

CHAPTER 17

CANDIA

CANDIA. [Church and monastery of St Francis]



(left) San Francesco (Gerola II 116)

(right) Remains of San Francesco after earthquake (photo taken 24 May 2011 of photo in Historical Museum)

In the museum enclosure is a small Venetian building which is worth a note.¹ The stump of the minaret, which was torn down in 1917 by the Christian soldiers when they wrecked as much as they could of the mosques, shows that it was used as a mosque by the Turks. But its interest is that it is the only fragment left of the church and monastery of St Francis, once the largest of the religious buildings of Candia. Its history is given us by Xanthoudidis (*Khristianiki Kriti*, II, p. 97). When the Turks took Candia they turned the church into a mosque, calling it the Sultan Mosque. Time and earthquakes, especially that of 1856,ⁱ ruined it and the material was carted away and largely used in the construction of the big new mosque, the Vezir Mosque, which was built in 1867 behind the Venetian Loggia.² It seems that the fragment left standing was the baptistery.³ The Cretan pope, Alexander [V (1339-1410)], was a monk here.ⁱⁱ

ⁱ Jeannaraki, *Asmata kretika*, pp. 83-4, poem on Ο σεισμός του 1856. Saturday evening, Sept 26th, from which it seems that Candia suffered more than any other place:

1. 10. μα δεν υπόφερε κιαιμία σαν το Μεγάλο Κάστρο.
 1. 11. χαλούν τα μοναστήριαν του, χαλούν κι οι μιναρέδες....
 1 17-18. Θεοτική φωτιά 'πεσε στου Κάστρου το μεϊντάνι
 κι οι γεμιτζήδες το είδανε 'πο μέσ' απ' το λιμάνι.
 [but none suffered like the Megalo Kastro (Great Castle, i.e. Candia).
 its monasteries are ruined, the minarets are ruined...
 a divine fire descended on the square of the Kastro
 and the seamen saw it from within the harbour.]

ⁱⁱ Refs:

M. Renieri, *Historikai meletai*, pp. 2-109.

Cornelii, *Creta sacra*, II, p. 14, 364-365.

Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*, Vol. II, pp. 88 [?], 112-117, fig. 66-70.

Papadopoulos, *Historia gymnasii patavini*, II, p. 161-162.

CANDIA, 24 September 1917

George Zakhariou told me that the ground upon which the new big cathedral church of St Minas stands was a garden belonging to a Turk. When the Christians wanted to buy it for the church he refused to sell. In the night the Turk had a vision of the saint on horseback dressed in white who told him that, if he did not sell, all his garden would be destroyed. In the morning he saw that his trees had been broken down and the gardener told him that a cavalier dressed in white had destroyed them in the night. The Turk then consented to the sale and gave two *askoi* [leather bottles] of oil yearly to the church, and this is said to be still received.

CANDIA, 14 August 1917**Church of St Matthew⁴**

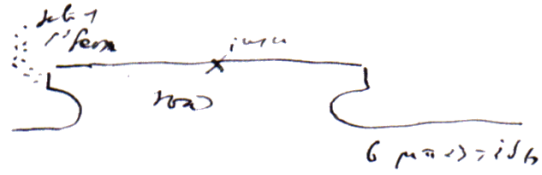
IMG_3209

Inside the church there are some good eikons of the late 18th century, one of the martyrdom of St Catherine; a few Greek tombstones, one of Andreas Kalokairinos our consul killed by the Turks in the massacres (ηρωϊκός πεσών [heroically fallen]). I rather think they burned him alive in front of his house. Over the door of the church outside is the inscription: Σιναϊτικός σταυροπηγιακός ιερός ναός του αγίου αποστόλου και ευαγγελιστού Ματθαίου [Sinaitic stavroregiac church of Saint Apostle and Evangelist Matthew].⁵

Candia 15 VIII 1918

Inscription on a slab built into the wall of Candia on the curtain wall below St Francis and the museum'

IOAN. MATH
BEMBO PR
ÆF GENL
BA CRET (or P or R)
MD LIII
KKK



The inscription is on the
fence: not below the gate

Candia 15 VIII 1918

Inscr in capitals over door of house W of Cathedral of S Minas
DONATO MAVROGENI CRETAE DVCE (or MAVROGENI)
OMNI VIRTUTEM GENERE IN ADMIRATIONEM EXCVLTISSIMO
MVLTIIS EIVS AD COMVNE BONVM GESTIS CELEBERRIMO

D

ANNO SAL MDCXIX

ANGELO GRADENICO COSIL ET THOMA QVIRINO PROCOSIL (Co 4m 6)

and on each side a bracket supporting a cornice.



CANDIA, 15 August 1918

Inscription on a slab built into the wall of Candia on the curtain wall below St Francis and the museum:⁶



IMG_3218 The first of the inscriptions transcribed below, between S Giorgio Gate & the Efta Baltades (Seven Axes) bastion (not Six!) (23 May 2011)

IOAN. MATH
BEMBO PR
ÆF GENE
RA CRET
MD LIII⁷

[In scarcely legible hand:] This inscription is one [...]: not below Τρεις Καμάρες [now Eleftherias Square].

