PREFACE

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"I much doubt Crete being a *picturesque* country in any way, or that it will repay much trouble in seeing it. Its antiquities, etc. *so* old as to be all but invisible; its buildings, monasteries, etc. nil; its Turkish towns fourth-rate. Rats O! and gnats." (Edward Lear, *The Cretan Journal*, ed. Rowena Fowler (Dedham: Denise Harvey, 1984), p. 31 (15 April 1864))

1. Preamble

Professional photoportrait of R.M. Dawkins by G. Maragiannis, Herakleion, 1903[1]

R.M. Dawkins first came to Crete during the period of his Craven Scholarship, which was awarded to him by Emmanuel College, Cambridge as a reward for his Double First in the Classical Tripos. Under the terms of the scholarship, he spent the academic year 1902-3 attached to the British School at Athens. During this period, in early 1903, excited by Arthur Evans' discoveries at Knossos, he sailed to Crete not only to familiarize himself with the recently discovered Minoan finds that were housed in the archaeological museum at Herakleion, but also to take part in one of the excavations. In a letter to Xan Fielding (19 January 1952) he writes that he landed at Suda Bay, from where he rode to Candia (the Venetian name for modern Herakleion)[2]

[1] Photo from the Dawkins archive, University of Oxford. The photographer Maragiannis was employed by Arthur Evans to take photos of Knossos during the excavations there: Ann Brown, *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2000), p. 11.

[2] The name Candia derives from the Arabic *khandaq* 'moat', which the Arab conquerors of Crete used as the name of the town they founded in the 820s as the capital of the Emirate of Crete. The Byzantines continued using the name in the form Χάνδαξ. The current name Ηράκλειον was the name of the port

"three days by way of Retimo and the house of a very drunken man in the Pylopotamos valley;[3] in those days the road did not go further from Canea than the Izzeddin prison."[4]

He first carried out archaeological work at Palaikastro on the east coast of the island in March-June 1903 under the direction of R.C. Bosanquet, who had initiated the excavation the previous year. Dawkins continued to dig at Palaikastro (soon directing the excavations) in 1904, 1905 and finally in 1906, the year in which he became Director of the British School, a post he continued to hold until his resignation in 1914.[5] From 1906 to 1910 Dawkins led the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Later, back in Crete, he excavated "the magnificent Kamares cave" on the southern slopes of Mount Ida (Psiloreitis) in the summer of 1913 and at Plati on the mountain plateau of Lasithi in 1914. In a letter to Patrick Leigh Fermor (17 January 1952) he notes that J.L. Myers was the first person to point out the characteristics of Kamares pottery on the basis of some pieces that peasants had brought down to the museum.[6] Dawkins goes on to say that "it was the first time such pottery had been seen, really since Minoan times. [Arthur] Evans went up to the cave but it was too full of snow to do anything; the year I was there there was much less snow than usual". Plati in 1914 was the last site that Dawkins excavated.

It was during his very first excavation in Crete that Dawkins began to acquire a close acquaintance with the modern Greek language and a profound interest in medieval and modern Greek history and culture. It is remarkable that at Palaikastro in 1904 he wrote down the words of no fewer than 953 *mantinades* (sung couplets) which were recited to him by a couple of local men during the course of three evenings. This interest in medieval and modern Greek spurred him to carry out fieldwork on the Greek dialects of Cappadocia in Asia Minor in the summers of 1909, 1910 and 1911. He was the first to carry out a systematic study of these dialects and, because of the First World War and the subsequent expulsion of the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Turkey during the period 1923-5, he was the last scholar to be able to observe Cappadocian Greek being spoken in its homeland.[7] After completing his work on Cappadocian Greek, Dawkins set off in the summer of 1914 on what he planned to be the first of a series of research trips to the region of Pontus in north-east Turkey to study the Greek dialects spoken there, with the ulterior aim of producing a companion volume to his Cappadocia book. This time he was prevented from completing his project by the outbreak of the Great War, at which point he had to leave Turkey in a hurry. After a short spell in Britain, he worked with his close friend

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of Knossos in ancient times; it was revived by Greeks in the 19th century to refer to the modern town. Tozer notes that in 1874 only "a few persons of the upper class prefer to call it Herakleion" (Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean*, p. 72).

[3] I can't tell whether by the misprinted Pylopotamos he means Mylopotamos or Yeropotamos; more likely the former.

[4] Dawkins' letters to Xan Fielding and to their mutual friend Patrick Leigh Fermor are housed in the Patrick Leigh Fermor Archive at the National Library of Scotland (Acc.13338). I am grateful to David McClay for his valuable help in locating this correspondence for me.

[5] Dawkins resigned from the British School with the intention of settling in Britain; but fate had other plans for him.

[6] J.L. Myers, "Prehistoric polychrome pottery from Kamárais in Crete", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, 15 (1893-5), pp. 351-6. Dawkins probably means that they brought the pottery to Iosif Hatzidakis, who gave it to the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion.

[7] Since that time Cappadocian Greek has been studied by a number of Greek scholars, and today it is being studied by Mark Janse of the University of Ghent, mostly on the basis of material collected and published by Dawkins.

and fellow archaeologist F.W. Hasluck as a cipher expert in the "Bureau of Information" (intelligence organization) attached to the British Legation in Athens.[8]

The War then brought him back to Crete in 1916 as a member of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. Towards the end of this three-year stay in Crete (1916-19), he began to plan a book about medieval and modern Crete. The material for this never-completed book is now at last, after a whole century, published on this website.

2. Dawkins' life till 1919[9]

Richard MacGillivray Dawkins was born in 1871. His father was an officer in the Royal Navy who ended his career as a rear-admiral. He was educated at Marlborough College, from where he moved on to study electrical engineering at King's College, London, but he dropped out after two years. In 1892 he found a job as a rather reluctant electrical engineer at Crompton and Co. in Colchester, but his parents died within a few months of each other in 1896-7, leaving him with a small legacy that enabled him to enter Emmanuel College, Cambridge to read for a second undergraduate degree in Classics. This, as I have said, was what first brought him to Crete.

Shortly after he left Crete for the last time in 1919, he was appointed to the Bywater and Sotheby Professorship of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford University, and soon afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at Exeter College. During his tenure, which lasted until 1939, he continued to travel abroad – though never to Crete – while dividing the rest of his time between Oxford and the house at Llanddulas in North Wales that he had inherited from an unmarried male cousin in 1907 and where he cultivated a garden containing a number of different plants that he had brought back from Greece. This arrangement (but minus the foreign travel) continued from 1939 until his death in 1955.

Dawkins' books began with the findings of his researches on Cappadocian Greek (*Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, 1916), continued with an edition of the fifteenth-century Cypriot chronicle by Machairas (1932) and an account of the lives and legends of the inhabitants of the Holy Mountain in *The Monks* of *Athos* (1936), and ended with no fewer than three volumes of Greek folk tales in the 1950s.

In his book *Mani*, Patrick Leigh Fermor, who had first met Dawkins in 1951, describes him as "the most knowledgeable and charming of neo-Hellenists whose rooms at Oxford, until his recent death, were an Aladdin's cave of books of Greek history, folklore, language, customs and fairy-tales".[10]

The fact that his father had been a naval officer was no doubt instrumental in Dawkins joining the RNVR in 1916.[11] It was while he was serving on the depot ship HMS Pelorus in Souda Bay, between Armistice Day and his demobilization in April 1919, that he typed up his notes for his Crete book. An interesting story attaches to the Pelorus. She was built as a cruiser in 1896, and Rudyard Kipling sailed in her during

[8] For more details about the activities of the "Bureau of Information" in 1916 see Compton Mackenzie, *Greek Memories* (London: Cassell, 1932 [but immediately banned]; republished London: Biteback, 2011).

