

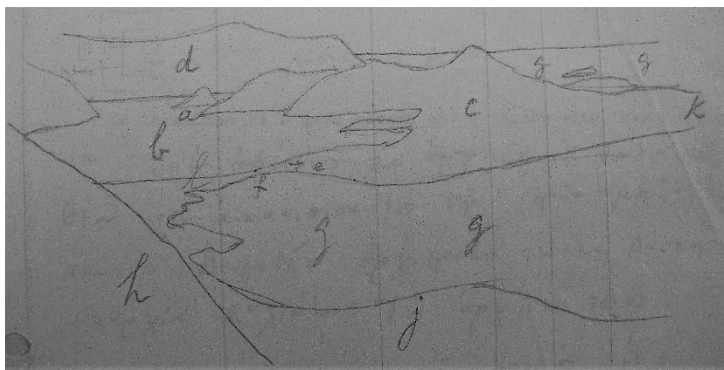
CHAPTER 27 MIRABELLO (SPINA LONGA ETC.)¹

Spina Longa

To the east of Candia there is only one Venetian fortress, Spina Longa. This fortified island lies a little off modern lines of traffic, and the traveller from Candia to the east of the island may pass along the usual road by Neapolis, San Nicolo [Agios Nikolaos] and Kavousi² without suspecting that the sea approach from the west to the Gulf of Mirabello was guarded by one of the strongest of the smaller Venetian forts. And a few years ago, before the carriage road from Neapolis to San Nicolo had been made, the way eastwards passed straight from Neapolis then below Kritsa and so direct to Kalokhorio.³ It [Spinalonga] was then even more out of the usual track than it is now. It is a good three or four hours north of San Nicolo and that by a very bad road, so the approach by sea is much the most convenient. Soon after rounding Cape St John, known to the Greeks as Aphoresmenos [Excommunicated], the island and entrance to the bay of Spina Longa come into sight.⁴ The bay forms a deep harbour sheltered from the sea by a long peninsula, which is joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus now cut through and bridged at the south end near the village of Elounda and exactly at the modern hamlet called Schisma, that is, 'cutting'. It is here that there are the salt-pans described elsewhere [below].

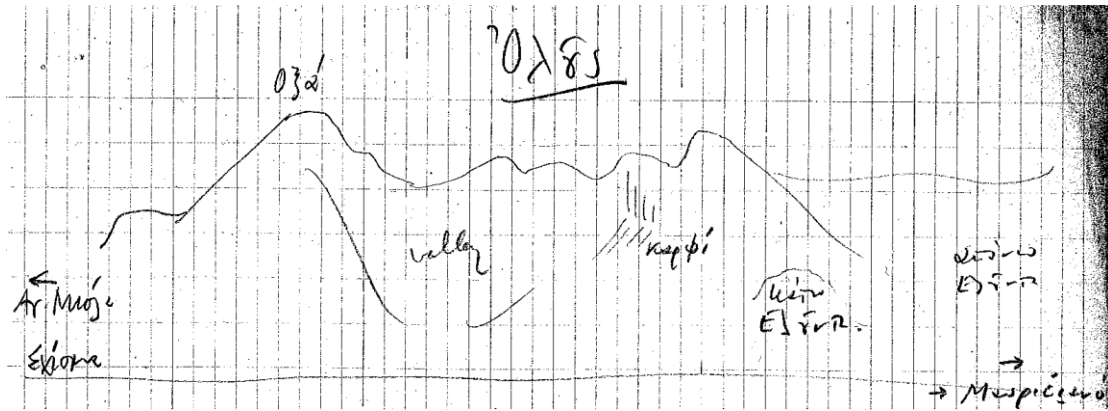
9 August 1917

Three hours distant from Agios Nikolaos by a very bad road, first to Hellenika on a hill and then down to the sea again, whence the sketch of Spina Longa from the south [below], to Elounta, the saltpans, the isthmus and the hamlet of Skisma on the sea just inside the isthmus. A little further on is Mavrikiano and so to Plaka, the group of houses opposite the island where the customs officer lives.⁵



- A. The island
- B. The harbour
- C. The peninsula
- D. The mainland to the north towards Aphoresmenos
- E. Church by isthmus
- F. Isthmus
- G. Sea
- H. Foreground
- J. Coastline
- K. Peninsula stretching a good deal further to point
- L. Saltpans near Skisma

Sketch of Spina Longa from south as one comes down to Elounta on the way from Agios Nikolaos after leaving Hellenika

