

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.¹ 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 Kartero² 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.³ 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.⁴

The road goes on past Chersonnesos, past the market gardens of Malles [Malia],⁵ 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.⁶

The path to Vrakhasi continues up the gorge.⁷ It passes by a “mill with a cistern” (στερνιστός 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”]⁸ 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.⁹

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:

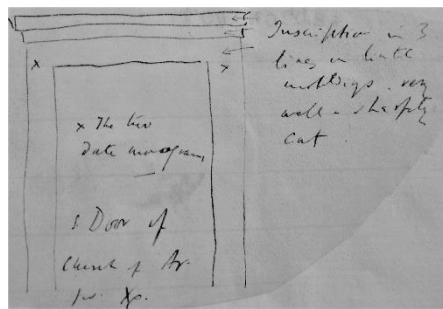


Fig. 1 Inscription in three lines on lintel mouldings, very well and shapely cut.
x The two date monograms

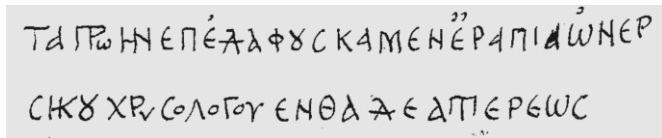


Fig. 2

The inscription, though written in three lines, falls into four elegiac couplets, the last pentameter scanning --|--|--|--| .

The text is:

Τα πρώην επ' εδάφους κείμεν' ερείπια, ώνερ,
σηκού Χρυσολόγου ένθαδε απτερέως
ιερέων οχ' άριστος εαίς δαπάναις ανεγεΐρας
τεύξατο ως οράεις τόνδε αριπρεπέα.
Ει δ' ερεΐνης τούτο δαημέναι ούνομα κλητόν
Γρηγόριος Φούσκης τούδε προσηγορή.
Έτους τρέχοντος χιλιοστής επτάδος άμα
ογδοικοστής [sic] και 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.]¹⁰

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 1st.

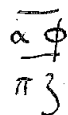


Fig. 3

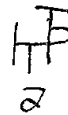


Fig. 4

Gerola records at Vrakhasi a church of St George with a tower.¹¹ 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 path¹² 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 windmills¹³ 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.

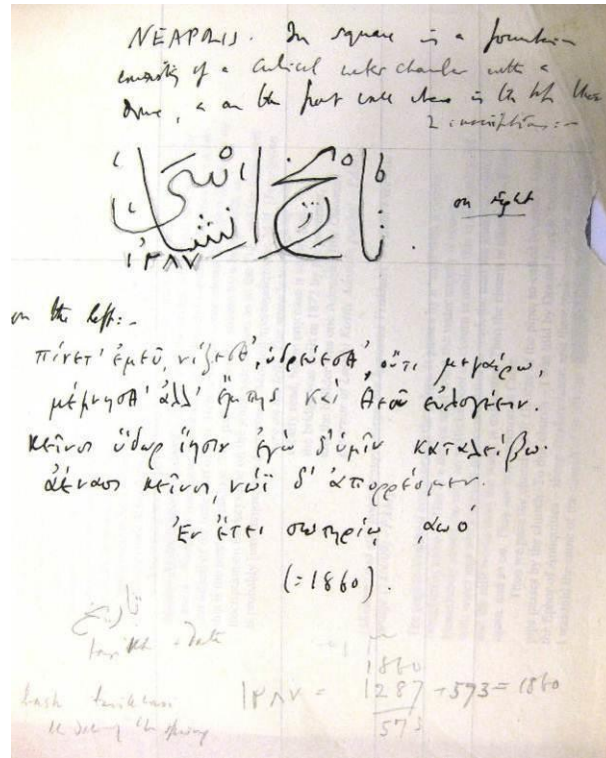
(Insert note on the handwheel and how the *pithari* is built up a layer a day.)¹⁴

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.¹⁵

Neapolis is one of the larger new settlements in Crete, as its name implies: it was at first called Kainourgio Khorio, the New Village. Khourmouzisⁱⁱⁱ 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.¹⁶ 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?¹⁷

ⁱⁱⁱ 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.¹⁸

[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*¹⁹ 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".²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴



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.²⁵ 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].