Inscription in capitals over the door of a house west of the Cathedral of S. Minas:

DONATO MAVROCENI CRETAE DVCI (or MAVROGENI)
 OMNI VIRTVTEM GENERE IN ADMIRATIONEM EXCVLTISSIMO
 MVLTI FIVS AD COMVNE BONVM GESTIS CELEBERRIMO
 D
 ANO SAL MDCXIX
 ANGELO GRADENICO COSIL ET THOMA QVIRINO PROCOSIL

and on each side a bracket supporting a cornice.⁸

On a white marble slab over the arch of the Knossos gate on the town side:⁹

IOANNE MOCENICO
 PROCONSVLE
 M D L XXXVI

Marble slab, now half covered with earth, built in below a cornice and with a volute on each side at Candia in the wall towards the town between the British Consulate and the sea, i.e. in the inner face of the wall, just east of the galley sheds and harbour in a jutting angle of town wall. Capitals.

IOANNI IACOBO ZANE PROCONS. / RECONDITOS AQVARVM FONTES /
 EX INTIMO TERRAE SINV / IN LVCEM NATVRA PROTVLIT / ARS /
 E COELO FLVENTES IMBRES / IN SVBTERRANEOS SPECVS / CONGESSIT

and the rest is buried. It looks as if there had been a fountain below.¹⁰



IMG_1043 The above inscription (now fully legible) on a slab now placed against the back of a fountain outside Historical Museum, Herakleio (25 Oct. 2009).

[Bembo fountain]

In front of the church of San Salvador¹¹ is a fountain now not working.¹² A sarcophagus is [used] for the trough in front. The façade behind is divided by pillars and at the sides are Venetian coats of arms and in the middle compartment above a block of stone is part of a Roman statue. The lower parts of the legs are gone, the block being where they would be, and the head is gone, the cornice of the façade passing immediately above the neck. So it was broken before being put into this façade. The flesh parts are painted black. The Turks now say it represents an Arab and that therefore the Venetians broke it when they came (*Arapis* is both Arab and Negro), but Spratt, I, p. 44, says that it is believed to be “the petrified remnant of the body of a sainted Ethiopian Mussulman who was killed in the war, and whose head and lower members were cut off by the Christians, but who is destined to rise to life when the Ghiaour are to be exterminated from the island.”



(left) Photo in Dawkins' archive of San Salvatore, Candia.¹³



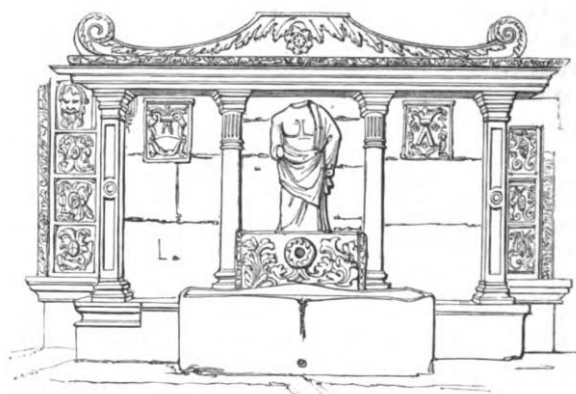
(right) San Salvatore shortly before its demolition c. 1970.



IMG_1029 The Bembo fountain (24 Oct. 2009)¹⁴



IMG_1034. The *sebil* (24 Oct. 2009)¹⁵



The Bembo fountain (Pashley I 186)



The Bembo fountain showing the flesh on the statue painted black (Gerola IV 41)



The Bembo fountain and *sebil*, with San Salvatore showing indistinctly in the far background on the left (Pashley I, between pp. 194 and 195)¹⁶

CANDIA. SIEGE¹⁷

One of the most interesting monuments of the siege is a fountain to be found near the sea gate of [Dermatas] towards the north-west corner of the town.¹⁸ The fountain consists of a pediment supported by two square pilasters and between them two half-columns, all with Corinthian capitals, the pilasters being flanked with wings¹⁹ surmounted by volutes. Of the three spaces thus formed ... can [?be] filled with water the [imam?] turns the tap, and above this a long Latin inscription, and above this again the Turks have inserted a block of marble with Turkish writing. The Latin inscription is to the effect that after the war had lasted for 20 years, water was running short in the city. Thus Antonius Priolus in the year 1666 brought water from a spring outside the walls and constructed this fountain. The city fell into the hands of the Turks in 1669, Oct. 4th.²⁰