[9] For more on his family background and life see my own publications in the bibliography. There is also a wealth of information in Michael Allan (ed.), *Byzantine talks: letters of Norman Douglas to Richard MacGillivray Dawkins and a single letter from Dawkins to Douglas* (Graz and Feldkirch: Neugebauer, 2012), pp. 6-66 and 112-116.

[10] Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Mani* (London: John Murray, 1958), p. 108.

[11] In a letter to Xan Fielding (16 November 1953) Dawkins uses the popular nickname of the RNVR, "wavy navy", a reference to the wavy sleeve "rings" on the uniform of RNVR officers.

summer manoeuvres in 1897. His story "Their lawful occasions" (first published in 1903, then collected in *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904)), in which a squadron gropes its way up the Channel in thick fog, was inspired by these experiences.

Dawkins was not at all religious himself, but like many people of a conservative nature he valued the structure and order that religion provided to people's lives. Thus his interest in churches and monasteries was not purely historical or aesthetic; it indicated his appreciation of the moral and spiritual significance of religion to the individual and to society as a whole, and its contribution to social cohesion.

Mark Mazower has written that, "as Richard Clogg and others have shown, archaeologists were always natural spies: their knowledge of the language and the terrain, their surveying skills and experience as travellers, made them valuable commodities in times of war".[12] The very purpose of Dawkins' stay in Crete from May 1916 to the end of the First World War as a member of the RNVR was to gather information for the British military authorities about the Cretans' attitudes towards the British and the Germans at a time when Greeks were bitterly divided by their sympathies for the two opposing sides: the king supported neutrality, while his opponents urged for Greece to enter the War on the side of the Entente allies (the British and the French) against the Germans. In particular, Dawkins was looking out for activities and expressions in support of the Germans, which in some cases included providing supplies to German submarines.

In his chronology of the journeys he made during the war he notes that on 11 May 1917: "Left Candia at night for Agios Nikolaos to see Venizelos", but characteristically, he says nothing more about this meeting with the Cretan leader of the pro-Entente Liberal Party that had set up an alternative Greek government in Salonica a few months earlier.

In his published work, Dawkins was reluctant to reveal his own feelings and experiences. In an article about British scholars' reactions to Greece since 1885, Robin Barber has pointed to the remarkable reticence shown by the scholars he mentions. "Books of reminiscence by scholars of their life in and impressions of Greece are rare. […] One searches […] through the Acknowledgements and Prefaces of learned volumes – often the most entertaining parts of the text – in the hope of finding some reference to the impact on the authors of the country and her people. But the pickings are meagre."[13] This statement applies to Dawkins as much as to any other British scholar of modern Greece. In an article about Dawkins I remarked that "He appears to have kept his private, scholarly, and social lives rigidly compartmentalized, and we find in his academic work little of the wit and the forthright opinions for which his conversation was famous" (ABSA 202).

At one point in one of his unpublished memoirs he reminisces, without explanation, that "living in secret was what I was accustomed to". Dawkins' need for absolute secrecy in his role as a spy must have reinforced the reticence he had already developed over the years for quite a different reason: as a homosexual he had had to train himself to be very careful when revealing his feelings. He was so secretive that not a single copy of any of his letters has survived in his archive. After Dawkins' death his brother John went through the archive and removed document that he

[12] Mark Mazower, "Archaeology, nationalism and the land in modern Greece", in Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (eds), *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (Athens 2008), p. 35.

[13] Robin Barber, "Sense and sentimentality: British scholars' reactions to Greece, 1885-1986", *Anglo-Hellenic Review*, no. 44 (Winter 2011), p. 4.

believed to be compromising. One day, however, browsing in his library, a letter fell out of a book. It proved to be from Sir Patrick Coghill, a soldier and Middle East expert and brother of the noted Chaucer and Shakespeare scholar Neville Coghill. I was delighted to find that Coghill signed off his letter: "Well, that's all for now, Dawk, you old Roustika Poustika." Roustika is the name of a village in Crete with a famous monastery that Dawkins loved, (see ch. 8) while *poustis* (from Persian via Turkish) is one of the Greek words for homosexual.

It is characteristic that the first person singular appears more in the earlier material that he collected in Crete than in later drafts of his book. He began writing his book on the basis of notes made at the time, which record his first impressions of places, but as he redrafted his material he attempted to make it sound more objective and informative. For this reason, in our book we have occasionally included some passages from earlier material in which Dawkins describes his own journeys rather than providing information on what the anonymous traveller might want to learn and expect to find.

That being said, Dawkins' emotional attachment to Greece is borne out by his Oxford successor and neighbour at Exeter College, John Mavrogordato, who records in his journal in April 1941 that Dawkins burst into his room in tears on hearing the news of the German invasion of Greece.

3. Dawkins & Crete

As I have said, most of the material for his planned Crete book was collected while he was serving in Crete during the First World War. During that time he was constantly criss-crossing the island on foot or on mule-back, or else cruising along the coast in a Greek trawler that doubled as a British spy vessel. In his log of the journeys that he made in Crete at that time, he refers to no fewer than 61 trips made on the trawler. As for his land journeys, it is amusing to imagine this ungainly figure traipsing over bare mountains in the August sun, dressed in a three-piece tweed suit supplied by his tailor in Northern Ireland.

Dawkins' companion "Yanni", who is mentioned in a number of chapters and who accompanied him on many of his expeditions before the First World War, was Yannis Katsarakis from Palaikastro, his "faithful servant and one-time foreman", who served the BSA on digs from the time of Palaikastro up to and including Plati in 1913.[14] Yannis was a fount of wisdom and knowledge concerning traditional lore, and in many places Dawkins records information provided to him by Yannis.

Dawkins was particularly drawn to the Venetian monuments of Crete. Dawkins' love of Venetian architecture was probably kindled by John Ruskin's work, and he experienced it at first hand during his trip to Venice with the eccentric writer Frederick Rolfe (aka "Baron Corvo") in August-September 1908.[15] In Crete the Venetians built little reminders of Venice so as to be surrounded by a familiar environment. Examples of these include the *loggia* in Candia (perhaps modelled on buildings such as Sansovino's Palazzo della Libreria in the Piazzetta next to St Mark's Square).[16] Dawkins delighted in these bits of Venice, such as a row of gothic windows which is still to be seen today in Hania.

[14] Allan (ed.), *Byzantine talks*, p. 48.
[15] For Dawkins' correspondence with Rolfe see Fr. Rolfe, Baron Corvo, *Letters to R.M. Dawkins*, ed. Cecil Woolf (London: Nicholas Vane, 1962).
[16] See also ch. 17.

He seems to have been especially attracted to monuments dating from the first centuries of the Venetian period and found that the excessive decoration of the later architecture was not to his taste.[17] Unlike a number of Greek writers on this subject, who tend to try to find evidence for the Byzantine origins of the various churches and monasteries, Dawkins was content to study the extant and visible buildings and their inscriptions rather than documents attesting to the antiquity of their original foundation.[18]

Like the Christian Cretans of his time, Dawkins habitually talks of the Muslim Cretans as "Turks", despite the fact that the vast majority of them were descended from Christians who had espoused Islam after the Ottoman conquest in the seventeenth century.

Concerning the Ottoman-Muslim presence in Crete, Dawkins had this to say in a letter to Leigh Fermor (10 February 1955):

> I do so wish now that I had used my earlier days in Crete – 1903 and so on – to collect an account of Turkish life in Crete; all now lost. The Christians and Turks were good friends and each religion kept the one going by a sort of pride; it was only in the innermost recesses of a Turkish bath at Candia that I found the Turkish attendant having a nice little meal in Ramadan; he thought he was safe in the dressing room I usually used there, his shamefaced apology was rather funny. And the clock [= tower?] over the mosque that had been the Venetian church of St Mark's with the clock keeping the time alla Turca; or had [the] two times together.

