

CHAPTER 3 CANEA AND SUDA¹

Foundation of Canea

Canea was founded by the Venetians to keep the Greeks in subjection in the middle of the 13th century. Pashley quotes an interesting passage recording this from the entry for the year 1252 from a manuscript *Cronaca Veneziana*:¹ “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 Retimo² 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.³

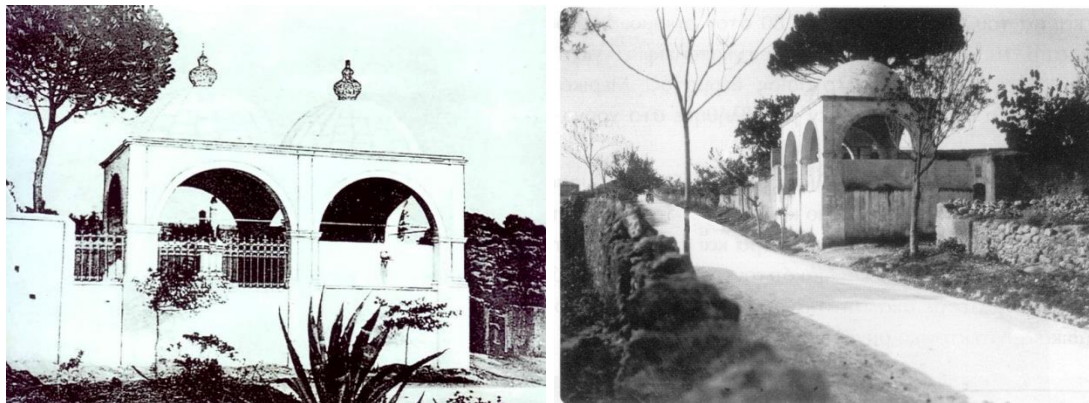
But it was these walls which sustained the siege of 1645 when the Turks took the town after attacking it for [60] days and thus got their first footing in the island, after the preliminary occupation of the island of Saint Theodore. We have a contemporary account of the siege by the Turkish traveller 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 [...].⁴ 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

¹ 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 Barbarenes [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.”⁵

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 Panagoulis, 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 Perivolias, 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

1. The big church of San Nicolo forming most of the east end of the Splanza square.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³