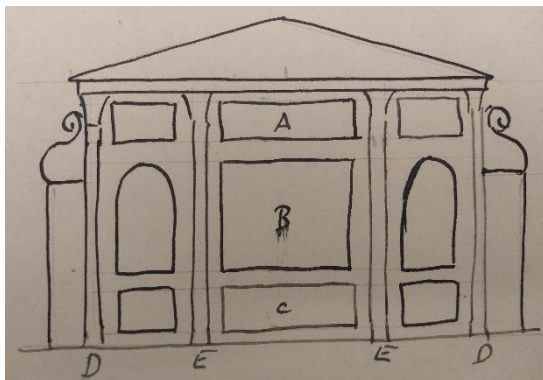


(left) Priuli fountain (photo in Dawkins archive)
 (right) IMG_2742 (19 Oct. 2010). The wooden beam supporting the overhanging first-floor balcony of the next-door house was still there – just – in May 2011

CANDIA 29, 30 July 1917

Inscription on Venetian fountain [Priuli fountain] near Koum Kapi:²¹

D O M
 BELLO AESTUANTE QUATUOR
 ELAPSI IAM LUSTRIS URBI
 OBSESSAE AQUIS EXHAUSTAE
 LATICES E TERRAE LATEBRIS
 EXTRA MOENIA SURGENTES
 MIRA SOLLERTIA PROVIDA
 CHARITATE AUXIT ANTONIUS
 PRIOLUS IN DIFFICILLIMIS
 REIPUBLICAE TEMPORIBUS
 PROV GENERALIS EXTRA
 ORDINEM PIUS PRUDENS
 OPTIME MERITUS NONDUM
 OPERAE PERFUNCTO REGIMINE
 AD CON(S)VLAREM VENETIARUM
 MOX PROCONSULAREM DAL
 MATIAE ALBANIAEQUE FASTIGIUM
 SUMA ACCLAMATIONE ETECTUS
 ANNO DNI MDCLXVI



- A. Turkish inscription
- B. Latin inscription
- C. Tap
- D. Square pilasters with Corinthian capitals
- E. Half columns with Corinthian capitals

CANDIA, 14 August 1917

Turkish holy places connected with siege

Inside the wall on the west end by the sea where our mess hut was were three graves of warriors now destroyed which were tended by incense. It was at this point that the city was taken.

By the sea were two built columns, one destroyed by Xanthoudidis, which I heard from Seager commemorated Turkish warriors.²²

In the stretch of wall by the beach immediately east of the harbour is a door and inside it the tomb of Salih Evliya, who fell in the siege. The place is now shut but Turkish women I have seen visit it and there was a regular cult there of women. Hillali [?] Bey told me that a girl died there whilst worshipping and is buried inside and her tomb was tended, especially with offerings of gold wire such as seems to be used for dressing the hair.

On the bastion called [Efta] Baltades when I first came to Candia were 6 [7!] battle-axes at the edge of the wall. Each was placed on the grave of its owner – all dervishes who fell at this point in the siege. One of these axes is now in the museum.²³



(left) IMG_3217 Εφτά Μπαλτάδες [Seven Axes] bastion, 23 May 2011

(right) IMG_3249 The axes in the Historical Museum, 24 May 2011

In front of this bastion on the left of the new carriage road and just before one comes to the new *fabbrica*²⁴ is a white tomb mentioned by Spratt and described on sheet 20.

[*Manuscript sheet 20*] Outside (in front of) the Ex [Efta!] Baltadhes bastion is a white Turkish tomb with the date 1081 in Turkish characters, i.e. 1081 + 588 = 1669 A.D. It is a few [paces?] to the left of the coast road before one reaches the big factory between the road and the sea. It consists of a plinth surmounted by an oblong block with a [gabled?] top with columns at either end: [...] to the [south?] is remnant of a [fountain?] which bears an inscription, the last line of which is the date. Spratt (I (1865) p. 43) gives its history: “it marks the grave of one Hassan Pasha, a general of the Turkish troops, who was killed there; and at a few feet from it, also, there is a rude unhewn black stone, apparently foreign to the island, that is said to mark the grave of a faithful Arab or Negro slave, who fell by his side in defending his master.” This is still to be seen (1917).

The Turk Ali Merdzan Simadiakos Koutsaftis²⁵ told me that in the passage of each of the three land gates of Candia in a recess is the tomb of a female saint. The Lazareto passage is now filled in;²⁶ the recess is to be seen in the Knossos gate, near outer entrance, on left as one comes in. [...] of saint Rishidé (told by a Turk); [in] the Canea gate the passage is not now in use, but the recess may be there [added in pencil: I looked, but there is no recess].

[Letter to Dawkins from Ronald M. Rice, Candia, August 21st, 1918:

Dear Dawkins,

Younous Bey tells me that the Pasha buried outside the walls on the east of Candia is Yousouf.

As to the existence of three women saints he is very sceptical. He attributes the belief to popular old wives' tails [sic] and suggests some ill-defined form of immortality as the real reason for the existence of the three shrines. One has to remember that, since reading Büchner (I think) on "Mind and Matter",²⁷ Younous does not think the progress of modern thought permits him to give credence to any beliefs shading off into the supernatural. I should imagine however that he has collected a good deal of material which might be of interest to you. [...]

