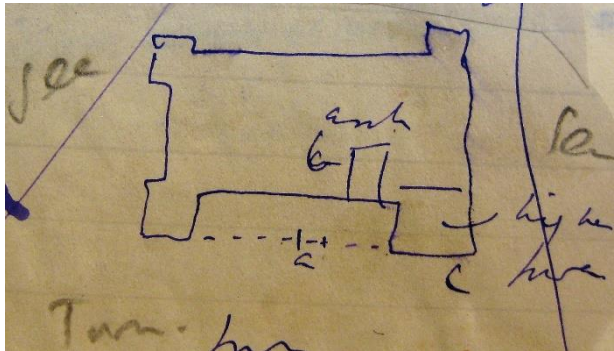


CHAPTER 29 FROM THE ISTHMUS OF HIERAPETRA TO SITEIA AND THE COAST TO KHANDRAS

Hierapetra

The town lies on the east side of a sandy spit, at the end of which is the square Turkish castle. This has battlements and towers at the corners like a small Frangokastello.¹



IMG_5423 Castle at Ierapetra, 15 April 2013

Hierapetra. 19 October 1917:² On the castle over the outside gate **a**, a wall which seems a later addition to the original plan and built across from tower to tower on the land side, is a Turkish inscription with the date $\text{١١٠٧} = 1107 + 588 = 1695$. But the ١١ is not very clear.

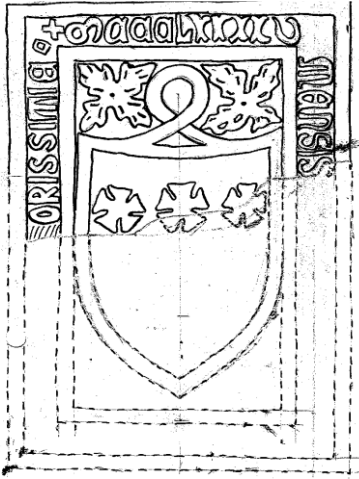
The old entrance is an arched gateway, **b**. The buildings round the court have terraced roofs. The tower **c** is the only one at all higher than the others. In front of the castle are a few remains of the Roman harbour, and a piece of the old mole runs out from the east part of the town. All round the present town are scanty remains of the ancient town, the Roman town, a good deal more destroyed now than when Spratt saw it.³ There was until lately a wall round the old part of the town by the castle. This was destroyed by the French during the occupation with the futile idea that this would bring together the Turks, who for the most part lived in the old town inside the walls, and the Christians, who lived outside in the newer houses inland of the wall. Simple souls! Most of the houses in the old town have flat roofs; in the new town many red tiles of French make. Mosque and pretty fountain.⁴



IMG_1016 The mosque and the fountain

On the left of the main road from the north as it enters the town is a large ruined house with a palm tree in the garden. It has two wings and the door in the recess between them. With its painted decorations over the windows and high chimneys it was a building of some pretension. Now it is utterly gutted and the usual removal of the beams or hewn stones from the frames of the windows and doors makes it look even worse. It is said to have been the house of a certain bishop of Hierapetra – before the present bishop built his place at Agiasmenos outside the town, the bishops lived in the town – and this bishop quarrelled with the people and was either sent or went away. Before going he cursed the town and the recent ravages of an insect pest which makes the olives shrivel and drop from the trees is due to the curse which he refused to remove although messengers were sent to his retreat in the Holy Land to beg him to do so. The house is now said also to be haunted by “something white”.

Another superstition which clings to this part of the town is connected with the disused Turkish burying place (μεζαρλίκι) near this house but on the right of the road behind the houses. After dark it is dangerous to pass through it either after taking a bath or if carrying bread. The first probably is an extension of the idea that baths are peculiarly the resort of evil spirits and that therefore in the bath this danger is greater than at other times, and the period of danger is extended to cover passing through any other spook-ridden region. The danger to the bread seems to have some connexion with the semi-sacred nature of bread as the specially God-given food.



