

CHAPTER 14

CANDIA – ROGDIA – BALI – RETIMO (AUGUST 1917)¹

Rogdia²



IMG_2752 Venetian mansion, Rogdia



IMG_2746 Evangelistria, Rogdia (S door)

The road through the village passes on the right a courtyard on a slightly lower level. On the side of this court which faces the road is what is left of a fine Venetian house called generally *πύργος*.³ The north side of the court is formed by the south wall of the church of the Evangelistria. This church was almost entirely rebuilt in the middle of the 19th century.⁴ The immensely thick south wall is the only old part left. In it is a door of fine Venetian carved work and on the lintel the date MDLIII. The MD is on one side, LIII on the other and between them a floriated shield with armorial bearings. Over this door is a later slab inscribed with *μνήσθητι [Κύριε] τον δούλον του Θεού* [remember o Lord the servant of God] and a name and the date 1809.



IMG_2753



IMG_2747 Plaque over S door



IMG_2751 SE corner of Evangelistria



IMG_2748 Plaque over N door



IMG_2749 Plaque on W wall of N court

The north door has an inscription on the lintel which is hardly legible, and above it in the ogee-shaped arched recess a very low relief of the annunciation, inscribed *ευαγγελισμός της Θεοτόκου* [Annunciation of the Mother of God], in the upper part of which is God the Father, inscribed *ο άναρχος πατήρ* [the uncreated father], looking down upon the scene from the clouds. Below is an inscription hard to read, but with the date apparently 1860 [1863], which is not unlikely as the present abbot of Savvathiana told me that his eldest brother, the first son of a first wife, he himself being the youngest son of a third wife, carved it. The abbot looks about 60, so the date fits very well. The church is usually entered by the north door through a court, in the wall of which to the right of the entrance is built in the funeral epitaph of a certain “priest and singer Michael, who fell asleep on December 19th 1593, and may the Lord God give him rest”. Above the words is the cross with the usual abbreviations for “Jesus Christ conquers”.⁵

Savvathiana. 16 August 1917⁶

The monastery of Savvathiana lies in a ravine reached shortly after crossing the ridge beyond Rogdia. A narrow valley twists down to the sea, and the monastery lies on the right bank of it by a wood of cypresses, mostly female. The entrance from the Rogdia direction is towards the lowest part of the buildings. It leads into the irregular court in the middle of which is the small church. The buildings are quite rustic, but have recently been roofed with the red French tiles which are, however, fortunately not conspicuous once one is inside the monastery. The church has over the south door a clearly and deeply cut inscription recording that it was restored in 1745 by the abbot Nikodimos.⁷

Μιά επιγραφή που σώζεται ακόμη στην Μονή μαρτυρεί την ανακαίνιση, ή οποία πραγματοποιήθηκε αμέσως:

1745 ΜΙΝΙ ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ 25
ΑΝΕΚΕΝΙΣΤΙ Η ΑΓ. ΑΦΤΙ
ΕΚΛΙΣΙΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΙΜΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΑΓ. ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΑΦΤΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ,
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ, ΜΑΝΙΛΙ
ΜΗΧΙΑ (ΜΙΧΑΗΛ)
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΠΑΘΑΡΗΣ

Προφανώς ο Γεώργιος Σπαθάρης ήταν ο αρχιτέκτονας που ανέλαβε την ανακαίνιση. Έτσι η Ιερά Μονή περνά σε ένα στάδιο βελτίωσης των συνθηκών ζωής μετά τα γεγονότα του πολέμου και της τουρκικής κατάκτησης.



From *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: Σύνοψη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010), 28-9

The church possesses an interesting *eikon* of the Burning Bush which is regarded in the Greek Church as a type of the Virgin, unconsumed by the miraculous conception.⁸ The picture shows a tree in the middle of which the Virgin sits with her child in her arms, supported by a cup as in the pictures of the *Zoodokhos Pigi*,⁹ whilst on the branches are the prophets of the Old Testament. On each side of the tree is a saint: their names were illegible, but for the one on the left I made out the letters [...] and for the one on the right the letters [...] [not quoted here].



IMG_2758 The door to the abbot's quarters

By the path which leads from the monastery up the ravine is the abbot's cell¹⁰ built, according to an inscription in big capital letters on the lintel, in September 1904 at the expense of the monastery when Eumenios was bishop of Crete and Timotheos Stratakis abbot of the monastery.

In the semicircular space over the door several other inscriptions have been built in, one dated 1788. Owing to whitewash and their general difficulty, I failed to make out these inscriptions thoroughly.¹¹

In the abbot's rooms are the remains of an *eikon* which seems to have been an exact replica of the *Μέγας εἰ Κύριε* [Great Thou art, o Lord] *eikon* at Toplou, and it is attributed to the same artist, [Ioannis] Kornaros.¹² The monks here say that the artist killed his pupil out of jealousy and, to obtain remission of his sin, lived in a cave below this monastery and painted these great *eikons*. One is at Toplou, one here, and

one is said to have been either at Vrondisi or at Gonies, but they think that it is now in the Candia museum. The Savvathiana example is now a mere wreck. The gesso ground had cracked away from the panel and only pieces of the painting are left which are held in place by plaster of Paris round the edges. In the parts saved the painting is perfectly preserved, only unfortunately here too the same mischief is at work and the gesso is still cracking from the panel.



