-45. The bishopric of Lampe has its seat at Argyroupoli.

<sup>21</sup> Neilos Moschovitis was abbot from 1823 to 1862. He rebuilt the present chapel after the previous one was demolished in 1835. It was he that had the two bridges built over the Megas Potamos and its tributary, the Bourtzoukos: see <http://www.preveli.org/files/moni/gr10.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> Cerigo is the island of Cythera (Kythira). Dawkins' story is borne out by the following: "In a note kept at the monastery it is said that 'during the Revolution of 1821 the archive and the manuscripts of the monastery were transferred to Cythera, from

whence they have yet to be returned'. A search by Michalis Papadakis in 1958 yielded no results" (<http://www.preveli.org/files/moni/gr30.htm>). I wonder why the archive was entrusted to this particular family. Perhaps they were related to the Moatsos family of Crete, who sought refuge in Kythira when the Turks invaded Crete. The surname is Venetian (Moazzo).

<sup>23</sup> Preveliana is near Megali Vrysi, which is near Agia Varvara. The name is said to derive from the Prevelis family, who were among the first to settle in the area.

<sup>24</sup> According to Vasilis Orfanos, *Λέξεις τουρκικής προέλευσης στο κρητικό ιδίωμα* (Herakleion 2014), *αλπάνης* or *αλπάντης* (< T *nalband*), which literally means 'farrier', can also be used to denote a cack-handed surgeon (a 'butcher').

<sup>25</sup> See ch. 14, endnote 5.

<sup>26</sup> According to the monastery's official website, the monastery (presumably PISO Preveli, the one by the sea) was looted and damaged by the Germans in late August 1941: <http://www.preveli.org/files/moni/gr10.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> The story of "The brigand's cairn" near Krya Vrysi is told in <https://rethemnosnews.gr/2013/07/χωρια-του-νομου-μασ-δημοσ-αγιου-βασιλε-7/>.

<sup>28</sup> The story goes that in 1821 a janissary commander named Bayram Kasap ['the butcher'] killed the abbot of Toplou, and he was killed in retaliation. His corpse ended up in a nearby torrent-bed, where the monks piled stones on it by way of a curse. Cf. also "Tsouli's tomb" described in ch. 24.

<sup>29</sup> For more on Professor G. N. Hatzidakis see ch. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Dawkins repeated this information in his pamphlet of corrigenda to his book *The Monks of Athos* (see Michael Allan, *Byzantine Talks: letters of Norman Douglas to Richard MacGillivray Dawkins and a single letter from Dawkins to Douglas* (Graz 2012), p. 101, n. 2).

<sup>31</sup> Standia, off the north coast near Herakleion, is normally known today (locally) as Ντία or (officially) as Δία. Agios Theodoros is off the north coast near Platanias. Koufonisi is off the south coast, south of Ziros. Gaidaronisi (now officially named Chrysi) is off the south coast near Ieraptera. Elasa is off the north-east corner of Crete, near Vai.

<sup>32</sup> Dawkins failed to note the figure. I don't know the precise distance between the islets, but they are very close to each other.

**CHAPTER 12**  
**MYRTHIOS TO SPHAKIA; FRANGOKASTELLO;**  
**KOMITADES**

**[Myrthios: the Hatzidakis family]**

I first came to Myrthios on 23 September 1916, landing at Plakias and then going down to Plakias to pick up the trawler again.<sup>1</sup> As long as I had known Professor George Hatzidakis at Athens I had known that he still kept up his ties with some village in central Crete, and on this day I learned that he came from Myrthios. There I saw his old father, Nicholas Hatzidakis, who was then just a hundred years old.<sup>2</sup> He survived for two years more. At this time he was blind, his eyes having been surgically removed some ten years before. He still heard fairly well, and had full use of his memory and wits in general. Only he did not speak much: his voice was weak and high, but then all the Hatzidakis family have these rather high-pitched voices. I noticed it in even a quite distant cousin whom I met at the monastery of Gorgolaini, where he was a monk.<sup>3</sup> For the rest old Hatzidakis could not walk, but sat up in a chair. His face was much shrunken and his skin was a dark brown. He was not bald. I saw him again looking much the same in 1917. In 1918 he died. When I saw him in 101U [sic: most likely 1917] he was chatting with another old man some twenty or more years younger than himself but also blind. It is the custom in Crete to put a male baby into the arms of the bride at a wedding in order that she too may have male children. This second old man, whom I found visiting the Hatzidakis house, had been the baby carried by old Hatzidakis' bride at his wedding some eighty years before. In 1918 the second elder was dead also.

The Hatzidakis family is to my mind so remarkable that I collected at Myrthios and from the professor at Athens a few notes about their history. They were not always called Hatzidakis, a name meaning the son of the pilgrim and extremely common in Crete. A few generations ago they were called Zavetis and lived not at Myrthios but at Agios Yannis, a village above the gorge which leads down to Myrthios and on the way from Myrthios to Retimo. But the family owned a mill, still in existence, in the lower part of the gorge just to the west of Myrthios, and to work this with greater convenience they moved house and came down to Myrthios. The second member of the family at Myrthios built the lower storey of the house in which they are still living. The upper storey is later: in those days there were no such things. This man was a coppersmith by trade and went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem no less than three times. He was in consequence known not so much by his proper surname but as the pilgrim smith, Khatzi Chartchas, which is the Cretan form of *χαλκιάς*. As to the word Khatzis for a pilgrim, it is of course the Arabic and Turkish Hajji, applied in the first instance to Moslem pilgrims to Mecca and in Greece under Turkish rule in popular language to pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, who are known in the official Greek of the church as *proskynitai*. It was from this very famous pilgrim then that the family took their present name of Hatzidakis. This man, though of course in every way a Christian, was recognised as a brother by the Janissaries at the price of entertaining them in his house when they came to the village. He was a sort of honorary Janissary. This was a custom of the Janissaries in their later days: it seems too that they had a particular friendliness for coppersmiths on account of their reverence for their soup-kettles, which they treated almost as the regimental fetish, whence the colonel was called Tchorbaji, the man who provided the soup. The cook was an important official. Their regular sign of revolt was to upset the regimental kettles. However this may be, it seems that the Pilgrim Smith contrived in

the worst periods of Turkish oppression to keep his house going. And the very house where he entertained the Janissaries is still occupied by his great-grandson.

The son of the Pilgrim was the old Nicholas Hatzidakis whom I saw. He lived all his life in the village, working his mill and fishing in the sea. He had a notable brother called George who died before I came to know the family. This George was a priest at Agios Yannis, the original village of the family. He died an old man about 1898. He was a famous man with a great reputation. [Written at Preveli, 7 April 1918:] He was famed as a powerful exorcist who could drive out demons. For this purpose he had a very large cross and it is said that he used to prod the sick man with this, crying “πού ακούεις το διάβολο, παιδί μου;” [“Where can you hear the devil, my child?”] The patient would cry out in terror, “πουθενά, πουθενά” [“nowhere, nowhere”] and leap out of bed cured. This is told as a sort of joke.

The same priest George was sent for to Sphakia to clear a house of ants by his exorcisms. He read and chanted and after a while called for a cauldron of water and told the people to dig in the floor of the house. The ants’ nest was thus found and they all drowned in the hot water. He had concluded as he was chanting, by his own common sense, that the ants must have a nest under the house and then they found it. These two stories are characteristic of the half-faith, half-sceptical attitude of the Greek peasant.

This priest was said to be *χερικόρης*, a lucky man, one who prospers in whatever he puts his mind to, a man who has a good *χερικό*. See note in folklore section.<sup>4</sup>

### Myrthios, 30 May 1917

His [= Nicholas’] sons: the eldest John, professor of mathematics at Athens, now in his decline. His son Nikolaos is also a prof of mathematics at Athens, a demoticist; he came to Cambridge for the mathematical congress and has children. Other sons are Emmanuel, who lives at Myrthios, and Constantine, who is dead and was a doctor at Canea, and George the linguist, who is I think the second. The youngest is the *demodidaskalos* of Myrthios, Panayotis, my host there several times, married with children, the eldest being Nikolaos who was a soldier in this war.

### Note at Sphakia, 20 July 1917

Pan[ayotis] Hatzidakis [who lived with his father] at Myrthios told me that his brother George the philologist is *οψιμαθής* [a late learner]. He used to bring corn up from Plakias, where the caiques landed, to the mill in the valley below the gorge with a donkey and a mule. His only learning was got at the *demotiko skholeio* [primary school] and helping his father when he sang in church by acting as *kalonarkhis*, the boy who chants as a sort of prompter always about half a phrase ahead of the singer, to the great confusion of the listeners. Then, in 1866, he went as a refugee to Athens and went to the *Ellinikon skholeion* [secondary school] and to the university, got a scholarship and went to study in Germany. He is now (in 1917) nearly 70, born therefore in 1848, and in 1866 was about 18, so it may be said that up to 18 or more he only knew how to read and write a little. They escaped in a sailing vessel from Kórakes, the beach below Rodakino where I set up the cross over Lt Smith’s grave.<sup>5</sup> The old father stayed in Crete all through the 1866 and 1869 insurrections.<sup>6</sup>

I saw at Myrthios, in the house of a woman who came from Sphakia, one of the special ovens which those women build and are apparently a speciality of Sphakia. First the round floor of the oven is made, and on it a conical or dome-shaped pile of small stones

is built up to be the size of the inside of the future oven. The stones are then covered first with leafy twigs and then with clay. The place where the door is to be is left uncovered and marked off by building in a round basket set on its side. Then, when the clay is quite dry, the basket is taken away and the stones taken out by way of the opening, one by one, until the whole oven is cleared. The twigs and leaves are to keep the clay clear of the stones. At the top of the oven they make or leave a hole so that when they heat the oven in the usual way with a fire inside there may be a proper draught. When the bread is baking this hole is closed with a clay cap, so that all the heat is retained. I afterwards saw another of these ovens at the monastery of Agios Charalambos close to Frangokastello.

**[Damnoni (Δαμνόνη)]**



The entrance to the Pool of Karavos at Damoni, 7 April 1999; the old waterline indicates that the land has risen (as noted by Dawkins)





The Pool of Karavos at Damoni today<sup>7</sup>

The village of Myrthios lies at the mouth of the gorge already described, and on the slopes looking down upon the sea. To the east there is a valley parallel with the sea, at the far end of which is the upper monastery of Preveli [Kato Preveli!]. In this valley coal, or rather lignite, has recently been discovered, and during the war I saw them working it. Bulgarian prisoners were employed and the workings were comparatively shallow. Directly below Myrthios a high promontory projects into the sea. On each side of it is a landing place. On the west is Plakias, on the east Damnoni. In this headland on its eastern side is a curious cleft in the rock into which the sea comes called the Pool of Karavos (του Καράβου η λίμνη). The whole slope above is called Karavos (Κάραβος), a word which means a sluice-gate.<sup>8</sup> The place is an hour's walk from Myrthios, first down the hill and then very rough walking over the west shoulder of the promontory.<sup>9</sup> The day – it was in April 1918 – was very hot indeed. The Pool is formed by a great vertical crack in the cliffs, perhaps twenty-five yards wide and a hundred yards deep, going perhaps a hundred yards deep into the side of the mountain. It goes indeed deeper than this, but this inner part is narrower, shallower and blocked with fallen rocks.<sup>10</sup> In the deep pool itself the sheer cliff is naturally higher on the left side, which is towards the promontory, than it is on the other. It is interesting to note that the cliff shows evidence of a rise of the land, for about a yard above the present level is the clear incised line on the rock of an earlier water level. The rocks fell into the cleft later than this rise of the land, for they show no trace of this earlier level of the sea.

From the high part of the shoulder of the promontory before one descends to the Pool there is a view to the west as far as Frangokastello. This sloping shoulder is called *το ρικάρμι*, which seems to mean the Heather Knoll, from *ρείκι*, heather, and *αρμί*, a hill or knoll smooth without rock.<sup>11</sup> But this one is rocky.

On the headland, especially the northern slopes, is a great deal of the prostrate *Aristolochia*<sup>12</sup> with big purple flowers (in flower April 1918): not a common plant. There was also, as everywhere in Crete, an abundance of a small *Ophrys* with a green and yellow flower and brown lip.<sup>13</sup> The boy who guided me to the Pool told me that children call this plant the Maiden, *η κόρη*, and play a little game with it. They pick it

and press their finger to the flower. This breaks the bag of glue at the base of the clubs of pollen, and these then stick to the finger as to a bee's proboscis. Then the child shows his finger with the pollen masses adhering to it and says: "δο μου, κόρη, το φιλί σου, κι εγώ σου δίνω το δικό μου. Νά το!" "Give me thy kiss, maiden, and I will give thee mine. There it is!" On the headland I found dittany, and the large white [ranunculus?] is common in the neighbourhood.

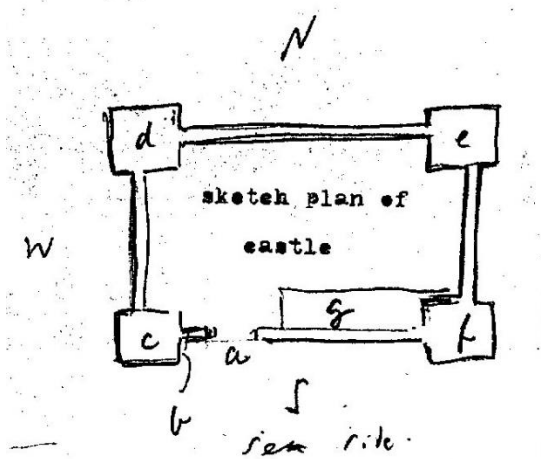
### [Myrthios to Frangokastello]

The road along the coast westwards from Myrthios first crosses the valley below the gorge, then ascends to Selli [Selliá], a village as the name implies on the *sellí, σελλί*, the saddle between the Myrthios valley and the next. It then passes along the generally bare folds of the slopes between the mountains and the sea. As it proceeds it passes above a little hamlet called Phinikia. I went there once and sat in the house of the local farmer, a cousin of the Hatzidakis of Myrthios – some fighting took place there too in one of the innumerable Cretan insurrections – then about three quarters of the way to Rodakino there is a spring of very cold water and a big tree a few steps above the road. This place is called *to Phrati*.

The next village is Rodakino, upper and lower. They lie on the two sides of a ravine with olives on the steep slopes, and half an hour below the village is a little beach. It was here that a ship, I think a Russian ship, came and took off the women and children at the time of the insurrection of 1866.

Further westward the coast becomes flatter and there is a sort of rather waste, a sea-plain which continues all the way to the ridge which hides Hora Sphakion. The villages now to be passed, Arghoules, Skaloti, Kapsodasos, Patsianos, Vouvas and Komitades, are at the foot of the hills where the water is, and so some distance from the sea. These villages serve, as I have remarked elsewhere,<sup>14</sup> as the winter habitation for the people who, in the summer, go up with their herds to the highlands of Sphakia, to Kallikratis, Asphendou and such places. Close by the sea, opposite the villages of Kapsodasos and Patsianos, where the plain is some two miles wide, lies a large Venetian ruin, **Frangokastello**. Standing almost by itself in the desolate plain, its appearance is most impressive.<sup>15</sup> It can be seen from a great distance. I have even seen it, as I have said, from the Karavos Pool below Myrthios. The shore here is formed by a little cliff, say fifty feet high, where the plain breaks away suddenly. The castle lies within a few yards of the cliff. Below it is a little cove and a house or two, and a few yards to the east is the Monastery of Agios Charalambos, hardly big enough to break the complete desolation of the great castle.

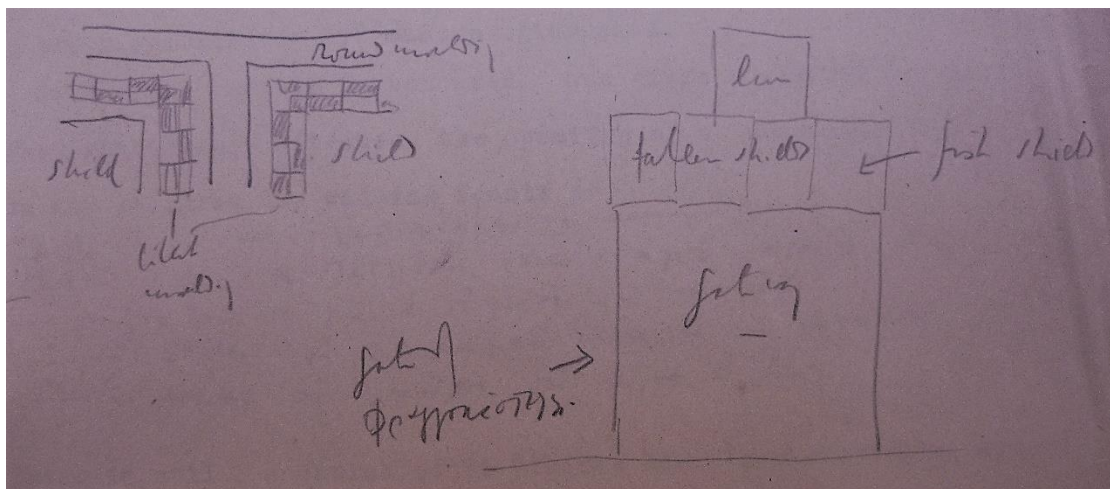
The castle is impressive and more so at a distance than close. Standing all alone on the edge of the plain (for Agios Charalambos is small and inconspicuous), it gives a striking picture of desolation and from a distance, e.g. near Rodakino and still more from the sea, it looks very fine.



Frangokastello, April 1999 (tower C is highest)

The castle is an oblong with its longer side to the sea. The short side I found to be in all 39 paces, the long side probably about 60. At each corner is a projecting square tower. The three towers, D E F on the plan, are only higher than the connecting walls by the height of the battlements, whilst the tower C is considerably higher. The corner towers and plan are like a finer version of the castle of Hierapetra.

All the walls are surmounted by square battlements and below them is a row of loopholes. The whole interior has been gutted and of the buildings inside the court there are only ruined walls, except the building along the south wall which is presumably used as a store as it was locked. The tall tower C is used to store charcoal. High up on the jutting face of the tall tower at B is a framed coat of arms. It is divided horizontally. The lower half of the field looks plain; the upper half bears three six-pointed stars. Over the door were four framed shields. Only the easternmost one is left. It bears three fish set horizontally, each fish a little arched. Above the shields is the Lion of St Mark. An old man whom I saw at the castle told me that the three missing shields are built into houses at Kapsodasos; at a later visit I enquired for them there but could not find them. He also told me that there is another lion at Kapsodasos. The shields and lion were all on separate slabs set in frames of the usual Venetian billet moulding and outside this a plain round moulding, as shown in the sketch:



[Dawkins' scribbles: Round moulding; shield; billet moulding; lion; fallen shields; fish shield; gateway; gate of Φραγκοκάστελλο]

On the plain at Frangokastello the peasants believe that at dawn warriors may be seen fighting in the air, and these are the wraiths of the men who fought here in 1827 when Hadzi Mikhali came from Epeiros to effect the union of Crete with Greece. This is the account I heard of them from old Nicholas Hatzidakis of Myrthios who told me that the battle was on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1827.<sup>16</sup> The old man was then himself a little boy of eleven and at Myrthios or Agios Yannis must have heard all about the encounter. Vlastos, in his collection of Cretan ballads, called *The Wedding in Crete, Ο γάμος εν Κρήτη*, has, pp. 124-127, a ballad of this fight at Frangokastello in which Hadzi Mikhali Dalianis was killed at the head of his three hundred men on May 17<sup>th</sup> 1828. The last lines of the ballad (p. 127) are about these spectral warriors, *Δροσουλίτες*, Men of the Dew, as they are now called, and run thus [Greek not quoted]:

They may be rendered:

But still on May the seventeenth appears the ghostly army,  
Hadzi Mikhali with his men; and in the misty vapour  
They seem to fight, and still are heard below the Frankish castle  
The shouting of the miscreant Turks, the hoofs of trampling horses:  
And all who have the gift of sight behold them there and tremble,  
But they, and may God give them rest, do no man any mischief.

When I was passing by one time I saw a shepherd boy from Kapsodasos by the walls of the castle. I asked him if he had ever seen the Men of the Dew. He was quite certain that he had and said that they looked like an army (*σα στρατό*) fighting. It was before dawn and at sunrise they vanished. Similar appearances are recorded by Ramage in southern Italy in the neighbourhood of the Capo di Leuca. These appearances, he says, like the vapours in which they are seen, are constantly changing their position and assuming new forms, and are therefore called by the people *Mutate*. They are seen early in the morning when the air is perfectly calm. Ramage implies that what is seen is generally towers, castles and landscapes, but he alludes to a passage in ancient historians about men seen fighting in the air.<sup>1</sup> When I have passed by Frangokastello it has always been somewhere about midday, so I have never had a chance to see anything.

### **Agios Charalambos by Frangokastello, 19 July 1917**

A few yards to the east of the castle of Frangokastello is the monastery of Agios Charalambos.<sup>17</sup> It consists of a church in a courtyard, a part of which is formed by the house in which the one monk now lives. The other walls of the court are [?single] and have loopholes; they were built for defence by the Turks in 1866 when they held the monastery. The church is double. It contains a good carved screen and several of the finely-woven Sphakia towels, of which I bought two at Hora Sphakion. The two altars are hung with the embroidery of a Cretan skirt in polychrome, but the work is neither very fine nor very wide. The monk there is from Preveli. He is now alone; there was another with him, but he died not long ago. He acts as priest in the church and cultivates the few fields around the monastery. He gave us some very good wine. The monastery is *eparkhiakon*; a desolate place with nothing but the castle and a few fisherfolk and shepherds.

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<sup>1</sup> I quote from *The Nooks and By-Ways of Italy*, by C. T. Ramage, 1868, p. 178.

### Komitades, 9th June 1918

Komitades is a nice village on an eminence on the eastern side of the mouth of the gorge leading up to Askiphou, standing above the sea plain of Sphakia at the foot of the hills at the mouth of the gorge.

Church of St George 10 minutes' walk below the village. Painted inscription on the west wall on the north side of the door. In the same church on the south wall are the pictures of the donors (see Gerola) and by them these two inscriptions [not reproduced here].<sup>18</sup>

Between the village and the church of St George there is another old church of St Demetrius with a door in the south wall with dogtooth moulding and the same on the corbels of the ribs of the vaulted roof.

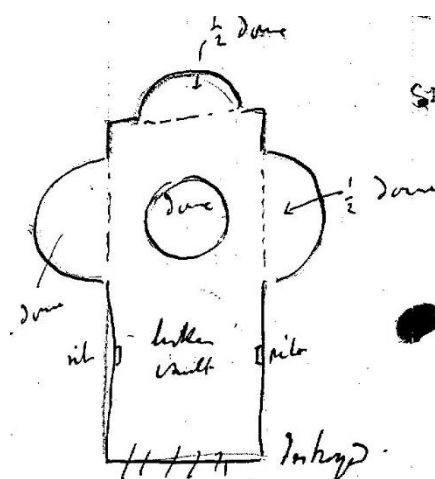
### Traditions, 9th June 1918

At Komitades I was told the story that Mahomet (Μαχομέθ) had an assistant, Pachomios (Παχώμιος). In order to get people to believe in his revelation he procured two books exactly alike, one with the Koran written in it and the other one blank. He then put Pachomios down a well with the written book, showed the blank book to the people, and said that he would let it down the well and by a miracle draw it up with writing in it. He then let it down the well where Pachomios was and Pachomios changed the books and sent up the written book. Then Mahomet, being afraid that Pachomios would betray him, said, "Everyone who believes in my revelation must throw a stone down the well", and this they did, and Pachomios was killed. Every Turk who goes to Mecca throws a stone upon the place where the well is. Yannis of Palaikastro knew this story too.

But at Komitades at the same time I heard another version according to which Pachomios was a rival miracle-worker and pretended to work miracles and Mahomet got him stoned in the well in order to get him out of the way. This version is clearly not good.

The odd thing is that Pachomios was a Christian hermit, I think of the Thebaid.<sup>19</sup>

### Sphakia, 22 September 1916



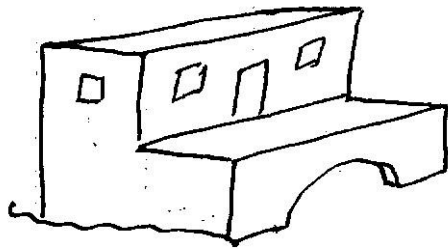
Sketch plan of ruined church of Agioi Apostoloi at Tholos, which is the part of Khora Sphakio on the top of the ridge east of the harbour. The church lies on the road to Komitades. It is figured in Gerola. The west door has been entirely torn out. Above it are remains of built-in basins, probably the usual 5 in a cross.<sup>20</sup>

A good deal of the roof of the nave has gone. The dome is raised on a high drum which rests upon rather fudged pendentives. There is inside a string course all round at the spring of the vaults. In the drum there are four windows.

The church is in a very tumbledown state with great cracks in the masonry and has been for long too much ruined for use.<sup>21</sup>

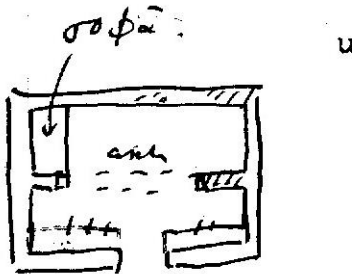
**Houses**

**22 September 1916**

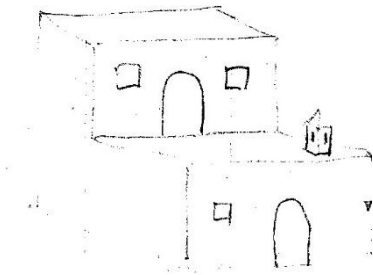


Sketch of a common type of house in Khora Sphakia. The upper part is for living in and has two rooms; it seems that the upper part of the partition is often made of criss-cross wooden lattice. Is there a sofa?

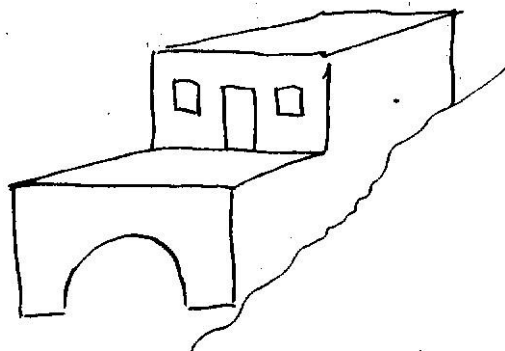
The entrance is on the lower floor under the arch. This lower floor is used for stores and often has at one side under the arch the oven.



At Kissamo Kastelli I was in a *kamaroto spiti* of which I give a sketch plan.

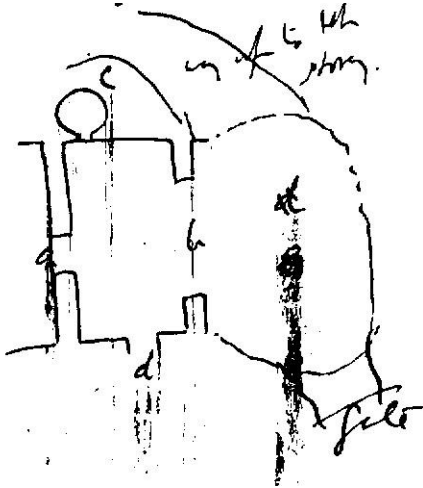


Kind of house at Skalotí, one the villages at the foot of the hills near Frangokastello. The chimney is over the oven or more likely over the hearth. It is very like the Khora Sphakio house sketched above.



**Ροδάκινο, 28 May 1917**

House at Κάτω Ροδάκινο – Σφακιά type

**Μύρθιος**

Sketch of groundplan of Hatzidakis house at Myrthios.

- a. entrance to rooms
  - b. archway
  - c. oven
  - d. entrance to more rooms
  - e. enclosure used at night as a sheepfold.
- The sheep come into the space below the arch and the whole house always smells of sheep.

**29 May 1917**

At Armenoi south of Retimo many tiled roofs. Houses are of the Sphakia type with a big arch in front. Everywhere from here to Myrthios I noticed that the doors of the courts of the houses are double and very much wider than they are in east Crete. This is because the *avlí* [yard] in front of the house is used as a *mandra* [sheep pen]. This uncleanly practice speaks for the disordered state of the country and the great prevalence of sheep-stealing around Sphakia, so that a *mandra* not immediately by the house and preferably thus actually in the village was not safe. See Hatzidakis house at Myrthios.

**12 June 1918** [cf. ch. 7]

Red-tiled roofs at Anopolis only 3 and at Aradena only one. The earth at these places is very red and being used for mortar and for *domata* the general effect is that the houses are as red as the fields. The Sphakia type house of house is common [sketch not reproduced here].

**Chimneys, 29 May 1917**

The sketch shows the type of chimney in use at Preveli and Myrthios (and I think towards Sphakia). As soon as one gets away from the south coast towards Retimo the usual broken *pithari* chimney appears, not this built type which I have not seen elsewhere in Crete. (I later saw another type of built chimney in the far west of Crete.) [sketch not reproduced here]<sup>22</sup>

**[More] Stories from Nimboro [Imbros], 31 March 1919<sup>23</sup>**

Between Frangokastello and the mountains in the middle of the plain is the church of Agios Nikitas, which I think I remember standing there all by itself. Close to Frangokastello there were some Christian girls washing clothes in the sea, and a Turkish caique came. The Turks wanted to carry off the girls. There was a Christian on board

who wanted to warn the girls and could not do it directly, so he sang a song hoping that they would understand:

μαντίλια και πέτσες  
 ..... μπεμπέτσες  
 όμπανε όμπανε το βράδυ  
 θ' αρμενέψουμε [sic for αρμενίσουμε] ομάδι.<sup>24</sup>

The first two lines I am not sure of. Μπεμπέτσες seems to mean women, ξεβράκωτες the man told me. In any case the girls did not catch his meaning and one of them was carried off. In her Turkish master's house on the feasts of the Cross and St Nikitas she was serving her master with water to wash with and he noticed she was weeping. He asked why and she said it was because it was a feast day. She prayed and the Holy Cross and the Saint worked a miracle and carried her off to the church of St Nikitas.

For this story I note that there is some miracle of St Nikitas, and perhaps the same one, recorded I think by Spratt, and I have some remarks on it in a paper on a walk in Arcadia in the Emmanuel College magazine.<sup>25</sup>

The woman went on to say that the saints used to work miracles but don't now as God and they are angry at the neglect of fasts.

Émile Legrand, *Recueil de poèmes historiques en grec vulgaire* [Paris 1877] has p. 351 this note in Greek contributed by Manousogiannakis:<sup>26</sup>

“St Nikitas used to be honoured and given a general festival by the Sphakiotes; witness the opening of a song sung at table and at three-day wedding feasts:

“If you want to relish and admire brave men,  
 go off to Patsianos when it's St Nikitas' day.  
 when the villages gather together, the inner ones and the ones on this side,  
 and you'll see men wrestling and youths competing in athletics,  
 and you'll see how they dance and fire their guns.

“There is still a church of St Nikitas near Frankokastello, and Buondelmonti<sup>27</sup> refers to this as the city of St Nikitas. There were many traditions of the saint and the following miracle. Pirates, perhaps in Saracen days, carried off a girl from here and she on the eve of the feast was sad and her master asked why. She answered:

“Today it's Holy Cross day, and tomorrow St Nikitas',  
 when they used to have great celebrations at our house.

“And he said:

“If the cross has favour and Nikitas has glory  
 you'll go to your house while it's still dark.

“The same night she dreamed of a man on horseback who took her up and brought her home. This seems to have been preserved also in a poem, but these old songs are lost except just the first few verses which alone are sung at feasts. They are therefore called τραγούδια της τάβλας [table songs].”



Spratt I (p. 346) tells this story in connection with the church of St Nikitas by the shore just west of Cape Sudsuro [Tsoutsouros]. I have never visited it.

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> Dawkins writes Plakalona instead of Plakias. Plakalona is the name of a location near Palaikastro that Dawkins refers to in ch. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Georgios Hatzidakis (1848-1841) was the first person to be appointed Professor of Linguistics at Athens University. His father was born in 1816, as Dawkins notes elsewhere. He was not relation of the archaeologist Iosif Hatzidakis

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins describes Gorgolaini monastery in ch. 18.

<sup>4</sup> In ch. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Smith may have been the commander of one of the trawlers that Dawkins travelled on during the War. Smith is mentioned in Dawkins' list of War journeys on 31 May 1916.

<sup>6</sup> The early life of the linguist Hatzidakis bears a striking resemblance to that of his near-contemporary Joseph Wright (1855-1930), Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford University and author of *The English Dialect Dictionary* (1895-1905). Wright was born into a poor family in Yorkshire and from the age of six he assisted his father, a quarryman, by transporting quarried stone in a donkey-cart. He was unable to read until the age of 15. According to D. Vagiakakos, *Γεώργιος Ν. Χατζιδάκης (1848-1941): βίος και έργον* (Athens 1977), pp. 5-6, the young Hatzidakis was at Limni in 1868 helping to unload supplies from a Greek boat for the rebels when an Ottoman warship suddenly appeared and the boat had to leave in a hurry with George unintentionally stuck on board. He moved in with his mother, who had settled in Athens for the duration of the revolt, and it was there, aged 20, that he began to attend secondary school. Subsequently he studied at Athens University and went on to obtain a doctorate in Linguistics in Germany.

<sup>7</sup> This place has been altered out of all recognition since Dawkins' day: "Surrounded by lush greenery, quietly located on the beach of Karavos, the traditionally built Kalypso Cretan Village offers a swimming pool, tennis court and spa centre" (<https://www.booking.com/hotel/gr/kalypso-cretan-village.en-gb.html>). The Kalypso Cretian [sic] Village was already there when we visited the place in 1999, but it had been temporarily abandoned. The Pool of Karavos is now known (for the benefit of northern European tourists) as "Pirate's fjord".

<sup>8</sup> This Cretan sense of the word *κάραβος* is confirmed by Pangalos

<sup>9</sup> Actually over the saddle from north to south.

<sup>10</sup> We didn't notice these rocks – now removed?

<sup>11</sup> According to Pangalos, *αρμί* means 'ridge of mountains'. We couldn't see the view of Frangokastello noted by Dawkins.

<sup>12</sup> Dutchman's pipe, seen by PM and JW on a roadside bank between Agia Fotini and Apostoli in Amari, but not here! Dawkins talks about Aristolochia again in ch. 28.

<sup>13</sup> We didn't see these either.

<sup>14</sup> See ch. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Llewellyn Smith (p. 153) writes: "From Castel Temeno, erected in 961, the year when Nicephorus Phocas reclaimed Crete from the Arabs, to Castel Sfacchia (1526), all the great castles are more or less gone, and Frangokastello is the best preserved."

<sup>16</sup> Hatzimichalis Dalianis from Delvinaki in Epirus commanded the Greek insurgents in Crete at the time. During the battle of Frangokastello all the Greek defenders of the

castle were killed. Theocharis Detorakis, *Ιστορία της Κρήτης*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Herakleion 1990), p. 346, dates the defeat and the death of Dalioanis and 385 men to 18 May 1828. Dawkins retells of the Hatzimichalis and the Drosoulites in “Folk-memory in Crete”, pp. 34-36. Xan Fielding travelled to Frangokastello, determined to witness the Drosoulites (“the Dewy Shades” as he calls them), but they failed to appear. In Dawkins’ archive is a cutting of an article that Fielding published about his experiences: “The Ghosts of Frangokastello”, *The Listener*, 29 Jan. 1953, pp. 187-188. I propose an alternative rendering: ‘Dew-wraiths’.

<sup>17</sup> According to Nixon et al. (1989), Agios Charalambos is the only monastery known so far in the Sphakia district.

<sup>18</sup> Gerola II Tavola 11.

<sup>19</sup> Dawkins is right: Pachomius is supposed to have been the founder of the first monastery, in AD 320.

<sup>20</sup> By “basins” Dawkins means the ceramic dishes that are often inset into the walls of churches to form decorative motifs (usually a cross over the west door or over the apse).

<sup>21</sup> The church still seems to be standing, but in a precarious state.

<sup>22</sup> See ch. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Told by Mr & Mrs Koutroumbas; cf. ch. 6.

<sup>24</sup> I have found similar secret verses warning girls to escape an imminent pirate raid: *πότε θα ’βγει το φεγγάρι, ν’ αρμενίσουμε ομάδι, / ταβλομάντηλα και πέτσες, δεν γρικάτε εσείς μπεμπέτσες;* [When will the moon rise, so we can sail off together, / tablecloths and skins [?], aren’t you listening, girls?]. I’m not sure what *μπεμπέτσες* means, but it may derive from Turkish *bebek* ‘baby’ or ‘doll’. *Ξεβράκωτες* means literally ‘knickerless’, i.e. naked from the waist down, or figuratively ‘stark naked’ or ‘dirt poor’.

<sup>25</sup> Dawkins’ account of the Frangokastello version of events is told again in “Folk-memory in Crete”, pp. 25-26.

<sup>26</sup> Dawkins’ note is attached to the entry to Nikitas (St) in the glossary to Legrand’s edition of “The song of Alidakis”. The translation of Manousogiannakis’ words is by Dawkins, while the translation of the verse extracts is mine.

<sup>27</sup> The early 15<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine traveller Cristoforo Buondelmonti.

## CHAPTER 13 CANDIA TO RETIMO BY ANOGIA<sup>1</sup>

Anogia – Garazo – Arkadi, [23] May 1917

Also Melidoni<sup>2</sup> – Margarites – Eleutherna – Prines<sup>3</sup> – Margarites – Panormos, [19] August 1917

[*in handwriting:*] [20-21] May 1918. Candia – Anogia – Khalepa – Perama – Panormos

Describe Candia – Ghazi and Almyris [Almyrida] – Servili – Tyliossos – Anogia – Axos – Khalepa – Gharazo (thence bad road to Arkadi) better go down valley to Perama, whence visit Margarites and Eleutherna/Eleftherna.

The road to Anogia leads west from Candia, gradually turning inland from the sea and leaving to the right the big village of Ghazi. As it ascends the hills it passes after two hours by the resting place called Servili.<sup>4</sup> This dates, it seems, from early Turkish times and provides everything needed by Turkish travellers when they halt for refreshment and prayer. The road is ascending to the slope of the mountain. On the upper side, the right, there is a fountain of the usual type: the water comes from a spout set in a wall. Immediately beyond this is a building, a kind of loggia open in front [and at the sides: 23/5/17]<sup>5</sup> consisting of two domes. From this the place is sometimes called *stsi koubedes* – the domes.



IMG\_2764 The Koubedes at Servili, 20 Oct. 2010

On the slope below the buildings are the ruins of houses, and there is a magnificent view towards Candia and Lasithi [as the site is rather high: 23/5/17]. On the walls of the domed shelter many names have been scratched. I made out the dates 1732 and 1787, and the names include not a few of the British soldiers who were at Candia at the time of the occupation by the Powers. I have been told of other such places with wayside prayer niches, but this is the only one I have seen. Above and behind the fountain the wall is crowned by a sort of battlement containing a niche facing towards

Mecca. A man kneeling before it would be away from all the passers-by and chance impurities of the roadside. Servili thus provided shelter from the heat or the rain, of which I was glad indeed in May 1917, water to drink and for ablutions and a place for prayer.

[Earlier version dated 23 May [1917] begins: “My first day with Yanni and it rained very heavily and we waited at Servilí for it to stop, and arrived drenched at Anoya. Servilí or *stsi koubedes* is on the road to Tyliossos two hours from Candia. There is a spring and a Turkish praying niche in a wall of which I have a photo taken in the spring of 1914 when I passed through here with Adams and the Plati dig party.”<sup>6</sup>]

In Cretan tradition the place Servili is connected with the death in 1823 of the Sphakiot captain Theodore Khourdas [Θεόδωρος Χούρδος] and his brother Rousios [Ρούσσος], who met with Turks nearby, fought all day and were at last overcome by superior numbers. Pashley’s guide, the Sphakiot Captain Manias, sang him some of the verses, and Pashley, I, pp. 164-168, prints most of them but omits the beginning of the ballad in which the hero’s person and arms are described. Giannaris, p. 56 and Kriaris, p. 90, give these first verses and most of those printed by Pashley.

Near Servili is Tyliossos, the site where [Iosif] Hatzidakis found a Minoan palace. Also, from Servili or from near, the path goes off over the south shoulder of Strombolo [= Stroumboulas], crossing the watershed and entering the Mylopotamos valley at Damasta. This is the direct way from Candia to Retimo.

But our present route goes southward<sup>7</sup> and up the foothills of Ida to the mountain village of Anogia. After passing Gonies, which the road passes below leaving the village on the left, there is on the left of the road a tiny church of St Anthony and, a few yards beyond, to the west, that is, of the church, a huge boulder twice as high as the church or more. This is called St Anthony’s boulder (*t’ azh’ Adoniou o harakas*) and it is said to have fallen down from the hill which slopes down to the church from the right of the road. It was, by the intervention of the saint, prevented from falling further and destroying the church, though Yanni declared that it had always been there – as he put it, set there by God; that is, there from the making of the world (θεόχτιστος, δηλαδή από χτίσεως κόσμου).

It has no doubt at some time really fallen down from the mountain above. The next village is Anogia, which is the last inhabited place on the way from Candia to the Nida plain, but of the plain and the cave I shall speak when I describe the Kamares cave on the south side of Ida.<sup>8</sup>

### Notes on Anogia<sup>9</sup>

Population of shepherds – sheep-stealing and rivalries in sheep-stealing between them and the shepherds of the southern slopes, Kamares etc. – domed mountain dairies built by Anogia people – their simplicity – story of the complaint to the Pasha about the sun – story about the sardines put out to graze in the field – the special dress – meteorological station.

From Anogia paths descend the Mylopotamos valley and the next place worth mentioning is Axo, the site of the ancient city of Axos. Near this, on the other side of the valley, is the monastery of Khalepa.

From Axo or Khalepa<sup>10</sup> we descend a branch of the river to Gharazo,<sup>11</sup> a village in which I spent the night in 1902 on the way to Candia. Our host was very drunk and in the village is a fine plane tree. From here a very rough path leads to Arkadi,<sup>12</sup> passing above Eleftherna. The way is over rocky Khalepa crossing innumerable ravines. The region is quite desolate and there is every prospect of losing one's way. When I went this way we almost gave up in despair until we sighted a little chapel belonging to Arkadi and standing on a ridge near the monastery. Steering by this landmark we reached the monastery which is, of course, better approached from Retimo.

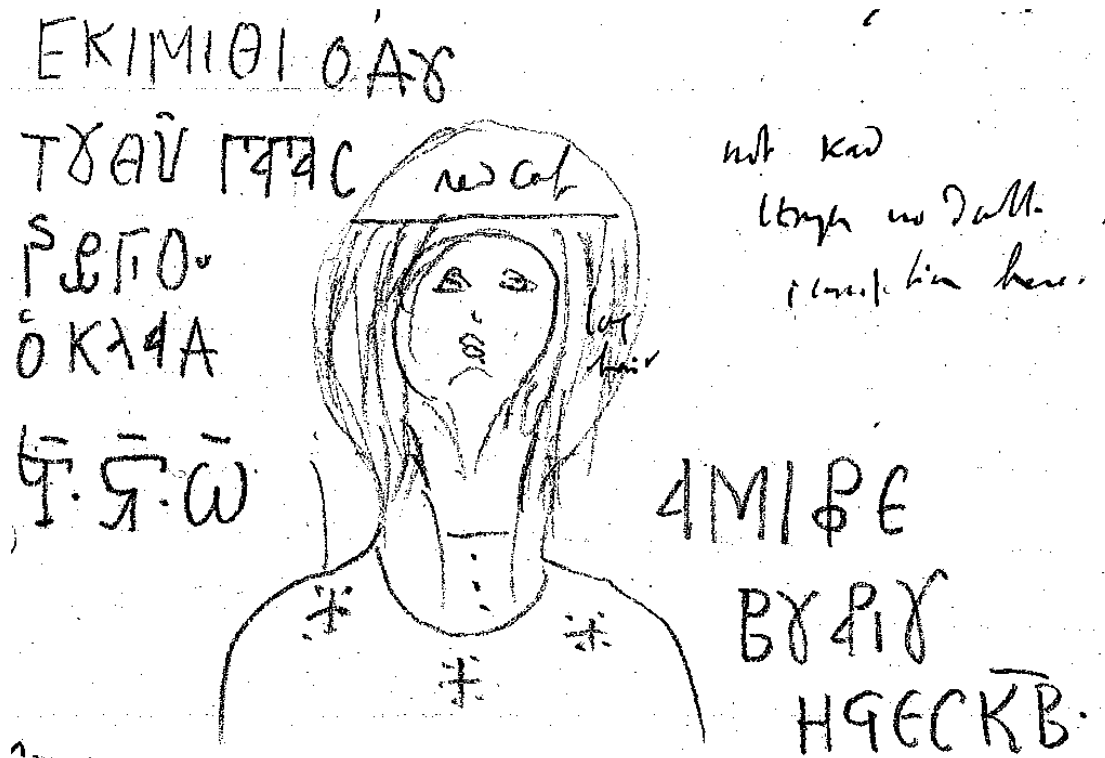
From Gharazo it is much better to go down the valley to Perama<sup>13</sup> and thence by carriage road to Retimo. Already in my time one could go on to Retimo by the new carriage road.

There are several places of interest near Perama. Melidoni with its cave and the new settlement of Panormo which I describe on the route from Bali to Retimo.<sup>14</sup> Nearer Perama, and therefore better fitted in here, are Margarites and Eleftherna, although my only visit to them was in fact made in a long day from Melidoni to Margarites – Eleftherna – Prines – Margarites and in the evening Panormos.

**Margarites Μυλοπόταμο, 19 August 1917**

**Church of Ἁγῆς Ἰωάννης ὁ Σωχωρίτης**

(Potters there: Χουρμούζης)<sup>15</sup>





Gerola II, Tavola 11



IMG\_3108, 13 May 2011

Church near village (hence ? title) [sic]<sup>16</sup> with built screen with central door pointed and two sides square-headed and Venetian mouldings.<sup>17</sup> In a bay<sup>18</sup> on the north side are frescoes, on left Virgin, centre Christ and on right the priest George [Klados] sketched above.<sup>19</sup> Gerola sees a Q [koppa] before the A, which makes the date February 22nd 6891 – 5508 = 1383.<sup>20</sup>

The church has been lately restored<sup>21</sup> but there are considerable remains of good frescoes. The church is said to have been burned and after the burning two now very much destroyed *eikons* to have been found by means of a miraculous light which shone from them.

For dialect note the form of the article *tes*.

Eleutherna, 19 August 1917<sup>22</sup>



Spratt II 90

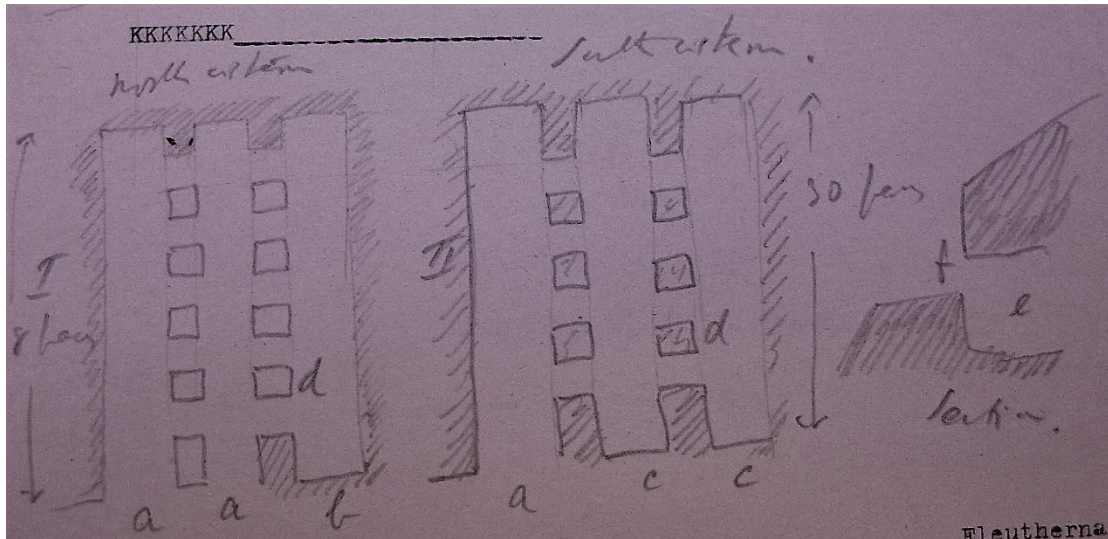
Bridge below acropolis; newly cemented above. It has only one arch and is therefore not the bridge figured by Spratt. This is the lower bridge (see Spratt's plan).<sup>23</sup> The bridge with two arches, one gable-shaped and one round, figured in Spratt is the upper bridge. It is remembered but has now been destroyed and only fragments are said now to exist. I did not visit this site.



IMG\_3098 Hellenistic bridge near Eleftherna



Upper bridge (Spratt II 95)



Two rock-cut cisterns side by side on west side of the acropolis of Eleutherna. The second one has bigger piers than the first.

- AAA entrances
- B no entrance
- CC entrances half-choked
- DDD piers
- E interior of cistern in section

Length of second from back to front about 30 paces. Above and below the ground slopes, though they are very near the top of the acropolis ridge. There is some earth inside them, but even so they are pretty high, perhaps 12 feet.



IMG\_3105 Church of Christ the Saviour below Eleutherna from NW, 12 May 2011

South of the ridge of Eleutherna is the village of Prines and in the valley below it to the east is the church ο Δεσπότης Χριστός.<sup>24</sup> It is a double church of which the south half is clearly late, and I was told that it is in fact only 50 or 60 years old. The north church has a dome, a west door, now buried up to the lintel, with a round moulding and outside this a billet moulding and a north window as in the sketch below. Round the arch is the inscription which reads, I think,



1581 A D I 17 ZENER BERNARDINUS L C

that is “1581 anno Domini January 17 Bernardinus locandum curavit”.<sup>25</sup>



IMG\_3103 Church of Christ the Saviour, west door (no longer buried)

In a pretty luxuriant situation and indeed all this region is one of the [most] green and beautiful in Crete, and broken country with trees and olives and not much corn, plenty of water.

**21 May 1918. Metamorphosis Monastery Khalepa in Mylopotamos<sup>26</sup>**



IMG\_3117 Chalepa monastery: the incomplete early 20<sup>th</sup>-century church built round the medieval one

I visited this at midday going from Anogia to Perama and Panormo. It lies high up on a slope looking south over the upper part of the Mylopotamos valley 2 hours from Anogia. Only 5 or 6 monks, and the buildings much ruined in 1823. Before then they say there were 70 monks. A new church is being built round the old one, but work is suspended and the authorities are moving to prevent the destruction of the old church which, though nothing very much, ought to be kept as there is no reason for a new or bigger church.<sup>27</sup> Some newish cells have red roofs. The gate is at the west end. It has a

square loggia outside it with seats, as at Toplou and Bali, and on the keystone of the arch inside the loggia the inscription [not reproduced here; translation: All should remember Panteleimon Sgouros ordained priest Ieremias new founder. 1673]<sup>28</sup>

The cells are on the left as one enters<sup>29</sup> and before them, a little off the court, is the fountain. The court is irregular. On its right ruins. At the far end of the court from the door is the church. This is double with two doors in the west front. Over the northern of the two is the inscription in 1 line [not reproduced here; translation: This most venerable divine church of the Metamorphosis [Transfiguration] was renovated...], of which no more after the META seems ever to have been cut.<sup>30</sup> Over the southern door are 3 plates left out of 5 in a cross shape, the top plate being of sgraffito ware.<sup>31</sup>

The monks seemed quite rustic and to have no books or treasures. Below the *moni* the road leaves the mountain and goes down into the Mylopotamos valley.

Inside the gate of the monastery to the left is the fountain of the usual type: a wall with a basin and spout coming out at the foot. Above the spout is a floriated cross and IC XC NI KA [Jesus Christ conquers], with trees on each side and birds in them. On each side again squares with floral patterns. The face of the fountain has two pilasters and there is a band of inscriptions round the top of the whole, going round the pilasters and across the front. The inscription on the left pilaster refers to a rebuilding of the fountain in 1871. A part of it is only outlined and the cutting left unfinished. It runs, divided over the three faces of the pilaster [not reproduced here; translation:<sup>32</sup>

Renovated under the supervision of the ordained monk Manassis together with his companions. Remember o Lord their souls. June 15 ΑΩΟΑ (1871)]



IMG\_3118 The fountain

The inscription on the face between the pilasters is in two lines and on 4 blocks. It refers to the original building in 1759 [not reproduced here; translation:

Remember o Lord the soul of thy servant Maximos Vergit..., ordained monk and abbot and his companions and the soul of thy servant Ioakeim Cheretis, ordained monk and of the parents. 1759 March 25]

I cannot fully read Maximus' surname, *Βεργίτ...*<sup>33</sup> The outer side of the right pilaster is hidden. The inscriptions on the front and inner side are in the style of the long inscription on the face and seem to be of its time. That on the front

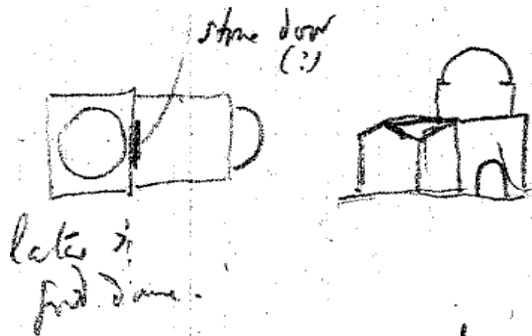
ΔΑΓΕΡΓΙΣ  
ΩΚΘΥΡΤ

of the pilaster is [Come and draw for yourselves water of immortality] and on the inner face:

It is possible that the hidden outer face of the original inscription on the left [right] pilaster would give a clue.

**St Antony (of Angelliana Gerola) 21 May 1918<sup>34</sup>**

This church is on the left bank of the river between Perama and Panormos and I saw it from the path on the right bank and crossed over to it. It stands in the fields near the river quite by itself. Over the apse outside there are five plates let in in a cross shape.



Similar church but cruciform at Dafnedes.



IMG\_8206 The stream



IMG\_8203 The Venetian dome from west



(left) IMG\_8205 Plates inset in cross shape above apse; (right) IMG\_8198 Sunlight entering narthex through one of four windows in dome

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> This is the inland route: contrast the coast route in ch. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Described in ch. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Prinés is the old name of the village now called Archaia Eleftherna.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins adds a ms note: “? Sevili. Doughty II. 530. Sebil = way; fountain [for ???]”. This is a reference to Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1921 edn), where a *sebil* (public fountain) is mentioned. I don't find Servili on any map, but for a time the domed building was a “traditional taverna” called Οι Κουμπέδες, where we had lunch on 20 Oct. 2010. One website (now taken down) said that this is a Venetian building and that it was mentioned by Evliya in 1670 as a place where travellers could stay if they couldn't get into Candia before city gates closed at night. The website also said, surely correctly, that the place-name Servili is from the cypresses there [< Turkish *selvili* < *selvi* ‘cypress’]. It is indicative that Pashley I 164-5 writes *Selvilí* in English but *Σερβιλί* in Greek, perhaps implying that he thinks the “proper” name should have an l, but the Greeks pronounce this as r. The derivation from *sebil* is less likely (cf. the *sebil* in Herakleion: ch. 17). The arches were glazed when we ate there. We didn't see the “battlement” containing the prayer niche. The water-course still runs down to the right of the buildings, but the fountain is no longer there. The young woman who served us (an employee) didn't know the name Servili. Good view down to Herakleion bay. When we passed by again in May 2011 the place was closed.

<sup>5</sup> Neither of the sides is open now.

<sup>6</sup> I haven't found the photo in Dawkins' archive. For other references to the excavation at Plati see ch. 1 and elsewhere. At the foot of this sheet there is a sketch, not reproduced here.

<sup>7</sup> Anogeia is actually west of Gonies.

<sup>8</sup> See ch. 15.

<sup>9</sup> This section was never developed. Anogeia was razed to the ground on 13 August 1944 in reprisal (partly) for an Anglo-Cretan raid on a German unit at Damasta.

<sup>10</sup> Modern maps give this name to area south of Axos, between there and Zoniana.

<sup>11</sup> A little to the south of the northern road.

<sup>12</sup> This is a very long distance.

<sup>13</sup> By the northern road.

<sup>14</sup> See ch. 14.

<sup>15</sup> We visited Margarites on 13 May 2011. It is still very much a potters' village. Spanakis says the original name of the village was Magarites (earliest mention 1577, till late 19<sup>th</sup> cent.). Without excluding the possibility that the village was founded by an apostate to Islam (Μαγαρίτης), he prefers to take back the name to the Byzantine word μαγαρικά 'earthenware utensils'. The first -r- was presumably added to the place-name because the Byzantine noun μαγαρίτης was used to mean 'Muslim', while the Modern Greek verb μαγαρίζω means 'to soil, pollute' (cf. perhaps the semantic connection in English between the noun 'soil' and the verb 'to soil'). The modern name Margarites has more positive connotations: 'pearls' or 'daisies'. The village was the birthplace of Hatzi Gavriil Marinakis, abbot of Arkadi in 1866.

<sup>16</sup> The church is actually in the middle of the village – hence its title Sochoritis ('within the village').

<sup>17</sup> If he means the two side doors of the iconostasis, they're not square-headed.

<sup>18</sup> The easternmost of the two.

<sup>19</sup> It is in fact all one painting.

<sup>20</sup> The inscription is transcribed in Gerola IV 481. It's impossible to make out Gerola's koppa on the fresco now. The inscription reads: "The servant of God papa-George Klados went to sleep on 22 February 1383." Unusual stone iconostasis. Remains of arches of another nave? (or narthex?) on north side. Buondelmonti (see notes to ch. 12) lists the Klados family among the "Twelve Noble Families" who are descended from the twelve Byzantine noblemen (in Greek, τα Δώδεκα Αρχοντόπουλα) who, claims Buondelmonti, were settled in Crete by the emperor Constantine. According to other versions of the legend, the Twelve Noblemen were settled by the emperor after the reconquest of the island from the Arabs in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Klados family does not appear on other lists of the Twelve. See also ch. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Plaque above door says church restored 1914.

<sup>22</sup> We visited on 12 May 2011 and were given a tour by Kostas Parasyris. Eleutherna was destroyed by the Venetians, who forbade the inhabitants from living there because it was a stronghold of a rebellion in 1364: Tsougarakis 1988: 324.

<sup>23</sup> Spratt II 95. The archaeologist Nikos Marangoudakis told us the bridge was restored c. 1908 because some of it had collapsed. The cement on top referred to by Dawkins seems to be still there.

<sup>24</sup> See photo of church of Σωτήρα Χριστού in Gratziou 2010: 158. She argues that the original church was built towards the end of the mid-Byzantine period (but was radically repaired in the 14th and 15th centuries) and that the southern nave was added in the early 16th century. See also Gerola II, plates 227 and 228. Tsougarakis 1988: 326 comments on the good frescos and argues that this church dates from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>25</sup> Dawkins' reading is correct, though the initials LC at the end may stand for an expression such as "locum curavit" ('took care of the place'). I don't know why it is in Latin.

<sup>26</sup> The Μονή Σωτήρα Χριστού Χαλέπας (Psilakis II 83ff.) is in a remote location above village of Tsachiana. At the time of our visit on 13 May 2011, having been abandoned for many years, it was being restored by a Palestinian priest, Father Porfyrios from Gaza, and an employee of the Archaeological Service. Father Porfyrios welcomed us warmly, showed us around, and then, having given a tour to a group of French tourists and offered them each a glass of raki, he took us off for lunch in the village, where he and I shared a bowl of snails, while Jackie opted for an omelette.

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<sup>27</sup> When we visited, almost 100 years after Dawkins, no more work seems to have been done on the new church, but the old one was undergoing restoration, which entailed the undoing of earlier botched attempts at restoration.

<sup>28</sup> Transcription in Psilakis II 86, who omits *ιερομονάχου* ‘ordained priest’. Father Porfyrios told us the old keystone had been stolen and replaced by a new one.

<sup>29</sup> He must mean the lower cells, now ruined.

<sup>30</sup> The inscription still visible but barely legible.

<sup>31</sup> Three of these plates are still in situ. There are also the remains of a plate over the north door.

<sup>32</sup> Psilakis II 95 reproduces only the beginning and the end. He gives the date as June 25 (KE), but it looks like 15 (IE) in my photo.

<sup>33</sup> Psilakis reads *Βεργίτσης*, which must be correct.

<sup>34</sup> There is a photo taken from the south in Gerola II 236. Dawkins’ sketches show the door from the narthex to the main church (originally the west door of the church) and indicating that the narthex and the “good” Venetian dome are later additions. Gratziou too says the narthex and dome were added at the west end of the existing church. The church is difficult to find: the striking dome was hidden from the road by large pine trees. We turned off to the right from the Panormos-Perama road immediately after the turning to Achlades, down a track leading to a cement factory. We parked the car at a right fork, and I waded across the river, as Dawkins had done. However, when I reached the church I was told by some ladies that there is a path from the village of Angeliana. When I visited it (6 May 2015), the church had recently been restored (2000-6) with funds from the European Union.

## CHAPTER 14

### CANDIA – ROGDIA – BALI – RETIMO (AUGUST 1917)<sup>1</sup>

#### Rogdia<sup>2</sup>



IMG\_2752 Venetian mansion, Rogdia



IMG\_2746 Evangelistria, Rogdia (S door)

The road through the village passes on the right a courtyard on a slightly lower level. On the side of this court which faces the road is what is left of a fine Venetian house called generally *πύργος*.<sup>3</sup> The north side of the court is formed by the south wall of the church of the Evangelistria. This church was almost entirely rebuilt in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> The immensely thick south wall is the only old part left. In it is a door of fine Venetian carved work and on the lintel the date MDLIII. The MD is on one side, LIII on the other and between them a floriated shield with armorial bearings. Over this door is a later slab inscribed with *μνήσθητι [Κύριε] τον δούλον του Θεού* [remember o Lord the servant of God] and a name and the date 1809.



IMG\_2753



IMG\_2751 SE corner of Evangelistria



IMG\_2747 Plaque over S door



IMG\_2748 Plaque over N door



IMG\_2749 Plaque on W wall of N court

The north door has an inscription on the lintel which is hardly legible, and above it in the ogee-shaped arched recess a very low relief of the annunciation, inscribed *ευαγγελισμός της Θεοτόκου* [Annunciation of the Mother of God], in the upper part of which is God the Father, inscribed *ο άναρχος πατήρ* [the uncreated father], looking down upon the scene from the clouds. Below is an inscription hard to read, but with the date apparently 1860 [1863], which is not unlikely as the present abbot of Savvathiana told me that his eldest brother, the first son of a first wife, he himself being the youngest son of a third wife, carved it. The abbot looks about 60, so the date fits very well. The church is usually entered by the north door through a court, in the wall of which to the right of the entrance is built in the funeral epitaph of a certain “priest and singer Michael, who fell asleep on December 19<sup>th</sup> 1593, and may the Lord God give him rest”. Above the words is the cross with the usual abbreviations for “Jesus Christ conquers”.<sup>5</sup>

### **Savvathiana. 16 August 1917<sup>6</sup>**

The monastery of Savvathiana lies in a ravine reached shortly after crossing the ridge beyond Rogdia. A narrow valley twists down to the sea, and the monastery lies on the right bank of it by a wood of cypresses, mostly female. The entrance from the Rogdia direction is towards the lowest part of the buildings. It leads into the irregular court in the middle of which is the small church. The buildings are quite rustic, but have recently been roofed with the red French tiles which are, however, fortunately not conspicuous once one is inside the monastery. The church has over the south door a clearly and deeply cut inscription recording that it was restored in 1745 by the abbot Nikodimos.<sup>7</sup>



Μία επιγραφή που σώζεται ακόμη στην Μονή μαρτυρεί την ανάκαίνισή, ή οποία πραγματοποιήθηκε άμεσα:

1745 ΜΙΝΙ ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ 25  
ΑΝΕΚΕΝΙΣΤΙ Η ΑΓ. ΑΦΤΙ  
ΕΚΛΙΣΙΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΙΜΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ΑΓ. ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΑΦΤΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ,  
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ, ΜΑΝΙΛΙ  
ΜΗΧΙΑ (ΜΙΧΑΗΛ)  
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΠΑΘΑΡΗΣ

Προφανώς ο Γεώργιος Σπαθάρης ήταν ο αρχιτέκτονας που ανέλαβε την ανάκαίνισή. Έτσι η Ιερά Μονή περνά σε ένα στάδιο βελτίωσης των συνθηκών ζωής μετά τα γεγονότα του πολέμου και της τουρκικής κατάκτησης.



From *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: Σύντομη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010), 28-9

The church possesses an interesting *eikon* of the Burning Bush which is regarded in the Greek Church as a type of the Virgin, unconsumed by the miraculous conception.<sup>8</sup> The picture shows a tree in the middle of which the Virgin sits with her child in her arms, supported by a cup as in the pictures of the *Zoodokhos Pigi*,<sup>9</sup> whilst on the branches are the prophets of the Old Testament. On each side of the tree is a saint: their names were illegible, but for the one on the left I made out the letters [...] and for the one on the right the letters [...] [not quoted here].