Hierapetra. 10 October 1917

Stone slab on wall over door of house a few houses inland from the isthmus near customs house in old town of Hierapetra. All in relief.⁵

ORIS SITIE MCCCLXXXV MENSIS [1395]

Hierapetra. 10 October 1917⁶

An hour or less inland of Hierapetra is the leper village described by Spratt, now entirely deserted and in ruins, as the lepers have gone to Spina Longa. It is on rising ground, built up on the south side by a wall which stands up a little above the houses. A few yards from it is a dark church. Called Λουβοχώρι.⁷ Near it is Καστρί, which used to be inhabited by more Turks than Christians. At the top of the village is a ruined [??] Turkish fort, with cistern inside, probably built after 1866.

9 August 1918

The valleys running south to the sea east of Hierapetra are [from west to east]:

1. Ais Yannis valley with Ai Photia at the south of it.⁸
2. Orno valley, narrow and mountains jaggy. Village amongst trees out of sight of the sea. So too is Ais Yannis.⁹
3. The much wider valley of Roukáka [now Chrysopigi] and Stavrokhorí, both I think hidden from the sea, certainly not visible from the path along the coast.¹⁰
4. Agios Mamas and Daphnes valley.¹¹
5. The Lithines valley going down to the sea at Makriyalo.¹² 4 is a western branch of this, and they meet near Adromili.¹³
6. The Perivolakia valley going down to the sea at the monastery of Ai Yannis Kapsa.

FROM THE ISTHMUS OF HIERAPETRA TO SITEIA

There are, from the Isthmus of Hierapetra to Siteia, three main routes:

1. The northern route from Bashinamo to Kavousi, Turloti, Moulia, Khamezi [Χαμέζι] and so down to Siteia.

2. The middle route from Hierapetra to Roukaka [via Thrypti & Oreino] and thence to Siteia or to Khandra [east of Ετιά].
3. The south coast route from Hierapetra by Lithines and so either to the eastern plateau and Khandra or north to Siteia.¹⁴

[Route 1]

Tourloti to Roukaka

Where the road from Mouliana to Tourloti descends into the valley, before reaching Tourloti a narrow gorge [path] goes off to the south. This leads through the gorge and then over the hills to Roukaka and is now used to carry the post to Roukaka. I have not myself been over this path.¹⁵

Sphaka. 9 June 1916



* SFAKA — FONTANA BAROZZI (961).

Gerola IV, Tavola 3 (photo taken before the rebuilding and enlargement mentioned by Dawkins)

Sphaka is the village next to Tourloti. A little below the village on the road to Kavousi on the right of the road is the village fountain. It was rebuilt and enlarged in 1908, but they built in again the Venetian inscription below and the coat of arms in a floriated border.

+ DEO FAVENTE
NICOLAUS BAROTIUS
IACOBI FILIUS PATRITI=

US VENETUS AD CO=
MODUM UNIVERSA=
LEM EREXIT ANNO
DOMINI MDCCXXXIII¹⁶

[By the grace of God the Venetian patrician Nicolas Barozzi, son of Jacob, erected this for the convenience of the public in the year of Our Lord 1734 (sic)]

[Route 2]¹⁷



IMG_5468 Bottom of Monastiraki (Ha) gorge



IMG_5478 Thrypti village

9 August 1918. Hierapetra to Roukaka

The region between the gorge and Thrypti is called Argyros [Αργυρά (Argyrá)]. A lot of the bushy St John's wort. Gathered seeds of rock campanula. Above Thrypti I found the thorny vetch found also at Katharo and a little on the flat ground to the east of Kroustallenia [in Lasithi]. On the slopes before reaching Thrypti a good lot of pines.¹⁸ Thrypti is a scattered hamlet in a valley among the vineyards and only inhabited at the vintage. Descending after passing Thrypti one leaves first Orno a little on the right and then enters the Roukaka valley, seeing to the right nearer the sea the village of Stavrokhorí, formerly Stravodoxari. Orno has all flat roofs. Stavrokhorí has flat roofs, all but the school a little out of the village, which is roofed with French tiles.