Ὀλοῦς [Elounda]⁶

Copy of sketch (15.X.17) looking inland near Poros of Spina Longa



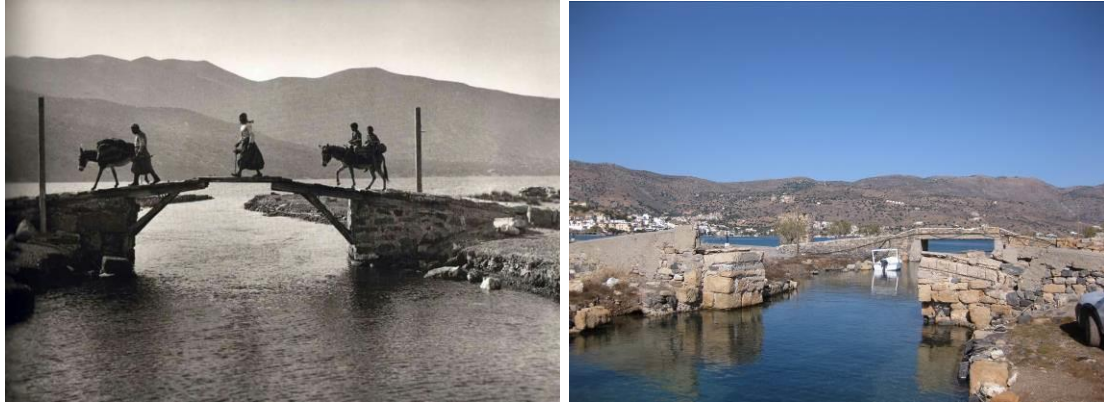
(left) IMG_3145 The peak of Oxya from between Elounda and the isthmus

(right) IMG_5112 Karfi hill showing whetstone quarries

On the road from Agios Nikolaos to Plaka and Spina Longa there are near the isthmus four villages. Schisma is on the sea near the isthmus,⁷ then as one goes towards Spina Longa the road passes by the sea and one shortly sees, a little inland on a high piece of ground, Kato Elounda. Beyond this and further inland is Apano Elounda⁸ and further on, on a rocky knoll by the sea and between the sea and the road, the hamlet of Mavrikiano.⁹ To the left of Kato Elounda a valley runs up as shown in the sketch, closed by hills. On the right is Karphi, the site above Kato Elounda where the whetstones are found.¹⁰ It consists of cliffs with screens below them. On the left hand, i.e. south side, of the valley is the high hill called Oxá, which is very prominent in all this region.¹¹ On the top of it is the church of Stavros and cisterns. Of these there are said to be 101, but no one can find more than 100. I have not been there. In view of the passage in Pindar,¹² it is to be noted that it is said that the rock of Oxa is different from that of Karphi and does not yield whetstones, though from a distance they look much alike.

As one comes from Ag. Nikolaos the road leaves the sea and crosses a ridge before descending to the site of Olous.¹³ At the highest point there is a small village called Ta Hellenika at a site marked on the Greek map as having ancient remains. I have noticed nothing there.¹⁴ From this point the hill of Oxa is conspicuous.

The isthmus of Spina Longa was cut through by the French at the occupation. It is now crossed by a flap bridge which can be lifted to allow ships to pass.¹⁵ The ruins of the ancient city are said to be mostly on the side of the island, where there is a mosaic pavement.¹⁶ From this Poros the highest hill on the mainland is Oxa rising behind the salt-pans. On the San Nicolo side of Oxa is a small village with the odd name of Adzibraghá.¹⁷



(left) the old flap bridge at Elounda Poros in use (photo Fred. Boissonnas)
 (right) IMG_5102 Old and new bridges today (in foreground and background respectively)



IMG_5104 Mosaic floor on Kolokythas peninsula

Salt-pans below Elounda, August 9th 1917

On the land side of the isthmus of Spina Longa are a series of salt-pans.¹⁸ The water goes first into a pan called the *limni*, next into a second *limni*, thence into the *vrastari*, and only when it is so far evaporated into the *tigani* from which the salt is finally dug. There are several *vrastaria* and *tigania*. To get the three or four inches of salt dug at a time from the *tigani* takes two months of summer and fresh brine from the *vrastari* is let in every two days or so. When a *tigani* is to be dug out, a pit is dug at one edge, and all the surface liquid flows towards this. Then over the pit a rough tripod (*αγλιά*)¹⁹ is erected, and from this an open box is hung to that it can be swung by being pushed with a pole. The swinging box dips the liquid and at the end of its swing throws the liquid out over the edge of the *tigani*, which is thus quickly baled quite dry. The salt is got out with a sort of rake without teeth (*syrtis*), a spud [kind of digging fork] (*kamatchi*) and shovels. In the *tigani* that was nearly ready to be dug, I saw in the brine three or four *kouloures*. These are wooden hoops about 18 inches across which by being left in the brine become encrusted with salt crystals and when the *tigani* is

dug they are dedicated in some church. Both men and women work in the salt-pans. They are called η αλιζιά, and the salt αλάτσι, αλατσάκι, and the sluices from one pan to another κάραβος, plural καράβοι.

Spina Longa²⁰

In the opening between the north end of the peninsula and the mainland lies the little rocky island which the Venetians fortified at once to make the harbour safe and to form a naval base from which to attack. The date [1579] may be read from the sea on the outer wall of the fort. The walls run all round the island with two entrances. The chief one lies to the south [west], tucked away behind the end of a hammer-headed bastion. This gives access to a curved covered passage, as at Corfu, lit from above by square openings, and from this one enters the main street which runs along parallel with the sea. The largest building now in the little town is the ruin of the mosque, a ruin because some time in the first decade of this century the Turkish fishermen who lived here were forcibly expropriated and the lepers of Crete collected and put here, and they as Christians destroyed the mosque.