IMG\_2758 The door to the abbot's quarters

By the path which leads from the monastery up the ravine is the abbot's cell<sup>10</sup> built, according to an inscription in big capital letters on the lintel, in September 1904 at the expense of the monastery when Eumenios was bishop of Crete and Timotheos Stratakis abbot of the monastery.

In the semicircular space over the door several other inscriptions have been built in, one dated 1788. Owing to whitewash and their general difficulty, I failed to make out these inscriptions thoroughly.<sup>11</sup>

In the abbot's rooms are the remains of an *eikon* which seems to have been an exact replica of the *Μέγας εἶ Κύριε* [Great Thou art, o Lord] *eikon* at Toplou, and it is attributed to the same artist, [Ioannis] Kornaros.<sup>12</sup> The monks here say that the artist killed his pupil out of jealousy and, to obtain remission of his sin, lived in a cave below this monastery and painted these great *eikons*. One is at Toplou, one here, and one is

said to have been either at Vrondisi or at Gonies, but they think that it is now in the Candia museum. The Savvathiana example is now a mere wreck. The gesso ground had cracked away from the panel and only pieces of the painting are left which are held in place by plaster of Paris round the edges. In the parts saved the painting is perfectly preserved, only unfortunately here too the same mischief is at work and the gesso is still cracking from the panel.



IMG\_2759 Bridge with inscription

From the abbot's cell the path goes a few yards up the ravine and then crosses it by an ivy-covered bridge. The ivy conceals an inscription on the keystone of the bridge [not reproduced here] (1596), and between the groups of figures is a floriated shield bearing a pair of clasping hands, the arms of [...].<sup>13</sup>

Beyond this bridge is the site of the original monastery. It is a small piece of flat ground at the foot of a piece of cliff. Built up against the cliff, so that the north wall of the church is formed by the rock, is the little church of St Anthony and outside it are a few tombs.<sup>14</sup>

In the church on the screen is an excellent *eikon* with scenes from the life of the saint. Notably I remember the appearance to him of a centaur, and the saint being beaten by demons. I could not find any date on it.<sup>15</sup> The monks say that a Turk coming here to ravage was entering the church when his eye caught this picture which he took for a man. He shot at it – the mark of the bullet still appears on the picture – but the bullet rebounded and killed him. A similar tale is told of the fresco of Christ Pantokrator in the dome of the church of Kaisariani at the foot of Hymettus.

Behind the screen in this church of St Anthony two skulls are kept in a box, one of a young and one, to judge by the teeth, of a much older man. The younger of the two was a certain Capitanios Heraklis Kokkinakis [Kokkinidis], who was killed by the Turks at Armyro in 1866. They cut off his head and burned his body. The bones were taken to Savvathiana and are laid in a tomb outside the church. The head the Turks took as a trophy to Candia. It was then bought by the Christians and his father brought it to the monastery, asking that his own bones should be laid with those of his son and his skull kept with his. The son's skull has a piece hacked out over the left ear, probably the wound of which he died, for the edges of bone showed no sign of healing.<sup>16</sup>

The monastery is called Savvathiana because it was originally a branch of the monastery of St Savvas somewhere near Rogdia which was destroyed by the Turks. The original St Savvas was a large monastery. The monks say that it had 70 monks and to every monk a *zevgari* of land – that is, as much as a pair of oxen could plough.

The site is very pretty: the cypresses and trees with the buildings in a narrow fold of the barren hills, a characteristic position for a monastery. Not unlike a smaller Areti.<sup>17</sup>

It was August 16<sup>th</sup> 1917 that I was at Savvathiana and stopped there for the midday rest. It was a blazing hot day and *à propos* of the weather the monks told me

that the first six and the last six days of August indicated the weather for each of the twelve months of the year, a day to a month, but by contraries. Thus this day, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August old style, being hot and dry indicated a cold and wet October to come. I heard the same notion when I went up Ida [with Miss Hall and Currelly: added from separate slip]<sup>18</sup> in 1904 or so. There the shepherds are supposed to be skilled in taking these observations.

### Phodele and Ag. Panteleimon<sup>19</sup>

The village of Phodele lies at the bottom of a narrow but fertile valley running up from the sea to the west of Cape Stavros.<sup>20</sup> [Manuscript addition: June 1932. [See Muller?]] They say El Greco's birth place at Phodele.

Above the village the valley grows narrower and wilder. A beautiful scrub of plane and lentisk, *agnus castus* and oleander and other shrubs clothe the banks of the little stream. Half an hour above the village the valley widens into a sort of hollow cone-shaped basin, and on the side of this a little way up the slope of the hill lies the monastery of Panteleimon. It has fine trees and the hills behind are covered with thick copse, so that even in August everything looks green and refreshing. The view is shut in all round by the immediately surrounding hills. Damasta at the top of the Mylopotamos valley, on the way from Candia to Retimo by the Mylopotamos valley, is not far off, but I have never been from one to the other.

The monastery has the usual irregular court built round the church, but open on the west side with a view from the church terrace over the valley. The monks are hospitable. Outside the court on the right as one enters is the spring, the water running as usual from a spout set in a sort of small façade. On each side of the spout is a curious animal with a grinning face intended, no doubt, for a lion but very much more like a cat. Above is an inscription to the effect that the fountain was built in 1866, April 25<sup>th</sup>, at the charges of the monk Joseph. It runs [copy and transcription of original not reproduced here]:

[The renovation of the spring took place in the year 1866 April 25. The contributor the monk Iosif]<sup>21</sup>

The arched gate of the monastery is also new, dating to 1861, March 27, and built by the abbot Neophytos and his synod. The inscription over the keystone runs [photo 2772]: Νεόφυτος υγούμενος πεδηώτης μετά της συνωδείας του 1861 Μαρτίου 27.<sup>22</sup>



IMG\_2771



IMG\_2772

The oldest inscription of the monastery is built in at the side of the arch, on the outside on the right as one enters. It is the monastic admonition, “Narrow is the gate, and strait the way which leadeth unto life.”<sup>23</sup> Then, less deeply cut, 1677, April [photo 2771].

The church has a nice Venetian bell dated MDLXXXVIII [1588], with figures round it in relief: the Crucifixion, St George and the dragon, the Virgin and Child, and St John the Baptist, with a scroll inscribed ECCE AGNUS [behold the lamb]. It now hangs on an orange-tree by the north-west corner of the church: in the lemon [sic] tree hangs also the usual iron σήμαντρον.<sup>24</sup>

The church has two good *eikons*, one representing all saints: in the centre is Christ in glory inscribed Δεύτε προς με ευλογισμένοι [Come to me, ye blessed], and around him are in separate groups the different classes of the blessed, χορός μαρτύρων [the chorus of the martyrs] etc. The other is the Burning Bush, presented in the same way in the Savvathiana picture: the Virgin and Child in the middle of a tree and on the branches the prophets. I didn't see a date on either of them.<sup>25</sup>

### **Phodele to Bali. Saturday, 18 August 1917**

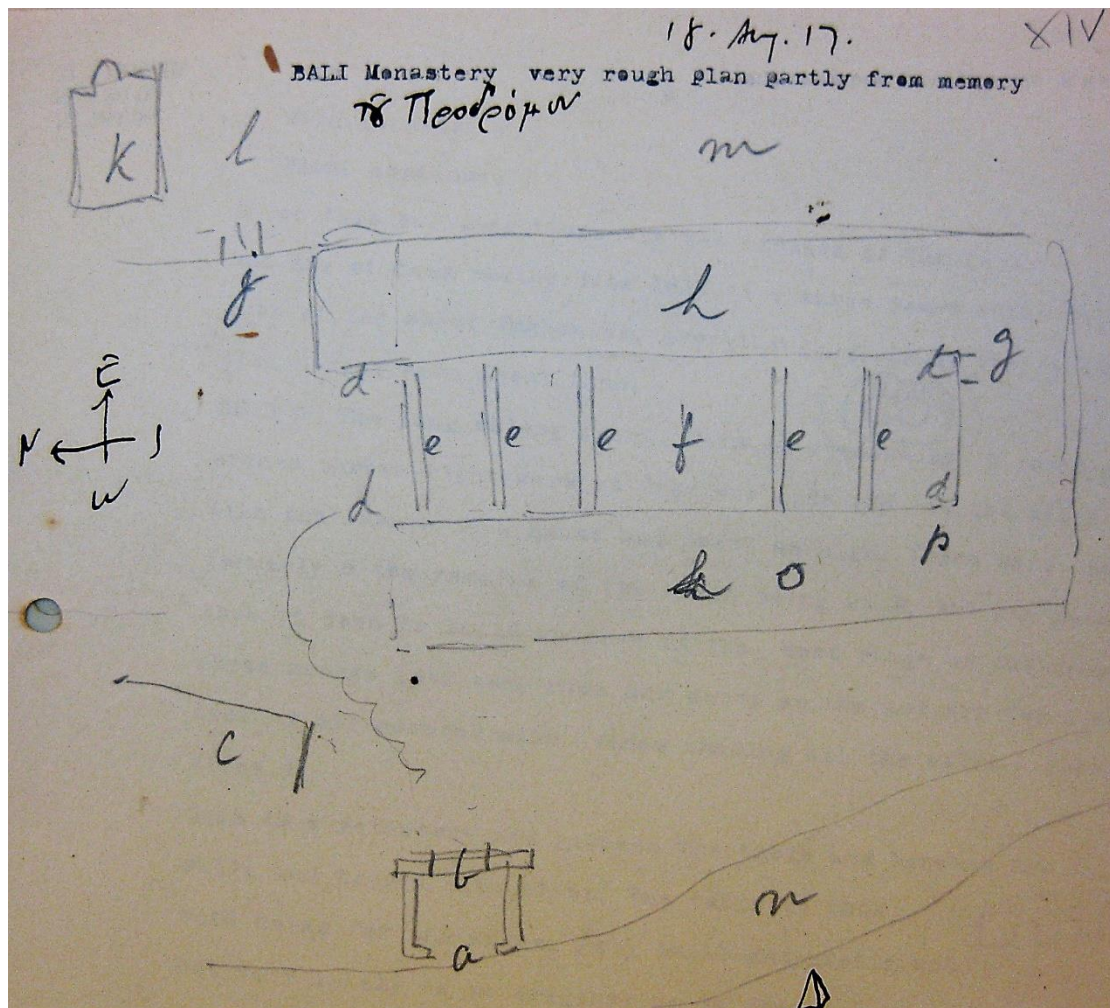
From Ag. Panteleimon above Phodele to Bali, a rather long and very hot day. The road first inland, passed through Sises and descended to the sea at Propatoumena; no houses here at all. Road over bare slopes often fired with lots of very gummy gum *cistus*. Blazing hot August weather, air heavy with the rich fragrance of *cistus* bushes.<sup>26</sup>

I believe that they collect the *ladania* from it by drawing straps over it, though I have never seen the process and am not sure. Anyhow, I saw a large lump of the stuff, which is black like pitch and hard as putty or harder, in a warehouse at Bali where I slept, and I have seen it in a shop in Canea. It is used, I believe, in the preparation of scent and sells for high prices.<sup>27</sup>

Chourmouzis (p. 13) says that the Cretan *ladanos* is famous and that the most [sic] comes from Mylopotamos and especially from the north coast near Bali monastery. It is gathered between the middle of June and the middle of August. Six to eight leather straps three spans long attached to a handle of the same length are dragged across the *ladanos*-bearing brushes and at intervals the *ladanos* is scraped from them with a knife. This is done during the heat of the day, and they stop when the heat begins to moderate. It is also collected with iron combs from the beards of goats who graze amongst the bushes.

### **Bali<sup>28</sup>**

Bali is a few houses in a little bay at the foot of a rounded hollow in the hills. A little above it is the monastery and over the hills to the west the path goes over the col to Melidoni. Before Bali is a little olive grove and church of Agia Sophia. Bali has a few houses and stores and is the port for Exantis, where I did not go. A very pretty inlet; I had landed there once and came there once again later with consul Graham [?], but only this once did I pass by on land. I slept there and went on next day to Melidoni.

Bali Monastery του Προδρόμου [of John the Baptist]<sup>29</sup>

A Entrance gate from path N. The outer porch A seems later; it has two square little pyramids on it as ornament like the gate at Candia<sup>30</sup> and the Panagia church at Drakonero. It also partly covers the inscription on the inner arch B. It has benches at the sides for people to sleep on when the monastery is closed up for the night, just like the loggia at Toplou. I was told that this was the idea of these outside benches.

On B round the arch or above it (I forget which) is the inscription with one end covered by the outer porch: 1635 αρχή σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου. μν[η]στιτι Κύριε του δούλου σου Παχομίου ιερομονάχου [The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Remember o Lord thy servant the ordained monk Pachomios].<sup>31</sup>



IMG\_2776 The inside of the former gateway showing one of the miniature pyramidal decorations



IMG\_2780 Window with date 1638



The arched court (Gerola III 177)



IMG\_2778

C On this building there are two windows of the form [photo 2780] and one of them has the date 1638, i.e. three years after the gate of the abbot [sic] Pachomios. Everything points to the fountain having been [built] about then.

DDDD The long oblong court. This is crossed by five round arches [E] thrown right across from one side to the other, like the *kamara* in a house and about as high. There were formerly six, the remains of the sixth being at F, but the monks took it down to build an arch in the west range of buildings O. These arches look very nice and serve as the support for a trellis all covered with vines shading the court (*krevatines*).<sup>32</sup>

G is the refectory and kitchen. The table and benches are all built and topped with slabs. The table is thus with holes not very likely to be the style of the Venetian part of



for the knees. Very small and rustic and original, as it does not at all suit the the buildings.

H and O are the main buildings. O is stores etc. and not good work; possibly the old has been pulled down, possibly never finished.



IMG\_2779 The upper floor of P: formerly the abbot's quarters, now library; note that the old steps are now missing. The ground floor is occupied by the chapel of St Theodosios

At P there is a good Venetian house with round arched windows and ascended to by old steps.

H is a very fine range of Venetian buildings, the finest row of *kellia* in Crete. Square windows and doors with dripstones. I sketch a typical window on next sheet.

A good deal of billet moulding built in fragments and, I think, this moulding on the door J which leads down to the church K.



IMG\_2774 South façade of church



IMG\_2775 A window sketched by Dawkins?

The church K has a good Venetian front with stones big and chamfered at the edges and in the middle of the south side a door and two windows with pediments, the middle one over the door smashed.<sup>33</sup>

L Open space in front of church.

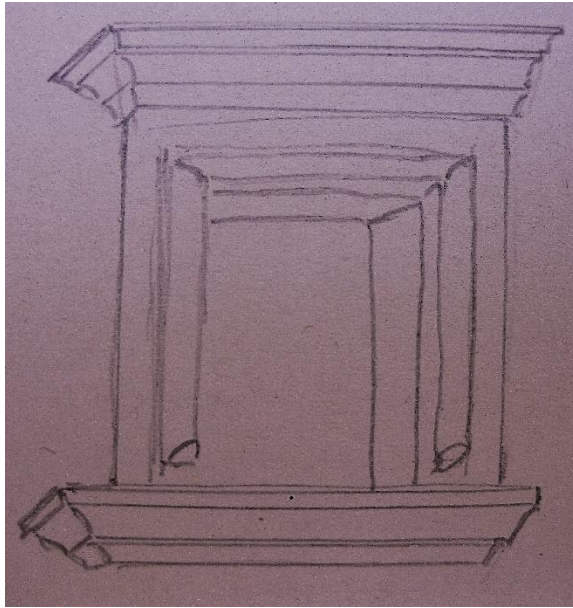
M Garden.

N Path outside.

It is said to have been burnt in 1821 and that the Turks in 1861 destroyed the belfry of the church. A present bell is inscribed

1884 αφιέρωμα Στυλιανού και Ιωάννου Δανδόλου ιερά μονή Μπαλή  
[1884 dedicated by Stylianos and Ioannis Dandolo to Holy Monastery of Bali]

and was cast in Trieste.



Typical Venetian window

There are now two *hieromonakhoi* [ordained monks] and one lay brother. They don't wear cassocks, and here resemble Preveli and Agios Panteleimon near Phodele. In east Crete this is never seen; all monks there wear cassocks. At Preveli they put them on to go to church.

The abbot says that there is an inscription on the fountain which is a little above the monastery of 1710 of the abbot Gedeon. I did not visit it.<sup>34</sup>

The church of course cannot compare with Arkadi, but for the domestic buildings it is the best preserved Venetian monastery in Crete and shows exactly what one of the smaller monasteries was like in Venetian times.

Monks very rustic.

In the garden there is a very fine female cypress. The *moni* is  $\frac{3}{4}$  hour's walk uphill from the port, but is not visible from it.

The abbot told me it was originally called Atali or Astali. A Turk came here and found the honey so good that he changed the name to Bali from the Turkish *bal* 'honey'.<sup>35</sup> There is a lot of honey made here and a very big apiary on the way from Bali to Melidoni. Perhaps St John the Baptist's diet of honey has something to do with it. See Boschini for old name Porto di Atali.<sup>36</sup>

An *eikon* in the church, I think of the Virgin and child, is inscribed

Επί σοι χάρει, κεχαριτωμένη and  
μνήσθητι Κύριε του δούλου σου Γεβρασίου ιερομονάχου ΑΨΞΑ χειρ  
Εμμανουήλ

[Hail, thou who art highly favoured... Remember of Lod thy servant ordained monk Gevrassios. 1761. [Painted by the] hand of Emmanuel]

and another one by the same hand but badly restored has the date ΑΨΞΓ (= 1763).

### **Bali and Bees**<sup>37</sup>

Whether the name Bali has anything to do with *bal*, the Turkish for honey, or not, I passed, between Bali and Melidoni, one of the largest apiaries I have seen in Crete. The hives merit a note. There are in Greece in general two types of beehive, both based on



the natural hollow tree trunk and both occasionally an actual section of a trunk. In one type the section of trunk, say a couple of feet long, stands upright. A flat stone makes the top and bottom of the hive and the bees have access through a little door cut low down in the front side. These are often of wood, but very often of clay. They then assume the form of a common English flower pot, with a few holes round the bottom for access and a stone over the top for a roof. Such were the hives in this apiary and perhaps generally in Crete. The other type has the tree trunk laid on its side horizontally. A wooden diaphragm closes each end and a door is made in the front diaphragm. These are usually clay and longer than the others, say three or four feet long, and often piled one on top of the other. This type is certainly the commoner on mainland Greece. I have hardly, I think, seen modern hives at all in Crete and our methods of straining honey and expelling the honey and re-using the comb and using artificial comb would hardly appeal to the Cretan, for in Crete the wax for use for church tapers is at least as much, if not more the object of the beekeeper than the honey itself.<sup>38</sup>

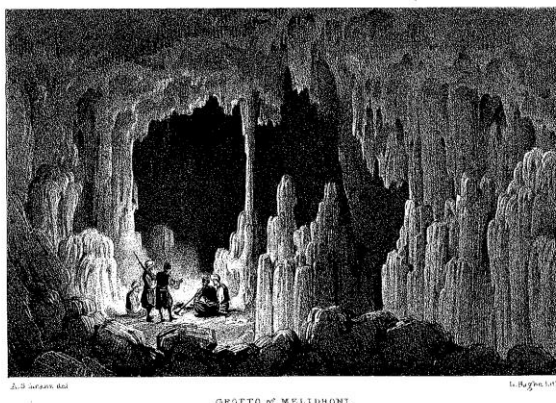
What about Khoumeli, got from boiling the wax and eaten like inferior honey?<sup>39</sup>

The honey most liked is the heavy aromatic honey made from thyme, and for this hives are carried down on mules from parts of west Crete and taken for the season to the uplands of Akrotiri where these plants abound. I met such a convoy near Alikianou: a mule had got stung, the whole troop took fright.

### The Cave of Melidoni, 19 August 1917<sup>40</sup>



IMG\_2788

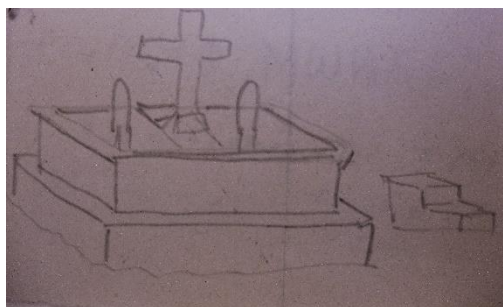


Pashley I 137

I went to Melidoni from Bali, the route being Candia, Agios Panteleimon near Phodele, Bali, and in evening to Melidoni where I slept; then in the morning of 19<sup>th</sup>, Sunday, to the cave and thence to Eleftherna and finally Panormo for the night – a long hot day.

The cave lies to the south of the village at a distance of 20 minutes' quick walk up the hill. The cave opens at the bottom of a pit in the hillside and a little way behind the mouth of the cave is a deep excavation made by the Turks when they tried to get into the cave by quarrying. The opening of the cave is a smallish arched opening at the bottom of a hollow like a quarry. From it there is a descent on a slope of loose stones and then a hall half lit, half dark. In this hall is the tomb sketched, which stands out half lit against an obscure background of stalactites. Further in the cave has the usual windings with sheets of stalactite; I saw no independent columns. Bats squeaking, pigeons and partridges go into the cave, they say, to drink. The bones are all collected into the tomb which has two divisions and is open at the top. At the foot of the cross an

*eikon*. It looks impressive lit from in front against the background of stalactite half in darkness. At the side is a kind of stele inscribed 1824 θάνατος όχι υποταγή [death, not subjection].<sup>41</sup>

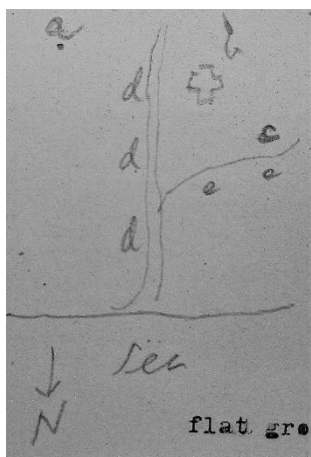


[Scarcely legible handwritten text:] The ancient inscription at the mouth of the cave is now covered up (see Xanth.) It needs a request for respecting the calm of the cave.<sup>42</sup>

### **Panagia at Drakonero**<sup>43</sup>

The church lies up on the steep left, west side of a narrow ravine running down to the sea. It is near the top of the side of the ravine and the ground below it falls rapidly. I got to it when going from Panormos to Retimo and had little difficulty in finding the place. The church is quite deserted and stands by itself.

General plan:



DDD is a valley running up from the sea west of Panormo. On its steep western side is the cruciform Panagia church B. At A is the little Panagia church on the flat ground just off the valley. It has a belfry over the west door and pinnacles at the four angles of the church by which are two cisterns. These pinnacles are like those on the gate of Bali and on the S. Giorgio gate at Candia.<sup>44</sup> EE is a side valley and in it at C is the Drakonero itself. This is a deep pool in the rock, roofed over by the rock and opening by a little arch. The water is very clear but not cold. The main valley runs down to the sea where it crosses the road from Panormo to Retimo. Both churches can be seen from the sea. Owing to not knowing exactly where to turn inland when I came here from Panormo,

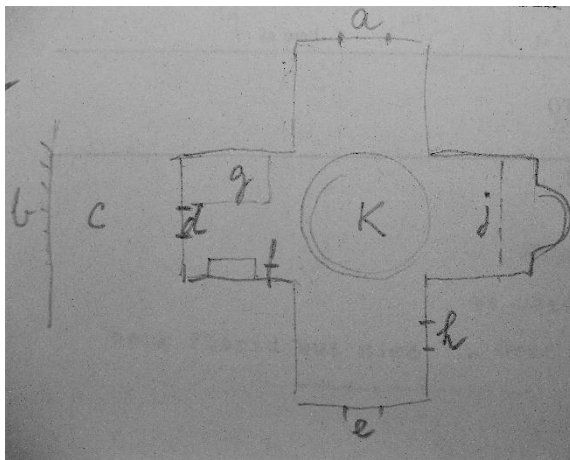
I turned inland too soon and so approached the valley from above, coming first to the small Panagia, then to the big cruciform church and lastly to the pool. But the proper way would be to ascend the valley and visit them in the opposite order.



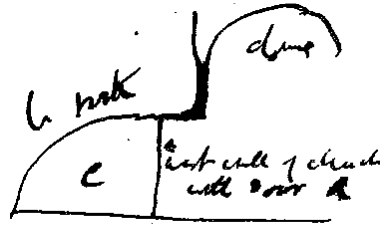
IMG\_3058 North door



IMG\_3068 South window



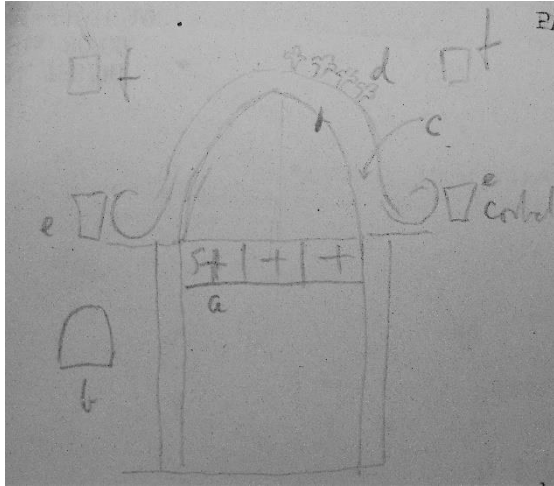
A very good church; work florid and clearly late and decadent but pleasing.



The church is built right up against the rock on the west so that the rock comes forward and touches the west wall above the door and there is thus a space in front of the west door covered by the rock; this is used as a stable.<sup>45</sup> The church is not now in use.

- A Big north door: see sketch.
- B Rock advancing and covering C: see section.
- D West door: see sketch.
- E Window with five plates in the form of a cross nearly above it.<sup>46</sup>
- F Tomb: see sketch.
- G Tomb slabs on floor.
- H Small door.
- J Screen.
- K Dome.

There is a string course all round the inside below the spring of the roof, and below this the remains of frescoes. Broken remains of a good screen.

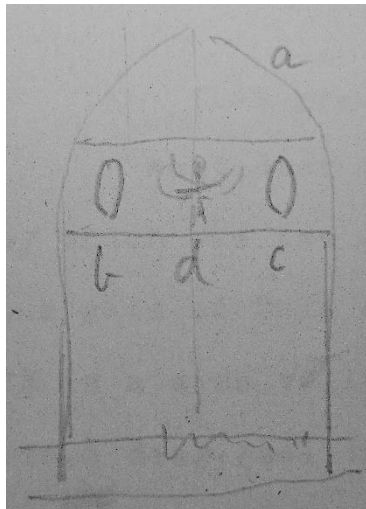


Sketch of north door (A)




A lintel with two floriated crosses and at  
 A a coat of arms with cross.  
 B niche  
 C dog tooth moulding  
 D row of trefoils as in church near Amari  
 EE corbel supports  
 FF stone staples to be used with the  
 corbels to support banners  
 Work florid but nice. Over door five very  
 good basins built in<sup>47</sup>



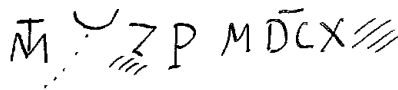
IMG\_3070 "Trefoils" (or rather fleurs de lys?)  
 and "seedpod" (Dawkins' "blob")



Sketch of west door (D)

A roll and billet moulding  
 B an oval blob with  on it  
 C similar almond-shaped blob with  on it  
 D floriations and cross  
 On the lintel and also on the left door-post   
 On each side of this door outside a frescoed angel. On  
 the roll moulding of the lintel elsewhere worn away  
 (stone very bad)

worn away (stone very bad)



bottom of floriated cross.

: 161.



IMG\_3073 Lintel of west door



Sketch of tomb F

It is of the usual type of arched tomb against a wall placed a little above ground. The four well-carved corbels A<sup>49</sup> support the sarcophagus (B), which has now been broken away. Above the arch is the stone copied at C. The space under the arch is carved with good leaf ornament (note a little uncertain).<sup>50</sup>



IMG\_3087 Church and tourist development

### Panormos to Retimo

The road from Panormos to Retimo passes along close to the sea and about one hour from Retimo it passes between a cliff and the sea at a place called Pighaidakia. On the top of the cliff is a fort, and the gendarme who was with me (20 VIII 17) told me that in 1897 some Turks were besieged there and rather than give themselves up to the Christians threw themselves over the cliff.

Sept 1931. ? Exact position of Pigaidakia and Drakonero. I don't think they are on the Perama – Retimo road, but both are near the mouth of the Mylopotamos river. I passed them on 20 VIII 17 between Panormos and Retimo. I visited them both going from Panormos to Retimo, but at different times and don't know their relative positions. They both lie between the Perama – Retimo carriage road and the sea.<sup>51</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> This is the coast route: contrast the inland route in ch. 13.

<sup>2</sup> We visited on 20 Oct. 2010.

<sup>3</sup> The word *πύργος* (literally 'tower') is commonly used to mean a mansion. We were told by a villager that it was ο *πύργος του Καλλέργη* (Kallergis' tower). The windows of the villa have fine decorations underneath. According to *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: Σύντομη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010), 31-1, in 1850 the Monastery bought the *konaki* (the villa of Mohammed Ali of Egypt) in Rogdia: is this the Venetian villa?

<sup>4</sup> The east end of the church looks Byzantine (see photo 2751 of SE corner): blind arch of brick. There is a ruined chapel with apse next to the N wall but with narrow passage between. Inside, the church is nicely restored. Four blind arches on the inside of the N wall, three on the S wall (one now broken by the S door). Very few faded frescoes. A pointed vault-arch in roof between each pair of blind arches (a pair on each side, i.e. in between arches, not across from one to the other).

<sup>5</sup> After this Dawkins has written the following: "The figure shows the style of lettering. It is copied from my sketch taken on the spot but does not pretend to strict accuracy of detail. It runs..." I have removed this from the main text because I have provided a photo of the inscription. Dawkins' 'singer' is a rendering of the word *πρωτοψάλτης* 'chief cantor', which Gerola (perhaps rightly) interprets as the man's surname. There is a black-and-white photo of the inscription in Gerola IV 501. For Gerola's other photos of Rogdia see II 293-4, III 290-2, IV 255-6.

<sup>6</sup> We visited on 20 Oct. 2010.

<sup>7</sup> An inscription in the Classical tympanum over the south door gives the date 1635; the 1745 inscription is above this.

<sup>8</sup> I think this isn't the Burning Bush but the Stem of Jesse, as at Agios Panteleimon (the icon isn't featured in the Savvathiana monastery book: *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: σύντομη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010)).

<sup>9</sup> The "Live-Receiving Spring", an epithet of the Virgin Mary.

<sup>10</sup> The path is now paved with stone and decorated with wooden panels depicting the stations of the Cross, or at least the stages of the Passion. The abbot's quarters (recently restored) are situated at the top end of the court.

<sup>11</sup> These inscriptions have now been replaced by a modern wood engraving: see photo 2758.

<sup>12</sup> Sister Timothei assured us that this icon was the original, not a replica; see also monastery book, p. 35; extant fragments are reproduced on pp. 36-7. See also ch. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Dawkins leaves a gap at this point. The monastery book reads the date on the inscription (erroneously) as 1535. Gerola IV 254 has a photo of the shield. Like Dawkins, he reads the inscribed date as 1596 and is unable to identify the family represented by the arms.

<sup>14</sup> The original chapel is tiny. There is now a modern barrel-vaulted chapel built along the south side.

<sup>15</sup> The icon is now on a wall in the main church of the monastery. It is reproduced in the monastery book, p. 9, where it is dated to 1741.

<sup>16</sup> The tombs of Iraklis Kokkinidis, killed by Turkish troops near Gazi in 1868 (according to the monastery book, p. 39), and his father Nikolaos are still in the chapel.

<sup>17</sup> See ch. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Dawkins describes his ascent of Ida with two fellow-archaeologists, the Canadian Charles Currelly and the American Edith Hall, at the beginning of ch. 15.

<sup>19</sup> We visited these on 20 Oct. 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Fodele is now best known for possibly being the birthplace of El Greco (Dominikos Theotokopoulos, 1541-1614). Dawkins left the name of the cape blank, and John Pendlebury has written “Stavrós?” in pencil. This is correct.

<sup>21</sup> Psilakis I 93ff. gives a copy and a transcription.

<sup>22</sup> I have restored the original spelling of the inscription,

<sup>23</sup> “Στενή η πύλη και τεθλιμμένη η οδός η ἀπάγουσα εις την ζωήν” (Matthew 7.14).

<sup>24</sup> The only bells we found were a new one hanging from an orange tree and another hanging in the belfry. For more on *semantra* see ch. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Dawkins must be thinking about the Stem of Jesse icon (η Πίζα του Ιεσσαί), dating perhaps from 1782. Both of the icons are still in the monastery chapel. We were told by Antonis Zidianakis that the All Saints icon is by the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>-century Cretan painter Michail Damaskinos.

<sup>26</sup> Dawkins has a note here: “cf. T. Battye”; see entry for Trevor-Battye’s book in the Bibliography in my Preface.

<sup>27</sup> Labdanum or ladanum, the gum of *Cistus creticus* is burned as incense and used as a medicament; in Greek the gum is called αλάδανος (masc.), while the plant is αλαδανιά (fem.). Tournefort describes watching it being collected; quoted in Stoneman, *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece* (Harmondsworth 1984), p. 281. The search term “YouTube ladanum” yields various videos showing the harvesting and burning. Tournefort has a picture of a flail for collecting ladanum, very similar to the one (αργαστήρι) still used today, though now the straps, which are – and were – considerably more numerous than Dawkins’ “six or eight”, are made of plastic. According to the *Blue Guide to Cyprus*, *Cistus ladanifer*, collected in the 18<sup>th</sup> century at Lefkara produces a “stimulant, not to be confused with laudanum”; however, according to the Wikipedia article “Labdanum”, “its leaves yield a fragrant [oleoresin](#) known as [labdanum](#), used in perfumes, especially as a [fixative](#)”; according to the same article both species produce labdanum

<sup>28</sup> Atali Monastery at Bali was dissolved in 1935 but re-established in 1983, since when major restoration works have been carried out. We spent the night of 20 Oct. 2010 at Bali.

<sup>29</sup> I visited on 21 Oct. 2010. I met nobody at the monastery, neither monk nor layperson.

<sup>30</sup> The now demolished St George’s Gate: see ch. 17.

<sup>31</sup> The inscription is drawn in Gerola IV 485. The entrance to the monastery now seems to be from the south.

<sup>32</sup> There are still vine trellises there.

<sup>33</sup> Now restored.

<sup>34</sup> I didn't see it either. There is a phot of the fountain in Gerola IV 66. According to the monastery website the abbot Gedeon built it in 1791: <http://www.imra.gr/moniatalis-mpali.html>.

<sup>35</sup> It would be more accurate to say that the placename (Balí, with the stress on the second syllable) derives from the Turkish adjective *ballı* 'honeyed, containing honey'.

<sup>36</sup> *Il regno tutto di Candia delineato à parte, à parte, et intagliato da Marco Boschini Venetiano* (Venice 1651), plate 18. Boschini's illustration of "Porto di Atali" can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530116167>. Despite the accentuation of the name on Boschini's illustration, it is pronounced Atáli, with the stress on the second syllable.

<sup>37</sup> Much of this section is repeated from ch. 6. We saw a great many beehives below Ag. Panteleimon Monastery. Beehives in Greece nowadays are of an almost uniform design: more or less cubical wooden structures with straight vertical sides, standing slightly above the ground on short feet or stones and covered with a flat lid.

<sup>38</sup> In a letter to Patrick Leigh Fermor (17 December 1951), Dawkins writes that the same used to hold true of England.

<sup>39</sup> [το] χούμελι or [η] χούμελη: 'a sweet liquid made by boiling honeycomb'. See Pangalos, who gives a detailed account of its preparation. He gives as its etymology "Serbian *hmelj*", which is unlikely, since *hmelj* in Serbian means 'hops', whereas 'honey' is *med*.

<sup>40</sup> We visited on 21 October 2010. Dawkins doesn't mention what happened at Melidoni and the significance of the bones, tomb, stele and inscription. For details see Pashley I 127-31: as they did in many other caves in Crete, in January 1824 many Christians sought refuge from Ottoman troops in the cave, from which they refused to emerge, whereupon the Turks piled earth and stones at the cave mouth and lit fires there, so that everyone inside choked to death. The bones of the dead were deliberately left inside by their fellow Christians as a memorial. It is estimated that more than 300 people perished.

<sup>41</sup> We saw pigeons there. The tomb is no longer open at the top, and there was no icon there. The stele is in the shape of a cross, or else it has been replaced by a cross.

<sup>42</sup> In ancient times the cave was sacred to Hermes. The ancient inscription is published in Margarita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones creticae*, vol. 2 (Rome 1939), pp. 302-3. The inscription is not visible. If I have transcribed the last sentence correctly, Dawkins seems to be referring to the noise made by visitors to the cave – which was noticeable when we visited too.

<sup>43</sup> Known colloquially as η Παναγία στο Δρακόνερο and officially as ο ναός της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου Ρεθύμνου. We visited on 12 May 2011. This extraordinary hidden gem of a church had recently undergone considerable repair. However, some unfeeling developers had built a huge tourist accommodation block that reached within a few feet of the church. Work had clearly been halted at the time we were there, and Dr Olga Gratziou informs me (25 Nov. 2018) that legal proceedings concerning the legality of the development are still ongoing.

<sup>44</sup> St George's Gate, which Dawkins photographed; see ch. 17. Dawkins' "little Panagia" (Παναγία Λατζιμιά) on the opposite side of the valley is visible from the cruciform church. All four pinnacles were still intact when we saw it.

<sup>45</sup> Not when we visited! See photo 3068.



<sup>46</sup> The plates were no longer there when we visited.

<sup>47</sup> The lintel is now badly worn, but the right door jamb has been restored. By “trefoils” he means the trefoils (or perhaps rather fleur de lys) that line the outer edge of the moulding. He may be thinking of the church at Monastiraki; see ch. 10. Four of the five colourful basins over the doorway were still in situ. Gerola’s photo of the north door is reproduced in S.A. Curuni and L. Donati, *Creta Veneziana: L’Istituto Veneto e la missione cretese di Giuseppe Gerola. Collezione fotografica 1900-1902* (Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venice 1988), p. 322.

<sup>48</sup> The angel frescoes are now scarcely visible. Dawkins doesn’t refer to the letters and symbols incised in the right half of the recessed part of the lintel, under the floriations, which are just visible in my photo. On the badly worn roll moulding it is now possible to read the date as MDCXIV: 1614.

<sup>49</sup> Each of the corbels ends in a stylized lion’s head motif.

<sup>50</sup> The note is correct: in fact the elaborate ornamentation (including flowers, vines, pears and almond branches in vases) is well preserved. This funerary monument was built for a member or members of the Tzangarolos family, whose coat of arms is placed above the keystone of the arched recess. The inscription to the left of the coat of arms bears the date 1550 or 1555. According to the Greek Archaeological Service, the church “is mentioned in a notarial document of 1644 as the monastery of the Virgin Mary at Prinos”. The fact that it was a monastery accounts for the now ruined outbuildings. Apart from the remains of the monument attached to the wall, fragments of the sarcophagus have been found in the church, bearing a relief depiction of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. The relief is surmounted with an inscription dated 1560. The depiction in the relief is remarkably similar to an engraving by Albrecht Dürer of the same scene (1510), which may be the ultimate model for the Prinos relief: see Kostas Yapitsoglou, “Το επιτύμβιο μνημείο των Τζαγκαρόλων στον ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου”, in Olga Gratzou (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοική στη Λατινική Ανατολή, 13<sup>ος</sup> - 17<sup>ος</sup> αιώνες* (Heraklion 2007), pp. 140-51.

<sup>51</sup> In “War journeys” Dawkins says he visited Pigaidakia (presumably the one on the map between Pombia and Kaloi Limenes rather than the one near Elounda) on 12 April 1918 and Drakonero church on 22 May 1918. Panormo-Rethymno journey recorded as 20 August 1917.

## CHAPTERS 15 and 16

### IDA

#### 15



THE KAMAREK MOUNTAIN FROM NEAR PHAISTON. (From a Photograph by Monsieur Boissonnas.)

Two views of Mt Ida (Psiloreitis) range from the south by the Swiss photographer Fred Boissonnas (1958-1946), published at the beginning of the report on the 1913 Kamares excavation (see below). “Digenis’ saddle” is top left in the left-hand photo.

Spratt begins his book on Crete with a description of the view from Ida, and thus makes it in a manner the centre of his survey. I went up Ida somewhere about 1904 with Currelly and Miss Edith Hall, but have very few notes. We went from Candia up through the village of Anoyia and so to the Nida plain where we slept by a chapel not far from the famous Nida Idaean cave.<sup>1</sup> In the early morning we climbed up the ridge and saw the sunset [rise] from the summit where there is a little chapel. Descending again to the plain, we went through the southern opening of the Nida basin and so round the wooded slopes to the right as far as the Kamares cave, which we could not enter as it was all choked up with snow.<sup>2</sup> When I excavated this cave in 1913 the season was hardly more advanced, but there had been very little snow that year and the cave was in consequence quite free and there was even no water in the inner cave. It is not necessary here to describe the cave which I have done in the account of the excavation.

On the way from the plain to the cave we passed a spring where there was a group of shepherds, all in the usual Cretan dress. The piece of skin below the knee of one boy was so very black that we asked when he had last had a bath. “When I was baptised.” There is, I believe, a sort of idea against washing away the waters of baptism by any subsequent and less holy lavation.

The Nida plain is interesting for several reasons. It is a grassy basin draining towards the south, and at its edge is the Idaean cave excavated by Halbherr:<sup>3</sup> one of the first sites in Crete to be examined. The name Nida is the only relict of the old name of the mountain, being for *eis tin Ida*. The mountain itself, though it has now generally regained its ancient name, has been for many centuries known as Psiloritis, the High Mountain. Not far from the mouth of the cave we saw on the turf a space marked out by a line of stones. It was the grave of a man who had been shot there in a quarrel not many years before.

Indeed, the mountain villages on the two sides of Ida, notably Anoyia and Kamares, do not seem to have always been on the best of terms.<sup>4</sup> The main causes of trouble were disputes as to grazing grounds and sheep stealing. In 1913 when we dug the Kamares Cave we explored the slopes above it for any other traces of antiquity, and we found a bottle-shaped hole in the open hillside, rather like a deep pot-hole in a river, and it was full nearly to the brim with the flayed skins and the bones of sheep – no doubt the remains of sheep stolen, killed, flayed and eaten.

Of plants on Ida I particularly remember the pink, extremely fragrant dwarf almond. It grows in masses round the mouth of the Kamares cave and, I think, on the slopes about the summit of the mountain. This summit is a long ridge. From Candia the length of the ridge is seen, but from the west side Ida appears as a peak and is much more impressive and beautiful.

Of the villages on the slopes of Ida I speak in describing the routes along the skirts of the mountain.<sup>5</sup>

### Dittany<sup>6</sup>

With Mount Ida is particularly associated the herb dittany, though it is in fact found in many other parts of Crete. It is a small, woolly-leaved perennial with an agreeable aromatic scent and a terminal spray of flowers, growing in crevices of rock. On Ida, and perhaps generally in Crete, it is collected for sale, which may account for its comparative scarcity: one never sees very much of it anywhere. I have found it myself in Sphakia in the gorge going up from Komitades to Askyphou [Imbros gorge], on the headland below Myrthios, in the Lasithi district between Kroustas and Prina, and on the rocks by the Katholiko in Akrotiri, where Pashley also found it.<sup>7</sup> It has now several names. Its most usual name is *atitamos* (ατίταμος), a form clearly deriving from the ancient *dictamnus*. But at Meseleroi I heard it called *paradokhorto* (παραδόχορτο), which would mean money-wort.<sup>8</sup> Another common name is *erotas*, love. This I have heard in east Crete and it is given by Tozer (p. 46),<sup>1</sup> who also calls it *stamatokhorto*, the herb which staunches blood, for which he quotes Virgil, Aeneid II, 412-415, a passage which suggests that in antiquity it was used in this same way.<sup>2</sup> Its modern use I do not know. Pashley quotes from Theophrastus and Pliny, who both thought that the plant was peculiar to Crete.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Cretan form is accurately *έρωντας*.

<sup>2</sup> Virgil here mentions its woolly leaves and purple flower, an epithet whose correctness must not be pressed. He then alludes to goats using it when wounded by arrows, which we find also in Theophrastus.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXV, 8: *Dictamnus non est alibi quam in Creta*. Theophrastus, *H.P.*, IX, 16, who says the same, describes the plant and says it is used especially to help women in childbirth.

## 16: SOUTH SLOPES OF IDA

### Digenis and Ida

It is amongst the southern slopes of Ida that the Digenis legend is preserved in Crete. The medieval hero, Basilis Digenis Akritas, was the son of a Christian woman and a Moslem Emir – hence the name Digenis, of double birth. He fought in the twelfth century against the Saracens on the eastern marches – whence the name Akritis – of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>9</sup> From his achievements sprang a copious stock of legends which have been preserved in folksong and legend, in local traditions as well as in a long literary epic. But as the Digenis stories spread from their historical centre, they more and more lose their historical character, and in Crete at least Digenis is no more than a giant of miraculous strength.<sup>10</sup>

The two-pointed mountain above the Kamares cave is the saddle of Digenis, *του Διγενή το σελλί*. Somewhere near is a footprint of Digenis, and between the villages of Panassos and Gergeri a great flat-topped ridge in the valley is known as the tomb of Digenis. I have read that his tomb was said to be in this place, and it struck me that this ridge might be it. When I passed by along the hillside to the south of it on the way from Agia Varvara to the Mesara, where one looks down over it, I asked a passing countryman the name of the ridge and he said at once “The tomb of Digenis”, “*του Διγενή το μνήμα*”, adding that when the hero played the game of pitching stones (*αμάδες*), he threw them right over mount Ida. A song has been published (Politis, *Eklogai*, [no.] 78)<sup>11</sup> about the giant playing this game:

No house could cover him, no cave hold him;  
 he would [stride] over the mountains, he would leap over the tops of the  
   hills,  
 he would play pitch and toss with the boulders, he would shift the firm-set  
   crag.

### The Tomb of Digenis near Gergeri<sup>12</sup>

The so-called tomb merits a fuller description. A valley runs up from the Mesara plain northwards towards Ida. Just past the village of Apomarma this valley divides, one branch passing east [= NE] to Panassos and the other running up to the west [= NW] past Gergeri towards Kamares. In the triangle of lower land thus formed, a long narrow ridge rises following fairly closely the line of the lower undivided valley. It is perhaps 200 feet high and is more than a mile long and about ¼ of a mile broad. The top is quite flat. The path between Panassos and Gergeri goes through the narrow passage between its north end and the main slope of Ida. This flat top and regular shape make the tomb a very striking object as it really resembles a long barrow. It is just the sort of place that to the popular imagination would call for some explanation. At the south end of the “tomb” is a sort of bend in the regular outline and this is supposed to mark the point where the head of the buried hero is supposed to be bowed over his breast as he lies in his grave. Geologically the “tomb” must be formed by a strip of an earlier stratum which has resisted the denudation by water which cut out the valley by being in a position between the two branches of the valley.

The way to see the tomb is either to pass by its north end on the direct path from Agia Varvara – Panassos – Gergeri – Nivritos – Vorizia – Kamares, or else better to look down upon it from the south by going from Agia Varvara straight to Apomarma

on the road to Roupas and Moires.<sup>13</sup> By this way one does not descend from Agia Varvara to Panassos but keeps on the level after leaving Agia Varvara.<sup>14</sup>

There are Pitching Stones of Digenis in other places as well as here. Thus two people from Melambes, one a policeman at Agia Galini and the other the judge at Khersonnesos who told me the foundation legend of Agia Galini, have told me that on the south side of the hill upon whose north slopes is the villages of Melambes is a stone called *tou Digeni i amada* [Digenis' *amada*<sup>15</sup>], and the giant is said to have brought it there from the top of Ida. The place where the stone is and perhaps the stone itself, the policeman told me, are visible from Agia Galini, but the dusk had fallen and I could not see very well. A part of the same hill, just visible from Agia Galini, is called *tou Phoka to Selli*, the Saddle of Phokas.

In the same part of Crete, this time to the east of Ida, there is a whole set of stones connected with the name of Digenis; these are all near Prinia. This village lies on a slope facing east and on the opposite side of the valley to the new road from Candia to Agia Varvara. At the bottom of the valley is a stream and on the lower part of the slope below the village to the stream are a great number of boulders called *τση Πρινιάς τα χαράκια*.<sup>16</sup> Amongst them is a tall crag which juts up as from a lower formation, but the boulders are clearly fallen from above and belong to the same set of rocks as those which crown the *Patelli tis Prinias*.<sup>17</sup> To these rocks the name of Digenis is attached. There are a number of boulders close together, called by a boy I saw there *τση γριάς τα τυριά, τ' αθοτόρια τση γριάς* [the old woman's cheeses]. Vlastos, in *Κρητικός λαός*, gives details, but I could not identify anything except the cheeses. He says that at Spartovrisi [near Prinias],<sup>4</sup> where I did not go, but it is a little lower down the valley, is an *αμάδα του Διγενή*, at *τα χαράκια, αμάδα του παιδιού του Διγενή* and between them the "mark or target" of Digenis.<sup>18</sup> But one of the rocks at the *τυριά* is just the sort of flat rock called *αμάδα*, though bigger than any described by Vlastos. It is shaped like a flattened cottage loaf and 25 feet across and 8 or 10 feet high. There is possibly a good deal of local uncertainty, but the fact is clear that the name of Digenis is attached to these remarkable looking rocks. My servant, Yanni, called them cheeses before ever he heard the story, and the villagers are well aware of it. To the place above Prinia, where according to Vlastos is a rock called Digenis' Kitchen, I did not go.

All over this part of Crete these Prinia stones are known. A man from Zaros, a village quite near the "tomb", whom I met once (3.vi.1918) on the road near Agia Varvara, told me that some stones apparently near Spartovrisi are called the Cheeses of Digenis. On another subject: it was at Zaros, when I spent a night there in November 1917, that I was told that there is a constellation which the shepherds call the *Mandra*, the Sheepfold, and that in it the sheep, the shepherd and the dog can all be distinguished. But I could learn nothing more exact. Digenis occurs elsewhere in Crete: Miss Manou told me that near Canea, somewhere close to her family house, there is *castro* called Frangokastello, and by it a Tomb of Digenis and near this tomb a big round stone called the Pitching-stone of Digenis, *η Αμάδα του Διγενή*.

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<sup>4</sup> Vlastos says that some of these stones have been destroyed to get metal for the new carriage road. The place Spartovrisi is on the east side of the valley by this carriage road, just where it comes into sight of Prinia from the south. This being so, it is only too likely that he is right and that the *αμάδα* and target of Digenis have been broken up.

**Monastery of Vrontisi (midday, 30 November 1917)<sup>19</sup>**



Gerola IV 71



IMG\_2700



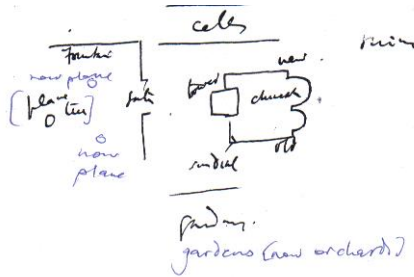
IMG\_2701 The plane tree

The monastery lies just above the road from Zaros to Kamares. It is on the slope of Ida facing south over the undulating country on the north side of Mesara. Only the north side of the court has been built. The entrance is on the west end. Outside it is the fountain; the usual wall adorned with headless statues of Adam and Eve; below these four heads, only one of which now works, serve as water spouts. The style is much that of the Candia fountain [Bembo fountain].<sup>20</sup> In front of the fountain are a big plane and a cypress. The door has been broken down, but from a jamb left it looks Venetian. The church is double with a few remains of frescoes, but mostly whitewashed. Only the

south part is old. On the SW corner is a sundial, probably reset as it does not give the time right.<sup>21</sup> At the west end is a tower.



IMG\_2702



East of the church are ruined buildings and below the court (to the south) is the garden. There are now a few monks there, but in Turkish times it was occupied by a Turk of, I think, Gergeri, who took away a lot of the stones. Poor and rustic. The charm of the place is the view and the shady place outside the gate with the big plane tree in front of the fountain.

### Beehive domed shepherds huts on Ida<sup>22</sup>

In 1913 below the Kamares cave I noted the *mandra* on the spur below the cave on the way to the village of Kamares. It is a dome built in the Mycenaean way by advancing each slab forward of the one below. Inside the dome there is access to a smaller beehive in which the cheese is kept and a strong door between. Xanthoudidis thinks this method of building a Minoan survival. He told me that they are found all over Ida.

At Zaros, where I slept on November 30<sup>th</sup> 1917, a shepherd described these beehive *mandras* of Ida to me. The inner room is called the *tyrokelli* and has a very strong iron door and so much stone on the roof that a thief would find it too big a job to unbuild it. The great art of building these beehive huts is to lay the stones so that the rain is carried off outside and not into the interior of the hut. The builders come from Anogia. Zaros is to the south of Ida in the Gergeri valley and I got there this time from Malles.<sup>23</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> Nida, like Lasithi and Omalos, is one of the mountain plateaus of Crete. The Idaean cave is reputed to have been the birthplace of Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins' first visit to the Kamares cave took place in early July 1904: see R.M. Dawkins and M.L.W. Laistner, "The Excavation of the Kamares cave in Crete", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 19 (1912/13), p. 3. Iosif Hatzidakis had discovered some vases and figurines there in the early 1890s, but the cave was not fully excavated until the dig directed by Dawkins in 1913. The distinctive kind of finely painted vase named "Kamares ware", with black ground and white or polychrome ornamentation, had previously been unknown. Dawkins and Laistner describe the location of the Kamares cave as follows (pp. 3-4):

For a mountain sanctuary which should impress the inhabitants of Phaistos and the plain of Messará, it would be impossible to find a more fitting position than that of the Kamares cave. From all the western part of the plain the actual summit of Ida is not visible; this only comes into sight at the greater distance east of Gortyn, or as the ground rises to the Káto Ríza mountains which fringe the coast to the south of the plain. Everywhere else the summit is hidden by the great two-peaked mountain above the village of Kamares, the third and westernmost of a row of lower hills of the Ida range, which from Gortyn westwards form the northern boundary of the Messará plain.

Some 500 feet below the eastern peak of this mountain is the cave, and from Phaistos and for many miles over the plain its great arched mouth is visible in the clear air. The height of the cave above the sea seems to be about 5500 feet, a little higher than the Nida plain and the Idaean cave, which are about 5260 feet. The mountain as seen from near

<sup>3</sup> The Italian archaeologist Federico Halbherr (1857-1930). As far as Crete is concerned, Halbherr is known especially for his discovery of the legal code inscription at Gortyn and his excavation of Phaistos and Agia Triada.

<sup>4</sup> Both villages suffered the same fate during the German occupation, when they were razed to the ground. Anoyeia was destroyed on 31 August 1944 as a reprisal against a partisan attack on a German unit which marched into the village demanding labourers. Kamares had already been destroyed, along with the nearby villages of Lochria and Margarikari, on 4 May 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Added at end of paragraph in pencil: "Just below the summit we saw *chionodoxa* and a little lower down dwarf cherry. Pendlebury, June 1936."

<sup>6</sup> The species *Origanum dictamnus* is endemic to Crete.

<sup>7</sup> See ch. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Confirmation of Dawkins' information about *παραδόχορτο* is provided by the fact that if one searches for this word on Google, the only site that is suggested is one that is operated by the inhabitants of Meseleroi:

<https://sites.google.com/site/meseleroi/Home/glossari/pp>.

<sup>9</sup> In Cypriot folksongs, as also in the written medieval romance about him, the hero is called as Digenis Akritis. The word ακρίτης denotes one who guarded the frontiers of the Byzantine empire. In Crete the hero is known simply as Digenis.

<sup>10</sup> See also the Meronas section in ch. 10. With these legends we can compare, for instance, the Giant's Causeway in Northern Ireland (built, according to legend, by the giant Finn McCool as stepping stones to Scotland) and Fingal's Cave (named after the same hero), the Devil's Punchbowl and Offa's Dyke (though this last is clearly man-made), and the various cylindrical depressions in river beds in France.

<sup>11</sup> N.G. Politis, *Εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού* (Athens 1914).

<sup>12</sup> We visited on 17/10/2010.

<sup>13</sup> Confusingly, apart from Roufas, there is also the Rouvas forest, which comes down from Ida towards Zaros.

<sup>14</sup> Soon after Gergeri on the right of the road going east there is a sign pointing to "Λίμνη του Διγενή το μνήμα" (Lake at Digenis' Tomb). The road still goes through the narrow gap between the "tomb" and the mountain. The "tomb" has a deep natural lake at the top, and an artificial one. According to tradition, the natural lake, known as



Βρομολίμνη, was formed when a threshing floor collapsed after the thresher swore. Dawkins doesn't mention this lake.

<sup>15</sup> *Amada* is a flat stone used in a game in which players compete by throwing the stones at targets.

<sup>16</sup> More correctly, I think, του Πρινιά τα χαράκια, since Priniás is masculine. But Vlastos (see below) and others write τα πρινιανά χαράκια, using the adjective: 'the Prinian boulders'.

<sup>17</sup> Actually Patela tou Prinia (ancient Rhizenia, Ριζηνία); see ch. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Vlastos' article is in the magazine *Ο Κρητικός λαός*, year 1, issue 1 (May 1909), pp. 12-16. The largest of the *amades* that he describes was 14 ft in diameter and 4 ft thick.

<sup>19</sup> We visited the Monastery of St Antony on 17 Oct. 2010 while a wedding party was there.

<sup>20</sup> As can be seen by comparing Gerola's photo with ours, significant changes have been made to the fountain's façade in the course of recent heavy restorations. In particular, the haloed figure with outstretched arms to the right of the two other figures has disappeared, possibly because of the Orthodox prohibition on three-dimensional depictions of saintly figures. (To judge by a photo taken by the Greek photographer Nelly's in 1939, the haloed figure had already mysteriously disappeared by that time.) However, both of the spouts that were operating in Gerola's day were still operating at the time of our visit. Some of the spout-heads are violently baroque, and their arms are likewise carved in deep relief.

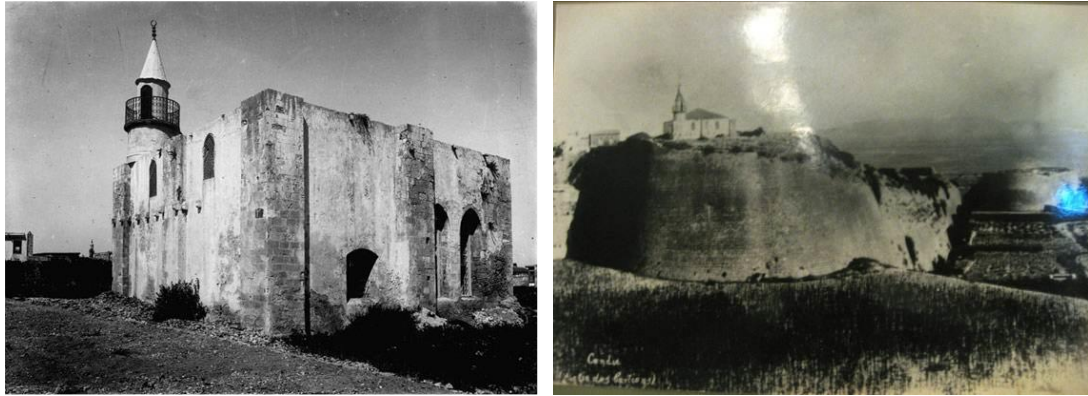
<sup>21</sup> The sundial was no longer there when we visited.

<sup>22</sup> There is more on this topic in the report of the 1913 Kamares excavation, p. 6. Dawkins wrote about the hut near Kamares in a letter to Patrick Leigh Fermor (9 Jan. 1952): "the dome was a sort of inner house and the outer room was square and used to [sic] living in. The great idea was to pile up the stones on the dome as thick and high as possible to prevent thieves from coming at night and unbuilding it and getting in to see the cheese; I believe there are a lot of them on Ida but I have only seen this one. [...] The walls and dome were just dry stones with no mortar and they did look most prehistoric."

<sup>23</sup> Dawkins probably means Moires rather than Malles. His log recording his "War journeys" shows that he travelled from Moires to Zaros on 30 November 1917 – a considerably shorter journey than if he had come from Malles!

## CHAPTER 17 CANDIA

### CANDIA. [Church and monastery of St Francis]



(left) San Francesco (Gerola II 116)

(right) Remains of San Francesco after earthquake (photo taken 24 May 2011 of photo in Historical Museum)

In the museum enclosure is a small Venetian building which is worth a note.<sup>1</sup> The stump of the minaret, which was torn down in 1917 by the Christian soldiers when they wrecked as much as they could of the mosques, shows that it was used as a mosque by the Turks. But its interest is that it is the only fragment left of the church and monastery of St Francis, once the largest of the religious buildings of Candia. Its history is given us by Xanthoudidis (*Khristianiki Kriti*, II, p. 97). When the Turks took Candia they turned the church into a mosque, calling it the Sultan Mosque. Time and earthquakes, especially that of 1856,<sup>1</sup> ruined it and the material was carted away and largely used in the construction of the big new mosque, the Vezir Mosque, which was built in 1867 behind the Venetian Loggia.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the fragment left standing was the baptistery.<sup>3</sup> The Cretan pope, Alexander [V (1339-1410)], was a monk here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jeannarakis, *Asmata kretika*, pp. 83-4, poem on Ο σεισμός του 1856. Saturday evening, Sept 26th, from which it seems that Candia suffered more than any other place:

l. 10. μα δεν υπόφερε κιαιμία σαν το Μεγάλο Κάστρο.  
 l. 11. χαλούν τα μοναστήριαν του, χαλούν κι οι μιναρέδες....  
 l 17-18. Θεοτική φωτιά 'πεσε στου Κάστρου το μεϊντάνι  
 κι οι γεμιτζήδες το είδανε 'πο μέσ' απ' το λιμάνι.  
 [but none suffered like the Megalo Kastro (Great Castle, i.e. Candia).  
 its monasteries are ruined, the minarets are ruined...  
 a divine fire descended on the square of the Kastro  
 and the seamen saw it from within the harbour.]

<sup>2</sup> Refs:

M. Renieri, *Historikai meletai*, pp. 2-109.

Cornelii, *Creta sacra*, II, p. 14, 364-365.

Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*, Vol. II, pp. 88 [?], 112-117, fig. 66-70.

Papadopoulos, *Historia gymnasii patavini*, II, p. 161-162.

**CANDIA, 24 September 1917**

George Zakhariou told me that the ground upon which the new big cathedral church of St Minas stands was a garden belonging to a Turk. When the Christians wanted to buy it for the church he refused to sell. In the night the Turk had a vision of the saint on horseback dressed in white who told him that, if he did not sell, all his garden would be destroyed. In the morning he saw that his trees had been broken down and the gardener told him that a cavalier dressed in white had destroyed them in the night. The Turk then consented to the sale and gave two *askoi* [leather bottles] of oil yearly to the church, and this is said to be still received.

**CANDIA, 14 August 1917****Church of St Matthew<sup>4</sup>**

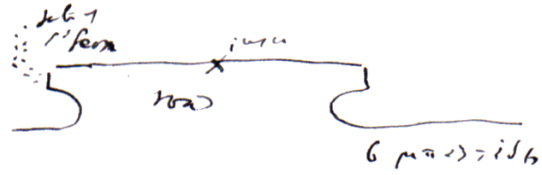
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Inside the church there are some good eikons of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, one of the martyrdom of St Catherine; a few Greek tombstones, one of Andreas Kalokairinos our consul killed by the Turks in the massacres (ηρωϊκώς πεσών [heroically fallen]). I rather think they burned him alive in front of his house. Over the door of the church outside is the inscription: Σιναϊτικός σταυροπηγιακός ιερός ναός του αγίου αποστόλου και ευαγγελιστού Ματθαίου [Sinaitic stavropegiac church of Saint Apostle and Evangelist Matthew].<sup>5</sup>

Candia 15 VIII 1918

Inscription on a slab built into the wall of Candia on the curtain wall below St Francis and the museum'

IOAN. MATH  
BEMBO PR  
ÆF GENL  
BA CRET (or P or R)  
MD LIII  
KKK



The inscription is in the wall  
between the wall below St Francis

Candia 15 VIII 1918

Inscr in capitals over door of house W of Cathedral of S Minas  
DONATO MAVROGENI CRETAE DVCE ( or MAVROGENI )  
OMNI VIRTUTEM GENERE IN ADMIRATIONEM EXCVLTISSIMO  
MVLTIIS EIVS AD COMVNE BONVM GESTIS CELEBERRIMO

D

ANNO SAL MDCXIX

ANGELO GRADENICO COSIL ET THOMA QVIRINO PROCOSIL (Co m G)

and on each side a bracket supporting a cornice.



**CANDIA, 15 August 1918**

Inscription on a slab built into the wall of Candia on the curtain wall below St Francis and the museum:<sup>6</sup>



IMG\_3218 The first of the inscriptions transcribed below, between S Giorgio Gate & the Efta Baltades (Seven Axes) bastion (not Six!) (23 May 2011)

IOAN. MATH  
BEMBO PR  
ÆF GENE  
RA CRET  
MD LIII<sup>7</sup>

[In scarcely legible hand:] This inscription is one [...]: not below Τρεις Καμάρες [now Eleftherias Square].