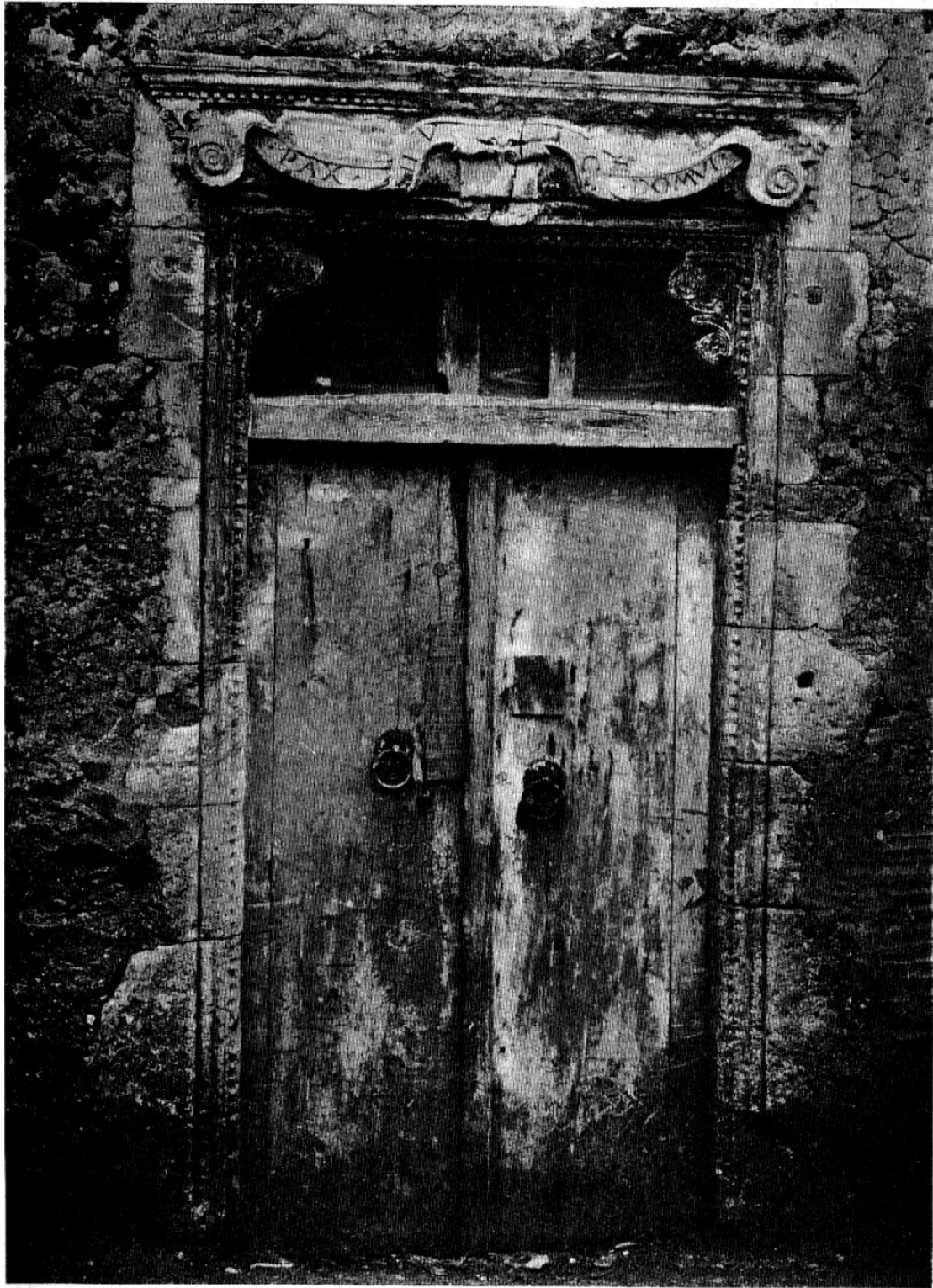


FIG. 135 — CANEA — PORTA DEL N. 15. (285).

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.¹⁴



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 Square¹⁵ to the edge of the town¹⁶ is a courtyard and by it the mosque of the Conqueror of Canea, Yussuf Pasha, before the conquest the church of St Francis.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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

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.²⁰

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]TA 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.²¹

[*ms note*] In the Jewish quarter behind Φιρκάς²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴

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.²⁵



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:

MVLTATVLIT, 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.²⁶

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 1919²⁷

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,²⁸ but it gives anyhow the date of the completion of the building as March 25th 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).²⁹

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:^{TO} OCTAVO
SVERONONO
└ DEFUNCTUS
INGEN] TI LVCTV DIL FC^{SI} FAMILIA
[complete line] PRÆVNTE FVNVS
COMITANTI E \ ... !! EORVM LACRIMIS
ET CONSEQUENTE 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.³⁰

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.³¹ 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*.³²

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).³³ 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.

2x³⁴ October 1917. Khrysopigi monastery between Suda and Canea with inscription over gate, published by Xanthoudidis.³⁵ 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.³⁶

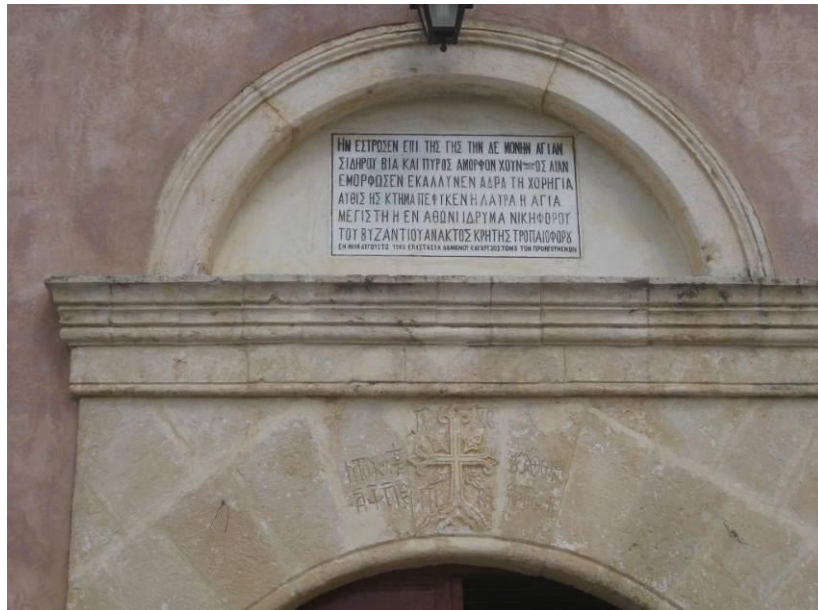
Mournies near Canea, April 3rd 1919

I walked from Suda to Khrysopigi and thence to **Agia Moni**³⁷ 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.³⁸