The expropriation was a bad piece of work; not good for the lepers, for whom the place was quite unsuitable, and a piece of tyranny against the Turks who are now paying in this way for the centuries in which they bullied the Christians. The comment of the outsider is that whilst the Christians are fully as fanatic and probably more spiteful than the Turks, the latter bear their treatment with more resignation and dignity than their opponents were wont to do and command more respect in their troubles than it was easy to give to the wails of the Christians under the same sort of treatment.

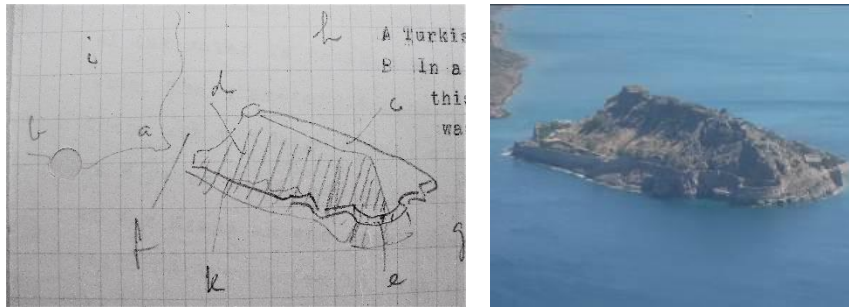
The only sort of advantage this offers as a leper settlement is that the lepers cannot escape. They are visited by a doctor from the mainland, marriage is permitted, and children are born who, if free from the disease for a certain number of years, are allowed to leave. The number of patients is however steadily increasing.

Before the foundation of the settlement the lepers of Candia lived in the so-called lepers' village, Meskinia [Μεσκινιά] to the east of the town outside the gate of St George and used to come daily to sit outside the town gates begging.²¹ In the early years after 1900 there were always a few sitting outside the Knossos gate in this way. And in the country districts I have seen them wandering about quite freely. The leper village south of Hierapetra has been described by Spratt; it is now quite deserted.²²

9 August 1917. I sailed out to the island in a caique belonging to some Turks who formerly lived in the island but were driven out in 1904 to make room for the lepers and now live in Siteia. No compensation has yet been paid though the money is in the hands of the consuls. There are now 212 lepers on the island; the number remains pretty constant. From old Greece there are 2, one from Gytheion and one from Kalamata.

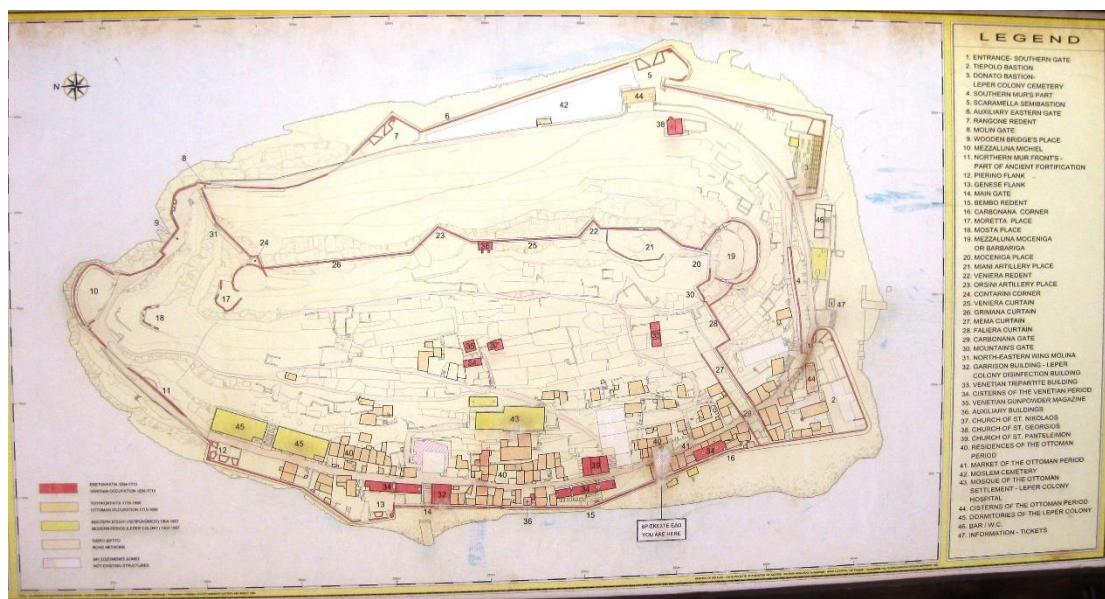
View of Spina Longa from near Βρουχάς²³

From the road from Plaka up the hill towards Vrokhas [Βρουχάς], and still more from the high hill to the right of this, is the finest view of the gulf of Mirabello.²⁴ Below is a bird's eye view of the fortress and other islands as shown in the sketch and in the distance to the north [east] are the Dionysades islands, then Cavo Sidero and its two isthmuses, then the valley from Analouka to Palaikastro, then the peak of Modi, Siteia point not clear, then the two sets of sea cliffs by Mouliana, then Tourloti and then the Kavousi mountains and the Hierapetra isthmus.²⁵