[ENVIRONS OF] CANDIA

Venetian viaducts [aqueducts], 15 August 1917

These bring down the water from Arkhanes to Candia and are at least to some extent still used.²⁸

1) The *Kamara tou Khatzidaki*. This is the two-storey aqueduct just to the right of the road where it crosses the ravine past Knossos. The aqueduct crosses it a few yards higher up. Water is now carried across it in a pipe. It has no inscription.



(left) IMG_2731 The aqueduct (Dawkins' no. 1) that was built (or restored) under Egyptian rule in 1839.²⁹

(right) IMG_2734. The same viaduct from the Herakleion side; you can see where the water flowed steeply down from right. Photos taken 19 Oct. 2010.

2) A single arched aqueduct, higher up the water than No.1, is reached by turning off the road opposite Knossos and going on a path to the right towards Silamos. On the

north side of the arch above the arch is a six-line inscription, but in the light when I went there I could not read it and I had no glass. This inscription is not given by Xanthoudidis.³⁰



IMG_9365 Fortetsa aqueduct (Dawkins' no. 2), 28 May 2017



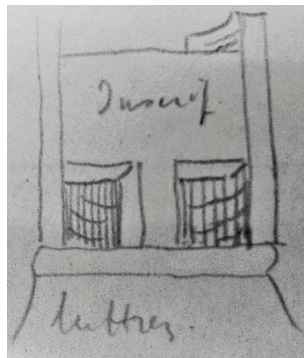
IMG_8799 Karydaki aqueduct (not mentioned by Dawkins), 5 May 2016

[Scarcely legible in margin: Silamos is rather a big farm than a village... Very [?friendly] good gardens and [?fragment] of [?Venetian] house.]



3) Just below Silamos is an aqueduct in use as in sketch, with an inscription on the lower side over the small arch, copied by Xanthoudidis. Probably all accents on stone, but it is a good deal overgrown with moss. I copied a few words to correct Xanthoudidis [not reproduced here].³¹

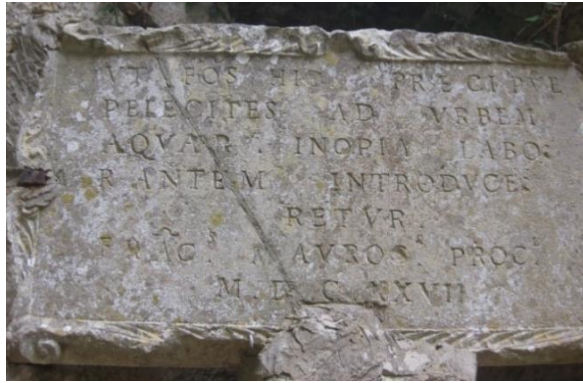
4) The inscription at Pelekiti copied by Xanthoudidis [p. 157]. It is by the path on the left side of the gorge a few minutes below Arkhanes, evidently over the spot where the water springs from the rock. Below there is a buttress and, above this, a sort of little apse with a stele in front with the inscription. It has been recently patched up with new cement. What looks like a second I in the date is a flaw in the stone.³²



VT FOS HIC PRÆCIPVE
PELECITES AD VRBEM
AQVAV. INOPIA LABO.
R ANTEM - INTRODUCE-
RETVR
FRAC. MAVROC. PROC.
MD CXXVI



IMG_8797



IMG_8795

Stories of Mahomet told me by the policeman Yanni Delivasili at Candia, 30th June 1918³³

1) THE ORIGIN OF THE FAST OF RAMAZAN. Mahomet in his youth was looking after his master's camels, 10 in number. He was riding one of them and, in reckoning them up, omitted the one he was riding and therefore made them only nine. He dismounted and counted them again and they came to ten. This puzzled him all day and he was so much vexed and worried that he ate nothing all day. This happened in the month of Ramazan and the Moslems fast in memory of it, and as they do not know the exact day they fast the entire month to make sure of not omitting the day. (The point of this story lies a good deal in the laugh at the stupid muddle-headedness of the Turks.)

2) WHY THE TURKS DON'T EAT PORK. Mahomet heard of Christ's miracles and determined to emulate them. He heard of the water flowing from a stricken rock. He ordered his friends to conceal pigskins (*touloumia*) full of water in the earth near the rock, marking the place that he might go and slit them up and so make it seem that water was gushing from the rock. But in the meanwhile pigs came and, by their rooting about, broke open the skins and spoiled the trick. Mahomet was so angry that he cursed pigs and forbade anyone of this religion to eat pork for ever.

3) MAHOMET AND THE MIRACLE OF THE MULTIPLICATION OF FOOD. To emulate this miracle, Mahomet boiled a cauldron of snails and distributed them, and when the people had eaten them he pointed in triumph to the plates still apparently loaded, but loaded of course with the shells only. Cretan Turks eat snails; do other Moslems?