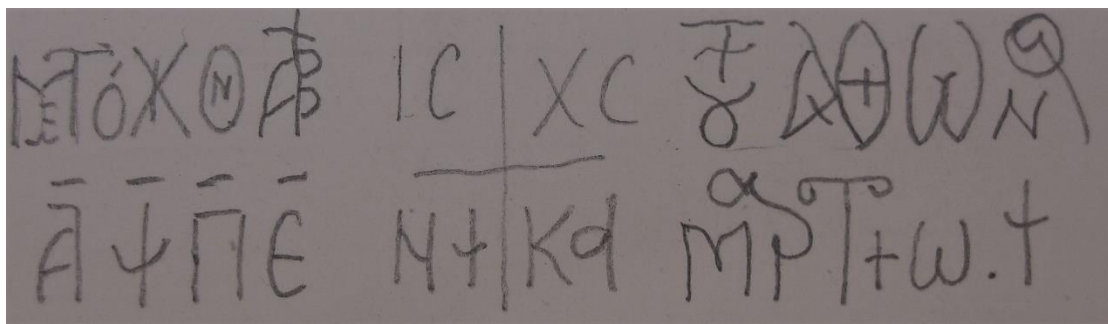



IMG_3051 Moni Megistis Lavras, west entance, 11 May 2011.



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:³⁹



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].⁴⁰

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.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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.⁴³



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, 19th March 1919⁴⁴



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 · ΔΕΧΟΥ⁴⁵

(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.⁴⁶

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

ΟΥΠΑΝΟΘΕΜΜΟΝ ΕΜΠΥΡΑΡΜΑΤΕ
ΠΙΕΤΡΟΝ · ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΙΕΡΓΗΝ
ΕΡΓΑΤΗΝ ΔΟΜΟΥ ΣΑΩ ἁΦῶΗ

i.e. Nursling of heaven, thou of the fiery chariot,
Save Peter Kaliergi who built the church 1598⁴⁷

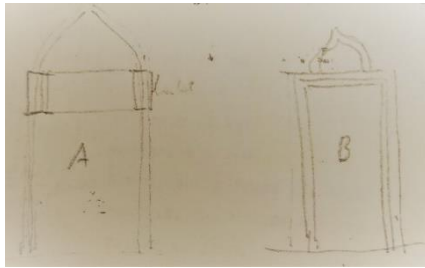
the date being, thus, a little earlier than the debased churches of the late Nerokourou type.

March 19th 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

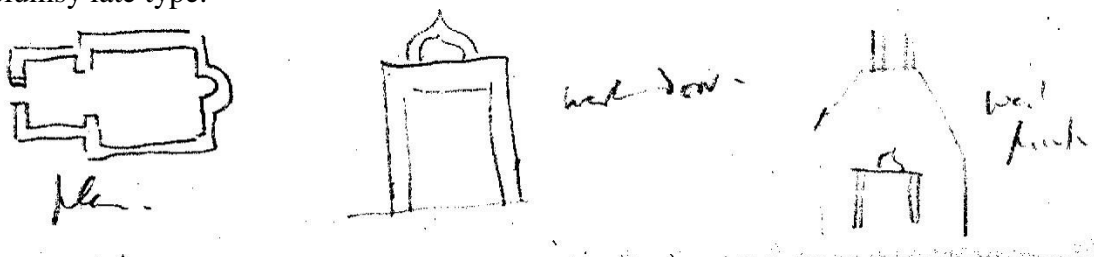
Nerokourou, 19th March 1919

In the fields below the village of Nerokourou is the church of Agioi Sarantes (so called locally).⁴⁸ 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 6th and 7th 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 1636.⁴⁹

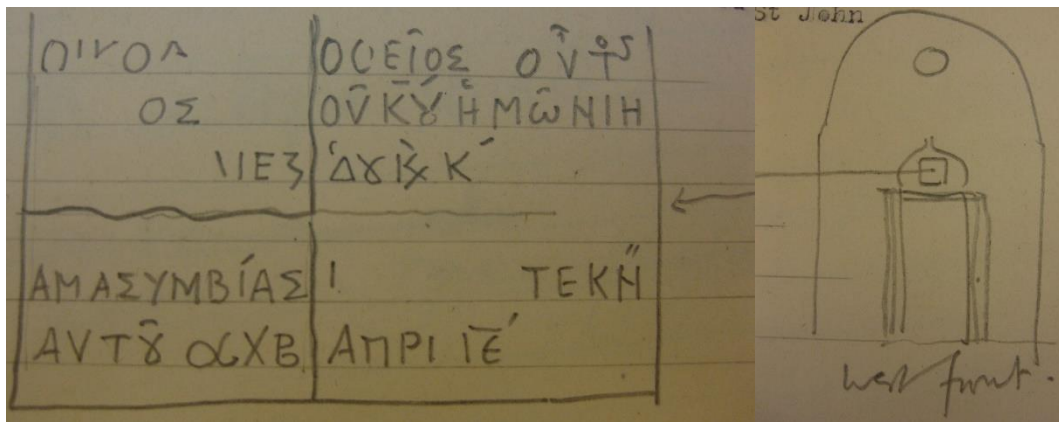
The belfry over the west front is ruined.

