

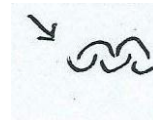
## CHAPTER 2 WEST OF CANEA

[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]

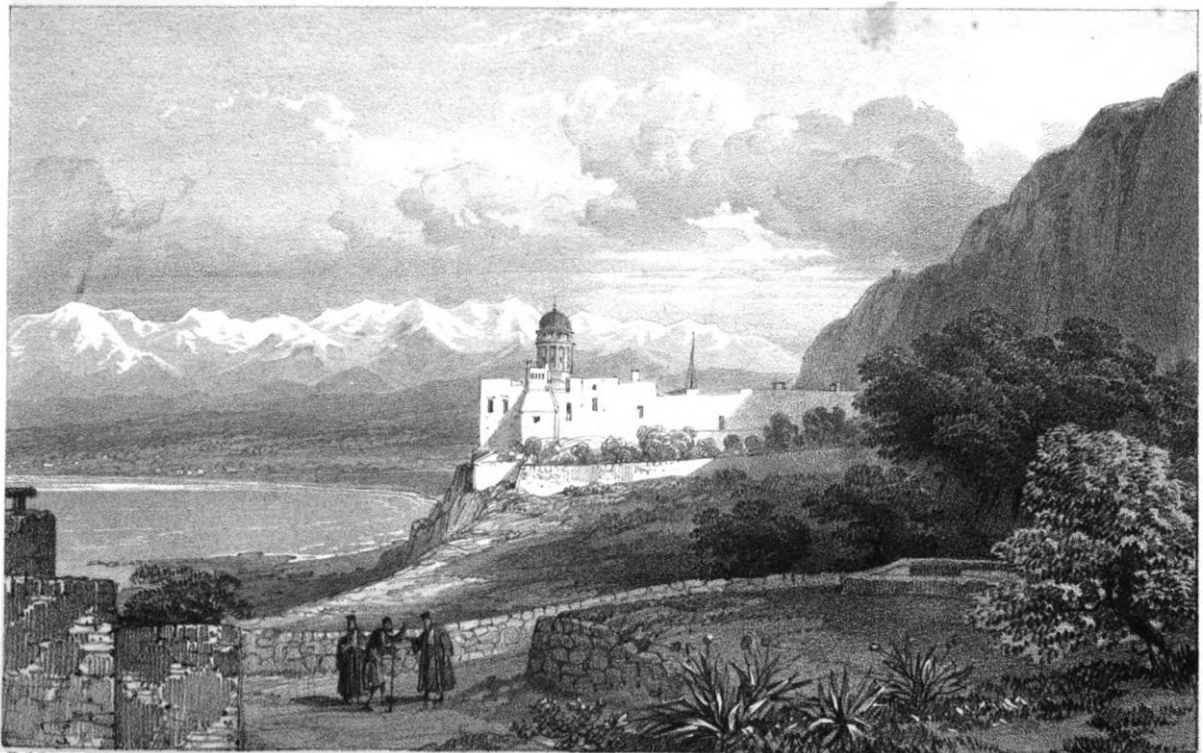
### Plataniés [Plataniás] 2nd November 1917

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>



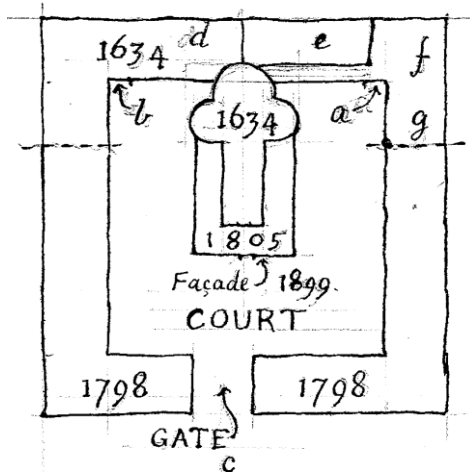
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GONIA and the WHITE MOUNTAINS.