[Separate slip:] **Stravodoxari. 29 April 1918.** The road from Hierapetra to Stravodoxari goes along the coast and then a little past Mavrokolympoi¹⁹ turns inland up a valley. Below the village of Stravodoxari the road passes beneath a rock which entirely overhangs the road and water falls from it so that one passes between the rock and the falling water. At this point a little church of Agios Constantine [sic] is built up against the rock. The village has narrow streets, the houses much crowded together and few red roofs [added in ms: ? any except church]. I slept there. I passed through this village with Annie [his sister] about 1905 on the way from Khandra to Roukaka and Bakhynammo.²⁰

At Roukaka there are 2 red roofs only, and these are not conspicuous. On a platform amongst the broken rocks above the village (i.e. to the north) is a biggish church, Ypapanti, dated 1890-1898.²¹

Kriya [Krya] Castle. 30 April 1918: On the way from Stravodoxari to Siteia I passed by Agios Mamas and went up the hill to the east of the hamlet to get a view of Kriya castle.²²

The road from Roukaka to Siteia goes from Roukaka across the neck between the Roukaka and Agios Mamas valleys, along the top of the latter, leaving Daphnes Daphni to the south across the branch of the valley; then ascends past [the church of ?] Agios Mamas to the col, whence it descends to Siteia by Skordilo, Paraspori and Skopi, or alternatively by the old *kalderimi* over the hill not far from Maronia. I have been both ways. The *kalderimi* is now much disused and getting grown over, but it must have been the old road in Turkish times from Roukaka to Siteia when Roukaka was an important place and the seat of a *kaimakam*. Roukaka is now very much deserted and most of the Turks have gone away.²³ The place is at the foot of the mountain on the north edge of a little plain, a position a little like that of Viano except that at Roukaka the village is much smaller and does not run up the hill.



IMG_0296 Chrysopigi (formerly Roukaka), 16 April 2009

[Route 3]²⁴

The road east from Hierapetra goes near the sea along waste ground with a few pines on the slopes which have suffered much from fires. It passes below Agia Photia where the Americans dug.²⁵ Passing along these hot wastes in the early summer when the crickets were making a great noise, Yanni told me that the tree cricket, *tsítsiras*, chirps in the daytime in summer but stops about the time when the grapes get ripe. It is therefore said to be calling out for the grapes to ripen but not to survive to eat them. I don't know whether it in fact dies at this season or stops chirping for some other reason. In Greek: *phonazei na kamothonne ta staphylia, alla dhen prolavanei na ta trogei, dhioi ama kamothonne ska.*

Thus, see in Protódikos, *Idiotika tis neoteris ell. glossis*, Smyrna 1866, p. 41, s.v. λαλώ. Here (probably in Smyrna) they say: ο τσήντσιγας²⁶ ελάλησε, μαύρη ρώγα γυάλισε [The cicada has chirped, the black grape has shone].

It was passing along these arid slopes in September 1917 that Yanni told me a rhyme about the big wild squill, called the immortal plant – *αθάνατη*. This grows everywhere in waste places in Crete and its big bulb makes it independent of water. The flower stalk is sent up in the summer, seeds and dies and then, with the rains, come the leaves. This separation of flower and leaf is so strange that there is the verse: στην Πόλη και στη Βενετιά δεν είναι 'τσα χορτάρι / πρώτα να βγάλει τον καρπό κι ύστερα το ψιλιάρι [In Constantinople and in Venice there is no such plant / that first

sets its fruit and then its stem].²⁷ [Ms addition: Also hung up as charm against evil eye.]

9 August 1918

Today is the feast of St Pandleimon, a doctor saint. There is a *panagyri* at Mavro Kolymbi by the shore, 3 or 4 hours to the east of Hierapetra. I nearly went.²⁸ Mavro Kolymbi is where a river flows down from the hills and makes a little lagoon inside the beach. On the rock which bounds the beach at the east end there is a little church of the saint. I had lunch there once with Yanni.

[Route 3, but going south from Siteia to Ierapetra]

Skopí [Σκοπή] village near Siteia on left of road to Chamezi. 3 May 1918

I was told at Toplou that when the Turks had conquered Crete but the Venetians still held out in Spina Longa that the Venetian bishop of Spina Longa sent over a boat to Siteia to get food. This boat was betrayed to the Turks by the people of Skopi and the village was then cursed by the bishop, which curse still cleaves to the place.