-----

Inscription in capitals over the door of a house west of the Cathedral of S. Minas:

DONATO MAVROCENI CRETAE DVCI (or MAVROGENI)  
 OMNI VIRTVTEM GENERE IN ADMIRATIONEM EXCVLTISSIMO  
 MVLTI FIVS AD COMVNE BONVM GESTIS CELEBERRIMO  
 D  
 ANO SAL MDCXIX  
 ANGELO GRADENICO COSIL ET THOMA QVIRINO PROCOSIL

and on each side a bracket supporting a cornice.<sup>8</sup>

-----

On a white marble slab over the arch of the Knossos gate on the town side:<sup>9</sup>

IOANNE MOCENICO  
 PROCONSVLE  
 M D L XXXVI

-----

Marble slab, now half covered with earth, built in below a cornice and with a volute on each side at Candia in the wall towards the town between the British Consulate and the sea, i.e. in the inner face of the wall, just east of the galley sheds and harbour in a jutting angle of town wall. Capitals.

IOANNI IACOBO ZANE PROCONS. / RECONDITOS AQVARVM FONTES /  
 EX INTIMO TERRAE SINV / IN LVCEM NATVRA PROTVLIT / ARS /  
 E COELO FLVENTES IMBRES / IN SVBTERRANEOS SPECVS / CONGESSIT

and the rest is buried. It looks as if there had been a fountain below.<sup>10</sup>



IMG\_1043 The above inscription (now fully legible) on a slab now placed against the back of a fountain outside Historical Museum, Herakleio (25 Oct. 2009).

**[Bembo fountain]**

In front of the church of San Salvador<sup>11</sup> is a fountain now not working.<sup>12</sup> A sarcophagus is [used] for the trough in front. The façade behind is divided by pillars and at the sides are Venetian coats of arms and in the middle compartment above a block of stone is part of a Roman statue. The lower parts of the legs are gone, the block being where they would be, and the head is gone, the cornice of the façade passing immediately above the neck. So it was broken before being put into this façade. The flesh parts are painted black. The Turks now say it represents an Arab and that therefore the Venetians broke it when they came (*Arapis* is both Arab and Negro), but Spratt, I, p. 44, says that it is believed to be “the petrified remnant of the body of a sainted Ethiopian Mussulman who was killed in the war, and whose head and lower members were cut off by the Christians, but who is destined to rise to life when the Ghiaour are to be exterminated from the island.”



(left) Photo in Dawkins' archive of San Salvatore, Candia.<sup>13</sup>



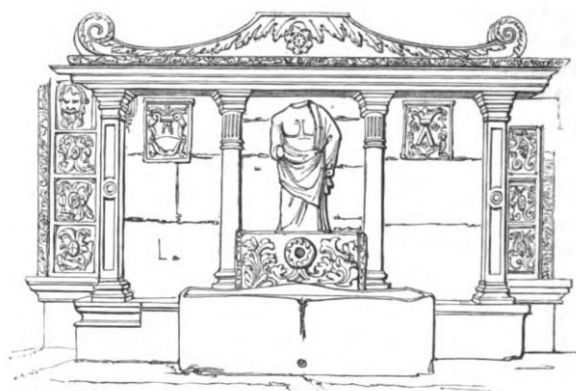
(right) San Salvatore shortly before its demolition c. 1970.



IMG\_1029 The Bembo fountain (24 Oct. 2009)<sup>14</sup>



IMG\_1034. The *sebil* (24 Oct. 2009)<sup>15</sup>



The Bembo fountain (Pashley I 186)



The Bembo fountain showing the flesh on the statue painted black (Gerola IV 41)



The Bembo fountain and *sebil*, with San Salvatore showing indistinctly in the far background on the left (Pashley I, between pp. 194 and 195)<sup>16</sup>

### CANDIA. SIEGE<sup>17</sup>

One of the most interesting monuments of the siege is a fountain to be found near the sea gate of [Dermatas] towards the north-west corner of the town.<sup>18</sup> The fountain consists of a pediment supported by two square pilasters and between them two half-columns, all with Corinthian capitals, the pilasters being flanked with wings<sup>19</sup> surmounted by volutes. Of the three spaces thus formed ... can [?be] filled with water the [imam?] turns the tap, and above this a long Latin inscription, and above this again the Turks have inserted a block of marble with Turkish writing. The Latin inscription is to the effect that after the war had lasted for 20 years, water was running short in the city. Thus Antonius Priolus in the year 1666 brought water from a spring outside the walls and constructed this fountain. The city fell into the hands of the Turks in 1669, Oct. 4th.<sup>20</sup>

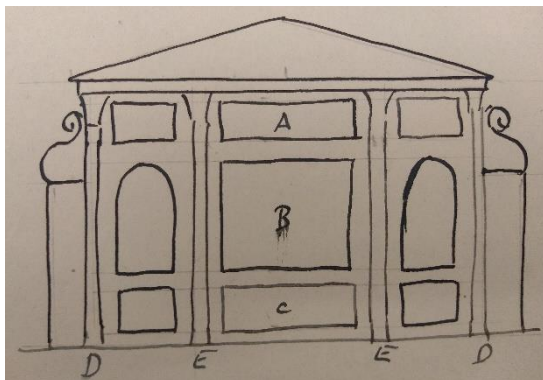


(left) Priuli fountain (photo in Dawkins archive)  
 (right) IMG\_2742 (19 Oct. 2010). The wooden beam supporting the overhanging first-floor balcony of the next-door house was still there – just – in May 2011

### CANDIA 29, 30 July 1917

Inscription on Venetian fountain [Priuli fountain] near Koum Kapi:<sup>21</sup>

D O M  
 BELLO AESTUANTE QUATUOR  
 ELAPSI IAM LUSTRIS URBI  
 OBSESSAE AQUIS EXHAUSTAE  
 LATICES E TERRAE LATEBRIS  
 EXTRA MOENIA SURGENTES  
 MIRA SOLLERTIA PROVIDA  
 CHARITATE AUXIT ANTONIUS  
 PRIOLUS IN DIFFICILLIMIS  
 REIPUBLICAE TEMPORIBUS  
 PROV GENERALIS EXTRA  
 ORDINEM PIUS PRUDENS  
 OPTIME MERITUS NONDUM  
 OPERAE PERFUNCTO REGIMINE  
 AD CON(S)VLAREM VENETIARUM  
 MOX PROCONSULAREM DAL  
 MATIAE ALBANIAEQUE FASTIGIUM  
 SUMA ACCLAMATIONE ETECTUS  
 ANNO DÑI MDCLXVI



- A. Turkish inscription
- B. Latin inscription
- C. Tap
- D. Square pilasters with Corinthian capitals
- E. Half columns with Corinthian capitals



## CANDIA, 14 August 1917

### Turkish holy places connected with siege

Inside the wall on the west end by the sea where our mess hut was were three graves of warriors now destroyed which were tended by incense. It was at this point that the city was taken.

By the sea were two built columns, one destroyed by Xanthoudidis, which I heard from Seager commemorated Turkish warriors.<sup>22</sup>

In the stretch of wall by the beach immediately east of the harbour is a door and inside it the tomb of Salih Evliya, who fell in the siege. The place is now shut but Turkish women I have seen visit it and there was a regular cult there of women. Hillali [?] Bey told me that a girl died there whilst worshipping and is buried inside and her tomb was tended, especially with offerings of gold wire such as seems to be used for dressing the hair.

On the bastion called [Efta] Baltades when I first came to Candia were 6 [7!] battle-axes at the edge of the wall. Each was placed on the grave of its owner – all dervishes who fell at this point in the siege. One of these axes is now in the museum.<sup>23</sup>



(left) IMG\_3217 Εφτά Μπαλτάδες [Seven Axes] bastion, 23 May 2011

(right) IMG\_3249 The axes in the Historical Museum, 24 May 2011

In front of this bastion on the left of the new carriage road and just before one comes to the new *fabbrica*<sup>24</sup> is a white tomb mentioned by Spratt and described on sheet 20.

[*Manuscript sheet 20*] Outside (in front of) the Ex [Efta!] Baltadhes bastion is a white Turkish tomb with the date 1081 in Turkish characters, i.e. 1081 + 588 = 1669 A.D. It is a few [paces?] to the left of the coast road before one reaches the big factory between the road and the sea. It consists of a plinth surmounted by an oblong block with a [gabled?] top with columns at either end: [...] to the [south?] is remnant of a [fountain?] which bears an inscription, the last line of which is the date. Spratt (I (1865) p. 43) gives its history: “it marks the grave of one Hassan Pasha, a general of the Turkish troops, who was killed there; and at a few feet from it, also, there is a rude unhewn black stone, apparently foreign to the island, that is said to mark the grave of a faithful Arab or Negro slave, who fell by his side in defending his master.” This is still to be seen (1917).

The Turk Ali Merdzan Simadiakos Koutsaftis<sup>25</sup> told me that in the passage of each of the three land gates of Candia in a recess is the tomb of a female saint. The Lazareto

passage is now filled in;<sup>26</sup> the recess is to be seen in the Knossos gate, near outer entrance, on left as one comes in. [...] of saint Rishidé (told by a Turk); [in] the Canea gate the passage is not now in use, but the recess may be there [added in pencil: I looked, but there is no recess].

[Letter to Dawkins from Ronald M. Rice, Candia, August 21st, 1918:

Dear Dawkins,

Younous Bey tells me that the Pasha buried outside the walls on the east of Candia is Yousouf.

As to the existence of three women saints he is very sceptical. He attributes the belief to popular old wives' tails [sic] and suggests some ill-defined form of immortality as the real reason for the existence of the three shrines. One has to remember that, since reading Büchner (I think) on "Mind and Matter",<sup>27</sup> Younous does not think the progress of modern thought permits him to give credence to any beliefs shading off into the supernatural. I should imagine however that he has collected a good deal of material which might be of interest to you. [...]

## [ENVIRONS OF] CANDIA

### Venetian viaducts [aqueducts], 15 August 1917

These bring down the water from Arkhanes to Candia and are at least to some extent still used.<sup>28</sup>

1) The *Kamara tou Khatzidaki*. This is the two-storey aqueduct just to the right of the road where it crosses the ravine past Knossos. The aqueduct crosses it a few yards higher up. Water is now carried across it in a pipe. It has no inscription.



(left) IMG\_2731 The aqueduct (Dawkins' no. 1) that was built (or restored) under Egyptian rule in 1839.<sup>29</sup>

(right) IMG\_2734. The same viaduct from the Herakleion side; you can see where the water flowed steeply down from right. Photos taken 19 Oct. 2010.

2) A single arched aqueduct, higher up the water than No.1, is reached by turning off the road opposite Knossos and going on a path to the right towards Silamos. On the north side of the arch above the arch is a six-line inscription, but in the light when I

went there I could not read it and I had no glass. This inscription is not given by Xanthoudidis.<sup>30</sup>



IMG\_9365 Fortetsa aqueduct (Dawkins' no. 2), 28 May 2017



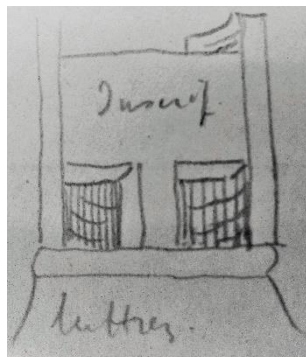
IMG\_8799 Karydaki aqueduct (not mentioned by Dawkins), 5 May 2016

[Scarcely legible in margin: Silamos is rather a big farm than a village... Very [?friendly] good gardens and [?fragment] of [?Venetian] house.]



3) Just below Silamos is an aqueduct in use as in sketch, with an inscription on the lower side over the small arch, copied by Xanthoudidis. Probably all accents on stone, but it is a good deal overgrown with moss. I copied a few words to correct Xanthoudidis [not reproduced here].<sup>31</sup>

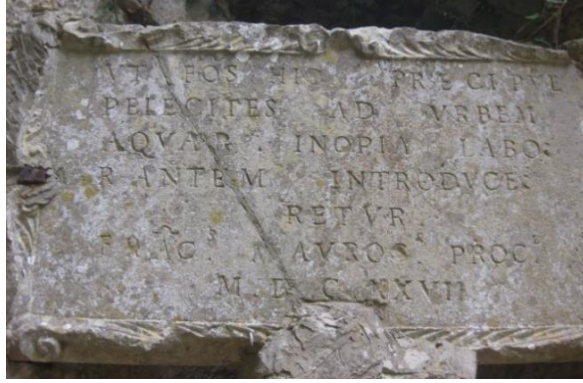
4) The inscription at Pelekiti copied by Xanthoudidis [p. 157]. It is by the path on the left side of the gorge a few minutes below Arkhanes, evidently over the spot where the water springs from the rock. Below there is a buttress and, above this, a sort of little apse with a stele in front with the inscription. It has been recently patched up with new cement. What looks like a second I in the date is a flaw in the stone.<sup>32</sup>



VT FOS HIC PRÆCIPVE  
PELECITES AD VRBEM  
AQVAR. INOPIA LABO.  
R ANTEM INTRODUCE-  
RETVR  
FRAC. MAVROC. PROC.  
MD CXXVI



IMG\_8797



IMG\_8795

### Stories of Mahomet told me by the policeman Yanni Delivasili at Candia, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1918<sup>33</sup>

1) THE ORIGIN OF THE FAST OF RAMAZAN. Mahomet in his youth was looking after his master's camels, 10 in number. He was riding one of them and, in reckoning them up, omitted the one he was riding and therefore made them only nine. He dismounted and counted them again and they came to ten. This puzzled him all day and he was so much vexed and worried that he ate nothing all day. This happened in the month of Ramazan and the Moslems fast in memory of it, and as they do not know the exact day they fast the entire month to make sure of not omitting the day. (The point of this story lies a good deal in the laugh at the stupid muddle-headedness of the Turks.)

2) WHY THE TURKS DON'T EAT PORK. Mahomet heard of Christ's miracles and determined to emulate them. He heard of the water flowing from a stricken rock. He ordered his friends to conceal pigskins (*touloumia*) full of water in the earth near the rock, marking the place that he might go and slit them up and so make it seem that water was gushing from the rock. But in the meanwhile pigs came and, by their rooting about, broke open the skins and spoiled the trick. Mahomet was so angry that he cursed pigs and forbade anyone of this religion to eat pork for ever.

3) MAHOMET AND THE MIRACLE OF THE MULTIPLICATION OF FOOD. To emulate this miracle, Mahomet boiled a cauldron of snails and distributed them, and when the people had eaten them he pointed in triumph to the plates still apparently loaded, but loaded of course with the shells only. Cretan Turks eat snails; do other Moslems?

4) Delivasili knew also the story about Mahomet and Pachomios, which I record from Komitades.<sup>34</sup>

### DIA: told me at Candia 30 June 1918 by Delivasili<sup>35</sup>

On Dia at the harbour Panagia is a stone upon which Kassiani is said to have sat when she resolved to become a nun. He thinks it is inscribed with her name. The place is regarded as στοιχειωμένο [haunted] because of the number of men killed there by pirates. Some sailors were once cooking there on their caique and suddenly a dish

disappeared and two hands were seen on the gunwale coming up out of the sea to snatch the food away.

Delivasili was a sailor before he became a bobby and knows these places.<sup>36</sup>

### **A Candia legend about Karpathos told me by the policeman Delivasili of Candia 30 June 1918**

The Turks were taking away a κολυμβήθρα [font] from the church of Aghia Sophia at Tristoma in Karpathos when the caique broke up and the font sank. Where the caique sank is always a perfect calm (λαδιά στη θάλασσα); cf. the sinking of the altar slab of Santa Sophia [in Constantinople] in the [Sea of] Marmora.

The region of Candia just west of the harbour where Bagge used to live is called τα Κασώτικα because Casos people used to live there.

### **Peter Mackridge's additional note on Candia gates**

There are three extant Venetian gateways: St George's gate to the east, the Porta del Gesù to the south, and the Canea gate to the west.

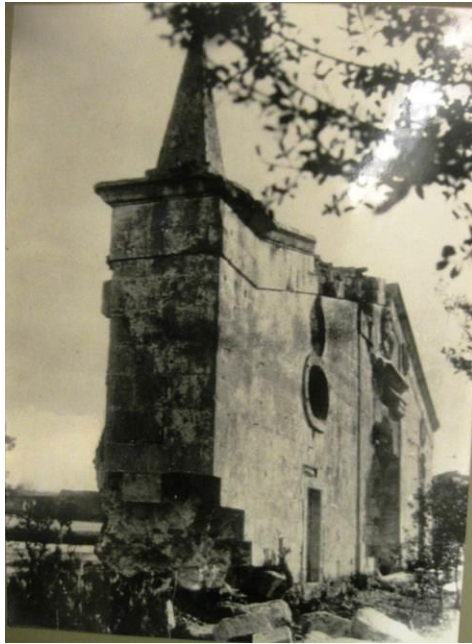
#### **St George's Gate (Porta di S. Giorgio or Porta di S. Zorzi)**

St George's gate, also known as Porta del Lazaretto, was built in 1565 (Alexiou 1954: 10-11). The relief that occupied the central roundel shows St George on horseback, holding the arms of the Zorzi family (Alexiou, *ibid.*). The gate was demolished in 1917. The Famagusta Gate in Nicosia – which used to be the principal point of entry into the city – was built in 1567 copying the tunnel design of St George's. Dawkins notes that when he was there in 1917 the underground passage had been blocked up. However, in recent years the passage leading up to Eleftherias Square from the door by the road on the outside of the city wall has been re-opened and is used as exhibition space (see photos 1045 and 1039 below).

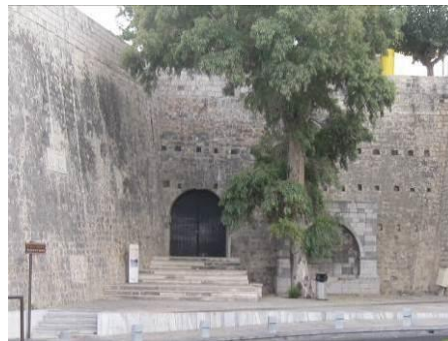
This is the gate whose monumental façade, pictured below in Dawkins' photo, was demolished in 1917. Nothing now remains above ground on the city side.



Façade of Porta S. Giorgio (St George's Gate), taken from the city side (photo in Dawkins' archive)



(left) IMG\_3246 St George's gate after partial demolition (photo in the Historical Museum)  
 (right) IMG\_3252 The roundel from Porta S. Giorgio in the Museum (already in two parts in old photos) (both taken 24 May 2011)



(left) IMG\_1035 Inside of St George's Gate from the square above  
 (right) IMG\_1039 Outside of St George's Gate from the road below (both photos taken 24 Oct. 2009);  
 a Turkish spring, removed from Zografou Street, has been placed to the right of the door

### Jesus Gate

Also known as New Gate (Καινουργόπορτα), built in 1587.



Inner face of Jesus Gate: (left) from Dawkins' archive; (right) from internet

## Pantokrator Gate

Also known as Chania Gate (Χανιόπορτα). It takes its name Pantokrator (Ruler of All) from the two marble medallions set into the wall near the top of the inner and outer façades. Each of the medallions bears a relief of Christ's head, one of them accompanied by the Greek inscription ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ and the other by the synonymous Latin inscription OMNIPOTENS (Omnipotent).



IMG\_1047 Pantokrator Gate, 25 Oct. 2009

## Peter Mackridge's other notes

<sup>1</sup> The remains of this complex, once the largest Roman Catholic monastery in Crete, are situated at the eastern end of the archaeological museum enclosure and have recently been excavated. Only the foundations and some low stretches of wall are now visible (not open to the public). There are some decorative fragments from a Gothic rose window in the Historical Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The Vezir Mosque later became the present Agios Titos church. The painter Yannis Savvakis (d. 2012) writes about “the magnificent church of St Francis (of the Franciscans), which was the pride of Venetian culture throughout Crete. The church was ruined chiefly by the earthquake of 1856, after which the largest part of it was demolished for the construction (during the Turkish occupation, naturally) of St Titus, for the paving of Treis Kamares [today's Eleftherias Square: PM] and for the entrance to the present-day court house.” The widely believed claim that the Turks built the main door frame of the church into the barracks, now the N entrance to the courthouse in Dikaioynis Avenue, is clearly untrue. Savvakis mentions that the church of St Francis was converted into “the sacred mosque of Fatih Sultan Mehmet or Hünkâr (imperial)”, and concludes: “This remnant of renowned Candia was enthusiastically demolished by the leaders of the town in 1912 to open a building plot for the unsuitable Herakleion Museum (the present anti-seismic one was built in 1937-40), after destroying the Loggia and allowing it to be ruined” (<http://www.kairatos.com.gr/arxontestoykastroy.htm>). Gerola (III 35) calls the loggia in Heraklion, constructed about 1626-8 by Francesco Morosini, “without doubt the most notable of the Venetian monuments in the island of Crete”. It was converted into a mosque in Ottoman times. Following the heavy-handed demolition of the upper storey in 1904, which had already become unstable as a result of the earthquake of 1856, work began in 1915 to completely rebuild the loggia (Gerola III 46-49); the initiative for the reconstruction came from the Venetian Institute (Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*,

p. 73). It is similar to Palladio's Palazzo della Ragione in Piazza dei Signori (known as the Basilica Palladiana), Vicenza (begun 1549 but completed after his death (1580) in 1617), which was based on the walls of ancient Roman theatres; cf. also his Loggia del Capitanato on the same square (begun c. 1571). It has a similar metope-and-triglyph course above the arches, but the arches themselves – at least in the reconstruction – aren't of the typically Palladian triple type, as at Vicenza. In 1987 the loggia was awarded first prize by the EUROPA NOSTRA international heritage foundation for the most successful restoration and use of a European monument. As for the loggia at Chania, it was demolished in 1914 (Gerola III 46), whereas the loggia at Rethymno, having been converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period, still survives today.

<sup>3</sup> This fragment was not a baptistery but the sacristy. Dawkins seems to have been misled by Spratt, p. 29, who misidentified the building as the cathedral and claimed that the surviving fragment was the baptistery. I am grateful for Dr Donal Cooper for information about the building and for Gerola's photo.

<sup>4</sup> The church is situated in Taxiarchou Markopoulou St.

<sup>5</sup> Xanthoudidis ("Χριστιανικά επιγραφαί", 163) quotes an inscription stating the church was built in 1600; the inscription is illustrated by Gerola IV 399. After the Ottoman conquest St Matthew and (old) St Minas were the only two Orthodox churches that were allowed to be used for Orthodox services. The story goes that the church was bought by the Grand Dragoman of the Sublime Porte, Panagiotis Nikousios, in 1670 when the Turks, after capturing Candia, removed St Catherine's church from the control of Sinai Monastery. The church has recently been restored. The consul who was killed on 25 August 1898 was Lysimachos Kalokairinos, not Andreas (the latter was his son, who survived); however, the Ashmolean book *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos* (2000: 55) says that (presumably another) Andreas, the son of Lysimachos' brother Minos (the archaeologist who discovered the Minoan site of Knossos) was killed in the 1898 rising. Tozer, who was entertained by Lysimachos in 1874, remarks that he reputed to be the wealthiest man in Crete (73). The Historical Museum is housed in the Kalokairinos house, built in 1903 on the site of the one burned down in 1898. The inscription recorded by Dawkins has been removed. During those events, which took place on the festival of St Titus. St Titus, a disciple of St Paul and the first bishop of Crete, became the patron saint of Herakleion. The 1898 events are commemorated in the name of the main north-south avenue of the city, 25 August Street (Ruga Maistra to the Venetians, Vezir Çarşı to the Turks).

<sup>6</sup> At the top left of the sketch Dawkins shows the underground passage that led through St George's Gate.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription is copied by Gerola IV 314.

<sup>8</sup> The inscription is copied by Gerola (IV 327), who says it had been used as the architrave of a door, but its original provenance was unknown. I found no trace of this inscription, either in situ or in the Historical Museum.

<sup>9</sup> The Knossos gate is another name for the Jesus Gate or *Καινουργιόπορτα*, built in 1587, the southern entrance to the walled city. See my additional note at end of chapter for more details about the chief gates of Candia.

<sup>10</sup> This entire inscription dated 1615 is copied by Gerola (IV 326), who records that it was situated at the "Cisterna del Porto"

<sup>11</sup> This huge church, once part of the Augustinian monastery of Christ the Saviour, ad survived almost intact despite earthquakes and bombings. It was converted into the Valide mosque after the Ottoman conquest and named after Hatice Turjan Valide Sultan (1627-83), mother of Mehmet IV (Vasilis Orfanos, *Λέξεις τουρκικής προέλευσης στο κρητικό ιδίωμα* (Herakleion 2014), p. 489). From 1922 onwards it housed refugees from



Asia Minor. Its last use was as the home of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Girls' High School of Herakleion. San Salvatore was demolished on the orders of a member of the military junta, the Cretan Stylianos Pattakos. Gerola says: "È certo la chiesa veneta di Candia che meglio siasi conservata fina a noi" (II 120-1; see photo there too). Orfanos (ibid.) writes that the value of the nearby buildings rose as a direct result of the demolition of the church and the creation of Kornarou Square. According to Olga Gratziou, the "barbaric" demotion of S. Salvatore – the last demolition of an important monument in Herakleion – took place in 1972. S. Salvatore was the only remaining Western-style medieval church in Greece that had preserved its entire shell (Gratziou in Dimitris Plantzos & Dimitris Damaskos, *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (Athens 2008), 211-12). There were ten vertical ribs along the north side before the final east buttress (two of the ribs were beyond the right edge right of the right-hand photo). Notice stump of minaret at east (left-hand) end in right-hand photo. It has to be admitted that in its last sorry days the church resembled an ugly great warehouse

<sup>12</sup> Not working in 2009 either.

<sup>13</sup> The square is now called Kornarou Square, and most of it is now (2017) pedestrianized. In the photo the Bembo fountain and the sebil are out of sight to the left (north). The church stood behind the fountain.

<sup>14</sup> The fountain was built in 1553 by Zuan Matteo Bembo, *capitano* of the Venetian Republic. This was the first time that the city of Candia was supplied with running water. Pashley's sketch (I 186) is the earliest published depiction of the fountain. The Roman statue, found at Ierapetra, is a copy of a Hellenistic statue of the god Asclepius. See Petroula Varthalitou, «Η κρήνη στον Χάντακα», in Gratziou (ed.), (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοική στη Λατινική Ανατολή, 13<sup>ος</sup> - 17<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας*, pp. 152-63.

<sup>15</sup> The *sebil* was built by Hadji Ibrahim Aga in 1776. This is a typical Ottoman urban *sebil*, i.e. a public fountain and/or a kiosk from which refreshments were dispensed, usually free of charge. This one is possibly the only surviving Ottoman *sebil* in Greece today. In 2009 it was being used as a café, but the café was not functioning on 27 May 2017. See the *sebil* and the fountain on <http://il.youtube.com/watch?v=nQ-hGd8XUvY>.

<sup>16</sup> The square must have looked equally Ottoman in Dawkins' time. Pashley's illustrations suggest that the statue on the Bembo fountain may have been painted black after his visit in 1834.

<sup>17</sup> Rough manuscript; some readings uncertain.

<sup>18</sup> It is actually more or less half-way along the north side of the town, which is now separated from the sea by the main road.

<sup>19</sup> Floral motifs rather than wings.

<sup>20</sup> The Turks had cut off the water supply to the Morosini fountain (the "Lions Fountain"). The Priuli fountain or Fontana Nuova is situated in Kazantzaki Square, between Delimarkou and Gorgolaini Streets, near Dermata Gate (called in Turkish *Kum kapı* 'Sand gate'). Antonio Priuli served as Provveditor Generale delle Armi in Crete 1664-9; see Spanakis, *Μνημεία*, vol. 6. According to a website, in the middle of the fountain there is a Turkish inscription referring to the name of the Turkish pasha who managed to bring water again in the fountain. The fountain has been fairly recently restored.

<sup>21</sup> The inscription had already been copied by Pashley I 203. It has also been copied by Gerola IV 333. The letters are now considerably more worn than they were in Dawkins' day.

<sup>22</sup> The American archaeologist R.B. Seager. See also ch. 28.

<sup>23</sup> The museum now displays two complete axes and fragments of others. Each of the axes is supposed to have commemorated a pasha who fell during the siege. The Nobel Prize-winning poet Odysseas Elytis was born in the Efta Baltades quarter of Herakleio. He mentions them, together with “τα μπεντένια” (battlements) and “ο μέγας Κούλες” (the harbour fortress), in the first section (“Γένεση”) of his major poem *To Άξιον εστί* [*The Axion esti*]. Dimitris Kalokyris writes: “Elytis may have been brought up in the northern Aegean, but he confesses that every time he goes to Crete he feels ‘something like a leap (*skirtima*), something, a friendly gesture/beckoning (*gnepsimo*)’. This place is his birthplace (*geneteira*) but not his homeland (*patrida*)” (*Athens Review of Books*, July-Aug. 2010, p. 36).

<sup>24</sup> This factory was the Kastrinakis flour mill, built between 1896 and 1904, which provided flour to the whole of Crete until it closed in 1976. Since then the buildings have been gradually crumbling despite their legally protected status. The mill appears (without being named) in a photo in Gerola II.i 384. See, e.g., <http://iscreta.gr/οι-αλευρόμυλοι-καστρινάκη-στο-ηράκλει/>. The site of the mill still belongs to the family of my friend and colleague Angela Kastrinaki of the University of Crete.

<sup>25</sup> This man’s name is very interesting. Turkish *mercan* (pronounced *merdjan*) means ‘red coral’, though in Arabic the same word (which is used in the Quran) apparently means ‘pearls’. Nowadays Merjan is a Muslim woman’s name. The man’s other two names are Greek and must originally have been nicknames. Σημαδιακός (especially in Crete) denotes a person with some physical defect (and who is for this reason believed to be ill-omened), while κουτσάφτης denotes a person who has lost one or both ears!

<sup>26</sup> The Gate of the Lazaretto [quarantine establishment] was another name for St George’s gate on the east side of the city walls. See my additional note at end of chapter for more details about the chief gates of Candia.

<sup>27</sup> Rice is probably thinking of the works of the atheist philosopher Ludwig Büchner (1824-90), *Kraft und Stoff* (*Force and Matter*, 1855) and *Natur und Geist* (*Nature and Spirit*, 1857). It would be interesting to know more about this Cretan Muslim Yunus Bey, whose name doesn’t appear elsewhere in Dawkins’ material.

<sup>28</sup> In 1626-8 the governor of Crete Francesco Morosini built a 15-km water system (with aqueducts across ravines) to supply the so-called Morosini Fountain or Lions Fountain in Candia. This aqueduct system was apparently still used until 1927. The three Morosini aqueducts between the source and the city are (in descending order): Karydaki, Silamos, Fortetsa; Gerola has photos of both the Silamos and the Fortetsa bridges (IV 22).

<sup>29</sup> Not one of three aqueducts listed in the previous footnote. This is at Spilia, where the tavernas are, next to road near Knossos, 6 km from Herakleio towards Patsides, just after right turn towards Agia Eirini and before the main road crosses a bridge over the ravine. The road to Ag. Eirini passes through the right-most of the upper arches, looking from the Herakleio side.

<sup>30</sup> The structure of the Fortetsa aqueduct has now been restored to good condition. The six-line Latin inscription over the arch on the north side (not readily visible in our photo) is surmounted by a lion of unusual shape (see sketch in Gerola IV 190). According to Gerola, who copied what was left of the inscription, all but the first and last lines had been effaced by Turks. All that could be read records the name Francesco Morosini and the date 1627.

<sup>31</sup> See Xanthoudidis 1903: 155. We haven’t seen the Silamos aqueduct. It originally bore two inscriptions: one in Latin above the larger arch and one (unlike the other inscriptions on Morosini’s water system) in Ancient Greek above the smaller arch. They are both copied in Gerola IV 377-8. For the Greek inscription see also St. Alexiou,

*Ποικίλα ελληνικά* (Athens 2009), pp. 65-9. The present whereabouts of these inscriptions are unknown. The Greek inscription was still in situ when Gerola copied it, but the Latin one was on a Turkish house at the edge of the village of Fortetsa.

<sup>32</sup> On 5 May 2016, setting out from Pano Archanes with directions from the archaeologist Gerald Cadogan, we visited first Pelikiti (Dawkins' no. 4 above), and then the aqueduct at Karydaki (known as the Karydakiani bridge). To get to both places we took the road out of Panos Archanes towards Kato Archanes and turned left (north) towards Silamos. At the turning there was a very helpful sign with maps of the area. Pelekiti (or Pelekita), the name of the construction bearing the inscription, is on the left of the road going north. It's a beautiful location: when we visited, it smelled of thyme, with a Cetti's warbler singing and swallows collecting mud for their nests. The Venetian structure with the inscription is curious, since no water issues from it, the stream being on the other side of the road. Dawkins is mistaken in thinking that the second I is a flaw in the stone; therefore the date is MDCXXVII (1627), which was when work began on the construction of the whole viaduct system (inscription copied in Gerola IV 376; see also Spanakis 1950: 34). There is now another inscribed stone to the left of the Venetian one, dated 1938.

The Karydaki bridge (Dawkins' no. 2; photo in Gerola IV 627) is down a dirt track to the right of the road towards Silamos (look out for narrow gap in roadside barrier). It is not single-arched as Dawkins says (presumably the other arches were obscured by growth when he visited): it has three arches on the upper story, one on the lower. The five-line inscription (copied in Gerola IV 377) is enclosed within an ornamental border on the north side near the top between the second and third arches from the left. Above the inscription is a lion face-on. The inscription is difficult to read because it has become black; it's only readable where the black has washed away. A footpath still crosses the bridge; the water must flow (or have flowed) inside the structure. See IMG\_8801 Karydaki bridge below: distant view of lion & inscription:



We visited the Fortetsa aqueduct on a rainy day the following year, coming across it by chance when we had almost given up our search.

<sup>33</sup> Some of these stories are retold in Dawkins' "Folk-memory in Crete", pp. 37-38.

<sup>34</sup> See ch. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Halvor Bagge was a Danish painter who made the colour copies of frescos that Gerola published in his volumes on Crete. The island of Kasos is in the Dodecanese.

<sup>36</sup> Dia is the island off the north coast near Herakleion. Kassia or Kassiane was a 9<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine poet, composer and hymnographer. Some of her compositions are still sung in the Greek Orthodox liturgy.

## CHAPTER 18

### CANDIA TO AGIA VARVARA

The province of Malevisi is scored by four parallel valleys, the streams in which all debouch on the sea to the west of Candia, having flowed down from the watershed of the island. The present road to the Mesara plain, constructed as far as Agia Varvara, a village just on the north side of the watershed,<sup>1</sup> goes up one of these narrow and deep valleys, passing through Venerato, then Avgeniki, then ascending to the higher ground leaving Prinias to the west on the opposite side of the valley, and so to Agia Varvara, which is very close to the point where Malevisi ends and the two Mesara provinces begin, Kainourgio to the west and Monophatsi to the east.<sup>2</sup>

**Nunnery of Baliani** [Ιερά Μονή Παναγία η Παλιανή]<sup>3</sup>



\* PALJANI (TEMENE) — LA CHIESA ED IL CONVENTO. (680).

Gerola II 392

This new road being along a valley commands no views at all, and there passes nothing of much interest until we reach Venerato. A little way from the road here on the left is the nunnery of Baliani in a very pretty situation. The church has some architectural fragments from Venetian times, but is as a whole disappointing. Outside the court is a guesthouse for, I think, both sexes, but I was only there for an hour in the daytime. The history of the place I do not know. The earliest date I saw was on an *eikon* of the Annunciation in the church with four scenes from the life of the virgin. It bore the date

ΑΧ Ϟ Θ, 1698, and the inscription: *Μνήσθητι κε του δούλου ... Μαξιμου του Περακάκη* (“Lord, remember thy servant Maximos Perakakis”). Of the name I am in some doubt,

especially as at that time the ending –akis was not in use for men’s names; they then ended as many inscriptions show us in –opoulos, an ending now preserved in Crete only for the surnames of women.<sup>4</sup>

I was received with great kindness by the very dignified abbess. The place is, in contrast to the usual monasteries, spotlessly clean. There are forty nuns, and it looks as if they were all great hands at sweeping, whitewashing and weeding.<sup>5</sup> Of the history it is recorded that in 1821 the Turks came from Candia and massacred the people. The church in its present state, with only fragments of antiquity, may date from a reconstruction after this disaster. There can be no doubt that Crete, and especially the monasteries, suffered terribly from the Turks in the nineteenth century, especially in the eighteen twenties, the time of the Greek revolution, and in the great insurrection of 1866. Before these troubles most of the monasteries built in the later Venetian times must have presented most of their original buildings. Now it seems to me that, of the magnificent monasteries, Tsangarolo is the best preserved and, of the little rustic houses, the small monastery at Bali.

As for nunneries, it is known that at present in Greece there are far fewer nuns than monks. In Crete, Baliani is the only nunnery with which I am acquainted. There are other nuns, but these are old women who live in cottages or special quarters in many of the men’s monasteries and do housework of various kinds. At Toplou, for instance, there are several old women in black, with their heads muffled up in black kerchiefs so that little appears except their nose, who, as I learned after several years, are nuns. They stand at the church services in a little annexe of the church. But few of these have been nuns all their lives. They are widows who have retired from their villages, where they have nothing further to do. Some nuns, again, live at home under some sort of regulations as to church services. At Magasa Yannis Katsarakis has an aunt who lately became a nun. She never married, largely because she has a bad squint. Now she still lives at home and looks after her mother. The only sign of her profession is that she wears black, has changed her name from Elizabeth to the monastic name Eusebia – Evsevia – and has acquired a certain dignity and position which an unmarried woman of middle years would not otherwise have. Her profession, too, enables her to live a single life in a village entirely without scandal. When her mother dies it is likely that she will retire to some monastery where there is room for nuns, I suppose to Toplou, as all monasteries in Crete tend to recruit locally.

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After leaving Venerato and the neighbouring village of Avgeniki, the road ascends to the watershed. As well as the newly made carriage road there is the old cobble-paved road along which the mules often go.<sup>6</sup> These are the old roads of Crete, called generally by the Turkish name *kalderimi*, which means pavement. Most of the *kalderimi* roads of Crete are made fairly simply: there is a centre line and if the road is on a slope there are at intervals cross ridges which at once throw off the water and prevent the pavement from being washed away or slipping down. But this particular piece of *kalderimi* is much more skilfully made than usual, and has at each side a cut gutter, which I have seen nowhere else in Crete. These paved roads date, I believe, to Venetian times like many of the now ruined water-conduits to be seen in the island. The Turks no doubt repaired them, but the system is as a whole pre-Turkish. In the matter of roads, as of water and other conveniences of life, Crete has always had ups and downs. The end of the Venetian occupation was a good time: good roads, plenty of water-conduits, much building of monasteries and good Venetian houses. Then came the Turks and a general set-back. But even under the Turks things improved till the troubles of the nineteenth century. Then massacres and burnings did their work and there was a general decline.

From this Crete is again recovering, but with the difference that the new is quite different from the old: the old roads get daily worse and worse, the *kalderim* more and more broken, but this is only because the newer world does not want *kalderim* at all. It must be replaced by carriage roads, which we shall soon be seeing all over Crete.<sup>7</sup>

**[Patela tou Prinia/Πατέλα του Πρινιά]<sup>8</sup>**



IMG\_3186 View south from Patela tou Prinia

Before reaching Agia Varvara we can look east over the valley and see opposite us the flat-topped hilled called Prinia Patelli [Πατέλα του Πρινιά], where the Italians excavated and found fine archaic Greek sculptures and terracottas.<sup>9</sup> There is not much to be seen in the way of antiquities, but the view from Patelli is fine. It is sufficiently high for us to see south over the watershed, and where the mountains to the south of the Mesara are visible.<sup>10</sup> Then, turning to the east we see Dikte and in front of it and to the north is the ridge of Yuktas. To the north is the sea and the island of Dia. To the west are the foothills of Ida with, in March, a little snow on them.<sup>11</sup> They rise directly above the monastery of Gorgolaini. A little to the east of north is the view over the north and south running valleys of Malevisi with big villages mostly on the ridges, and among them Agios Myron is conspicuous. We now see why the new road passes through no villages all the way from Candia to Venerato: all the villages are on the hills. The stones on the slopes below Prinia I mentioned elsewhere when I speak of the traces of the Digenis legend in Crete.<sup>12</sup>



IMG\_3187 Propheetis Ilias, Agia Varvara, referred to by Dawkins immediately below

Just at the entrance to the straggling village of Agia Varvara, which has in fact grown up largely since the new road was built, there is on the right of the road a large boulder and perched on it a tiny church. This is regarded as the exact centre of Crete. Between the north and south it is very nearly half way, but as to the east and west it is a little too far east.<sup>13</sup>

But if instead of going by the new carriage road to Agia Varvara we follow the old track to the Mesara, instead of through a dullish valley we pass along a ridge and through the big village of Agios Myron. Up to this point the old track has now been converted into a bad driving road. After Agios Myron I do not know what it now is, nor do I remember where the old track to the Mesara and Agios Dekka crossed the watershed, though I passed along it several times in 1903 and the years immediately after that. It must have crossed either at or near Agia Varvara.

From **Agios Myron** on its ridge there is an excellent view of the whole province.<sup>14</sup> For the most part it is all planted with olives and vines, for Malevisi has always been famous for its wine,<sup>15</sup> and in the upper ground to the south is a certain amount of corn land. In Crete the vine flourishes I think everywhere, but the corn from the high country yields a notably better bread than that grown lower down, whilst the olive will only do well in lower regions. It is for this reason that in the Siteia peninsula, for instance, the people have many of them two villages: up on the plateau at Magasa and Karydi the corn is grown, and the same people have their olives in the low ground round Palaikastro.

The old church at Agios Myron is figured by Gerola.<sup>16</sup> It has unfortunately been plastered over inside and out and fitted with a bad new screen, so that not much is left but the plan. But the new plaster is so bad that it is already dropping from the outside of the chancel.

From Agios Myron it is convenient to visit the monastery of Gorgolaini, which lies only a few minutes from the village of Asites.<sup>17</sup>

**Gorgolaini Monastery. 16 March 1918** [Ιερά Μονή Αγ. Γεωργίου του Γοργολαΐνη]<sup>18</sup>

18710/2010

GORGOLAINI monastery - 16. March <sup>XVIII</sup> 1918 6



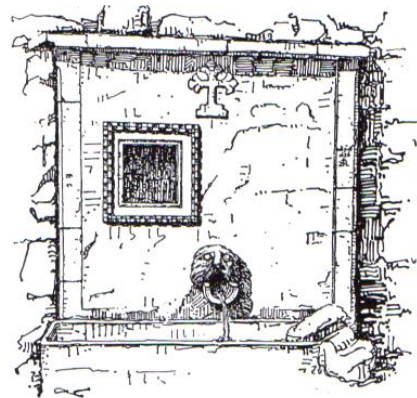
Gorgolaini as approached  
from village Kato Asites.  
You think it is only  
a few minutes distant

Gorgolaini as approached from village Kato Asites, from which it is only a few minutes distant.

The buildings are on two terraces, the *kellia* on the upper one, all in a row and facing east towards Agios Myron on its ridge and behind that Yuktas and a bit of Dikte. The church is on the lower terrace; plain and dull. Below the buildings is the garden with a huge stone pine, olives and walnuts; also 4 or 5 splendid cypresses, male and female. On the upper terrace before one gets to the *kellia* is a very fine female cypress and by it a plane.



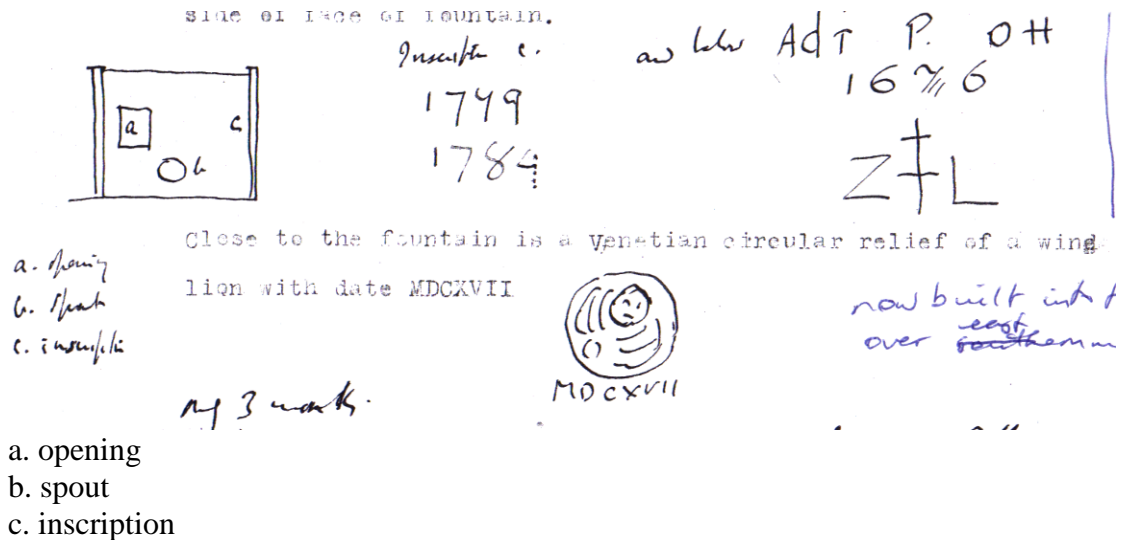
IMG\_2714 The same cypress?



The fountain (Gerola IV 68)

The gate is at the south end and the church at the north. Near the gate is the big cypress and on the lower terrace the fountain, the usual wall forming the front of the water chamber.





The spout (b) is an ancient lion's head in white marble. The opening (a) into the water chamber is square with a Venetian billet moulding round it. There is also an inscription (c) and above the lion's mouth spout a date, 1853, made with fragments of pottery set in the plaster. The 8 is not very sure, but hard to see what else it can be. A flat pilaster on each side of face of fountain.

Close to the fountain is a Venetian circular relief of a winged lion with date MDCXVII.

Only three monks. All buildings newish, the place having suffered much from Turks. It has the air of a high mountain place.<sup>19</sup>

### Village T' Axedi between Agia Varvara and Agios Thomas

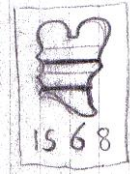
A short distance to the east of Agia Varvara, on the way to Agios Thomas, is the now ruined and abandoned Turkish village of Axedi.<sup>20</sup> Although the people were latterly all Turks, it must at one time have been Christian because of the great number of churches in the village and scatted about the immediate neighbourhood. There are so many that a pun has been made on the name Axedi with *exinda* the word for sixty, and it is said that there are in the village sixty-one churches but no one can find more than sixty, or perhaps sixty and no one can find more than fifty-nine.<sup>1</sup> This is an idea which crops up often in Crete and the Levant, A pl [JP writes: ?à propos] of a round number of any object. When it is to be understood that anything exists in great numbers it is said that the total is some round number of which no one can however find more than the full number minus one. A village may have forty cisterns, a building a hundred windows and a village like Axedi sixty churches, but no one can ever find more than thirty-nine, ninety-nine or fifty-nine. God, says the Moslem, has a hundred attributes, but man knows only ninety-nine of them – it is the camel who knows the hundredth and has therefore his well-known look of pride – and a Moslem rosary has therefore only ninety-nine beads, in three sets of thirty-three each. The minus one manner is another way of conveying the idea of plenty, sometimes conveyed by a round number plus one, like the site in Asia Minor which has so many ruined churches that it is called Bin Bir Kilise, the Thousand and One Churches.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For pun on name and 60 churches see Xanth.

But of the Axedi churches not many are notable, and they are far fewer than sixty. The two dates I could find go back, 1568 and 1615, into Venetian times.

Details are:

**June 1916**

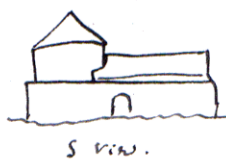


The slab copied is high up on the S side of the SW corner of a church now shut up and disused which is said to have been used as a mosque. The slab is edged with a floriated border which I omit. A very fine mulberry tree at the edge of the village towards Ag. Thomas where I have eaten several times.

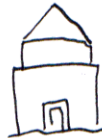
**12 July 1917**



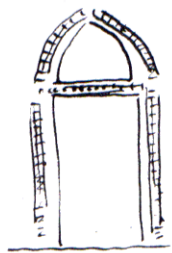
- 1) Arms and date on church of Ἁγίου Πνεύμα [Holy Spirit].<sup>22</sup>
- 2) Close to a mill and ten minutes from the village is a little church with an inscription on a block over the lintel of the west door AXIE MZC (= 1615). On the lintel itself is a defaced cross and the remains of IC XC NI KA.
- 3) Church of St George. This is a church with a dome over the west end and three doors. The south side is largely earthed up but the north has a fine door with billet moulding. The interior has three blind arches in the side walls. These are pointed and so is the arch between the domed space and the rest of the church. There are tombs on the floor and a place in the apse marked by a slab where the altar stood. The screen is put across the middle of the east bay and is clearly an addition for which the church was not built, so it must have been RC and not Greek.<sup>23</sup>



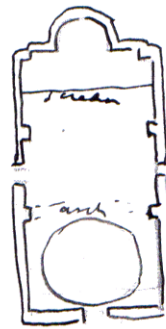
S view.



W end.



N. door with  
billet moulding of  
round.



Plan  
of St George.  
Axedi

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> The important transport hub of Agia Varvara is one of the highest settlements in Crete (580 m.). As Dawkins implies, the watershed is just south of Agia Varvara (probably near the turning to Ano Moulia); you descend to Agia Varvara when travelling from south to north.

<sup>2</sup> Malevizi is the north-west part of today's Herakleion province. In his article "Folk-memory in Crete", *Folklore* 41 (1930), p. 26, Dawkins refers to the etymology of the name (Malvisin 'bad neighbour' in Venetian or Genoese) and to the derivation of the name Monofatsi from Bonifacio; each of the names was originally given to a fortress built by Pescatore in 1206. The name Kainourgio (New) originates in the name of Pescatore's Nuovo fortress, which was probably so called because it was built from scratch rather than on the ruins of an existing castle (Ananiadis 76). Very little of this castle is preserved today. The third Mesara province is Pyrgiotissa.

<sup>3</sup> This is said to be the oldest monastery in Crete. We visited on 18 Oct. 2010.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. 25 for more details.

<sup>5</sup> In our experience too, a century later, Cretan nuns keep their convents very clean and neat.

<sup>6</sup> *Kalderimia* are also mentioned in ch. 8 & 29; see also my Preface.

<sup>7</sup> A century on, the destruction and disappearance of the *kalderimia* that Dawkins was already witnessing has continued apace, to the extent that they are now a threatened species.

<sup>8</sup> The word *πατέλα* is presumably from Lat. *patella* 'plate; kneecap'. We visited the place on 18 May 2011.

<sup>9</sup> It was on this long, flat-topped mound in 1906-8 that the Italian Archaeological School discovered the remains of the major ancient city of Rhizenia.

<sup>10</sup> All of this is visible from the chapel (684m.): see our photo. Agia Varvara just this side (north) of watershed ridge; the mountains to the south of the Mesara are just visible, peeping over where the ridge forms a saddle just beyond Agia Varvara.

<sup>11</sup> Some of them were obscured by cloud when we were there in May; no snow was visible.

<sup>12</sup> See ch. 16.

<sup>13</sup> We visited on 18 May 2011. There's a sign facing the road (see photo) saying this is the centre of Crete. There's a legend that two priests set off to divide Crete in half, one from Hania and the other from Siteia, and they met at this spot: see <http://eirinizk1970.wordpress.com/category/κρητη-ταξιδιπαραδοση-και-ιστορια/>. The church, which must have been isolated from the village when Dawkins visited, is now surrounded by buildings. According to a sign the church was rebuilt by Alexandros Saklambanis in 1933.

<sup>14</sup> The village of Agios Myron, which we visited on 18 May 2011, stands in a prominent position near the site of ancient Raucia,. It took its present name from the archbishop of Crete who was born there about AD 250. The present name of the village is first attested in 1248: Tsougarakis 1988: 322.

<sup>15</sup> In Greece there is disagreement as to whether the sweet white wine known in English as Malmsey and in French as Malvoisie, widely drunk in western Europe during the Middle Ages, originated from Monemvasia in the Peloponnese or from Malevizi in Crete. The proponents of each alternative tend to be natives of the respective region. In his article "The place-names of later Greece", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 32.1 (Nov. 1933), pp. 13-14, Dawkins writes that it is Monemvasia (known as Malvasia by the Venetians) that originally gave its name to this variety of wine, but that once the

Turks had captured the town in 1540 and discouraged the export of wine, a similar wine began to be supplied under the same name from Malevizi in Crete.

<sup>16</sup> Gerola II 285 (“S. Maria”, but surely not the church in the village centre, which is Agios Myron). We visited the heavily restored church of Agios Myron 18 May 2011, but it was closed.

<sup>17</sup> At Ano [Upper] Asites we twice stayed the night at the delightful Prinios Village, then run by Michalis Kopidakis, first cousin and namesake of the emeritus professor of Classics at the University of Athens.

<sup>18</sup> We visited on 18 Oct. 2010.

<sup>19</sup> The monastery is now approachable by road, though the old path still exists. The fine female cypress is still there (the novice Christos told us it is possibly the largest in Crete), but if the plane tree next to it in our photo is the one Dawkins saw, it must be a shadow of its former self.

The fountain is now completely different from what it was until only a few years ago. In 1991 the lion’s head containing the spout was stolen and replaced by a new one, while the facing of the fountain is quite different, and the billet moulding and pilasters have disappeared. The old lion used to be known as “ο Αρχοντάρης της μονής”, the Archondaris of the monastery, the Archondaris being the monk whose job is to welcome visitors to the monastery. The water chamber has now become a tiny shrine. The inscriptions recorded by Dawkins are no longer *in situ*, although the roundel with the winged lion and the date 1617 (photo in Gerola IV 187 & 375) is now built into the tympanum over the easternmost of the two south doors of the chapel.

There was only one monk living at the monastery when we visited.

<sup>20</sup> According to G.M. Sifakis, “Τουρκικό έγγραφο του 1671”, *Κρητικά χρονικά* 10 (1956), p. 275, the village was destroyed during the revolution of 1897. I assume he means it was destroyed by Christians, the possible reason being that the village was apparently the haunt of renowned Muslim warriors.

<sup>21</sup> In Lycaonia, near Konya. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binbirkilise>. The name Axendi most probably derives from a founder named Afxentios (Spanakis I 114). Spanakis describes the former inhabitants as “the bloodthirstiest Turks of Mesara”. Axendi is on a dirt road between Agios Thomas and Pirouniana. We didn’t see any of what is described in the main text, because of pouring rain when we passed through on 18 Oct. 2010. I only went into Ag. Triada, on right of road. The church of Agion Pnevma can be viewed on YouTube. According to Xanthoudidis, it was used as a mosque until the Muslims left in 1898.

<sup>22</sup> Gerola (IV 270) illustrates from the belfry of Agion Pnevma the coat of arms of the Venier family with the initials RV and the date 1568. Dawkins has RV and 1570 on one slab on the same church, while he found a different coat of arms and the date 1568, apparently on a different church, though he doesn’t name it. It is possible that he confused the arms and initials on one slab with the date on the other.

<sup>23</sup> For a description and plans of St George at Axendi see Klaus Gallas, Klaus Wessel & Manolis Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich 1983), p. 359 and plate 318.

## CHAPTER 19

### CANDIA TO MESARA BY EPANO SIPHI

The route from Candia to the Mesara plain by Agia Varvara brings one to the eastern [western] part of the plain, to Agioi Deka and so naturally on to Moires and Dibaki. The way to the centre of the plain is by the monastery of St George called Epano Siphi, then through the undulating open country to the south of the monastery and so to the plain and across it to Pyrgos at the foot of the southern hills and the principal place in the central Mesara.

Further, there are two routes from Candia to Epano Siphi: one goes to the west of Yuktas and passes through Kanli Kastelli, the other is to the east of Yuktas and goes through Arkhanes and Khoudetsi.

We may begin with the Kanli Kastelli route, which is a little longer than the way by Arkhanes. A carriage road is being made to Kanli Kastelli and has already got some way. The village lies at the northern foot of a hill which was fortified in Venetian times and still has the old name of Rocca. The actual remains are of no great interest, though there are some longish pieces of wall left and the traces of towers.<sup>1</sup> What makes it worth while to ascend the Rocca is the good and instructive view. North is the sea, Agios Myron being very conspicuous, west is Ida, south is the watershed of the island<sup>2</sup> – Epano Siphi is just on the other side of the ridge – and to the east [north-east] is Yuktas. [ms addition: From Kanli SE to Epanosiphi.] It is, I think, the best place for a general view of the northern slope of the island between Ida and Yuktas, that is, of the whole of the two provinces of Malevisi to the west and Temenos to the east.<sup>3</sup>

The name Kanli means Bloody in Turkish, but I know of no story connected with it.<sup>4</sup>

The other road from Candia to Epano Siphi passes, as I have said, by Arkhanes at the eastern foot of Yuktas. An hour or rather more from Arkhanes on the way to Khoudetsi is the rock-cut church of Agios Pandleimon, and between here and Spiliotissa<sup>5</sup> the rock is soft and there are not a few small rock-cut churches. Agios Pandleimon is a small cave which originally had a large opening facing west. This has now been walled up, and in the so-produced façade there is a square door and above it a plain square window. On the lintel is the usual cross with the initials IC XC NI KA, and on one side the date 1853, on the other the day of the month, July 24<sup>th</sup>.

Inside there is a rock-cut altar-shelf and to the north a similar shelf for the prothesis. The screen has disappeared, but there are the holes in the floor by which it was fixed.<sup>6</sup> From this spot the end of Dia is just visible, and the church can be seen from some distance.



IMG\_5234 Ag. Panteleimon near Choudetsi (exterior)

IMG\_5234 Ag. Panteleimon near Choudetsi (interior, showing screen and shelves)



IMG\_5238 View from Agios Panteleimon showing the Rocca and Kanli Kastelli

From this road from Arkhanes to Khoudetsi the Rocca of Kanli Kastelli is conspicuous to the west, a big hill with a flattish top. On the east is the province of Pediada with Dikti in the background. As its name Pediada, the Plain, implies, all this region is much flatter than Malevisi, scored by its long valleys.

By the wayside as one goes down into Khoudetsi is another of these numerous rock-cut churches, Agia Paraskevi.<sup>7</sup> The village itself is at the top of a beautiful little wooded valley. A little way down the valley is the cave church of Spilotissa, the Virgin of the Cave.<sup>8</sup> An open cave forms one half of the church and the other outer half is built. Outside the church is a sort of loggia and buildings which form a court.



(left) IMG\_5242 Front entrance to Spilotissa Monastery

(right) IMG\_5243 The inscription (dated 1864 [?] and now cleared of ivy and cleaned) and the relief

Over the gate of this court is an inscription which was almost entirely covered with ivy and above it a relief, apparently quite modern, of the Virgin holding the child and being crowned by angels.



IMG\_5244 Spiliotissa Monastery seen from the road between Choudetsi and Agios Vasilis

At the mouth of the valley is the big village of Agios Vasilis, and beyond this undulating land and a view of Dikti. The whole valley is very well watered. There are streams and mills, and an abundance of plane trees and walnut, and everywhere abundant ivy as generally in wet places in Crete, but only in wet places. To judge from the number of ruined houses, the village had many Turkish inhabitants. We are in fact here at the edge of the north-east corner of the province of Monofatsi, which was the most Turkish part of Crete.<sup>9</sup> Here there are still Turkish burial grounds to be seen: there is a large one outside the village of Kako Khorio, the Bad Village, and the villages are for the most part deserted and ruined.<sup>10</sup> The country is apparently fertile and that is probably why the Turks settled there. The ground is undulating and for the most part uncultivated and produces a sad feeling of desolation in its present condition. It may be said to extend from Epano Sippi in the west, and even west of this, to Arkalokhori in the east, and from Alagni in the north to the edge of the plain in the south. When I passed through this region more than once during the war there were a few Christians about and a few Turks. After the fall of the Turkish government the Turks all fled to the towns. As time went on they, some of them at least, lost their fears and had come back to cultivate their lands and it was these few that I saw. Now they are, of course, all gone for good.<sup>11</sup>

At Kako Khorio is a ruined church of St Nicholas with the remains of frescoes.

Beyond Epano Sippi we can go due south across the Mesara plain to Pyrgos. On this road about four miles north of Pyrgos we pass through the village of Pretoria.<sup>12</sup> It contains the old church of Stratigos with an unusual plan. About a mile SW of the village are the ruins of an old church called the Monastery of the Priest, *του Παπά το Μοναστήρι*. Of this only the west wall is standing. In front of this is a Byzantine capital with egg and dart ornament and volutes, two grey marble columns, upright but not *in situ*, and a window shaft of the familiar oblong section rounded at each end, made to support the oblong capital between the two narrow lights in a thick wall.

### Monastery of Agios Georgios Epano Sipi<sup>13</sup>

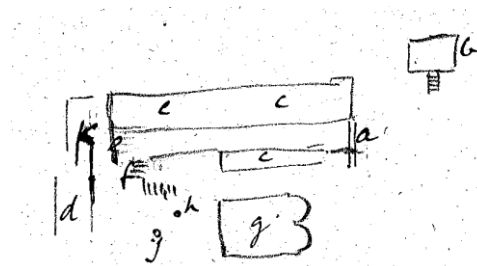
The monastery lies just to the south of the watershed of the island on a southern-facing slope looking out over undulating land and in the distance to the hill of Kophinas. All about in front of it are fine cypresses. Being on a slope, the southern side of the court is mostly open<sup>14</sup> and where it is not the buildings are at a lower level, and those on the north have a clear view outwards. This is general in monasteries built on slopes, e.g. Preveli, Vrontisi, Gorgolaini.

It is an *idiorrythmon*<sup>15</sup> with 29 monks, probably the largest in Crete.<sup>16</sup> But it was burned down in 1821 and now the buildings have very little of interest. Outside the gate is a large two-storied guesthouse visible from a great distance, and more comfortable than beautiful. The large church is of the date 1861-1865 and is dull and ugly both within and without. Inside the gate, on the right, is a row of *kellia* [cells] and the church is on a lower level, for which arrangement see the plan.

In the Library is an oldish gospel and a big but late MS of the lives of the hermits of the kind read out at meals, a custom which Yanni tells me survived at Toplou in the time of the late abbot Jacob.

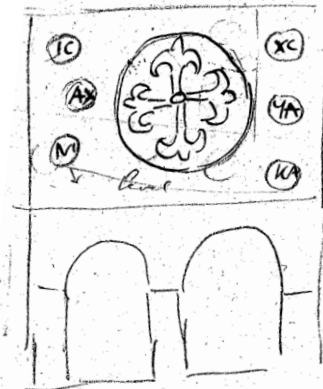
The reason for the name of the monastery is said to be this. There was a Venetian *archon* called Langouvardos, who had two shepherds, each called Joseph. One ranged about where the monastery now is, and the other on the low ground to the south of it. They were called therefore ο πάνω Σήφης [Upper Joe] and ο κάτω Σήφης [Lower Joe] (Σήφης is short for Ιωσήφ), and when the monastery was founded it took the name of the Upper Joseph.

### Epano Sipi 29 Nov 1917



Sketch plan of monastery

- A Gate
- B New guesthouse of two stories
- C C Cells
- D Ruined buildings
- E East end of little church with window and date 1694 sketched below
- F Steps leading down to level of church
- G Church
- H Well (agiasmos) descended to be steps
- J Sour orange tree
- K Little church with 1694 window



Sketch of east window and plaque above it with date 1694 of little church K in plan, which faces one as one enters the court. It [the plaque] is said not to be in its original position but to have been built in there by the Bishop of Arkadia when he lived at the monastery (when?).

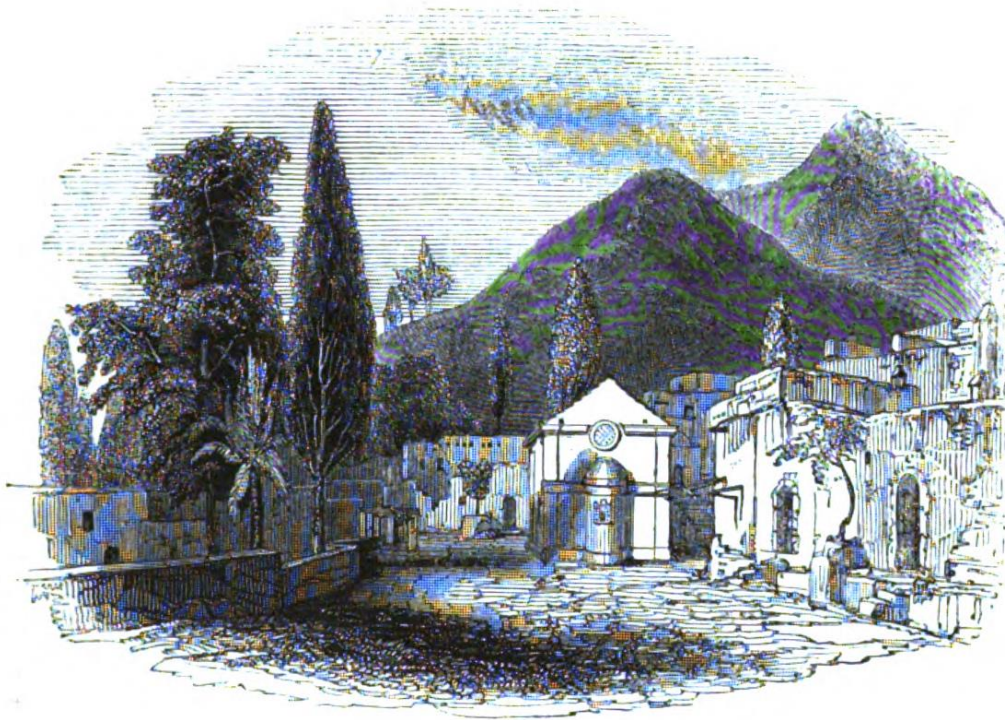
The [main] church is large and new and calls for no remark. On the east wall is the inscription Θεμέλιον 1861 Μαρτίου 5, and on the west front Τέλος 1865 Απριλίου 22. It was thus a-building from 1861 to 1865.