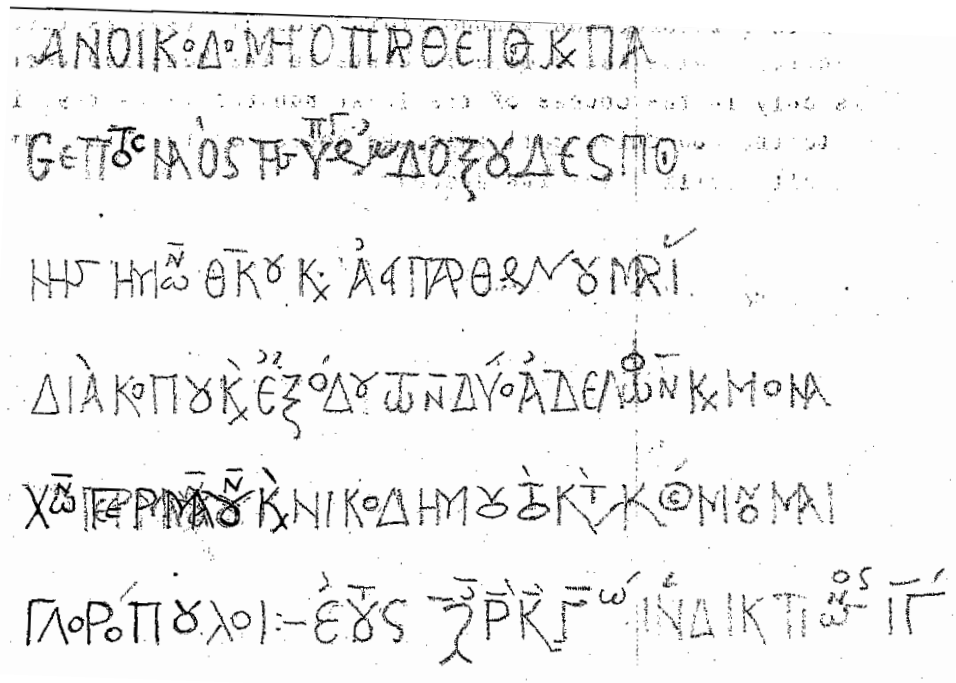
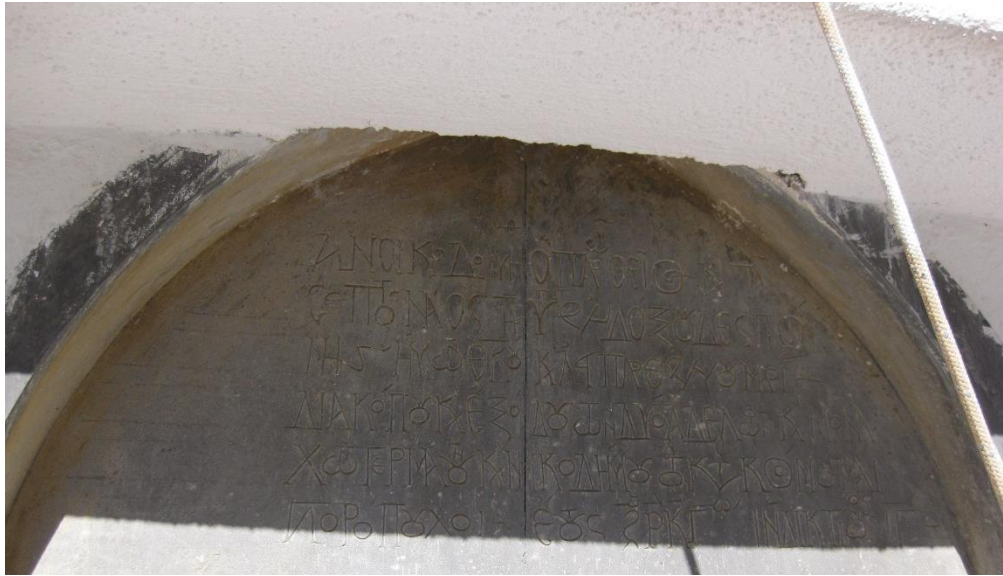


Fig. 5. Facsimile sketch of the inscription over the door of the Panagia church of Lakkonia, made 16 Sept. 1917



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.^{iv}

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.²⁶ 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 Mavrokououloula. 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)]²⁷

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.

^{iv} 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.^v

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.³¹ 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.³² 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.”³³

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

^v In Greek: *ο παρομοιωθης Χονηατη[ς]*, the likeness of [παρομοιωθεις: 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].

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.

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^{vi} notices the curious piece of Greek, *ούτος έστιν ο πέγον*, which labels a man hung up by the hands and feet. *Πέγον* 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 Lamas and of Eiginos (?Hyginos) Synouletos."³⁴

Peter Mackridge's notes

¹ 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 Galatea Kazantzaki's novella *Η άρρωστη πολιτεία* (Athens 2010), p. 160, n. 38.

² Karteros, just outside Herakleion.

³ Dawkins tells a version of this story in "Folk-memory in Crete", pp. 36-37.

⁴ Khoudetsi is 22 km south of Herakleion.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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

^{vi} Ibid. II, p. 344. [For a photo of this painting see Borboudakis, illus. 32: PM.]

grammar of Ottoman Turkish for Greeks: *Στοιχεία της οθωμανικής γραμματικής* (Constantinople 1850).

⁷ The modern road still goes through the gorge, but bypasses Vrakhasi. We didn't see the Adosidis bridge (14 April 2009).

⁸ Franz Cumont, "St. George and Mithra 'The Cattle-Thief'", *Journal of Roman Studies* 27 (1937), pp. 63-71.

⁹ 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 Vrakhasi up this road in April 2009, so we missed it and had to double back

¹⁰ 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 Aptaera is a mystery; Gerola attributes it to ignorance of the real location of the ancient city of Aptaera at that time.

¹¹ Gerola II 363-5, with photo.

¹² This path is marked on the Anavasi atlas.

¹³ The windmills seem to be marked on the Anavasi atlas 83 A2.

¹⁴ He doesn't seem to have done this.

¹⁵ There is also a Cretan word *αλατσίδα* 'chasm'.

¹⁶ Dawkins seems to be using *συνουικισμός* in its ancient sense of the gathering together of various small settlements to make a town.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ Goulas is the old name of the hill on which the ancient site of Lato stands.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ Nevertheless, "H. Nikolaos" is marked on the map of Crete at the end of Pashley's vol. II.

²¹ 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.

²² Mesa and Exo Lakonia are the names of areas, each of which includes several tiny settlements; Mesa Lakkonia includes six settlements. The name Λακώνια (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.

²³ 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

²⁵ Chamilo is (at least now) the official name of a settlement within Mesa Lakonia. The Panagia is the cemetery church, immediately above the road.

²⁶ 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 ΛAP.

²⁷ 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 4th and 3rd 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.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ Is this correct? There is an Agios Syllas outside Vathy, further up the coast to the north.

³⁰ This claim is expressed by Xanthoudidis 1903: 64.

³¹ 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.

³² Xanthoudidis (1903: 66) likewise states that there is a child in the painting.

³³ 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.

³⁴ 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) 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).