11 August 1918



IMG_5438 Agioi Anargyroi, Kato Episkopi Siteias



IMG_5474 Agioi Georgios & Charalambos, Episkopi Ierapetras (see note xxix)

Visited the old church at Kato Episkopi near Siteia. It lies by itself ten minutes west [east] of Piskokefalo, just outside the village of Kato Episkopi. All whitewashed and until lately used by the Turks as a store for straw. The oddity of the plan is that it has a dome with apses north and south, but on the east and west there are compartments with barrel vaults, one of which, the smaller, being the chancel and the larger part of the nave.²⁹

No tiled roofs at Vaveloi [Βαβέλοι] or at Kanene [Κανενέ].³⁰ Vaveloi was largely Turkish and is now half in ruins. There are still a few Turks there.³¹



IMG_5434 Nea Praisos (Vaveloi)

11 August 1918

The road from Siteia to Khandras goes up the valley to Marounia [Μαρωνιά], then up the slopes by Praisos to Vaveloi.³² Here trees cease, and it passes over the bare hills to the plain of Khandras. Epano Episkopi with an old church lies a bit off this road to the west, and I did not visit it.³³ It appears when one looks west [NW] from Kanene, and so does Tourtoulis³⁴ and the Epano Kasteli of Kriya,³⁵ which is on a rock, apparently on this side quite inaccessible. Only the church on the top, Agios Georgios, is visible. The other buildings are on the other side of the rock: I suppose I saw them when I walked to the castle from the west and got up the hill to the east of the col of Agios Mamas.

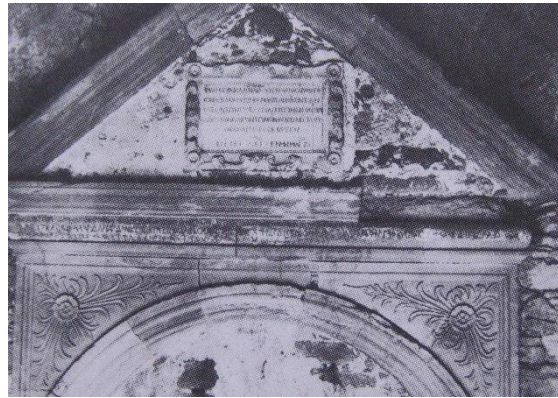
Mill at Kanene with inscription published by Xanthoudidis. 11 August 1918

The village of Kanene is 20 minutes west of Vaveloi, and the mill is at the bottom of a valley, half an hour below [= north of] the village. The Phingetomanoli mentioned by Xanthoudidis as the owner was the father of the present owner, who is Yannis Phingetakis.³⁶ The inscription, the letters of which are deep but very hard to read, is on a stone built into the front of the *siphoni*, the almost vertical channel which carries the water down to the mill-house just above the level of the flat roof of the top of the mill-house [sic]. In 4 lines I made out only

ΚΑΡΡΙΑΘΙ

ΣΑΘΘ 7079-5508 = 1571 or 6979-5508 = 1471³⁷

Lithines

IMG_0292 (16 April 2009) The Church³⁸The Vlachos tomb (Gerola)³⁹

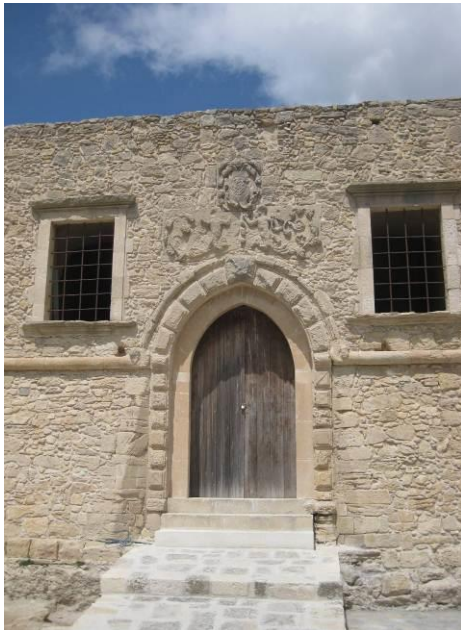
The old church of St Athanasios contains the tomb of the founder, George Vlachos. It is opposite the door and thus occupies the west part of the north wall of the church.⁴⁰ Above the altar-shaped tomb is an arch and above this a pediment. One inscription is on a block in the pediment; it records that the tomb was made by the most noble lord George Vlachos to preserve the bones of his nearest relations, parents, brothers and of all whom he wished, in the year 1610, May 10th. On the moulding above the arch is another inscription in three lines [sections], the first of which records the restoration of the church by the same George Vlachos, the second has illegible words mixed with dates (Xanthoudidis has made out 1587, 1595, 1602, 1605), and the third is in his memory, giving the date of his death as 1610, June 16th, the 8th year of the indiction. On the tomb itself are the arms of Vlachos inside a garland with the initials Z.V. (Zorzi Vlachos). This second line [section], which is practically given up by Xanthoudidis, seems very likely to have contained the dates of decease of the relations of George Vlachos. From Xanthoudidis' copy the words "father and brother and his wife" can be made out. These inscriptions have been published by Xanthoudidis in *Aθηνά*, XVI, p. 81-83, with facsimile copies [on p. 78].