In a letter to Fielding (19 January 1952) Dawkins writes that when he first came to Candia there were four Turkish baths in use:

> in 1902 of course the place was full of Turks and they [the baths] looked fine; I knew well an old dervish, a howler, who got his living by calligraphy, and his nephew, an elegant dancing dervish who was I think by trade a photographer; of course like all Cretan Turks they talked Greek. My Turkish hardly runs to conversations.

(A howling dervish is one who induces a trance through shouting or chanting as opposed to dancing or whirling.)

In his Introduction to his Cretan book Dawkins laments the destruction of fountains in the towns, which he attributes to the departure of the Muslims. When the Ottomans arrived, they sometimes built roofed structures over existing fountains so that they would be more suitable for Muslims to carry out their prescribed ablutions. This was the case with the famous Lions Fountain in Herakleion, built in 1627 by Francesco Morosini (1560-1641), the Proveditor (civil governor) of Crete. When Crete became independent of the Ottoman Empire in 1898, the new Cretan state, as part of its attempt at de-Ottomanization, began demolishing the structures that the Muslims had erected on and around the old fountains. The Ottoman superstructure

[17] "[…] my approach to baroque art was barred long ago by the stern warning: *No thoroughfare this way: by Order, John Ruskin*" (Richard MacGillivray [Dawkins], *Norman Douglas* (Florence: G. Orioli, 1933), p. 128.

[18] Dawkins was never a true Byzantinist. For his contribution to Byzantine studies see Peter Mackridge, "R.M. Dawkins and Byzantium", in Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (Variorum, Aldershot 2000), pp. 185-95.

was removed from the Lions Fountain while Gerola was in Crete.[19] When the Muslim population of Crete was forced to leave in 1923, it may have been felt that there was no more need for public fountains, especially since the installation of mains water supply to people's houses obviated the need to go to the nearest fountain to collect water. This seems to be the reason for the removal of the fountain in the main square of Neapoli, which Dawkins describes in ch. 25 but was removed comparatively recently to make way for a Second World War memorial.

At the time when Dawkins was in Crete, the available maps were few and far between, and none of them was very detailed. The Taylor Institution Library at Oxford has a German map that was in Dawkins' possession (though it bears the stamp of the British School at Athens). This is Heinrich Kiepert's 1:300,000 *Spezialkarte von Creta nach britischen Marine-Aufnahmen und Routen englischer, französischer und deutscher Reisenden kombiniert* (Berlin 1897). Dawkins may well have carried it with him while in Crete. Despite its title, there is no explicit reference on the map itself to the routes of European travellers, though the black lines that mark routes between settlements presumably refer to these. By contrast, the modern Anavasi atlas is on a scale of 1:50,000 – six times as large as Kiepert's map.

4. Crete: historical background

> It was during the debate on the Foreign Office vote that Stringham made his great remark that "The people of Crete unfortunately make more history than they can consume locally."
>
> (Saki, "The Jesting of Arlington Stringham" in *The Chronicles of Clovis* (London & New York 1912), p. 91)

Crete became part of the Roman empire from in 69 BC. It was during the period of Roman rule that Christianity came to the island. St Paul, who had already sailed along the south coast Crete while being taken to Rome as a prisoner and even briefly landed there,[20] is said to have later appointed Titus as the first bishop of Crete about 57 AD. After the empire split in two in 334 AD, Crete remained in the Eastern Roman Empire (nowadays usually known as the Byzantine Empire) until the Fourth Crusade of 1204, apart from an important interval when it was occupied by Arabs between 824 and 961 AD.

During and after the Fourth Crusade Crete was disputed between Venice and Genoa until Venice finally prevailed. Crete was under Venetian rule from 1211 until the Cretan War of 1645-69, during the course of which the Ottomans gradually captured the whole of the main island of Crete, leaving only the islets of Gramvousa, Souda and Spinalonga temporarily in Venetian hands. Spinalonga was captured by the Ottomans as late as 1718, just over 500 years since the Venetian takeover of Crete.

The Venetians abolished the Orthodox bishoprics of Crete and imposed Catholic bishops in their stead. This caused a great deal of resentment. The early centuries of the Venetian period were marked by multiple insurrections, many of them led by Orthodox Christian Cretan nobles who felt that their supposed privileges were being undermined. However, as Venetian rule continued, aspects of local culture,

[19] In a letter of September 1900, Gerola writes that the fountain had recently been "liberated" from its superstructure (Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 69). Behaeddin's photo of the superstructure concealing the fountain is reproduced ibid., p. 65.

[20] See the *Acts of the Apostles*, book 7.

such as dress, cuisine, architecture, literature and painting came to be deeply influenced by their Venetian (and Italian and generally western European) equivalents. Indeed, a kind of hybrid Veneto-Cretan culture gradually developed on the island. The majority of the Italian settler families in Crete eventually became native speakers of Greek and converted to Orthodox Christianity, though those who remained Catholics (who also spoke Greek) mostly lived side-by-side with the Orthodox in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect.[21]

In the early fourteenth century the Venetians divided the island into four large "territories" (*territori*): Canea, Retimo, Candia and Sitia. Approximately the same division has lasted until today; Crete is divided into four prefectures Hania, Rethymno, Herakleion and Lasithi (corresponding to the old *territorio* of Siteia). These *territori* came to be subdivided into twenty sub-provinces; this subdivision lasted until as late as 1997. The Venetians used Greek-derived names for most of these provinces, but three of them were named after castles built by the Genoese pirate Enrico Pescatore immediately before the Venetian takeover of the island; until 1997 these three provinces (επαρχίες) preserved the names that Pescatore had originally given to the castles: Μαλεβίζι (Malvesin), Μονοφάτσι (Bonifacio), Μιραμπέλλο (Mirabello), while the Greek name of one province (Καινούργιο in Greek, meaning 'New') was a translation of the name of another of Pescatore's castle: Nuovo or Castelnuovo ('Newcastle'). These were probably the only official names of provinces used in Greece in the twentieth century that were not of native Greek origin.

The Ottomans captured Hania and Rethymno early in their campaign to capture Crete (1645-6). The whole of Crete had been conquered by the Ottomans by the autumn of 1647, except the city of Candia and the islands named in the first paragraph of this section. It has been said that "Crete was the main territory won for the Ottoman Empire long after the golden age of expansion had come to a halt".[22]

The Ottoman siege of Candia, which lasted from 1648 to 1669, is probably the longest siege of a city in recorded human history. After this turbulent period, Crete settled down to a more or less peaceful existence, until the uprisings of the nineteenth century that eventually led to the end of Ottoman rule. The Ottomans restored the Orthodox bishops to the island, while the Catholic inhabitants had to choose between emigration and conversion to either Orthodox Christianity or Islam. Although the Ottomans restored the status of the Orthodox Church, many Orthodox Cretans converted to Islam because Muslims enjoyed certain privileges that were denied to non-Muslims. Some of the Catholic families that converted to Islam preserved their Italian surnames, but with the addition of the characteristically Cretan suffix -akis.

Christian Cretans carried out a number of major revolts against Ottoman rule, in particular the revolt led by Daskaloyannis in Sphakia in 1770, the insurrection of 1821-1824 (beginning in Sphakia) during the Greek War of Independence, the revolution of 1866-1869, and the final revolt of 1896-1897, which eventually led to the end of direct Ottoman rule.

When Dawkins was in Crete, the physical damage wrought during the most recent uprising was clearly evident in the form of ruined Christian monuments and deserted Muslim villages. To put the Crete that Dawkins knew into perspective, I

[21] For further details see Holton (ed.), *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete* and Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean colonies*.