IMG\_2721 Epanosiphi Monastery: part of row of cells on north side of court

IMG\_2724 The two west doors of the main church. The one on the right has a cryptographic inscription (not mentioned by Dawkins). A bitter orange tree is visible on the left of the picture.



MONASTERY OF ST GEORGE.

Epanosiphi in Pashley I 229

### **St George the Drunkard**

**29 Dec 1917 at Epano Siphi monastery**

The chief feast of St George is in spring, and this is the great feast at Epanosiphi. On November 3<sup>rd</sup> there is the feast of the ανακομιδή και κατάθεσις [removal and transfer] of the relics of St George (της Ευρέσεως των λειψάνων του Αγ. Γ. [the finding of the relics of St George]) and because it is the custom to taste the newly made wine then it

is for this reason called the feast of Άγιος Γ. ο Μεθυστής [St George the Drunkard]. This is celebrated at Epano Siphi, at Palaikastro and I understand pretty generally in Crete.

### **Mesara. Road from Epano Siphi to Gangales and Agioi Deka**

The road from Epano Siphi passes through undulating, uncultivated country with here and there the ruins of a Turkish village. In one of these, I think Damania,<sup>17</sup> I saw the ruins of the mosque, the plan being [not reproduced here].

This and the region east of it was the most Turkish part of Crete and there are still some Turks there, notably at Damania. The country is too bare to be pretty and singularly difficult to find one's way in as it is too undulating for one to see far and so deserted that there are not many people about from whom to ask the way.

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### **Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> Information from Ananiadis 74-5: After he had expelled the Saracens from Chandax [a feat that entailed considerable destruction in the town], the Byzantine general Nikephoros Phokas built the fortress in 961 with the aim of transferring the island's capital to a site that was protected from pirates. [However, according to Tsougarakis 1988: 210, the Byzantines eventually endorsed the Arabs' choice of Chandax as the island's capital.] Pescatore captured the fortress, and the Venetians took it from him in 1211. The fortress was badly damaged in the earthquake of 1303, rebuilt by Venetians, but then neglected, and repaired in parts only in view of the Turkish invasion. Only ruins of the fortress remain, plus five churches perhaps dating from Phokas' time. The Roka is believed to be the sight of ancient Lykastos.

<sup>2</sup> The watershed is to the north-west, near Agia Varvara.

<sup>3</sup> Temenos was the name Nikephoros Phokas gave to the fortress he built there, and the Venetians named the whole province after it. The province of that name was abolished in 2006.

<sup>4</sup> The Turks captured the area in 1647 but the Venetians slaughtered a huge number of Turks trying to defend the fortress; the Turks therefore called it Kanlı Kasteli [Bloody Castle]. The village of Kanli Kastelli had its name officially changed to Profitis Ilias in 1955, but at the time we visited the area on 20 Oct. 2012 the inhabitants were discussing changing it back. The route between Kanli Kastelli and Choudetsi is very beautiful and affords lovely views of vineyards and olive orchards.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins has written Khrysospilotissa throughout. I have corrected it to Spilotissa. There are several churches dedicated to the Panagia Chrysospilotissa [The Golden Virgin of the Cave, as opposed to simply The Virgin of the Cave], including one in central Athens and another in Cyprus.

<sup>6</sup> A new screen has since been fitted. The route to the church is well signed from Choudetsi.

<sup>7</sup> We didn't find this.

<sup>8</sup> The monastery can be reached by a path from Choudetsi and by road from Agios Vasileios. We visited on 20 Oct. 2012, but it was closed; opening hours 10-12 and 4-6. The deep, narrow, tree-filled valley in which the monastery stands is very beautiful, with a stream flowing through it. I can't find a good photo of the church in the cave.

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<sup>9</sup> According to Pashley's figures (II 317), Monofatsi was the only province of Crete where the Muslim inhabitants (585 families) outnumbered the Christian (238). He adds that five villages "have not had a single inhabitant in them since they were destroyed by the Christians during the war".

<sup>10</sup> Kako Chorio ('Bad Village'), situated SW of Choudetsi and immediately south of Epanosiphi, has been renamed Metaxochori ('Silk Village') because of the mulberry trees. Eighteen monks at Epanosiphi monastery were apparently murdered by Muslims from Kako Chorio in 1821.

<sup>11</sup> This passage was clearly written after the population exchange of 1923.

<sup>12</sup> Now Protoria.

<sup>13</sup> Epanosiphi monastery is by the roadside, next to a junction. We visited on 17 October 2010 and were entertained by brother Efraim in the Abbot's quarters (built in 1920).

<sup>14</sup> More buildings had been built on the south side between our first visit in 2010 and a brief visit on 28 May 2017.

<sup>15</sup> In idiorrhymic monasteries each monk lives independently.

<sup>16</sup> We were told that the monastery now numbers 37 monks.

<sup>17</sup> To the west of Epanosiphi, not on either of the approach roads. These villages (formerly Muslim) were settled by Christian refugees from Selefke (ancient Seleucia) in Turkey, and the oldest of these speak Turkish. [Other former inhabitants of Selefke were settled in Nea Selefkeia, on the coast of mainland Greece NW of Igoumenitsa, where they too still speak Turkish.] Other formerly Muslim villages are Melidochori (S of Damania) and Arkadi (W of Damania).




## CHAPTER 20 ANGARATHOS TO PEDIADA

From Candia to the monastery of Angarathos there are two roads. One goes by the Kaki Rakhi, the Bad Ridge, which used to be passed on the way to Kastelli [Kastelli Pediadas] before the new road avoided it. The other way is to go east from Candia by sea as far as Kartero and then turn inland, and go to the monastery by the villages of Elaia [Ελαία] and Episkopi. I have been both ways. Of Kartero and Kaki Rakhi I have spoken elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The only notable place on this road is Episkopi, with several churches.

### EPISKOPI between Candia and Angarathos<sup>2</sup>

Panagia Phaneromeni in the village of Episkopi has over N. door

  
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(left) IMG\_5231a Panagia Phaneromeni, Episkopi  
 (centre) IMG\_5230 North door of Panagia Phaneromeni  
 (right) Panagia Phaneromeni (interior) (from Internet)

Inside it is a double church with graves on the floor.<sup>3</sup> In the same village are the churches of Agia Paraskevi and Agios Panteleimon. I went into Agios Panteleimon; it has the characteristic Venetian ribbed vault. The doors of both are of the usual late Venetian type.<sup>4</sup>



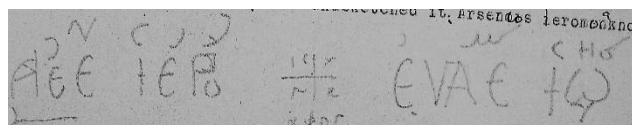
(left and centre) IMG\_5226 & 7 The doors of Agia Paraskevi, Episkopi  
 (right) IMG\_5232 The W door of Agios Panteleimon, Episkopi

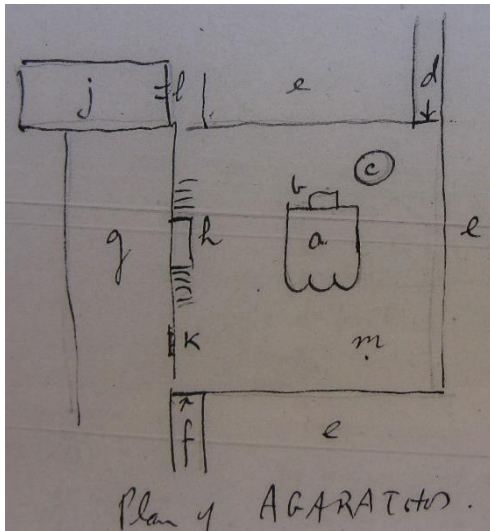
I was told that at both Episkopi and Anopolis there were massacres in 1896. The Turks got as far as Angarathos where they burned the buildings which stood where the *xenon* now is (the S side of the court). The eikon of the Prodromos<sup>5</sup> in the church of the *moni* also has 13 bullet marks on it.

**[Angarathos Monastery/Μονή Αγκαράθου]<sup>6</sup>**

The Moni Angarathos lies on a hillside sloping to the south. From the terrace there is a view of Yuktas and Ida. Near to S and W undulating country with villages and low hills shutting off the Mesara. To the east there are low hills near and beyond Dikte. As one approaches from the north one suddenly comes in sight of the *moni*: the court is indistinct and the mass of buildings looks like a village; all flat *domata* culminated by the high hip-roof of the new *xenon* with its red tiles, the only red tiles in the place except on the new church. From the confused mass of *domata* rise the belfry and dome of the new church built in the most theatrical new Byzantine style. But the court inside is charmingly irregular and old-looking with shrubs. Round about the *moni* are a lot of cypresses and olives. A beautiful open situation. The church is isolated in the middle of the court.

The door of the *moni* in the SE corner has a date of α φ ξ ε (1565) written below a cross with I C N K. The door is thus: The main gate, which is in the NW corner of the court, is of the same form and a cross with I C N K cross and date there is an inscription which I could not read, though I climbed a ladder and sketched it. Arsenios *Ieromonakhos* seems to be in it.<sup>7</sup>

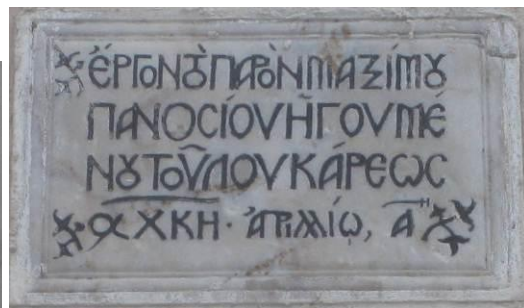
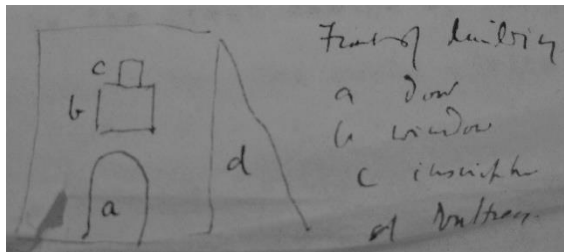




- A. Church
  - B. Belfry
  - C. Well head with inscription
  - D. Main gate with date 1583
  - E. *Kellia*
  - F. Gate with date 1565
  - G. *Xenon* with terrace in front
  - H. Double flight of steps leading up to terrace in front of *xenon*
  - J. Storehouse with Loukaris inscription over door at L
  - K. Good old double window with arches over each light and probably same date as doors, i.e. late sixteenth century
- Several bits of late Venetian sculpture about
- M. Base of a column with a piece of a lion; other fragments are built into the steps and terrace in front of the *xenon*

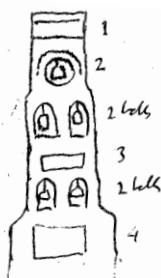
The SW corner of the buildings is occupied by a long vaulted building clearly Venetian and now used as a store house with a door at the N end. Above it is a terrace or, rather, its flat roof serves as a terrace. Over the door is an inscription and inside the door one goes down several steps to the floor. This Maximos L was, I was told, a brother of Cyril Loukaris who was himself perhaps not at the *moni*.<sup>8</sup>

The inscription runs



IMG\_3125 Inscription on warehouse ["The present [building] is the work of Maximos Loukaris, holy abbot, 1628, April 1"]<sup>9</sup>

The church was built in the eighteen nineties.<sup>10</sup> The key to the whole history is in the inscriptions on the present church and on the west front of the tall belfry which rises above the west front of the church.<sup>11</sup> At the top are the words: (1)



“When Dionysios was Bishop of Khersonnesos”. Below this is a circular opening with a bell in it. Round this is inscribed (2) “And it shall be for thee to rouse men to the assembly”. Below this are openings for two bells and below them again and half way down the belfry is the inscription in capital letters: (3) “On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1893 this belfry was blown down from the foundations by the wind and after three months was rebuilt and made more lofty when Gennadios was abbot”. In spite of the words “from the foundations”

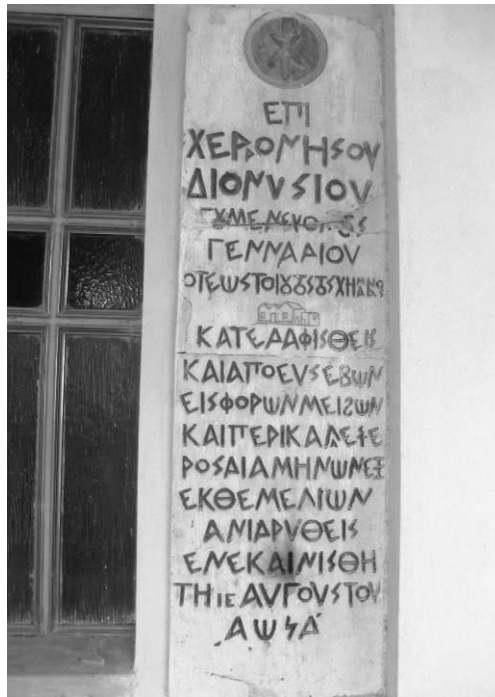
the part below this is earlier and dates in fact to 1865, as we read in another inscription. Below the third inscription are the openings for two more bells and then the following in hexameter verses: (4) “The tower for the holy bells was reared on high; their voices break forth from lips of terror; listen to their divine sound and rise up ye people, coming hither to worship at the temple of God. [Omitted by Dawkins: During the primateship

of the bishop of Chersonnesos Meletios and the abbotship of the *ieromonachos* Meletios Paigniotakis. ΑΩΞΕ (1865)]”

Then the monks seem to have thought the old church too low in proportion and destroyed it and put up the present ugly building. In fact one monstrosity, the present belfry, produced another to the great damage of the appearance of the monastery. The monks admire both.

To proceed to the church. It is a three-apsed building standing free in the middle of the court. It has three altars, *koimisis*, *prodromos*, *metamorphosis* [Dormition, John the Baptist, Transfiguration], and from the drawing on it one can see that the older church was the same. The inscriptions are on the south door. Over the door is written:

“Enter thou the all-glorious church of God and His mother”.<sup>12</sup>



IMG\_3130 Inscription dated 1894. The two halves of the inscription, which were either side of the church door when Dawkins saw it, have now been placed one above the other in the narthex, to the left of the west door. The incised sketch of the old church, mentioned below, is visible about half-way down the slab.

On the left side of the same door is an outline sketch of the old church incised on the stone, and above it is inscribed: “When Dionysios was Bishop of Khersonnesos and Gennadios was abbot the aforetime church whose form was as is here shown – then comes the sketch – was pulled down”. Then the inscription continues on the right-hand side of the door: “and by pious contributions was raised up anew bigger and more beautiful. August 15<sup>th</sup> 1894”.<sup>13</sup> In the Greek, the letters are in capitals and in a zigzag style of lettering intended, one may suppose, to look quaint and archaic – an engaging mixture of BC and Byz and fancy work. The monks, that is to say, built the new church only a year after the destruction and renewal of the belfry. The red tiles of the roof and of the new guesthouse are further blemishes on the monastery, which only as short a time ago as 1893 must have been extremely beautiful.

West of the church in the court is a round well-head inscribed in capitals: “In the time of the abbot Meletios Paigniotakis, priest and monk 1862”.<sup>14</sup>



Over the door of the old cells  $\text{Ϡ ϕ \frac{16}{\text{M}} \kappa \omicron \text{z}}$ . The first letter is odd but by the style of the building it must be a muddled  $\alpha$ , and the date is 1577.<sup>15</sup>

By the wall of the church is a pomegranate bush said to be grafted upon a stock of *Angarathia* and transplanted to its present position when this new church was built. The *Angarathia* is the Jerusalem Sage, *Phlomis fruticosa*, and whether such a graft is even possible I do not know. Nor do I know at all why the monastery is called after this plant, which is of course common in all rocky parts of Crete. In Greek it is called *σφάκα*, which means /// flower.<sup>16</sup>

The *moni* is *idiorrhythmo* and at the backs of their *kellia* the monks have built little courts and yards which from the outside give the *moni* an irregular appearance rather like a village. 17 or 18 monks in all, but only two are *ieromonakhoi*. I was there on Kyriaki tou asotou and noticed the clear and good singing.<sup>17</sup>

There are no old books in the *moni*. The Turks burned the *kellia* where the *xenon* now is in 1846 or so; but I was also told in 1896 (see above).<sup>18</sup>

From Angarathos there are two choices – I have done both – either to go to Kastelli Pediada<sup>19</sup> and so on to Lasithi, or to go south-east by way of Thrapsanos [Thrapsanó], the potters' village, to Emporas [Εμπόρος] and Viano.<sup>20</sup>

A short distance to the west of Angarathos are the villages of Upper and Lower Astraki [*Αστρακοί*]. I have no notes concerning them, but about Lower Astraki Khourmouzis gives a story worth excerpting. Near the village, he says, is a Cave of the Nereids, a *Nereidospilos* [Neraidóspilios].<sup>21</sup> Here a shepherd was playing on his little fiddle (*lyra*) and met a Nereid. He held her firmly through all her changes of form until the cock crew and in this way won her for his wife. She went home with him and they had a baby. But the fairy wife never uttered a word. To make her break her silence the husband took the advice of an old woman and pretended to be about to throw the baby into a heated oven. “What do you think, sir? Do you think that the people who live a thousand or fifteen hundred years don't take a long time to grow up?”

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> In ch. 1 and ch. 25.

<sup>2</sup> We visited Episkopi on we visited 19 October 12. None of the Episkopi churches is mentioned in Gratziou's book.

<sup>3</sup> The church was locked when we visited. The inscription is difficult to decipher, but the year must be 1642. Such a date would fit with the baroque “broken pediment”, which is unusual in Crete. (Gerola too [IV 510] was unable to interpret the letters, but he read the date as 1642.) The church itself presumably dates from well before this.

<sup>4</sup> The interior walls of Agios Panteleimon are bare, but Agia Parakevi has wonderful frescoes.

<sup>5</sup> ‘The Forerunner’, i.e. John the Baptist.

<sup>6</sup> Dawkins visited on 2-3 March 1918 and 2-3 August 1918; we visited on 13 May 2011. See also the brief description of the monastery in Gerola III 183.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription is copied by Gerola IV 511. It translates as “Jesus Christ is victorious. 1583. Arsenios Evdaimonoioannis ordained monk.”

<sup>8</sup> The Cretan Cyril Loukaris was Patriarch of Constantinople for most of the period from 1620 until his execution in 1638. He commissioned a handsome translation of the New Testament into vernacular Greek, published in Geneva in the year of his death.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription is copied by Gerola IV 512.

<sup>10</sup> The present church was built in 1940 (and has been recently restored), after the 1890s church had been demolished,

<sup>11</sup> The tall belfry mentioned by Dawkins is no longer there. The blocks bearing the inscriptions have now been built, separately, into the walls of the church. Dawkins' transcriptions of the Greek texts of all these inscriptions are on a typescript sheet, but there is no need to quote them here.

<sup>12</sup> This inscription is no longer there.

<sup>13</sup> In an earlier draft, Dawkins writes: "The inscriptions record the destruction of the old church and the building of the present domed horror, ostensibly to match the height of the new belfry at the west end; this bears three inscriptions which are not legible in the morning light, and in the evening I neglected to note them, but it is late 19<sup>th</sup> century."

<sup>14</sup> The well-head with the inscription is still there.

<sup>15</sup> Gerola IV 511 records that this inscription is outside the refectory.

<sup>16</sup> In Greek *phlomis* is called *angarathos* as well as *sphaka*, according to [D. Phitos](#) and [Kaity A. Argyropoulo](#), *Wild Flowers of Greece* (Athens 1965) [JW]. For more on the *angarathos* see ch. 33.

<sup>17</sup> The Sunday of the Prodigal Son, celebrating the Jesus' parable (Luke 15.13-32), is a moveable feast falling in February.

<sup>18</sup> When we visited it on 13 May 2011 the monastery was looking spick and span. The Venetian-era warehouse with the Loukaris inscription has been well restored on the outside (we didn't go inside). The friendly Brother Silvestros told us the story about the *αγκαραθιά* under which the icon was found, and that a pomegranate plant was then grafted on to it – a miracle, he said, because such a grafting has never been achieved before or since – and there it is, still growing next to the wall of the church at the east end, a century after Dawkins' visits to Angarathos monastery (2-3 March and 1-2 August 1918). Silvestros said that it had been transplanted from the site of another church (presumably meaning a previous church built on this site).



IMG\_3126 The vaulted tomb

In addition to the round well-head (now to the north of the church) there is a curved-vaulted tomb standing against the west wall of the courtyard, with the inscription:

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ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΚΟΛΙΒΑ / ΑΦΝΔ΄ [Of Theodoros Kolivas 1554]. (Gerola IV 511 misreads this inscription, which must have been well cleaned since his day. He also records an inscription dated 1551 [p. 510] that is not mentioned by Dawkins.) This tomb is not mentioned by Dawkins. Inside the narthex, on the right of the church door, is an inscription recording the rebuilding of the church in 1940. On the north wall of the church is the stump of the now destroyed belfry, with the lowest of the four inscriptions recorded by Dawkins. The frescoes inside are well done and quite recent, but they have already been badly damaged by damp.

<sup>19</sup> See ch. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Thrapsano has been famous for centuries as a village of potters. We drove through the village on 13 May 2011; it looked rather grim, in contrast to the attractive Margarites. It had been destroyed by the Germans, but maybe at least one old church survives?

<sup>21</sup> The Neraidospilios is situated in the Astrakoi gorge, to the east of the village of Myrtia. We haven't been there. In ancient times the cave housed the temple of Athena Tritogenia. The cave is one of the sources of the aqueduct of Astraki, which has been supplying Herakleion with water since the early 20th century.

## CHAPTER 21 MESARIA [MESARA]<sup>1</sup>

### CASTEL BELVEDERE, Greek Kastellos<sup>2</sup>

**At Candia, 13 May 1918.** At Skinies [Skinias]<sup>3</sup> two days ago I saw clearly the hill of Castle Belvedere (ο Κάστελλος) and was told it had Venetian ruins on it. Even at the distance I was there seemed to be walls on it.

I have never been up to the castle, but it stands on a conspicuous hill between Pyrgos and Skinies near the river. I saw it nearest from the left bank of the Anapodaris river near enough to see walls.

**April 26 1918.** At Hierapetra a *chorophylax* [rural policeman] from Skinies told me that at Kastellos (Castle Belvedere) there is a spring. There were two sisters, of whom one was betrothed. The girl who was not betrothed went to the spring and saw an old man with grey hair and money in a cup (*tasi*) which he gave her on condition that she told no one. She took money from him day by day and hid it in the *pithari* [storage jar] among the corn. Her father found it and pressed her to tell the secret. She said that she would tell him but that he must prepare for her funeral as she would die. She lay down on the bier, told the secret and died. The next day the other sister was married and is said to be still alive. The old man was a Sarakinos.<sup>4</sup>

There is an idea that when a Sarakinos gives a girl money he does not allow her to marry. If she does, the Sarakinos comes and strangles the wedded pair.

The same man told me that there are at Castle Belvedere 100 churches, but only 99 can be found, or 101 and one can only find 100. Cf. Axedi with the 60 churches,<sup>5</sup> and Oxa above Elounta with the cisterns.<sup>6</sup> He said the ruins of the castle are *στοιχειασμένα* [sic].

### Charakas (Χάρακας)<sup>7</sup>

I note at Pyrgos 13 April 1918 that between these two villages is a ruined Turkish village Doraki (Δωράκι). I saw still a few Turks at Pyrgos.

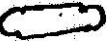
Charakas [Boulder] is so called because of the great rock that rises at the edge of the plain just below the village with the remains of a castle upon it. Both Charakas and Pyrgos are just at the edge of the plain where the mountains begin to rise.<sup>8</sup>

### Kofinas

On the summit is a small church built without mortar, Tou Sotiros,<sup>9</sup> as on Psiloritis. The summit is an oval plateau 75 steps across. A little below the top on the north is a church of the Panagia. Abundance of dittany grows on this mountain, Chourmouzis p. 72.<sup>10</sup>

**Vagionia (Βαγιωνιά) in Mesara. 13 April 1918<sup>11</sup>**

Gerola's photo in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 401

Cruciform domed Church of Panagia, with new north and south windows.<sup>12</sup> Outside the west door are two old Byzantine marbles, one a fragment of a cross in relief and the other the shaft of a window of section . Clearly from a yet older church.

**AGIOI DEKA, November 29<sup>th</sup> 1917<sup>13</sup>**

The old church of the Ten Saints. The old part of the church has a good floor and monolithic columns and frescoes under the twelve [ten] arches connecting them. Below the *eikon* of the martyrdom of the Ten, which is in the *proskynitarion* [stand for holding an icon or relics], is a slab of marble covered by a curtain.<sup>14</sup> This has some more or less deep hollows in it and these are said to be the marks of the knees of the Ten as they kneeled down for their execution.

In a chapel at the NE corner of the church they now talk of digging to find the bodies (λείψανα) of the Ten, and this they are pretty certain to do.

Just by the village there is a new church over the supposed site of the graves of the Ten.<sup>15</sup> In front of the church is a door<sup>16</sup> which gives access to a kind of crypt in which are to be seen 5 graves, each a simple oblong pit made of, I think, masonry,<sup>17</sup> and they say that in another part of the crypt are the other five. But I am rather of the opinion that the other five are not there at all and that they say this and believe it to explain their absence. Why the graves should be here and they looking for the bodies in the old church I don't see, but these things are not very consistent.<sup>18</sup>



124. HADJI-DECKA

UNE FONTAINE

The village fountain has in front of it a sarcophagus which serves as a trough. In a cartel it bears the inscription published by Xanthoudidis. The fountain is dated 1197.<sup>19</sup>

Photo by Fred. Boissonnas (Baud-Bovy & Boissonnas 1919: 111); they have mistaken the Cretan pronunciation of Άγιοι (Saints) for the (originally Muslim) term Hadji ‘pilgrim to the Holy Places’.

**GALIA, 30 Nov. 1917: Hawking in Crete<sup>20</sup>**



IMG\_5559 Panagia at Monochoro near Galia: west door with ruined narthex in foreground



IMG\_5562 The tomb and door on south side

Now quite unknown, but practised in Venetian times. At Galiá north of Moires is an old church of which Xanthoudidis has published inscriptions and two photographs of a fresco. It lies ten minutes south of Galia on the road to Moires. It is a Venetian church with a new red tiled roof and a brand-new screen. Most of the frescoes have been whitewashed. Of the *ktitoriki epigraphi* [foundation inscription] over the west door

perhaps more could be made out than Xanthoudidis has done [X 137]. There is a north [south] door and east of this an arched tomb in the Venetian style. Good Venetian west door with inscription above it and frescoes. In front of this a later narthex now ruined.

There is a now much ruined fresco on the north wall of the narthex of the church at Galia, reproduced by Gerola and published by Xanthoudidis, which shows a horseman with a hawk on his wrist. This shows a little in Xanthoudidis' photograph in *Athena*; Gerola's copy shows only a confused object, clearly because the copyist (Bagge) did not know what he was looking at. But Xanthoudidis, who saw the fresco when it was much less destroyed than now, is quite positive that it was a hawk perched on the rider's wrist. When I saw it the weather had made this unrecognisable.<sup>21</sup>

Xanthoudidis told me that [Iosif] Hatzidakis of Candia told him that when he was in Thrace in his youth the Turks there used to go hawking.<sup>1</sup>

### March 1918 Church of St Paul near the village of Agios Yannis just south of Phaistos in the plain<sup>22</sup>

Long inscription round the base of the dome inside recorded by Xanthoudidis. I read a bit to identify it [fragment of inscription not reproduced here].<sup>23</sup>



Church of St Paul near the village of Agios Yannis.  
IMG\_0989 Baptistry (RMD's *koube*), 21 Oct. 2009



IMG\_0988 Fresco of St Luke and part of the inscription

This inscription is over the body of the church and there is a second dome over the chancel space. Most of the frescoes have been destroyed but the evangelists in the dome pendentives remain.<sup>24</sup> In front of the church is a later narthex like a flat-topped *koube* with three arches.<sup>25</sup>

### AGIA TRIADA church on the site of the Italian dig near Dibaki. 5 June 1918<sup>26</sup>

On the top of the knoll where the Minoan palace is, is the now deserted church of Agia Triada – see Xanthoudidis and Gerola. It has a good Venetian west door with billet moulding and dog-tooth ornament. Above it there was once a belfry which has now disappeared. There is also an inscription, but with letters too small to read.

<sup>1</sup> [in hand] Γερακάρης often in *Μαχαιράς* and laws about hawks in Cypriot Assises. Cf. in Zante Γαρακαρείον & cf. Σπ. Λάμπρος in *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* Β [vol. 2], 369. cf. *Απόκοπος*.

Outside the south wall there is a ruined arched tomb and outside the north wall another with, on the tomb itself, an illegible coat of arms and the inscription [not reproduced here].<sup>27</sup>



IMG\_8137 North wall



IMG\_8138 West door

Inside there are many graffiti, many with the words *εκοιμήθη ο δούλος του Θεού* [the servant of God has gone to sleep] followed by an illegible date.

Over the west door inside is a painted inscription in capitals in two lines:

[PM's translation of Xanthoudidis' transcription: "The holy and venerable church of the holy and glorious great martyr [George] was [erected/renovated?] from the foundations and illustrated at the expense of Constantine Skinoplokos and Epraxia and the nun Katafygi and the child[ren?] in the month of January in the 15<sup>th</sup> indiction Αω[..]".<sup>28</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> In Greek: η Μεσαρά. I've arranged these locations from east to west. In Dawkins' day the Mesara plain would have been chiefly planted with wheat, but nowadays, probably as a consequence of European Union subsidies, it is largely planted with olives.

<sup>2</sup> On the Anavasi atlas Kastellos is the name of the hill, north of Ano and Kato Kastelliana, on which the ancient site of Priansos, the church of Κοίμησις Θεοτόκου and Castel Belvedere are located. Priansos is mentioned in ch. XXII. See Ananiadis 75-6: the castle was built by Pescatore in the early 13<sup>th</sup> cent. We couldn't find a road to castle but took a photo. Pashley I 288 notes that the castle was already ruined by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Pendlebury adds a note to Dawkins' typescript: "Castel Belvedere now called Rhizokastro". This was confirmed by Kostas Tsiknakis at a conference on Gerola held in Athens in September 2012. Pashley defines the province of "Rhizó-kastron" as "bounded to the north by Lassíthi and Pedhiádha, and to the west by Mesará" (I 272).

<sup>3</sup> There are two villages in Crete called Skinias. Dawkins is here referring to the one in Monofatsi rather than to the one NW of Elounda. The same Skinias is mentioned in ch. 26. The same probably applies to the provenance of the policeman below. Cf. note on Skines in ch. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The word means literally a Saracen, but in Cretan folklore it may denote a certain kind of spirit in human form, usually evil and sometimes superhuman.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. 18.



<sup>6</sup> See ch. 27.

<sup>7</sup> We passed by on 22 Oct. 2009.

<sup>8</sup> The Anavasi atlas shows Φρούριο Χαράκι nearby.

<sup>9</sup> Τίμιος Σταυρός on the summit (1230 m) according to the Anavasi atlas 79 1 B-C; also an ancient peak sanctuary.

<sup>10</sup> Kofinas is the highest peak of the Asterousia Ori. Dawkins says in ch. 22 that he never climbed it. In fact, this entire note is based on Chourmouzis.

<sup>11</sup> We visited on 22 Oct. 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Georgios Neonakis told us that this church was demolished c. 1935 and that his parents were the last couple to be married there; he also said that the church was originally called η Παναγία η Βαγιά [Our Lady (of) the Palm-tree], which is the origin of the village name. The present church of the Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου [Dormition of the Virgin Mary] was built on the same site. Gerola II 224 has a ground plan of the old church.

<sup>13</sup> The village is next to Gortyn. We stayed the night of 21 Oct. 2009 there. There are photos and a detailed description of the church in Gerola II 187-191.

<sup>14</sup> The church has a vaulted roof with pointed arches. It has three apses. Nice old wooden iconostasis, kept clean and shining. The martyrdom took place in AD 250. The marble slab marble is now in a glass case just inside the entrance, before going down steps into main part of church.

<sup>15</sup> The new church stands 150 m from the old one. Between the two churches in the street is a lone marble column. The new church now has dome and roof painted dark red and hideous roofed area outside W door.

<sup>16</sup> Now an opening without a door.

<sup>17</sup> So it seems.

<sup>18</sup> They dug at the east end of the old church but didn't find the other 5 tombs. A square *koube* with a dome and an apse has been built against each of the S and N walls towards their E end.

<sup>19</sup> These are presumably Arabic numerals, i.e. 1196 [AD 1781/2]. The fountain is no longer there. According to Xanthoudidis, (1903: 127-8), the Christian inscription is later than what he calls the monolithic larnax, which was originally Roman. Xanthoudidis writes that the larnax was brought to the village from elsewhere. The inscription translates as follows: "Mother of God help Evlambios and Stephania amen". Gerola IV 553 prints a photo of the inscription.

<sup>20</sup> We visited on 23 April 2013 and viewed the church from outside the locked precinct. For hawking in Crete see also ch. 9.

<sup>21</sup> There is now absolutely no trace of this fresco. See Gerola II Tavola 17 (Batte's painting) and IV 544. Xanthoudidis 1903: 135-6 notes the following: "The village of Monochori near Galia: small Turkish village destroyed during the recent revolution." Outside the village to the north, "a ruined church of the Panagia", of which only the narthex and the south wall of the main building survive. Three horsemen on red horses on north wall of narthex (left and middle horsemen visible in Plate 11; the right-hand one in Plate 11a carried a bird (hawk?). The figures probably represent Georgios Mousouros and two servants [or two sons: PM]. Mousouros' name appeared in the inscription on the same fresco, transcribed by Xanthoudidis on p. 136. The bracketed and queried "(hawk?)" is Xanthoudidis'. Xanthoudidis' photos are blurred, but a decorative motif of pomegranates is clearly visible. Gerola himself (II 339), who refers to the pomegranates, was in no doubt that the figure was holding a hawk.

<sup>22</sup> We visited on 21 Oct. 2009. Gerola has a photo of the exterior of this church from almost the same angle as ours (II 237) and another of the frescos (II 323), with Luke at

top right. His photo of the church “before restoration” (which must have been carried out between two of his visits) is reproduced in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 371 (photo no. 790; the detail “before restoration” has been erroneously placed under no. 1378 on the same page).

<sup>23</sup> The inscription, transcribed by Xanthoudidis (1903: 129) and Gerola (IV 538, and copied by him IV 594-5), records the renovation and painting of the church; therefore the original building must have been much older than the present 14<sup>th</sup>-century structure. It also refers to the name of the location as Βαπτιστήρα (Baptistery). Xanthoudidis cites the phrase in the inscription “the rule of our Orthodox Christian monarchs, Lord Andronikos Palaiologos and his most pious consort Lady Eirini and their son Lord Michail” as evidence of “the national consciousness of the Cretan people under Venetian rule”. Andronikos II reigned 1282-1328, after Crete had been detached from the Byzantine empire by the Fourth Crusade and had come under Venetian rule. Xanthoudidis reads the date of the inscription as 1304, exactly one hundred years after the crusade.

<sup>24</sup> Now only St Matthew (SW) and St Luke (NW) remain.

<sup>25</sup> This was the baptistery according to the modern signage.

<sup>26</sup> Actually the church of St George Galatas on the Minoan site of Agia Triada, which we visited 2 May 2015. Dawkins seems to have been confusing the name of the church with the name of the archaeological site. There is a photo of the west door in Gerola II 289. There is also an impressive ruined church of Agios Georgios at a location named Falandra immediately above the site of Phaistos, which Dawkins doesn't mention: see Gerola II 362-364 & III 185.

<sup>27</sup> Xanthoudidis (1903: 132) reads: “... του Μιχαήλ του Τριβύζη” [“of Michail Trivyziis”] and the date ΑΦΠΑ = 1581. Gerola prints a photo of the slab (IV 537), pointing out that it bears a relief of a double-headed eagle and that the name Trivyziis corresponds to the Venetian surname Trevisan. The presence of the Byzantine double-headed eagle adds further weight to Xanthoudidis' remark (see endnote xxi) regarding the “national” (or at least “Byzantine”) consciousness of Cretan Orthodox Christians even at this advanced stage of Venetian rule.

<sup>28</sup> Dawkins omits to mention that this painted inscription is on the *inside* wall over the west door. He reads the date as ΑΩΝ = 1342, adding “but very doubtful.” Xanthoudidis (p. 131 and plate E, no. 6) reads the date as ΣΩΙ = 6810 = 1302 or ΣΩΚΕ = 6825 = 1317. The inscription is badly damaged, and less of it is now legible than a century ago. Gerola IV 537 prints a photo of the inscription; he opts for 1302 as its probable date. Α “κτητόρισσα Καταφυγή” is also mentioned in an inscription in the church previously described (Agios Pavlos at Agios Ioannis). The church seems to have been much battered since Dawkins saw it. There is now no sign of the arched tomb on the south wall, and no sign of an inscription on the arched tomb on the north side.

## CHAPTER 22

### COAST FROM TSOUTSOUROS TO AGIA GALINI

Tsoutsouros is a cluster of small one-storey flat roofed houses on the beach at the mouth of the Tsoutsouropotamo.<sup>1</sup> The only remarkable object there was a monk named Isaac; from what monastery I do not know, but he was living there at least for the time. This man, no longer young, was what is called a *Spanos*, that is, one of those men, not at all uncommon in Crete, who are marked off by having either no beard at all or only the very scantiest. Their age it is always next to impossible to tell: it could only be said of Isaac that he was not young. Standing apart from ordinary humanity, these unfortunates, by reason of their prolonged but odd-looking youthfulness and their miserably shrivelling but seemingly timeless age, remind one, sadly, of Swift's terrible invention of the deathless Struldbrugs. The Cretans in general are a well-bearded race and look upon the *Spanoi* with an odd mixture of derision and fear. In folktale they are always cruel and cunning, and generally villainous. What the Greeks of the middle age thought of them may be seen from the satirical parody of the liturgy called the Mass of the Spanos, a long torrent of scurrility directed against one of these unfortunates. In modern Crete they are credited with having the evil eye. The keeper of a *kapheneion* at Chersonnesos, where I have often spent the midday halt, is one of them. After passing through once on the way from Neapolis to Candia, my muleteer's mule stumbled badly. He at once put this down, and not wholly in joke, to the evil eye of the beardless café-keeper. "The beardless fellow has cast the eye upon us," he said, - "*Μας εφτάρμιασε ο σπανός.*" The old word for eye, *οφθαλμός*, has completely disappeared now in favour of *μάτι* (*ομμάτιον*), but in this Cretan word *φταρμιάζω*, I cast the evil eye, it still survives.

After Tsoutsouros the beaches and low soft cliffs which form the coast all the way to Hierapetra come to an end. All the way to Cape Lithinos and round the corner to Matala and so on to the opening of the Mesara plain, the coast is now rocky and steep with no beaches and only occasional inlets and coves. It is formed, in fact, by the southern slopes of the mountains which bound the Mesara plain to the south and fall abruptly into the sea. These little landing places have generally a few houses and at the back of each a rough path leading over the mountains to the villages of the plain. These places are, in order [east to west]: Maridaki, Three Churches (Treis Ekklesies), the Monastery of Koudouma, Leda [Lendas] (ancient Leben), Kaloι Limniones (Fair Havens); then comes Lithinos and the coast turns north to the cove of Matala. North of Matala is the Minoan harbour of Komos discovered by Evans, and then the hills drop to the long beach bordering the Mesara.<sup>2</sup> This beach has on it the little landing station of Kokkinos Pyrgos and at its north end the ground rises again where the coast turns eastwards towards Agia Galini.

Maridaki I visited only from the sea. To Komos I have never been at all. All the other places I have been to, both by sea and by land, which means that I have crossed these mountains in five places. The really notable feature of these hills is the high flat-topped peak of Kophinos [Kofinas], the Basket, which rises to a height of four thousand feet almost immediately above Koudouma. Kophinos is conspicuously by far the highest point of the range, and is visible from a very great distance. A ship does not have to go far north from the harbour of Candia before the characteristic square top of Kophinos is visible above all the intermediate heights. I regret very much that I have never had an opportunity of climbing it. There can be no finer view-point in all Crete.<sup>3</sup>

Maridaki, the first of these places, is quite close to, but by land almost inaccessible from Tsoutsouros. It can only be approached by land from Mesokhori [Μεσοχωριό] by way of Akhendrias, and the path must be of the very worst. From the sea one sees a little beach between the cliff and upon this beach a tiny valley with a stream opens. The path up the valley leads shortly to a little chapel and a cottage surrounded by a few gardens, the whole set in a hollow among the bare and rugged slopes. When I was there the cottage was occupied by a monk, I think from Koudouma. He was in great fear for his life and besought us – I had landed from a trawler – to take him away, anywhere so long as it was out of Crete. The precise reason for his fear was not very apparent. He had been concerned in some scandalous affair with a woman, which had somehow carried him to Greece. Now he was at home again, but I rather gather in a sort of disgrace. That his fears were not without good cause was shown from what happened shortly after my second visit to him. Some men came down by a path from Akhendrias, beat him and robbed him of his money. I do not know what happened after that.

Just east of the Maridaki valley the map puts the remains of the ancient city of Priansos.<sup>4</sup>

Next comes Treis Ekklesies, on the coast, below the mountain villages of Mournia, Etia and Prinias to which it serves as a sort of port. I have visited it once or twice from the sea, and once at the end of March 1917 I walked over the hills from Pyrgos in the Mesara and back again. On the ascent from Pyrgos we are far enough south and high enough – enough detached from the main body of the island – to see from one point the three great mountain masses: Dikte, Ida and the White Mountains. This gives a suggestion of what the view from Kophinos must be. The path crosses the ridge, goes through the village of Prinias and then descends by a steep gulley to the sea. Above the gulley is a hollow with a sheepfold and in the damp soil by the stream masses of wild *polyanthus narcissus* (μανουσάκια), at this season a little over. The path down the gorge is very steep, and for beasts almost impassable. When it reaches the sea it turns east to the place called Three Churches [Treis Ekklesies]. These are of the usual small type and lie on a little cove below the hills. By them are a few cottages inhabited by two or three monks from Koudouma. The bareness of the slopes is broken only by a few carob trees. The contrast between the aridity of these southern slopes and the fertility of the Mesara plain is very striking. The mountains are here so low that it is only two or three hours' walk from Pyrgos to the sea, though owing to the steepness of the gorge a good deal more must be allowed for the return.

### MONASTERY OF KOUDOUMA<sup>5</sup>

After Treis Ekklesies we come to the little monastery of Koudouma. It is on the coast almost exactly below the peak of Kophinas, but the slopes fall so steeply to the sea that they cut off all view of the high peaks. At Koudouma I have landed several times, and in the summer of 1916 on a very hot day I went there from the Mesara plain, passing through the village of Kapitaniana [Καπετανιανά]. I slept at the monastery and left next day by trawler.

The monastery buildings lie close to the sea. As has so often happened, the hard upper stratum of the rocky slope has been undermined and collapsed, leaving a ravine-like subsidence with steep sides littered with broken fragments of their fallen upper skin. This little hollow has a beach and directly on the edge of this is the little church and above this the enclosure containing, on its upper side, a simple row of *kellia*. All

this is on the east side of the ravine. On the opposite side are a few buildings with the primitive guest-house. There are no gardens, and for water only a brackish well. The slopes and the ravine are dotted with small pine trees and in the background the mountain rises rapidly. Westwards there is sloping ground above the sea and a path to the little hermitage of St John where we once landed. To the east there is an impressive piece of sea cliff. By land the approach is by a very bad path from the Mesara crossing the range just before the village of Kapitaniana and thence winding down the slopes and reaching the sea somewhat to the west of the monastery.



There are only a few monks and the present abbot is one of the founders. He and his brother, now dead, were monks somewhere else and came to this desolate spot to lead the ascetic life, and a few others have collected around them and built the monastery. This abbot, quite a peasant, has a considerable reputation for sanctity. I believe that people come here for their feast, but I do not know the dedication of the place or consequently the date.<sup>6</sup> They do not lay themselves out for visitors. Here alone of Cretan monasteries there is a notice outside the enclosure (for it cannot be called a court) that entry is forbidden to all *kosmikoi* [laypersons] – not that they objected to our coming in – and the guest-house is a mere square room with benches. When I slept here I slept on my camp mattress on the ground in front of it and I don't remember that they gave me any food. In any case, they live very sparingly indeed and have apparently no resources. The monks are entirely illiterate to all seeming. Treis Ekklisies and the little hermitage church of St John west of Koudouma [below Kapetaniana] depend upon Koudouma. St John lies on a little sloping delta brought down by the rains from the mountains. A cell or two and a tiny church are tucked up under the rock and on the fan-like ground in front is a well, a tiny sheepfold and a few half-wild olive trees. The present monk there was formerly the general shepherd of the monastery and comes from Kapitaniana. He was consecrated in 1916 only. The Maridaki monk came I think too from Koudouma. It is a good example of the smaller monastery and owing to its newness has no treasures. The position is impressive from its very loneliness, and no monastery is so remote. Agios Yannis Kapsas is its only rival. Five minutes west of it I bathed off the rocks and there is there a hollow rock, through a hole in which the water is forced by the compression of the air inside and rushes out in a jet of spray.

NOTE: I don't remember frescoes in the church of St John, but Gerola records some in a church of this name which must, I think, be this one.<sup>7</sup> Between Koudouma and St John in a rock shelter is a church too of St Anthony which I have not visited.<sup>8</sup>

*[Manuscript notes written in the margin by another hand [Pendlebury?] referring to Koudouma:*

A great gathering of people here at Easter 1936.

We were welcomed very warmly in 1936 and given coffee and raisins and a flat roof on which to sleep. The monastery certainly seems very poor.

Also the *metokhi* at Agios Nikolaos between Sternais and the summit of Kophinas. I stopped there in 1937. Three monks from Koudouma. They take it in turns.]

### Leben<sup>9</sup>

The next point along the coast is Leben, now a few houses lying on the shore sheltered from the west wind by a great promontory [Ακρ. Κεφάλας]. Here there was in antiquity a shrine of Aesculapius. The whole place shows many remains of the Roman period, but the excavation of the shrine led to very small results. The shrine was very popular: Philostratos, p. 429, tells us that “just as Asia resorts to Pergamon, so Crete was wont to resort to this sanctuary, and many too cross over to it from Libya. For it faces the



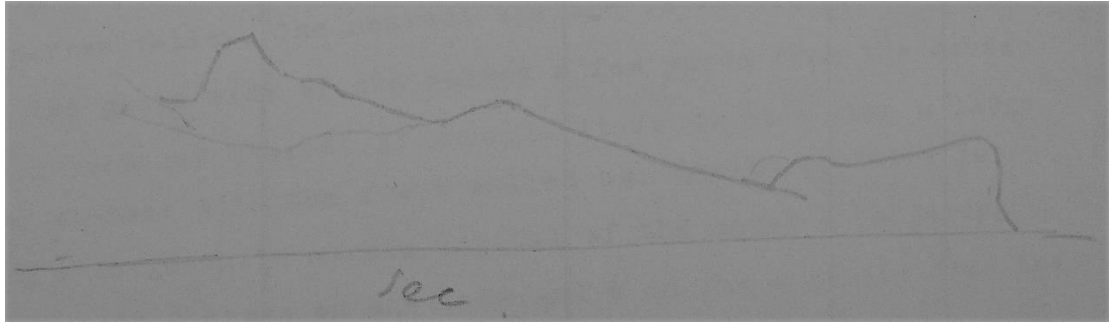
Libyan sea near Phaistos, ...” The promontory seen from the side is strikingly like a couchant lion: the head is too small, but the curve of the back and hindquarters is very lifelike. This was remarked in antiquity, and Philostratos continues: “and they say that the sanctuary is called that of Leben, because a promontory juts out from it which resembles a lion, a suggestion made here as in many places by the chance arrangement of the rocks. There is a legend too about

the promontory how it was once one of the lions yoked to the chariot of Rhea.” This punning derivation of Leben from Leon, a lion, is of some interest.<sup>10</sup>

From the plain Leben is reached by a mountainous track ascending from the Mesara plain and passing by Miamu [Μιαμού], where a grotto with very early remains was excavated by Taramelli.<sup>11</sup> I did not see this grotto when I passed through Miamu in 1913: it is below one of the houses but is hardly likely to be of much interest at present. [Note by Pendlebury: Grotto now filled in.] I was then with Grigori.<sup>12</sup> After digging the Kamares cave he and I made a trip to look for Minoan remains.

When Fair Havens, Kaloi Limniones, is reached the hills have become much lower.<sup>13</sup> The little harbour with its island, its chapel of St Paul and the few houses have been

described by Spratt. The landwards path leads up the slopes to the Monastery of Hodigitria, which I describe in another section.<sup>14</sup> The view eastwards along the coast is so interesting that I made an outline sketch of it.



[Dawkins' caption:] Looking east from Kaloi Limiones. The high mountain is Kofinas. The lion-shaped headland is Leda. Below Kofinas on the coast is Kountouma. Λέντας is λέοντας: Ξανθουδίδης, *Ερωτόκριτος* [1915] 599.

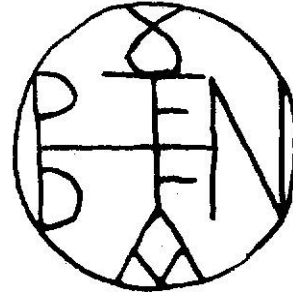
Jutting out into the sea on the right is the promontory of Leda [Lendas], looking very much like a couchant lion. To the left of the sketch is the peak of Kophinos showing very well its basket-like form.

After passing Kaloi Limniones the ship must round Cape Lithinos and shortly arrives at the narrow opening of the harbour of Matala. I have been there several times by sea, once only by land in April 1918 when I came from Agia Galini. The path went inland of Evans' Komo [Κομός], of which I then knew nothing, passed through the village of Pitsidia and so came to Matala. Leaving it I went across the hills to the Hodigitria monastery and so down to the sea again at Kaloi Limniones.

### **Matala**<sup>15</sup>

Matala is a narrow entrance between the rocks, so narrow that one can hardly make it out from the western coast [= the south coast further to the west?]. The rocks on one side [north] are honeycombed with tombs, some of them partly submerged as the land has sunk.<sup>16</sup> At the top of the inlet is a beach and a few houses and then a rather narrow flat-bottomed valley. The nearest village is Pitsidia.

On the south side of the valley, a few yards from the houses, is the rock-cut church of Panagia. It is not more than a large grave chamber with the front walled up. Inside it there lies a large marble capital of square, tapering shape with a cross on one face and on the opposite face the monogram I sketched:



(left) IMG\_5573 Rock-cut chapel of the Panagia at Matala, 23 April 2013, recently rebuilt on the outside; (right) The capital described and sketched by Dawkins, but no longer in the chapel.

### **Kokkinos Pyrgos<sup>17</sup>**

The shore below Timbaki had a [handful?] of houses called Red Tower from a tower there. According to Khatzigakis, p. 147,<sup>18</sup> by one of the towers was a church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, destroyed by the Germans but rebuilt. There are now on this beach three towers; once there were more, some ten.

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### **Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> We visited Tsoutsouros on 22 Oct. 2009. Tsoutsouros and Treis Ekklisies (to its west; see further down) were two of the chief evacuation points for Allied personnel in late 1941. Tsoutsouros was also the point where Patrick Leigh Fermor landed on 4 April 1944 (Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Abducting a General* (London 2014), p. 50, 154). The place name perhaps derives from the Cretan verb τσουτσορίζω 'whisper, speak quietly'.

<sup>2</sup> I was told in November 2011 that plans for a container port near Tymbaki – which a Chinese company very much wanted to build – have been abandoned because of the nearby Minoan site of Komos. There is also a tourist beach at Komos, which is a nesting site for sea turtles. The Minoans seem to have saved the area from total environmental destruction.

<sup>3</sup> Kophinas (1231m) is the highest peak of the Asterousia Ori; see also ch. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Castel Belvedere, on or near this site, is referred to in ch. 21.

<sup>5</sup> The monastery is approachable by sea excursion from Tsoutsouros. We have never been there. The road from Διονύσι passes near one of the peaks of the Asterousia (1133 m) and looks very steep and wiggly on map. We were told that the road is passable only with a 4 x 4.

<sup>6</sup> The monastery is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and consequently the feast is held on 15 August. The monastery was founded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the monks Parthenios and Evmenios, who were brothers from Pitsidia. They built it on the ruins of a medieval monastery. The brothers were sainted after their death.

<sup>7</sup> Gerola II 314-315 prints a photo of frescoes of figures flanking the doorway of a church of St John. One at least of these figures is an angel brandishing a sword. Gerola specifies that, unusually for Crete, these figures are painted on the outside wall – but they are somewhat protected from the elements because the church is in a vast cave. There are extensive graffiti on this same wall; in a letter, Gerola describes the chapel of



St John as “a treasure-house of graffiti, inscriptions and frescos” (Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 74). His photo of some of them is reproduced *ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>8</sup> St Anthony is marked on the Anavasi Atlas 71 B1.

<sup>9</sup> Leben (Λεβήν) is the archaeological site at the village of Lendas: we stayed at the attractive Gaitani Studios in the village on 21 & 22 April 2013. The place was remarkably unspoiled at that time, but when we returned two years later a lovely flower-filled meadow above the sea-cliffs to the east of the village had been devastated by bulldozers preparing for the construction of the Levinthos Retreat Centre, whose website now proclaims its eco-friendly credentials.

<sup>10</sup> It’s more likely that the modern name Λέντας is derived from the medieval form λέοντας ‘lion’.

<sup>11</sup> The grotto and some of its human remains and prehistoric artefacts were discovered by Anagnostis Manidakis while he was digging the foundations for a house he was building in the village: [Antonio Taramelli](#), “Cretan Expedition, VIII: The prehistoric grotto at Miamù”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 1, no. 4/5 (July-Oct.1897), pp. 287-312.

<sup>12</sup> Dawkins doesn’t mention this Grigori anywhere else in the material. He is likely to have been a Cretan workman.

<sup>13</sup> “The fair havens” is the rendering of the ancient Greek name Καλοί Λιμένες in the King James Version of Acts 27: 8. Dawkins uses the popular early modern version name, Καλοί Λιμνιώνες, which is also used by Nikos Kazantzakis in his novel *Καπετάν Μιχάλης* [*Freedom and Death*], but the name has now reverted to the ancient version.

<sup>14</sup> See ch. 23.

<sup>15</sup> We visited on 23 April 2013.

<sup>16</sup> In the 1960s the rock-cut tombs became a resort for “hippies”, including, according to Wikipedia, Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin and Cat Stevens. According to the same site, during the military dictatorship the “hippies” were expelled on the orders of the Metropolitan of Gortyn. The tombs are now part of a fenced archaeological site, which is still open to the public.

<sup>17</sup> This section was written in or after 1954. We stayed the night at Kokkinos Pyrgos on 20 Oct. 2009. Kokkinos Pyrgos is just north of Timbaki. Agia Triada, just south of Timbaki, is referred to in ch. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Alexandros K. Hatzigakis, *Εκκλησίες Κρήτης: παραδόσεις* (Rethymno: Maria A. Hatzigaki, 1954). This book is not in Dawkins’ library or in the electronic catalogue of the Oxford libraries. He notes that he borrowed it from Gareth Morgan.

## CHAPTER 23 HODIGITRIA AND APEZANES

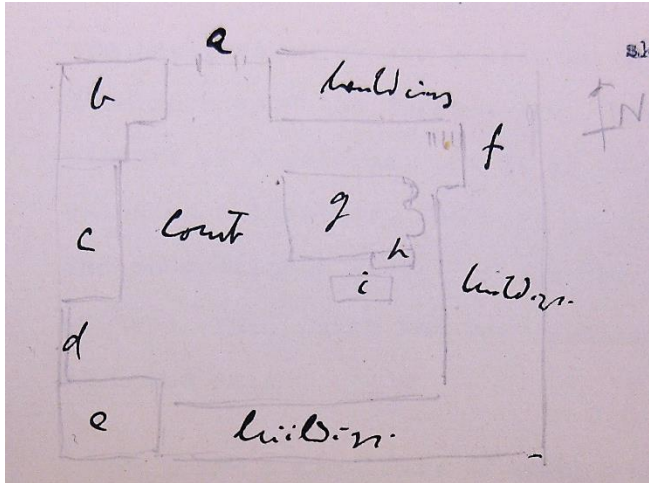
### HODIGITRIA MONASTERY<sup>1</sup>



(left) IMG\_0992 The monastery, showing Xopateras' tower to the right  
(right) IMG\_0993 The monastery church from the north

The Monastery of Hodigitria (Η Οδηγήτρια), Our Lady of Guidance, is about one hour to the north of Kaloi Limniones. It lies at the head of a narrow valley with low hills on each side. I passed through it in September 1917 [2 Sept. 1916] on the way from Kaloi Limniones [earlier version: one hour from Kaloi Limniones] to Pombia, and again in April 1918 coming from Matala to Kaloi Limniones: on this occasion I slept in the monastery. The buildings lie on a rising knoll amongst the higher hills and the rough, rocky slopes called in Crete *khalepa*.<sup>2</sup> Round the courtyard are a few olives and other trees and small gardens. It presents the usual type of a monastery built on open ground: an oblong court with a church standing free in the middle. The buildings are plain and very rustic: the only remarkable thing is the square tower to the right of the entrance with its little windows and battlements. This is the tower of the famous monk Xopateras [see below]. The buildings all have the old Cretan flat roofs and are, I think, of only one storey except the tower and the new guesthouse at the SW corner of the court. This has been left unfinished for lack of funds. The monks are preparing to give it a flat roof, though they would like to have the hideous red French tiles, to their taste so much more beautiful.<sup>3</sup> The church as well as the tower is said to be old; the rest of the buildings seem quite recent. The only notable inscription is one on a slab tomb in a small enclosure by the south wall of the church (h on the plan). It has been published by Xanthoudides, but I give my copy of it below.

The monastery is stavropegiac and therefore prays for the patriarch. Like most Cretan monasteries it practises the idiorrhhythmic way of life. [From earlier draft: though Toplou and Koudouma are koinovia.] It is one of the pleasantest and most old-fashioned of all the Cretan monasteries. As generally in west Crete, the monks wear the usual Cretan dress with bags but a monkish cap; cassocks are only worn on the more churchy occasions. [in earlier draft: Oldfashioned monks e.g. at Preveli don't wear cassocks and differ from the laity only in the little monk's cap and hair.]



Sketch plan of Hodigitria

- a. Gate
- b. Tower of Xopatera
- c. Abbot's cell
- d. Wall
- e. New unfinished *xenon*
- f. Present guest-room
- g. Church
- h. Inscribed tomb with inscription below
- i. Tombs<sup>4</sup>



Inscription on tomb (Gerola IV 563)

Inscription on tomb. It is a slab tomb in an enclosure by the south wall of the church. Below the inscription is the coat of arms with a foliated border and on each side of the coat are crossbones. Date AXB = 1602.<sup>5</sup>

At this visit I slept at the monastery.

The hero of the place is the monk Xopateras, after whom the tower is called. According to the tradition of the monastery, he was held a prisoner at Constantinople. He seized his gaoler, pressed his thumbs into his ears till he killed him, and made his escape to the patriarchate. Thence, disguised as a woman, he got back to Crete. A force

of Turks was sent to the monastery to take him. He made a desperate defence in the tower, was finally killed and the whole monastery burned. The buildings as they now stand, except the tower and the church, were built after this disaster. The old blind monk at Preveli, Meletios, told me that when he was defending himself in the tower, his sister stood by him loading the guns for him. When he had shot away all his ammunition, he took the beehives which were kept at the top of the tower and threw them down upon the Turks below. There is in the reception room a picture of Xopateras, but it is only a few years old [in earlier draft: dated only 2 or 3 years ago] and has no value as a likeness. The hero is represented, like the present monks, in Cretan dress in the conventional style of the Cretan warrior. There is a ballad of Xopateras which has been published by Jeannaris with the date [1828].<sup>6</sup>

I was given a few lines of such a ballad at Myrthios, and indeed most people seem at least to know snatches of it. [in earlier draft: Kosti Khronakis who was then I think with me knows a few lines.] The lines were:

Ούτε στην Κρήτη φάνηκε ούτε στην Εγγλιτέρα  
να πολεμήσει μια Τουρκιά ωσάν τον Ξωπατέρα.  
“Μπουρμάδες μου, δεν είν’ αντρεία, μον’ είνε πουστουλούκι  
να πολεμάτ’ έναν παπά εννιά χιλιάδες Τούρκοι.”<sup>7</sup>

Neither in Crete has been seen, not yet in England  
one to fight against the Turks like Xopateras.  
“My Turkish clowns, this is no manly deed but a dirty trick  
for nine thousand Turks to fight against one priest.”<sup>8</sup>

### [NEAR HODIGITRIA]

When I came to Hodigitria from Matala I passed through the rather large village of Pitsidia which has a cruciform domed church. After passing through Pitsidia three crosses are to be seen cut on the rocky ground: these serve to mark the limit of the monastery lands. The same is found elsewhere in Crete, and at Toplou the little shrine called *Stavros* serves the same purpose [in earlier draft: according to Yannis].

On this same road, about an hour and a half from Matala, there is a wall-fountain – the spout of water is in the face of a wall, behind which there is as a rule some sort of cistern – and in front of it thirty stone troughs in a row used for watering sheep. On the fountain is an inscription: ‘This fountain was erected when .... was abbot in 1904’ (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The name of the abbot has been erased. I heard at the monastery that it was the present man, Meletios, but enough is left of the erased name to show that it was something different.

[in earlier draft: ROUTE: Matala Pitsidia Odiyitria, Kaloi Limniones, Apezanés.]