The tower in the middle of the village mentioned by Gerola has recently been entirely destroyed by the inhabitants.⁴¹ They told me that it was a danger to the neighbouring houses and that they wished to make a *plateia* [square] there. Nothing has, however, been done or is likely to be done to clear away the heap of rubbish, and the probable motive was the idea that the building was a relic of past bondage. The total absence of historic or aesthetic feeling and the furious chauvinism inspired by Greek education, combined with the natural destructiveness of the peasant who also is apt to believe that all old buildings contain treasures, make a formidable combination before which already many, and in the near future probably most, of the historical monuments of later Greece are likely to succumb.

As one leaves Lithines on the road to Etia and Khandra [going east] the road climbs a hill and about half an hour from the village there is a side view to the NNW across the valley of Lithines. On the other side of the valley is a flat-topped rock with precipitous sides and a conspicuous white building upon it, the church of St George. On this rock is the castle described by Gerola as near Krygia [Krya]. Its position is such as to enable it to command the watershed between the northern slopes to Siteia and the southern valleys of Roukaka and Lithines. I have not visited it myself.⁴²

12 August 1918 at Roukaka: Road from Khandra[s] to Roukaka, 5 hours.

It ascends by Agios Panteleimon to the edge of the Khandra plain and then descends (here Antonio took leave of us) into the Lithines valley, passing through the little villages of Papayanide [Papayannades] and Vori, both of which are all with flat roofs and no tiles. Then, leaving Lithines on the left, it passes the ruined Turkish village of Palaiosilitsi. This is left just to the left, the path going through the Turkish graves. All old Turkish villages have outside a place of graves unenclosed, and the headstones almost entirely uncut, just a rough stone at head and foot and very rarely a cut tombstone. These burying places are called by their Turkish name, *μεζαρλίκι*. Then the road goes to the bottom of the Lithines valley which it crosses south of the watershed and near Adromili, which I did not see. Then it goes up a valley leading to Agios Mamas. After leaving the Lithines valley one goes up west to Daphnes [Daphni], old Turkish village with Turkish graves, seeing to the right Ta Krya village but not the castle, and so to Agios Mamas and Roukaka. All over the Lithines valley the castle of Krya is conspicuous on its precipitous rock. At Daphnes there was a massacre of Turks.

ETIA

IMG_0289



IMG_0282

Of the Venetian villa of Etia the lower part of the façade is preserved. It has an arched doorway and a horizontal string course at the level of the spring of the arch, below which the walls are battered outwards. Above this course are four square windows. In front of the villa is a much battered fountain.⁴³



IMG_0288 Inscription on restored fountain, April 2009

I was told at Magasa that in the Seraġio [governor's palace] of Etia there once lived a Turk called Bekir Aga. This Turk outraged a girl and the mother went herself to Constantinople to appeal to the Sultan for justice. The Pasha summoned Bekir to Candia and hanged him, but partly by treachery for the noose was put round his neck as he sat at table.