4) Delivasili knew also the story about Mahomet and Pachomios, which I record from Komitades.³⁴

DIA: told me at Candia 30 June 1918 by Delivasili³⁵

On Dia at the harbour Panagia is a stone upon which Kassiani is said to have sat when she resolved to become a nun. He thinks it is inscribed with her name. The place is regarded as *στοιχειωμένο* [haunted] because of the number of men killed there by pirates. Some sailors were once cooking there on their caique and suddenly a dish

disappeared and two hands were seen on the gunwale coming up out of the sea to snatch the food away.

Delivasili was a sailor before he became a bobby and knows these places.³⁶

A Candia legend about Karpathos told me by the policeman Delivasili of Candia 30 June 1918

The Turks were taking away a κολυμβήθρα [font] from the church of Aghia Sophia at Tristoma in Karpathos when the caique broke up and the font sank. Where the caique sank is always a perfect calm (λαδιά στη θάλασσα); cf. the sinking of the altar slab of Santa Sophia [in Constantinople] in the [Sea of] Marmora.

The region of Candia just west of the harbour where Bagge used to live is called τα Κασώτικα because Casos people used to live there.

Peter Mackridge's additional note on Candia gates

There are three extant Venetian gateways: St George's gate to the east, the Porta del Gesù to the south, and the Canea gate to the west.

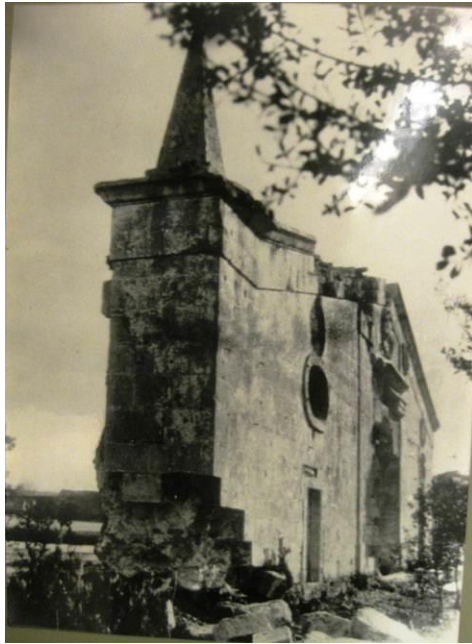
St George's Gate (Porta di S. Giorgio or Porta di S. Zorzi)

St George's gate, also known as Porta del Lazaretto, was built in 1565 (Alexiou 1954: 10-11). The relief that occupied the central roundel shows St George on horseback, holding the arms of the Zorzi family (Alexiou, *ibid.*). The gate was demolished in 1917. The Famagusta Gate in Nicosia – which used to be the principal point of entry into the city – was built in 1567 copying the tunnel design of St George's. Dawkins notes that when he was there in 1917 the underground passage had been blocked up. However, in recent years the passage leading up to Eleftherias Square from the door by the road on the outside of the city wall has been re-opened and is used as exhibition space (see photos 1045 and 1039 below).

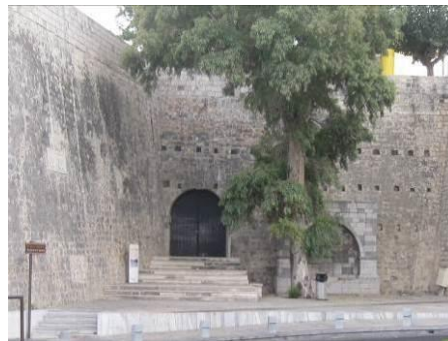
This is the gate whose monumental façade, pictured below in Dawkins' photo, was demolished in 1917. Nothing now remains above ground on the city side.



Façade of Porta S. Giorgio (St George's Gate), taken from the city side (photo in Dawkins' archive)



(left) IMG_3246 St George's gate after partial demolition (photo in the Historical Museum)
 (right) IMG_3252 The roundel from Porta S. Giorgio in the Museum (already in two parts in old photos) (both taken 24 May 2011)



(left) IMG_1035 Inside of St George's Gate from the square above
 (right) IMG_1039 Outside of St George's Gate from the road below (both photos taken 24 Oct. 2009);
 a Turkish spring, removed from Zografou Street, has been placed to the right of the door

Jesus Gate

Also known as New Gate (Καινουργόπορτα), built in 1587.



Inner face of Jesus Gate: (left) from Dawkins' archive; (right) from internet

Pantokrator Gate

Also known as Chania Gate (Χανιόπορτα). It takes its name Pantokrator (Ruler of All) from the two marble medallions set into the wall near the top of the inner and outer façades. Each of the medallions bears a relief of Christ's head, one of them accompanied by the Greek inscription ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ and the other by the synonymous Latin inscription OMNIPOTENS (Omnipotent).



IMG_1047 Pantokrator Gate, 25 Oct. 2009.

Peter Mackridge's other notes

¹ The remains of this complex, once the largest Roman Catholic monastery in Crete, are situated at the eastern end of the archaeological museum enclosure and have recently been excavated. Only the foundations and some low stretches of wall are now visible (not open to the public). There are some decorative fragments from a Gothic rose window in the Historical Museum.