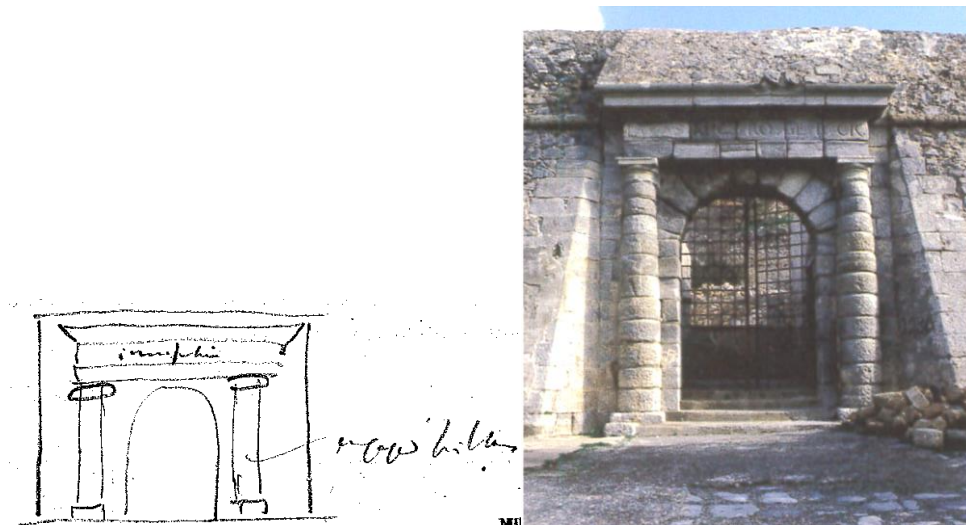


Spinalonga seen from Vrouchas (from NW): (left) Dawkins' sketch; (right) IMG_1342 Spinalonga from a similar angle to his sketch, 14 May 2011 (taken near new chapel on cemented track towards cape of Agios Ioannis Aphoresmenos)

- A. Turkish graveyard and some traces of quarrying.
- B. In a cove on the north end of the island [peninsula] beyond this are the Venetian quarries from which the fort was built. These lie on the right of the cove as one enters it.
- C. The inhabited side of the island. Note its gabled shape.
- D. The uninhabited slope.
- E. The fort with inscription of date.
- F. The narrow east [south] entrance.
- G. The wide west entrance.
- H. The inner harbour.
- I. The outer island [peninsula].
- K. There is a postern now ruined hereabouts behind a small bastion.²⁶



Onsite plan of Spinalonga, 16 May 2011

Spina Longa 9 August 1917²⁷

(left) Dawkins' sketch of sea gate (the main gate) on west side of Spinalonga
 (right) The gate today ((c) Greek Archaeological Receipts Fund)

Inscription over the sea gate opposite Plaka; for position on gate see sketch:

LVCAS.MIC.RO.GE.R.CR²⁸

Immediately inside the W gate, with the inscription over it, there is a building to the right, vaulted, now used as a café; presumably the guardhouse.²⁹ Facing as one enters, and so on the other side of the street which runs parallel with the wall, is a ruined Venetian building, possibly the governor's palace.

In the wall on the sea side is a bastion and behind it what seems to have been a small door now quite ruined. This makes three gates in all. The most conspicuous building is the big white mosque facing Plaka, now patriotically and religiously destroyed by the lepers.³⁰ The island rises steeply all round and has a flat top as on a gable.

Inscription on the round fort which commands the NW [NE] entrance to Spina Longa harbour, on sea level rather towards the outer sea.³¹ It is below the [six] gun openings and can only be read from the sea. I read it in great haste in a caique as we were carried rapidly round by the wind; I was going to the outer side of the peninsulas to look for wreckage, notably bacon [sic]. I read:

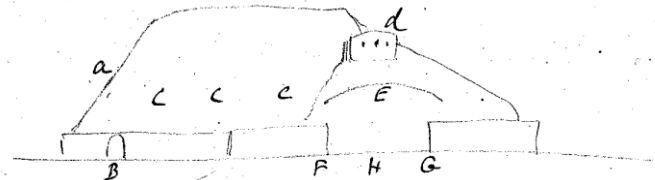
LVCAS MICHAEL PRO GEREC CRETAE AN MDLXXVIII

in fine large letters.³²

This fort would catch any ship before it got quite to the narrow part. On the east [south] round fort between two gun embrasures is the Lion of St Mark, i.e. two openings + lion + 2 openings.³³



IMG_3156, 15 May 2011 Note caique approaching the south end of the island (right)



Sketch of Spina Longa from Skisma the hamlet below Elounda.³⁴ The bastions and high round fort guard the narrow eastern [southern] entrance, the western [northern] entrance is guarded by the round fort with the inscription.

- A. Wall.
- B. Gate with inscription.
- C. Village.
- D. Round fort with lion between gun openings.
- E. Wall.
- F. Round-ended bastion with entrance behind it. This entrance is covered over and not straight; lit from above by holes for missiles. Similar defensive arrangement at Corfu.
- G. Square-ended bastion [...] ruined Turkish houses on the bit of beach.
- H. Landing place.