On the left of the road from Etia to Khandra,⁴⁴ just as it leaves the village, is the church of St John the Divine. The south door looks late Venetian. Over the south window is a triangular space framed by volutes and floral ornaments containing a crude relief of a figure in a straight robe with the inscription above the head: *O A Iω O Θεολόγος*, i.e. Saint John the Theologian. A photograph of it has been reproduced by Gerola (II, p. 262, fig. 324).



IMG_0287



IMG_0286

Peter Mackridge's notes

¹ The castle is reputed to have been built by Enrico Pescatore in 1212.

² In fact Dawkins probably wrote this particular paragraph between 6 & 14 October; so maybe 19 Oct. is a mistake for 10 Oct. The later wall that he mentions as bearing the inscription has since been demolished. The other paragraphs in this section are undated.

³ Spratt describes Ierapetra at I 255-64.

- ⁴ The mosque is apparently used as a music school.
- ⁵ We were unable to locate this, and the employee in the museum whom we consulted didn't know about it.
- ⁶ This handwritten paragraph is difficult to read.
- ⁷ The name simply means Leper Village. I can't find a place with this name near here. There are places called Λωβοχώρι in Dimos Rethymnou and near Makrys Toichos near Daratso (Hania). Spratt (I 265-8) describes a visit to the leper village near Ierapetra, which he doesn't name. For more on lepers see the section on Spina Longa in ch. 27.
- ⁸ Anavasi atlas p. 92; east of Ierapetra; Agios Ioannis is north-west of Agia Photia.
- ⁹ Ορνό is the name of a mountain; Ορεινό is the name of a village; the valley comes out at Κουτσοϋράς (Koutsourás).
- ¹⁰ See ch. 28 about the changed names of these villages. This route too goes down to Κουτσοϋράς.
- ¹¹ Agios Mamas seems to be a church to the north-west of Κάτω Κρυά and Δάφνη (Dafni). The valley comes out below Πιλαλήματα (Pilalimata).
- ¹² This is the route of the modern road.
- ¹³ Αδρόμυλοι or Ανδρόμυλοι, north of Lithines, seems to be on yet another branch; the river is called Ανδρομύλιος. The Lithines valley seems to go NW to meet no. 4.
- ¹⁴ The latter route is where the modern road goes.
- ¹⁵ Neither have we.
- ¹⁶ In April 2013 we found the *vrysi*, but it had been much rebuilt and there was no sign of the inscription. When we passed by again in May 2019 we couldn't find any trace of the spring, and some websites suggest it has been destroyed. Gerola IV 276 (photo of inscription) and 389 rightly surmises that the date specified in the inscription (1734) must be wrong (probably = 1634).
- ¹⁷ The Monastiraki gorge and the Thrypti section are described in ch. 28. The Oreino-Thrypti path is now part of the E4 hiking trail. We drove from Kato Chorio to Thrypti on 19 April 2013 along the road, which is slightly further from the south side of the gorge than the old path.
- ¹⁸ Dawkins is possibly referring to *Pinus brutia* which grows there.
- ¹⁹ See below.
- ²⁰ For description of route from Khandras to Roukaka see below.
- ²¹ We visited a church outside the village that answers to Dawkins' description, but I think it was the Metamorphosi.
- ²² Also called Apano Kasteli; called Monte Forte in Anavasi atlas and on road sign. See below for more references to Krya castle.
- ²³ During the Ottoman period Roukaka was one of the largest Muslim villages.
- ²⁴ We followed this route in April 2013.
- ²⁵ Agia Photia is very near the site of a Minoan cemetery. The modern settlement is now on the sea below the road.
- ²⁶ Presumably τζίτζικας.
- ²⁷ Maybe Dawkins means στειλιάρι 'long handle'.
- ²⁸ Μαύρος Κόλυμπος (Mavros Kolymbos) on the map, described on the Internet as "a tranquil beach with black pebbles and usually calm deep water". Pangalos defines κόλυμπος as 'a place where stagnant water lies'. There's a Mavrokolymbos in Cyprus (where there's now a dam). Costas Xenofontos tells me that in Cyprus κόλυμπος a pool in a river that retains water (not necessarily all year round) even when the river

dries up seasonally. JW suggests the name is equivalent to ‘Blackpool’. We haven’t visited.