[22] Simon Price et al., "Sphakia in Ottoman census records: a *vakıf* and its agricultural production", in Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete, 1645-1840* (Rethymno 2008), pp. 74-5.

should point out that less than five years before Dawkins first arrived on the island, a huge massacre of Christians had taken place. This last uprising of Cretan Christians against the Ottoman authorities was sparked off when a Muslim mob ransacked the Christian quarter of Hania in May 1896. This led to reprisal raids by Christians against Muslims and vice versa, as a result of which large numbers of Muslims left the rural areas and sought refuge in the coastal towns.[23] In January 1897 many Christians in Hania were slaughtered and large portions of the Christian quarter of the town were destroyed by fire. On 25 August/6 September 1898, eight hundred Christians were massacred in Candia, out of the town's total Christian population of one thousand. A Muslim mob stormed the home of the British vice-consul in Candia, Lysimachos Kalokairinos, murdering him and either murdering or abducting his daughter Paraskevi (Skevo), together with her young child, and burning down the building.[24] The victims also included a small number of British soldiers and sailors, whose deaths were described by the British consul Alfred Biliotti as "the real cause of the ending of Turkish rule in the island".[25] Turkish rule over Crete effectively ended in November 1898, when British troops forcibly embarked the last remaining Ottoman soldiers.[26] Dawkins mentions massacres of Christians in passing in chapters 16 and 20, while in chapters 29 and 30 he refers to massacres of Muslims, which took place around the same time.

By this time, Crete had been placed under the control of peacekeepers from the four Great Powers. For this purpose the island was divided into sectors. The province of Canea (Hania) was occupied by the Italians (though the capital city of Canea itself was placed under the control of all four powers), Candia province by the British, Rethymno province by the Russians, and Siteia province by the French.[27] In December 1898 this joint occupation was succeeded by the establishment of an autonomous Cretan State under the suzerainty of the Sultan but under the protection of the Great Powers, with Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner. Officially, the Cretan State lasted until the island was incorporated into the Greek state in 1913, but during the Theriso revolt in 1908 Cretan Christians declared *de facto* Union with Greece before the island's incorporation into the Greek state was internationally recognized as a result of Greece's successes in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

Dawkins spent his time in Crete both during the period of the island's autonomy and after its incorporation into the Greek state. An indication of the difficult and unpredictable conditions in which Dawkins worked when he was outside Crete and in Ottoman territory is given in the following note that he wrote in his copy of Jeannaraki's 1876 collection of Cretan folk songs:

[23] Holland and Markides 2006: 87.

[24] The Vice-Consul was the elder brother of Minos Kalokairinos, the first excavator of the Minoan palace of Knossos in 1878-9. The residence built by the Kalokairinos family on the ruins of the one destroyed in 1898 now houses the Historical Museum. There is a legend that Paraskevi was not killed but abducted by an Albanian Muslim, who took her to Albania and married her, and that she was briefly discovered there by a Greek soldier who was passing through during the Balkans Wars of 1912-13.

[25] According to Wikipedia "Ottoman Crete", it was the appointment of Stylianos M. Alexiou as the first Christian director of the revenue service that provoked some Muslims to attack the new clerks and the British Royal Navy detachment escorting them on 25 August 1898.

[26] Holland and Markides 2006: 101, 81.

[27] Ibid., 2006: 93. The capital of Crete was transferred from Candia to Hania by the Ottoman authorities in 1851. Hania remained the capital until 1971, when that title was returned to Herakleion.

> The first copy of this book I had was seized at the customs of Smyrna in the summer of 1903 after my visit to Karpathos and destroyed by the Turks as seditious. With it they destroyed a copy of Passow [a collection of Greek folk songs published in 1860], and three copies of Δωρικόν ψήφισμα Καρπάθου, a rare pamphlet.[28]

During the First World War and beginning in 1915, a political schism occurred in Greece between Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos and King Constantine – and their respective supporters among the Greek public – over whether Greece should enter the First World War on the side of the Entente (Britain, France and their allies) or whether it should remain neutral. This schism reflected the division of Europe as a whole between the Entente and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria and their allies). Each of the two Greek factions rightly believed that the outcome of the war would have a decisive impact on the future of Greece, and neither faction wanted their country to support the losing side; but they were divided between contradictory forecasts of which side would be victorious.

As the war went on, anti-Venizelists gradually became more pro-German. The German government, through its embassy in Athens, funded a propaganda mechanism that aimed to influence Greek public opinion. The methods employed included the payment of substantial sums to Greek newspapers to act as mouthpieces for German propaganda. Intelligence gleaned by pro-monarchist espionage was also relayed to the German authorities. Against this background, the competition between the Entente and Germany to attract Greek public opinion to their side was intense, especially during 1915-16 when part of Greece (the province of Macedonia with its chief city of Salonica) was occupied by Entente troops while that country was still nominally neutral.

In the autumn of 1916 a provisional Greek government (known as the Government of National Defence) was set up in Salonica by Venizelists, while the monarchist government still held sway in Athens. The Salonica government declared war on the Central Powers in November 1916. From mid-1916 to mid-1917, when the king was deposed, the monarchist government persecuted thousands of its political opponents, sending some of them to prison and others into internal exile, while sacking civil servants, military officers and policemen. Between 1917 and 1920, in retaliation, the Venizelist government that established itself in Athens adopted tit-for-tat tactics against their own opponents.[29] Against this background, it is not surprising that Britain was deploying intelligence-gathering agents such as Dawkins in Greece.

Although we have been unable to locate Dawkins' intelligence reports from Crete to London, we can surmise that he was chiefly engaged in gathering information on enemy spies and on persons supplying German submarines with benzine and food, as well as in monitoring the positive or negative attitudes of Cretan public opinion towards Britain's war effort. During the first months of his service in Crete (May-November 1916), Greece maintained its neutrality, but from then onwards the country

[28] Dawkins is referring to a pamphlet about an ancient inscription from the island of Karpathos: C. Wescher & E. Μανωλακάκης, *Δωρικόν ψήφισμα Καρπάθου* (Athens 1878).

[29] The information in the above two paragraphs is partly based on three chapters in the volume *1915-2015: 100 χρόνια από τον Εθνικό Διχασμό* (Argos 2018): Str. Dordanas, "«Αυτός ο προδότης δεν έπρεπε να επιζήσει από την απόπειρα της 21ης Ιουνίου»: αντιβενιζελισμός & γερμανική προπαγάνδα στην Ελλάδα του Εθνικού Διχασμού", pp. 46-54 (esp. 49-51), E. Hatzivassileiou, «Εθνικός Διχασμός και διεθνές περιβάλλον», pp. 131-138 (esp. 137), Liana Louvi, «Όψεις της Ευρώπης στον ελληνικό Διχασμό», pp. 139-149 (esp. 141).

was split between two governments, the one in Salonica fighting the Central Powers alongside Britain and France and the other in Athens remaining neutral. There was a gap in Dawkins' service in Crete from late November 1916 to early March 1917. During this period he worked on the island of Syra (Syros) as chief of a unit censoring telegrams.[30] Dawkins' posting to Syra was a consequence of momentous events that had just happened in Athens. On 18 November, according to the Julian calendar then operating in Greece (1 December according to the western Gregorian calendar) Anglo-French troops came to Athens with the intention of occupying the city. They were met by gunfire from Royalist troops and reservists, which killed many of the French troops. Royalists then embarked on a pogrom against Venizelist civilians, who were dragged from their homes, beaten (and in some cases killed or maimed) and imprisoned. Three days later the British Military Control Office and the Intelligence Bureau left Athens and set up their headquarters on Syra. It must have been a few days after this that Dawkins was transferred there (I am assuming that Dawkins' reference to late November is in accordance with the Julian calendar). Syra was the most suitable place for censoring telegrams sent to, from and within Greece because it was the base of the British-owned Eastern Telegraph Company. By that time, like almost all of the rest of the Cyclades islands, Syra had declared allegiance to the Provisional Government of National Defence in Salonica.[31]

At the end of 1916 there was a very real prospect of the Entente going to war against the king's government in Athens. From June 1917 onwards, however, when Venizelos became prime minister of the whole of Greece, the November 1916 declaration of war against the Central Powers was fully ratified. I don't know what effect the change of Greek government had on Dawkins' activities in Crete itself, except that his monitoring of local newspapers would probably have become redundant as a result of Greek censorship once Greece had joined the Entente allies in June 1917.