IMG_2759 Bridge with inscription

From the abbot's cell the path goes a few yards up the ravine and then crosses it by an ivy-covered bridge. The ivy conceals an inscription on the keystone of the bridge [not reproduced here] (1596), and between the groups of figures is a floriated shield bearing a pair of clasping hands, the arms of [...].¹³

Beyond this bridge is the site of the original monastery. It is a small piece of flat ground at the foot of a piece of cliff. Built up against the cliff, so that the north wall of the church is formed by the rock, is the little church of St Anthony and outside it are a few tombs.¹⁴

In the church on the screen is an excellent *eikon* with scenes from the life of the saint. Notably I remember the appearance to him of a centaur, and the saint being beaten by demons. I could not find any date on it.¹⁵ The monks say that a Turk coming here to ravage was entering the church when his eye caught this picture which he took for a man. He shot at it – the mark of the bullet still appears on the picture – but the bullet rebounded and killed him. A similar tale is told of the fresco of Christ Pantokrator in the dome of the church of Kaisariani at the foot of Hymettus.

Behind the screen in this church of St Anthony two skulls are kept in a box, one of a young and one, to judge by the teeth, of a much older man. The younger of the two was a certain Capitanios Heraklis Kokkinakis [Kokkinidis], who was killed by the Turks at Armyro in 1866. They cut off his head and burned his body. The bones were taken to Savvathiana and are laid in a tomb outside the church. The head the Turks took as a trophy to Candia. It was then bought by the Christians and his father brought it to the monastery, asking that his own bones should be laid with those of his son and his skull kept with his. The son's skull has a piece hacked out over the left ear, probably the wound of which he died, for the edges of bone showed no sign of healing.¹⁶

The monastery is called Savvathiana because it was originally a branch of the monastery of St Savvas somewhere near Rogdia which was destroyed by the Turks. The original St Savvas was a large monastery. The monks say that it had 70 monks and to every monk a *zevgari* of land – that is, as much as a pair of oxen could plough.

The site is very pretty: the cypresses and trees with the buildings in a narrow fold of the barren hills, a characteristic position for a monastery. Not unlike a smaller Areti.¹⁷

It was August 16th 1917 that I was at Savvathiana and stopped there for the midday rest. It was a blazing hot day and *à propos* of the weather the monks told me that the first six and the last six days of August indicated the weather for each of the twelve months of the year, a day to a month, but by contraries. Thus this day, the 3rd of August old style, being hot and dry indicated a cold and wet October to come. I heard the same notion when I went up Ida [with Miss Hall and Currelly: added from separate slip]¹⁸ in 1904 or so. There the shepherds are supposed to be skilled in taking these observations.

Phodele and Ag. Panteleimon¹⁹

The village of Phodele lies at the bottom of a narrow but fertile valley running up from the sea to the west of Cape Stavros.²⁰ [Manuscript addition: June 1932. [See Muller?]] They say El Greco's birth place at Phodele.

Above the village the valley grows narrower and wilder. A beautiful scrub of plane and lentisk, *agnus castus* and oleander and other shrubs clothe the banks of the little stream. Half an hour above the village the valley widens into a sort of hollow cone-shaped basin, and on the side of this a little way up the slope of the hill lies the monastery of Panteleimon. It has fine trees and the hills behind are covered with thick copse, so that even in August everything looks green and refreshing. The view is shut in all round by the immediately surrounding hills. Damasta at the top of the Mylopotamos valley, on the way from Candia to Retimo by the Mylopotamos valley, is not far off, but I have never been from one to the other.

The monastery has the usual irregular court built round the church, but open on the west side with a view from the church terrace over the valley. The monks are hospitable. Outside the court on the right as one enters is the spring, the water running as usual from a spout set in a sort of small façade. On each side of the spout is a curious animal with a grinning face intended, no doubt, for a lion but very much more like a cat. Above is an inscription to the effect that the fountain was built in 1866, April 25th, at the charges of the monk Joseph. It runs [copy and transcription of original not reproduced here]:

[The renovation of the spring took place in the year 1866 April 25. The contributor the monk Iosif]²¹

The arched gate of the monastery is also new, dating to 1861, March 27, and built by the abbot Neophytos and his synod. The inscription over the keystone runs [photo 2772]: Νεόφυτος υγούμενος πεδηώτης μετά της συνωδείας του 1861 Μαρτίου 27.²²



IMG_2771



IMG_2772

The oldest inscription of the monastery is built in at the side of the arch, on the outside on the right as one enters. It is the monastic admonition, “Narrow is the gate, and strait the way which leadeth unto life.”²³ Then, less deeply cut, 1677, April [photo 2771].

The church has a nice Venetian bell dated MDLXXXVIII [1588], with figures round it in relief: the Crucifixion, St George and the dragon, the Virgin and Child, and St John the Baptist, with a scroll inscribed ECCE AGNUS [behold the lamb]. It now hangs on an orange-tree by the north-west corner of the church: in the lemon [sic] tree hangs also the usual iron σήμαντρον.²⁴

The church has two good *eikons*, one representing all saints: in the centre is Christ in glory inscribed Δεύτε προς με ευλογισμένοι [Come to me, ye blessed], and around him are in separate groups the different classes of the blessed, χορός μαρτύρων [the chorus of the martyrs] etc. The other is the Burning Bush, presented in the same way in the Savvathiana picture: the Virgin and Child in the middle of a tree and on the branches the prophets. I didn’t see a date on either of them.²⁵