² The Vezir Mosque later became the present Agios Titos church. The painter Yannis Savvakis (d. 2012) writes about “the magnificent church of St Francis (of the Franciscans), which was the pride of Venetian culture throughout Crete. The church was ruined chiefly by the earthquake of 1856, after which the largest part of it was demolished for the construction (during the Turkish occupation, naturally) of St Titus, for the paving of Treis Kamares [today's Eleftherias Square: PM] and for the entrance to the present-day court house.” The widely believed claim that the Turks built the main door frame of the church into the barracks, now the N entrance to the courthouse in Dikaiosynis Avenue, is clearly untrue. Savvakis mentions that the church of St Francis was converted into “the sacred mosque of Fatih Sultan Mehmet or Hünkâr (imperial)”, and concludes: “This remnant of renowned Candia was enthusiastically demolished by the leaders of the town in 1912 to open a building plot for the unsuitable Herakleion Museum (the present anti-seismic one was built in 1937-40), after destroying the Loggia and allowing it to be ruined” (<http://www.kairatos.com.gr/arxontestoykastroy.htm>). Gerola (III 35) calls the loggia in Heraklion, constructed about 1626-8 by Francesco Morosini, “without doubt the most notable of the Venetian monuments in the island of Crete”. It was converted into a mosque in Ottoman times. Following the heavy-handed demolition of the upper storey in 1904, which had already become unstable as a result of the earthquake of 1856, work began in 1915 to completely rebuild the loggia (Gerola III 46-49); the initiative for the reconstruction came from the Venetian Institute (Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 73). It is similar to Palladio's Palazzo della Ragione in Piazza dei

Signori (known as the Basilica Palladiana), Vicenza (begun 1549 but completed after his death (1580) in 1617), which was based on the walls of ancient Roman theatres; cf. also his Loggia del Capitanato on the same square (begun c. 1571). It has a similar metope-and-triglyph course above the arches, but the arches themselves – at least in the reconstruction – aren't of the typically Palladian triple type, as at Vicenza. In 1987 the loggia was awarded first prize by the EUROPA NOSTRA international heritage foundation for the most successful restoration and use of a European monument. As for the loggia at Chania, it was demolished in 1914 (Gerola III 46), whereas the loggia at Rethymno, having been converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period, still survives today.

³ This fragment was not a baptistery but the sacristy. Dawkins seems to have been misled by Spratt, p. 29, who misidentified the building as the cathedral and claimed that the surviving fragment was the baptistery. I am grateful for Dr Donal Cooper for information about the building and for Gerola's photo.

⁴ The church is situated in Taxiarchou Markopoulou St.

⁵ Xanthoudidis (“Χριστιανικάί επιγραφαί”, 163) quotes an inscription stating the church was built in 1600; the inscription is illustrated by Gerola IV 399. After the Ottoman conquest St Matthew and (old) St Minas were the only two Orthodox churches that were allowed to be used for Orthodox services. The story goes that the church was bought by the Grand Dragoman of the Sublime Porte, Panagiotis Nikousios, in 1670 when the Turks, after capturing Candia, removed St Catherine's church from the control of Sinai Monastery. The church has recently been restored. The consul who was killed on 25 August 1898 was Lysimachos Kalokairinos, not Andreas (the latter was his son, who survived); however, the Ashmolean book *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos* (2000: 55) says that (presumably another) Andreas, the son of Lysimachos' brother Minos (the archaeologist who discovered the Minoan site of Knossos) was killed in the 1898 rising. Tozer, who was entertained by Lysimachos in 1874, remarks that he reputed to be the wealthiest man in Crete (73). The Historical Museum is housed in the Kalokairinos house, built in 1903 on the site of the one burned down in 1898. The inscription recorded by Dawkins has been removed. During those events, which took place on the festival of St Titus. St Titus, a disciple of St Paul and the first bishop of Crete, became the patron saint of Herakleio. The 1898 events are commemorated in the name of the main north-south avenue of the city, 25 August Street (Ruga Maistra to the Venetians, Vezir Çarşı to the Turks).

⁶ At the top left of the sketch Dawkins shows the underground passage that led through St George's Gate.

⁷ The inscription is copied by Gerola IV 314.

⁸ The inscription is copied by Gerola (IV 327), who says it had been used as the architrave of a door, but its original provenance was unknown. I found no trace of this inscription, either in situ or in the Historical Museum.

⁹ The Knossos gate is another name for the Jesus Gate or *Καινουργιόπορτα*, built in 1587, the southern entrance to the walled city. See my additional note at end of chapter for more details about the chief gates of Candia.