Ever since the foundation of the Greek state, Britain was one of the "protecting powers" of the Kingdom of Greece, together with France and Russia. Britain kept an eye on Crete as a possible base for its navy. As Robert Holland writes, "Malta apart, potentially the most valuable Mediterranean possession for Britain (Crete and Suda Bay) was one they never actually acquired, though they were often suspected of the ambition, and English influence was always a feature of Cretan politics from the 1840s onwards."[32]

Oddly, however, the period during which Dawkins did most of his travelling in Crete – the First World War – was a comparative peaceful period in local history, coming after the uprising and intercommunal massacres of 1896-8 and the Theriso revolt of 1908, and before the compulsory exchange of religious minorities between Greece and Turkey in 1923. During the War there was no armed conflict and no forced migration that directly impinged on Crete.

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[30] These dates are taken from Dawkins' "Journeys during the War", while the reference to his duties is based on Mackenzie, *Greek memories*, p. 417. The same author implies (*Aegean Memories* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1940), p. 100-1) that Dawkins was the only member of this censorship unit who knew Greek.

[31] Mackenzie, *Aegean memories*, p. 1.

[32] Robert Holland, "*Via* or *Vita*? British experience in the modern Mediterranean", in Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (eds), *The Ionian Islands: aspects of their history and culture* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), p. 69.

The Cretan state began to bring modernity to the island. As Dawkins saw it, modernity for Crete meant fewer "Turks" and more roads ("The Turks went and roads came": ch. 1). Michael Llewellyn Smith writes that "in 1897 there was only one proper carriage road, from Suda to Canea, five miles long".[33] Dawkins witnessed much road-building in Crete. He and a colleague write in 1913 that "the carriage road from Candia to the Messará [plain] has been opened as far as Hagia Varvára, which lies high up on the central watershed of the comparatively open part of Crete between Ida and Dikte. […] Beyond Hagia Varvára [i.e. to the south] there is nothing but the old mule track, which runs along a valley to the south of Ida and reaches Kamares by way of Panasós, Gérgeri, Nívrito, Zaró and Vouroúsi." The same authors add a detail that tells us much about the state of Crete in their time: "The village of Kamares, […] having always been Christian, has none of the ruined or deserted Turkish houses which now give so sad an appearance to many of the villages of the plains".[34] Elsewhere Dawkins mentions that the first wheeled vehicles that the people of eastern Crete had ever seen were the wheelbarrows that were brought there by the British archaeologists.

By the time Dawkins first went there, the demographic situation of Crete, in terms of the proportion of Christians and Muslims, had radically swung in favour of the Christian element.

Pashley estimated that in 1834 the total population of the island was 129,000, of whom 83,000 (64.4%) were Christians and 46,000 (35.6%) Muslims; this figure, however, does not account for the Jewish population. He estimated that the rural population was 108,000, consisting of 81,000 (75%) Christians and 27,000 (25%) Muslims, although these percentages seem to be suspiciously neat. His estimates of the population in the three largest towns are indicative of the fact that urban Cretans were overwhelmingly Muslim:

- Megalo-Kastron (Candia): 12,000, of whom 11,000 Muslims (91.7%) and 1000 (8.3%) Christians;
- Hania: 5,800, of whom 5,000 (86%) are Muslims and 800 (14%) are Christians and Jews;
- Rethymno: 3,200, of whom c. 2,800 (87.5%) are Muslims and c. 400 (12.5%) are Christians.

Pashley reckoned that in 1821 the total population of the island had been twice as large as in 1834, i.e. at least 260,000 to 270,000; he also reckoned that the total population at the beginning of the Venetian period had been about twice as much again, i.e. about 500,000 or 600,000. The huge decline in the population is accounted for by massacre, emigration and famine, with particularly steep declines during the revolts that marked the first 150 years of the Venetian period and the revolt against Ottoman rule in the 1820s. If it is the case, as Pashley claimed, that the 1821 population was divided equally between Christians and Muslims, we can see that a much larger number of Muslims than Christians either lost their lives or left the island during the 1820s.[35]

The continuing diminution of the Muslim population is shown in the first official census to have taken place in Crete, in 1881. According to these figures, the

[33] Lewellyn Smith, *The Great Island*, p. 97.
[34] R. M. Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner, "The Excavation of the Kamares cave in Crete", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 19 (1912/13), pp. 4-6.
[35] All the above figures are based on Pashley II 325-326.

total population had grown considerably to 279,165 but only 26.2% of these were Muslims.[36]

The population of the island in 2011 was 623,065; this is similar to the figure of 500-600,000 that Pashley estimated as the population of Crete on the eve of the Venetian takeover in the early thirteenth century.

Cretan history since the early nineteenth century has featured a series of massive bouts of violence separated by peaceful intervals during which the survivors have rebuilt their homes, their places of worship and their lives. The most recent such outburst of violence was during the Axis occupation, which lasted from May 1941 to May 1945.

The Axis occupation is just one of the momentous events and situations that have radically changed Crete since Dawkins' time, in terms of the visual appearance of the towns, the countryside and the people themselves, and in terms of their culture and way of life. Most of the island was occupied by the Germans, but the Italians occupied the less mountainous eastern Crete (Lasithi and Siteia) till Italy capitulated in September 1943. The Occupation was preceded by the Battle of Crete in May 1941, which involved the bombing of towns. Parts of the historic centres of Hania and Herakleion were flattened by German bombs in May 1941; Hania was bombed for seven days, from 20 to 26 May, and Herakleion was intensively bombed on 25 May. Axis forces in 1943 numbered 75,000, as against a Cretan population of 400,000.[37] Acts of resistance by Cretans and their allies (including the abduction of General Kreipe by Patrick Leigh Fermor and his associates) brought about reprisals involving not only mass slaughter of civilians but also the destruction of whole villages (including historic monuments). However, a lot of such destruction was carried out – without any strategic or punitive motive – by German troops as they retreated from the island. The destruction of villages was followed after the War by rebuilding without respect for traditional architecture.

Other major changes that have happened to Crete and its people during the last 100 years include the following:

Internal migration

"Though there is cultivable land by the sea in Sphakia, the coast was conspicuously lacking in settlement through the 1000 years from the late Roman period/first Byzantine period up to the age of tourism. Settlements are sometimes located 1 km or so inland, but are not directly visible from the sea; examples are the deserted Trypiti village at Peradoro, and Agia Roumeli (the old village).[38] Avoidance of coastal locations is usually attributed to insecurity; as late as 1867 eastern Sphakiotes did not live on the Frangokastello plain because they feared raids from the sea."[39]

Before and during Dawkins' time, long stretches of the coast, especially in the south, were uninhabited. Outside the towns, most people used to live in inland villages; in the case of shepherding communities, they would have two abodes, one in a low-lying village for the winter, the other in a village on higher ground for the summer, while the menfolk would spend the summer even higher up in huts on the mountain pastures (*madares*). The Cretans were not traditionally a seafaring people, and in any case, until the nineteenth century the coastal areas of Greece were

[36] Holland & Markides 2006: 82.
[37] Anthony Beevor, *Crete: the battle and the resistance* (London: John Murray, 1991), p. 239.
[38] By Samaria the authors mean the village of that name inside the Samaria gorge.
[39] Nixon et al., available at http://sphakia.classics.ox.ac.uk/emccv1989.html#m20.

dangerous because they were periodically raided by pirates, who would not only steal goods but also capture local people whom they would sell as slaves.