Phodele to Bali. Saturday, 18 August 1917

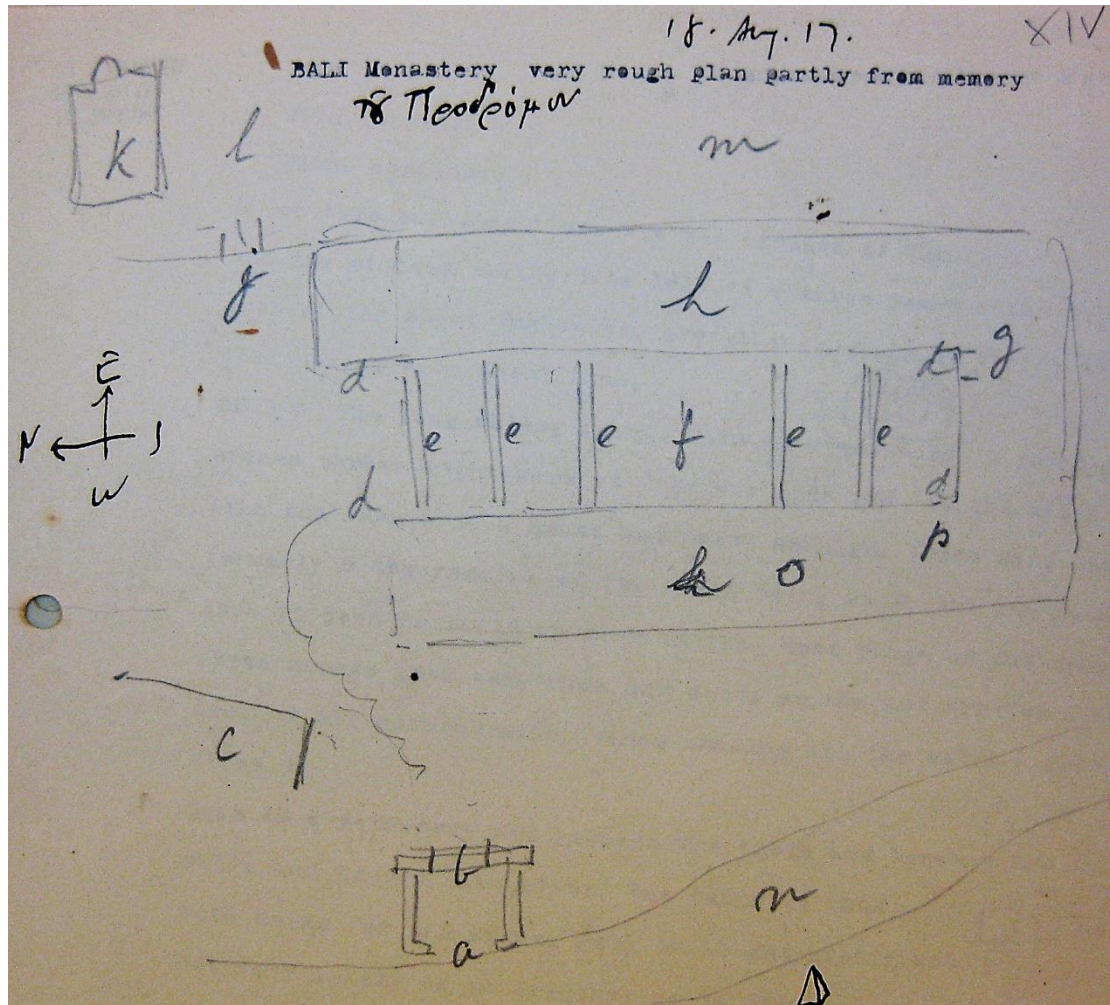
From Ag. Panteleimon above Phodele to Bali, a rather long and very hot day. The road first inland, passed through Sises and descended to the sea at Propatoumena; no houses here at all. Road over bare slopes often fired with lots of very gummy gum cistus. Blazing hot August weather, air heavy with the rich fragrance of cistus bushes.²⁶

I believe that they collect the *ladania* from it by drawing straps over it, though I have never seen the process and am not sure. Anyhow, I saw a large lump of the stuff, which is black like pitch and hard as putty or harder, in a warehouse at Bali where I slept, and I have seen it in a shop in Canea. It is used, I believe, in the preparation of scent and sells for high prices.²⁷

Chourmouzis (p. 13) says that the Cretan *ladanos* is famous and that the most [sic] comes from Mylopotamos and especially from the north coast near Bali monastery. It is gathered between the middle of June and the middle of August. Six to eight leather straps three spans long attached to a handle of the same length are dragged across the *ladanos*-bearing brushes and at intervals the *ladanos* is scraped from them with a knife. This is done during the heat of the day, and they stop when the heat begins to moderate. It is also collected with iron combs from the beards of goats who graze amongst the bushes.

Bali²⁸

Bali is a few houses in a little bay at the foot of a rounded hollow in the hills. A little above it is the monastery and over the hills to the west the path goes over the col to Melidoni. Before Bali is a little olive grove and church of Agia Sophia. Bali has a few houses and stores and is the port for Exantis, where I did not go. A very pretty inlet; I had landed there once and came there once again later with consul Graham [?], but only this once did I pass by on land. I slept there and went on next day to Melidoni.

Bali Monastery του Προδρόμου [of John the Baptist]²⁹

A Entrance gate from path N. The outer porch A seems later; it has two square little pyramids on it as ornament like the gate at Candia³⁰ and the Panagia church at Drakonero. It also partly covers the inscription on the inner arch B. It has benches at the sides for people to sleep on when the monastery is closed up for the night, just like the loggia at Toplou. I was told that this was the idea of these outside benches.