¹⁰ This entire inscription dated 1615 is copied by Gerola (IV 326), who records that it was situated at the “Cisterna del Porto”

¹¹ This huge church, once part of the Augustinian monastery of Christ the Saviour, ad survived almost intact despite earthquakes and bombings. It was converted into the Valide mosque after the Ottoman conquest and named after Hatice Turjan Valide Sultan (1627-83), mother of Mehmet IV (Vasilis Orfanos, *Λέξεις τουρκικής*

προέλευσης στο κρητικό ιδίωμα (Herakleion 2014), p. 489). From 1922 onwards it housed refugees from Asia Minor. Its last use was as the home of the 2nd Girls' High School of Herakleion. San Salvatore was demolished on the orders of a member of the military junta, the Cretan Stylianos Pattakos. Gerola says: “È certo la chiesa veneta di Candia che meglio siasi conservata fina a noi” (II 120-1; see photo there too). Orfanos (ibid.) writes that the value of the nearby buildings rose as a direct result of the demolition of the church and the creation of Kornarou Square. According to Olga Gratziou, the “barbaric” demotion of S. Salvatore – the last demolition of an important monument in Herakleion – took place in 1972. S. Salvatore was the only remaining Western-style medieval church in Greece that had preserved its entire shell (Gratziou in Dimitris Plantzos & Dimitris Damaskos, *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (Athens 2008), 211-12). There were ten vertical ribs along the north side before the final east buttress (two of the ribs were beyond the right edge right of the right-hand photo). Notice stump of minaret at east (left-hand) end in right-hand photo. It has to be admitted that in its last sorry days the church resembled an ugly great warehouse

¹² Not working in 2009 either.

¹³ The square is now called Kornarou Square, and most of it is now (2017) pedestrianized. In the photo the Bembo fountain and the sebil are out of sight to the left (north). The church stood behind the fountain.

¹⁴ The fountain was built in 1553 by Zuan Matteo Bembo, *capitano* of the Venetian Republic. This was the first time that the city of Candia was supplied with running water. Pashley's sketch (I 186) is the earliest published depiction of the fountain. The Roman statue, found at Ierapetra, is a copy of a Hellenistic statue of the god Asclepius. See Petroula Varthalitou, «Η κρήνη στον Χάντακα», in Gratziou (ed.), (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική Ανατολή, 13^{ος} - 17^{ος} αιώνας*, pp. 152-63.

¹⁵ The *sebil* was built by Hadji Ibrahim Aga in 1776. This is a typical Ottoman urban *sebil*, i.e. a public fountain and/or a kiosk from which refreshments were dispensed, usually free of charge. This one is possibly the only surviving Ottoman *sebil* in Greece today. In 2009 it was being used as a café, but the café was not functioning on 27 May 2017. See the *sebil* and the fountain on <http://il.youtube.com/watch?v=nQ-hGd8XUvY>.

¹⁶ The square must have looked equally Ottoman in Dawkins' time. Pashley's illustrations suggest that the statue on the Bembo fountain may have been painted black after his visit in 1834.

¹⁷ Rough manuscript; some readings uncertain.

¹⁸ It is actually more or less half-way along the north side of the town, which is now separated from the sea by the main road.

¹⁹ Floral motifs rather than wings.

²⁰ The Turks had cut off the water supply to the Morosini fountain (the “Lions Fountain”). The Priuli fountain or Fontana Nuova is situated in Kazantzaki Square, between Delimarkou and Gorgolaini Streets, near Dermata Gate (called in Turkish *Kum kapı* ‘Sand gate’). Antonio Priuli served as Provveditor Generale delle Armi in Crete 1664-9; see Spanakis, *Μνημεία*, vol. 6. According to a website, in the middle of the fountain there is a Turkish inscription referring to the name of the Turkish pasha who managed to bring water again in the fountain. The fountain has been fairly recently restored.

²¹ The inscription had already been copied by Pashley I 203. It has also been copied by Gerola IV 333. The letters are now considerably more worn than they were in Dawkins' day.

²² The American archaeologist R.B. Seager. See also ch. 28.

²³ The museum now displays two complete axes and fragments of others. Each of the axes is supposed to have commemorated a pasha who fell during the siege. The Nobel Prize-winning poet Odysseas Elytis was born in the Efta Baltades quarter of Herakleio. He mentions them, together with “τα μπεντένια” (battlements) and “ο μέγας Κούλες” (the harbour fortress), in the first section (“Γένεση”) of his major poem *To Άξιον εστί* [*The Axion esti*]. Dimitris Kalokyris writes: “Elytis may have been brought up in the northern Aegean, but he confesses that every time he goes to Crete he feels ‘something like a leap (*skirtima*), something, a friendly gesture/beckoning (*gnepsimo*)’. This place is his birthplace (*geneteira*) but not his homeland (*patrida*)” (*Athens Review of Books*, July-Aug. 2010, p. 36).

²⁴ This factory was the Kastrinakis flour mill, built between 1896 and 1904, which provided flour to the whole of Crete until it closed in 1976. Since then the buildings have been gradually crumbling despite their legally protected status. The mill appears (without being named) in a photo in Gerola II.i 384. See, e.g., <http://iscreta.gr/οι-αλευρόμυλοι-καστρινάκη-στο-ηράκλει/>. The site of the mill still belongs to the family of my friend and colleague Angela Kastrinaki of the University of Crete.