Inscription over door of church of St Pandeimon in the main street which was used by the Turks as a school.³⁵ The street runs parallel to the long sea wall and the church is on the side away from the sea. I have no notes as to the lettering but add accents and breathings and transcribe in minuscule whatever the original style of lettering was [original not reproduced here]:³⁶

[This church of the great martyr Pandeimon was built at the expense of Iakovos Tzirytas in aid of his house on 9 May 1709]



IMG_3160 Inscription over door of Agios Pandeimon church, 16 May 2011

?When did the Turks take Spina Longa?³⁷

Pottery. 9 August 1917

At Plaka by Spina Longa saw a seaman from Patino selling *tsoukalia* and *phoughoudhes* which are made there, but now not much owing to the depopulation of Patmos and at present because of the tyranny of the Italians and the way they hinder the islanders in their trading.³⁸

As it is easier to carry about the potter than the pots, and as clay is to be found in many places and the apparatus simple, it is commoner to find potters travelling about. The Cretan potters live at Thrapsano, and I have seen them working, especially once on the hill west of Neapolis. In Siphnos they work on the beach and are expert in caiques.

ARETI monastery. 10 Aug 1917 - της Αγίας Τριάδος³⁹

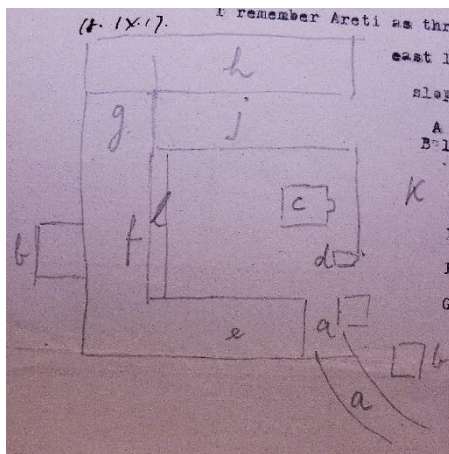
Monastery in a ravine facing east with a glimpse of the sea. Below it gardens and a huge cistern; another big cistern just behind the guestroom but with no water in it.⁴⁰ In court fine cypresses, both male and three splendid female cypresses of the spreading so-called female type [sic]. The wood of the female is the better.



(left) IMG_5091 Moni Aretiou. Old cypresses on the terrace above the main chapel (middle ground), with the chapel of St Lazaros (Dawkins' "small older church") in the foreground.
(right) IMG_5087 Icon screen of main chapel.

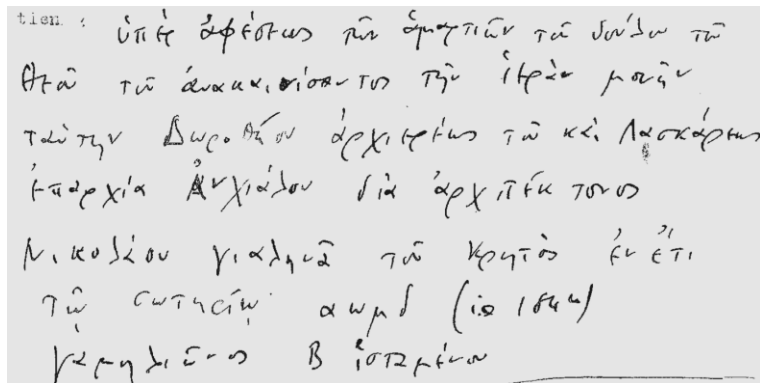
18.ix.17

I remember Areti as three sides of a square open to the east looking seawards with gardens (K) sloping down the ravine from the *moni*.



- A. Entrance
- B. Large built cisterns
- C. Church
- D. Small older church
- E. Buildings
- F. Guesthouse
- G. Kitchen and room where we dined
- H. Monks' cells
- J. Terrace with female cypresses, very big
- K. Gardens
- L. Balcony running along in front of guestrooms which are on first floor and on level of terrace J

Church dated to 1881 over door.⁴¹ In the church is a good screen and a throne with this inscription:



[For the forgiveness of sins of the servant of God and renovator of this holy monastery, bishop Dorotheos Laskaris from the eparchy of Anchialos, through the offices of the architect Nikolaos Yalinas the Cretan on the second day of Gamelion in the year of salvation 1844]⁴²

Road from ARETI to Neapolis. 10 Aug 1917 [14/10/2012]

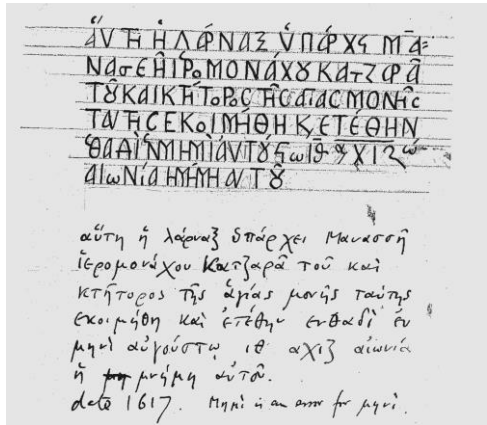
This passes by Karidhi and along a valley past Dories.⁴³