On B round the arch or above it (I forget which) is the inscription with one end covered by the outer porch: 1635 αρχή σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου. μνηστίτι Κύριε του δούλου σου Παχομίου ιερομονάχου [The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Remember o Lord thy servant the ordained monk Pachomios].³¹



IMG_2776 The inside of the former gateway showing one of the miniature pyramidal decorations



IMG_2780 Window with date 1638



The arched court (Gerola III 177)



IMG_2778

C On this building there are two windows of the form [photo 2780] and one of them has the date 1638, i.e. three years after the gate of the abbot [sic] Pachomios. Everything points to the fountain having been [built] about then.

DDDD The long oblong court. This is crossed by five round arches [E] thrown right across from one side to the other, like the *kamara* in a house and about as high. There were formerly six, the remains of the sixth being at F, but the monks took it down to build an arch in the west range of buildings O. These arches look very nice and serve as the support for a trellis all covered with vines shading the court (*krevatines*).³²

G is the refectory and kitchen. The table and benches are all built and topped with slabs. The table is thus and rustic and not very at all suit the style of the



with holes for the knees. Very small likely to be the original, as it does not Venetian part of the buildings.

H and O are the main buildings. O is stores etc. and not good work; possibly the old has been pulled down, possibly never finished.



IMG_2779 The upper floor of P: formerly the abbot's quarters, now library; note that the old steps are now missing. The ground floor is occupied by the chapel of St Theodosios

At P there is a good Venetian house with round arched windows and ascended to by old steps.

H is a very fine range of Venetian buildings, the finest row of *kellia* in Crete. Square windows and doors with dripstones. I sketch a typical window on next sheet.

A good deal of billet moulding built in fragments and, I think, this moulding on the door J which leads down to the church K.



IMG_2774 South façade of church



IMG_2775 A window sketched by Dawkins?

The church K has a good Venetian front with stones big and chamfered at the edges and in the middle of the south side a door and two windows with pediments, the middle one over the door smashed.³³

L Open space in front of church.

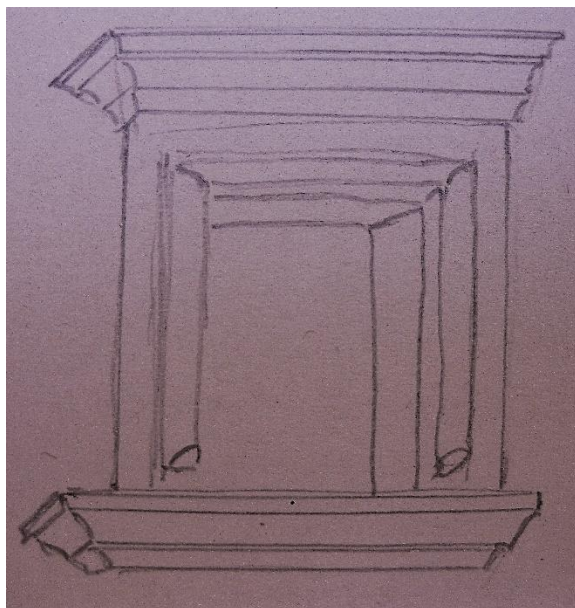
M Garden.

N Path outside.

It is said to have been burnt in 1821 and that the Turks in 1861 destroyed the belfry of the church. A present bell is inscribed

1884 αφιέρωμα Στυλιανού και Ιωάννου Δανδόλου ιερά μονή Μπαλή
[1884 dedicated by Stylianos and Ioannis Dandolos to Holy Monastery of Bali]

and was cast in Trieste.



Typical Venetian window

There are now two *hieromonakhoi* [ordained monks] and one lay brother. They don't wear cassocks, and here resemble Preveli and Agios Panteleimon near Phodele. In east Crete this is never seen; all monks there wear cassocks. At Preveli they put them on to go to church.

The abbot says that there is an inscription on the fountain which is a little above the monastery of 1710 of the abbot Gedeon. I did not visit it.³⁴

The church of course cannot compare with Arkadi, but for the domestic buildings it is the best preserved Venetian monastery in Crete and shows exactly what one of the smaller monasteries was like in Venetian times.

Monks very rustic.

In the garden there is a very fine female cypress. The *moni* is $\frac{3}{4}$ hour's walk uphill from the port, but is not visible from it.

The abbot told me it was originally called Atali or Astali. A Turk came here and found the honey so good that he changed the name to Bali from the Turkish *bal* 'honey'.³⁵ There is a lot of honey made here and a very big apiary on the way from Bali to Melidoni. Perhaps St John the Baptist's diet of honey has something to do with it. See Boschini for old name Porto di Atali.³⁶

An *eikon* in the church, I think of the Virgin and child, is inscribed

Επί σοι χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη and
μνήσθητι Κύριε του δούλου σου Γεβρασίου ιερομονάχου ΑΨΞΑ χειρ
Εμμανουήλ

[Hail, thou who art highly favoured... Remember of Lod thy servant ordained monk Gevrasios. 1761. [Painted by the] hand of Emmanuel]

and another one by the same hand but badly restored has the date ΑΨΞΓ (= 1763).