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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 *πειθεσθαι*, 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 / ἠδιστον παντί γένει.  
Οικοδομή/θοι διά δαπάνης του πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου πρώην Κρήτης  
κύ[ρ] / κυρ Καλλινίκου· αὐγούστου ιθ / Α.Ψ.Η

The first part down to γένει forms two “Byzantine iambs”, 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 *parakklision*. 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

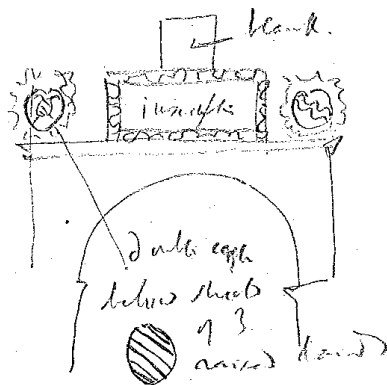
wished to be remembered by name in the services of the monastery. Further gifts after 1800 have been added by later hands. The first page contains the title of the book and is written with as many abbreviations and compendia as possible, and is the most extreme thing of its kind I have ever seen. It 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’.

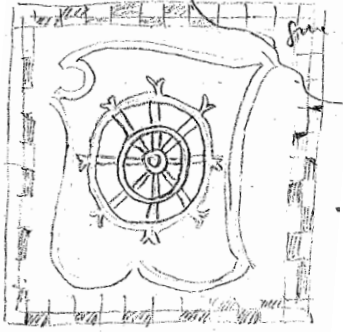
Kolymbari, which I have already mentioned as ten minutes to the Canea side of Gonia monastery, is quite a new place. I understood that it had been founded for administrative purposes. Trevor-Battye says (p. 55) that it was built in connexion with some iron mines not very far away. Trevor-Battye notes 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 Amygdokephali?] 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>

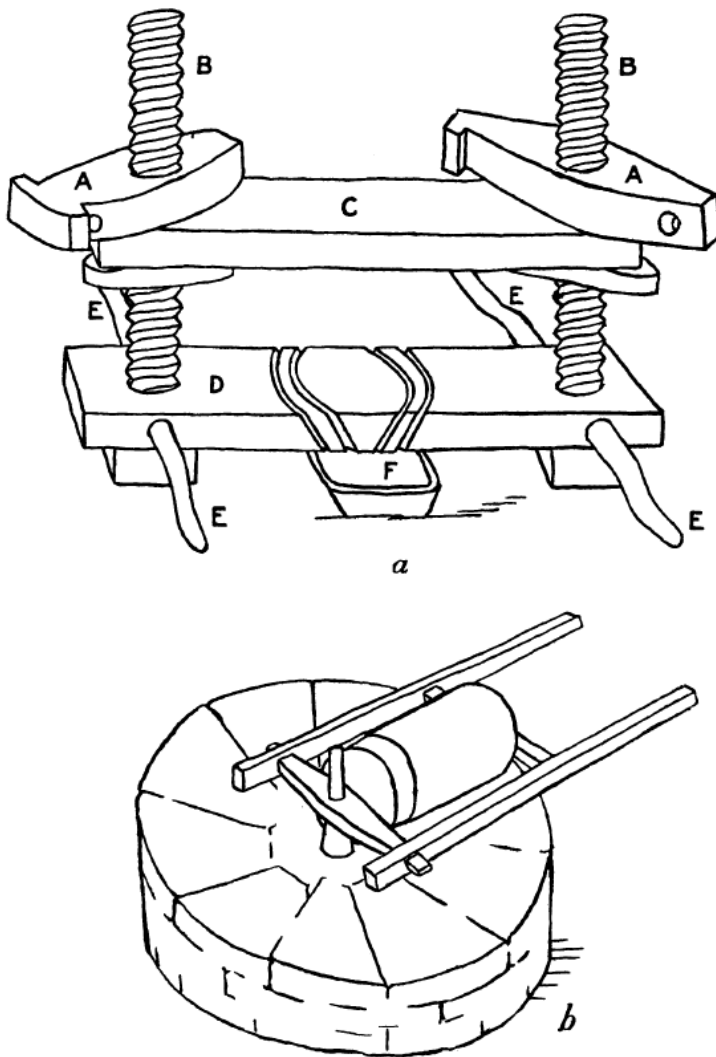


FIG. 11.—WOODEN OLIVE-PRESS AND OLIVE-MILL.