[9 Aug. 1917] Inscription over N. door of church at Karydi near Areti monastery. The church is double; the older one is St Elias [Prophet Elijah] to the south; this north one is Evangelistria and was built by Hatz Emmanuel Pholes, who is mentioned in the inscription. The last line guessed rather than read. My notes are not clear and perhaps St Elias is a separate church. [In unclear hand:] Μονή seems [...] the older church Αγ. Ελίας [sic] was a monastery: but μονή perhaps = μοναστήριον = church simply.⁴⁴

Της 10 Αυγούστου 1858 / δέησις των δούλων [του δούλου?] / Θεού Εμανουήλ πρὸς/κυνητού του κτήτορος τη/ς αγίας μονῆς ταύτης εω/νία η μνήμη αυτού

[10 August 1858. Prayer for the servant of God Emmanouil pilgrim and founder of this holy monastery. May his memory be eternal]

KARDAMOUTSA monastery. 9 August 1917



(left) Dawkins' transcription of the inscription

(right) IMG_5093 Kardamoutsia Monastery in 2012

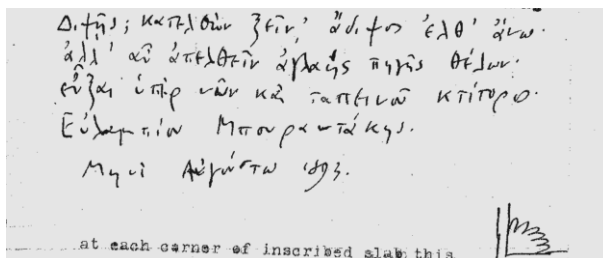
[This tomb is that of Hieromonk Manasses Katsaras, founder of this holy monastery. He fell asleep and was placed here on 19 August 1617. May his memory be eternal.]⁴⁵

On the way from Spina Longa to Areti and near Areti the road passes by a recently dissolved monastery of Kardamoutsia. Irregular court; now used as a farm. Above inscription of founder on slab outside S wall of church. Dissolved because monks too few; old abbot now at Areti. Outside gate fine mulberry tree. Buildings rustic. Situation high and a little bleak; quite open and not sheltered like Areti.⁴⁶

[9 Aug. 1917. Village of DORIES near Areti monastery]

The deacon at Areti told me that once a saint lived at Dories and a childless woman prayed to him that she might have children. He promised her a daughter and that the daughters of this daughter should all be most beautiful. This promise still holds and the women of this family, whose name is Phournarakis, are still the most beautiful in the village. The saint gave this blessing as a gift *δωρεάν* and hence the name of the village *Δωρεές* [gifts].⁴⁷

A little past Dories on the right is a covered built cistern and on the covering slab an inscription in minuscules reading:⁴⁸



and at each corner of the inscribed slab this

Then Kastelli in a plain with no outlet and probably a *khonos* [swallow-hole], then the smaller plain called [Trivazina?] with its *khonos*; thence the road goes behind the ancient city of Dreros on its hill and goes down to Neapolis.⁴⁹

Another plain near here with a swallow-hole is Lakonia [Ἐξω Λακκώνια] between Neapolis and Kalokhorio [see ch. 25].

Cisterns

In the parts of Crete where there are no springs, water is collected in cisterns. This is the case on Akrotiri, in a great part of Apokorona[s] and Spina Longa and in most of Mirabello. For Mirabello I note that water for irrigation is collected in big open-walled cisterns, generally of circular form. The level of the water is reached by a flight of steps winding down the side. The diameter is generally 12 to 15 or more feet. At Areti there are two huge square cisterns with steps going down, as much as 8 yards deep. Another very famous cistern is Alidakis' cistern at Krapī, as one comes down from Askiphou. But these Apokorona[s] cisterns are roofed in with a barrel vault that just rises above the ground, whereas the usual Mirabello cistern is open, though they have covered cisterns for drinking water, e.g. the [one] with the inscription near Δωρεές.

In Mirabello, at least, the open cisterns are called πηγάδια, the open ones στέρνες or στερνίτσες. This is the general use, I think, in Crete.⁵⁰

MILATOS. Khourmouzis, p. 48, note⁵¹

Near Milatos there is a very large cave in which 2000 people took refuge in 1823. They were besieged by Hassan Pasha and forced to surrender on Feb 5th of the same year.

Peter Mackridge's notes

¹ Mirabello was originally the name of the castle built by Enrico Pescatore on the hill above the present town of Agios Nikolaos. The name Mirabello was given by the Venetians to the whole province, and the Venetian name of the province survived for about 800 years until 2011, when the area was officially renamed as the Dimos (municipality) of Agios Nikolaos. However, the name Gulf of Mirabello still survives for the bay in which Agios Nikolaos is situated. It is the largest bay in the Greek islands and the fifth largest in the Mediterranean.

² The modern road still more or less follows this route.

³ In other words, the old road even bypassed Agios Nikolaos.

⁴ The cape is north of Spinalonga: Dawkins' route approaches the cape from the west.

⁵ Dawkins has Hellenized the name Lenika (Λενικά) to Hellinika. However, he has written Mavrikiano according to the Cretan pronunciation as Mavritchianó.

⁶ We stayed at Plaka 14-18 May 2011 and again 13-17 Oct. 2012.

⁷ Schisma was presumably the only settlement on the sea at that time; now it has become part of the expanded modern settlement of Elounda.