²⁵ This man's name is very interesting. Turkish *mercan* (pronounced *merdjan*) means ‘red coral’, though in Arabic the same word (which is used in the Quran) apparently means ‘pearls’. Nowadays Merjan is a Muslim woman's name. The man's other two names are Greek and must originally have been nicknames. Σημαδιακός (especially in Crete) denotes a person with some physical defect (and who is for this reason believed to be ill-omened), while κουτσαόφτης denotes a person who has lost one or both ears!

²⁶ The Gate of the Lazaretto [quarantine establishment] was another name for St George's gate on the east side of the city walls. See my additional note at end of chapter for more details about the chief gates of Candia.

²⁷ Rice is probably thinking of the works of the atheist philosopher Ludwig Büchner (1824-90), *Kraft und Stoff* (*Force and Matter*, 1855) and *Natur und Geist* (*Nature and Spirit*, 1857). It would be interesting to know more about this Cretan Muslim Yunus Bey, whose name doesn't appear elsewhere in Dawkins' material.

²⁸ In 1626-8 the governor of Crete Francesco Morosini built a 15-km water system (with aqueducts across ravines) to supply the so-called Morosini Fountain or Lions Fountain in Candia. This aqueduct system was apparently still used until 1927. The three Morosini aqueducts between the source and the city are (in descending order): Karydaki, Silamos, Fortetsa; Gerola has photos of both the Silamos and the Fortetsa bridges (IV 22).

²⁹ Not one of three aqueducts listed in the previous footnote. This is at Spilia, where the tavernas are, next to road near Knossos, 6 km from Herakleio towards Patsides, just after right turn towards Agia Eirini and before the main road crosses a bridge over the ravine. The road to Ag. Eirini passes through the right-most of the upper arches, looking from the Herakleio side.

³⁰ The structure of the Fortetsa aqueduct has now been restored to good condition. The six-line Latin inscription over the arch on the north side (not readily visible in our photo) is surmounted by a lion of unusual shape (see sketch in Gerola IV 190). According to Gerola, who copied what was left of the inscription, all but the first and

last lines had been effaced by Turks. All that could be read records the name Francesco Morosini and the date 1627.

³¹ See Xanthoudidis 1903: 155. We haven't seen the Silamos aqueduct. It originally bore two inscriptions: one in Latin above the larger arch and one (unlike the other inscriptions on Morosini's water system) in Ancient Greek above the smaller arch. They are both copied in Gerola IV 377-8. For the Greek inscription see also St. Alexiou, *Ποικίλα ελληνικά* (Athens 2009), pp. 65-9. The present whereabouts of these inscriptions are unknown. The Greek inscription was still in situ when Gerola copied it, but the Latin one was on a Turkish house at the edge of the village of Fortetsa.

³² On 5 May 2016, setting out from Pano Archanes with directions from the archaeologist Gerald Cadogan, we visited first Pelikiti (Dawkins' no. 4 above), and then the aqueduct at Karydaki (known as the Karydakiani bridge). To get to both places we took the road out of Panos Archanes towards Kato Archanes and turned left (north) towards Silamos. At the turning there was a very helpful sign with maps of the area. Pelekiti (or Pelekita), the name of the construction bearing the inscription, is on the left of the road going north. It's a beautiful location: when we visited, it smelled of thyme, with a Cetti's warbler singing and swallows collecting mud for their nests. The Venetian structure with the inscription is curious, since no water issues from it, the stream being on the other side of the road. Dawkins is mistaken in thinking that the second I is a flaw in the stone; therefore the date is MDCXXVII (1627), which was when work began on the construction of the whole viaduct system (inscription copied in Gerola IV 376; see also Spanakis 1950: 34). There is now another inscribed stone to the left of the Venetian one, dated 1938.

The Karydaki bridge (Dawkins' no. 2; photo in Gerola IV 627) is down a dirt track to the right of the road towards Silamos (look out for narrow gap in roadside barrier). It is not single-arched as Dawkins says (presumably the other arches were obscured by growth when he visited): it has three arches on the upper story, one on the lower. The five-line inscription (copied in Gerola IV 377) is enclosed within an ornamental border on the north side near the top between the second and third arches from the left. Above the inscription is a lion face-on. The inscription is difficult to read because it has become black; it's only readable where the black has washed away. A footpath still crosses the bridge; the water must flow (or have flowed) inside the structure. See IMG_8801 Karydaki bridge below: distant view of lion & inscription:



We visited the Fortetsa aqueduct on a rainy day the following year, coming across it by chance when we had almost given up our search.

³³ Some of these stories are retold in Dawkins' "Folk-memory in Crete", pp. 37-38.

³⁴ See ch. 11.

³⁵ Halvor Bagge was a Danish painter who made the colour copies of frescos that Gerola published in his volumes on Crete. The island of Kasos is in the Dodecanese.

³⁶ Dia is the island off the north coast near Herakleion. Kassia or Kassiane was a 9th-century Byzantine poet, composer and hymnographer. Some of her compositions are still sung in the Greek Orthodox liturgy.