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:

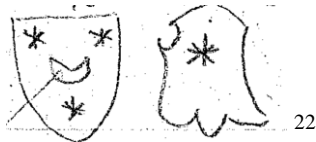
- A. These wooden pieces with a female screw turned round by means of levers to exert the pressure are called ‘the turners’, *οι στρόφες*, and the similar smaller pieces below the beam which serve to support it are called ‘the little turners’, *τα στρόφια*. In Carpathos the upper piece is called *το 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>ii</sup>

### ΚΕΦΑΛΙ 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>ii</sup> Protodikos, *Ιδιωτικά της νεωτέρας Ελληνικής γλώσσας*, p. 43.



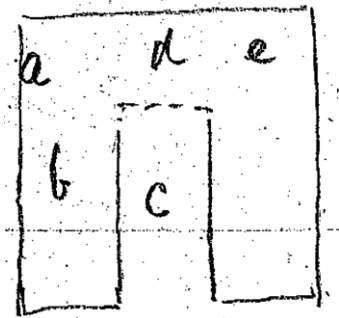
Gerola II, Table 8



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 Kandanoleon 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 Papádika *vel sim.* [Παπαδιανά] and that on the east side is Póde (Πώδε) Sklavopoula. On the ridge is a shop or two, and

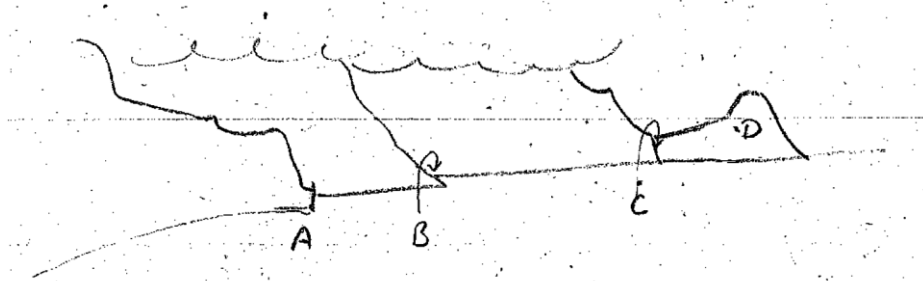


the site of a projected and already begun new church.<sup>29</sup> In Póde Sklavopoula are three old churches. The lowest down the hill is Metamorphosis with a fresco of the founder carrying the church. Just above is the Koimisis<sup>30</sup> with a fresco of the founder and a picture of Hell on the 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 (Μπεϊλίτικα) 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 ψυχήν 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 ψυχήν 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 Στράτηγος* [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 + MNHCΘKETACΨΥX...<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>iii</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 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]  $\Sigma\lambda\text{I}\text{H } 6918-5508 = 1410$ . 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>iv</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>iii</sup> See Xanthoudidis, *Αθηνά* [vol. 15 (1903)], p. 112.