⁸ Now Pano Elounda.

⁹ Mavrikiano is immediately above the modern road at the north end of Elounda; in Dawkins' time the road did not go along the seaside as it does now.

¹⁰ According to the museum on Spinalonga, the inhabitants of the island used to export whetstones. The material from which these are made is formed by skeletons of microorganisms found in layers of silicon sedimentary material. Whetstone mines are still operating locally in the hills near Elounda. From the isthmus at Elounda you can clearly see quarries on the conical hill called Karfi (see photo 5112).

¹¹ The meanings of the names of these two peaks are related: Oxa (nowadays Oxya) means 'sharp', while Karfi means 'nail'.

¹² Pindar (Isthmian 6.72) likens an athlete to a Naxian whetstone (Ναξίαν ἀκόναν). A scholiast places this Naxos in Crete rather than identifying it with the Cycladic island of the same name, which is about 100 miles north of Crete. Remains of ancient Naxos have been identified in the region.

¹³ The remains of ancient Olous project very slightly out of the water next to the isthmus.

¹⁴ As I've said, this settlement is known as Λενικά. However, the probably origin of the name from the word Ελληνικά 'Hellenic' suggests that a folk memory has survived of an ancient building there. Remains have apparently been found there of a temple dedicated to Ares and Aphrodite.

¹⁵ The French occupation was in 1898. The original bridge has been superseded by a fixed humped bridge, though the remains of the two ends of the old bridge are still standing (see photo 5102).

¹⁶ What Dawkins calls the "island" here is not the island of Spinalonga but the peninsula of Κολοκύθας. The ruins of the ancient city are in fact under the water, off the south coast of the peninsula very near the isthmus. The mosaic he refers to formed part of the floor of an early Christian basilica, on the east side of the peninsula (see photo 5104).

¹⁷ *Poros* is the Greek word for 'channel'. *Adzibraghá* is a Cretan dialect word for twins; it is not in Pangalos' dictionary of Cretan dialect.

¹⁸ The lagoon is still there, with remains of the stone partitions separating it into small salt pans, but salt is no longer collected.

¹⁹ An *αγλιά* is not in fact a tripod. According to Pangalos, *αγλιά* (< *αντλία*) is "a vessel with which milk is removed (pumped out, as it were) from the cauldron", while G.P. Shipp, *Modern Greek evidence for the ancient Greek vocabulary* (Sydney 1979), p. 83, defines Ancient Greek ἀντλίον as 'baling vessel', which must be what a Cretan *αγλιά* is, i.e. not a tripod but Dawkins' "swinging box". None of the other terms Dawkins uses here is in Pangalos.

²⁰ Gerola (I(2) 571) says that Spinalonga (literally 'long thorn') is an Italianized version of the phrase στην Ελούντα (*stin Elounda*, 'to Elounda') and that the forms *Stinalonda* and *Stinalonga* are found in early Venetian documents. Ananiadis (p. 47) says that, according to the 1881 census (before it became a leper colony), 1100 people (220 families) lived on Spinalonga. Spinalonga was a leper colony from 1904 to 1957; Dawkins also mentions lepers having gone there in ch. 29. For more details of lepers in Crete see Kelly Daskala's afterword to her edition of Galateia Kazantzaki's *Η άρρωστη πολιτεία*, esp. pp. 139-40; she refers, among other things, to the passage on lepers in the book *Περιήγησις εις Κρήτην* (Ermoupoli 1881), pp. 19-21 by the

physician and archaeologist Iosif Hatzidakis. An important Greek novel is set among the lepers of Spinalonga: G.N. Abbott, *Γη και νερό* (Athens 1936), as is Victoria Hislop's novel *The Island* (2005), which was made into a highly successful serial for Greek television.

²¹ See also ch. 25. Greek μεσκίνης 'leper' (cf. T *maskin* 'poor, wretched, leprous'); μεσκινιά 'isolated leper colony'.

²² See ch. 29.

²³ It was impossible to capture this panoramic view with my camera.

²⁴ This is the hill marked in the Anavasi atlas as 330 m high, to the east of Vrouchas; we went there on 14 May 2011.

²⁵ The Dionysades islands are marked as Yanisáda etc. on modern maps. For more on Cavo Sidero see ch. 31. Kavousi, seemingly well inland, has a distinct conical peak.

²⁶ There is still a sea-gate somewhere around here. However, some of Dawkins' letters referring to his sketch seem to be misplaced. The north end of the island is at the bottom right of his sketch and our photo. The old main gate G (which Dawkins sketched below with its inscription) is indeed on the west side, but he has marked it at the north. The chief entrance at present in use is the south gate, next to the landing stage for caiques from the mainland.

²⁷ We visited on 16 May 2011 and again in October 2012.

²⁸ Ananiadis p. 37 correctly has PRO; he reads the whole as LUCAS MIC[HIEL] PRO[VISOR] GE[NERALIS] R[EGNI] CR[ETAE] [Luca Michiel Governor General of the Realm of Crete]. The inscription is now much weathered, and the P of PRO has been worn away, as it clearly had already been in Dawkins' time (cf. photo in Gerola I(2) 599).