Bali and Bees³⁷

Whether the name Bali has anything to do with *bal*, the Turkish for honey, or not, I passed, between Bali and Melidoni, one of the largest apiaries I have seen in Crete. The hives merit a note. There are in Greece in general two types of beehive, both

based on the natural hollow tree trunk and both occasionally an actual section of a trunk. In one type the section of trunk, say a couple of feet long, stands upright. A flat stone makes the top and bottom of the hive and the bees have access through a little door cut low down in the front side. These are often of wood, but very often of clay. They then assume the form of a common English flower pot, with a few holes round the bottom for access and a stone over the top for a roof. Such were the hives in this apiary and perhaps generally in Crete. The other type has the tree trunk laid on its side horizontally. A wooden diaphragm closes each end and a door is made in the front diaphragm. These are usually clay and longer than the others, say three or four feet long, and often piled one on top of the other. This type is certainly the commoner on mainland Greece. I have hardly, I think, seen modern hives at all in Crete and our methods of straining honey and expelling the honey and re-using the comb and using artificial comb would hardly appeal to the Cretan, for in Crete the wax for use for church tapers is at least as much, if not more the object of the beekeeper than the honey itself.³⁸

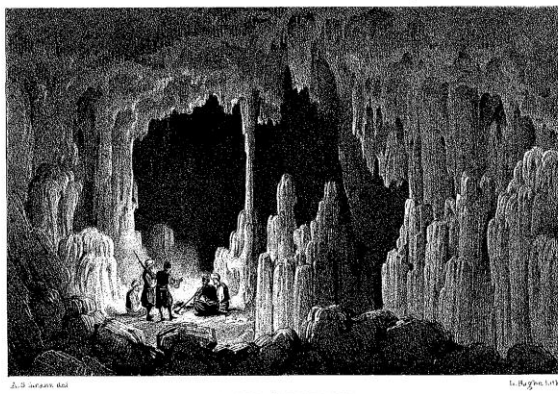
What about Khoumeli, got from boiling the wax and eaten like inferior honey?³⁹

The honey most liked is the heavy aromatic honey made from thyme, and for this hives are carried down on mules from parts of west Crete and taken for the season to the uplands of Akrotiri where these plants abound. I met such a convoy near Alikianou: a mule had got stung, the whole troop took fright.

The Cave of Melidoni, 19 August 1917⁴⁰



IMG_2788

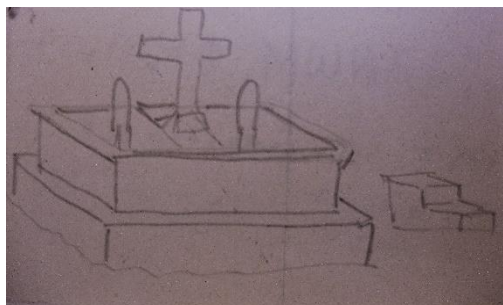


Pashley I 137

I went to Melidoni from Bali, the route being Candia, Agios Panteleimon near Phodele, Bali, and in evening to Melidoni where I slept; then in the morning of 19th, Sunday, to the cave and thence to Eleftherna and finally Panormo for the night – a long hot day.

The cave lies to the south of the village at a distance of 20 minutes' quick walk up the hill. The cave opens at the bottom of a pit in the hillside and a little way behind the mouth of the cave is a deep excavation made by the Turks when they tried to get into the cave by quarrying. The opening of the cave is a smallish arched opening at the bottom of a hollow like a quarry. From it there is a descent on a slope of loose stones and then a hall half lit, half dark. In this hall is the tomb sketched, which stands out half lit against an obscure background of stalactites. Further in the

cave has the usual windings with sheets of stalactite; I saw no independent columns. Bats squeaking, pigeons and partridges go into the cave, they say, to drink. The bones are all collected into the tomb which has two divisions and is open at the top. At the foot of the cross an *eikon*. It looks impressive lit from in front against the background of stalactite half in darkness. At the side is a kind of stele inscribed 1824 θάνατος όχι υποταγή [death, not subjection].⁴¹

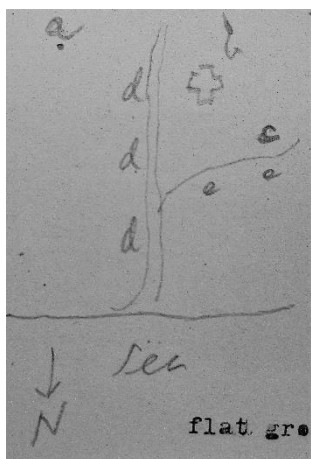


[Scarcely legible handwritten text:] The ancient inscription at the mouth of the cave is now covered up (see Xanth.) It needs a request for respecting the calm of the cave.⁴²

Panagia at Drakonero⁴³

The church lies up on the steep left, west side of a narrow ravine running down to the sea. It is near the top of the side of the ravine and the ground below it falls rapidly. I got to it when going from Panormos to Retimo and had little difficulty in finding the place. The church is quite deserted and stands by itself.

General plan:



DDD is a valley running up from the sea west of Panormo. On its steep western side is the cruciform Panagia church B. At A is the little Panagia church on the flat ground just off the valley. It has a belfry over the west door and pinnacles at the four angles of the church by which are two cisterns. These pinnacles are like those on the gate of Bali and on the S. Giorgio gate at Candia.⁴⁴ EE is a side valley and in it at C is the Drakonero itself. This is a deep pool in the rock, roofed over by the rock and opening by a little arch. The water is very clear but not cold. The main valley runs down to the sea where it crosses the road from Panormo to Retimo. Both churches can be seen from the sea. Owing to

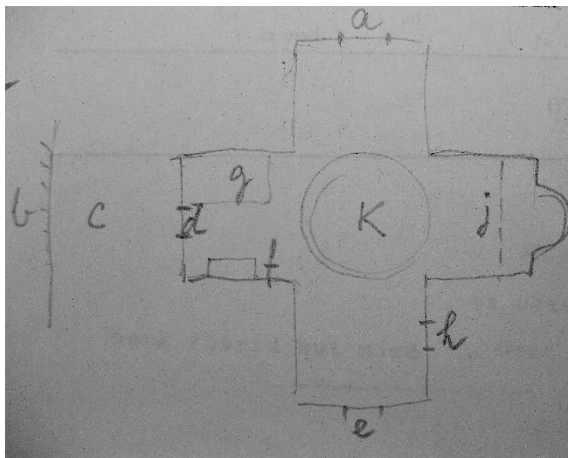
not knowing exactly where to turn inland when I came here from Panormo, I turned inland too soon and so approached the valley from above, coming first to the small Panagia, then to the big cruciform church and lastly to the pool. But the proper way would be to ascend the valley and visit them in the opposite order.