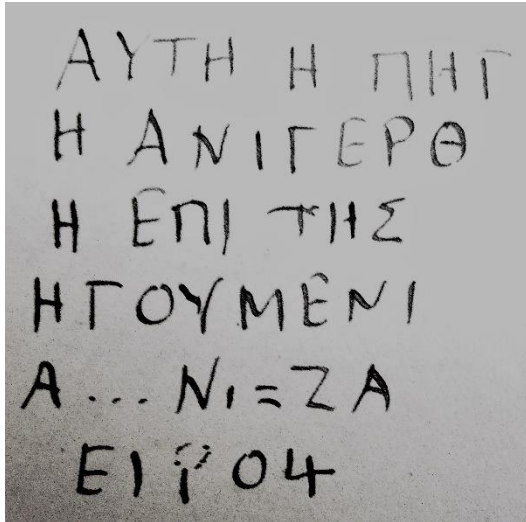
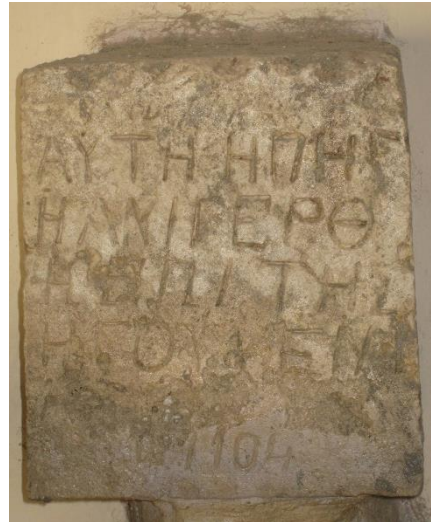


Fig. 1: Inscription on fountain



IMG\_0996 21 Oct. 2009

Then, half an hour's distance from Hodigitria, the path goes by some fairly conspicuous buildings on a rise in the ground. Over the door of a little church – the door was locked – is the white marble fragment in the sketch (fig. 2) with letters – ΓΑΘ alone are left – set in the angles of a cross, and in a house now used as part of a sheepfold (*μπατό*) is a fragment carved with the usual Venetian billet moulding. The monks say that here Eftykhios, a disciple of St Titos, lived the ascetic life and they call the place [At] the Saints (*στος' Αγίους*).<sup>10</sup>

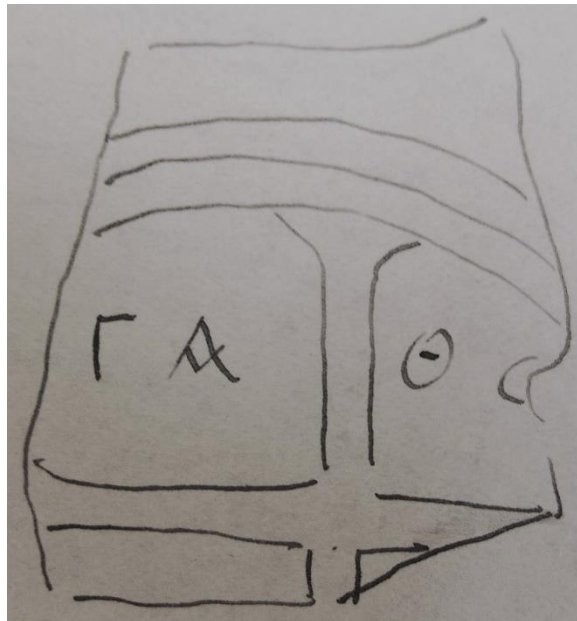


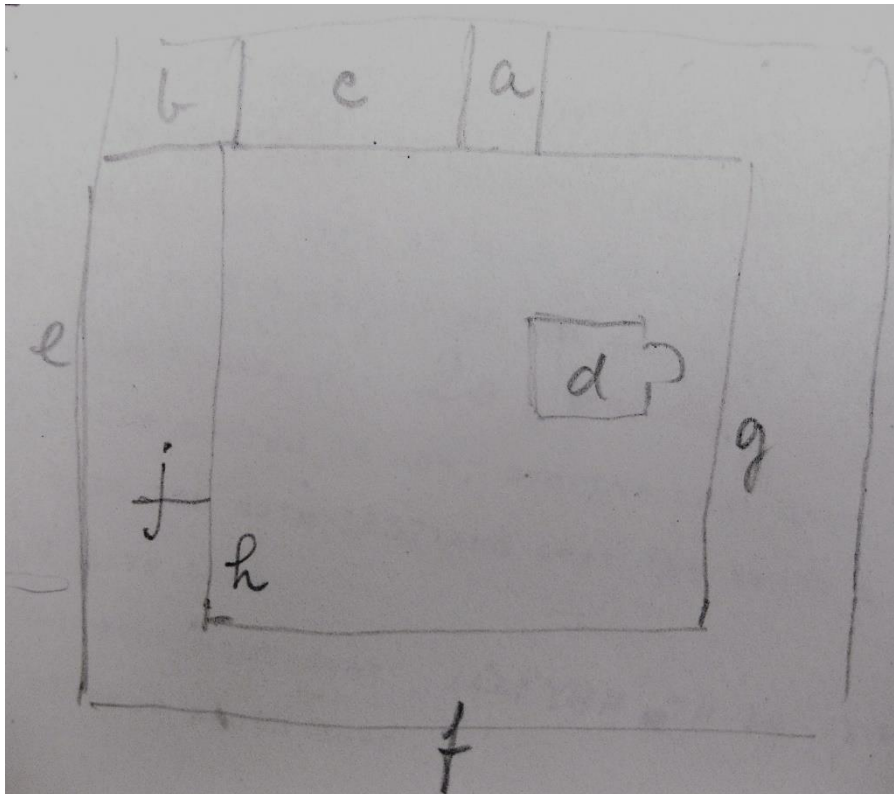
Fig. 2: Inscription over church door

**Apezanes<sup>11</sup>**

There is another monastery close to Kaloi Limniones: this is the Monastery of St Anthony, called Apezanes. I went there in April 1918 after visiting Hodigitria. It lies on high ground [orig. text: 450m.] with a few trees round it, but no gardens or anything to lend charm to the cold and wintry-looking situation. Though there are some twenty monks there, the whole place looks neglected and woebegone. The buildings are all of one storey only, except the new and very ugly guesthouse, which with its two storeys and high rooms is the tallest building there. All have the old-fashioned flat roofs [orig. text: domata] and not tiles.

It lies just out of the big valley in which are the villages of Pigaidakia and Antiskari. I came up from Kaloi Limniones through Pigaidakia and nearly lost the way: it was not easy to find without a guide. I slept at the monastery and the next day went down to the Mesara plain [12-13 April 1918].

The court is all bare rock,<sup>12</sup> and this and the half-ruined half-reconstructed state of the buildings, which were never really rebuilt after being burned by the Turks in 1810 (see below), give the whole place a very desolate look.



Sketch plan of monastery from notes and memory

- a. Entrance gate
- b. Tower
- c. Guesthouse
- d. Church
- e. Old Venetian work on ground floor. Top floor burned.
- f. Old one-storied range
- g. Inscription (below) giving 1814 as date of restoration
- h. Plaque with date 1813, June 24th (see below)
- j. Inscription giving 1810, Feb 4th as date of burning

The door is on the north side of the court and looks new, but there is an older door further out which looks Venetian. On the outside of the west range there are remains of late Venetian windows on the ground floor. An upper floor has been destroyed by fire.<sup>13</sup> The south range, now at least of one storey only, also looks old.

At the north-west corner of the court is a tower, now united to the equally high guesthouse. The inscriptions on various parts of the buildings tell the story of the ruin of the place. First at J in the plan we have a record of destruction: “in 1810 on the fourth of February it was destroyed”. This inscription is worked in pebbles set in the plaster of a piece of wall belonging to the destroyed upper storey of the west range. It would appear that this surviving piece of wall was re-plastered to carry this record

1810 φλεβάρη 4  
εχάθη

of the destruction.

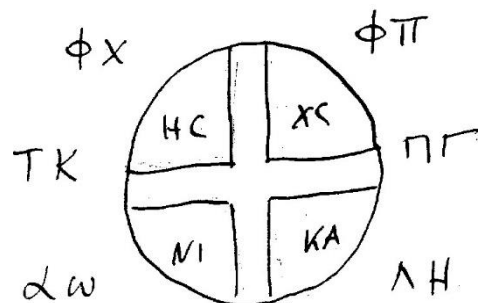
Next there is what must be taken as a building inscription at H in the plan, over the arch in the south-west corner of the court. The first four lines I found quite illegible, but the last three are as in the figure. The first line gives the date of building, June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1813 and the letters of the last two lines give the same date by adding up their numerical values, that is if in the place of the last letter, which is illegible, we restore I B; thus:

1813 ΚΔ ΙΒΝΙΥ  
ΧΧΥΔ α θ  
π π θ θ . θ α

ΙC	XC
MI	KA
TK	ΠΓ
ΑΕΚΕ	ΕΜΜΙ
ΗΙΣΘΙ	ΙΒΝΙΟΥ
18	14

The next date is on a window of the range of cells near the south-east corner of the church (G). After the usual ‘Jesus Christ conquers’ in the angles of the cross, we have the letters ΤΚΠΓ – Τόπος Κρανίου Παράδεισος Γέγονεν (The place of a skull has become Paradise), and then ‘Restored in the month of June, 1814’.<sup>14</sup>

Lastly the church, which looks quite recent, has over the west door the words ‘Restored [Founded] June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1837’ and over the south door the slab shown in the figure, with the date ΑΩΛΗ (1838). The four letters above (ΦΧ ΦΠ) mean Φως Χριστού Φαίνει Πάσιν (‘The Light of Christ shines upon all’). The other letters are the same as those in the inscription (ΤΚΠΓ).



From the inscriptions therefore it seems that the monastery was destroyed [in earlier draft: burned] in 1810, that the monks returned and patched up the buildings in 1813 and 1814, and that a new church was built in 1837 and 1838 [in earlier draft: I saw no treasures there.]

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

<sup>1</sup> For Odigitria Monastery see also Psilakis I 207 ff. We visited it on 21 Oct. 2009.

<sup>2</sup> These particular slopes have outcrops of whiteish rock (limestone or gypsum?).

<sup>3</sup> The guesthouse still had a flat roof when we visited.

<sup>4</sup> In 2009 the gate a was the side entrance, by which we entered. The main entrance was immediately north of the guesthouse. South-east of Dawkins' b was a barrel-vaulted well-head with a pointed arch. A building at or near Dawkins' f was a museum, formerly the olive-press (λαδαριό) bakery.

<sup>5</sup> I have substituted Gerola's sketch for Dawkins'. The tombstone is on the ground, no doubt in the same place as in Dawkins' time. The inscription, elegantly incised in archaic Greek, was transcribed by Xanthoudidis 1903: 134. It translates as "Aloizios Trivymanos built his mortal remains and those of his issue into this tomb." Xanthoudidis remarks that even though the man's Christian name and surname were Italian, he was an Orthodox Christian. I would add that his name is characteristically Venetian: Alvisè Trevisan. There seem to be five people with this name who currently have LinkedIn accounts. Gerola's photo of the slab is published in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 386.

<sup>6</sup> Jeannaraki publishes two variants (pp. 59-61), neither of which contains the abusive terms quoted by Dawkins. He erroneously writes the name Ξεπατέρας. Dawkins omits to explain the appellation Xopateras 'defrocked priest or monk'. The reason why he was defrocked is said to be either that he killed a janissary or that he had an illegitimate child with a woman with whom he cohabited (or possibly both).

<sup>7</sup> These two couplets are from a longer song about Xopateras published by Pavlos Fafoutakis, *Συλλογή κρητικών ηρωικών ασμάτων* (Athens 1889), p. 81. Μπουρμάς (from Turkish *burma* 'twisted, screwed, wringed') 'renegade' (term of abuse used by Christian Cretans against their Muslim compatriots): Orfanos 2014: 290-1); πουστουλούκι (from Turkish *puştuluk* 'behaviour of a *puşt* (sodomite); untrustworthiness').

<sup>8</sup> Dawkins retells the story of Xopateras in "Folk-memory in Crete", p. 33-34.

<sup>9</sup> This was in the monastery museum when we visited in October 2009.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the location is properly stressed (according to the Cretan dialect) as *σσο* 'Αγιούς. The church with the marble fragment mentioned by Dawkins was the chapel of the ruined monastery of Saints Eftychios and Eftychianos. Gerola IV 563 says the inscription is Byzantine and reads the word it as ΑΓΑΘ[ΟΣ] 'good'. Only fragments of this monastery remain today; a new chapel was built on the site in 2008-9. According to the website [http://www.imodigitrias.gr/IMO\\_Eftihianoι.htm](http://www.imodigitrias.gr/IMO_Eftihianoι.htm), the monastery was destroyed during the Cretan war of 1645-69.

<sup>11</sup> Dawkins' original text and sketches are dated 12 April 1918. For Apezanes see also Psilakis II 239 ff. According to legend, the monastery was originally situated in the Agiofarango gorge, south of the Odigitria, where a medieval church of St Antony still stands. In order to save the icon of the saint from pirate raids, the monks took it inland. At a certain place the animal carrying the icon stopped and refused to proceed. Thereupon the monks decided to dismount and build a new monastery on that spot. The name Apezanes is reputed (rather implausibly) to derive from the Cretan verb *απεξέγω* 'dismount'.

<sup>12</sup> The rock is now concreted (Oct. 2009).

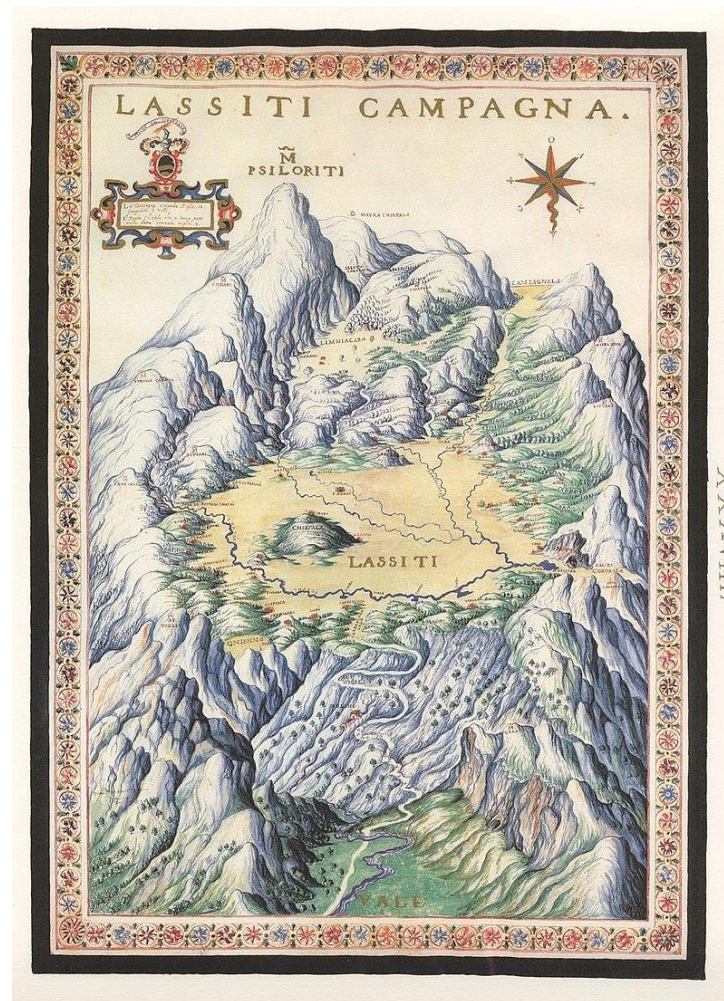
<sup>13</sup> The old west range has since been demolished.

<sup>14</sup> No longer there Oct. 2009.





## CHAPTER 24 LASITHI<sup>1</sup>



Francesco Basilicata, *Cretae Regnum* (1618) (Wikimedia Commons)<sup>2</sup>

The mountain plain of Lasithi in the middle [to the north-west] of the mountain mass of Dicte is entirely surrounded by mountains and only approached by passes or cols where this mountain rim from point to point dips somewhat. The plain has therefore no outlet for the water and is drained only by an underground passage which swallows up the water. This opens at the edge of the plain where the road from Lyttos enters the plain. Two consequences result. When the water is not properly carried off, the plain is flooded to the greater detriment or even destruction of the crops, and also the villages are all on the rising ground at the edges of the plain or, in the case of Agios Konstantinos, the monastery of Kroustallenia and Agios Georgios, on knolls rising out of the lower ground.<sup>3</sup> Water lies very close to the surface in Lasithi and is raised for irrigation: this I noticed in full swing in August 1917. Various systems are in use. The most primitive is the crane, *γεράνι* [shadoof]. A forked post is set in the ground and in the fork a long beam is pivoted. A stone is tied to the short end as a counterpoise, and to the long end the bucket which dips into the well. The device is worked by hand. All the water in the Malles gardens is raised in this way.<sup>4</sup> Next comes a very roughly carpentered wooden derrick, made of almost unhewn branches, supporting a pump which is worked by the wind. The windmill part has eight sails. This is now the commonest device in Lasithi. The most up-to-date affair is a pump with an iron derrick:

the sails are of the same native handiwork. No doubt by now the modern iron sails, or rather circular fans, are in use. The crane too is used for lifting out the earth when the well is being dug.

[added later] The Venetians forbade anyone to live in Lasithi because it was a centre for rebellions – the penalty was the loss of hand or foot – so Xanthoudidis told me. ?authority.<sup>5</sup>

Of the villages at the foot of the mountains round the edges of the plain, the two most notable and the largest are Psykhro on the south and Tzermiado on the north side. Of Psykhro, famous for the Minoan cave excavated by Hogarth in [1899], I need not say much. Archaeology lies outside the plan of this book.<sup>6</sup> I would only record of Psykhro that when I visited it in 1904 (?) with Currelly there was a danger of poliomyelitis and I found the village “bound” against the danger. That is to say, a cotton thread or bundle of threads was tied from house to house so as to entirely encircle the village. The result of this would be that the plague could not cross the magic thread. The thread so used was afterwards to be cut up and used as wick for church candles. Somewhere else in Crete I have seen a thread like this coated with wax, ready to be burned as a taper, tied round the walls of the church. And in Cyprus when I was first there in 1908 or so I saw in many churches quite thick bundles of thread passing round the inside of the churches from column to column. The object was always the same, to avert disease. Again in 1931 I found a church in Florina in Macedonia with a taper bound outside it all the way round. This I was assured was no more than a simple votive offering.



Next to Psykhro to the west lies Plati where the BSA dug in 1914. How the site was found I have already told in my account of Venetian bells in Crete, and a report of it is in BSA.<sup>7</sup> It was here I first found a very interesting plant. The excavated site lies a few minutes' walk below the village and by the side of the path in a dry well I found for the first time a plant said to be confined to Crete, the climbing aristolochia, *Aristolochia microstoma*. It was all over the dry-stone wall on the left of the path and I had at first taken it for *smilax*: the leaves are not unlike, but the sight of the flower with its U-shaped corolla and with a yellow mouth told me at once that it was an aristolochia. Almost immediately it so happened that a French botanist visited us and he identified the plant with great interest. After seeing it here I at once met with it in many parts of Crete. It prefers to ramble up bushes or over heaps of dry stones. It is abundant all over the Lasithi mountains, especially on the hill above Viano. I have found it too between Agia Varvara and Agios Thomas, and again in west Crete. It flowers in June. The seed vessel, which when ripe splits into segments and resembles a hanging basket, is one of the most beautiful things it is possible to imagine. Seeds brought to England grew and I had the plant regularly flowering for five or six years in Wales. Then it disappeared. Once it set a fruit which did not, however, ripen.<sup>8</sup>

### [Vidiani and Kroustallenia Monasteries]<sup>9</sup>

There are two monasteries in Lasithi. On the north side, between the point where the path from Xyda reaches the plain and the village of Tzermiado, lies the little monastery of **Vidiani**, just above the edge of the plain with the steeply rising barren hillside immediately behind it. I have been there twice, in 1914 when the School dug at Plati

and again in April 1918. The monastery occupies the mouth of a ravine running down into the south side of the plain, and the path from the Khonos, the swallow-hole, to Tzermiado passes in front of it.<sup>10</sup>



IMG\_5164 Chapel of Moni Vidianis with cypresses

The buildings are on three sides of a court, being on both sides of and across the little ravine. The court is thus open to the plain and across this open side is the biggish church screened from the plain by a row of cypresses. There are trees too in the court, unfortunately disfigured by ugly in comparison red tiles. The buildings look all new and I saw on a cell and on the belfry of the church a nineteenth-century date. It is a stavropegiac monastery. I know nothing of its age or traditions. In 1918 there was no one there, and I did not ask when I was there in 1914.<sup>11</sup>

The second Lasithi monastery is that of **Panagia Kroustallenia**. It lies on a knoll over the river in the eastern part of the plain between the villages of Marmaketo to the north and Agios Konstantinos to the south. The site is of very great beauty. The path to the monastery lies through an avenue of ancient mulberry trees and so leads up to the monastery, which stands among the really magnificent prickly oaks which clothe its slopes.<sup>12</sup> Only some red tiled roofs detract from the perfection of this place. There are only a few monks, and the buildings are old and more like a farm than a monastery. The church was built, a monk told me, in 1866 or thereabouts on the site of an earlier smaller church. In it are preserved four *eikons* of the Death of the Virgin, to which the monastery is dedicated. All of them show the impious doubting Jew with his hands cut off by the angel. The only inscription I have been able to see is on the belfry of the church. The middle part of each line is illegible. The month is therefore uncertain, but *οκτωβρίου* contains the same number of letters as have to be supplied in the line above. The date is probably as I have transcribed it, but the third figure might be an I, and the last 6, 4 or 0. It runs: [Greek original not included here]. That is: “This building was made when Anthimos priest and monk was abbot, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1866.”<sup>13</sup>



Chapel of Panagia Kroustallenia monastery



IMG\_5153 The chapel door

The view from the monastery is beautiful – all round the mountains, and in front the plain – here not so cultivated as lower down, but grassy. As one looks from the monastery hill across the intervening ground towards the village of Agios Konstantinos on its little separate hill, the winding stream among the green grass, the little rocks and fine slim trees all resemble nothing so much as the landscape in some picture of Perugino or an early Raphael.

### 3 August 1917

I was told yesterday by muleteer (? Yanni) that at first they tried to build the monastery of Panagia Kroustallenia at the foot of the rocky knoll upon which it stands, but every night what had been built in the day was miraculously destroyed. At last they took the hint and built where it now is at the top of the knoll. There is a similar story told of the monastery of Panagia Chouzouviotissa at Amorgos, which is in the front of a cave some way up the cliff.

### [Routes in and out of Lasithi]

There are, so far as I know, seven ways out of the Lasithi plain and I shall describe them one by one.<sup>14</sup>

**1. The western way** is the usual approach from **Candia**. From Candia one must go to **Kastelli Pediada**, a large but not interesting village at the foot of the Lasithi mountains. In the village there are a few remains of the castle: a high piece of wall and the foundations of towers. But no plan can be made out and it looks as if the village had been built on the site of the castle and the ruins used as a quarry so that it has practically all disappeared. The same thing seems to have happened at Panormo, whose old name was Kastelli.<sup>15</sup>

From Kastelli the path goes up by Xida, on the slopes below the site of Lyttos, and then through Kastamonitsa.<sup>16</sup> Just before reaching Kastamonitsa on the left is a church and burying ground in an enclosure. Over the west door of the church are five earthenware plates let in to the masonry in the usual form of a cross, and round the door a moulding of two rows of sunk triangles.



IMG\_8186 The church at Kastamonitsa



IMG\_8156 Remains of Roman aqueduct, 5 May 2015

Not far from this point the ruins of a great aqueduct of masonry of small stones crosses the road: it is probably of Venetian date, bringing water down from Lasithi.<sup>17</sup>

The path ascends the slope of the mountain, among brushwood. Here there are bushes of *Styrax* which grows also on the shore below Rogdia near the Venetian fort there called Palaiokastro. On the left is the valley of Avdou, and the path passes by the point where the Lasithi river, swallowed up in the plain, reappears. In Athos 1931 a gendarme officer from Avdhou told me that the river which runs down from Avdhou and debouches under the iron bridge is the Aposelemis, called after the Arab general Abu Selim who built over it a small stone bridge (I don't think now preserved, but have no note on this point). It flows down to Avdou and so to the sea where it debouches under the iron bridge made for the main road an hour west of Chersonnesos, just at the point where the path to Avdou leaves the sea-road leading eastward from Candia [see route no. 2 below].



(left) IMG\_8161 *Styrax* growing next to the path leading up to Lasithi from the west



(right) IMG\_8164 The new Aposelemis reservoir near Avdou seen from the same path, 5 May 2015



(left) IMG\_8178 Jackie casts a stone on to the anathema heap at Tou Tsouli to mnima (at the col); the zigzag path towards Lasithi climbs the valley on the left<sup>18</sup>  
 (right) IMG\_5175 View towards Lasithi after passing col

Then the road reaches the col and the plain of Lasithi comes in sight. This col is called the Tomb of Tsouli [του Τσουλή το Μνήμα]. This is the story as I learned it in 1918 from the abbot of Toplou.

A certain Turk was very bad and the priests in Lasithi made his image of wax and melted it. In consequence, as he was returning to Candia his horse shied near Kastelli Pediados and threw him and he died. He was buried at Candia and the place on the ridge was set aside as a memorial of him.

But when I went to Lasithi for the first time with Currelly in 1904 or so, Kostis Khronakis, our servant, told me a different version. Tsoulis used to go over into Lasithi by the path from Xida and insult women, especially by making them dance before him showing their breasts (a familiar charge against Turks). After one of these visits the lover, brother, or husband of one of the women lay in wait for him at the col, killed him, cut off his head which he put into the mule's saddlebag who carried it back to Candia, and threw the body into a cleft in the rock on the right of the path as one leaves Lasithi. Here everyone throws a stone on it. I saw the heap in 1904, but it was since that time much decreased, if not altogether dispersed, when the road was remade a few years ago. The cleft is fairly plain and the place quite definite. It is regarded as an unlucky or uncanny spot. It should be added that this remaking of the road has made the journey much easier: especially on the outer slope the old road was extremely rocky and steep.<sup>19</sup>

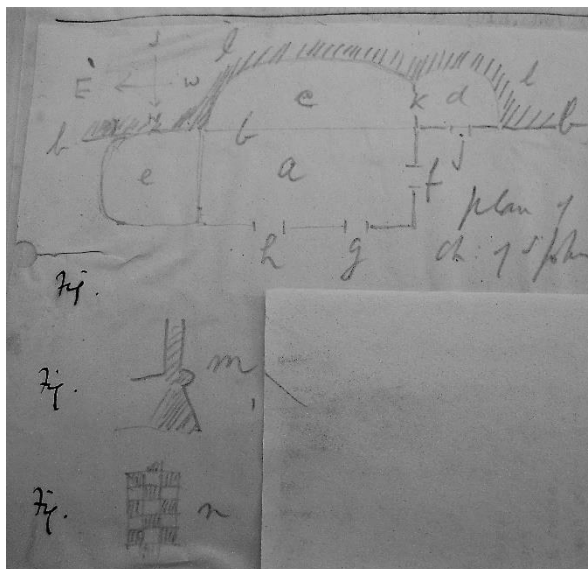
On the col, just before reaching the *Mnima*, among the boulders the wild daphne, *khamoulia* (*Daphne Oleoides*), grows with greater abundance than I have seen anywhere else. It is in bushes a couple of feet across and the air is scented with it. This beautiful plant is characteristic of the mountains of east Crete, though not often so luxuriant as at the *Mnima* east [south] of Ida.<sup>20</sup> I have, I think, seen it at Gerakari, but further west never. I would not be sure about Ida, but I have never seen it near Kamares or near Anogia or near Axo, and I am safe in saying that west of Dicte it must be rare. On the hills to the south of Mesara, which I have crossed at several points, I have never seen it. In the old days the young shoots were used by the women to make a green, or perhaps yellow, dye. In March the clusters of yellowish purple flowers appear. These are succeeded by small vermilion-coloured transparent-looking berries. From these I raised a number of seedlings in England, but by 1928 or so all were dead but one, which seems likely to survive.

From the *Mnima* tou Tsouli a slight descent brings one down into the plain of Lasithi. Where the path debouches on the plain on the right is the cone-shaped swallow-hole into which the Lasithi river disappears, and on the proper working of which depends the prosperity of the plain.



IMG\_5188 The swallow-hole (chonos) of Lasithi

On the outer slopes of Lasithi, about half an hour's walk along a rough path southwards from the tomb of Tsoulis are two interesting little churches in a narrow ravine in the side of the mountain.<sup>21</sup> The place must be about halfway between the tomb of Tsoulis and the village of Avdou. On the north side of the ravine is the church of St John the Divine. This is built up against a sheer piece of cliff about three times as high as the church so that the north wall of the church is formed by the natural rock. Below the church the ground slopes steeply, with several walnut trees on the slope. At the west end of the church and opening into it is a cistern of fresh water from a spring. The building has in its details, whatever be its date, reminiscences at all events of Venetian architecture. The dedication is probably due to the fact that its relation to the rock half in a cave is like that of the church of the apocalypse in Patmos half way up the hill from the landing place to the monastery. This practice of making the building dedicated resemble a prototype is widely spread. An excellent example is the church at Tortosa in Syria, the first church built in honour of the Virgin. It was built by [...] and because it was to the Virgin was made like the church at Bethlehem.<sup>22</sup> A sketch-plan is given below.



IMG\_5212 chapel of St John (west door)



- A Church
  - B Line of cliff
  - C Back of church consisting of shallow cave
  - D Cistern filled by drip from stalactites<sup>23</sup>
  - E Larger cistern with window and steps leading up to window from outside
  - [F main (west) door]<sup>24</sup>
  - G Window
  - H Door [north]
  - J Window into cistern D, which is also divided from C by low wall K
  - K Low wall between cave part of church and cistern D
  - L Rock
  - M Profile of outer wall of church with moulding and batter<sup>25</sup>
  - N Moulding on door F of small sunk chequers
- Behind (i.e. east of E) is beginning of a house built up against the wall.

On the other side of the ravine is the other church, or rather dedicated cave. This cave has an open mouth and at the back of it is a passage which leads into a dark inner cave dedicated to St Photeini.<sup>26</sup>

The little shrine – I forget whether it is an altar or just a shelf for a picture – is arranged between two columnar stalactites. In the cave is also a stalactite which drips water into a large jar. The two wonders of this Hagiasma are that the jar is always full but never overflows, and that if the two hands are held one above the other with the palms uppermost to catch the water it is the lower palm which is wetted by the drip and not the upper.

Between the two churches is a little cottage where the monk lives who looks after the place. I went there in the early summer of 1914 when the school was excavating at Plati. My companion was Mr R. M. Heath, who was to fall within a year in a battle in Flanders.



Stalactites in cave of Agia Foteini

I was there again in 1918, but the place was then deserted. The monk had, in the meantime, died. On this second visit I found the outer cave used as a sheepfold, and as I had no candle I could not visit the inner cave with the eikon. The path from the Mnima to the churches passes along the mountainside, and a little above it is a natural arch or hole in the rock. A shepherd boy there told me that it was made by St Photeini herself as she passed along the mountain. From all this region there is a fine view over the valley of Avdou.

2. The next way to Lasithi is **by Avdou**. The path leaves the Candia-Chersonnesos road near the iron bridge an hour or so west of Chersonnesos.<sup>27</sup> After Avdou the fertile valley narrows into a precipitous gorge and then widens out into a sort of amphitheatre. Up the far side of this the Lasithi road winds up in zigzags. There is also a new mule-road, but this is hardly used at all as the gradient is much less steep than can easily be managed, and the actual length of the road is by so much excessive. Its making, too good for mules and not good enough for wheels, seems to have been a sheer waste of money. On the ridge which forms the col are some twenty-five [stone] windmills. After this the road descends a short way and enters the Lasithi plain a little to the west of Tzermiado.



(left) IMG\_5199 Ruined windmills at Seli Ambelou (northern entrance to Lasithi)  
 (right) IMG\_5095 Remains of toothed wheel and “lantern” in ruined windmill as described by Dawkins (near Kardamoutsas Monastery: see ch. 27)

These windmills are of the most old-fashioned kind with no modern improvements at all. All have flat roofs, and the plan is like a horseshoe, square at one end where the door is, and round at the other, and from this end protrudes the shaft of the fans. There are ten sails, made of canvas and triangular. On the shaft are set ten radial spars connected at the ends by cords, and the sails have one side along the spar, one along the cord and the third, the hypotenuse of the triangle, lies free. There is no means of shifting the direction of the shaft and therefore the mills only work with one wind, the north. Later types of mills, now commoner in Crete, have a roof like a cap which can be shifted to suit the wind. Inside the mechanism is of wood. On the shaft of the sails is a big wheel, *ρόδα*, and round its rim are fixed wooden teeth parallel with the shaft. These work into sockets cut in a barrel-shaped cylinder of wood which is mounted on the vertical spindle on the upper millstone. These holes make this cylinder, shown in the figure, look like a lantern with its windows, and it is therefore called the lantern, *το φανάρι*. The hopper is called *η κοφινίδα*, the basket, and the spout out of which the grain dribbles is the *κουτσουνάρα*, the regular word for a spout.



The “Lantern”, with openings to take the teeth of the big wheel.

3.<sup>28</sup> East of this again is the path **from Neapolis, by way of Vryses and Potami, Ποτάμοι.**<sup>29</sup> Vryses is a village overlooking the valley of Neapolis from the south. Close to the road, a few minutes after passing the village is the monastery of Arkhistratigos, that is of St Michael as Leader of the heavenly host.<sup>30</sup> The gate is at the south end of the narrow irregular court, the length of which runs parallel with the road. At the north, that is at the far end of the court, lies the church which has been buttressed up to prevent its falling. The monastery is pretty and rustic, but without any special interest. Below it is cultivated land with a fine view over the Neapolis valley. Above it is the open side of the mountain with a good scattering of prickly oaks.<sup>31</sup> There are only five or six monks. The door of the church is at the end of the court and so on the south side.



IMG\_5136 Moni Kremaston



IMG\_5137 The inscription

Over the door is an inscription with a cross between the two halves of it. It runs: “This church of the Leader of the Host was built by Metrophanes the beloved monk.” In Greek: οὗτος ο του ταξιάρχου ναός υπό Μητροφάνης [sic] μοναχού του αγαπητού οικοδόμητ[ο]. The original I give from my sketch taken in April 1918 in Fig. 1.

Above the inscription is the date 1593: in facsimile as in Fig. 2.

+ ὙΔΟΚΟΥΤΑΞΙΑΧΟΝΑΟΥΝ  
 ΜΕΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΤ

ᾠ φ ς γ

(left) Fig. 1. Facsimile of inscription on Church of monastery of Arkhistratigos

(right) Fig. 2. Date of the inscription

There is an inscription on the front part of the altar slab, but the letters are a good deal clogged, and as the slab has been anointed with chrism, *ἅγιον μύρον*, there is a scruple about cleaning it. I copied it, but could in fact only make out the date 1626.<sup>32</sup>

4. From the **eastern** side of the Lasithi plain there is a bad road into the higher plain of **Katharo**, and then down through woods to **Kritsa**. One leaves the Lasithi plain quite close to the monastery of Panagia Kroustallenia.

Katharo<sup>33</sup> is like Lasithi but less level and better drained. Being higher, too, the surrounding mountains are not so impressive. It is here that the Lasithi river has its source. It flows from this upper plain down to the level of Lasithi through a gorge called Khavgas, which the people derive from *Chaos*, a chaos of tumbled rocks: “Ο Χαβγάς αφού είναι χάος το λέμε Χαβγά”.<sup>34</sup>

In Katharo Miss Bate excavated fossil remains of various animals no longer found in Crete or even in the Mediterranean: ?elephants etc.<sup>35</sup> The path goes by a hamlet inhabited in the season by the Lasithi people who come up here to till the fields. It is notable as being the only place in Crete where I saw the old-fashioned wooden locks which used to be common everywhere in the islands. These, called here κλειδωνιές, are, I think, of the type fastened to the outside of the door. In common with all these locks they have a bolt held in place by falling pins which are lifted by a wooden key and the bolt thus left free to slide to and fro. But, though I saw them nowhere else in Crete, they are remembered. At Palaikastro the old *anagnostis* (church reader), Pigaïdolakis, was able to make me a little model of one of them. Only in Thera and in Amorgos have I seen them in common use, and in Thera in the year [...] the carpenters were making them; and Thera is in some ways not an old-fashioned island.

In the plain of Katharo in the middle of a ploughed field I saw a clump of the branched pink tulip with a yellow centre which is found, though not commonly, in the mountainous parts of Crete.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere I have seen it on the steep slopes called Thriphti above Kavousi on the way to Roukaka,<sup>37</sup> whence bulbs found their way to Seager's garden at Bashinamo; in the gorge leading down to Myrthios I saw a single plant; I saw a bunch of them in a vase near Vamos in Apokoronas; and they must grow near Malaxa on the slopes to the south of Suda Bay, for the village children there give them away in bunches to visitors. At Vamos I heard them called *agriokrina*, wild lilies, and *manousakia*. *Manousos*, however, is the name of the polyanthus narcissus, but in any case these names of flowers that have no obvious use are very vague and unprecise.

After the plain of Katharo the path passes through a wood, largely of fine holly oaks. In the shade of the trees were wild peonies and the yellow arum which I know elsewhere near Magasa. And after this there comes the descent to Kritsa, said to be the biggest village in Crete.<sup>38</sup>

[Addendum by Pendlebury] About half-way down, at the spot called *στην Πλάκα Αρόλιθο*, a smaller path branches off to the left and descends quickly to a gorge, passing an ancient well known as the Kitten's Cistern. Traces of banking exist hereabouts, no doubt that of the Minoan road. After  $\frac{3}{4}$  hour the path swings left and, keeping to the slopes of Mt Aloïda, reaches Tapis.<sup>39</sup>

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5.<sup>40</sup> From **Katharo** there is also a path to **Kalamafka**,<sup>41</sup> a pretty, well-watered village lying high up on the path from the Gulf of Mirabello round the southern outer slopes of the Lasithi mountains to **Viano**. I have passed this way.

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6. From **Katharo**, too, there is a path south of that to **Kalamafka** which leads over the edge of the Katharo basin through the sparse pinewoods down to **Malles** and then by way of **Anatoli** to **Hierapetra**.

After crossing the ridge, the path descends and about five hours from Lasithi reaches the village of Malles. Until the ridge is reached the trees are for the most part holly oak, but shortly after the descent begins these give way to the scattered pines which clothe all the southern outer slopes of the Lasithi mountains. These trees have suffered much from indiscriminate cutting and from forest fires, but everywhere young seedlings are growing up, and if they only get fair play in a few years the forest will be fairly thick again. The peasants constantly cut these trees, leaving a stump of a foot or more. The reason for this seemingly wasteful practice is that the rising resin sinks back

into the stump, which is thus thoroughly impregnated and, when split, makes excellent wood for kindling. Such splinters are sold for the purpose in Athens, and I have seen somewhere that in parts of Asia Minor, where oil is scarce, they were used in the days before petroleum as the sole illuminant in houses.

Passing Malles in half an hour we reach the monastery of Xakousti.<sup>42</sup> This was only founded in 1877 by the uncle of the abbot whom I found there. This abbot was brought there as a little boy and began as a servant. The buildings are of no special interest. They stand on a rocky platform surrounded by the remains of pinewood, and form two sides of a square with the church in the middle. Near Malles, too, and visible from the village, is the church of St Pandleimon, with a *panagyri* on July 28<sup>th</sup> o.s.<sup>43</sup> It is an old church and the priest at the time I was there, the great uncle of my informant, Yannis Plevrakis, the little son of the *demarch* [mayor], had built accommodation for visitors and was running the feast. It has a reputation for cures, especially of madness. The priest, Papa Manoli, is well known for his skill in exorcizing the demon from mad people – *διαβάζει τους δαιμονισμένους*.<sup>44</sup>

The next village is Anatoli. All these slopes are broken by great boulders and jagged peaks of rocks and these give a strange and fantastic profile to the hills, especially as seen from Hierapetra. These rocks too are all about at Kalamafka.



IMG\_5481 Kalamafka



IMG\_5485 Lakerdas tower, Anatoli<sup>45</sup>

At the southern edge of the village of Anatoli is a high square tower, in appearance much like the tower of Xopateras at Hodigitria, with small windows and two or three storeys high. It is very conspicuous from the path below the village, and seems to stand in a small walled enclosure. In any case the steep side away from the village is protected by a wall. The building is quite plain. It is entered from the court by a door which opens into the first floor, for greater safety. It is called the Tower of Lakerdas, who tradition records was a hero in the insurrection of 1866 and was associated with Korakas of the Mesaria.<sup>46</sup> He survived till 1892 and his widow was, when I was there, perhaps still alive. A street in Hierapetra is named after him and the villagers say that his deeds are celebrated in a song, but the man who told me this knew only a line or two of it. No such song is in Jannaris' collection, but this does not count for much as nearly all Jannaris' material is from his own part of Crete, the west. It is said that the tower was been originally higher, and that the upper part was destroyed as being dangerous to neighbouring houses. This may or may not be true: it is often said that a building was once higher than it now is.<sup>47</sup>

The road descends, passes through the village of Kalogeri and so reaches the sea. It then goes along the edge of the flat coastal plain to Hierapetra.

7. The seventh way out of Lasithi is from the **south** side: a path ascends from **Kaminaki**, crosses the hills and goes down to **Embaros** and so to **Viano**. I have never been all along this route, only from Embaros to Viano and an hour or so up the hill from Kaminaki.

Of all these routes the most frequented are those from Candia by Xida and the Mnima [1], by Avdou and so down to Tzermiado [2], and the path from Neapolis [3], the capital of the *demos* of Lasithi, up by Potamoi. With Hierapetra, Kritsa and Viano there is less communication and the roads are far worse.

[The rest of this typed material consists of Pendlebury's addenda to Dawkins' seven ways out of Lasithi:

8. Pass from Mikro [**Mesa**] **Lasithaki** to N of Mt Aloida via Tapis [**Tapes**] and then joining Kritsa road 1 mile east of **Kritsa**. Or you can turn left just before this and get into the Lakonia plain [Ἐξω Λακκώνια].

I did this route going from Pachyammos to Psykhro in March 1928. It is the most beautiful of the routes. At Tapis there were forests of almonds, both bitter and sweet, in blossom. At the top of the col above Tapis you get a magnificent view back over east Crete.

Pachyammos to Tapis	4 ¾ hr	}
Tapis to top of pass	1 ¼ hr	}
Top of pass to Psykhro	3 ¼ hr	}

} very fast walking

9. From the small upland plain of **Linnakaros**, with its church of Agion Pnevma two routes descend to Lasithi, one to **Agios Georgios**<sup>48</sup> and one to **Kaminaki**. These paths would give somewhat quicker access from Viano via the plain of Erganos [Embaros?] than the regular route described above.

10. From Plati a steep but well-graded ascent up the valley to the west leads to the saddle of Selli between the two heights of Aphenidis and Sarakinos. Thence it descends to **Mathia** and **Geraki** in about 2 ½ hours from Plati. On the summit of Aphenidis, whence a magnificent view of the country between Dicte and Ida is obtained, I heard the following song:

Εἰς τὸ βουνὸ ψηλὰ ἐκεῖ  
 ἔχει [εἶν'] ἐκκλησιὰ ερημικὴ.  
 Δεν ἔχει ψάλτη οὔτε παπά,  
 τὸ σήμαντρό της δεν χτυπά.  
 Ἐνα καντήλι θαμπερό  
 ἔχει στολίδι μοναχό  
 τὸ ἐκκλησάκι τὸ φτωχό.<sup>49</sup>

[High up on the mountain there / is a deserted chapel. / It has no cantor or priest, / its *simandron* [iron or wooden substitute for a bell] doesn't strike. / A dim icon lamp / is the sole adornment / of the poor little chapel.]

11. From Gerandomouri ("the monks' meeting place")<sup>50</sup> a track leads along the north side of Aphenidis and, passing the spot called στου Χάρου [Χάρου?] Πηγάδια, reaches Kastamonitsa.

**12.**<sup>51</sup> Another much used path is that which leads up from Krasi and Kera, passing the monastery of Agia Kardiotissa<sup>52</sup> and reaching a saddle with ruined windmills<sup>53</sup> lying between Agiou Georgiou Papoura and Karphi and Koprana. It then descends to Lagou or Tzermiado.

**13.** A broad but exceeding bad track leads out from Tzermiado to the small barren plain of Nesimo [Nisimos]<sup>54</sup> whence it curves round the north side of Mt Selena<sup>55</sup> across the barren waterless slopes known as Omalos to Vrakhasi and Neapoli.

This route descends into the plain into the plain near Mesa Lasithi, which is the direction taken by the new car road. From near the top of the pass, however, a branch leads directly to Marmaketa [Marmaketo].<sup>56</sup>

**3a.** From Potamous there also exists a path – now largely fallen into disuse, for muleteers at any rate – which climbs the valley to the west and reaches a saddle below the summit of Selena called Zarmas [Ζάρωμα] (a junction) with a number of ruined windmills.<sup>57</sup> Thence it descends to Tzermiado, passing close to the church of the Timios Stavros which lies conspicuously above the village.<sup>58</sup> The mortar of this church is said to have been mixed with milk – the gift of a grateful shepherd.]

XXIV

from Khatzigaki: The Churches of Crete, p.162

A road leads from Lasithi by Potamies and so to the sea. Somewhere hereabouts is the old monastery of Panagia Kardiotissa. Of this there is a legend that after the taking of Cospoli the Virgin could endure it no longer and left the temple of her church and came and lived here in the wilderness. The icon was found by the shepherds of the place and priests and monks set it in a church. A monastery was built and the icon set in it. But the Virgin would not stay in the church and went back to the rock where she had been found by the shepherds. The monks brought her back and that she might not escape tied her with a chain to a column two metres long which she had herself brought from Cospoli. The column is of a spotted marble not found in Crete and the chain is still on it. Then the Virgin broke the chain and went no one knows where. On the rock where she was first found there is an imprint of her picture. This shows that Kardiotissa is not a local name but refers to her heartfelt sorrow for the woes of men. This is Khatzigaki's explanation of the name.

I have somewhere a note on this icon tied to a pillar and I am now sure it refers to some church near Lasithi and that I got it from AJWace, but now, § XI 54, I can't find it

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> We spent a couple of days on the Lasithi plateau in October 2012, staying at the well-appointed Argoulas apartments; we had already visited Lasithi in April 2004. The chief crop cultivated there is apparently potatoes. However, we were struck by the enormous quantity of fruit lying unpicked on the ground: this suggests that the trees produce so much that the inhabitants don't need to harvest all of it, and possibly that they have not organized themselves to export it. There are supposed to be about 10,000 windmills scattered across the plain. These have an iron frame and eight triangular white canvas sails, but when we were there not a single mill was working (maybe it wasn't the season?). I copy here part of Dawkins' article "Excavations at Plati in Lasithi, Crete", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 20 (1913/14), pp. 2-3:



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The general configuration of the Lasithi plain is well known from Spratt's description and Mr. Hogarth's report of his excavation of the Psykhró cave.<sup>1</sup> Immediately to the north of the double peak of Dikte are two elevated plains shut in on all sides by the northern spurs of the mountain. The basin to the east is known as Katharó, that to the west is the plain of Lasithi. Katharó is smaller, higher, and not so level as Lasithi; as far as I am aware no ancient remains have been found in it. The elevation is so considerable that the climate is too severe for continuous habitation, and it contains only a group of little houses and dairies used by the inhabitants of Kritsá who come up in the summer for ploughing and harvesting and to graze their flocks. It is drained by a river which escapes through a deep and narrow gorge on the western side and so enters the lower and larger plain of Lasithi.<sup>2</sup> The chief difference between the two plains depends on the fact that Katharó is drained by a river with an open channel, and that in consequence water never stands in it, and the ground is broken up by the unevennesses caused by the natural flow of the surface water, whilst Lasithi is entirely surrounded by hills, its only outlet being an underground channel through which the river escapes at the western, or as the natives always say, the lower end of the plain, near the foot of the pass from Lyttos. At this point the river which, after descending through the gorge from Katharó, winds along the northern side of the plain, disappears into a funnel-shaped

<sup>1</sup> *Travels and Researches in Crete*, i, pp. 100 *sqq*; *B.S.A.* vi, pp. 94 *sqq*.

<sup>2</sup> The Katharó plain has been described by Miss Bate, in the *Geological Magazine*, Decade V, vol. ii, pp. 199 *sqq*.

pit close below an overhanging wall of rock. This *katavothra*<sup>1</sup> is, at least at present, not sufficiently large to drain the plain rapidly and in consequence of this the winter and spring rains gather in the plain and turn it for a time into a lake, the waters of which only slowly subside, sometimes so tardily that the crops are entirely spoiled. This disaster occurs only rarely, but the fact that the water regularly stands for some time in the basin makes it drop its suspended earth instead of carrying it off as an unimpeded mountain torrent would do, and this in the course of ages has filled the basin with a flat expanse of alluvial soil, now several metres deep, up to the level of the drainage hole, and by now considerably above it.

With such a natural formation the villages of Lasithi must necessarily have always been where they are now, out of the reach of the floods on the skirts of the ring of hills which surround the plain, the only building in which is the little church of Hagios Georgios. Lasithi is larger and the villages more numerous than appears at first sight, for one of the foot-hills stretches out so far and rises so high at the end as almost to divide the plain into two parts. This is the promontory crowned with a little chapel, which runs out from the south to the east of Psykhró, and it conceals an eastern region, the upper part of Lasithi, which contains several villages, Mesa (Inner) Lasithi, Hagios Constantinos, and some other smaller places. These are only connected with the main or lower part of Lasithi by a narrow waist of plain, made still narrower by the stony knoll on which stands the Monastery of Panagía Krystallénia. The river flows by the foot of the monastery hill. The height of the promontory which separates it from the western part of the plain effectively conceals this eastern region, the very existence of which would hardly be suspected by the traveller approaching Lasithi in the usual way from Candia and Lyttos.

<sup>2</sup> This is a notional view from the north. The “grotta” on the right of the picture is next to the spot where the water from the gathered rivers disappears into the *chonos* (swallow-hole), which is situated in the NW corner of the plateau. The zigzag path in the foreground is the one that ascends to Gonies and Avdou. This old path has been replaced by a road, whereas the wonderful path that ascends the western face of the Lasithi plateau is still untouched by progress. We walked up and down this western path (Dawkins’ route no. 1 below) on 5 May 2015, having parked the car at Kastamonitsa. The water from Lasithi reappears at Avdou and pours into the River Aposelemis. When we were there were signs of the construction of an artificial tunnel which would convey the water more “efficiently” to the low land below, thus superseding an extraordinary natural phenomenon. The web page <https://www.neakriti.gr/article/kriti/lasithi/1523895/stin-kriti-i-megaluteri-siragga-tis-europis/>, dated 14 Oct. 2018, claims that the tunnel, which is now in its final stages of construction, will be “the largest tunnel in Europe”. Its purpose is to supply the Aposelemis reservoir, which will in its turn supply water to Herakleio, Agios Nikolaos and other places to the north of Lasithi.

<sup>3</sup> These places are all in the south-east corner of the plateau.

<sup>4</sup> Dawkins probably means not Malles (between Lasithi and Ierapetra) but Malia on the north coast (see ch. 25).

<sup>5</sup> Lasithi was forcibly evacuated by the Venetians in the 1280s or 1290s because of revolutionary activities there, and for two centuries after that it was forbidden for anyone to live and cultivate the land there, or even pasture their animals there.

<sup>6</sup> The Psychro cave, which is conventionally (but probably erroneously) identified as the Dictaeon Cave (the birthplace of Zeus), was discovered by local people in 1883 and first excavated by Iosif Hatzidakis. See [D. G. Hogarth](#), “The Dictaeon Cave”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 6 (1900), pp. 94-116.

<sup>7</sup> “[...] a woman had had a dream that by digging in a certain place a church bell would be found. The villagers accordingly dug a hole in the place indicated, and found not a bell but an early piece of wall and some fragments of obsidian”: Dawkins, “Excavations at Plati in Lasithi, Crete”, p. 1. The excavation led by Dawkins took place in 1913, not 1914.

<sup>8</sup> Dawkins (“The semantics of Greek names of plants”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 56 (1936), p. 4) says the word *phlomos* (ancient ‘mullein’) is now used also for ‘spurge’ and for *Aristolochia microstoma*, and that all of these are used by fishermen for poisoning water so as to stun the fish. By Wales he means the garden of his house, Plas Dulas at Llanddulas near Abergele, close to the north coast. It was here that he grew a large number of Greek plants and kept his valuable collection of paintings of Crete by Edward Lear. When Jackie and I visited the house and garden in August 2010, they were derelict and in a very poor condition; the house was being prepared for demolition by a developer who planned to build fifteen holiday cottages. As of May 2018, plans for demolition had been approved but the actual process had still not begun; instead, the buildings have been left to decay.

<sup>9</sup> We visited these on 18 Oct. 2012.

<sup>10</sup> The *chonos*, situated at the western end of the Lasithi plateau, is the hole where the water from the plateau flows underground, emerging in the plain below as the Aposelemis river (see endnote ii above). Similar swallow-holes in other parts of Greece are called *καταβόθρα*.

<sup>11</sup> There are two rows of cypresses now. When we visited, there was said to one monk, named Timotheos, whom we didn’t meet. Some building work was under way to the north of the church. I couldn’t read the inscription on the belfry.

<sup>12</sup> The monastery was completely deserted when we visited it, and the buildings (some of them probably dating from after Dawkins was there) were rather run-down. There were still mulberry trees and prickly oaks in and around the monastery, but the mulberry trees didn’t look ancient.

<sup>13</sup> By enlarging a photo of the inscription taken with a digital camera, one can see that the date is actually 28 September 1865. The inscription has no doubt been cleaned up since Dawkins’ day. Higher up the belfry than the main inscription there is another 1865, while over the chapel door there is another inscription referring to Anthimos and dated 1862. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the monastery was a centre of insurgent activity and for that reason was destroyed on two occasions by the Ottomans or their Egyptian allies: once in 1823 and again in 1867.

<sup>14</sup> Dawkins’ descriptions of these routes aren’t always very clear because he sometimes describes the way out of the Lasithi plateau and sometimes the way into it. At all events, he describes the routes in clockwise order, starting from the west.

<sup>15</sup> We stayed the night at Kastelli Pediadas on 13 May 2011. It’s a historic traffic hub, like Perama and Agia Varvara. It’s not beautiful, but it’s livelier than Thrapsano. We

didn't see the remains of the castle. Kastelli Pediadas was first mentioned 1583 by the Venetian Pietro Castrolilaca (1583), who called it Pediada Proprio. The 1671 Ottoman census calls it Nefs Pediye [Pediada Proper]. Thus it seems that Turkish Nefs (as perhaps in Nefs Amari: see ch. 10) was used as the equivalent of Italian Proprio.

<sup>16</sup> Xydas is the old name for the settlement now known as Lyttos, which is properly the name of the nearby ancient site. This western approach to Lasithi (Ancient Lyttos – Toichos – Fleges – Volites – Tsouli Mnima – Chortasa – Chonos – Kato Metochi – Agios Charalambos – Plati – Psychro) may well have been the Minoan way from Lyttos to the so-called Diktaean Cave. It is marked as the E4 path on the Anavasi atlas 87 A-B1. The name Volites is the Standard Modern Greek word βόλτες, which was originally a nautical term meaning 'tacking' – a picturesque way of describing the zigzag path. The cave immediately above Psychro is the site identified by Hogarth in 1900 as the Dictaean Cave. Dawkins excavated a Minoan site next to the nearby village of Pláti.

<sup>17</sup> According to maps of Lasithi, this aqueduct, marked with the place-name Toichos, dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

<sup>18</sup> The memorial in the photo, erected in 2008, records that Tsoulis was killed in 1817. We noticed that the pile of stones had increased in size between our two visits (Oct. 2012 and May 2015). On one of these occasions we witnessed a tourist guide encouraging her party to cast stones on the pile.

<sup>19</sup> What Dawkins calls the road is a mule track, as opposed to what he would call a carriage road.

<sup>20</sup> For the Mnima tou Digeni [Tomb of Digenis] see ch. 15-16.

<sup>21</sup> Dawkins is describing a path from Tsoulis' Tomb to the churches – a path that he later describes as being "along the mountainside". (When he writes "a rough path southwards" he means eastwards.) We have never attempted to follow this route. The churches he describes here (which we visited on 19 Oct. 12) are on the second route. Both of the churches are at the top of a ravine, at the end of a rough road, 7 km from Avdou. There are signs to the cave church of Agia Foteini, but not to the adjacent (and architecturally much more interesting) chapel of St John. The church was locked when we visited. We didn't see a monk (or anyone else) nearby.

<sup>22</sup> The Cathedral of Our Lady of Tortosa was built by Crusaders in 1123.

<sup>23</sup> The cistern was dry when we visited in October 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Dawkins omitted this information in error.

<sup>25</sup> Dawkins uses this term to refer to the typically Venetian method of strengthening a wall by making it slope outwards at its base.

<sup>26</sup> We were unable to get far enough inside the cave to see what Dawkins describes. The photograph is taken from the Internet.

<sup>27</sup> The bridge crosses (or crossed) the River Aposelemis. This traditional route via Avdou is the way from the north shown on Basilicata's illustration reproduced at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. ch. 25.

<sup>29</sup> Exo and Mesa Potamoi; this is the route of the modern road into Lasithi from the NE.

<sup>30</sup> Ιερά Μονή Ταξιαρχών Μιχαήλ και Γαβριήλ, also known as Μονή Κρεμαστών [Moni Kremaston], next to the road between Neapoli and Vryses. We visited on 17 Oct. 2012. There are now nuns there, rather than monks.

<sup>31</sup> There are still plenty of prickly oaks around the monastery.

<sup>32</sup> Gerola too (IV 520) publishes a facsimile of the inscription over the door. He also publishes the inscription on the altar, which records building work undertaken by the ordained monk Nikiforos Anifandis in 1622.

<sup>33</sup> We visited the Katharo plateau on 18 April 2013; the main village is Αβδελιακό, where the café owner Yannis Siganos showed us some of the pygmy elephant and hippopotamus remains he's found.

<sup>34</sup> There is another Χανιάς above Plaka (Elounda). Spanakis says the name derives from χαίνω and means 'chasm, ravine'.

<sup>35</sup> Dorothea Bate discovered remains of pigmy hippopotamus at a height of 4000 feet on the Katharo plateau in 1904: see D.M.A. Bate, "Four and a half months in Crete in search of Pleistocene mammalian remains", *Geological Magazine* (Decade 5), 2 (5) (1905), pp. 193–202. Cf. also D.M.A. Bate, "On elephant remains from Crete, with description of *Elephas creticus* sp.n.", *Proceedings of the Zoological Society London* (1907), pp. 238–250, about fossil remains of two species of pigmy elephants that she identified during the same trip, not on Katharo but "near Cape Maleka in the west of the island" and at Karoumes Bay, not far from Palaikastro. No doubt Dawkins encountered her when she visited the excavations at Palaikastro. On learning of her death Dawkins remarks in a letter to Leigh Fermor: "a slightly uncouth but extremely agreeable scotchwoman; I liked her extremely and she was mad on her bones" (9 Jan. 1952).

<sup>36</sup> *Tulipa cretica* [JW].

<sup>37</sup> On Thrifti (Thrypti) see ch. 28.

<sup>38</sup> No. 6 is another route to and from Lasithi via Katharo.

<sup>39</sup> Mount Aloida is also known as Τζίβη & Όρος Καθαρό (1663 m.). Οι Τάπες (fem.) is NE of Kritsa, SW of Αμυγδαλοί, which is on the Vryses-Lasithi road.

<sup>40</sup> Routes 5 and 6 are not strictly speaking ways in and out of Lasithi but ways and in and out of Katharo.

<sup>41</sup> Kalamafka is beyond Malles.

<sup>42</sup> On the road towards Anatoli; see also ch. 26.

<sup>43</sup> The feast day of St Pandleimon is actually 27 July. By "o.s." Dawkins means "old style", i.e. the Julian calendar in use in Greece until it was replaced by the Gregorian calendar in 1923.

<sup>44</sup> Literally, 'he reads the possessed', i.e. he reads a passage from the Gospels over the recumbent body of the patient.

<sup>45</sup> In Gerola's phot of the tower, published in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, pp. 407–408, the tower appears to be taller than in our photo. This may be because it has lost a storey since then, or it may be an illusion caused by the fact that other buildings have been put up next to it.

<sup>46</sup> Kapetan Michalis Korakas from Pombia, 1797–1882.

<sup>47</sup> The tower apparently dates from Venetian times. Gerola describes it (III 306), but he gives no information about its history. We visited Anatoli 20 April 2013, and we were shown round by Manolis Bilanakis. The tower is in the SE corner of the village. It's dilapidated and closed. A bust of Lakerdas was unveiled there in 2009, with an inscription saying he died in 1890. The tower is probably the one seen from a distance by Pashley (I 272). There is still an οδός Λακέρδα in Ieraptera, just as in Dawkins' time. Anatoli is the birthplace of Christophoros Charalamabakis, Professor of Linguistics at Athens University since 2000. He is, to my knowledge, the third professor of linguistics at Athens University to have been born into a modest family in a Cretan village; the other two were Georgios Hatzidakis (see ch. 12) and Georgios Kourmoulis (born in Selliá, the next village to Hatzidakis' birthplace of Myrthios; professor from 1949 onwards).

<sup>48</sup> This is now part of the E4 hiking route.

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<sup>49</sup> This poem, by the Athenian Angelos Vlachos (1838-1920), was presumably learned at school by Pendlebury's informant. It is indicative of the changes in Cretan culture that had occurred between the time of Dawkins and the time of Pendlebury.

<sup>50</sup> The village is now called Agios Charalambos.

<sup>51</sup> This is the northern approach, Dawkins' no. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Kardiotissa Monastery, which we haven't visited, is at Kera (Anavasi atlas 81 C3). See RMD's note on Chatzigakis at end of this chapter. Despite the monastery's historical and architectural importance, Dawkins doesn't seem to have visited it either.

<sup>53</sup> These are at Seli Ambelou on the modern road to Lasithi from the north; see our photo 5199 above.

<sup>54</sup> Nisimos is to the north of Tzermiado.

<sup>55</sup> Mount Σελένα is NE of Lasithi.

<sup>56</sup> This seems to be an addition to Dawkins' description of route 3 above.

<sup>57</sup> One mill is marked on the Anavasi atlas.

<sup>58</sup> A path from the summit of Mt Selena via Zaroma to Timios Stavros is marked on the Anavasi atlas.

## CHAPTER 25 CANDIA TO NEAPOLIS [AND AGIOS NIKOLAOS]

Candia to Neapolis is a day's ride of ten to twelve hours on a mule. The road leaves Candia, formerly through the tunnel of the eastern gate [St George's gate], now by the zigzag road down the valley from the Treis Kamares square, and so along between the sea and the old leper village.<sup>1</sup> It passes over a stony waste between the sea and two conspicuous rounded hills and descends to the sea where a river debouches just west of the site of Mation. This place is called Kartero<sup>2</sup> and is marked by a Venetian house which, since I have known it, has fallen into greater and greater decay. The river makes a swampy place by the sea, and there is a story in connexion with it. The abbot of Toplou told me that the Turks at Candia used to force the Greeks to bring water to Candia from a certain spring near Marmaketo [in Lasithi]. A man called Kondoyannis [Short John] (short people are supposed to be especially cunning) came down one day from Lasithi with his *stammes* [pitchers] empty and filled them at Kartero from the river where the water is notoriously dirty and bad. (He had clearly come by the road by Tzermiado and Avdou and so to Candia by the sea.) He gave his water to the Turkish Aga at Candia and feigned sickness to see what would happen at Candia. The Turk was very ill. The *oulemades* [*ulema*: Muslim clergy] who came to see him said that his illness was sent because it was a sin to have water brought from so far for his pleasure, and thus the cleverness of the Greek and the Turkish stupidity of the Pasha and his *oulemades* freed the Christians from this burden.<sup>3</sup> Khourmouzis (p. 67) too tells us that the Pashas at Candia used to have water brought to them from the Panagia Spiliotissa [monastery] near Khoudetsi.<sup>4</sup>

The road goes on past Chersonnesos, past the market gardens of Malles [Malia],<sup>5</sup> past the bridge which will be a part of the Candia – Neapolis road, past the turning to Avdou and Lasithi, and comes to a point just inland of the little port of Sisi. Here a stream comes down through a gorge and up this is the road to Vrakhasi. This path crosses the stream by a bridge with an inscription on the keystone on the south side. It runs

ΒΡΑΧΑΣΙΟΝ ΤΗ 10  
ΜΑΙΟΥ 1872  
ΥΠΟΚΙΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ  
ΔΙΚΗΤΟΥ  
Κ ΑΔΟΣΙΔΗ  
ΠΡΤΟ ΜΑΣΤ  
ΟΡΑΣ Μ ΙΙ

The stone is too high up to be clearly read, but in any case it seems that the bridge was built in 1872 by the governor, and the builder was one Adosides.<sup>6</sup>

The path to Vrakhasi continues up the gorge.<sup>7</sup> It passes by a “mill with a cistern” (στερνιαστός μύλος). This is a device used when the water supply is scanty. Immediately above the mill an artificial pool or cistern is made: this is allowed to fill with water and when enough has accumulated to work the mill the sluice is opened and the mill works until the water is exhausted. Then the cistern is allowed to fill up again, and so on. They are not common in Crete.

Then we pass the church of St George of the pipe, so-called because a water-pipe passes by the church. To this church – I was told by Doctor Joseph Hatzidakis, the Ephor of Antiquities – sheep-stealers resort and there make vows for success. And I

was told the same of the church of St Nikitas [in handwriting: also a warrior saint on a horse, cf. Cumont in JRS XXVII, 63, St George & Mithras “The Cattle-Thief”]<sup>8</sup> near Loukia in the Mesara by Dr Xanthoudidis.

Then the path comes out of the gorge with its picturesque rocks and reaches the large village of Vrakhasi, in a valley full of vines and olives.<sup>9</sup>

In the village is the church of St John Chrysostom, dated by an inscription to 1587. It is a quite plain building of the usual type with one vault. On the south door is the inscription on the lintel. The door is nicely made with stone jambs and lintel and plain mouldings. The lintel is cracked and this makes a little difficulty in one place in each of the three lines of letterings, and the whitewash obscures a good many of the accents. The purport of the inscription is that in 1587 the ruined church of the “saint of golden speech” was rebuilt by the best of priests – though not the best of versifiers – Gregorios Phouskis. The position of the inscription on the lintel appears in Fig. 1, and in Fig. 2 I give a facsimile sketch of the first couplet:

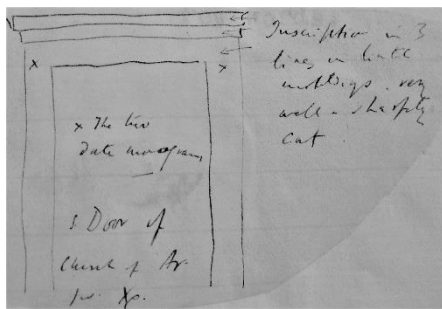


Fig. 1 Inscription in three lines on lintel mouldings, very well and shapely cut.

x The two date monograms

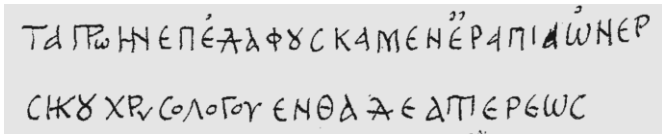


Fig. 2

The inscription, though written in three lines, falls into four elegiac couplets, the last pentameter scanning --|--|--|--| .