<sup>iv</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>



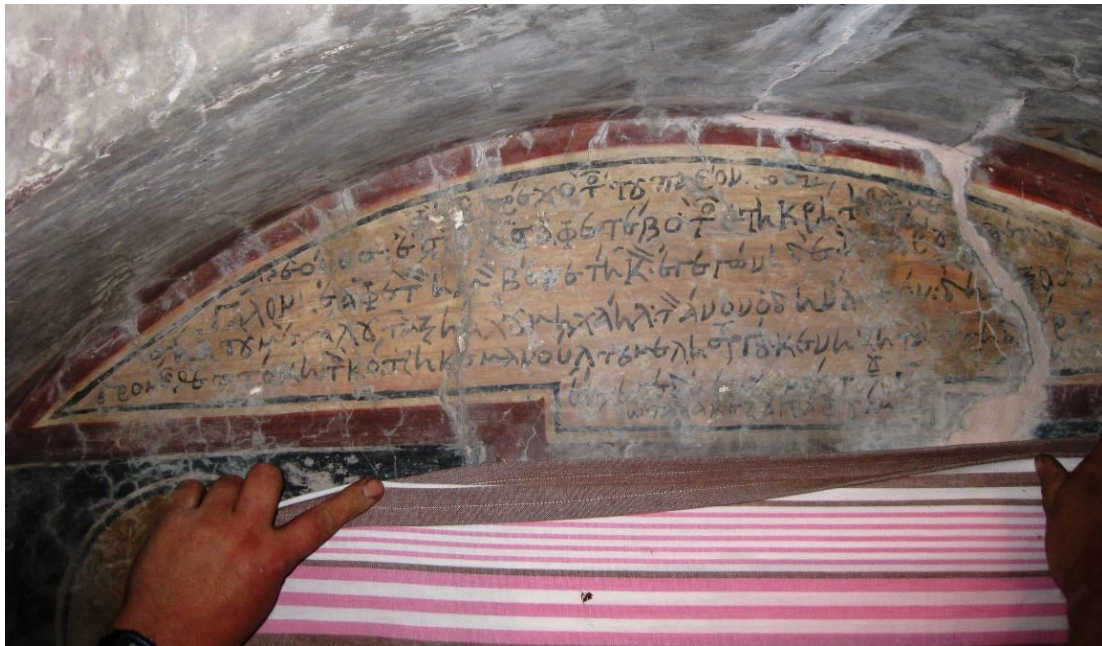
Church of Archangel Michael at Kavalariana

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-leaved 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.

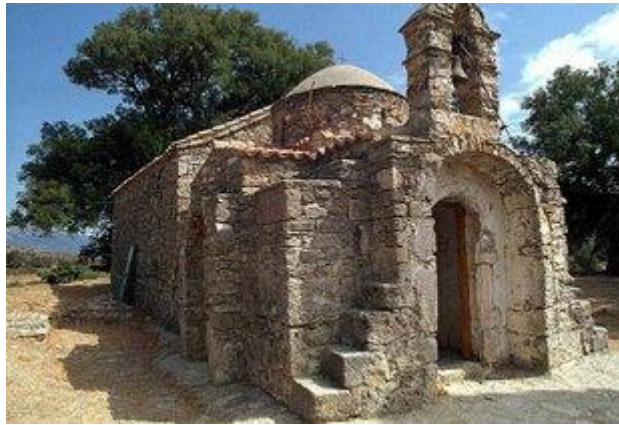
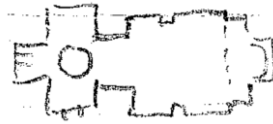


IMG\_2651 Sotiros Christou, Temenia

**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 δώξις* 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 Θεου 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>**

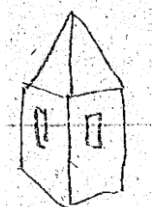
At Souya in front of the most western house is a fragment of mosaic pavement with (?),<sup>69</sup> panther, deer and leaves in white, black and red. Coarse work. There are a few fragments of columns lying about here and there.

**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 [Agioli 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.

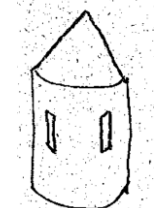
**17 June 1918:** road from **Kantanos** over the watershed of the island to Nea Roumata [between Kantanos & Skines]. This is an ascent of 2½ hours and then a descent of the same over hills covered with a more or less burned black scrub of heath and arbutus. This makes the country very much greener than 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 19th 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 *αψηε* 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 Vlithias.

<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



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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.