²⁹ We visited on 16 April 2013. The church had recently been restored by the Byzantine Archaeological Service. There is evidence that the building was originally an 11th-cent. bath house converted to a church in the 16th cent., like Saints George & Charalambos at Episkopi (which has a Venetian-period nave added on the south side: see photo 5474; also photo in Gerola II 93): see Katerina Mylopotamitaki, “Ο ναός των Αγίων Γεωργίου και Χαραλάμπου στην Επισκοπή Ιεράπετρας”, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 12 (1984), Περίοδος Δ', pp. 441-452.

³⁰ In 1955 the name Vaveloi was changed to Nea Praisos, and Kanene was changed to Agios Spyridon.

³¹ According to Pashley (II 323), Vaveloi was entirely Muslim.

³² By Praiso Dawkins presumably means the ancient site of Praisos, and when he says “by” he presumably means “near” rather than “through”.

³³ Nor did we.

³⁴ Tourtoulou (Τουρτούλοι), now Agios Georgios.

³⁵ Monte Forte at Krya.

³⁶ The webpage <http://www.sitia.gr/city/villages/temples.html> mentions a church of St George “κοντά στου Φυγέτο το Μύλο” [near Fygetos’ Mill]. The surname is Fygetis or Fygetakis, but Xanthoudidis p. 84 erroneously writes Φαγγετομανώλης. Although the mill is signed by the road, we failed to find the actual building, let alone the inscription, 16 April 2013.

³⁷ Xanthoudidis (p. 84) has more: Οικοδομήθη ο υδρόμυλος ούτος δι’ εξόδου και κόπου ... Γνεώργη Καρπαθήου του Δοξαρά επί έτους 5700 μηνί Μαΐου [This water mill was constructed at the expense and efforts of Giorgis Doxaras of Karpathos in the month of May 6979]. X reads the year as 6979 = 1471. Gerola IV 587 prints a photo and a transcription of the inscription. He too reads the date as 1471 and concludes that this is the earliest extant incised (as opposed to painted) inscription from the Venetian period in Crete.

³⁸ The remains of the funerary monument on the outside wall are not those of the Vlachos tomb.

³⁹ Reproduced from Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 418.

⁴⁰ We were unable to enter the church. According to Xanthoudidis the tomb is inside the church on the north wall: see p. 82 & 78, plate Γ’ 1 & Γ’ 2. Gerola (IV 590-1; 594-5) provides transcriptions and copies of two inscriptions.

⁴¹ This was apparently a three-storey Venetian tower. When the Ottomans conquered the region, they put it to use as an observation tower. In 1828, Greek rebels besieged the tower for two days and eventually managed to cause an explosion that set fire to the tower, and many Muslims who were holed up inside were burned to death. Presumably the ruins of the tower had remained until the early years of the 20th century, when they were completely demolished.

⁴² Dawkins does not appear to mention the ruined building with a Gothic arch that we saw on our left on our way from Etia to Lithines. Nor does he mention the Byzantine church of Panagia or the Venetian double church of Agios Charalambos and Agia Triada, both of which we saw in April 2009.

⁴³ When we visited Etia (Εθιά in Cretan dialect) in April 2009 the villa and the fountain had very recently been restored. The villa was originally built in the late 15th century by the de Mezzo family but reached its definitive form in the early 17th century. It was first described by Spratt (I 185), then by Gerola (I(1) 39, III 310-14 &

IV 453). The building consisted of three stories until it was badly damaged when, as the local Ottoman governor's residence and a refuge for local Muslims, it was attacked by Greek rebels in 1828. For more details see Dafni Chronaki, "Οι εργασίες αναστύλωσης της έπαυλης de Mezzo στην Ετιά Σητείας", in Michalis Andianakis et al. (eds), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 2* (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2012). The 17th-century Cretan playwright Markos-Antonios Foscolos dedicated his comedy *Φορτουνάτος* to Nicolo Demezo. The village of Etia was uninhabited when we visited: presumably the Christian inhabitants were expelled from the village when the Venetian villa was made into fortress; then the Muslims who had moved in (or rather their descendants) were massacred (see ch. 30).

⁴⁴ Immediately outside the ruined village of Etia, to the right of the present road, but left of the old street between the houses.