The text is:

Τα πρῶν ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεν' ἐρείπια, ὄνερ,  
σηκού Χρυσολόγου ἐνθάδε ἀπτερέως  
ιερέων οὐκ ἄριστος εἰς δαπάναις ἀνεγείρας  
τεύξατο ὡς οὐραεὶς τόνδε ἀριπρεπέα.  
Εἰ δ' ἐρεείνης τούτο δαημέναι οὐνομα κλητόν  
Γρηγόριος Φούσκης τούδε προσηγορή.  
Ἔτους τρέχοντος χιλιοστής ἐπτάδος ἅμα  
ογδοικοστής [sic] καὶ τρις πεντάδος.

[O man, those ruins of the church of the Man of the Golden Speech at Aptera, which formerly lay on the ground here, the most excellent of priests, raised them at his own expense and constructed this magnificent one, as you see. If you wish to know his renowned name. it is Grigorios Fouskis. In the current year seven thousand and eighty plus three fives.]<sup>10</sup>

The last two lines give the date, reckoned from the creation: 1000 + 7(000) + 80 = 7095, which less 5508 gives us 1587 AD. The monogram on the left end of the lintel in Fig. 3 repeats this, and that on the right end of the lintel, in Fig. 4, is probably to be read: Μαρτίου α' = March 1<sup>st</sup>.

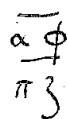


Fig. 3

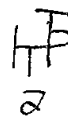


Fig. 4



Gerola records at Vrakhasi a church of St George with a tower.<sup>11</sup> This is visible from the village and lies about an hour to the west on the far side of the valley. It is called Agios Giorgios Vrakhasiotis, St George of Vrakhasi, and is the church of a monastery recently dissolved in accordance with a law recently brought in by Venizelos that when the number of monks falls below, I think, ten the monastery is dissolved and the monks placed in some other house. I did not visit it. By way of this church a rough path<sup>12</sup> is said to go to Tzermiado in Lasithi. From Vrakhasi the path goes on and descends to Latsida in the valley of Neapolis.

But the shortest way to Neapolis is not by Vrakhasi. At the point of the path near Sisi the direct road goes straight on and ascends the hill to the east, passes over a ridge and descends to the olive-filled valley of Neapolis. On the ridge is a row of windmills<sup>13</sup> and before reaching them I have seen a settlement of wandering potters whose centre in Crete is Thrapsano in Pediada [see ch. 20]. They make mainly the big *pitharia* [large clay pitchers] used as storage vessels.

(Insert note on the handwheel and how the *pithari* is built up a layer a day.)<sup>14</sup>

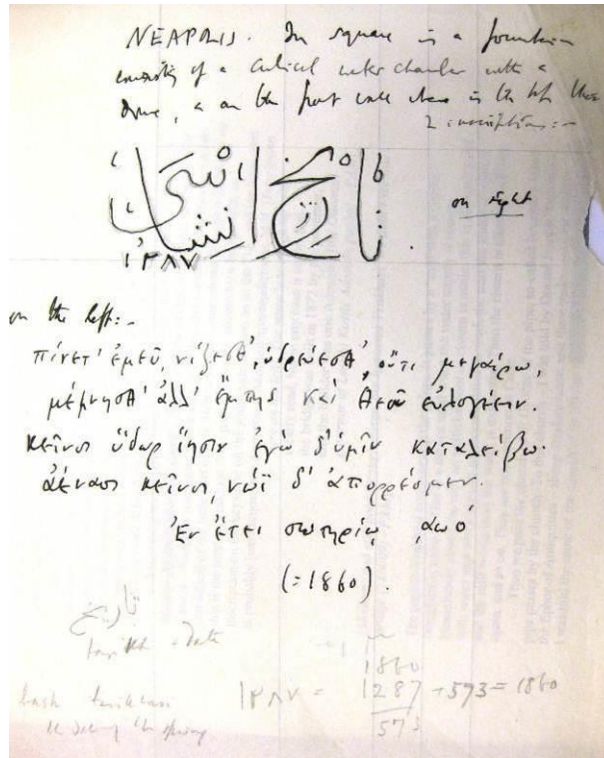
Descending from this ridge there lies in front [front?] the big village of Neapolis. Before reaching it on the right are the two villages of Latsida and Voulismeni. Both names refer to the swallow-holes common in all limestone districts in Crete. Voulismeni means the sunken place, like Vouliagmeni on the coast of Attica, and Latsida is the Cretan for what in Greece is called a *katavothra* [swallow-hole], a hole in the ground into which a stream disappears.<sup>15</sup>

Neapolis is one of the larger new settlements in Crete, as its name implies: it was at first called Kainourgio Khorio, the New Village. Khourmouzis<sup>1</sup> mentions the valley in which Neapolis lies and says it is called from its form Σκάφη [trough, basin] and contains the villages of Λίμνες, Νικητιανό, Πλατυπόδι and Χουμεριάκος but does not mention either Neapolis or even its earlier name Καινούργιο Χωριό – a sure sign that when he wrote in 1842 this new central *komopolis* [market town] had not yet been founded. Now it is the largest place there and the capital of the province.

New conditions in Crete have produced not a few of these new settlements. They are to be recognised by the regular plan of the streets, the presence generally of a central square, wide roads, the absence of old houses, and generally by the great preponderance of red tiled roofs, though Neapolis is old enough to have, instead of the old flat roof, roofs covered with native tiles. The motive of these new settlements is generally trade and they are therefore apt to be by the sea. One of the most flourishing is Agios Nikolaos, which has in fact drained away much of the prosperity of Neapolis which seems, by the date on its fountain, to have been founded in 1860. I have heard the name of the Pasha or Archon who was its founder. It is a sort of *synoikismos* of the neighbouring villages in the valley.<sup>16</sup> The bishop resides there, and there is too a large Turkish barrack. The fountain stands in the square. Over the tap in front there is a finely cut Turkish inscription. How long will it remain?<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kritika p. 7 note.



Turkish inscription on fountain at Neapoli

From Neapolis goes a carriage road to Agios Nikolaos, and from there is to be continued eastwards. The road goes this way instead of by Kritsa because of the sea traffic. The old road went from Neapolis by near Goulas and near Kritsa and Lakkonia. This is presently to be described.<sup>18</sup>

**[Agios Nikolaos]**

Agios Nikolaos probably got its start during the French occupation. There are just a few old flat-roofed houses near the sea, as it was always more or less of a *scala*<sup>19</sup> because of the harbour, and in those days was called Mandraki. It is noticeable that the Admiralty chart entirely passes it over, marking merely “Nikolo Island”.<sup>20</sup> Mandraki is a word meaning harbour and was given because of the odd circular lake like the crater of a volcano which has now been joined to the sea by a cutting made by the French. Mandraki is a word in general use in the eastern Mediterranean: examples are in Nisyros, Rhodes, and at Naples and in many other places.<sup>21</sup>

The old road eastward from Neapolis, as I have said, did not go down to the sea at Agios Nikolaos, but went south-east to the hollows of Lakkonia, then between Goulas and Kritsa and came down to the sea below the double village of Kalo Khorio at the site of Istron. Thence it passes along the sea-slopes to Bashinamo and along the open northern coast of the isthmus of Hierapetra to Kavousi.

There are two little plains called Lakkonia, presumably the place of the hollow.<sup>22</sup> I describe them as they are met with on the path from Agios Nikolaos to Kritsa. First we come to Oxo Lakkonia, a small plain drained by a swallow-hole. This is passed on the left. Then we have a glimpse on the left of the plain of Mesa (Inner) Lakkonia. All the country is full of carob-trees.<sup>23</sup> The soil is very red. Just before this point, a few yards to the left of the road, is the solitary church of the Arkhangelos, with the frescoes of the founders described by Gerola, who says it is at Mesa Lakkonia. The

whole of the interior of the church is painted, mostly with the Archangel and saints, and the lower part of the frescoes is fairly well preserved. There are on the west wall three pictures: two of the founders and one of St Constantine and St Helena. The door of the church, on the south side, has good mouldings and a semi-circular [ogival] arched space above the door. It is clearly of some age.<sup>24</sup>



IMG\_5125 Archangelos Michail at Exo Lakkonia

The plain of Mesa Lakkonia has for the last few years been drained by a short underground conduit cut at the point where this path from Agios Nikolaos enters the plain. Halfway between the conduit and the village of Mesa Lakkonia is the church of the Panagia at the place called *στο χαμηλό*, the low ground.<sup>25</sup> On a blue marble slab over the door is an inscription, of which in Fig. 5 I give a facsimile sketch [transcription not included here].

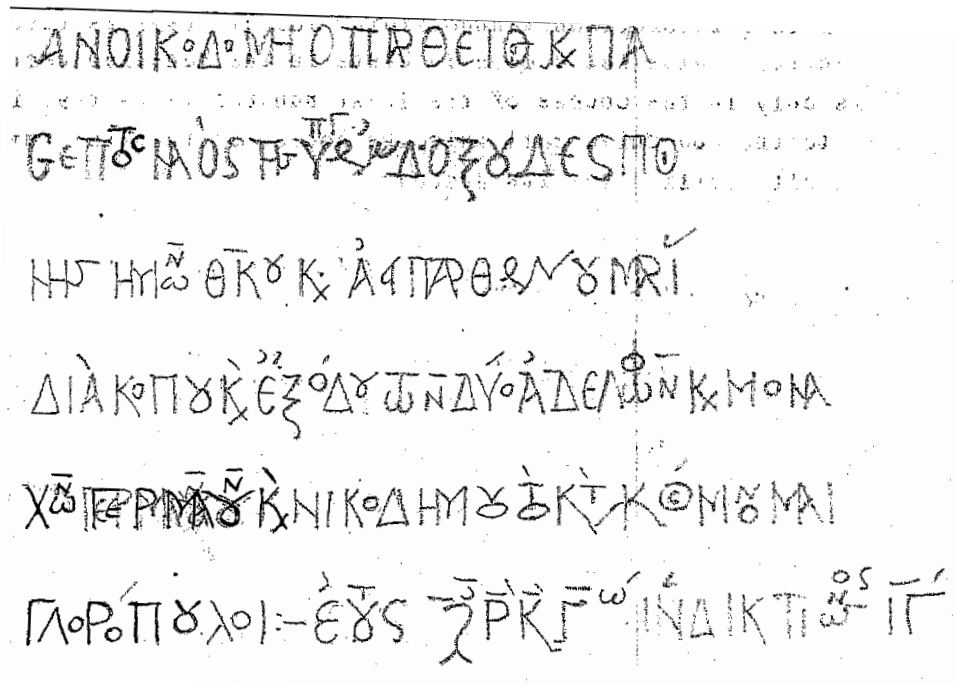


Fig. 5. Facsimile sketch of the inscription over the door of the Panagia church of Lakkonia, made 16 Sept. 1917



IMG\_6119 The inscription over the door of the Panagia at Chamilo, showing how a recent crudely placed concrete block has covered the top of the arch (as well as shading the inscription!)

which is translated: “The present divine and all-holy church of our exceeding glorious lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary was built at the pains and expense of the two brothers and monks Germanos and Nikodimos according to the world Maigloropoulos in the year 7123, of the indiction 13”. This year from the foundation of the world is 1615 AD.<sup>2</sup>

Above this inscription is a bell-tower dated on the plaster to 1810.

On this inscription Xanthoudidis remarks that the ending –poulos was common in Crete in the Venetian period, and that it is only in the course of the last hundred years that it has yielded to the now universal –akis.<sup>26</sup> He notes, too, that the feminine –poula still holds its ground. For example, at Palaikastro we employed a man called Mavrokououlakis, a man of the family that is of the black hood or cowl. An unmarried woman of the family was called Zakharenia Mavrokououloupoula. A man’s wife does not have the –poula ending: she is not herself of the family and bears her husband’s name and surname in the genitive.

### [Goulas (ancient Lato)]<sup>27</sup>

Immediately beyond Mesa Lakkonia the path rises and crosses the shoulder of the hill of Goulas. On the right of the road is a gorge and on the left about a quarter of an hour’s scramble up the rocky hillside are the ruins of Goulas. All this part of the road from Lakkonia to Goulas is common to the two roads, that from Neapolis to Kalo Khorio and that from Agios Nikolaos to Kritsa.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription has been published by Xanthoudidis, *Χριστ. επιγρ.* [Xanthoudidis 1903], p. 72, Πιν. Β’ 3. See also Gerola. [Gerola II 338. The phrase “according to the world” in the inscription refers to the surname of monks before they renounced their “worldly” names and took on monastic names according to Orthodox tradition: PM]

It is no longer necessary to describe the ruins of Goulas.<sup>28</sup> The most important building has now had a house constructed in it, and nearby is a threshing floor. A sort of street leads down west from this towards the Neapolis-Kalo Khorio road. The ruins lie on a saddle between hills and to the east of this saddle is a deep hollow with, on the north, precipitous sides. The view to the east over the Gulf of Mirabello is very fine, though cut off on both sides. A sketch of it is given in the figure. In the foreground is the pit-like hollow just mentioned. The slope of the near hill cuts off all the view to the north, and to the south also hills between us and the isthmus limit the distant view. Between these two limits lies a stretch of the gulf with the point of Siteia in the distance, nearer the islet of Pseira, and behind it the northern part of the Kavousi mountains. Immediately below is the promontory and island of Agios Nikolaos.



(left) Centre of ancient Lato today, showing what is probably the modern house mentioned by Dawkins (© Greek Archaeological Receipts Fund)  
 (right) Dawkins' view to the eastwards from Goulas, sketch Sunday, 16 Sept. 1917; IMG\_5124. View from ancient Lato, 17 Oct. 2012.

A. Circular hollow. B. Agios Nikolaos. C. Pseira. D. Malaxa. E. Siteia

Malaxa is the steep slope down which goes the path to Tourloti [see ch. 28].

From Goulas the road descends over very rough stony ground to the sear near Kalo Khorio. Just before the sea is reached there is on the right a little enclosure with a neglected garden and a church. This is St Silas.<sup>29</sup> The sea is reached just to the west of the site of Istron at a place where caiques can touch and called, therefore, Karavostasi. Hereabouts a little *khan* [inn] marks the crossing of our road and the path from Agios Nikolaos to Kavousi, and it is here that the carriage road will go.

## Kritsa

But instead of going straight down to the sea from Goulas we may equally cross the river and go to Kritsa, the biggest village in Crete.<sup>30</sup> The village lies at the foot of steep rocks over which goes the path to Lasithi. Another path leads south by way of Kroustas to Hierapetra. Meanwhile in Kritsa there are several interesting churches.

In the village is the church of Christos with a good fresco picture of the founder. The church is a double one, and the painting occupies the south part of the west wall. He is represented as a young man with fair hair, dressed in a long striped robe. The painting is well preserved and Gerola notes that as a work of art it is one of the best of all these portraits. It has no date; the inscription by the head simply gives the donor's name as Khoniatis.<sup>3</sup>

The church of Agia Pelagia in the village has the interest that in Turkish times, or perhaps only till after the insurrection of 1866, it was used as a mosque. It is a plain vaulted building. The door on the north side and a window by it, both square with dripstones, very much like those at the monastery at Bali and at [Gonia?], suggest a late Venetian period. It is now fitted up internally as a church and no trace of the Mecca niche is to be seen, but over the door is the stump of what looks like the arch to hang a bell, but which I was told was what is left of the minaret. It was clearly not a regular round minaret, but no more than a little platform on which the muezzin could stand.



The Panagia Kera, before and after recent whitewashing

About ten minutes' walk below the village is the treble church of the Panagia at the site called Kera, and by Gerola Logari.<sup>31</sup> The church is surmounted by a dome on a high drum, and the south and north walls are now propped up by large buttresses. It has several paintings worthy of note. The western part of the north wall is occupied by a painting of the two donors, George Mazizanis and his wife, between whom Gerola recognises traces of a child upon whose head the woman is laying her right hand.<sup>32</sup> The inscription above their heads runs [original Greek text not reproduced here]:

“The present church of our holy father Antony was restored at the expense and by the offerings of Master George Mazizanis and his wife and their children, amen.”<sup>33</sup>

What of this inscription I could read I add here in the figure. The translation I take mainly from Gerola's copy of the painting (Vol. II, Tav. 15, 2). The word for church, apparently *δῶμος*, is odd and the name George so much abbreviated that I take it only on Gerola's authority. He also gives a plan of the church (Vol. II, p. 202, fig. 159). See also Xanthoudidis in *Χριστ. επιγρ.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> In Greek: *ο παρομηοθης Χονηατη[ς]*, the likeness of [*παρομοιωθείς*: PM] Khoniatis. Gerola, II, p. 338, and Tav. 16, No. 1; inscription transcribed in IV 531. Gerola calls the church S. Salvatore. [In Greek this church is known as Αφέντης Χριστός. This inscription is not reproduced by Xanthoudidis, it seems: PM].

The centre of the west wall of the church has over the door a much destroyed fresco of the pains of hell, a common subject in Cretan churches. Gerola<sup>4</sup> notices the curious piece of Greek, *οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ πῆγον*, which labels a man hung up by the hands and feet. *Πῆγον* seems to be for *παίων*, and the sinner to have been a man of violence, the feet and hands with which he sinned now fittingly bound and marked “This is the smiter”.

On the southern part of the west wall is an inscription with a date of which, unfortunately, only the first figure survives, a stigma for 6000. This gives a date from the creation of anything between 6000 and 6999, i.e. from AD 492 to 1491. Xanthoudidis suggests that it is between 1300 and 1400.

The sketch in the annexed figure [not reproduced here] gives what I could make out of this inscription. Xanthoudidis’ reading *του Κριτζέου* I think wrong; both in the original and in his copy I read *της Κριτζέας*.

The translation runs:

“The divine and all holy church of St Anna the mother of the (Virgin) was restored and painted by the offerings and at the expense of ----rios of Kritsá and with the help of master ----nios Lameras and of Eiginos (?Hyginos) Synouletos.”<sup>34</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge’s notes

<sup>1</sup> The leper village (*λεπροχώρι*) near Candia was *Μεσκινιά/Meskinia*. Spratt (I 38-43) gives a lengthy description of lepers begging outside St George’s Gate, and he describes a visit to the nearby leper village. After the Muslims were expelled from the island of Spinalonga in 1904 to make way for them, the lepers from Meskinia and other colonies were moved there: see ch. 27. The leper village is mentioned by Kelly Daskala in her afterword to her edition of Galateia Kazantzaki’s novella *Η άρρωστη πολιτεία* (Athens 2010), p. 160, n. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Karteros, just outside Herakleion.

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins tells a version of this story in “Folk-memory in Crete”, pp. 36-37.

<sup>4</sup> Khoudetsi is 22 km south of Herakleion.

<sup>5</sup> It is extraordinary that, despite the building that has gone on along the north coast, Malia still has (or had in 2011) some remaining bits of vegetable garden and vineyards.

<sup>6</sup> Dawkins has misinterpreted this. It actually says it was built by the master builder (whose initials presumably appear at the end) at the bidding of the Ottoman governor of Lasithi, Kostis Adosidis Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Lasithi. The kappa stands for either “Mr” or “Kostis”, not “and”. While he was a member of the imperial Ottoman translating and interpreting department, Konstantinos Adosidis published a grammar of Ottoman Turkish for Greeks: *Στοιχεία της οθωμανικής γραμματικής* (Constantinople 1850).

<sup>7</sup> The modern road still goes through the gorge, but bypasses Vrakhasi. We didn’t see the Adosidis bridge (14 April 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Franz Cumont, “St. George and Mithra ‘The Cattle-Thief’”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 27 (1937), pp. 63-71.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. II, p. 344. [For a photo of this painting see Borboudakis, illus. 32: PM.]

<sup>9</sup> Vrachasi, which is a genuinely traditional village (unlike the so-called “traditional villages” that are intended exclusively for tourists) is actually built high up the slopes of the gorge, while the modern road goes along the valley bottom. There was no sign to Vrachasi up this road in April 2009, so we missed it and had to double back

<sup>10</sup> The inscription is copied and transcribed by Gerola IV 517-518. I checked and corrected Dawkins’ transcription in situ; I have highlighted in yellow the letters that are damaged by cracks. I asked Marc Lauxtermann whether the last two lines could actually be Byzantine “iambics”, with a line-break before *άμα*. He replied on 21 Sept. 2010: “I think you’re right: the last two lines are faulty dodecasyllables rather than a completely messed-up elegiac distich or pedantic prose. It’s not uncommon to find ‘poetical dates’ at the end of Byzantine verse inscriptions, but I did not know that this tradition continued in post-Byzantine times.” Why this church should be said to be at Aptera is a mystery; Gerola attributes it to ignorance of the real location of the ancient city of Aptera at that time.

<sup>11</sup> Gerola II 363-5, with photo.

<sup>12</sup> This path is marked on the Anavasi atlas.

<sup>13</sup> The windmills seem to be marked on the Anavasi atlas 83 A2.

<sup>14</sup> He doesn’t seem to have done this.

<sup>15</sup> There is also a Cretan word *αλατσίδα* ‘chasm’.

<sup>16</sup> Dawkins seems to be using *συνοικισμός* in its ancient sense of the gathering together of various small settlements to make a town.

<sup>17</sup> We visited Neapoli on 17 Oct. 2012 and were kindly given a tour of various Ottoman-era *vryses* by the waiter Kostas at Mournies restaurant. We were told by an older man that the one that once stood in the main square, known as the *σαντριβάνι* (presumably the one referred to by Dawkins) was destroyed. In its place stands the memorial to the local men who died in wars between 1912 and 1922.

<sup>18</sup> Goulas is the old name of the hill on which the ancient site of Lato stands.

<sup>19</sup> The meaning of the Greek word *skala* (from Italian) here is the coastal location that serves as the port for an inland settlement or settlements.

<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, “H. Nikolaos” is marked on the map of Crete at the end of Pashley’s vol. II.

<sup>21</sup> Mandraki is the name of the capital and main port of the island of Nisyros. There are also harbours called Mandraki on the islands of Corfu, Ydra, Skiathos and other islands; also Mandrakia at Ermioni. At Rhodes, Mandraki to the north, with civic buildings from the Italian occupation and the bronze deer, is one of the two harbours currently in use. There is a fishing harbour at Naples called Il Mandracchio – with various conflicting etymologies – and another at Trieste. According to Amalia Kolonia and Masimo Peri, *Greco antico, neogreco e italiano: dizionario dei prestiti e dei parallelismi* (Bologna 2008), p. 112, Italian *mandracchio* ‘enclosed harbour’ is from Greek *μανδράκιον*, a diminutive of *μάνδρα* ‘enclosure surrounded by a fence or wall’. Cf. Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice 1829), s.v. *mandràchio*: “La parte più interno del Porto, che suol chiudersi con catena e dove si ritirano e si ormeggiano le galere e le piccole navi.” According to Bengisu Rona and Yorgos Dedes, [‘Languages in contact: Greek loanwords in Turkish’](#), *Journal of Turkish Studies* 31.2 (2007), pp. 169-208, Turkish *mendirek* ‘breakwater, artificial harbour’ derives from Greek *mandraki*. Emm. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669*, vol. IX, finds *mandraki* ‘small harbour’ in a document of 13-14c., and a placename Mandrakin in 1355.

<sup>22</sup> Mesa and Exo Lakonia are the names of areas, each of which includes several tiny settlements; Mesa Lakkonia includes six settlements. The name *Λακόνια* (stressed on



the second syllable and perhaps more correctly written Λακκώνια) may indeed be derived from λάκκος in the sense of ‘dip (natural depression)’ and has no connection with Λακωνία ‘Lakonia’ (stressed on the third syllable) in the Peloponnese. We visited on 17 Oct. 2012.

<sup>23</sup> There are still some carobs there when we passed through.

·Marnellides, the southernmost (and largest) settlement in Exo Lakonia. It is no longer secluded: it stands between Marnellides and a large football stadium. The church was locked when we visited on 17 Oct. 12, and there are no windows to provide a glimpse of the frescoes

<sup>25</sup> Chamilo is (at least now) the official name of a settlement within Mesa Lakonia. The Panagia is the cemetery church, immediately above the road.

<sup>26</sup> Xanthoudidis (1903: 72) notes that he has never come across the name Maigloropoulos except in this inscription. However, Gerola IV 529 transcribes the name as Μαγγλορόπουλος, adding that the surname Μαγγλαρόπουλος still exists today, as indeed it does (spelled Μαγκλαρόπουλος: there is also a surname Μάγκλαρης). It is possible that, because of the rarity of the surname, the person who carefully inscribed the elegant lettering nevertheless made two mistakes, MAI instead of MAΓ and ΛOP instead of ΛΑΡ.

<sup>27</sup> Goulas (medieval Greek γουλάς or κουλάς ‘tower’, from Arabic and Turkish *kule*) is the name of the hill, south of Exo Lakonia and north of Kritsa, on which the ancient site of Lato was discovered. Systematic excavation was begun in 1899-1901 by the French School of Archaeology. Arthur Evans had already written that “it may safely be said that of no prehistoric city on Hellenic soil are such extensive remains extant above ground as of the Cretan Goulas” (“Goulas, the city of Zeus”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 2 (1895-6), p. 156). The Dorian city of Lato was founded during the Bronze Age, though most of the remains visible today date from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. The magnificent view from the city is an indication of its important strategic location. The site is still reachable by the old zigzag path from the north (up which Dawkins scrambled) as well as a modern asphalt road from the south, by which we visited the site on 17 Oct. 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Dawkins is no doubt thinking of the article by J. Demargne, “Les ruines de Goulas, ou l’ancienne ville de Lato en Crète”, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 25 (1901), pp. 282-307.

<sup>29</sup> Is this correct? There is an Agios Syllas outside Vathy, further up the coast to the north.

<sup>30</sup> This claim is expressed by Xanthoudidis 1903: 64.

<sup>31</sup> The Panagia Kera is officially called the Κοίμησις της Θεοτόκου (Dormition of the Virgin): Xanthoudidis 64. Logari is the name of the locality close to Kritsa where the church is situated.

<sup>32</sup> Xanthoudidis (1903: 66) likewise states that there is a child in the painting.

<sup>33</sup> The inscription is transcribed by Xanthoudidis (1903: 66). See also photo of painting and inscription in Manolis Borboudakis, *Panaghia Kera: Byzantine wall-paintings at Kritsa* (Athens: Editions Hannibal, n.d.), illus. 56. The painting is described by Gerola II 339 and illustrated in the same volume (Tavola 15, no. 2), while the inscription is transcribed in Gerola IV 532. A Georgios Mazizanis is mentioned in another inscription in Afendis Christos, copied by Xanthoudidis (70 & 74) and Gerola IV 531, which specifies the date 1615. Xanthoudidis believed that the Mazizanis mentioned in the Kera church must have been an earlier relative of the same name.

<sup>34</sup> Xanthoudidis transcribes this inscription on p. 64; see also p. 65, plate A14; also in Gerola IV 532. While Xanthoudidis transcribes του Κριτζέου, Gerola (like Dawkins)

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transcribes της Κριζτέας. However, while both Xanthoudidis and Dawkins interpret the “---rios” as concealing a man’s name (i.e. [at the expense] of ...ios the Kritsean”, Gerola conjectures “(του χω)ρίου της Κριτζέας”, which would mean “[at the expense] of the village of the Kritsean [Virgin Mary]”. For a photo of this inscription see Borboudakis, illus. 52. Hyginus is Xanthoudidis’ conjecture (p. 66).

**CHAPTER 26**  
**COAST FROM HIERAPETRA TO TSOUTSOUROS<sup>1</sup>**

**The southern slopes of Lasithi from Hierapetra to Vianos<sup>2</sup>**

This piece of ground is traversed roughly in two ways. Either one can go along the coast all the way from Hierapetra to Tsoutsouros, or one can start from Hierapetra by the sea but ascend at Myrtos and then go through the upper villages, Mournies, Kalami, Pefkos and so to Vianos.<sup>3</sup> The former route is not so usual, for it leads as good as nowhere. The latter among the high villages is not only extremely beautiful in itself, but leads to the big village of Vianos, whence one can go conveniently to Skinias and Pyrgos and so anywhere in the Mesara, or one can go north to Embaros and so to Kasteli Pediada<sup>4</sup> and so to Candia. This upper route, with its numerous possibilities of going through different villages, is of very great beauty. The villages are surrounded by luxuriant growth of trees: in particular the myrtle forms great hedges as hardly anywhere else in Crete. The harmony of the flat grey roofs and the green was hardly as yet broken by the hideous tiled roofs. The bare slopes of the mountain above are in contrast with the riches of the villages. But of these delectable rides I have very few notes. I can do no more than set down the series of villages as I have from time to time passed by. And as it has always been with the intention of wasting no time, each of the routes has for one reason or other commended itself.<sup>5</sup>

One route, then, is from Vianos by Agios Vasilis, Kalami, Gdokia, Myrtos, and so by the shore to Hierapetra. I find on another occasion on this route I passed through Pefkos. A third journey took me from Vianos by Amiras, Pefkos, Mournies, Mythoi and the upper village of Males, whence I went to Hierapetra not directly by the shore but by the upper villages of Anatoli and Kalogeroi, which fall on the route from Lasithi to Hierapetra. It is possible too to combine the routes, for example going from Hierapetra along the coast as far as Arvi and thence up inland by Amiras to Vianos. And on my first journey in Crete in 1903 I went from Vianos by the upper villages to Kalamafka and thence to Kalo Khorio and Kavousi. But, however this district be covered, it is always beautiful.<sup>6</sup>

**Traditions**

**Sarantopikhos. 4 March 1918 at Males**

The road between Pefkos and Myrtos in one part descends on the right (W) bank of the stream which debouches at Tertsa. The valley is narrow and the road close to the stream. The road at one point crosses a rocky knoll and the piece of this knoll, here fairly earthy, which is between the road and the stream is called the grave of the *Σαραντόπηχος* and the locality in general is called *του Σαραντοπήχου*. He is said to have been a man 40 metres high<sup>7</sup> who lived in a cave near here which no one could go in or out of. For this story, see Pashley [I 271-2], and [allusion?] in Spratt I, 291-2.<sup>8</sup>

**Coast from Hierapetra to Tsoutsouros and Vianos<sup>9</sup>**

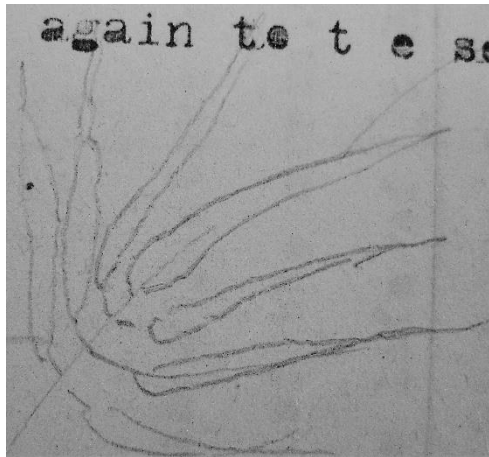
The road passes among gardens on the flat ground near the sea till we come to the lower villages of Myrtos. But before reaching Myrtos we pass below Males, close to which is the little monastery of Xakousti.<sup>10</sup> The name is in full, The Famous Virgin. It

is built on a flat piece of ground which faces west from the slopes of the hills, in all this district thinly sprinkled with pine trees. The view is westward to Males, half an hour off on the other side of the valley, and southwards to the sea. The church, in no way remarkable, is in the front (west side). To the east and north are the low buildings of the unfinished court. The buildings are simple and poor, with the old flat roofs. No new guestroom has been built, as has been done in all the richer monasteries often very much to their disadvantage in appearance. There are only three or four monks and it is one of the poorer and more rustic of the Cretan monasteries.

Like Koudouma it is quite a new foundation. It was founded only about 40 years ago by the uncle of the present abbot. He was called Ananias and died in 1907 or thereabouts. He was succeeded by Methodios who is now Abbot of Toplou, and when Methodios went to Toplou the present abbot, Dorotheos, took office.

**Myrtos** proper is inland some way up on the right bank of the river, the Myrtopotamos, and the hamlet by the sea is, as it were, its port. As I have said elsewhere, the settlements by the sea are everywhere growing and becoming more important than the parent village in the hills – a result of increasing security and growing export trade.<sup>11</sup> Thus the police station is now by the sea. The *chorophylax* at this time was a certain John Milakis, in whose house in the upper village I have stopped more than once. He was at this time in some trouble. He had had custody of a prisoner and had shut him up in the lock-up in the lower village, and this lock-up is, like several of the houses, built not on the rock, but on the sand of the beach. In the night the prisoner had dug through the sand at the base of the wall and escaped: trouble was expected from headquarters about the matter.

It is at Myrtos that the upper road from Vianos through Pefkos and Kalami to Hierapetra comes down to the sea.<sup>12</sup>



**11 May 1918**

From Myrtos first along the shore to Tertsa. There are a few houses on the sea and, behind these, fine gardens where we picked the last of the *mousmoules* [*mousmoula* 'loquats'] and I found the fern, which is rare in Crete.<sup>13</sup> Thence by land path to Arvi, coming down again to the sea half an hour before reaching Arvi.

Arvi<sup>14</sup>

IMG\_5507 Bottom of Arvi gorge



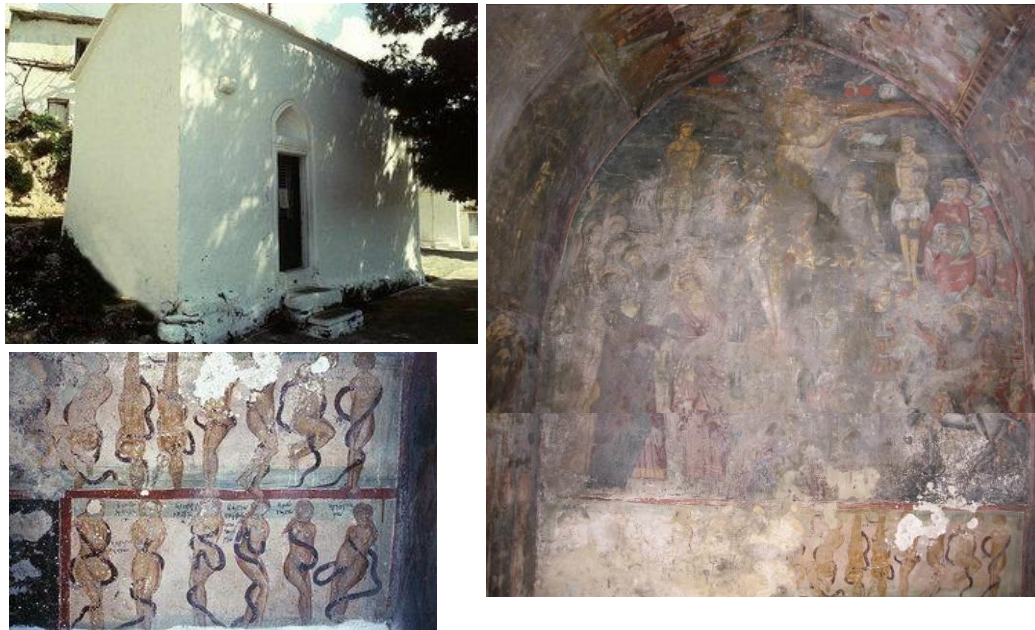
IMG\_5508 Monastery of Agios Antonios, Arvi

Arvi is the name of a flat valley which runs up from the sea to a small hamlet and is then closed by a high, very steep and sheer wall of rock, broken only by a few bushes which cling to its face. There are also a few houses by the sea.<sup>15</sup> This wall of rock is divided right down from the top to the bottom by a deep cleft, of which the lower two thirds is only a few yards wide. Water flows down through this cleft from Agios Vasilis above, and so waters the Arvi valley and then finds its way out into the sea. The path up from the sea passes westwards along the foot of the rock and so ascends to the Agios Vasilis valley, whence there is a striking view of the cleft from high above it. This path leaves the village of Agios Vasilis to the right, goes through Amiras and then over the ridge to the west, and so descends to Vianos. This I have done and I have also continued along the beach westwards from Arvi beneath the low cliffs which fringe all this shore and so reached Tsoutsouro.

Shut in in this way, the Arvi valley is well watered and pretty fertile but extremely hot. At the foot of the rock a little to the east of the opening of the cleft is the monastery of Agios Antonios, founded in 1861 by a certain pilgrim, the Khatzi Anthemios.<sup>16</sup> The buildings are built one above another up against the face of the rock and present little of special interest. At least from the uppermost cells the sea is just visible. Below the monastery bananas have been planted and do well in the hot, sheltered garden.<sup>17</sup> Water is drawn up to the monastery by a cord on which the bucket automatically, by its weight, closes and opens the tap – an arrangement also used at the loftily built monastery of St Paul on Mount Athos. The monks here are very rustic and live in a very poor way.

Trevor-Battye did not himself visit Arvi, but the people at Kalami told him, p. 147, that in a gorge nearby, and it can hardly be other than this cleft at Arvi, the wind makes loud noises like the blows of a great hammer. The same sort of thing is to be heard in the Kroutaliotiko Pharangi near Preveli.<sup>18</sup>

**Vianos. 3 March 1918<sup>19</sup>**



IMG\_5514 & 5515 Agia Pelagia, Ano Viannos, showing west wall (with blow-up of the Punishments in Hell in bottom left corner of wall)<sup>20</sup>

Saw church of St Pelagia with a picture of hell on the west wall underneath a big painting of the crucifixion. On the north wall there are scenes from the life of St Pelagia. The church is right in the village, rather high up the side of the hill upon which it is built.<sup>21</sup>

**Vianos (Hatzigakis, p. 126)**

Somewhere near Vianos is the *exoklisi* [rural chapel] of St Dimitrios. The legend is that a pious woman dressed as a monk came and became abbot. She was so severe that the monks rebelled and accused her of an affair with the female cook of the monastery. At the trial she opened her breast and said: “Can a woman have an affair with another woman?” She went away and said, “May half my curse fall on that rock,” and she pointed to the rock opposite, “and the other half of my curse on my accusers.” Then the curse of this pious woman availed and the rock was split from top to bottom as through by a knife. The monks all ran away and they came to Apezanes, so called because there they got off (apezepsan) from their mules and there they built the present monastery of Apezanes; nowhere nearer did they dare to dismount.<sup>22</sup>

This cleft is plainly the great cleft I saw in the wall of rock at the top of the Arvi valley.<sup>23</sup> But where exactly St Dimitrios is I do not know.<sup>24</sup>



IMG\_5506 Looking down to the top of the Arvi gorge, 21 April 2013

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**Peter Mackridge's notes**

- <sup>1</sup> The material in this chapter is arranged from east to west.
- <sup>2</sup> We drove through much of this in April 2013. The southern slopes of Lasithi are known as the Λασιθιώτικα βουνά (= Dicte).
- <sup>3</sup> This is the route of the modern road.
- <sup>4</sup> This too is the route of the modern road.
- <sup>5</sup> The next route is the same one as above (except in the opposite direction), while the following ones present slight variations of a single route.
- <sup>6</sup> It certainly is!
- <sup>7</sup> Strictly speaking 40 cubits or possibly ells, each of which measures about 2/3 of a metre.
- <sup>8</sup> The Sarakina Gorge, N of Mythoi and S of Malles, is also called Φαράγγι Σαραντάπηχου (Gorge of the 40-cubit giant). According to legend, as the giant was crossing the mountain, he stooped to drink water from the river, and his beard split the mountain in two, thus creating the gorge. Spratt places the giant's grave near Sykologos, a few miles WNW of Myrtos.
- <sup>9</sup> The route Dawkins describes here is not along the coast; he seems to climb up to near Malles in order to go west along the coast. We followed this route from west to east (Tsoutsouros to Hierapetra) in Oct. 2009.
- <sup>10</sup> Η Παναγία η Εξακουστή. "Built in the midst of a pine forest, near the village of Males, it had been totally abandoned until 1960 when it was restored and opened again" (Internet). See also ch. 24. We approached it but did not enter.
- <sup>11</sup> And now tourism.
- <sup>12</sup> This is approximately the route of the modern road.
- <sup>13</sup> The gardens were still there when we visited.
- <sup>14</sup> We went there on 21 April 2013, but we didn't walk through the cleft.
- <sup>15</sup> Most of the buildings are now (naturally) by the sea.
- <sup>16</sup> In Islam, a *hadji* is one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In Greek Orthodoxy, *hatzis* (a derivative of the Arabic word) denotes one who has made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and especially to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
- <sup>17</sup> When we visited, we saw wheat, vines, olives and oranges growing, but no bananas.

<sup>18</sup> Κουρταλιώτικο φαράγγι. See ch. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Ano Viannos is on the site of ancient Biennos. It was twice destroyed by the Turks, in 1822 and 1866, in reprisal for Greek uprisings. “Between 15 and 16 September [1943], the Germans slashed through seven villages in the Viannos area. Every building was bombed, animals were driven away, fodder burnt, and over eight hundred and fifty people were taken hostage. Every house in every village was reduced to rubble, and over five hundred people were killed, including women and children.” This was a reprisal for the upsurge of partisan activity after the capitulation of the Italians (Artemis Cooper, *Patrick Leigh Fermor*, p. 164). Viannos was the birthplace of the writer Ioannis Kondylakis (1861-1920). We visited on 21 April 2013.

<sup>20</sup> Gerola’s photo of the two bands of figures (II 345) shows the fresco to have been in a better state of preservation than in our photo.

<sup>21</sup> The church is apparently dated 1360.

<sup>22</sup> For Apezanes and another story concerning its foundation see ch. 23.

<sup>23</sup> This is the top of the Arvi gorge: see our photo 5506.

<sup>24</sup> There is an Agios Dimitrios marked on the Anavasi atlas outside Βαχός (west of Αμυράς), but I have no idea if this the same one.



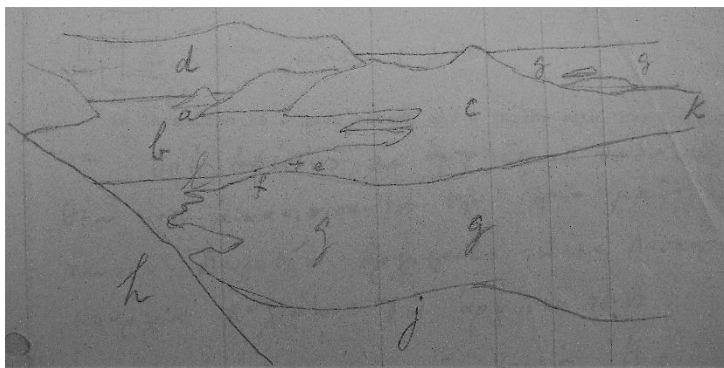
## CHAPTER 27 MIRABELLO (SPINA LONGA ETC.)<sup>1</sup>

### Spina Longa

To the east of Candia there is only one Venetian fortress, Spina Longa. This fortified island lies a little off modern lines of traffic, and the traveller from Candia to the east of the island may pass along the usual road by Neapolis, San Nicolo [Agios Nikolaos] and Kavousi<sup>2</sup> without suspecting that the sea approach from the west to the Gulf of Mirabello was guarded by one of the strongest of the smaller Venetian forts. And a few years ago, before the carriage road from Neapolis to San Nicolo had been made, the way eastwards passed straight from Neapolis then below Kritsa and so direct to Kalokhorio.<sup>3</sup> It [Spinalonga] was then even more out of the usual track than it is now. It is a good three or four hours north of San Nicolo and that by a very bad road, so the approach by sea is much the most convenient. Soon after rounding Cape St John, known to the Greeks as Aphoresmenos [Excommunicated], the island and entrance to the bay of Spina Longa come into sight.<sup>4</sup> The bay forms a deep harbour sheltered from the sea by a long peninsula, which is joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus now cut through and bridged at the south end near the village of Elounda and exactly at the modern hamlet called Schisma, that is, 'cutting'. It is here that there are the salt-pans described elsewhere [below].

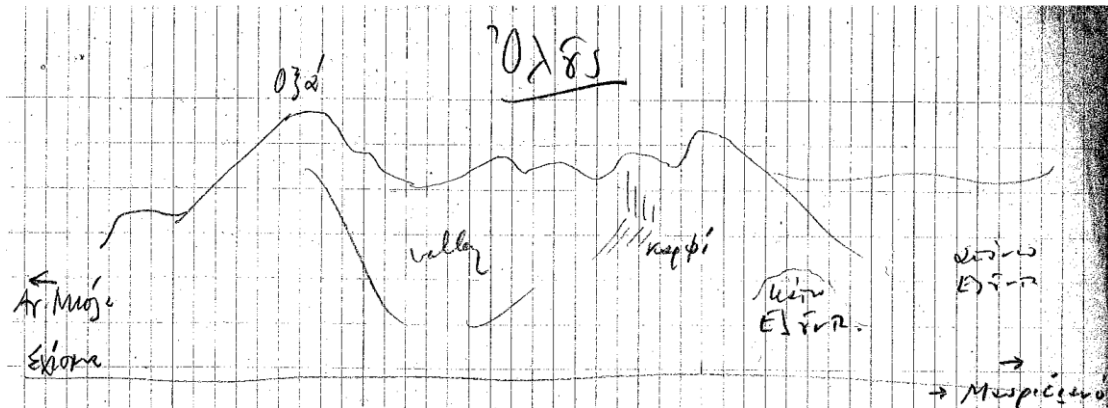
### 9 August 1917

Three hours distant from Agios Nikolaos by a very bad road, first to Hellenika on a hill and then down to the sea again, whence the sketch of Spina Longa from the south [below], to Elounta, the saltpans, the isthmus and the hamlet of Skisma on the sea just inside the isthmus. A little further on is Mavrikiano and so to Plaka, the group of houses opposite the island where the customs officer lives.<sup>5</sup>



- A. The island
- B. The harbour
- C. The peninsula
- D. The mainland to the north towards Aphoresmenos
- E. Church by isthmus
- F. Isthmus
- G. Sea
- H. Foreground
- J. Coastline
- K. Peninsula stretching a good deal further to point
- L. Saltpans near Skisma

Sketch of Spina Longa from south as one comes down to Elounta on the way from Agios Nikolaos after leaving Hellenika

Ὀλοῦς [Elounda]<sup>6</sup>

Copy of sketch (15.X.17) looking inland near Poros of Spina Longa



(left) IMG\_3145 The peak of Oxya from between Elounda and the isthmus

(right) IMG\_5112 Karfi hill showing whetstone quarries

On the road from Agios Nikolaos to Plaka and Spina Longa there are near the isthmus four villages. Schisma is on the sea near the isthmus,<sup>7</sup> then as one goes towards Spina Longa the road passes by the sea and one shortly sees, a little inland on a high piece of ground, Kato Elounda.<sup>8</sup> Beyond this and further inland is Apano Elounda<sup>8</sup> and further on, on a rocky knoll by the sea and between the sea and the road, the hamlet of Mavrikiano.<sup>9</sup> To the left of Kato Elounda a valley runs up as shown in the sketch, closed by hills. On the right is Karphi, the site above Kato Elounda where the whetstones are found.<sup>10</sup> It consists of cliffs with screens below them. On the left hand, i.e. south side, of the valley is the high hill called Oxá, which is very prominent in all this region.<sup>11</sup> On the top of it is the church of Stavros and cisterns. Of these there are said to be 101, but no one can find more than 100. I have not been there. In view of the passage in Pindar,<sup>12</sup> it is to be noted that it is said that the rock of Oxa is different from that of Karphi and does not yield whetstones, though from a distance they look much alike.

As one comes from Ag. Nikolaos the road leaves the sea and crosses a ridge before descending to the site of Oloús.<sup>13</sup> At the highest point there is a small village called Ta Hellenika at a site marked on the Greek map as having ancient remains. I have noticed nothing there.<sup>14</sup> From this point the hill of Oxa is conspicuous.

The isthmus of Spina Longa was cut through by the French at the occupation. It is now crossed by a flap bridge which can be lifted to allow ships to pass.<sup>15</sup> The ruins of the ancient city are said to be mostly on the side of the island, where there is a mosaic

pavement.<sup>16</sup> From this Poros the highest hill on the mainland is Oxa rising behind the salt-pans. On the San Nicolo side of Oxa is a small village with the odd name of Adzibraghá.<sup>17</sup>



(left) the old flap bridge at Elounda Poros in use (photo Fred. Boissonnas)

(right) IMG\_5102 Old and new bridges today (in foreground and background respectively)



IMG\_5104 Mosaic floor on Kolokythas peninsula

### Salt-pans below Elounda, August 9th 1917

On the land side of the isthmus of Spina Longa are a series of salt-pans.<sup>18</sup> The water goes first into a pan called the *limni*, next into a second *limni*, thence into the *vrastari*, and only when it is so far evaporated into the *tigani* from which the salt is finally dug. There are several *vrastaria* and *tigania*. To get the three or four inches of salt dug at a time from the *tigani* takes two months of summer and fresh brine from the *vrastari* is let in every two days or so. When a *tigani* is to be dug out, a pit is dug at one edge, and all the surface liquid flows towards this. Then over the pit a rough tripod (αγλιά)<sup>19</sup> is erected, and from this an open box is hung to that it can be swung by being pushed with a pole. The swinging box dips the liquid and at the end of its swing throws the liquid out over the edge of the *tigani*, which is thus quickly baled quite dry. The salt is got out with a sort of rake without teeth (*syrtis*), a spud [kind of digging fork] (*kamatchi*) and shovels. In the *tigani* that was nearly ready to be dug, I saw in the brine three or four *kouloures*. These are wooden hoops about 18 inches across which by being left in the brine become encrusted with salt crystals and when the *tigani* is dug they are dedicated in some church. Both men and women work in the salt-pans. They are called η αλιτιά, and the salt αλάτσι, αλατσάτσι, and the sluices from one pan to another κάραβος, plural καράβοι.

**Spina Longa**<sup>20</sup>

In the opening between the north end of the peninsula and the mainland lies the little rocky island which the Venetians fortified at once to make the harbour safe and to form a naval base from which to attack. The date [1579] may be read from the sea on the outer wall of the fort. The walls run all round the island with two entrances. The chief one lies to the south [west], tucked away behind the end of a hammer-headed bastion. This gives access to a curved covered passage, as at Corfu, lit from above by square openings, and from this one enters the main street which runs along parallel with the sea. The largest building now in the little town is the ruin of the mosque, a ruin because some time in the first decade of this century the Turkish fishermen who lived here were forcibly expropriated and the lepers of Crete collected and put here, and they as Christians destroyed the mosque.

The expropriation was a bad piece of work; not good for the lepers, for whom the place was quite unsuitable, and a piece of tyranny against the Turks who are now paying in this way for the centuries in which they bullied the Christians. The comment of the outsider is that whilst the Christians are fully as fanatic and probably more spiteful than the Turks, the latter bear their treatment with more resignation and dignity than their opponents were wont to do and command more respect in their troubles than it was easy to give to the wails of the Christians under the same sort of treatment.

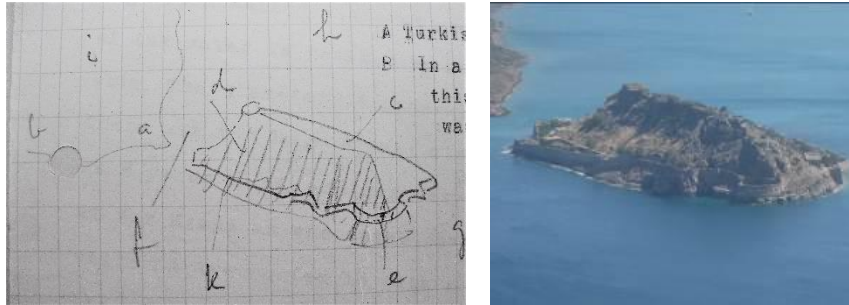
The only sort of advantage this offers as a leper settlement is that the lepers cannot escape. They are visited by a doctor from the mainland, marriage is permitted, and children are born who, if free from the disease for a certain number of years, are allowed to leave. The number of patients is however steadily increasing.

Before the foundation of the settlement the lepers of Candia lived in the so-called lepers' village, Meskinia [Μεσκινιά] to the east of the town outside the gate of St George and used to come daily to sit outside the town gates begging.<sup>21</sup> In the early years after 1900 there were always a few sitting outside the Knossos gate in this way. And in the country districts I have seen them wandering about quite freely. The leper village south of Hierapetra has been described by Spratt; it is now quite deserted.<sup>22</sup>

**9 August 1917.** I sailed out to the island in a caique belonging to some Turks who formerly lived in the island but were driven out in 1904 to make room for the lepers and now live in Siteia. No compensation has yet been paid though the money is in the hands of the consuls. There are now 212 lepers on the island; the number remains pretty constant. From old Greece there are 2, one from Gytheion and one from Kalamata.

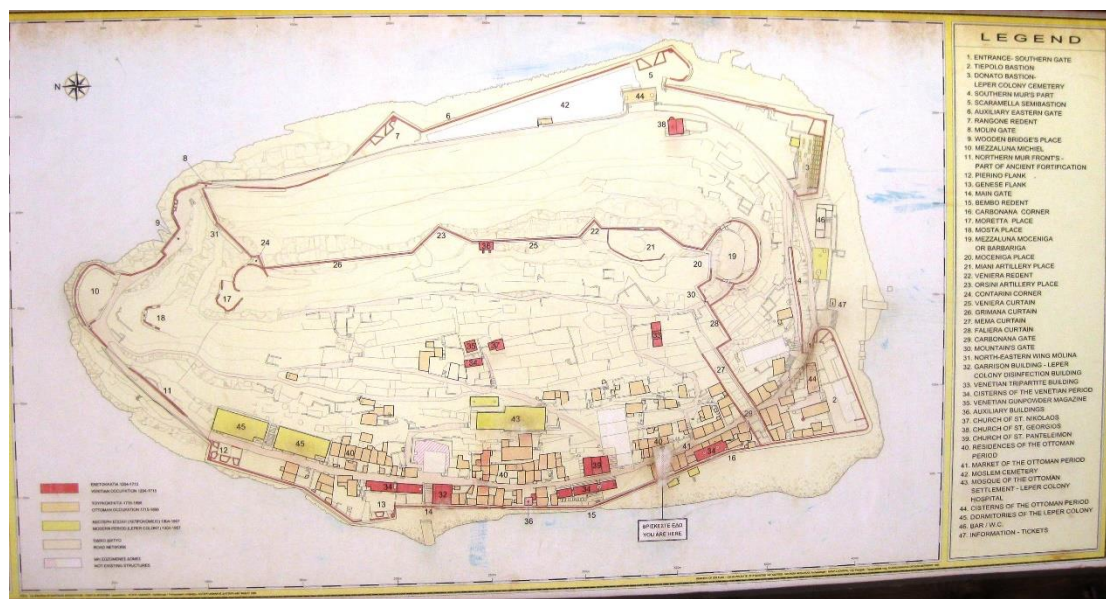
### View of Spina Longa from near Βρουχάς<sup>23</sup>

From the road from Plaka up the hill towards Vrokhas [Βρουχάς], and still more from the high hill to the right of this, is the finest view of the gulf of Mirabello.<sup>24</sup> Below is a bird's eye view of the fortress and other islands as shown in the sketch and in the distance to the north [east] are the Dionysades islands, then Cavo Sidero and its two isthmuses, then the valley from Analouka to Palaikastro, then the peak of Modi, Siteia point not clear, then the two sets of sea cliffs by Mouliana, then Tourloti and then the Kavousi mountains and the Hierapetra isthmus.<sup>25</sup>

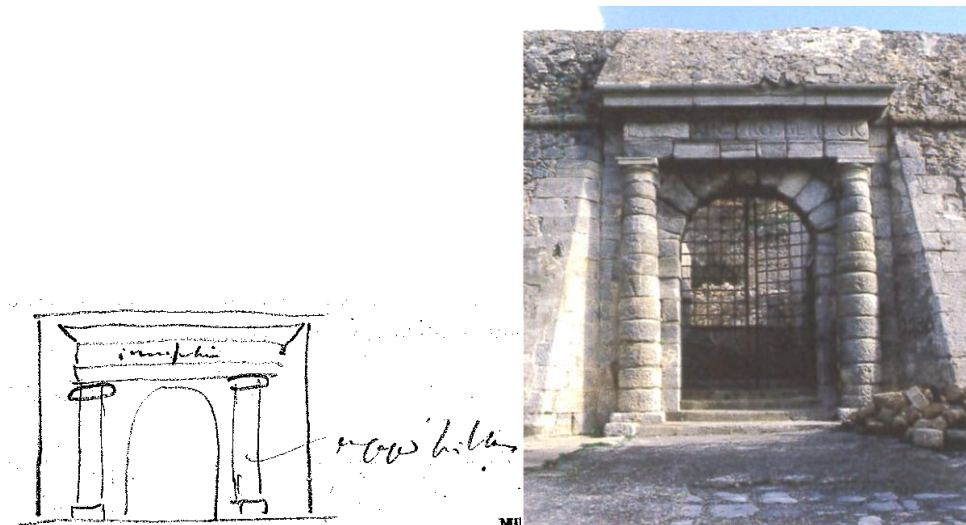


Spinalonga seen from Vrouchas (from NW): (left) Dawkins' sketch; (right) IMG\_1342 Spinalonga from a similar angle to his sketch, 14 May 2011 (taken near new chapel on cemented track towards cape of Agios Ioannis Aphoresmenos)

- A. Turkish graveyard and some traces of quarrying.
- B. In a cove on the north end of the island [peninsula] beyond this are the Venetian quarries from which the fort was built. These lie on the right of the cove as one enters it.
- C. The inhabited side of the island. Note its gabled shape.
- D. The uninhabited slope.
- E. The fort with inscription of date.
- F. The narrow east [south] entrance.
- G. The wide west entrance.
- H. The inner harbour.
- I. The outer island [peninsula].
- K. There is a postern now ruined hereabouts behind a small bastion.<sup>26</sup>



Onsite plan of Spinalonga, 16 May 2011

Spina Longa 9 August 1917<sup>27</sup>

(left) Dawkins' sketch of sea gate (the main gate) on west side of Spinalonga  
 (right) The gate today ((c) Greek Archaeological Receipts Fund)

Inscription over the sea gate opposite Plaka; for position on gate see sketch:

LVCAS.MIC.RO.GE.R.CR<sup>28</sup>

Immediately inside the W gate, with the inscription over it, there is a building to the right, vaulted, now used as a café; presumably the guardhouse.<sup>29</sup> Facing as one enters, and so on the other side of the street which runs parallel with the wall, is a ruined Venetian building, possibly the governor's palace.

In the wall on the sea side is a bastion and behind it what seems to have been a small door now quite ruined. This makes three gates in all. The most conspicuous building is the big white mosque facing Plaka, now patriotically and religiously destroyed by the lepers.<sup>30</sup> The island rises steeply all round and has a flat top as on a gable.

Inscription on the round fort which commands the NW [NE] entrance to Spina Longa harbour, on sea level rather towards the outer sea.<sup>31</sup> It is below the [six] gun openings and can only be read from the sea. I read it in great haste in a caique as we were carried rapidly round by the wind; I was going to the outer side of the peninsulas to look for wreckage, notably bacon [sic]. I read:

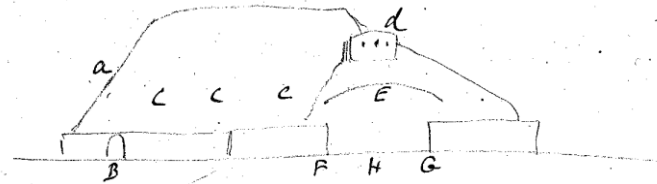
LVCAS MICHAEL PRO GEREC CRETAE AN MDLXXVIII

in fine large letters.<sup>32</sup>

This fort would catch any ship before it got quite to the narrow part. On the east [south] round fort between two gun embrasures is the Lion of St Mark, i.e. two openings + lion + 2 openings.<sup>33</sup>



IMG\_3156, 15 May 2011 Note caique approaching the south end of the island (right)



Sketch of Spina Longa from Skisma the hamlet below Elounda.<sup>34</sup> The bastions and high round fort guard the narrow eastern [southern] entrance, the western [northern] entrance is guarded by the round fort with the inscription.

- A. Wall.
- B. Gate with inscription.
- C. Village.
- D. Round fort with lion between gun openings.
- E. Wall.
- F. Round-ended bastion with entrance behind it. This entrance is covered over and not straight; lit from above by holes for missiles. Similar defensive arrangement at Corfu.
- G. Square-ended bastion [...] ruined Turkish houses on the bit of beach.
- H. Landing place.

Inscription over door of church of St Pandeimon in the main street which was used by the Turks as a school.<sup>35</sup> The street runs parallel to the long sea wall and the church is on the side away from the sea. I have no notes as to the lettering but add accents and breathings and transcribe in minuscule whatever the original style of lettering was [original not reproduced here]:<sup>36</sup>

[This church of the great martyr Pandeimon was built at the expense of Iakovos Tzirytas in aid of his house on 9 May 1709]



IMG\_3160 Inscription over door of Agios Pandeimon church, 16 May 2011

?When did the Turks take Spina Longa?<sup>37</sup>

**Pottery. 9 August 1917**

At Plaka by Spina Longa saw a seaman from Patino selling *tsoukalia* and *phoughoudhes* which are made there, but now not much owing to the depopulation of Patmos and at present because of the tyranny of the Italians and the way they hinder the islanders in their trading.<sup>38</sup>

As it is easier to carry about the potter than the pots, and as clay is to be found in many places and the apparatus simple, it is commoner to find potters travelling about. The Cretan potters live at Thrapsano, and I have seen them working, especially once on the hill west of Neapolis. In Siphnos they work on the beach and are expert in caiques.

**ARETI monastery. 10 Aug 1917 - της Αγίας Τριάδος<sup>39</sup>**

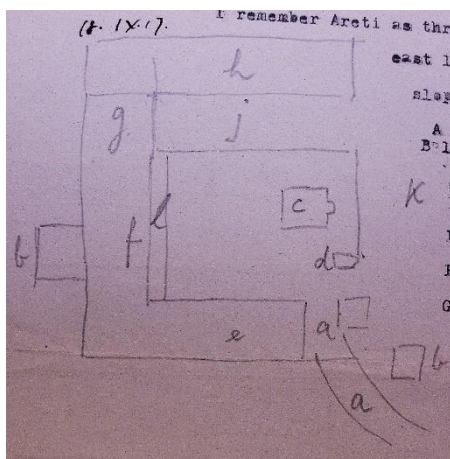
Monastery in a ravine facing east with a glimpse of the sea. Below it gardens and a huge cistern; another big cistern just behind the guestroom but with no water in it.<sup>40</sup> In court fine cypresses, both male and three splendid female cypresses of the spreading so-called female type [sic]. The wood of the female is the better.



(left) IMG\_5091 Moni Aretiou. Old cypresses on the terrace above the main chapel (middle ground), with the chapel of St Lazaros (Dawkins' "small older church") in the foreground.  
(right) IMG\_5087 Icon screen of main chapel.

**18.ix.17**

I remember Areti as three sides of a square open to the east looking seawards with gardens (K) sloping down the ravine from the *moni*.