²⁹ We were told by our guide that that the building to the south of the west gate was the Venetian garrison building, as Dawkins surmises. According to a plaque attached to the wall, it became the disinfection centre when the island became a leper colony.

³⁰ Our guide told us that the "building behind on a higher level" was a church (St Barbara), then a mosque, then a hospital (16 May 2011). According to Gerola (II 164-5) St Barbara was built by Michiel as a church for both Catholics and Orthodox in 1581.

³¹ By "Spina Longa harbour" Dawkins means the whole space between the mainland and the peninsula.

³² Now it says LVCAS MICHAEL PRO GE REG CRETIAE II AN MDLXXVIII. I wonder whether the I in CRETIAE was originally the final stroke of the date MDLXXVIII (i.e. 1579), and whether it has been misplaced during restoration, as has happened with the rector's palace in Chania (see ch. 3). Gerola's copy of the inscription (IV 380) has CRETAE and MDLXXVIII.

³³ This is the Mezzaluna Moceniga or Barbariga, visible from Plaka. The relief with the lion is still in situ.

³⁴ The gate (b on Dawkins' sketch) is obscured behind trees in our photo 3156.

³⁵ The church has recently been restored. It dates from the period between the end of the Ottoman conquest of the Cretan mainland (1669) and the capture of Spinalonga (1715), when the island was apparently a refuge for outlaws from the Ottoman-occupied mainland of Crete. The surnames Τζιρίτας and Τσιρίτας are still current in Crete.

³⁶ There is a copy and transcription of this inscription in Gerola IV 524.

³⁷ The Turks captured Spinalonga from the Venetians in 1715.

³⁸ Patino was the medieval Greek colloquial name for the island of Patmos, and it was adopted by the Italians. The Italian occupation of the Dodecanese (including Patmos) lasted from 1912 to 1943. *Tsoukalia*: earthenware casseroles; *foughoudes*: portable cooking stoves made of iron or earthenware.

³⁹ Μονή Αρετίου (Μονή Αγίας Τριάδας [Holy Trinity Monastery]). According to his log of war Journeys”, Dawkins visited the monastery on five other occasions in 1916-17. We visited on 14 Oct. 2012.

⁴⁰ The monastery was founded in the late 16th century. It was looted and partially destroyed during the Greek Revolution in the 1820s but it continued to function and was rebuilt in 1880-1. The monastery was dissolved in 1930 but re-founded in 1955-56. Since 1991 the buildings have been restored and are now in good condition and well maintained. The deep cistern outside the west wall of the monastery, with many steps going down below ground level inside the north wall, is now roofless. Such cisterns are exactly the same as those built by the Minoans.

⁴¹ This is the main chapel of Agia Triada, restored in 1881.

⁴² The inscription (in capitals) is still there. The date on the inscription is an indication of the “Helleno-Christian” ideology and identity that were developing among the Greeks at the time, i.e. the fusion of Classical (pagan) and Christian culture. The year from the birth of Christ is accompanied by the month and day according to the ancient Athenian calendar, in which Gamelion fell in December-January. Bishop Dorotheos founded a number of monastery schools in the region while he was bishop of Petra (this see covered Mirabello and Lasithi).

⁴³ Dawkins writes Dorees throughout.

⁴⁴ Gerola (III 184) briefly refers to “the two monasteries of St Anthony and the St Elias at Karydi”, which are mentioned in 17th-century notarial documents. Little remains of the monastery of St Anthony, while the modern church of the Prophet Ilias in the village square has been built where once stood the monastery of St Elias, which no doubt included the double church that Dawkins refers to. Strangely, although Karydi means “walnut”, there is no sign of walnut trees in the village, though there are mulberry trees.

⁴⁵ The inscription is copied and transcribed in Gerola IV 524.

⁴⁶ Μονή Καρδαμούτσας (μοναστήρι του Τιμίου Σταυρού) [Holy Cross Monastery], near Karydi. The monastery, though uninhabited, was well restored and fenced in 2005. We visited on 14 Oct. 2012. There is no sign of the inscription, or of the mulberry tree, but a 2004 photo found on the internet shows a slab leaning against S wall which may be the inscription.

⁴⁷ This attempt to account for the name is a legend with no basis in fact, and Dawkins knew it. However, we noticed that a number of men and women in the nearby village of Karydi, where we stopped and talked to some of the villagers, were strikingly handsome, with fair hair and blue eyes. One of them was even called Fournarakis.

⁴⁸ Although there are a number of cisterns in and around the village, we couldn’t find any trace of this inscription.

⁴⁹ From Wikipedia: “Dreros is an early Iron Age site, first excavated in 1917. [...] There is also a large communal cistern dug between the late 3rd and early 2nd century BCE, which contained Archaic inscriptions, one of which, famous as the Dreros inscription, the “sacred law of Dreros”, is the earliest complete record of constitutional law found in Greece.”

⁵⁰ Other references to cisterns can be found in ch. 1, 3, 4 (Akrotiri), 6 (Alidakis’ cistern), 13, 14, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25 and 29.

⁵¹ Milatos is NW of Neapoli and east of Sisi. Tsougarakis 1988: 308 notes that this place name has survived intact from ancient times.