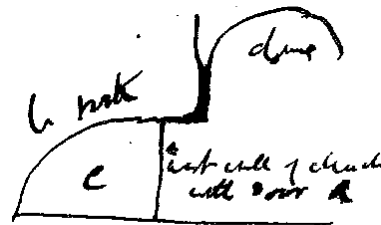
IMG_3058 North door



IMG_3068 South window



A very good church; work florid and clearly late and decadent but pleasing.

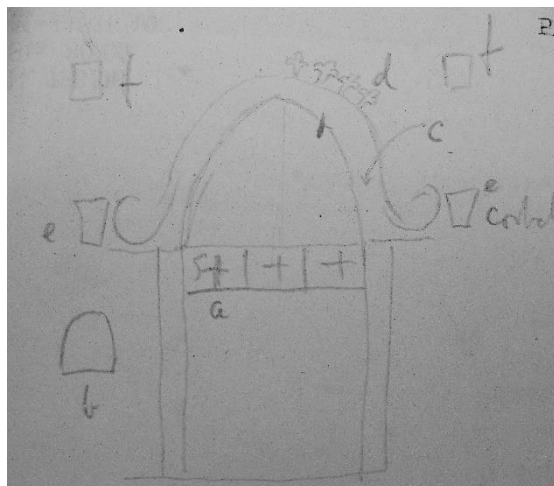


forward and touches the west wall above the door and there is thus a space in front of the west door covered by the rock; this is used as a stable.⁴⁵ The church is not now in use.

The church is built right up against the rock on the west so that the rock comes

- A Big north door: see sketch.
- B Rock advancing and covering C: see section.
- D West door: see sketch.
- E Window with five plates in the form of a cross nearly above it.⁴⁶
- F Tomb: see sketch.
- G Tomb slabs on floor.
- H Small door.
- J Screen.
- K Dome.

There is a string course all round the inside below the spring of the roof, and below this the remains of frescoes. Broken remains of a good screen.



Sketch of north door (A)

A lintel with two floriated crosses and at
A a coat of arms with cross.

B niche

C dog tooth moulding

D row of trefoils as in church near Amari

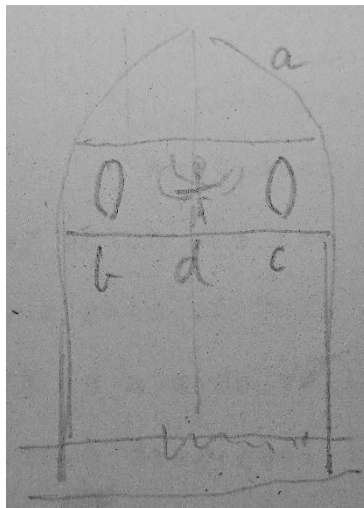
EE corbel supports

FF stone staples to be used with the
corbels to support banners

Work florid but nice. Over door five very good basins built in⁴⁷




IMG_3070 “Trefoils” (or rather fleurs de lys?)
and “seedpod” (Dawkins’ “blob”)




Sketch of west door (D)

A roll and billet moulding

B an oval blob with  on it

C similar almond-shaped blob with  on it

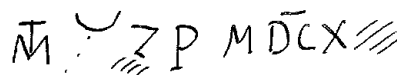
D floriations and cross

On the lintel and also on the left door-post 

On each side of this door outside a frescoed angel. On
the roll moulding of the lintel elsewhere worn away
(stone very bad)

worn away (stone very bad)

bottom of floriated cross.



161

48



IMG_3073 Lintel of west door



Sketch of tomb F

It is of the usual type of arched tomb against a wall placed a little above ground. The four well-carved corbels A⁴⁹ support the sarcophagus (B), which has now been broken away. Above the arch is the stone copied at C. The space under the arch is carved with good leaf ornament (note a little uncertain).⁵⁰



IMG_3087 Church and tourist development

Panormos to Retimo

The road from Panormos to Retimo passes along close to the sea and about one hour from Retimo it passes between a cliff and the sea at a place called Pighaidakia. On the top of the cliff is a fort, and the gendarme who was with me (20 VIII 17) told me that in 1897 some Turks were besieged there and rather than give themselves up to the Christians threw themselves over the cliff.

Sept 1931. ? Exact position of Pigaidakia and Drakonero. I don't think they are on the Perama – Retimo road, but both are near the mouth of the Mylopotamos river. I passed them on 20 VIII 17 between Panormos and Retimo. I visited them both going from Panormos to Retimo, but at different times and don't know their relative positions. They both lie between the Perama – Retimo carriage road and the sea.⁵¹

Peter Mackridge's notes

¹ This is the coast route: contrast the inland route in ch. 13.

² We visited on 20 Oct. 2010.