- (18. IX. 17). I remember Areti as thr  
east l  
slep  
A  
B  
C  
D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
I  
J  
K  
L
- A. Entrance
  - B. Large built cisterns
  - C. Church
  - D. Small older church
  - E. Buildings
  - F. Guesthouse
  - G. Kitchen and room where we dined
  - H. Monks' cells
  - J. Terrace with female cypresses, very big
  - K. Gardens
  - L. Balcony running along in front of guestrooms which are on first floor and on level of terrace J



Church dated to 1881 over door.<sup>41</sup> In the church is a good screen and a throne with this inscription:

ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῆς ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ τῷ ἀνακαισίτου τῆν ἱερὰν μονήν  
 τῆν Δωροθέου ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῷ κ. Λασκάρη  
 ἑπαρχία Ἀνχιάλου διὰ ἀρχιτέκτονος  
 Νικολάου Υαλινῶ τῷ κρητῶς ἐν ἔτι  
 τῷ σωτηρίῳ αὐτῶ (ἰσ 1844)  
 γρηγορίου Β' ἱστῶμεν

[For the forgiveness of sins of the servant of God and renovator of this holy monastery, bishop Dorotheos Laskaris from the eparchy of Anchialos, through the offices of the architect Nikolaos Yalinas the Cretan on the second day of Gamelion in the year of salvation 1844]<sup>42</sup>

#### Road from ARETI to Neapolis. 10 Aug 1917 [14/10/2012]

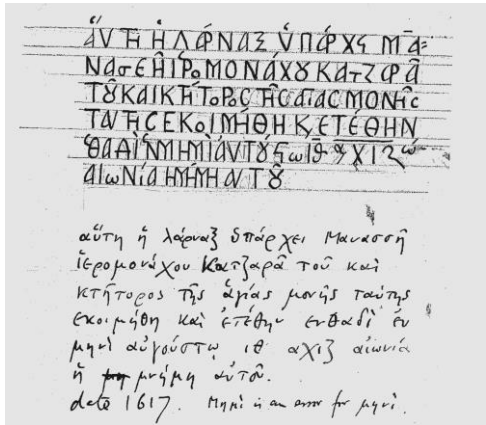
This passes by Karidhi and along a valley past Dories.<sup>43</sup>

[9 Aug. 1917] Inscription over N. door of church at Karydi near Areti monastery. The church is double; the older one is St Elias [Prophet Elijah] to the south; this north one is Evangelistria and was built by Hatzi Emmanuel Pholes, who is mentioned in the inscription. The last line guessed rather than read. My notes are not clear and perhaps St Elias is a separate church. [In unclear hand:] Μονή seems [...] the older church Αγ. Ελίας [sic] was a monastery: but μονή perhaps = μονασήριον = church simply.<sup>44</sup>

Της 10 Αυγούστου 1858 / δέησις των δούλων [του δούλου?] / Θεού Εμανουήλ προς/κυνητού του κτήτορος τη/ς αγίας μονής ταύτης εω/νία η μνήμη αυτού

[10 August 1858. Prayer for the servant of God Emmanouil pilgrim and founder of this holy monastery. May his memory be eternal]

**KARDAMOUTSA monastery. 9 August 1917**



(left) Dawkins' transcription of the inscription

(right) IMG\_5093 Kardamoutsa Monastery in 2012

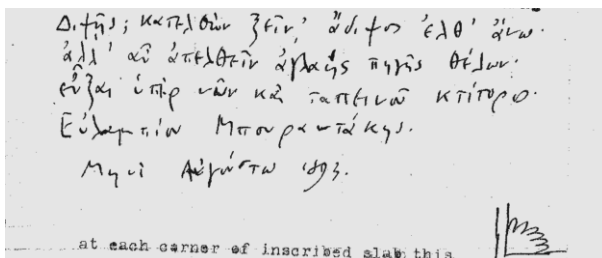
[This tomb is that of Hieromonk Manasses Katsaras, founder of this holy monastery. He fell asleep and was placed here on 19 August 1617. May his memory be eternal.]<sup>45</sup>

On the way from Spina Longa to Areti and near Areti the road passes by a recently dissolved monastery of Kardamoutsa. Irregular court; now used as a farm. Above inscription of founder on slab outside S wall of church. Dissolved because monks too few; old abbot now at Areti. Outside gate fine mulberry tree. Buildings rustic. Situation high and a little bleak; quite open and not sheltered like Areti.<sup>46</sup>

**[9 Aug. 1917. Village of DORIES near Areti monastery]**

The deacon at Areti told me that once a saint lived at Dories and a childless woman prayed to him that she might have children. He promised her a daughter and that the daughters of this daughter should all be most beautiful. This promise still holds and the women of this family, whose name is Phournarakis, are still the most beautiful in the village. The saint gave this blessing as a gift *δωρεάν* and hence the name of the village *Δωρεές* [gifts].<sup>47</sup>

A little past Dories on the right is a covered built cistern and on the covering slab an inscription in minuscules reading:<sup>48</sup>



and at each corner of the inscribed slab this

Then Kastelli in a plain with no outlet and probably a *khonos* [swallow-hole], then the smaller plain called [Trivazina?] with its *khonos*; thence the road goes behind the ancient city of Dreros on its hill and goes down to Neapolis.<sup>49</sup>

Another plain near here with a swallow-hole is Lakonia [Ἐξω Λακκώνια] between Neapolis and Kalokhorio [see ch. 25].

### Cisterns

In the parts of Crete where there are no springs, water is collected in cisterns. This is the case on Akrotiri, in a great part of Apokorona[s] and Spina Longa and in most of Mirabello. For Mirabello I note that water for irrigation is collected in big open-walled cisterns, generally of circular form. The level of the water is reached by a flight of steps winding down the side. The diameter is generally 12 to 15 or more feet. At Areti there are two huge square cisterns with steps going down, as much as 8 yards deep. Another very famous cistern is Alidakis' cistern at Krapí, as one comes down from Askiphou. But these Apokorona[s] cisterns are roofed in with a barrel vault that just rises above the ground, whereas the usual Mirabello cistern is open, though they have covered cisterns for drinking water, e.g. the [one] with the inscription near Δωρεές.

In Mirabello, at least, the open cisterns are called πηγάδια, the open ones στέρνες or στερνίτσες. This is the general use, I think, in Crete.<sup>50</sup>

### MILATOS. Khourmouzis, p. 48, note<sup>51</sup>

Near Milatos there is a very large cave in which 2000 people took refuge in 1823. They were besieged by Hassan Pasha and forced to surrender on Feb 5<sup>th</sup> of the same year.

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> Mirabello was originally the name of the castle built by Enrico Pescatore on the hill above the present town of Agios Nikolaos. The name Mirabello was given by the Venetians to the whole province, and the Venetian name of the province survived for about 800 years until 2011, when the area was officially renamed as the Dimos (municipality) of Agios Nikolaos. However, the name Gulf of Mirabello still survives for the bay in which Agios Nikolaos is situated. It is the largest bay in the Greek islands and the fifth largest in the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> The modern road still more or less follows this route.

<sup>3</sup> In other words, the old road even bypassed Agios Nikolaos.

<sup>4</sup> The cape is north of Spinalonga: Dawkins' route approaches the cape from the west.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins has Hellenized the name Lenika (Λενικά) to Hellinika. However, he has written Mavrikiano according to the Cretan pronunciation as Mavritchianó.

<sup>6</sup> We stayed at Plaka 14-18 May 2011 and again 13-17 Oct. 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Schisma was presumably the only settlement on the sea at that time; now it has become part of the expanded modern settlement of Elounda.

<sup>8</sup> Now Pano Elounda.

<sup>9</sup> Mavrikiano is immediately above the modern road at the north end of Elounda; in Dawkins' time the road did not go along the seaside as it does now.

<sup>10</sup> According to the museum on Spinalonga, the inhabitants of the island used to export whetstones. The material from which these are made is formed by skeletons of microorganisms found in layers of silicon sedimentary material. Whetstone mines are still operating locally in the hills near Elounda. From the isthmus at Elounda you can clearly see quarries on the conical hill called Karfi (see photo 5112).

<sup>11</sup> The meanings of the names of these two peaks are related: Oxa (nowadays Oxya) means 'sharp', while Karfi means 'nail'.

<sup>12</sup> Pindar (Isthmian 6.72) likens an athlete to a Naxian whetstone ([Ναξίαν ἀκόναν](#)). A scholiast places this Naxos in Crete rather than identifying it with the Cycladic island of the same name, which is about 100 miles north of Crete. Remains of ancient Naxos have been identified in the region.

<sup>13</sup> The remains of ancient Olous project very slightly out of the water next to the isthmus.

<sup>14</sup> As I've said, this settlement is known as Λενικά. However, the probably origin of the name from the word Ελληνικά 'Hellenic' suggests that a folk memory has survived of an ancient building there. Remains have apparently been found there of a temple dedicated to Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>15</sup> The French occupation was in 1898. The original bridge has been superseded by a fixed humped bridge, though the remains of the two ends of the old bridge are still standing (see photo 5102).

<sup>16</sup> What Dawkins calls the "island" here is not the island of Spinalonga but the peninsula of Κολοκύθας. The ruins of the ancient city are in fact under the water, off the south coast of the peninsula very near the isthmus. The mosaic he refers to formed part of the floor of an early Christian basilica, on the east side of the peninsula (see photo 5104).

<sup>17</sup> *Poros* is the Greek word for 'channel'. Adzibraghá is a Cretan dialect word for twins; it is not in Pangalos' dictionary of Cretan dialect.

<sup>18</sup> The lagoon is still there, with remains of the stone partitions separating it into small salt pans, but salt is no longer collected.

<sup>19</sup> An αγλία is not in fact a tripod. According to Pangalos, αγλία (< αντλία) is "a vessel with which milk is removed (pumped out, as it were) from the cauldron", while G.P. Shipp, *Modern Greek evidence for the ancient Greek vocabulary* (Sydney 1979), p. 83, defines Ancient Greek ἀντλίον as 'baling vessel', which must be what a Cretan αγλία is, i.e. not a tripod but Dawkins' "swinging box". None of the other terms Dawkins uses here is in Pangalos.

<sup>20</sup> Gerola (I(2) 571) says that Spinalonga (literally 'long thorn') is an Italianized version of the phrase στην Ελούντα (stin Elounda, 'to Elounda') and that the forms Stinalonda and Stinalonga are found in early Venetian documents. Ananiadis (p. 47) says that, according to the 1881 census (before it became a leper colony), 1100 people (220 families) lived on Spinalonga. Spinalonga was a leper colony from 1904 to 1957; Dawkins also mentions lepers having gone there in ch. 29. For more details of lepers in Crete see Kelly Daskala's afterword to her edition of Galateia Kazantzaki's *Η άρρωστη πολιτεία*, esp. pp. 139-40; she refers, among other things, to the passage on lepers in the book *Περιήγησις εις Κρήτην* (Ermoupoli 1881), pp. 19-21 by the physician and archaeologist Iosif Hatzidakis. An important Greek novel is set among the lepers of Spinalonga: G.N. Abbott, *Γη και νερό* (Athens 1936), as is Victoria Hislop's novel *The Island* (2005), which was made into a highly successful serial for Greek television.

<sup>21</sup> See also ch. 25. Greek μεσκίνης 'leper' (cf. T *misikin* 'poor, wretched, leprous'); μεσκινιά 'isolated leper colony'.

<sup>22</sup> See ch. 29.

<sup>23</sup> It was impossible to capture this panoramic view with my camera.

<sup>24</sup> This is the hill marked in the Anavasi atlas as 330 m high, to the east of Vrouchas; we went there on 14 May 2011.

<sup>25</sup> The Dionysades islands are marked as Yanisáda etc. on modern maps. For more on Cavo Sidero see ch. 31. Kavousi, seemingly well inland, has a distinct conical peak.

<sup>26</sup> There is still a sea-gate somewhere around here. However, some of Dawkins' letters referring to his sketch seem to be misplaced. The north end of the island is at the bottom right of his sketch and our photo. The old main gate G (which Dawkins sketched below with its inscription) is indeed on the west side, but he has marked it at the north. The chief entrance at present in use is the south gate, next to the landing stage for caiques from the mainland.

<sup>27</sup> We visited on 16 May 2011 and again in October 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Ananiadis p. 37 correctly has PRO; he reads the whole as LUCAS MIC[HIEL] PRO[VISOR] GE[NERALS] R[EGNI] CR[ETAE] [Luca Michiel Governor General of the Realm of Crete]. The inscription is now much weathered, and the P of PRO has been worn away, as it clearly had already been in Dawkins' time (cf. photo in Gerola I(2) 599).

<sup>29</sup> We were told by our guide that that the building to the south of the west gate was the Venetian garrison building, as Dawkins surmises. According to a plaque attached to the wall, it became the disinfection centre when the island became a leper colony.

<sup>30</sup> Our guide told us that the "building behind on a higher level" was a church (St Barbara), then a mosque, then a hospital (16 May 2011). According to Gerola (II 164-5) St Barbara was built by Michiel as a church for both Catholics and Orthodox in 1581.

<sup>31</sup> By "Spina Longa harbour" Dawkins means the whole space between the mainland and the peninsula.

<sup>32</sup> Now it says LVCAS MICHAEL PRO GE REG CRETIAE II AN MDLXXVIII. I wonder whether the I in CRETIAE was originally the final stroke of the date MDLXXVIII (i.e. 1579), and whether it has been misplaced during restoration, as has happened with the rector's palace in Chania (see ch. 3). Gerola's copy of the inscription (IV 380) has CRETAE and MDLXXVIII.

<sup>33</sup> This is the Mezzaluna Moceniga or Barbariga, visible from Plaka. The relief with the lion is still in situ.

<sup>34</sup> The gate (b on Dawkins' sketch) is obscured behind trees in our photo 3156.

<sup>35</sup> The church has recently been restored. It dates from the period between the end of the Ottoman conquest of the Cretan mainland (1669) and the capture of Spinalonga (1715), when the island was apparently a refuge for outlaws from the Ottoman-occupied mainland of Crete. The surnames Τζιρίτας and Τσιρίτας are still current in Crete.

<sup>36</sup> There is a copy and transcription of this inscription in Gerola IV 524.

<sup>37</sup> The Turks captured Spinalonga from the Venetians in 1715.

<sup>38</sup> Patino was the medieval Greek colloquial name for the island of Patmos, and it was adopted by the Italians. The Italian occupation of the Dodecanese (including Patmos) lasted from 1912 to 1943. *Tsoukalia*: earthenware casseroles; *foughoudes*: portable cooking stoves made of iron or earthenware.

<sup>39</sup> Μονή Απετίου (Μονή Αγίας Τριάδας [Holy Trinity Monastery]). According to his log of war Journeys", Dawkins visited the monastery on five other occasions in 1916-17. We visited on 14 Oct. 2012.

<sup>40</sup> The monastery was founded in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was looted and partially destroyed during the Greek Revolution in the 1820s but it continued to function and was rebuilt in 1880-1. The monastery was dissolved in 1930 but re-founded in 1955-

56. Since 1991 the buildings have been restored and are now in good condition and well maintained. The deep cistern outside the west wall of the monastery, with many steps going down below ground level inside the north wall, is now roofless. Such cisterns are exactly the same as those built by the Minoans.

<sup>41</sup> This is the main chapel of Agia Triada, restored in 1881.

<sup>42</sup> The inscription (in capitals) is still there. The date on the inscription is an indication of the “Helleno-Christian” ideology and identity that were developing among the Greeks at the time, i.e. the fusion of Classical (pagan) and Christian culture. The year from the birth of Christ is accompanied by the month and day according to the ancient Athenian calendar, in which Gamelion fell in December-January. Bishop Dorotheos founded a number of monastery schools in the region while he was bishop of Petra (this see covered Mirabello and Lasithi).

<sup>43</sup> Dawkins writes Dorees throughout.

<sup>44</sup> Gerola (III 184) briefly refers to “the two monasteries of St Anthony and the St Elias at Karydi”, which are mentioned in 17<sup>th</sup>-century notarial documents. Little remains of the monastery of St Anthony, while the modern church of the Prophet Ilias in the village square has been built where once stood the monastery of St Elias, which no doubt included the double church that Dawkins refers to. Strangely, although Karydi means “walnut”, there is no sign of walnut trees in the village, though there are mulberry trees.

<sup>45</sup> The inscription is copied and transcribed in Gerola IV 524.

<sup>46</sup> Μονή Καρδαμούτσας (μοναστήρι του Τιμίου Σταυρού) [Holy Cross Monastery], near Karydi. The monastery, though uninhabited, was well restored and fenced in 2005. We visited on 14 Oct. 2012. There is no sign of the inscription, or of the mulberry tree, but a 2004 photo found on the internet shows a slab leaning against S wall which may be the inscription.

<sup>47</sup> This attempt to account for the name is a legend with no basis in fact, and Dawkins knew it. However, we noticed that a number of men and women in the nearby village of Karydi, where we stopped and talked to some of the villagers, were strikingly handsome, with fair hair and blue eyes. One of them was even called Fournarakis.

<sup>48</sup> Although there are a number of cisterns in and around the village, we couldn't find any trace of this inscription.

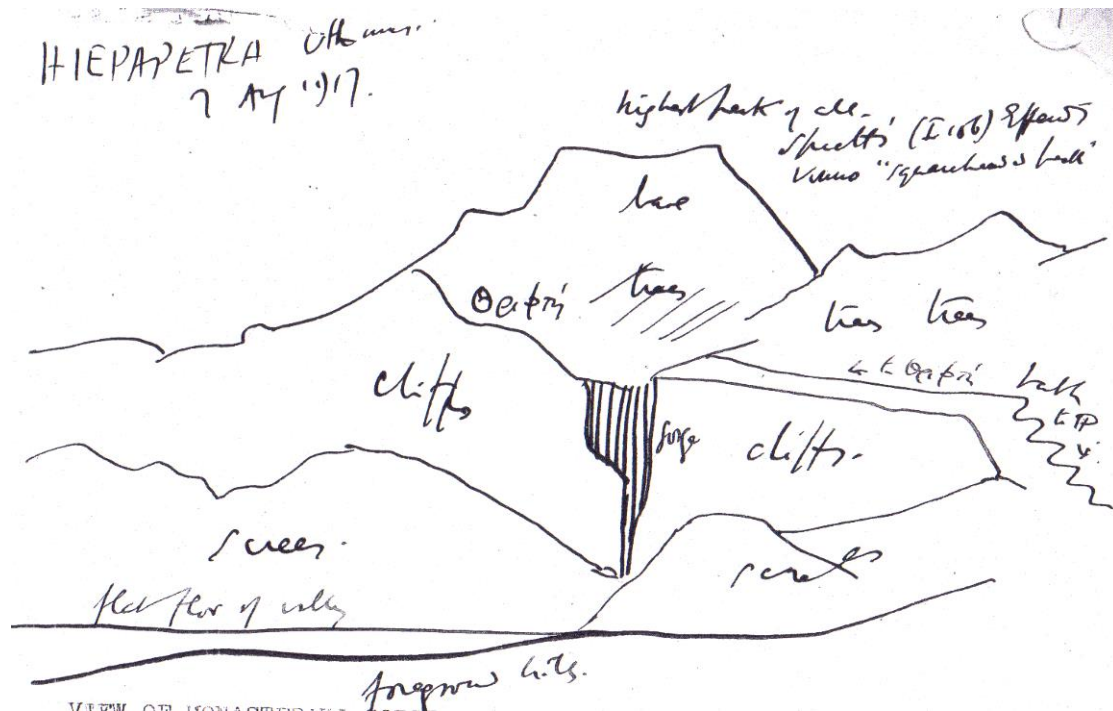
<sup>49</sup> From Wikipedia: “Dreros is an early [Iron Age](#) site, first excavated in 1917. [...] There is also a large communal [cistern](#) dug between the late 3rd and early 2nd century BCE, which contained Archaic inscriptions, one of which, famous as the Dreros inscription, the "sacred law of Dreros", is the earliest complete record of [constitutional law found in Greece](#).”

<sup>50</sup> Other references to cisterns can be found in ch. 1, 3, 4 (Akrotiri), 6 (Alidakis' cistern), 13, 14, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25 and 29.

<sup>51</sup> Milatos is NW of Neapoli and east of Sisi. Tsougarakis 1988: 308 notes that this place name has survived intact from ancient times.

## CHAPTER 28 HIERAPETRA ISTHMUS AND PHANEROMENI

Isthmus of Hierapetra, 7 August 1917



View of Monastiraki gorge [Xa [Ha] and Eteocretan Mountains<sup>1</sup> looking east from the high ground south of Phaneromeni Monastery looking across the isthmus.<sup>2</sup>

Of the hills that shut off the Eteocretan country there is no finer view than that from the high ground south of Phaneromeni half an hour along the road from the monastery to Kapistri.<sup>3</sup> The foreground consists of the bare and brushwood-covered hills which form the western wall of the valley of the isthmus. The sea is seen both to the north and south. On the slopes to the northern sea is the path to Tourloti, rounding the point of Malaxa by the white gypsum rocks.<sup>4</sup> South of this the mountain wall is split by the glen leading down from Bebonas [east of Kavousi] to Kavousi, whose grey houses look from here as if they were part of the fan of stones and alluvia washed down by the torrent on the floor of the isthmus. A part of this level land appears and, just where the foreground cuts it off, the wall of the cliff is broken by the gorge of Monastiraki, a clean cut in the rock face quite perpendicular on the southern side.<sup>5</sup>

Above the gorge is the wooded hollow in the side of the mountain through which the path winds up to the upland hamlet and vineyards of Thrifti [Thrypti]. Above this again towers the highest of the Siteia mountains.<sup>6</sup> Above the cliffs south of the gorge is the path that goes from Hierapetra by Episkopi<sup>7</sup> then up the hill above the gorge and through Thrifti and descends to Roukaka (q.v.). Southwards again, the mountain line is more broken and gradually runs downwards towards the sea. Hierapetra is not visible.

I visited this gorge first with Duckworth in spring 1903<sup>8</sup> and I think then it was that I scrambled along a level on the cliff to the north and got to a platform inside the

gorge with the remains of an (?) ancient house and saw the waterfall. I visited it again about 1909 with Miss [Edith] Hall and have often been above it going to Thrifti.<sup>9</sup>

The view described above by the evening light is wonderful. But this Monastiraki gorge cut out in the wall of cliff, whether seen from below as from Bashinamo<sup>10</sup> where the impending height of the wall is impressive and runs right up to the skyline, or as here from a higher level where the towering peak of Efendi Khristos behind it is seen to its full effect, is, in the simplicity of its lines, perhaps the most impressive thing in Crete. Its only rival is the view of Ida from the west from the Amari valley, where the ridge, instead of looking long as it does from Candia and being dwarfed by foothills, has a fine wedge-shaped outline and rises from a long line of buttress-like cliffs at the foot of which is a row of villages and then the fertile valley of Amari. (I would now add the view from the edge of the Omalos plain across the valley of the Xyloskala to the bare mountain opposite.)<sup>11</sup>

### **Isthmus of Hierapetra. 7 August 1917**

There are two ways of crossing from the north to Hierapetra on the southern coast. If one comes from Agios Nikolaos and the west [Route 1], one goes along the coast as far as the open mouth of the valley of Kalo Khorio, then goes up to the village among the orchards and gardens of the widening valley. The path goes through the eastern of the two hamlets and so up the hill and over the pass, and then descends to Hierapetra by way of Meselerous [Messeleri]. The other way is from the east [Route 2]. Then the road from Kavousi leads by the sea to Bashimamo, up the valley to Vasiliki and then over the low isthmus by way of Episkopi and Kato Khorio to Hierapetra.

#### **[Route 1]**

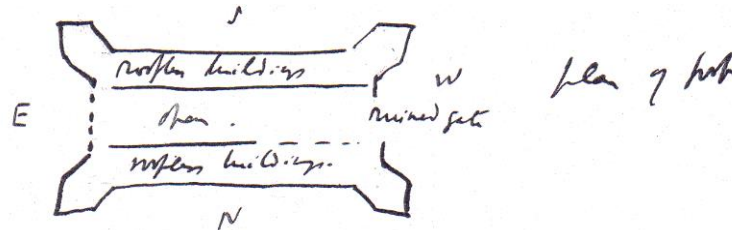
About **Kalo Khorio** the only thing notable is its name. It was called, so I was told by Dr Xanthoudides, not so long ago by the name of the ancient city whose remains are to be found at the mouth of the valley, Istrona. But this name reminded people of the phrase στρώνω το μουλάρι “I saddle the mule”, and therefore seemed to them ridiculous and they took the very colourless name Kalo Khorio, the beautiful village.<sup>12</sup> In the same way the Kalo Khorio near Khersonnesos is a new name: it used to be called *Στραβιρίνα vel sim.*, Stravirina, but this was so like *Στραβή Ειρήνη*, Crooked Eirene, that it seemed ugly. In this way numbers of ancient, interesting and picturesque names have been banished: the peasant has, it seems to us, very schoolboyish dread of being laughed at and in consequence a great desire to avoid anything odd or unusual. Two very pretty names which have apparently disappeared just because they were odd are Gras and Stravodoxari [see ch. 29], villages to the south of Roukaka. They now have the insipid names of Agios Stephanos and Stavrokhorio [Cross Village]. Here the word *stravós*, crooked, has probably had its effect, and Gras means a musket and so seemed at least an unusual name for a village.<sup>13</sup> But this loss of old names is not due only to a fear of ridicule: it results from the desire to obliterate traces of the foreigner in Greece. Hence on the mainland the wholesale banishing of Turkish names.

#### **[Route 2]**

From Bashinamo the road crosses the isthmus going by Vasiliki, famous again for Seager's excavations.<sup>14</sup> Between Bashinamo and Vasiliki the only thing of note is the quantity of the big golden *Ranunculus* on the waste ground. This is a rare flower: the only other habitat I know for it is on the slopes of Agia Galini.<sup>15</sup>



Halfway across the isthmus and just north of Episkopi in the centre of the valley there is a hill, low but in a commanding position. On it is a ruined fort of the plan shown in the sketch. All round there are slits for gun fire and the wall is preserved up to about this level. The corner towers were apparently no higher than the rest. The sea is visible both to the south and to the north, where the range of hills below Kavousi and its continuation, Pseira [island], cut the visible sea into two parts. This fort was very probably built after 1866.<sup>16</sup>



The road between the Kalo Khorio valley and Bashinamo passes by the sea along steep slopes looking down upon the sea. Shortly after leaving the valley the road crosses a gully and the ground falls down sheer from the path. This point is called The Old Woman's Jump, but what the story of this is I do not know.<sup>17</sup> On the left is the rocky ridge of Vrokastro, where Miss Hall excavated some remains of the very end of the Minoan age.<sup>18</sup>

Before describing the monastery on this mountain [Phaneromeni], I will mention that this path, especially near Bashinamo, is the best habitat I know of for the prostrate *Aristolochia*, with big purple flowers. It grows in abundance under the shelter of the lentisk bushes. Other places where I have found it are at Palaikastro on the path from the lowest hamlet to the excavation, below Myrthos [Myrthios] on the way to Karavos, between Kalo Khorio and Agios Nikolaos, and at Makriyalo (on the sea east of HP). But it is not a common flower at all. The flowers appear in May or June. It is popularly called *Pontikoi* (mice), perhaps because of the greyish brown outside of the U-shaped trumpet made by the corolla, perhaps because of the white or grey setae inside the corolla. Seeds brought to England did not germinate.<sup>19</sup>

Above I should have mentioned Gournia and Sphoungarades.<sup>20</sup>

### **Bashinamo, The Deep Sand<sup>21</sup>**

is a hamlet at the west end of the long beach which forms the [east] end of the isthmus. At the other end [of the beach], sometimes hidden behind a low hill, is the bigger village of Kavousi. Immediately above the storehouses by the sea is the square courtyard of the house built here for himself by the American excavator R. B. Seager, whose hospitality here must be so well remembered by many travellers. In the beach by the hamlet was a Minoan necropolis of burials in inverted jars. Its presence was revealed by a terrible rain storm which brought down the water in such torrents as to sweep away all the gardens made by the beach and reveal the burials below.

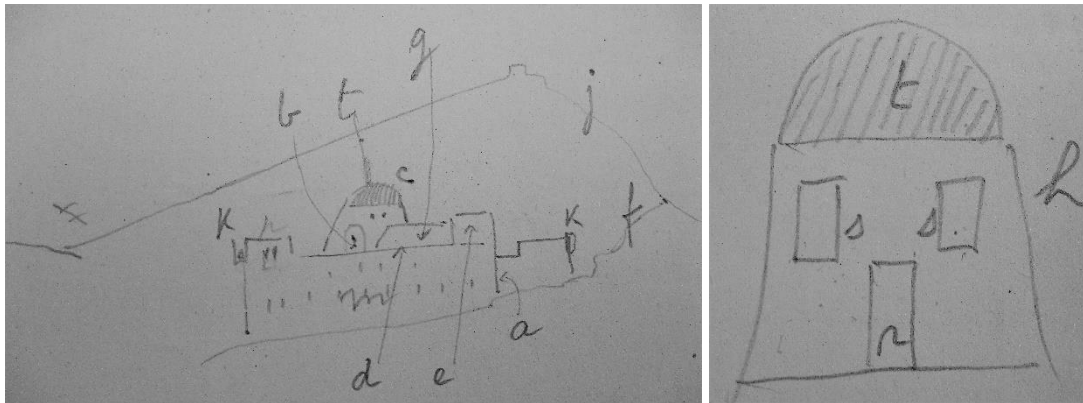


IMG\_0303 View over Pacheia Ammos, Good Friday, 17 April 2009

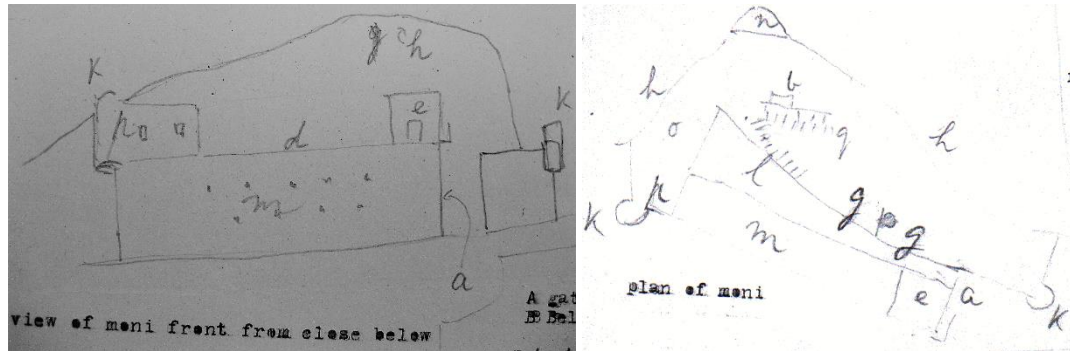
Describe fort, old church, olive groves on the south side of the isthmus.<sup>22</sup>

### Phaneromeni. 7th August 1917<sup>23</sup>

Panagia Phaneromeni is conveniently reached by a path from Bashinamo. Between Basinamo and Xeropotamo (the riverbed which comes down about half-way between Bashinamo and the Kalo Chorio bay) there is a flat-topped piece of mountain, a spur of the high mountain north of Hierapetra which appears very clearly from Agios Nikolaos. Just below the flat top of this, where the slope grows steep, rocks crop out, and in the face of these rocks is a cave. About the picture [icon] supposed to have been found there, the monks could give me no clear story.<sup>24</sup> This cave has been walled off and serves as the church of the monastery, the buildings of which cluster below it. Thus, the front of the cave has been walled up and has a door and above it two windows as shown in the sketch.



(Left) View of moni front from foot of the hill; (Right) Elevation of front of church  
[for key see next page]



- A Gate
- B Belfry on the way up to the church
- C Walled-up mouth of cave forming front wall of church
- D Terrace roof
- E Guesthouse
- F Path over the hill to Kapistri
- G Building behind court
- H Rock rising behind moni in a cave of which is the church
- J Mountain behind moni
- K Turrets
- L Courtyard
- M Range of buildings below terrace
- N Cave walled off as church
- O Buildings at end of court
- P Abbot's cell
- Q Steps up to front of church passing by belfry
- R Door of church
- S Windows of church
- T Open part of cave mouth above the cell which closes the cave entrance

Above the wall [of the church] is a bit of sloping roof with red tiles.<sup>25</sup> This door opens on an ante-church lit by the windows. At the back is a built arch leading to the church proper and at one side a stair leads to a gallery inside the windows. Above the part of the church where the apse would be, water drips into a jar and finds its way into a basin behind the east wall of the church. One gets to this basin by a door to the left in the ante-church which leads into the dark space behind the apse. The water is no doubt, though I was not told so, regarded as to some extent holy, as an *agiasma* [spiritually or bodily curative water].

The space in front of the church is occupied by the buildings and as the rock comes forward on both sides of the cave they abut at each end on the rock wall. There are little turrets at the corners. The moni is thus of the type of the cave in a cliff with the church in the cave and the buildings in front, and is of course more impressive as the cave is higher on the cliff and the cliff itself higher. This is a poor specimen as the cliff is low. The finest are Megaspilion [at Kalavryta], Khouzoviotissa in Amorgos, and Soumela and St John of Vazelon in Pontos. Both for the cliff above and the height of the cave, and the consequent height of the substructures, Soumela is beyond them all.



IMG\_1020 The entrance at the front of the monastery, 23 Oct. 2009

The buildings consist of a long narrow court. In front of this is a long white building which shows a long way off, with small windows. The roof of this is flat and forms a terrace (D), at one end of which is the guest-house and at the other the abbot's quarters. At the back of this court one ascends by steps past the belfry to the platform in front of the cave church. The guest-house with big windows is newer than the rest, which has only little slits. The monks are inhospitable, the monastery disorderly, the guest-house dirty and full of bugs and fleas – the only monastery in Crete where I have ever been badly received. But in the guest-house are 6 or 7 good specimens of the Cretan, specifically Siteia, carpets.<sup>26</sup>

The view is fine. The monastery faces so that the view to the east<sup>27</sup> is cut off by the mountain; Pseira just appears. To the west are Dicte and the irregular line of hills running down to Cape Aphoresmenos [Agios Ioannis]. The coast of the gulf of Mirabello from this cape shows first the entrance to Spina Longa – the fort is hidden – then the irregular outer coast of the peninsula [Kolokythas], then the isthmus almost sinking into the sea, and behind it the inner part of the harbour by Skisma [harbour of Elounda], then the island and harbour of Agios Nikolaos, and then the jagged coast as far as the beach below Kalo Khorio. The rest of the coast is cut off by the ridge of Vrokastro.<sup>28</sup> Below one sees the beach at Xeropotamo. I was once before here before the war with Miss Hall and Seager when I was stopping with him at Bashinamo.

I note two inscriptions, both giving the name of the abbot Neophytos. The first is on the wall below the belfry and the second is on the silver plate covering an eikon of the Virgin and child in the church.<sup>29</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> The term "Eteocretans" ("true Cretans") refers to the people who produced some now indecipherable inscriptions found in Eastern Crete. The term was used by early archaeologists who excavated in Crete. James Whitley, in an article arguing that this term should be abandoned, writes: "Just as the Welsh are a modern remnant of the Britons who once inhabited most of this island, so the Eteocretans became, in the eyes of Evans and Bosanquet, the historical remnant of the 'Minoans', hiding out in the fastnesses of East Crete until *ca* 140 BC" (J. Whitley, "The Minoans: a Welsh invention? A view from East Crete", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 46.1

(2003), p. 213). Thanks to my old Welsh-Greek pal Stathis Gauntlett for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins' manuscript notes read as follows: "Hieraptera Isthmus 7 Aug 1917"; "highest peak of all – Spratt's (I 156) Effendi Vouno [Afendis Christos] [...] 'square-headed peak'"; "← to Θριψτή path to HP [Hierapetra →]", "bare... trees... cliffs... gorge... screes... flat floor of valley... foreground hills". Thrypti seems to be misplaced: the path to the village and the village itself lie above the *near* side of the gorge. Cf. also photo in ch. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Kapistri (meaning 'Halter') was renamed Stavros in 1955. We didn't go up there because the dirt road at the top of the monastery was barred by a locked gate.

<sup>4</sup> There is another Malaxa to the east of Hania: see ch. 4 and 24.

<sup>5</sup> The Ha gorge is to the south-east of Παχειά Άμμος (Pacheia Ammos) on the E4 hiking trail.

<sup>6</sup> He probably means Αφέντης Χριστός [Lord Christ], also known as Αφέντης Σταυρωμένος [Crucified Christ] (1476m), mentioned below by Dawkins, and in endnote ii above.

<sup>7</sup> This is the route of the modern road.

<sup>8</sup> W. L. H. Duckworth was a colleague of Dawkins' in the Palaikastro excavations.

<sup>9</sup> The query in "an (?) ancient house" is Dawkins'. His route would have been more or less the course of the present dirt road above the gorge along its south side, nearer the gorge than the asphalt road to Thrypti.

<sup>10</sup> As noted before, this is how Dawkins always writes the name Pacheia Ammos.

<sup>11</sup> For Omalos see ch. 7.

<sup>12</sup> The modern road signs and the Anavasi atlas say Istro, as though the name belongs to the second declension.

<sup>13</sup> Much of this material is repeated from ch. 8. I would add that in 1955 Roukáka was renamed Chrysopigi [Golden Spring], no doubt because of embarrassing connotations with the word κακά (*kaká*), which is not only the neuter plural form of the word for 'evil', but also a child's word for 'excrement'.

<sup>14</sup> The Minoan village at Vasiliki was excavated by the American [archaeologist](#) R. B. Seager: see his *Excavations at Vasiliki* (Philadelphia 1905-7).

<sup>15</sup> For more on *Ranunculus asiaticus* see ch. 32.

<sup>16</sup> Dawkins' manuscript material reads: "roofless buildings", "ruined gate", and "open". The fort is visible from the road from Ierapetra to Pacheia Ammos, on the right, from just before the last turn to Kato Chorio. Though we didn't go close to it, it now looks much tumbled down.

<sup>17</sup> There is an Old Woman's Jump (Της Γριάς το Πήδημα) on the *other* (south) coast, near τα Αχλιά (Γαλήνη), immediately east of Agia Photia.

<sup>18</sup> See E.H. Hall, *Excavations in eastern Crete: Vrokastro* (Philadelphia 1914). Vrokastro is to the east of Καλό Χωριό.

<sup>19</sup> He has already talked about seeing *Aristolochia* (Dutchman's Pipe) between Plakias and Damnoni: see ch. 12. We've seen them in April.

<sup>20</sup> Gournia is the site of a Minoan palace a little to the west of Pacheia Ammos. Edith Hall and Richard Seager excavated on the nearby hill of Sphoungaras in 1910.

<sup>21</sup> We visited in April 2009. We were told by a man who had moved there from Kavousi in 1942 that the place was called Παχύς Άμμος (Thick Sand) because of the three-metre-deep sand on the beach, most of which has now been extracted for building.

<sup>22</sup> We don't know which fort he means; he has described a fort earlier in this chapter. There is no material in the archive about the old church and the olive groves that he mentions to here.

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<sup>23</sup> We visited on 23 Oct. 2009. The Phaneromeni monastery mentioned by Xanthoudidis (1903: 93-5) and Gerola (brief description at III 194, photo at II 267 and inscription at IV 585) is a different monastery of the same name situated north-west of Siteia.

<sup>24</sup> The miracle-working icon is supposed to have revealed itself to a shepherd who visited the cave – hence the monastery’s name Φανερωμένη [Revealed].

<sup>25</sup> The red tiles were still there when we visited. Further observations from our visit: The whole of the rock on the right side of the church was covered in ivy. The doorway had a rounded arch and was surmounted by a Classical pediment above. There were three sets of steps leading up to the (modern?) terrace, with views. There were inscriptions over doors on the left of the narrow courtyard, dated 1859 and 1889.

<sup>26</sup> We can’t judge the hospitableness of the monks, since we only caught a fleeting glimpse of one them. The buildings, however, were in excellent condition.

<sup>27</sup> That is, to the “Eteocretan” mountains.

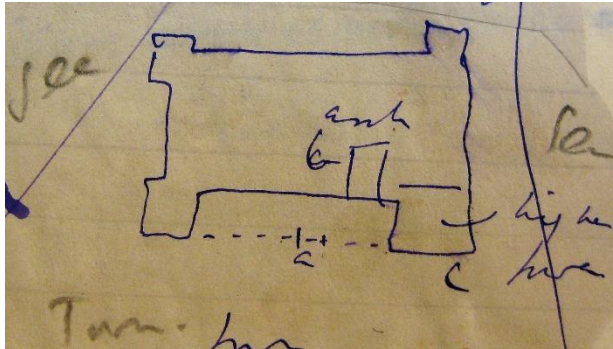
<sup>28</sup> This is immediately below the monastery, between it and the sea.

<sup>29</sup> These inscriptions are dated 1885 and 1874 respectively. The texts are not reproduced here. I noticed other inscriptions, dated 1859 and 1889, over doors on the left of the narrow courtyard.

**CHAPTER 29**  
**FROM THE ISTHMUS OF HIERAPETRA TO SITEIA AND THE COAST TO**  
**KHANDRAS**

**Hierapetra**

The town lies on the east side of a sandy spit, at the end of which is the square Turkish castle. This has battlements and towers at the corners like a small Frangokastello.<sup>1</sup>



IMG\_5423 Castle at Ierapetra, 15 April 2013

**Hierapetra. 19 October 1917:**<sup>2</sup> On the castle over the outside gate **a**, a wall which seems a later addition to the original plan and built across from tower to tower on the land side, is a Turkish inscription with the date  $\text{''}\cdot\text{v} = 1107 + 588 = 1695$ . But the  $\text{''}\cdot\text{v}$  is not very clear.

The old entrance is an arched gateway, **b**. The buildings round the court have terraced roofs. The tower **c** is the only one at all higher than the others. In front of the castle are a few remains of the Roman harbour, and a piece of the old mole runs out from the east part of the town. All round the present town are scanty remains of the ancient town, the Roman town, a good deal more destroyed now than when Spratt saw it.<sup>3</sup> There was until lately a wall round the old part of the town by the castle. This was destroyed by the French during the occupation with the futile idea that this would bring together the Turks, who for the most part lived in the old town inside the walls, and the Christians, who lived outside in the newer houses inland of the wall. Simple souls! Most of the houses in the old town have flat roofs; in the new town many red tiles of French make. Mosque and pretty fountain.<sup>4</sup>

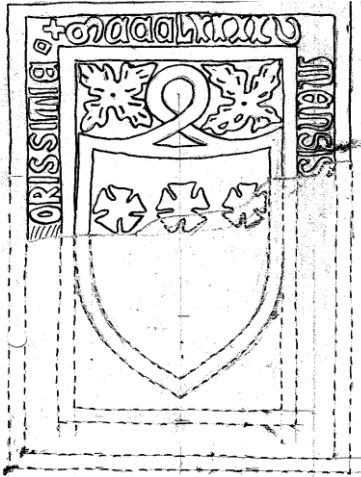


IMG\_1016 The mosque and the fountain

On the left of the main road from the north as it enters the town is a large ruined house with a palm tree in the garden. It has two wings and the door in the recess between them. With its painted decorations over the windows and high chimneys it was a building of some pretension. Now it is utterly gutted and the usual removal of the beams or hewn stones from the frames of the windows and doors makes it look even worse. It is said to have been the house of a certain bishop of Hierapetra – before the present bishop built his place at Agiasmenos outside the town, the bishops lived in the town – and this bishop quarrelled with the people and was either sent or went away. Before going he cursed the town and the recent ravages of an insect pest which makes the olives shrivel and drop from the trees is due to the curse which he refused to remove although messengers were sent to his retreat in the Holy Land to beg him to do so. The house is now said also to be haunted by “something white”.

Another superstition which clings to this part of the town is connected with the disused Turkish burying place (μεζαρλίκι) near this house but on the right of the road behind the houses. After dark it is dangerous to pass through it either after taking a bath or if carrying bread. The first probably is an extension of the idea that baths are peculiarly the resort of evil spirits and that therefore in the bath this danger is greater than at other times, and the period of danger is extended to cover passing through any other spook-ridden region. The danger to the bread seems to have some connexion with the semi-sacred nature of bread as the specially God-given food.





**Hierapetra. 10 October 1917**

Stone slab on wall over door of house a few houses inland from the isthmus near customs house in old town of Hierapetra. All in relief.<sup>5</sup>

ORIS SITIE MCCCLXXXV MENSIS [1395]

**Hierapetra. 10 October 1917<sup>6</sup>**

An hour or less inland of Hierapetra is the leper village described by Spratt, now entirely deserted and in ruins, as the lepers have gone to Spina Longa. It is on rising ground, built up on the south side by a wall which stands up a little above the houses. A few yards from it is a dark church. Called Λουβοχώρι.<sup>7</sup> Near it is Καστρί, which used to be inhabited by more Turks than Christians. At the top of the village is a ruined [??] Turkish fort, with cistern inside, probably built after 1866.

**9 August 1918**

**The valleys running south to the sea east of Hierapetra are** [from west to east]:

1. Ais Yannis valley with Ai Photia at the south of it.<sup>8</sup>
2. Orno valley, narrow and mountains jaggy. Village amongst trees out of sight of the sea. So too is Ais Yannis.<sup>9</sup>
3. The much wider valley of Roukáka [now Chrysopigi] and Stavrokhorí, both I think hidden from the sea, certainly not visible from the path along the coast.<sup>10</sup>
4. Agios Mamas and Daphnes valley.<sup>11</sup>
5. The Lithines valley going down to the sea at Makriyalo.<sup>12</sup> 4 is a western branch of this, and they meet near Adromili.<sup>13</sup>
6. The Perivolakia valley going down to the sea at the monastery of Ai Yannis Kapsa.

**FROM THE ISTHMUS OF HIERAPETRA TO SITEIA**

There are, from the Isthmus of Hierapetra to Siteia, three main routes:

1. The northern route from Bashinamo to Kavousi, Tourloti, Mouliana, Khamezi [Χαμέζι] and so down to Siteia.

2. The middle route from Hierapetra to Roukaka [via Thrypti & Oreino] and thence to Siteia or to Khandra [east of Ετιά].

3. The south coast route from Hierapetra by Lithines and so either to the eastern plateau and Khandra or north to Siteia.<sup>14</sup>

[Route 1]

**Tourloti to Roukaka**

Where the road from Mouliana to Tourloti descends into the valley, before reaching Tourloti a narrow gorge [path] goes off to the south. This leads through the gorge and then over the hills to Roukaka and is now used to carry the post to Roukaka. I have not myself been over this path.<sup>15</sup>

**Sphaka. 9 June 1916**



\* SFAKA — FONTANA BAROZZI (961).

Gerola IV, Tavola 3 (photo taken before the rebuilding and enlargement mentioned by Dawkins)

Sphaka is the village next to Tourloti. A little below the village on the road to Kavousi on the right of the road is the village fountain. It was rebuilt and enlarged in 1908, but they built in again the Venetian inscription below and the coat of arms in a floriated border.

+ DEO FAVENTE  
NICOLAUS BAROTIUS  
IACOBI FILIUS PATRITI=

US VENETUS AD CO=  
MODUM UNIVERSA=  
LEM EREXIT ANNO  
DOMINI MDCCXXXIII<sup>16</sup>

[By the grace of God the Venetian patrician Nicolas Barozzi, son of Jacob, erected this for the convenience of the public in the year of Our Lord 1734 (sic)]

[Route 2]<sup>17</sup>



IMG\_5468 Bottom of Monastiraki (Ha) gorge



IMG\_5478 Thrypti village

### 9 August 1918. Hierapetra to Roukaka

The region between the gorge and Thrypti is called Argyros [Αργυρά (Argyrá)]. A lot of the bushy St John's wort. Gathered seeds of rock campanula. Above Thrypti I found the thorny vetch found also at Katharo and a little on the flat ground to the east of Kroustallenia [in Lasithi]. On the slopes before reaching Thrypti a good lot of pines.<sup>18</sup> Thrypti is a scattered hamlet in a valley among the vineyards and only inhabited at the vintage. Descending after passing Thrypti one leaves first Orno a little on the right and then enters the Roukaka valley, seeing to the right nearer the sea the village of Stavrokhorí, formerly Stravodoxari. Orno has all flat roofs. Stavrokhorí has flat roofs, all but the school a little out of the village, which is roofed with French tiles.

[Separate slip:] **Stravodoxari. 29 April 1918.** The road from Hierapetra to Stravodoxari goes along the coast and then a little past Mavrokolympoi<sup>19</sup> turns inland up a valley. Below the village of Stravodoxari the road passes beneath a rock which entirely overhangs the road and water falls from it so that one passes between the rock and the falling water. At this point a little church of Agios Constantine [sic] is built up against the rock. The village has narrow streets, the houses much crowded together and few red roofs [added in ms: ? any except church]. I slept there. I passed through this village with Annie [his sister] about 1905 on the way from Khandra to Roukaka and Bakhynammo.<sup>20</sup>

At Roukaka there are 2 red roofs only, and these are not conspicuous. On a platform amongst the broken rocks above the village (i.e. to the north) is a biggish church, Ypapanti, dated 1890-1898.<sup>21</sup>

**Kriya [Krya] Castle. 30 April 1918:** On the way from Stravodoxari to Siteia I passed by Agios Mamas and went up the hill to the east of the hamlet to get a view of Kriya castle.<sup>22</sup>

The road from Roukaka to Siteia goes from Roukaka across the neck between the Roukaka and Agios Mamas valleys, along the top of the latter, leaving Daphnes Daphni to the south across the branch of the valley; then ascends past [the church of ?] Agios Mamas to the col, whence it descends to Siteia by Skordilo, Paraspori and Skopi, or alternatively by the old *kalderimi* over the hill not far from Maronia. I have been both ways. The *kalderimi* is now much disused and getting grown over, but it must have been the old road in Turkish times from Roukaka to Siteia when Roukaka was an important place and the seat of a *kaimakam*. Roukaka is now very much deserted and most of the Turks have gone away.<sup>23</sup> The place is at the foot of the mountain on the north edge of a little plain, a position a little like that of Viano except that at Roukaka the village is much smaller and does not run up the hill.



IMG\_0296 Chrysopigi (formerly Roukaka), 16 April 2009

### [Route 3]<sup>24</sup>

The road east from Hierapetra goes near the sea along waste ground with a few pines on the slopes which have suffered much from fires. It passes below Agia Photia where the Americans dug.<sup>25</sup> Passing along these hot wastes in the early summer when the crickets were making a great noise, Yanni told me that the tree cricket, *tsítsiras*, chirps in the daytime in summer but stops about the time when the grapes get ripe. It is therefore said to be calling out for the grapes to ripen but not to survive to eat them. I don't know whether it in fact dies at this season or stops chirping for some other reason. In Greek: *phonazei na kamothoune ta staphylia, alla dhen prolavanei na ta trogei, dhioi ama kamothoune ska.*

Thus, see in Protódikos, *Idiotika tis neoteris ell. glossis*, Smyrna 1866, p. 41, s.v. λαλώ. Here (probably in Smyrna) they say: ο τσήντσιγας<sup>26</sup> ελάλησε, μαύρη ρώγα γυάλισε [The cicada has chirped, the black grape has shone].

It was passing along these arid slopes in September 1917 that Yanni told me a rhyme about the big wild squill, called the immortal plant – *αθάνατη*. This grows everywhere in waste places in Crete and its big bulb makes it independent of water. The flower stalk is sent up in the summer, seeds and dies and then, with the rains, come the leaves. This separation of flower and leaf is so strange that there is the verse: στην Πόλη και στη Βενετιά δεν είναι 'τσα χορτάρι / πρώτα να βγάλει τον καρπό κι ύστερα το

ψιλιάρι [In Constantinople and in Venice there is no such plant / that first sets its fruit and then its stem].<sup>27</sup> [Ms addition: Also hung up as charm against evil eye.]

**9 August 1918**

Today is the feast of St Pandleimon, a doctor saint. There is a *panagyri* at Mavro Kolymbi by the shore, 3 or 4 hours to the east of Hierapetra. I nearly went.<sup>28</sup> Mavro Kolymbi is where a river flows down from the hills and makes a little lagoon inside the beach. On the rock which bounds the beach at the east end there is a little church of the saint. I had lunch there once with Yanni.

**[Route 3, but going south from Siteia to Ierapetra]**

**Skopí [Σκοπή] village near Siteia on left of road to Chamezi. 3 May 1918**

I was told at Toplou that when the Turks had conquered Crete but the Venetians still held out in Spina Longa that the Venetian bishop of Spina Longa sent over a boat to Siteia to get food. This boat was betrayed to the Turks by the people of Skopi and the village was then cursed by the bishop, which curse still cleaves to the place.

**11 August 1918**



IMG\_5438 Agioi Anargyroi, Kato Episkopi Siteias



IMG\_5474 Agioi Georgios & Charalambos, Episkopi Ierapetras (see note xxix)

Visited the old church at Kato Episkopi near Siteia. It lies by itself ten minutes west [east] of Piskokefalo, just outside the village of Kato Episkopi. All whitewashed and until lately used by the Turks as a store for straw. The oddity of the plan is that it has a dome with apses north and south, but on the east and west there are compartments with barrel vaults, one of which, the smaller, being the chancel and the larger part of the nave.<sup>29</sup>

No tiled roofs at Vaveloi [Βαβέλοι] or at Kanene [Κανενέ].<sup>30</sup> Vaveloi was largely Turkish and is now half in ruins. There are still a few Turks there.<sup>31</sup>



IMG\_5434 Nea Praisos (Vaveloi)

### 11 August 1918

The road from Siteia to Khandras goes up the valley to Marounia [Μαρωνιά], then up the slopes by Praisos to Vaveloi.<sup>32</sup> Here trees cease, and it passes over the bare hills to the plain of Khandras. Epano Episkopi with an old church lies a bit off this road to the west, and I did not visit it.<sup>33</sup> It appears when one looks west [NW] from Kanene, and so does Tourtoulis<sup>34</sup> and the Epano Kasteli of Kriya,<sup>35</sup> which is on a rock, apparently on this side quite inaccessible. Only the church on the top, Agios Georgios, is visible. The other buildings are on the other side of the rock: I suppose I saw them when I walked to the castle from the west and got up the hill to the east of the col of Agios Mamas.

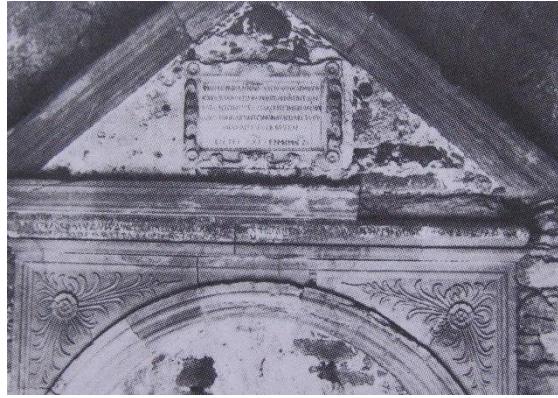
### Mill at Kanene with inscription published by Xanthoudidis. 11 August 1918

The village of Kanene is 20 minutes west of Vaveloi, and the mill is at the bottom of a valley, half an hour below [= north of] the village. The Phingetomanoli mentioned by Xanthoudidis as the owner was the father of the present owner, who is Yannis Phingetakis.<sup>36</sup> The inscription, the letters of which are deep but very hard to read, is on a stone built into the front of the *siphoni*, the almost vertical channel which carries the water down to the mill-house just above the level of the flat roof of the top of the mill-house [sic]. In 4 lines I made out only

ΚΑΡΡΙΑΘΙ

ΣΑΟΘ 7079-5508 = 1571 or 6979-5508 = 1471<sup>37</sup>

## Lithines

IMG\_0292 (16 April 2009) The Church<sup>38</sup>The Vlachos tomb (Gerola)<sup>39</sup>

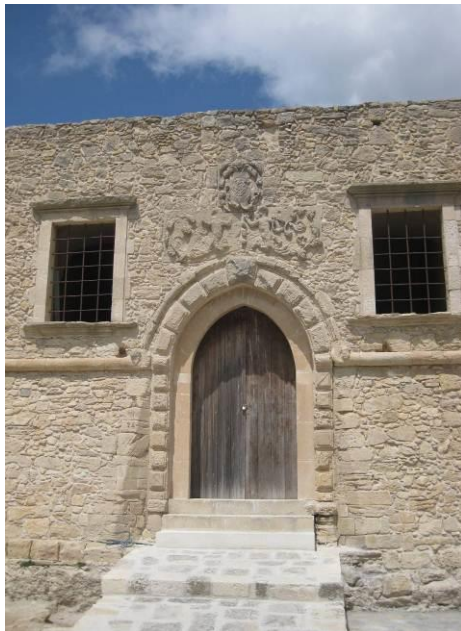
The old church of St Athanasios contains the tomb of the founder, George Vlakhos. It is opposite the door and thus occupies the west part of the north wall of the church.<sup>40</sup> Above the altar-shaped tomb is an arch and above this a pediment. One inscription is on a block in the pediment; it records that the tomb was made by the most noble lord George Vlakhos to preserve the bones of his nearest relations, parents, brothers and of all whom he wished, in the year 1610, May 10<sup>th</sup>. On the moulding above the arch is another inscription in three lines [sections], the first of which records the restoration of the church by the same George Vlakhos, the second has illegible words mixed with dates (Xanthoudidis has made out 1587, 1595, 1602, 1605), and the third is in his memory, giving the date of his death as 1610, June 16<sup>th</sup>, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the indiction. On the tomb itself are the arms of Vlakhos inside a garland with the initials Z.V. (Zorzi Vlakhos). This second line [section], which is practically given up by Xanthoudidis, seems very likely to have contained the dates of decease of the relations of George Vlakhos. From Xanthoudidis' copy the words "father and brother and his wife" can be made out. These inscriptions have been published by Xanthoudidis in *Αθηνά*, XVI, p. 81-83, with facsimile copies [on p. 78].

The tower in the middle of the village mentioned by Gerola has recently been entirely destroyed by the inhabitants.<sup>41</sup> They told me that it was a danger to the neighbouring houses and that they wished to make a *plateia* [square] there. Nothing has, however, been done or is likely to be done to clear away the heap of rubbish, and the probable motive was the idea that the building was a relic of past bondage. The total absence of historic or aesthetic feeling and the furious chauvinism inspired by Greek education, combined with the natural destructiveness of the peasant who also is apt to believe that all old buildings contain treasures, make a formidable combination before which already many, and in the near future probably most, of the historical monuments of later Greece are likely to succumb.

As one leaves Lithines on the road to Etia and Khandra [going east] the road climbs a hill and about half an hour from the village there is a side view to the NNW across the valley of Lithines. On the other side of the valley is a flat-topped rock with precipitous sides and a conspicuous white building upon it, the church of St George. On this rock is the castle described by Gerola as near Krygia [Krya]. Its position is such as to enable it to command the watershed between the northern slopes to Siteia and the southern valleys of Roukaka and Lithines. I have not visited it myself.<sup>42</sup>

**12 August 1918 at Roukaka: Road from Khandra[s] to Roukaka, 5 hours.**

It ascends by Agios Panteleimon to the edge of the Khandra plain and then descends (here Antonio took leave of us) into the Lithines valley, passing through the little villages of Papayanide [Papayannades] and Vori, both of which are all with flat roofs and no tiles. Then, leaving Lithines on the left, it passes the ruined Turkish village of Palaiosilitsi. This is left just to the left, the path going through the Turkish graves. All old Turkish villages have outside a place of graves unenclosed, and the headstones almost entirely uncut, just a rough stone at head and foot and very rarely a cut tombstone. These burying places are called by their Turkish name, *μεζαρλίκι*. Then the road goes to the bottom of the Lithines valley which it crosses south of the watershed and near Adromili, which I did not see. Then it goes up a valley leading to Agios Mamas. After leaving the Lithines valley one goes up west to Daphnes [Daphni], old Turkish village with Turkish graves, seeing to the right Ta Krya village but not the castle, and so to Agios Mamas and Roukaka. All over the Lithines valley the castle of Krya is conspicuous on its precipitous rock. At Daphnes there was a massacre of Turks.

**ETIA**

IMG\_0289



IMG\_0282

Of the Venetian villa of Etia the lower part of the façade is preserved. It has an arched doorway and a horizontal string course at the level of the spring of the arch, below which the walls are battered outwards. Above this course are four square windows. In front of the villa is a much battered fountain.<sup>43</sup>





IMG\_0288 Inscription on restored fountain, April 2009

I was told at Magasa that in the Seraġio [governor's palace] of Etia there once lived a Turk called Bekir Aga. This Turk outraged a girl and the mother went herself to Constantinople to appeal to the Sultan for justice. The Pasha summoned Bekir to Candia and hanged him, but partly by treachery for the noose was put round his neck as he sat at table.

On the left of the road from Etia to Khandra,<sup>44</sup> just as it leaves the village, is the church of St John the Divine. The south door looks late Venetian. Over the south window is a triangular space framed by volutes and floral ornaments containing a crude relief of a figure in a straight robe with the inscription above the head: *Ο Α Ιω Ο Θεολόγος*, i.e. Saint John the Theologian. A photograph of it has been reproduced by Gerola (II, p. 262, fig. 324).



IMG\_0287



IMG\_0286

### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> The castle is reputed to have been built by Enrico Pescatore in 1212.

<sup>2</sup> In fact Dawkins probably wrote this particular paragraph between 6 & 14 October; so maybe 19 Oct. is a mistake for 10 Oct. The later wall that he mentions as bearing the inscription has since been demolished. The other paragraphs in this section are undated.

<sup>3</sup> Spratt describes Ierapetra at I 255-64.

<sup>4</sup> The mosque is apparently used as a music school.

<sup>5</sup> We were unable to locate this, and the employee in the museum whom we consulted didn't know about it.

<sup>6</sup> This handwritten paragraph is difficult to read.

<sup>7</sup> The name simply means Leper Village. I can't find a place with this name near here. There are places called Λωβοχώρι in Dimos Rethymnou and near Makrys Toichos near Daratso (Hania). Spratt (I 265-8) describes a visit to the leper village near Ierapetra, which he doesn't name. For more on lepers see the section on Spina Longa in ch. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Anavasi atlas p. 92; east of Ierapetra; Agios Ioannis is north-west of Agia Photia.

<sup>9</sup> Ορνό is the name of a mountain; Ορεινό is the name of a village; the valley comes out at Κουτσοῦράς (Koutsourás).

<sup>10</sup> See ch. 28 about the changed names of these villages. This route too goes down to Κουτσοῦράς.

<sup>11</sup> Agios Mamas seems to be a church to the north-west of Κάτω Κρυά and Δάφνη (Dafni). The valley comes out below Πιλαλήματα (Pilalimata).

<sup>12</sup> This is the route of the modern road.

<sup>13</sup> Αδρόμυλοι or Ανδρόμυλοι, north of Lithines, seems to be on yet another branch; the river is called Ανδρομόλιος. The Lithines valley seems to go NW to meet no. 4.

<sup>14</sup> The latter route is where the modern road goes.

<sup>15</sup> Neither have we.

<sup>16</sup> In April 2013 we found the *vrysi*, but it had been much rebuilt and there was no sign of the inscription. When we passed by again in May 2019 we couldn't find any trace of the spring, and some websites suggest it has been destroyed. Gerola IV 276 (photo of inscription) and 389 rightly surmises that the date specified in the inscription (1734) must be wrong (probably = 1634).

<sup>17</sup> The Monastiraki gorge and the Thrypti section are described in ch. 28. The Oreino-Thrypti path is now part of the E4 hiking trail. We drove from Kato Chorio to Thrypti on 19 April 2013 along the road, which is slightly further from the south side of the gorge than the old path.

<sup>18</sup> Dawkins is possibly referring to *Pinus brutia* which grows there.

<sup>19</sup> See below.

<sup>20</sup> For description of route from Khandras to Roukaka see below.

<sup>21</sup> We visited a church outside the village that answers to Dawkins' description, but I think it was the Metamorphosi.

<sup>22</sup> Also called Apano Kasteli; called Monte Forte in Anavasi atlas and on road sign. See below for more references to Krya castle.

<sup>23</sup> During the Ottoman period Roukaka was one of the largest Muslim villages.

<sup>24</sup> We followed this route in April 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Agia Photia is very near the site of a Minoan cemetery. The modern settlement is now on the sea below the road.

<sup>26</sup> Presumably τζιτζικας.

<sup>27</sup> Maybe Dawkins means στειλιάρι 'long handle'.

<sup>28</sup> Μαύρος Κόλυμπος (Mavros Kolymbos) on the map, described on the Internet as "a tranquil beach with black pebbles and usually calm deep water". Pangalos defines κόλυμπος as 'a place where stagnant water lies'. There's a Mavrokolymbos in Cyprus (where there's now a dam). Costas Xenofontos tells me that in Cyprus κόλυμπος a pool in a river that retains water (not necessarily all year round) even when the river dries up seasonally. JW suggests the name is equivalent to 'Blackpool'. We haven't visited.

<sup>29</sup> We visited on 16 April 2013. The church had recently been restored by the Byzantine Archaeological Service. There is evidence that the building was originally an 11<sup>th</sup>-cent. bath house converted to a church in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., like Saints George & Charalambos

at Episkopi (which has a Venetian-period nave added on the south side: see photo 5474; also photo in Gerola II 93): see Katerina Mylopotamitaki, “Ο ναός των Αγίων Γεωργίου και Χαραλάμπου στην Επισκοπή Ιεράπετρας”, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 12 (1984), Περίοδος Δ', pp. 441-452.

<sup>30</sup> In 1955 the name Vaveloi was changed to Nea Praisos, and Kanene was changed to Agios Spyridon.

<sup>31</sup> According to Pashley (II 323), Vaveloi was entirely Muslim.

<sup>32</sup> By Praiso Dawkins presumably means the ancient site of Praisos, and when he says “by” he presumably means “near” rather than “through”.

<sup>33</sup> Nor did we.

<sup>34</sup> Tourtoulou (Τουρτούλοι), now Agios Georgios.

<sup>35</sup> Monte Forte at Krya.

<sup>36</sup> The webpage <http://www.sitia.gr/city/villages/temples.html> mentions a church of St George “κοντά στου Φυγέτο το Μύλο” [near Fygetos’ Mill]. The surname is Fygetis or Fygetakis, but Xanthoudidis p. 84 erroneously writes Φαγγετομανώλης. Although the mill is signed by the road, we failed to find the actual building, let alone the inscription, 16 April 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Xanthoudidis (p. 84) has more: Οικοδομήθη ο υδρόμυλος ούτος δι’ εξόδου και κόπου ... Γυεώργη Καρπαθίου του Δοξαρά επί έτους 5700 μηνί Μαΐου [This water mill was constructed at the expense and efforts of Giorgis Doxaras of Karpathos in the month of May 6979]. X reads the year as 6979 = 1471. Gerola IV 587 prints a photo and a transcription of the inscription. He too reads the date as 1471 and concludes that this is the earliest extant incised (as opposed to painted) inscription from the Venetian period in Crete.

<sup>38</sup> The remains of the funerary monument on the outside wall are not those of the Vlachos tomb.

<sup>39</sup> Reproduced from Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 418.

<sup>40</sup> We were unable to enter the church. According to Xanthoudidis the tomb is inside the church on the north wall: see p. 82 & 78, plate Γ’ 1 & Γ’ 2. Gerola (IV 590-1; 594-5) provides transcriptions and copies of two inscriptions.

<sup>41</sup> This was apparently a three-storey Venetian tower. When the Ottomans conquered the region, they put it to use as an observation tower. In 1828, Greek rebels besieged the tower for two days and eventually managed to cause an explosion that set fire to the tower, and many Muslims who were holed up inside were burned to death. Presumably the ruins of the tower had remained until the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they were completely demolished.