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), 20th December 1917. 2 churches of late Venetian style

Church of Christos or St John⁵⁰



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 4th 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.⁵¹



IMG_2629 Michail Arkhangelos, Tsikalaria, 10 Oct. 2010 (locked)

Suda Island

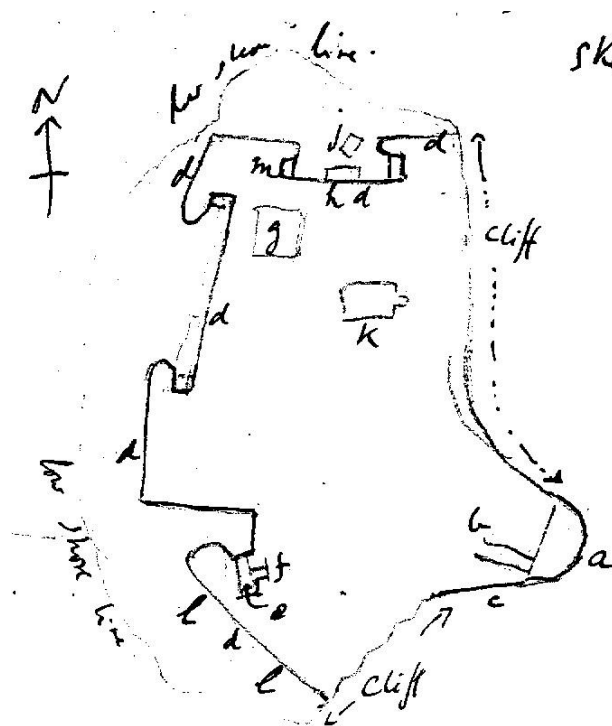
In situation the Suda Island is very like the fortified island of Spina Longa, though the position is not so picturesque. This Suda Island guards the entrance of Suda Bay, the best harbour in Crete. The Venetians treated it just as they treated Spina Longa: wherever it is not made inaccessible by steep 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 Souda 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

Peter Mackridge's notes

¹ 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.

² 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".

³ 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.

⁴ 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).

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

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

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

⁹ 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).

¹⁰ Gerola II 104, 131-40, 160-1.

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

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

¹³ 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 Δομινικανών [της Σπλάντζας]). Gerola IV 344 points out that the inscription is a quotation from Luke 10.5.

¹⁴ 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 Kandanoledon 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.

¹⁵ 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.

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

¹⁷ 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,

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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 20th century.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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.

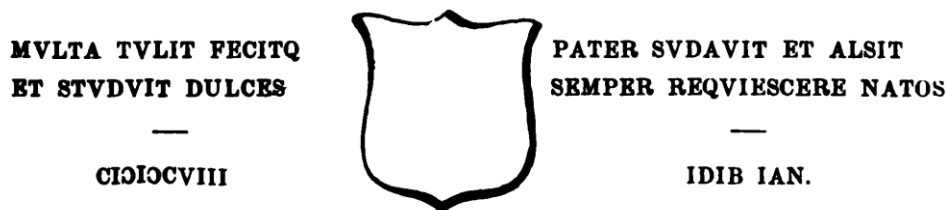
²² Firkas is the name of the fortress in the NW corner of the old town. The name is originally Turkish: *firka* ‘(military) division; (naval) squadron’.

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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.

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

²⁶ 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.

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

²⁸ Nor did Xanthoudidis = 48?

²⁹ This is confirmed by Xanthoudidis 100.

³⁰ 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.

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

³² 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.

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

³⁴ The date must be twenty-something.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ The trellis is no longer there.

³⁷ Xanthoudidis p. 102; photos in Gratziou pp. 92 & 107. Αγία Μονή Σαρακήνα: Psilakis II 317ff.; M. 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.

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

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ Psilakis II 326.

⁴¹ 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.

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

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

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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".

⁴⁶ The end of the line is probably even less legible now because of whitewash.

⁴⁷ 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.

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

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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).

⁵¹ 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.