Mass tourism

Today it is precisely the coastal strips that attract the highest density of foreign visitors, so that the beaches, which were formerly deserted and distant from human habitation, are now lined with hotels, bars, cafés, tavernas and souvenir shops (with a few exceptions such as the bay of Itanos in eastern Crete). Yet the tradition of seasonal migration still exists, in so far as many Cretans who run tourist facilities in modern settlements on the coast spend the winter in their homes in older villages in the hinterland. At the same time, there has been huge migration from villages to towns.

"Hersonissos and Malia were the 'hottest' place to be in Crete during the '80s. Tourist packages promised wild nights and non-stop partying until morning, making these two tourist villages the ultimate summer destination for careless [sic] holidays – mainly for foreigners. North-western ladies were falling under the 'spell' of 'greek kamaki' (which basically means 'chick fishing', with a harpoon to be precise, referring the unique Greek flirting style!), money and alcohol was plentiful and everybody was happy!". This was the "myth" according to one website, whereas the "reality" was "Stories of crazy tourists doing unspeakable things on the streets of Malia and Hersonissos are often on the Greek news! And it wouldn't be an exaggeration to claim that it is a bit dangerous to walk around in Malia during summer, since half-naked and often drunk tourists drive around like crazy with ATVs [quad bikes]!"[40]

Related to both migration and tourism are other phenomena, such as the purchase or building of primary or secondary residences by non-Greeks and the construction of airports, major roads and hundreds of tracks that scar the hillsides. These tracks are often clumsily bulldozed and inadequately drained, so that the first torrential downpour of rain gouges deep gullies in the surface which render the track impassable. The road building, in particular, has resulted in the partial or total obliteration of most of the old mule-tracks, which were among the most important monuments of Crete, bearing witness to a continuity of culture spanning several millennia, the interstices between their stones also providing a habitat for countless plants and insects.

Films and celebrities

The tourist development of Crete has been boosted by cinema and television and by associated visits by stars and celebrities.

The online International Movie Database lists 80 titles of films and TV series that have been shot on location in Crete. Early examples of these include two 1957 films: *Ill Met by Moonlight*, based on the abduction of General Kreipe, and Jules Dassin's 1957 film *Celui qui doit mourir*, based on the novel *Christ Recrucified* by Cretan Nikos Kazantzakis, filmed at Elounda and starring Melina Mercouri. At least two international films were shot in Crete in 1964: *Zorba the Greek*, also based on a Kazantzakis novel and starring Anthony Quinn and Alan Bates; and *The Moon-Spinners* starring Haley Mills, which was also shot in Elounda (including picturesque

[40] http://cretazine.com/en/crete/travel-explore/crete-360/item/52-myth-realities, quoted verbatim.

nearby windmills) as well as at Agios Nikolaos and Kritsa. The whole cast of this film, plus Walt Disney himself, stayed at the newly built Minos Beach Hotel at Elounda. Later Agios Nikolaos was used as a location for the BBC television serial *The Lotus Eaters* (1972-3), and Elounda was used as a location for another BBC serial, *Who Pays the Ferryman?* (1977). These serials, in particular, encouraged British people not only to visit Crete but to buy first or second homes there. More recently, a Greek television serial – the most expensive that country has ever produced – was based on Victoria Hislop's novel *The Island* (Greek title: *To nisi*, 2010-11), and Jackie and I were amused (and faintly appalled) to see that a row of "old" buildings that had been constructed at Plaka near Elounda (opposite the islet of Spinalonga) to lend greater "authenticity" to the film set were still standing (and are presumably destined to remain there indefinitely), one of them even sporting a faux-19th-century inscription.

Elounda, in particular, caught the imagination of film makers, film stars and movie-goers. Hollywood stars were regularly to be spotted at Elounda's luxury hotels. "Elounda, which locals call the St Tropez of Crete, was a poor fishing village in the 1960s. 'But in the late 1960s Minos Palace was created,' explains [Hotel Manager] Harry [Maranghides]. 'Then Mr Kokotos designed Minos Beach – completed in 1971. […] Minos Beach was the most luxurious Hotel in Greece,' continues Harry. It created a demand for luxury on the east coast just north of Agios Nikolaos. With demand on the rise for super luxurious hotels on this coast, next project for Mr & Mrs Kokotos was Elounda Bay completed 1977, sold a year later.'"[41]

According to the "Cretan myths and realities" website, the myth was that Elounda was "A favorite destination for the international jet set, including Hollywood stars, super rich Saudi princes and so on!" Looking for the perfect place to get married, Jennifer Anniston is said to have considered "the Elounda Beach Hotel in Crete which offers packages for weddings in Greece from $2,300". Meanwhile Elounda Peninsula All Suite Hotel reportedly includes "Crete's only resort golf course".

I leave it to the reader to imagine the cultural and environmental impact of all this development. Some innovations can be reversed, however. Back in the 1960s and 1970s, the Roman-era tombs carved into the cliff at Matala were a favourite haunt for hippies, but also of celebrities including Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin and Cat Stevens. Now, however, the cliff area is fenced off as an archaeological site, and entrance to them is controlled by guards who close the area off at night.

5. Dawkins' proposed book

The geographical layout of thirty-one chapters in Dawkins' book is from west to east. In this he seems to follow Gerola. Nevertheless, as he says in his Introduction, before his travels in the First World War Dawkins knew eastern Crete better than the western part, since he was digging at Palaikastro and Plati: "Before this I knew Siteia region well and a lot of Lasithi and Mesara and all the land [?way] east from Candia; also Canea to Candia" he writes in his log of "Journeys during the War".

Dawkins neither intended, nor had the opportunity, to carry out a systematic survey of Crete. Instead, he recorded what he discovered on his way while carrying out various missions, whether these were related to archaeology or espionage. In ch.

[41] http://orbitwithgillian.com/?tag=crete.

26 he writes: "But of these delectable rides I have very few notes. I can do no more than set down the series of villages as I have from time to time passed by. And as it has always been with the intention of wasting no time, each of the routes has for one reason or other commended itself." This passage is unusual for two reasons. First, it is one of the few places where he refers to his means of transport: "rides" implies on horseback or muleback. Second, he explicitly refers to the fact that on most of his journeys he was in a hurry to get his job done – though he never reveals what that job consisted of. As for riding in a carriage, he only explicitly mentions this in ch. 2, where he refers to taking a *sousta* (trap or gig) from Skines to Hania. In view of the age-old modes of transport that Dawkins normally uses, it strikes us as almost an anachronism when on two occasions in his list of "Journeys during the War" (appended to this Preface) he tells us that he travelled on a bus: "July 27th [1916]. Candia by bus to Peza and Arkalohori"; "September 16th [1916]. Agios Nikolaos by bus to Neapolis".

In ch. 24 Dawkins writes: "Archaeology lies outside the plan of this book." Nevertheless, he seems to have devoted an inordinate amount of time and space to recording inscriptions (this was in fact one of the chief tasks assigned to him during his first excavations) – especially when they had already been recorded by Stefanos Xanthoudidis and Giuseppe Gerola.

Dawkins' interest in the Venetian monuments of Crete was no doubt influenced by Gerola, whose monumental work *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta* was published in four volumes (each 35 cm tall and totalling more than 2000 pages) from 1905 to 1932/40, although he never visited Crete after 1914. During his mission in Crete in 1900-1902, Gerola took 1642 photographs, most of which are included in his volumes, although the complete collection of photos was not published till much later, by Curuni and Donati in their book *Creta Veneziana*.