³ The word *πύργος* (literally 'tower') is commonly used to mean a mansion. We were told by a villager that it was ο *πύργος του Καλλέργη* (Kallergis' tower). The windows of the villa have fine decorations underneath. According to *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: Σύνομη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010), 31-1, in 1850 the Monastery bought the *konaki* (the villa of Mohammed Ali of Egypt) in Rogdia: is this the Venetian villa?

⁴ The east end of the church looks Byzantine (see photo 2751 of SE corner): blind arch of brick. There is a ruined chapel with apse next to the N wall but with narrow passage between. Inside, the church is nicely restored. Four blind arches on the inside of the N wall, three on the S wall (one now broken by the S door). Very few faded frescoes. A pointed vault-arch in roof between each pair of blind arches (a pair on each side, i.e. in between arches, not across from one to the other).

⁵ After this Dawkins has written the following: "The figure shows the style of lettering. It is copied from my sketch taken on the spot but does not pretend to strict accuracy of detail. It runs..." I have removed this from the main text because I have provided a photo of the inscription. Dawkins' 'singer' is a rendering of the word *πρωτοψάλτης* 'chief cantor', which Gerola (perhaps rightly) interprets as the man's surname. There is a black-and-white photo of the inscription in Gerola IV 501. For Gerola's other photos of Rogdia see II 293-4, III 290-2, IV 255-6.

⁶ We visited on 20 Oct. 2010.

⁷ An inscription in the Classical tympanum over the south door gives the date 1635; the 1745 inscription is above this.

⁸ I think this isn't the Burning Bush but the Stem of Jesse, as at Agios Panteleimon (the icon isn't featured in the Savvathiana monastery book: *Ιερά Μονή Σαββαθιανών: σύνομη ιστορική αναφορά* (Herakleion 2010)).

⁹ The "Live-Receiving Spring", an epithet of the Virgin Mary.

¹⁰ The path is now paved with stone and decorated with wooden panels depicting the stations of the Cross, or at least the stages of the Passion. The abbot's quarters (recently restored) are situated at the top end of the court.

¹¹ These inscriptions have now been replaced by a modern wood engraving: see photo 2758.

¹² Sister Timothei assured us that this icon was the original, not a replica; see also monastery book, p. 35; extant fragments are reproduced on pp. 36-7. See also ch. 31.

¹³ Dawkins leaves a gap at this point. The monastery book reads the date on the inscription (erroneously) as 1535. Gerola IV 254 has a photo of the shield. Like Dawkins, he reads the inscribed date as 1596 and is unable to identify the family represented by the arms.

¹⁴ The original chapel is tiny. There is now a modern barrel-vaulted chapel built along the south side.

¹⁵ The icon is now on a wall in the main church of the monastery. It is reproduced in the monastery book, p. 9, where it is dated to 1741.

¹⁶ The tombs of Iraklis Kokkinidis, killed by Turkish troops near Gazi in 1868 (according to the monastery book, p. 39), and his father Nikolaos are still in the chapel.

¹⁷ See ch. 24.

¹⁸ Dawkins describes his ascent of Ida with two fellow-archaeologists, the Canadian Charles Currelly and the American Edith Hall, at the beginning of ch. 15.

¹⁹ We visited these on 20 Oct. 2010.

²⁰ Fodele is now best known for possibly being the birthplace of El Greco (Dominikos Theotokopoulos, 1541-1614). Dawkins left the name of the cape blank, and John Pendlebury has written “Stavrós?” in pencil. This is correct.

²¹ Psilakis I 93ff. gives a copy and a transcription.

²² I have restored the original spelling of the inscription,

²³ “Στενή η πύλη και τεθλιμμένη η οδός η ἀπάγουσα εις την ζωήν” (Matthew 7.14).

²⁴ The only bells we found were a new one hanging from an orange tree and another hanging in the belfry. For more on *semantra* see ch. 8.

²⁵ Dawkins must be thinking about the Stem of Jesse icon (η Πίζα του Ιεσσαί), dating perhaps from 1782. Both of the icons are still in the monastery chapel. We were told by Antonis Zidianakis that the All Saints icon is by the 16th-17th-century Cretan painter Michail Damaskinos.

²⁶ Dawkins has a note here: “cf. T. Battye”; see entry for Trevor-Battye’s book in the Bibliography in my Preface.

²⁷ Labdanum or ladanum, the gum of *Cistus creticus* is burned as incense and used as a medicament; in Greek the gum is called αλάδανος (masc.), while the plant is αλαδανιά (fem.). Tournefort describes watching it being collected; quoted in Stoneman, *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece* (Harmondsworth 1984), p. 281. The search term “YouTube ladanum” yields various videos showing the harvesting and burning. Tournefort has a picture of a flail for collecting ladanum, very similar to the one (αργαστήρι) still used today, though now the straps, which are – and were – considerably more numerous than Dawkins’ “six or eight”, are made of plastic. According to the *Blue Guide to Cyprus*, *Cistus ladanifer*, collected in the 18th century at Lefkara produces a “stimulant, not to be confused with laudanum”; however, according to the Wikipedia article “Labdanum”, “its leaves yield a fragrant oleoresin known as labdanum, used in perfumes, especially as a fixative”; according to the same article both species produce labdanum

²⁸ Atali Monastery at Bali was dissolved in 1935 but re-established in 1983, since when major restoration works have been carried out. We spent the night of 20 Oct. 2010 at Bali.

²⁹ I visited on 21 Oct. 2010. I met nobody at the monastery, neither monk nor layperson.

³⁰ The now demolished St George's Gate: see ch. 17.

³¹ The inscription is drawn in Gerola IV 485. The entrance to the monastery now seems to be from the south.

³² There are still vine trellises there.