<sup>42</sup> Dawkins does not appear to mention the ruined building with a Gothic arch that we saw on our left on our way from Etia to Lithines. Nor does he mention the Byzantine church of Panagia or the Venetian double church of Agios Charalambos and Agia Triada, both of which we saw in April 2009.

<sup>43</sup> When we visited Etia (Εθιά in Cretan dialect) in April 2009 the villa and the fountain had very recently been restored. The villa was originally built in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century by the de Mezzo family but reached its definitive form in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was first described by Spratt (I 185), then by Gerola (I(1) 39, III 310-14 & IV 453). The building consisted of three stories until it was badly damaged when, as the local Ottoman governor’s residence and a refuge for local Muslims, it was attacked by Greek rebels in 1828. For more details see Dafni Chronaki, “Οι εργασίες αναστύλωσης της έπαυλης de Mezzo στην Ετιά Σητείας”, in Michalis Andianakis et al. (eds), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 2* (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2012). The 17<sup>th</sup>-century Cretan playwright Markos-Antonios Foscolos dedicated his comedy *Φορτουνάτος* to

Nicolo Demezo. The village of Etia was uninhabited when we visited: presumably the Christian inhabitants were expelled from the village when the Venetian villa was made into fortress; then the Muslims who had moved in (or rather their descendants) were massacred (see ch. 30).

<sup>44</sup> Immediately outside the ruined village of Etia, to the right of the present road, but left of the old street between the houses.

## CHAPTER 30 PALAIKASTRO – MAGASA ETC.

### PALAIKASTRO<sup>1</sup>



View of Palaikastro with Kastro hill in the background (internet)

Plakálonia is the dairy in the hills to the south of the Palaikastro plain to which a path runs up above Patema and Roussolakkos. We dug a rock shelter there in 1905 or thereabouts. The place belongs to the Katsarakis family and the old Dragatis and his wife used to work there.<sup>2</sup>

### Siteia to Palaikastro

From Limani Siteias to Palaikastro is about three hours' mule walk. The path goes first along the beach, passing below the village of Agia Photia. On the right are the outer slopes of the plateau on which Magasa and the other high villages lie. Just behind the skyline are Palaio Mitato and Khonos.<sup>3</sup> The path leaves the beach and goes up and down the steep slopes, descending to the sea. Then, at the angle of the coast, we reach the place called Agios Antonios from a chapel somewhere near,<sup>4</sup> and the road turns inland to cross the isthmus and descend on the other side to Palaikastro. From Agios Antonios too another road goes off to the left up the hill to Toplou. It crosses the skyline at a point marked out by a little whitewashed shrine called the Stavros: this marks the boundary of the monastery lands. Towards the top of the isthmus is another pass going up the hillside to the right, passing just east of the cone-shaped hill called Modi, and so to Magasa.<sup>5</sup> At Agios Antonios water comes down to the sea and the road passes through what were, when I began going this way, groves of oleanders ten or twelve feet high. These were cut down in the war, but have no doubt grown again, for the oleander was only of use in that time of stress. Raisins or sultanas were made in Crete and these when drying need to be dressed with potash. This could not be got from abroad during the war, but the ashes of oleanders make a lye with so much potash in it that it could be

used for this purpose. Otherwise the oleander is used only for plaiting into fences. Even the all-destroying goat finds that it is the one plant even he cannot eat, it is so bitter. And the goat, the Cretans say, tries every year to eat the leaves and every year finds them too much for him, hence the usual Greek name bitter laurel [πικροδάφνη], though the Cretans call it *sphaka*, which elsewhere is the name of the yellow Jerusalem sage, called in Crete (?) *angarathia*.<sup>6</sup> From the long shoots of the oleander too boys make a kind of trumpet. When the branch is sappy a length of some four or five feet is taken and the wood coaxed out and the bark left like a long tube. When this is blown into it yields a note. This I have seen done once only by Pandeli, Evans' cook, a boy from Retimo.<sup>7</sup> *Angarathia* reminds me that there is in Crete a plant of this name like Jerusalem sage, but the clusters of flowers are smaller and the plant is less solid in appearance.<sup>8</sup> Like the oleander it is refractory: it is [said to be] the only flower from which bees can get no honey; and this because God has closed up the tube of the corolla in his goodness, because if the bee could get at this honey its sting would become fatal. This same plant, another man told me, is said to be a good charm against the evil eye. The reason for this is that the leaves and the whole plant are covered with a kind of dust which is regarded as bad for the eyes. But neither this nor the closure of the corolla have I verified.

Just before this path reaches the upper village of Palaikastro a path goes off to the left. It leads up the hill to Toplou and is the regular way from the village to the monastery.

### **Magasa etc.**<sup>9</sup>

From Palaikastro one may visit Zakro and on the plateau a series of villages, Magasa, Karydi and lastly Khandras.<sup>10</sup> The path from Palaikastro ascends the hills to the south-east [south-west]. At the top of the ridge the path forks: to the left the way goes along through a valley below the high plateau to the east [west?] and the sea to the left, and passing by Khokhlakies and [Αζοκέραμος/Azokeramos]<sup>11</sup> reaches after [blank] hours the village of Upper Zakro. The right-hand path ascends to the plateau by a series of zigzags, which are visible from the path from Palaikastro across the isthmus, and so reaches the plateau. To the right is the conical hill of Modi, the Measure, at the foot of which goes the direct path from Magasa to Toplou, on which hill one day by a boulder I suddenly found Ανδρέας Σαντιμπαντάκης, red-haired workman.<sup>12</sup>

Magasa is the first village reached in a dip in the rocky plateau. It is, as I have said, the parent village from which Palaikastro is a colony.<sup>13</sup>



Magasa (Vrisidi) seen from St George's church (<https://www.crete-today.com/vrisidi/>)

In *Zographeios Agon* (1896, p. 34)<sup>14</sup> I find a **local tradition** worth inserting. This limestone plateau, and indeed all limestone regions, is pierced by swallow-hollows into which water disappears, to appear again sometimes as a river at what may be a considerable distance. This tradition goes that all swallow-holes – *alatsides* as they are called in Crete<sup>15</sup> – are inhabited by a bear, an *arkoudi*, a creature which may remind us of the she-bear at the cave below Gouverneto [ch. 4]. Near Magasa there is a swallow-hole, a very deep one. Many people passing by have seen the *arkoudi* lying outside the hole sunning himself on the feast of the Virgin which falls on February the second. One day a man found the *arkoudi* there and by him was an *arapis*, a black man, in all Greece the common guardian of any hidden treasure; they were sitting together enjoying the sunshine with the treasure beside them. They called to the man and asked him how much of the treasure he wanted. "I want it all," said the man. The *arkoudi* then set the negro on the man and the negro devoured him. What he ought to have said was, "As much as you are willing to give me."

It is possible that this is the curious and very deep hole called Simidali which lies close to the road between Magasa and the hill of Modi; it is on the left as one goes to Modi. The hole goes down sheer like a small shaft in the rocky flat ground and, unless one knows where to look for it, would be very hard to find. The story I heard of it is this. At the beginning of the 1897 insurrection two Christians killed a Turkish pedlar called Hadzi Mounidis on the road between Magasa and Karydi. I know the place quite well. According to one account the two men buried his body in a cleft nearby, a cleft which is still shown, but the Turks came afterwards and took it away to Siteia. Another account is that the Turks heard that the Christians had thrown the body into the Simidali gulf [sic]. They let a man down on a rope to find the body, but the man cried out that the hole was full of fire and they pulled him up again.

The massacres of Turks in East Crete seem to have begun in this way, by isolated murders, no doubt on account of personal grudges. It is not easy to get many

details of these doings, but I gathered a few notes at Magasa in 1918. From some villages the Turks escaped to Siteia. Papaplatanakis, who was in 1903 the *demarch* [mayor] of Zakro and a Christian, is honourably mentioned as having enabled a number of Turks to escape in this way. There was a mosque at Khandras opposite the house of Antonios Papathanasakis, but it was destroyed; I have seen its ruins. But the local centre of the Turks was at Ziros near Khandras, a big village half Turkish half Christian, and here too there was a mosque. The Turks took refuge in the mosque which was besieged; a massacre followed. The Turks from Katalionas [now Katelionas], now deserted except for a few Christians who have gone there, fled to Ziros. At Zakathos, another entirely Turkish village, there was a massacre; so too at Etia [ch. 29]. At Daphni, on the road between Siteia and Roukaka, there was a slaughter and it is said that the Turks were burned alive in the mosque. At Palaikastro there were no Turks.<sup>16</sup>

I cannot here enter into this history, but it seems certain that the Turks were contemplating a massacre of Christians when they [following pencilled words indecipherable].

### Folklore

**21 September 1917** - For this see passage in Joan Evans, *The Unconquered Knight*.<sup>17</sup>

Yanni Katsarakis, seeing the moon ☽ on the second night, told me of the saying:

*Δίπλα φεγγάρι, όρτσα γκεμιτζή·  
Όρτσα φεγγάρι, δίπλα γκεμιτζή.*

☽ = *δίπλα* = furl sail  
☾ = *όρτσα* = set sail

i.e. sail when the moon is young.

**21 September 1917 at Palaikastro.** I said to George Katsarakis' wife (she is from Zakro) how firmly the baby grips. She said "We say that babies grip so hard that snakes are afraid of them: *Τόσο δυνατά σφίγγουνε τα μωρά ώστε τα φοβούνται τα φίδια.*" Compare the infant Hercules.

### 21 September 1917

At Palaikastro I was told that water should be added to wine in all the months with no *rho* in the name, i.e. in summer. Cf. our saying about oysters in season only when the month has an r.

**22 November 1917**, coming from Retimo (we had slept at Perama), Yanni of Palaikastro and I were on the road from Stsi Koubedes (Servili)<sup>18</sup> to Candia and night fell. Yanni told me this story (we were both tired). In a cave by Plakalona, where his family has a *mandra*,<sup>19</sup> a shepherd and the boy who helped him (his *παραχέρι*) were making cheese by night in winter. Some Turks in a caique saw the light of the fire and came up to get what they could. They first drank as much milk as they wanted and then demanded *mizithra* [soft cheese made chiefly of whey], not unlike ricotta. The shepherd said it would need some time to boil and said to the boy:



<i>Πήγαινε πάνω μοναχός</i>	<i>Go thou up thyself alone,</i>
<i>κ' έλα κάτω με πολλούς</i>	<i>Come thee back with many a one.</i>
<i>Του Γενάρη το φεγγάρι</i>	<i>The moon of January lights our way,</i>
<i>Παρά λίγο σαν ημέρα.</i>	<i>'Tis very near in brightness day</i>

The boy understood that the shepherd meant that he should go in the moonlight to get help from the village (?Kokhlakiés) and went off. The Turks said to the shepherd “What were you saying to the boy?” “I was saying a charm over the pot that the *mizithra* may be plenty (*εγήτευγα το καζάνι για να είναι πολλή η μιζήθρα*). He also said that the boy had gone to fetch wood. So the Turks lay down half asleep and the shepherd got boiling milk and put it into the *κανκί* (a cup made of half a gourd) and poured it over their faces, scalding and suffocating them. When the man whom the boy had gone to fetch came from the village they all went to the caique and found there a Turk whom the others had left to guard it. He said that they were not his friends and fled away. Yanni’s grandfather, who had the *mandra*, near the cave (? the same *mandra* that Yanni’s father now has and to which I have been) used to relate how he was once there cutting a piece of timber for a rafter and the dead Turks called to him out of the cave “Shall we come to help you?” He said “I want none of your help” and they vanished. It is not clear if he thought he saw them or only heard them. I have never seen this cave.

The verse about the brightness of the January moon is a regular saying.

**7 April 1918.** Conversation at Myrthios with Pan. Khatzidakis and Yanni of Palaikastro.

*Χερικάρης* means *τυχερός* – lucky, a man who has a good *χερικό*, that is whatever he puts his hand to will prosper. The idea is much like that of *ποδαρικό*, which means the luck, good or bad, which is brought by the entrance of a person.<sup>20</sup> Certain people are unlucky and have such a *κακό ποδαρικό* that if anyone meets them he turns back from his journey. My servant Yanni Katsarakis told me that such a man was the Hatzi Stratakis of Magasa, and both Yanni and his brother George, now secretary at Toplou, if they meet him when they are going out shooting, turn back again. This man was a workman of ours at Palaikastro and was a sort of general butt; it was a great joke to call him the *Ειδήμων*, ‘the knowing one’. He used to drink to excess but has now given it up and does not touch wine. I remember being at Magasa in his drinking days before 1906 and seeing him as *kandilanáptis* [lamplighter or sexton] in the church at Magasa trying to set up the 12 candles for the service of the 12 Gospels and, owing to his clumsiness and the shakiness of the stand, the thing always breaking down under the weight. At last the priest stuck them anyhow on a ledge of the screen.

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### Peter Mackridge’s notes

<sup>1</sup> There is very little about Palakastro, considering the time Dawkins spent there. But it was only while he was excavating that he gradually began to be interested in medieval and modern aspects of Cretan history and culture.

<sup>2</sup> A major Minoan town, the largest after Knossos, was discovered at Rousólakkos near Palaikastro at the east end of Crete. It was first excavated in 1902 by R.C. Bosanquet,

who was joined by Dawkins for the 1903-6 seasons. For more on the excavations at Palaikastro, including Dawkins' role in them, see T.F. Cunningham, "TFC thesis chap. 1; Palaikastro Crete"

([https://www.academia.edu/5054887/TFC\\_thesis\\_chap.1\\_Palaikastro\\_Crete](https://www.academia.edu/5054887/TFC_thesis_chap.1_Palaikastro_Crete)). See also R.M. Dawkins, "Folk-memory in Crete" (1930), pp. 38-39. The name Rousólakkos (Red Pit) is due to the red clay in the area. Yannis Katsarakis from Palaikastro acted as Dawkins' servant, guide and foreman for some time. A *dragatis* (δραγάτης) is a person employed by the community to guard the fields, and especially the vineyards. The rock shelter that Dawkins excavated would have been a shallow cave, with its mouth partially built up with stones, used by shepherds in ancient times; such rock shelters continue to be used until the present day.

<sup>3</sup> The village is marked as simply Mitato in the Anavasi atlas, 95 C3. Chonos is the name of a sinkhole, a hamlet and a high hill to the west of Mitato.

<sup>4</sup> This point is probably at the inlet near the modern monstrosity cynically named "Dionysos Greek Village" (Anavasi atlas, 96 A3).

<sup>5</sup> By "isthmus" here Dawkins presumably means the north-easternmost tongue of land in Crete, ending in Cavo Sidero. The hill named Modi is marked on the Anavasi atlas 98 A1. The name Modi ultimately derives from Latin unit of volume *modius*.

<sup>6</sup> Angáratheros is one of the names for Jerusalem sage given in Argyropoulo's *Wild Flowers of Greece* and elsewhere [JW]. For more on *angarathos* see ch. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Our friend Yannis Neonakis from Amari gave us an impressive demonstration of (perhaps using the same species of plant) while on our way down from Arkadi to Rethymno. Evans was of course the renowned archaeologist Arthur Evans.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably *Phlomis cretica* as opposed to *Phlomis fruticosa*, both called *angáratheros* though I've found no mention of its refractory properties [JW].

<sup>9</sup> The name Ma[n]gasas (Μαγκασάς) is of unknown origin but seems to be very old. Local people however seem to have had the false impression that it was a Turkish name. In 1955 some misguided central or local authority replaced the old name by the more "decorous" name Βρυσιδί (Vrysidi), which means 'little spring'. Ironically, this name is pronounced the same as the word βρισίδι (*vrisidi*), which means 'stream of abuse'. Perhaps for obvious reasons, locals continue to call it by its old name. We have never managed to visit this out-of-the way and now virtually abandoned village, which in Dawkins' time was a significant administrative and transport hub but is now accessible by road only from the west (via Mitato). Dawkins excavated a small Neolithic settlement to the west of Magasa in 1905: see R.M. Dawkins, "Excavations at Palaikastro. IV", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 11 (1904/5), pp. 260-68.

<sup>10</sup> These three villages are strung out north-west to south-east.

<sup>11</sup> I have inserted the placename where Dawkins has left a blank. There is still a path marked on the Anavasi atlas from Azokeramos to Kato Zakros, which would much more direct than taking the roundabout modern road.

<sup>12</sup> The surname Saltimbangakis (which is probably what Dawkins means) is still current in the Palaikastro area. The name derives from Italian *saltimbanco* 'acrobat, tumbler'.

<sup>13</sup> Manolis Katsarakis at Metochi Vai (see ch. 31) confirmed Dawkins' information that Palaikastro was settled by people from Magasa. Mr Katsarakis must be a relative of the members of the Katsarakis family mentioned by Dawkins, but he tells me he must be on a different branch.

<sup>14</sup> The journal *Ζωγράφειος Αγών*, subtitled "Monuments of Greek antiquity still living among the Greek people", was published in Constantinople by the local Greek literary society in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The journal took its name from an annual competition

for the collection of folklore material; the competition was funded by the Greek banker Christakis Zografos.

<sup>15</sup> There is also the placename Latsida, near Neapoli: see ch. 25; cf. *khonos*: see ch. 24 & 27.

<sup>16</sup> This paragraph is mostly copied from a later draft, but a few phrases have been inserted from a first draft marked “Written at Magasa 8 Mar. 1918”.

<sup>17</sup> Dawkins is referring to Joan Evans’ translation of the mid-15<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish chronicle [JW]. The art historian Joan Evans was the half-sister of the archaeologist Arthur Evans. Her book was published in 1928.

<sup>18</sup> See ch. 13.

<sup>19</sup> For Plakalona see the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Χερικό derives from χέρι ‘hand’, ποδαρικό from πόδι ‘foot’.

## CHAPTER 31

### TOPLOU<sup>1</sup>



IMG\_0262 Toplou Monastery

The cultural centre of the almost desolate peninsula of Cavo Sidero<sup>2</sup> is the famous monastery of Toplou, officially the Holy and Stavropegiac Monastery of Our Lady of the Promontory. The foundation is certainly as early as the Venetian period, probably earlier. The name Toplou is, however, Turkish and means the Place of the *Top* or Cannon from a cannon which was at one time mounted over the door of the monastery. The name on Spratt's map, *To Plou*, is an error arising from Spratt having supposed the name to be Greek and that the *To* was the Greek article.

From the monastery there are naturally several paths. One leads west to the slopes of the Gulf of Siteia and on these slopes are the principal gardens of the monastery with a small chapel of St Andrew and a cottage or two. Below the gardens is, I believe, a landing place, though I have never been down so far. The gardens themselves are a delightful place of refreshment and repose.

From the monastery northwards goes the path to the farm of Vai [see below] and the lighthouse of Cavo Sidero. It turns to the right from the gate, descends with the gardens to the right and crosses the ravine. At the top of the ascent from this there is a small church: Agios Elias.

A third path leads across the moors to Palaikastro. A fourth goes down into a second ravine to the south of the monastery and so to Siteia; it reaches the sea at Agios Antonios.

In the ravine is a boulder with a heap of small stones upon it of which I shall speak later. From this ravine the path ascends and at the lip of the valley, running across from sea to sea from Agios Antonios to Palaikastro, there is a whitewashed shrine called the Cross. This is visible all the way to Siteia and forms the boundary of the monastery

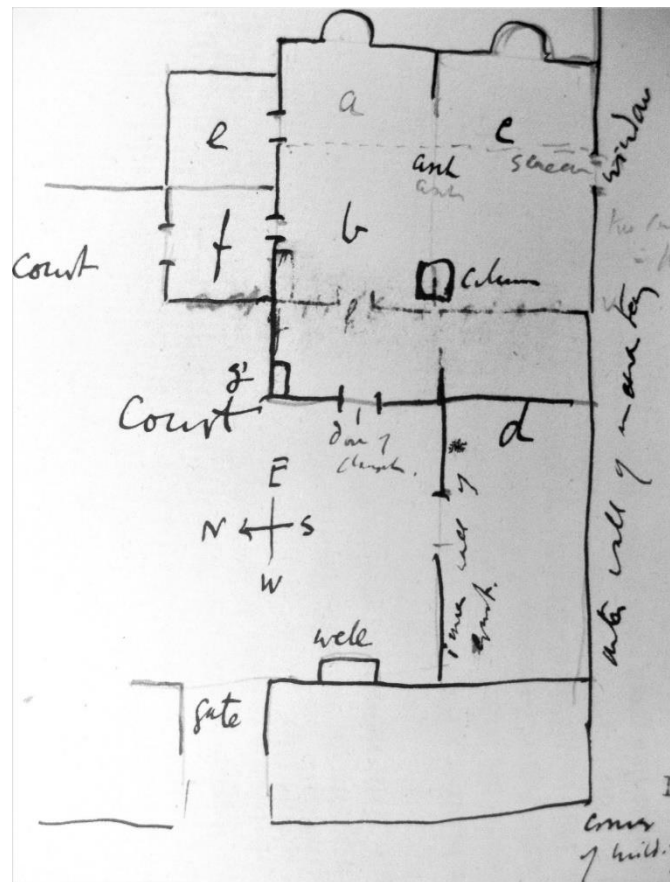
lands. From the Stavros [Cross] the path descends rapidly to the sea. The view from it to the south is across this great valley and on the opposite side of it are the uplands of the Magasa plateau, with the cone-like peak of Modi rising at the nearer edge. It is plain that the ground on which Toplou stands and this plateau are one and the same, with the valley running between them like a great rift.



Two photos of Toplou monastery from Dawkins' archive; the windmill is visible on the right of the right-hand picture

I return to the monastery itself. The monastery is a square tower-like building, giving a fine impression of height, narrowness and strength. It stands out of sight of the sea on the edge of a ravine which runs down to the west. South of it the plateau is cut by another ravine through which the road to Siteia passes. The buildings are out of sight of the sea and, being in a slight hollow of the plateau, are not visible from far off in any direction.

Round the monastery itself are a few outbuildings: a church, a windmill,<sup>3</sup> a few cottages – one occupied, when I knew Toplou, by the old monk Evmenios. They are of various dates: one bears the date 1855. On the Siteia side are these buildings and a small field. The monastery garden lies in terraces on the side of the northern ravine to the east side of the buildings. On the opposite side of this ravine, which is crossed by the path to Vai, is a small church.



Plan of Toplou church [see PM's notes]

The block-plan shows the general arrangement of the court. The church is double, the two naves separated by a square pier and to the east of this an arch. The oldest part of it is the chancel marked **a**, dedicated naturally to the Virgin. This was at some date lengthened towards the west and now runs out into the court; this part is marked **b**. Later still, to the south of this, the second church was constructed. It is dedicated to St John the Divine. The space where this now stands was originally one with the present store-house, **d**. (The cutting of this store into two and the making of the eastern half of it into the church of St John is almost within living memory.) As **d** opens on the court, it follows that the church is underneath the upper roofs on this side of the court; these are cells and a guest-room. At the corner of **b** marked **g** there once stood a belfry. It was there when I first came to Crete but was pulled down, probably when the bells in the tower were arranged. Lastly, **e** is a vestry opening into the church and **f** is a part of the church occupied by the few old nuns who form a part of the establishment.

The small and perfectly plain gateway is on the west side. In front of it is a courtyard surrounded by one-storey buildings and entered by an arched gateway with benches for men to sit and rest or, if at night, to repose without going further into the monastery. The roofs are of course flat. On the left side of this court is a door, on the square lintel of which is the inscription: ΕΙΣ ΔΟΧΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΙΡΟΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ – “For the reception of visitors”, which marks it as the old guest-room.

Among the buildings on the left-hand side of this outer court is the bakery. The danger of fire is thus reduced to a minimum. The object of having the guest-room outside the monastery proper was obvious in troublous times. Unwelcome guests, for

the most part Turks, could be put up, housed and fed and at night the monastery itself be effectually bolted and barred against them.

Over this court there towers the high fortress-like front of the monastery with its tiny windows, and the tower which rises above the narrow entrance. This is low and very narrow and leads directly into the court, small, irregular in shape and paved with pebbles; the present floor dates from 1914.<sup>4</sup> In front of us we see the church. On the right hand of the entrance is the well. Steps to the left lead up to the upper floors; the various rooms and cells are reached by picturesquely rambling galleries and staircases supported on arches. The space is so contracted that there are no internal staircases at all. Further, the church, far from standing free in the court, reaches through to the outer walls of the monastery.<sup>5</sup>

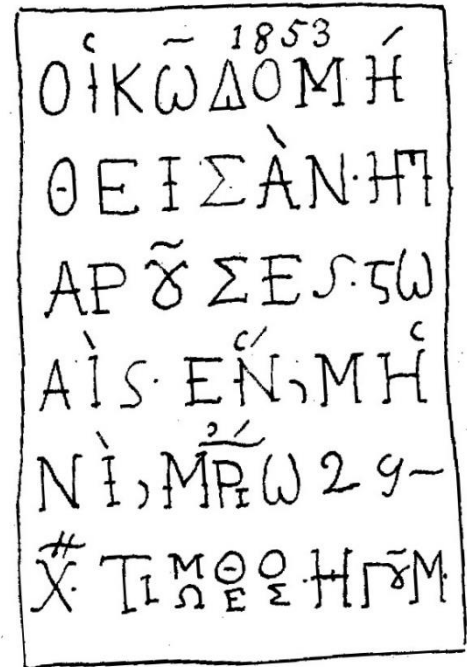
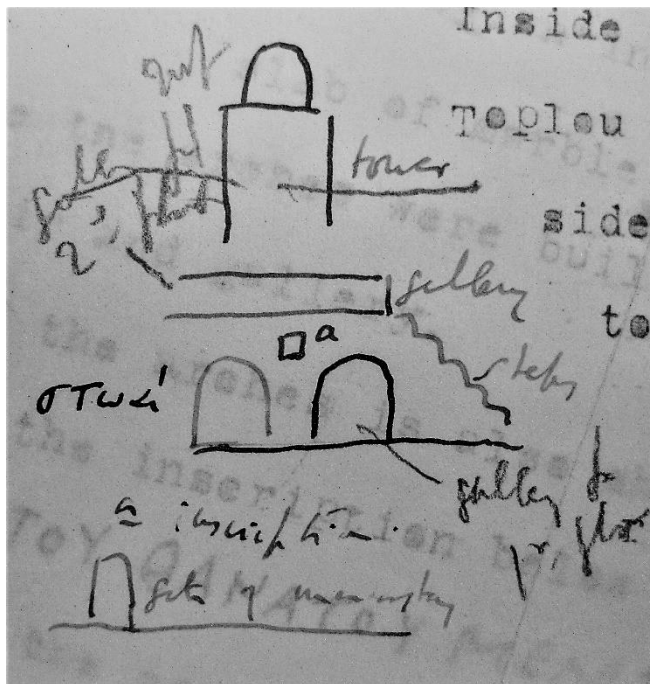


Two more photos from Dawkins' archive



IMG\_0257, 15 April 2009

The west side of the court and the tower have several inscriptions. There are two floors and then, from the flat roof, the tower rises. The earliest ascertainable date is of late Venetian times when the monastery was built. This upper floor is reached by steps leading up to a stone gallery upon which the rooms open.<sup>6</sup>



[Legend of left-hand sketch (clockwise from top right): tower; gallery; steps; gallery of 1<sup>st</sup> floor; gate of monastery; a. inscription; στοαί [arcades]; gallery of 2<sup>nd</sup> floor; roof]

**2 March 1918.** Inside the court of Toplou on the western side just below the tower the top (2<sup>nd</sup>) floor is reached by a stone gallery onto which the rooms open. This gallery rests upon two arches built in 1853; this we know from the inscription here given, which is on a small marble slab built in between and above the two arches.

It runs: '1853; the present galleries were built, March 29<sup>th</sup>, when the Pilgrim Timotheos was abbot'.

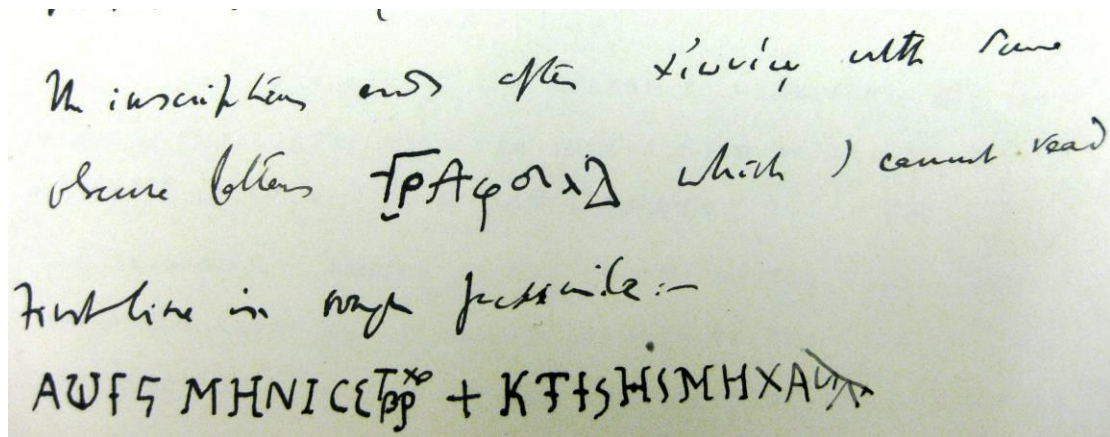
Previously these rooms were reached by a wooden stair and gallery. The arches are carelessly built up against the old wall and partly cover the southern arch, partly cover a window on the ground floor immediately below the tower. Over this window<sup>7</sup> is the inscription: ΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ Η ΤΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ - 'True philosophy is the meditation upon death'.<sup>8</sup> It seems to belong to the period of the first building of the monastery in late Venetian times. The new gallery leads from the abbot's cell to the new guest-rooms which are on the second floor on the south side of the court. The abbot's cell is the private cell of the present abbot; the permanent Hegoumeneion [abbot's quarters] is on the east side of the court.

The southern range consists of, on the ground floor, the store-room already mentioned. Above that are cells and a room used until lately as the guest-room; very shortly before the war the present guest-room was built above this old guest-room. The northern range is cells, kitchen and, somewhere near the kitchen, a tiny refectory. Here too the abbot in the war period had his cell, but this was only because it was his own personal cell which he had made when he was a monk; the real official abbot's quarters are on the NE corner of the court. Here the abbot Jacovos always received his guests.



The tower is mentioned by Gerola and dated to the Venetian period. However this may be, there is now an inscription of 1816 over the door leading from the flat roof of the monastery to the tower. The entrance is on the south side of the tower. This inscription runs: “1816; in the month of September; built by Michael the builder who contributed to the belfry; in the time of the Egyptian rival sultan, our heroic leader.<sup>9</sup> Cyril was abbot of the holy monastery of the [maiden] Mother of God, who protects her flock before her Son who is the God of all men, and may the above-mentioned abbot have his reward paid to him in the coming eternal life above”. It is in accented capitals. Below I add the first line in rough facsimile.

The last letters of l. 6 κο I cannot understand. The inscription ends after αἰωνίῳ with some obscure letters ..... which I cannot read.<sup>10</sup> First line in rough facsimile:



Gerola can, I think, hardly have seen this inscription. The upper part of the tower also has had a pretty thorough rebuilding since I was first there in 1903; this [rebuilding] was, I think, between 1906 and 1910 or so, probably at the time when Cyril was abbot, for his name is on at least one new bell now in the tower. Thus it was at this time too that the old belfry on the corner of the church was pulled down. This Cyril succeeded when Jacovos retired, was then mixed up with a woman and fled, I think to Simi, and Jacovos was put in again until he retired to die at [the monastery of] Yanni Kapsa, and Methodios, formerly (2nd) abbot of Ξακουστή, succeeded him. Cyril is now leader of the opposition.

Of the earlier state of the monastery we have some evidence from a small bird's eye view which is in the bottom left-hand corner of the icon of the Unfading Rose, which I describe lower down. The date is 1771. The view is taken from the east and so designed as to show the inside of the court. The principal points are marked by figures for which a key is given, written in tiny letters. The tower, the cells, the gate and the well are all marked just as they are at present. The only difference seems to be that, naturally, the new guest-room is now shown. In fact, it seems that the only structural alteration of importance is the building of the new guest-room in the first decade of this century. The outer court and the buildings round the monastery are not shown at all.

The great picture [in the church] is called “Μέγας εἶ Κύριε” [Thou art great, o Lord],<sup>11</sup> the opening of a long prayer said at the Epiphany feast, which the scenes in the picture are said to illustrate. In any case, the central scene of the picture is the Baptism in Jordan. This is signed below by John Kornaros, with the name of the abbot of the time and the date 1770, αψο, in Latin and Greek figures. The inscription is unfortunately

partly covered by the new, and very unsuitable, frame, so I could not verify the statement that it gives the artist's village as Αρμένιοι [Armeni] near Χαντρά [Chandras], the native place of the present abbot. Another inscription on the picture tells us that it was offered by a certain pilgrim Dimitrios. These inscriptions mentioning the name of the abbot suggest that it was painted at Toplou, and in any case the Savvathiana story of the cave is not worth much. But at Toplou also it is said that the artist killed his [...] out of jealousy. He is then said to have escaped to Toplou and painted this picture there. The same story has clearly been appropriated by each of the two monasteries.

Besides the great eikon there is in the church at Toplou a smaller picture representing the Virgin as the Unfading Rose, το Αμάραντον Ρόδον. This is signed by Stamatis the Cretan, 1771, and is said to be by a pupil of Kornaros. The style is inferior to that of the big picture, but it is interesting as having in the bottom left-hand corner a small bird's-eye view of the monastery, taken from the East, and so designed to show the court. [...]

I may conclude this account of the monastery by some notes on these buildings outside: the mill, the granary, the fountain and a few cottages. The fountain is on the left as one enters the monastery and a few steps down the slope leading north across the ravine [on another sheet: which runs between the monastery and Agios Elias]. On the front containing wall of the water-chamber is the inscription of 1862: "On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1862 this fountain was built at the expense and toil of Neophytos and Nektarios, priests and monks, and when Anthimos was archbishop of Hierapetra and Siteia; in the days of the Abbot Meletios". In the Greek which is, as far as I remember, in imperfectly accented capital letters:

Εἰς τοὺς 1862 ἀυγούστου 16 ἐκτῆ  
 στη αὐτῆ ἡ κρήνη δι' ἐξόδου καὶ μόχθ  
 ου Νεοφύτου καὶ Νεκταρίου τῶν ἱε  
 ρομονάχων καὶ ὄτου ἀγίου Ἱεροσιτίας  
 ἀρχιε[πισ]κό[π]ου Ἀνθίμου  
 εἰς τὰς ἡμέρα[ς] Μελετίου καθηγουμέν[ου]

I respect the spelling but add the often missing accents and breathings.<sup>12</sup>

The abbot showed me an Ευαγγέλιον (book of gospels), printed at Venice I think, 1745 bound in vellum on which are silver plates embossed with the evangelists and sacred scenes. One of these plates has the inscription "Save, Our Lady, save from the injury of his foes Emmanuel Kornaros and his wife who gave this as a gift to the monastery 1808. [Greek original not included here]

Greek monks have often had the practice of recording on blank leaves in their manuscripts or books any event of interest in the history of the monastery, and there are two such notes in the Toplou library. One is on three blank leaves at the beginning of a 370-page manuscript containing lives of the hermit saints and is dated September 19<sup>th</sup> 1811. It is written by the abbot Zacharias Kornaros, and describes an incident which shows how the Turks could treat the Christians. It runs thus:<sup>13</sup>

"In the days of King (i.e. Sultan) Mahmout there was a ruler in Crete called Bekir Pasha. In his days there was a monastery called Our Lady of the Promontory and a very great trial happened to this monastery. And by the help of the devil there was a certain Hagarene (i.e. Turk), a vessel of the devil, and he murdered the abbot who was called

Jeremiah and after him another abbot was elected called Zacharias Kornaros. And in his days it happened that this murderer went to the monastery to kill the others and to pillage the monastery. But by the good pleasure of God it fell out that there was there another Hagarene and he killed the murderer that the word of Christ might be fulfilled when he said that he who taketh the sword shall perish by the sword. But a great injustice was done to the monastery for the Janissaries all rose up to go and burn the monastery, and also the mother (of the murderer of the abbot) went to the pasha and roused the *siliktari* – esquire or armsbearer to his lord<sup>14</sup> – of the pasha and eight more of his men and with many Janissaries they went to the monastery and stopped there for thirty days and who can tell the unrighteous acts which they did there. Also they took the abbot and the other fathers and brought them to the pasha and he laid them in bonds and they were there in prison for fifty days, and God alone knows their sufferings. But our Lord Jesus Christ and Our Lady the Mother of God who wait for our repentance put it into the heart of the agas to intercede with the pasha, and he took us out of that stinking prison and we went back to the monastery. But it cost the monastery fifty purses in money (a purse is 500 piastres, about £5) not to mention all the gear they took away from the monastery. But no tongue of man can understand the injustice and misfortune of the poor monastery and the oppression of the unhappy monks and the grief of the Christians. But this happened because of our sins and unrighteousness and for the transgressions and for the hatred which we have one to the other, for he who hateth his brother his God hateth, for if we had preserved brotherly love this injustice would not have been done to us and he (that is, God) would have slain the sinner in some other way; for he is a righteous judge and awaits our repentance and for this reason chastened us. But he did not desert us finally that we might recognise that we are dust and ashes. Now this happened in the days of Zacharias, priest and monk, wearer of the great and angelic habit, in the world Kornaros, and a sinner, and whoever is a Christian may he pardon me.”

It appears from this story that the mother of the murderer of the first abbot Jeremiah, finding that her son was killed in the monastery, concluded that the monks had done it out of revenge and the pasha took this view very likely largely because the monks could be made to pay. The second “Hagarene” who actually killed him seems to have got off scot free.

This event has left a local tradition which I was told by Mr Panayotis Hatzidakis<sup>15</sup> who was in Siteia some thirty or more years ago. The monks finding the body of the murdered Turk in the monastery got frightened and set it on a mule and drove the mule away in order that they might not fall under suspicion of the murder. When the Turks found the body they noticed that it was splashed with the droppings from wax candles and concluded that it must have come from the monastery and took their vengeance accordingly. Whoever has seen the service books in a monastery or still more any embroidery that has been used in a Greek church will have no difficulty in believing that the monks in examining the body dropped a good deal of candle grease about. It is not hard to imagine the scene in a dark corner of the monastery at night with the frightened monks staring at the body of their enemy with many ejaculations of ‘Lord have mercy and God protect us!’, and at last hitting on the scheme of sending the mule off home with the body of his murdered master. But for it to be true it is a little too like the story of what happened to the head of the Turk Tsouli when he was killed at the passing leading into Lasithi [ch. 24].

11 March 1917. In the copy of the Lousaikon (Venice 1758) at Toplou is a manuscript note at the beginning in the same hand that wrote the account of the occupation of the monastery by the Turks in 1811 and is presumably that of the abbot Zacharias Kornaros. This note tells us that he bought it at Athos from Iveron and asks for the prayers of its later owners:<sup>16</sup>

[The present Lousaikon is the property of me Zachariaias ordained monk surnamed Kornaros. 1808. I bought it from the Holy Mountain of Iveron and (they charged me 100 [piastres])<sup>17</sup> and may whoever receives it after my death beseech God to forgive my many sins, Amen.]

In the last leaf of the folio manuscript of sermons of Isaias after the anecdote about Sinai<sup>18</sup> another and better hand has written the following. It is odd that it is in another hand because it purports to be by the same Matthew Blavakis, ordained monk and pilgrim; possibly he wrote better at some times than at others; the spelling is equally bad:<sup>19</sup>

[The present book is the property of Our Lady of the Promontory and may whoever removes it from the monastery be cursed by all the saints, and by Our Lady the Virgin Mary may he be unforgiven. It contains various fine sermons and it is called the book of the holy Isaias. 1846 February 10. By the hand of Matthew Blavakis pilgrim from the village of Sitanos.]

### **Folklore (at Preveli 7th April 1918)**

Yannis of Palaikastro told me that, à propos of the cursing of Venizelos by the Metropolitan of Athens,<sup>20</sup> who at this time was a semi-prisoner in exile and disgrace at Preveli, there are near Palaikastro two heaps of stones. One is near Toplou. The road from Toplou to Siteia goes down into a gully near the Moni and then rises to the Stavros and to the point where the road to Ai Andreas branches off to the right. In the gully a side gully goes off to the left and this point is called τ' αναθεμάτου το ρυάκι [the stream of the anathema]. By the path is a flat stone with a lot of pebbles on the top and the first time a person passes by it is lucky to throw a stone on the heap.

The other is at the foot of Modi where the road to Toplou branches off from the road to Palaikastro. Here there is a heap of stones (*τρόχαλος*) upon which passers threw stones in the same way.

I have been to both places but not noticed the heaps. (Note later: I have seen the Toplou heap and added my stone. I did not learn the story of the Modi heap.)

### **Toplou, 3 May 1918. Το ρυάκι τ' αναθεμάτου**

This is the name of the ravine into which the path from Toplou to Siteia descends immediately after leaving the monastery. It then ascends to the Stavros, a little white shrine on the edge of the sharp descent to Analouka[s]; the Stavros is conspicuous a long way off from the Siteia direction. In the bottom of this ravine near where a side ravine runs up to the left (as one leaves the *moni*) is a big flat-topped boulder on the right side of the path with a heap of small stones on the top of it. Everyone, the first time he passes by, is supposed to add a stone. The story is that the monks killed a very bad Turk here and tied the dead body onto his mare, which carried it down to Agia

Photia, where he was buried. The Turks followed the bloodstains on the road up to the monastery, where they took vengeance on the monks. Since then this boulder where the Turk was killed, which is about ten minutes or less from the monastery, has had stones thrown upon it. This time I saw the boulder, which I had often noticed before without knowing its history. This story sounds like an echo of the 1811 attack on the monastery recorded by the abbot Kornaros, the excuse for which was the murder of a Turk.

The place at Agia Photia where the Turks is buried is shown by the path along the sea just below the village. There is nothing there to mark the grave, but the place is just pointed out.

On 6 June 1918 the abbot gave me another version. A very bad Turk, Hasapametakis, was killed by other Turks in one of the rooms in the monastery and his body thrown down into the court over the edge of the gallery in front of these rooms. The body was taken and buried at Agia Photia. The Turks traced the death to Toplou by the wax spilt on the clothes. the event was commemorated by throwing stones on the boulder of the ρυάκι τ' αναθεμάτου. It was to revenge this that the Turks occupied the monastery.

This links together the story of το ρυάκι τ' αναθεμάτου and the account by the abbot Kornaros of the 1811 incident, when a Turk was killed at Toplou and the abbot imprisoned and the monastery occupied by Turks.

## Traditions

Why the dove coos (hisses).

At Toplou Father Evmenios told me, 4 May 1918, that the Turks have a story that the swordfish made a hole in the side of Noah's ark with his snout and the ark was in danger of sinking. The snake then stopped up the hole with his tail, but in time the snake got cold and seemed likely not to be able to hold out. The dove then came and sat upon the snake to keep him warm so that he was able to go on keeping his tail in the hole. Whilst doing this the dove imitated the snake's hissing and so learned to coo. The same word is used for both in Greek.

From 14<sup>th</sup>-century English MS (Brit. Mus. Royal 2. B. vii) called *Queen Mary's Prayerbook*: The devil has got into the ark by the cunning of Noah's wife. "The sequel to this is portrayed in *Queen Mary's Prayerbook*. Noah, on seeing the dove return, says 'Benedicite' [bless]. The Devil, unable to bear the sacred word, bursts out through the hull of the ark, but the hole he makes is stopped by the snake who thrusts his tail into it. Many forms of this legend are collected by Daehnhardt" (M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, SPCK, 1920, p. 15).

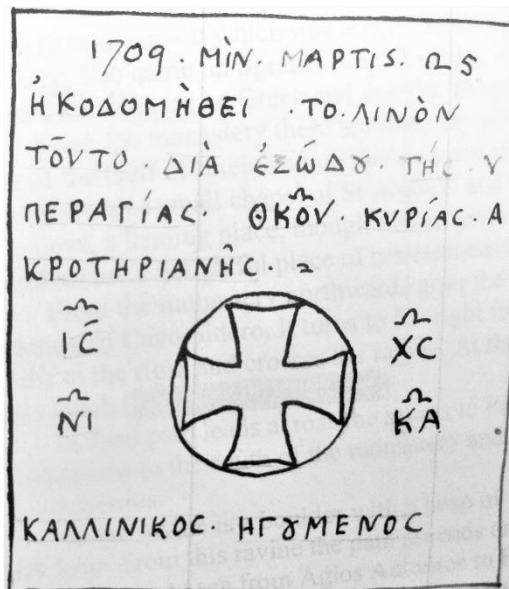
**Zographeios Agon 1896, p. 31.** The monks at the Great Monastery, a name for Toplou, quarrelled and would say neither vespers nor mass. On Saturday evening the bell rang and not a single monk left his cell out of bad temper. About midnight a *voui* (ox) came out of the oil store – a dark place – and went outside every cell and roared and the then went back to the oil store and disappeared. At dawn the monks came together and prayed the Virgin never to let the ox come to them again; at every roar the monastery had shaken.

VAI<sup>21</sup>

The one place which I know in Crete where the wild palm grows in any abundance is the marshy flat valley of Vai – “the palm tree” – about an hour from Toplou on the path to Cavo Sidero. The valley is a flat bottom between the low hills which runs into the sea between Eremopoli [Erimoupoli] and Palaikastro, but nearer Eremopoli.<sup>22</sup> On other places in Crete the palm grows: [ms note: a few at Suda by sea E of arsenal and one on [?] west of Suda near Βλιτέ<sup>23</sup>], at the [river] Armyro west of Candia there are a number of bushes, but only bushes, and when planted it reaches a good height and fresh dates may be sometimes seen in the Candia market, and it is a favourite tree in monastery gardens where it furnishes the palms for Palm Sunday services and in the process suffers a good deal in appearance. But nowhere is the tree really abundant as it is at Vai. The grove mostly consists of bushes, but there are numerous specimens that have shot up into trees. They fill the valley for some distance up from the beach where the water makes a muddy lagoon and almost reach to the farm of Vai.<sup>24</sup>



Views of Vai: (left) from Dawkins' archive, showing the islets known as Grandes; (right) our IMG\_0273 (15 April 2009)



[24 June 1917] At Vai, the farm near Eremopoli through which the path to Toplou passes, just at the head of the valley of palms, there is a built wine-press with an inscription on a built-in block of marble telling us that it was built on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1709 at the expense of the “Most holy Mother of God our Lady of the Promontory” when Kallinikos was abbot.



IMG\_0270 The inscription on the wine-press, 15 April 2009

The farm still belongs to the monastery and Kallinikos' wine-press is still in use.<sup>25</sup> It is an almost universal custom in Greece to sign and date even quite humble buildings and surely a very laudable one. A building without a dating inscription always seems to me to lose in savour. The inscription, like those of the Popes everywhere in Rome, no doubt proceeds to some degree from vanity, yet it preserves history, it gives us a glimpse into the past and is in some sense a protest against our mortality, a humble expression of that appetite for fame which Dante saw was so sincere a feeling in human nature.

[manuscript addition] At Vai, farm near Toplou, over [still?] is the inscription 1719 OKTOBPIOY 4.<sup>26</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> We visited the monastery on 15 April 2009. Gerola (III 193-7) gives a description and two photos of the buildings, plus another photo on II 367. More of Gerola's photos are reproduced in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, pp. 419-20.

<sup>2</sup> For decades the "the almost desolate peninsula of Cavo Sidero" has been protected from development by being a low-scale naval installation which is out of bounds to the public. The windswept peninsula has been uninhabited for about one and a half millennia, and it has no natural water supply. It is apparently an important habitat for endemic plants, and the archaeological remains have so far been left untouched. Since 1991, however, Cavo Sidero has been threatened with a huge and destructive tourist development (including sleeping accommodation for 7000 people) by a company named Minoan Group plc registered in Croydon, Surrey. According to its website (<http://www.minoangroup.com/crete/>), the project was approved by the Greek

authorities in 2007, but permission was revoked by Greece’s highest court, the Council of State, in December 2010. A revised plan was then proposed by the company. According to the website <http://www.chaniapost.eu/2017/06/27/itanos-gaia-luxury-project-on-crete-gets-green-light/>, permission for land use for the new project, cynically named Itanos Gaia (after the nearby ancient site of Itanos and the ancient Greek goddess of Earth [!]), was approved in June 2017 following a presidential decree and a subsequent decision by the Supreme Court. Opposition to the project has come from local residents and environmental organisations and was expressed in a petition led by Oliver Rackham and Jennifer Moody, authors of the magnificent study *The making of the Cretan landscape*; this was signed by 11,000 people from 88 countries (40% of them from Greece). According to the Minoan Group website, under the revised plan “650 rooms and individual suites will cater for the more sophisticated needs of today’s travelers. The amenities of the Project will include a multitude of land based and water sports. A heathland golf course designed around the natural contours of the land will include the latest techniques to encourage the regeneration of eco-systems and their wildlife. Together with a number of spas and wellness centres, cultural and environmental activities will ensure the successful year round operation of the resort.” All along, the company has been supported by Toplou Monastery, which claims to own the land – a claim that has been disputed on legal grounds by opponents of the scheme. Having said all that, I should add that the man who ran the restaurant next to the monastery in April 2009 lamented the possibility that the development wouldn’t take place, “because of the ecologists, who don’t care that people are hungry”.

<sup>3</sup> The church is the rather fine funerary Venetian-era chapel of the Holy Cross with baroque decorations. When we visited, the chapel and the windmill had been recently restored.

<sup>4</sup> This very attractive floor of the courtyard was still there when we visited. It must have replaced the white and red stones, described by Gerola, that had survived from the original paving. Although vol. III of Gerola’s study was published in 1917, I don’t think he had visited Crete since before the First World War.

<sup>5</sup> In our photo on p. 4 we see the pebbled paving of the courtyard and the west end of



IMG\_0259

the church. To the left of the church door we see the fine (and very rare) relief sculpture of the Virgin and Child inscribed “H KYPIA H AKPΩTHPIANH” (Our Lady of the Promontory”, see photo 0259) and the two fine inscriptions below it and to the right of it, which are not mentioned by Dawkins. The relief and the inscriptions are photographed, copied and transcribed by Xanthoudidis 1903: 86-89. The relief is photographed by Gerola (II 325), who also copies and transcribes the inscription beneath it (IV 587-9); he copies and transcribes the second inscription at IV 409.



According to Xanthoudidis, the second of these inscriptions was found in the 1890s by a local Muslim next to the church of St Constantine near Siteia and was subsequently brought to the monastery, where it was placed on the wall. Whereas the first inscription refers to the founding of the monastery itself, the second refers to the founding of St Constantine's church as an outpost of the monastery. Both of the finely carved inscriptions, in ancient Greek language and metre, record the founder's name as Gabriel Pandogalos and specify the year as 1619.

<sup>6</sup> The two staircases to the first-floor terrace were closed to visitors when we were there.

<sup>7</sup> This window is on the first floor; the window sinks into the arch on the right.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly a paraphrase of Plato, *Phaedo* 64a: "those who pursue philosophy aright study nothing but dying and bring dead", or 67e: "true philosophers practise dying".

<sup>9</sup> Dawkins mistranslates here. A more correct rendering would be "the Egyptian viceroy, the heroic prince", referring to Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt.

<sup>10</sup> Dawkins' transcription of the Greek (of which I've recorded only the first line in the main text) is fairly accurate. The enigmatic date, which he reads as 1816, is most likely to be 1836, since the inscription was placed there during the Egyptian occupation of Crete (1830-41). Psilakis' transcription (II 492) completes the KO that puzzled Dawkins as KOPHΣ 'maiden' (which I have inserted in square brackets into Dawkins' translation. However, Psilakis' transcription fails to make sense of the final phrases: he writes the nonsensical [...] INA OMION OΣ EKΠΛHPΩΘH TO ANΩ B TH MEΛOYΣH ZΩH TH AIΩNIΩ whereas Dawkins writes [...] ἵνα ὁ μιστὸς ἐκπληρωθῆ τῷ ἄνω ἐν τῇ μελούσῃ ζωῇ τῇ αἰωνίῳ [so that the reward will be paid to the above [abbot] in the eternal life to come]. Psilakis, like Dawkins, cannot make sense of the truly puzzling final word of the inscription.

<sup>11</sup> This icon is reproduced at [https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/Αρχαίο:ΜεγαςΕιKyrie\\_MoniToplouLasithiKritis.jpg](https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/Αρχαίο:ΜεγαςΕιKyrie_MoniToplouLasithiKritis.jpg). For the Savvathiana version see ch. 14.

<sup>12</sup> This inscription, which Dawkins recorded on recorded 10 March 1918, is now completely worn away (probably by the wind), except the first word, in capitals.

<sup>13</sup> The following is Dawkins' own translation. I am omitting his manuscript transcription of the Greek text, which is dated 25 June 1917.

<sup>14</sup> Turkish *silâhdar* 'sword-bearer'.

<sup>15</sup> This was at Myrthios on 17 July 1917 according to another page of typescript, where Dawkins says he read to Hatzidakis his transcription of Kornaros' account of "the 1811 events".

<sup>16</sup> The *Lousaikon* (*Λουσαϊκόν*) is a collection of narrative accounts of the lives of famous Christian ascetics of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Iveron is one of the monasteries on Mount Athos. I do not quote the Greek original recorded by Dawkins; instead I have substituted my own translation.

<sup>17</sup> The material in brackets here is a translation of Dawkins' conjecture.

<sup>18</sup> I have not quoted this (uninteresting) anecdote here.

<sup>19</sup> Once again I quote my own translation rather than Dawkins' transcription of the Greek.

<sup>20</sup> In the second half of 1916 Greece became territorially divided between two governments, the royalist government in Athens, which wanted Greece to remain neutral during the First World War, and the government in Thessaloniki, led by Eleftherios Venizelos, which wanted Greece to join the Entente Allies (Britain and France). In December 1916 the Archbishop of Athens Theoklitos and the Holy Synod the Church of Greece organized a rally in Athens, during which Venizelos was anathematized and participants were encouraged to throw stones on a heap. When

Venizelos became prime minister in Athens in 1917, the archbishop was deposed – until a different government took power in 1920.

<sup>21</sup> I first visited Toplou and Vai with my brother Ralph in August 1967, when we spent a night on the beach. (The traditional name of the beach is Ψιλή Άμμος [Fine Sand].) There were a small number of other people on the beach, and there was a bamboo hut from which drinks were served. I was reluctant to go back there until Jackie and I plucked up courage to visit the beach on 15 April 2009. It was admittedly out of season and nobody else was there, but I was delighted to find that the place looked more or less unchanged, apart from a big new car-park (which presumably necessitated the destruction of some of the palm trees) and a restaurant built discreetly at the south end. (However, the photo of Vai Beach on Google Maps, taken more recently in the summer, shows the beach defaced by loungers and parasols.) At the time of our visit the trees along the beach looked rather the worse for wear. The Athens newspaper *Ta Nea* (5 Feb. 2006) reported that the red palm weevil *Rhynchophorus ferrugineus* was attacking the palm forest at Vai. It had already attacked dozens of trees, while many trees had been uprooted in order to stem the phenomenon; this is also referred to by Dimitris Kalokyris, *Athens Review of Books*, July-Aug. 2020, p. 37. When we visited again on 29 April 2019 (during a holiday period between Easter and Mayday) we found many people on the beach, but no parasols and loungers (at least yet).

<sup>22</sup> Erimoupoli is the medieval and modern name of the ancient site, which is partly on land and partly under water. Nowadays it is usually known by its ancient name of Itanos.

<sup>23</sup> Βλητές is located next to the westernmost recess of Souda bay, near the (modern) harbour.

<sup>24</sup> The fruit of the Cretan date palm (*Phoenix theophrasti*), is rarely edible. There are other places in Crete where wild palm trees grow in abundance, notably the little estuary at Limni, near Preveli Monastery on the south coast.

<sup>25</sup> When we visited on 15 April 2009 we found that the farm that Dawkins mentioned had been very tastefully converted into simple rooms for visitors, with a taverna where we had had a beer and a snack. The establishment, which is called Metochi Vai, is run by the friendly Manolis Katsarakis. He told us that the wine-press was still in use. It's pleasant to record that, as far as the exterior of the buildings is concerned, very little seemed to have changed there in the 100 years since Dawkins visited it. Ten years later, on 29 April 2019, we had lunch there and found that despite the success of the taverna, the guest rooms were not functioning. There are palm trees either side of the former farm buildings.

<sup>26</sup> We didn't see this.

## CHAPTER 32 MISCELLANEOUS

### [1. Flowers]

#### Note on flowers in March 1918

Yellow *Ranunculus* in bloom: all over HP peninsula [Ierapetra isthmus], and also found near Chersonnesos to the east of the village.

White pink-flushed *Ranunculus* in flower: less rare than the yellow; most abundant on road to Knossos.<sup>1</sup>

Small pinkish tulip, white inside, on waste ground all about Toplou. The same, I think, as I found in June 1914 on the higher slopes of Dikte.

Red anemones in bloom: the blue are much earlier and out already in January.

Clematis in seed.

Mandrake almost over.

Aloes not yet sending up shoots.

#### 11 April 1918, Agia Galini

The yellow *aspalathos*<sup>2</sup> makes the rough country quite yellow, it is so abundant.

The big white *Ranunculus* is very abundant.

#### 12 April 1918

The red *Ranunculus* grows just below Pigaidakia as one comes from the sea. A dozen or twenty plants. It is always rather rare and never found abundantly. It grows thus sparingly at Palaikastro between Roussolakkos and the sea.

In 1918 I found a patch of a lot of it between Kanli Kastelli and Candia near the end of the carriage road. I came a second time by the same way returning from Epano Sippi in order to gather the seed. I got some, but it does not seed freely like the other species.

The wild squill is called *athanatos* in Crete as well as the aloe.<sup>3</sup> From a Cretan tradition about Alexander and the way of life in Politis, *Paradoseis*, I, p. 309, we learn that the onion does not dry up ever because when Alexander's sister spilled the water of life some of it fell on some onions.<sup>4</sup>

**[2.] Birds**

**13 April 1918**, Pyrgos, saw a hoopoe. These birds pass through Crete in the spring like the *geranoi* [cranes] I saw flying overhead at the Moni ton Asomaton in Amari.

**[3. Reptiles]**

**At Khandra** the little house lizard called *samámithos* is supposed to be made unable to move by saying to it *σαββάτο σαββάτο* [Saturday Saturday]. Antony<sup>5</sup> and his wife both believed the story that if a hen eats a *samamithos* she lays an egg from which a *samamithos* is hatched. A story clearly akin to the basilisk, and the *samamithos* is an uncanny looking little creature. I never heard it said that *samamithoi* are generated only in this way. Delivasilis at Candia told me the same and called the egg *σαμαμιθαύγουλο* [lizard's egglet]<sup>6</sup> and the lizard *σαμάμιθος*.

**[4. Folksongs]****At Toplou, 11 November 1916**

Να ήμουν νιος κι απάντρευτος και πλούσιος κι ανδρειωμένος,  
να δεις πώς την εχαίρουμουν τη νιότη μ' ο καημένος.

Ah! Would that I were young again, unwed and rich and bold;  
You'd see how I'd enjoy my youth, who now am sad and old.

**11 August 1918** at supper at Khandra in the house of Ant. Papathanasakis, from Yannis Katsarakis of Palaikastro, my servant:

Όλον τον κόσμο γύρισα, ανατολή και δύση,  
δεν ήύρα φίλον πιστικό να με παρηγορήσει.  
Σαν το σακούλι μ' άνθρωπο, σαν το σακούλι φίλο,  
πλέρωνε, σακουλάκι μου, να τρώγω και να πίνω.

[I've toured the whole world from east to west, / but I've found no trusty friend to comfort me; / no man like my purse, no friend like my purse; / pay out, my purse, so I may eat and drink.]

**[5.] Folklore**

At Hierapetra, 26 April 1918, a *chorophylax* from Neapolis told me that his grandfather dreamed three times of money in a certain place. He dug there and found a lot of gold. But when he dug something uncanny made him lame and this lameness was with him all his life. He went to Candia with the money and then to Smyrna where he sold it piece by piece at a good price.

Found treasure often turns to coal unless the finder touch it with his own hand (hand in my notes is hard to read).

**Evil eye**

A *khorophylax* at Hierapetra told me on 26 April 1918 that a woman gave him the evil eye when he was going shooting. As a result he killed his dog and burst his gun.

I remember years ago in Crete, travelling from Neapolis to Candia, we passed midday at Chersonnesos at the café on the main road kept by a *spanos* [man on whose face no hair grows], who are supposed all to have the eye. My muleteer, Athanasis I think, stumbled shortly afterwards and, half in joke, put it down to the evil eye of the *spanos* (*m' ephtarmise*, he said).

**3 June 1918.** On road west of Candia just where road to Agia Varvara turns up inland to Stavromenos, leaving shore road to right, I saw in a vineyard a hand, either sheet tin or wood, on the end of a post, put up as an evil eye charm. Yannis of Palaikastro, who was with me, said it was για να μη ματιάσουν τ' αμπέλια [so that the vines don't get the evil eye], and at Suda I note on the door of the arsenal the impression of a hand dipped in white paint with probably the same idea.

**100-101.** T[revor]-B[attye], p. 283: "Raulin observes also of Mount Kedros that, according to tradition, it has one hundred and one springs."<sup>7</sup>

**Folklore told at Toplou, 7 May 1918**

Basil should not be planted in May for, if it is, it will be laid on the tomb of the planter.

Also

Weddings should not take place in May because it is then that animals, and especially donkeys, breed.

**[6.] Dancing**

At Candia, 26 November 1917, passing by night along the main street, I saw a dance in a café between the turning to Evans' house and the Canea gate. It was called the ζειμπέκικος χορός, the quicksilver dance, and was said to be an Anatolian dance and that the boy dancing it was not a Cretan. It is for a single dancer who dances with all his body. First he moves slowly, but kneels in continuous motion with a sort of flowing, quivering rhythm all very slow. Then all of a sudden he leaps violently and quickly into a new position on the floor and the slow movements begin again. The dance is called the quicksilver dance because the dancer is like quicksilver on a plate which is balanced. As long as it is balanced the mercury only quivers; when its tilted it rushes rapidly to a new position of comparative rest. The people drinking looked on with great interest.

[In manuscript: Note: [word in Ottoman script] zeibeq [added in pencil:] of Asia Minor = quicksilver.<sup>8</sup>

v. Χουρμούζης on 2 dances: σιγανός, πηδηκτός.<sup>9</sup>

### [7. The twelve noblemen]<sup>10</sup>

22<sup>nd</sup> January 1918 at Candia, Xanthoudidis told me that there is a tradition that there was a rebellion in the reign of Alexios Komninos and that he sent twelve lords (*αρχοντόπουλλα*) to Crete to divide the land amongst them and that from them the chief families in Crete are descended. He told me too that certain *πλαστά έγγραφα* [forged documents] mention these twelve *αρχοντόπουλλα*.

There is a reference to the Cretan *dodekada* [dozen] in the preface to the archaic poem on the Cretan war in Sathas' *Anekdotia*.<sup>11</sup>

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### Peter Mackridge's notes

<sup>1</sup> All of Dawkins' references to *Ranunculus* here and elsewhere are to the Turban buttercup (*Ranunculus asiaticus*). According to Yanoukos Iatridis (*Flowers of Crete*, Athens 1985, p. 56) the Turban buttercup can have white, yellow, pink or scarlet flowers. Iatridis says the commonest forms in Crete are the white and the yellow, and that the Minoans used this flower as a motif in frescoes, paintings and pottery decoration. According to Anthony Huxley & A.W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean* (London 1989) the red form is more common in Rhodes than elsewhere [JW].

<sup>2</sup> Spiny Broom (*Calycotome villosa*) [JW].

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the agave [JW].

<sup>4</sup> N. G. Politis, *Μελέται περί του βίου και της γλώσσης του ελληνικού λαού: Παραδόσεις*, 2 vols (Athens 1904).

<sup>5</sup> This must be the Antonios Papathanasakis mentioned further down, and also in ch. 30.

<sup>6</sup> This word is not in Pangalos' dictionary.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably Victor Raulin, *Description physique de l'île de Crète* (1861-9).

<sup>8</sup> Dawkins has confused two Turkish words here. The name of the dance is derived from Turkish *zeybek* 'irregular militia and guerrilla fighter' or 'kind of light infantryman'. But the Redhouse Turkish-Greek dictionary also gives *zeybak* 'mercury', which is how Dawkins has erroneously interpreted the name of the dance. He seems to have been responsible for spreading the 'quicksilver' story to Xan Fielding, *The Stronghold* (1953), 141. At all events, the *zeybekikos* is not a traditional Cretan dance. It has become better known to middle-class Greeks since Dawkins' time, owing to the popularity of *rebetika* music among such people since the 1960s.

<sup>9</sup> Chourmouzis, pp. 31-32.

<sup>10</sup> This information was later elaborated in R. M. Dawkins, "Folk-memory in Crete", *Folklore* 41.1 (1930), pp. 22-23.

<sup>11</sup> Athanasios Skliros, "Κρητικός πόλεμος" (c. 1666), published in Konstantinos Sathas, *Ελληνικά ανέκδοτα*, vol. 2 (Athens 1867).