In 1900, at the age of twenty-four, Gerola was sent to Crete by the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti to carry out a systematic study of the considerable Venetian remains on the island: fortifications, aqueducts, castles, churches, monasteries, and various other public and private buildings, many of which remained in use in his time, and in many cases have continued to be used up to the present day. The Venetian Institute was aware that the end of Ottoman rule in Crete and the foundation of an autonomous Cretan state had two important consequences for the Venetian monuments: (a) the end of inter-communal violence and the greater ease of communication with local officials on the island meant that it had become both safer and easier for foreign archaeologists and other scholars to work there,[42] and (b) the new Cretan state began to subject the towns to a process of modernization and expansion, which entailed a certain amount of de-Venetianization and de-Ottomanization: buildings that were felt to symbolize foreign domination – or were simply obstacles in the way of new town plans – were becoming targets for demolition. But the destruction had begun even before this: Gerola bewails "the demolition mania" of the Russians occupying Rethymno immediately before the foundation of the Cretan state in 1898, who spared little of the town's walls.[43]

[42] Nevertheless, well before this, the Italian archaeologist Federico Halbherr had been excavating Phaistos, Agia Triada and Gortyn, and he was able to facilitate Gerola's mission.

[43] Gerola's letter of October-November 1900 is printed in Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 75. He also notes the historical importance of the city walls of Candia (Herakleion), which had remained in perfect condition, unlike the walls of many cities in Italy, which had been demolished for the sake of expansion (ibid., 87). Now, he continues, the Cretan government wishes to do the same thing. He

Gerola disembarked at Candia for the first time in January 1900. He soon decided that it would be artificial to confine his work to the study of the Venetian monuments of the island and that it was necessary and desirable to study also the churches built by the Orthodox Christians during the Venetian period, which tended to be influenced by the architectural styles of the Venetians. Gerola remained in Crete for a total of 26 months before completing his mission in July 1902.

Gerola was tremendously proud of "the glorious days when Candia was the splendid capital of one of the Serenissima's most prized possessions".[44] Of Gerola Dawkins remarked to Leigh Fermor: "Crete he regards of course as an Italian island to which a few Greeks have somehow strayed but on the architectural side he is good" (17 January 1952). Indeed, Gerola's mission took place at a time when Italy was planning to gain control of various areas in and around the Mediterranean, which it increasingly saw as an Italian lake. These plans bore fruit with the Italian takeover of Libya and the Dodecanese from the Ottoman Empire in 1911-12 – before Gerola left Crete for the last time in 1914.

Gerola's systematic and thorough coverage of the topic no doubt made Dawkins feel more than a little diffident about the contribution that he might be able to make to the study of these monuments. Like Gerola, Dawkins worked with the first two government-appointed ephors (superintendents) of archaeology in Crete, Iosif Hatzidakis (1848-1936) and Stefanos Xanthoudidis (1864-1928), who together founded the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion, which moved into a purpose-built building in 1908. Xanthoudidis was ephor of archaeology of Crete from 1900 to 1915 and subsequently director of the Museum.[45]

While he was preparing his Cretan material, Dawkins did not have the advantage of seeing the fourth and final volume of Gerola's *magnum opus*, which was published after Dawkins last left Crete in 1919. The section on Greek inscriptions in that volume (pp. 390 ff.) was prepared in collaboration with Xanthoudidis, who had begun this enterprise in 1898, before Gerola's arrival on the island, and published a large collection of them in 1903, followed by a volume of them in 1909. The manuscript of this section of Gerola's fourth volume had just been completed when Xanthoudidis died suddenly in 1928 without seeing it published. Part of his volume IV was printed after the outbreak of the Second World War, and in a note added at the end of that final volume Gerola remarks presciently that that he is aware his work will sometimes be "the last surviving evidence of these perished monuments" (IV 599). Many of the grand Venetian buildings of Hania were indeed destroyed in the German bombardment of May 1941.

But enemy bombardment was not the only cause behind the destruction of historic buildings in Crete. In ch. 29 Dawkins remarks ruefully: "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".

Among the other writers who preceded Dawkins in his Cretan explorations, and whose work he consulted, were Pashley, Spratt and Tozer. The two-volume work

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persuaded the Venetian Institute to protest to the Cretan government about these plans (ibid., 91). In fact, the Venetian walls of Herakleio have for the most part been allowed to remain to this day.

[44] Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 76.

[45] The present museum, built in 1935 on the same site, stands on the corner of two streets named after these Cretan archaeologists.

Travels in Crete (1837) written by the Cambridge Classicist Robert Pashley (1805-59) on the basis of his explorations from February to September 1834, present a detailed and accurate picture of Crete in the period immediately after the Greek War of Independence, at a time when Crete (which had failed to be united with the newly independent Greek state) was governed by an Egyptian administration that restored order to the island (1830-41).[46] Pashley was accompanied in his travels by Antonio Schranz (1801-65), one of three artist brothers, whose fine engravings illustrate his book.

In 1834 Pashley passed by a great many ruined and deserted villages and felled olive groves, the physical results of the destructive violence with which the uprising that began in 1821 was fought and was crushed over a period of ten years. He writes that almost all the villages in Crete "may be said to be in ruins"; he also mentions innocent civilians being massacred: he refers to "the almost total extermination of the male inhabitants in some parts of Crete", either killed or driven into exile or captured as slaves (II 121).

Captain Thomas Spratt, R.N. (1811-88) was a geologist and surveyor. His *Travels and researches in Crete* (1865), based on the survey of the island which he carried out from 1851 onwards, contains accurate descriptions of the physical geography, geology, archaeology and natural history of the island. Apart from his book, he produced the first proper nautical charts for Crete. His researches were presumably intended to provide the British government with information that would be useful if it decided to set up military bases on the island.

In a sense, Pashley, Spratt and Gerola had already done most of the exploring and describing before Dawkins, so he must sometimes have felt that there wasn't very much left to describe. However, Dawkins didn't have the works of these men with him while travelling, which explains why he sometimes either duplicates information they provide or contradicts it.

The Revd Henry Fanshawe Tozer (1829-1916) was a Fellow of Exeter College (like Dawkins after his appointment at Oxford but before Dawkins' time) and (also like Dawkins) a skilled botanist and folklorist. He was a pioneer of the establishment of geography as a subject taught at British universities. Among Tozer's works that might have interested Dawkins are *Researches in the highlands of Turkey* (1869), *Turkish Armenia and eastern Asia Minor* (1881), *The Greek-speaking population of southern Italy* (1889), and *The islands of the Aegean* (1890, reprinted 2012). This last work, based on Tozer's journey in the spring of 1874 to the Greek islands, including Crete (only two chapters: 2 and 3), is the one that Dawkins refers to in his Crete book. However, in his correspondence with Patrick Leigh Fermor, Dawkins calls Tozer a "clerical don" who travelled all over the Near East but never liked the people at all; "I could never see why he went" (19 January 1955). In a letter to Xan Fielding (25 February 1952) Dawkins writes that Tozer "wrote a book on the islands but had no feeling for the people whom I think he disliked in a quietly gentlemanly way and that isn't the way to write a book."

On the other hand, Tozer highlights the devastation that he witnessed in the aftermath of the 1866-69 uprising. He remarks that not a village was left standing: houses belonging to Christians and Muslims alike had been looted, gutted and burned, and the remaining villagers were "half-starved and half-clothed" (48-9). He shrewdly

[46] The British refused to allow Crete to become part of the new Greek state, but insisted that it be placed under Egyptian control in order to avoid reprisals from the Sultan. In fact, the Egyptian administration largely improved the condition of the Christian Cretans (Holland and Markides 2006: 82).

points out that "an insurrection in Crete is almost an internecine struggle" (35), since the intercommunal violence (which was additional to the extreme violence meted out by Ottoman troops) amounted to an often savage civil war between Christian and Muslim Cretans who shared the same language and the same genetic descent.[47] And he adds that people avoided repairing their homes because they were convinced that another insurrection would break out within a decade – which it did in 1878, as he points out in a subsequent footnote on p. 75. Intercommunal violence in Crete was the struggle between opponents and supporters of the ruling regime, the former indignant at the local Muslims for having taken the easy way out by making common cause with the rulers and thus betraying the traditions and interests of the Christian population, and the latter fearing they would lose their privileges, their livelihoods and even their lives if the rebels got there way.