³³ Now restored.

³⁴ I didn't see it either. There is a phot of the fountain in Gerola IV 66. According to the monastery website the abbot Gedeon built it in 1791: <http://www.imra.gr/monis-atalis-mpali.html>.

³⁵ It would be more accurate to say that the placename (Balí, with the stress on the second syllable) derives from the Turkish adjective *ballı* 'honeyed, containing honey'.

³⁶ *Il regno tutto di Candia delineato à parte, à parte, et intagliato da Marco Boschini Venetiano* (Venice 1651), plate 18. Boschini's illustration of "Porto di Atali" can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530116167>. Despite the accentuation of the name on Boschini's illustration, it is pronounced Atáli, with the stress on the second syllable.

³⁷ Much of this section is repeated from ch. 6. We saw a great many beehives below Ag. Panteleimon Monastery. Beehives in Greece nowadays are of an almost uniform design: more or less cubical wooden structures with straight vertical sides, standing slightly above the ground on short feet or stones and covered with a flat lid.

³⁸ In a letter to Patrick Leigh Fermor (17 December 1951), Dawkins writes that the same used to hold true of England.

³⁹ [το] χούμελι or [η] χούμελη: 'a sweet liquid made by boiling honeycomb'. See Pangalos, who gives a detailed account of its preparation. He gives as its etymology "Serbian *hmelj*", which is unlikely, since *hmelj* in Serbian means 'hops', whereas 'honey' is *med*.

⁴⁰ We visited on 21 October 2010. Dawkins doesn't mention what happened at Melidoni and the significance of the bones, tomb, stele and inscription. For details see Pashley I 127-31: as they did in many other caves in Crete, in January 1824 many Christians sought refuge from Ottoman troops in the cave, from which they refused to emerge, whereupon the Turks piled earth and stones at the cave mouth and lit fires there, so that everyone inside choked to death. The bones of the dead were deliberately left inside by their fellow Christians as a memorial. It is estimated that more than 300 people perished.

⁴¹ We saw pigeons there. The tomb is no longer open at the top, and there was no icon there. The stele is in the shape of a cross, or else it has been replaced by a cross.

⁴² In ancient times the cave was sacred to Hermes. The ancient inscription is published in Margarita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones creticae*, vol. 2 (Rome 1939), pp. 302-3. The inscription is not visible. If I have transcribed the last sentence correctly, Dawkins seems to be referring to the noise made by visitors to the cave – which was noticeable when we visited too.

⁴³ Known colloquially as η Παναγία στο Δρακόνερο and officially as ο ναός της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου Ρεθύμνου. We visited on 12 May 2011. This extraordinary hidden gem of a church had recently undergone considerable repair. However, some unfeeling developers had built a huge tourist accommodation block that reached within a few feet of the church. Work had clearly been halted at the time we were there, and Dr Olga Gratziou informs me (25 Nov. 2018) that legal proceedings concerning the legality of the development are still ongoing.

⁴⁴ St George's Gate, which Dawkins photographed; see ch. 17. Dawkins' "little Panagia" (Παναγία Λατζιμιά) on the opposite side of the valley is visible from the cruciform church. All four pinnacles were still intact when we saw it.

⁴⁵ Not when we visited! See photo 3068.

⁴⁶ The plates were no longer there when we visited.

⁴⁷ The lintel is now badly worn, but the right door jamb has been restored. By "trefoils" he means the trefoils (or perhaps rather fleur de lys) that line the outer edge of the moulding. He may be thinking of the church at Monastiraki; see ch. 10. Four of the five colourful basins over the doorway were still in situ. Gerola's photo of the north door is reproduced in S.A. Curuni and L. Donati, *Creta Veneziana: L'Istituto Veneto e la missione cretese di Giuseppe Gerola. Collezione fotografica 1900-1902* (Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venice 1988), p. 322.

⁴⁸ The angel frescoes are now scarcely visible. Dawkins doesn't refer to the letters and symbols incised in the right half of the recessed part of the lintel, under the floriations, which are just visible in my photo. On the badly worn roll moulding it is now possible to read the date as MDCXIV: 1614.

⁴⁹ Each of the corbels ends in a stylized lion's head motif.

⁵⁰ The note is correct: in fact the elaborate ornamentation (including flowers, vines, pears and almond branches in vases) is well preserved. This funerary monument was built for a member or members of the Tzangarolos family, whose coat of arms is placed above the keystone of the arched recess. The inscription to the left of the coat of arms bears the date 1550 or 1555. According to the Greek Archaeological Service, the church "is mentioned in a notarial document of 1644 as the monastery of the Virgin Mary at Prinos". The fact that it was a monastery accounts for the now ruined outbuildings. Apart from the remains of the monument attached to the wall, fragments of the sarcophagus have been found in the church, bearing a relief depiction of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. The relief is surmounted with an inscription dated 1560. The depiction in the relief is remarkably similar to an engraving by Albrecht Dürer of the same scene (1510), which may be the ultimate model for the Prinos relief: see Kostas Yapitsoglou, "Το επιτύμβιο μνημείο των Τζαγκαρόλων στον ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου", in Olga Gratziou (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική Ανατολή, 13^{ος} - 17^{ος} αιώνες* (Heraklion 2007), pp. 140-51.

⁵¹ In "War journeys" Dawkins says he visited Pigaidakia (presumably the one on the map between Pombia and Kaloi Limenes rather than the one near Elounda) on 12 April 1918 and Drakonero church on 22 May 1918. Panormo-Rethymno journey recorded as 20 August 1917.