Another earlier travel account of Crete that Dawkins sometimes consulted is *Camping in Crete* (1913) by an author who rejoiced in the name Aubyn Trevor-Battye. However, in a letter to Leigh Fermor (18 February 1952), Dawkins says Trevor-Battye was in Crete only to observe birds: "he kept as far away from the Cretans as he possibly could".

What kind of book was Dawkins aiming to write. Perhaps the clearest evidence of his intentions is contained in letters he wrote to his friend and British School colleague F.W. Hasluck, from which I quote two extracts:[48]

> I am copying out my Cretan travel notes; they are a great quantity and make a fine miscellany; plans of & inscriptions from monkeries, descriptions of roads and villages, traditions, superstitions, proverbs, and oddments of all kinds. As a book it would deal with very little except Venetian Turkish and Romaic (that is nondidascalic) Crete. How would (The island of) Candia Crete or Kirit Adasi do for a title?[49]

"Romaic" was the (now obsolete) term for the colloquial modern Greek language and the culture that went with it. By "nondidascalic" (i.e. non-schoolmasterly), Dawkins probably meant both avoiding the ancient and adopting an informal approach to his material. One of the alternative titles he suggests in this extract includes the Venetian name of the island (Candia), while the other is Turkish (*Kirit Adasi*, properly *Girit Adası* 'Crete island').

> My great standby these last weeks has been transcribing on the typewriter all my travel notes on Crete […]. I find my material includes an account with sketch plans of nearly every monastery in Crete with the local accounts of the foundation and copies of the inscriptions which date the buildings; Descriptions of roads and the scenery and remarkable objects passed by them; A good deal of folklore and local traditions of the Politis kind; Notes on animals plants trees and ideas connected with them; Notes on the different kinds of houses with sketches of the plans of older Venetian houses; Notes on Venetian remains. Notes on churches (all of which as far as it is Venetian will be in Gerola). Notes on trades and handicrafts etc.[50]

[47] Similarly Spratt I 116.
[48] The Dawkins-Hasluck correspondence is housed in the Dawkins Archive, ARCH.Z.DAWK.15.
[49] Dawkins to Hasluck, 23 February 1919.
[50] Dawkins to Hasluck, 18 March 1919. Among many other things, the pioneering Greek folklorist N.G. Politis published a two-volume collection of folk traditions under the title *Παραδόσεις* (Athens

His "notes on trades and handicrafts" are particularly valuable and interesting. He describes various traditional crafts and the implements and mechanisms associated with them, such as keeping bees, milling flour, pressing oil from olives and extracting salt from saltpans.

There was much of the antiquarian about Dawkins. His Crete book seems uncannily similar to the book about Surrey that was planned by the seventeenth-century English antiquarian John Aubrey: a haphazard record of antiquities and natural history, which the author was never able to complete.[51] Aubrey had a similar nostalgia for monasteries and generally for the medieval. Like Aubrey, Dawkins recorded numerous inscriptions, as well as some superstitious beliefs that he encountered on his travels. It is telling that the only book that Aubrey published in his lifetime was a compendium of British superstitions and tales entitled *Miscellanies*. It is no coincidence that in one of his letters to Hasluck that I've just quoted he describes the content of his planned book as "a fine miscellany".

The reason why Dawkins shows a particular interest in church bells is that they were prohibited under Ottoman rule, as their ringing was considered by the Muslims to be too blatant a sign of Christianity. This probably lasted until perhaps the last few years of Ottoman rule. Until this time bells had had to be safely hidden, while metal or wooden *simandra* were used instead.[52] Dawkins talks about *simandra* (*semantra*) in ch. 8.

Dawkins was deeply conservative: he believed that the old ways are best, and he detested innovation. In his Crete book he repeatedly expresses his loathing for the recent fashion for using pitched rooves covered by red tiles imported from France rather than the traditional Cretan flat rooves known as δώματα. His objection was to the flat tiles used in northern France rather than the semi-cylindrical Roman tiles that are characteristic of the French Midi. In ch. 2 he makes it clear that he had no objection to the latter type, which he calls "old-fashioned local semicircular lapped tiles".

*

It is impossible to write about the material that Dawkins had prepared for his book without mentioning its shortcomings. To start with, Dawkins was legendary for his ebullience, vivacity and humour. The novelist Compton Mackenzie, who served with him in Syra in 1917, wrote of him: "He is, and was, one of the outstanding conversationalists of our time, full of an irrepressible geniality […]".[53] Yet these characteristics are absent from his material on Crete. The little book that Dawkins

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1904). I should warn the reader that some of Dawkins' sketches (plans of buildings etc. and inscriptions) are in pencil on tinted paper and therefore don't reproduce well.

[51] Richard Rawlinson had to put Aubrey's Surrey into a semblance of order before it could be published, 22 years after Aubrey's death. Aubrey also left his *Monumenta Britannica* unfinished. Other instances of 17th-century British antiquarian volumes include Elias Ashmole (1617-92), *The Antiquities of Berkshire* and Robert Thoroton (1623-1678), *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677). Many more were compiled in the 17th century but not published at the time (or ever); such volumes continued to be compiled in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[52] Concerning Cyprus, according to Michael Given and Marios Hadjianastasis, "Landholding and landscape in Ottoman Cyprus", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 34 (2010), 58, the Ottomans banned the use of church bells there when they captured the island in 1570, though this was more because of the urgent need for bronze for cannons than for any religious persecution. The ban lasted till 1856. The *simandro* was actually preferred by the Orthodox Church; it was used in Cypriot monasteries as early as the 12th century. "Its cultural associations and capacity for more intricate rhythms more than made up for its lesser carrying power, until European influences in the second half of the nineteenth century stimulated the construction of neo-classical bell-towers" (*ibid.*).

[53] Mackenzie, *Aegean Memories*, p. 101.

wrote about his friend, the novelist and travel writer Norman Douglas, begins with the following sentence: "Whenever a man writes a book, he puts, and must put, into it something of himself; it must be to some extent a picture of his own character."[54]

Yet Dawkins' remark on his friend Maurice Bowra's book on Callimachus can be applied perfectly to his own writing about Crete: "I don't know why a man who talks in such a lively way should write so unlivelily" (to Leigh Fermor, 8 March 1953). Congratulating Leigh Fermor on his recent book *The Violins of Saint-Jacques: A Tale of the Antilles*, Dawkins writes that the book is "really splendid; its flooding copiosity delighted me; I really like my stuff a bit rich and fruity; I have not the taste for the very dry austere article so much affected now" (5 September 1953). By contrast, he didn't think much of Lawrence Durrell's book on Rhodes, *Reflections on a Marine Venus* (1953): "the thing fundamentally wrong is that I cant help feeling that Durrell finds himself, and expects the reader to find him, very much more interesting than Rhodes. And I don't believe he is" (ibid.).

Dawkins' remarks of some parts of Crete are quite inadequate. For instance, he is very disappointing on Rethymno, which today is one of the most charming towns in Crete, with many remains of fine Venetian buildings still standing. The majority of the buildings in Vernardou Street, for instance, date from the seventeenth century or earlier; this is very unusual indeed for a street in Greece. Among those Venetian buildings still remaining today in Rethymno are the following:

Photo © Benoît Prieur / Wikimedia Commons

- The Arimondi fountain, which was built by the Venetian governor Alvise Arimondi in 1626 and is now (as it no doubt always was) a much-frequented meeting place[55]

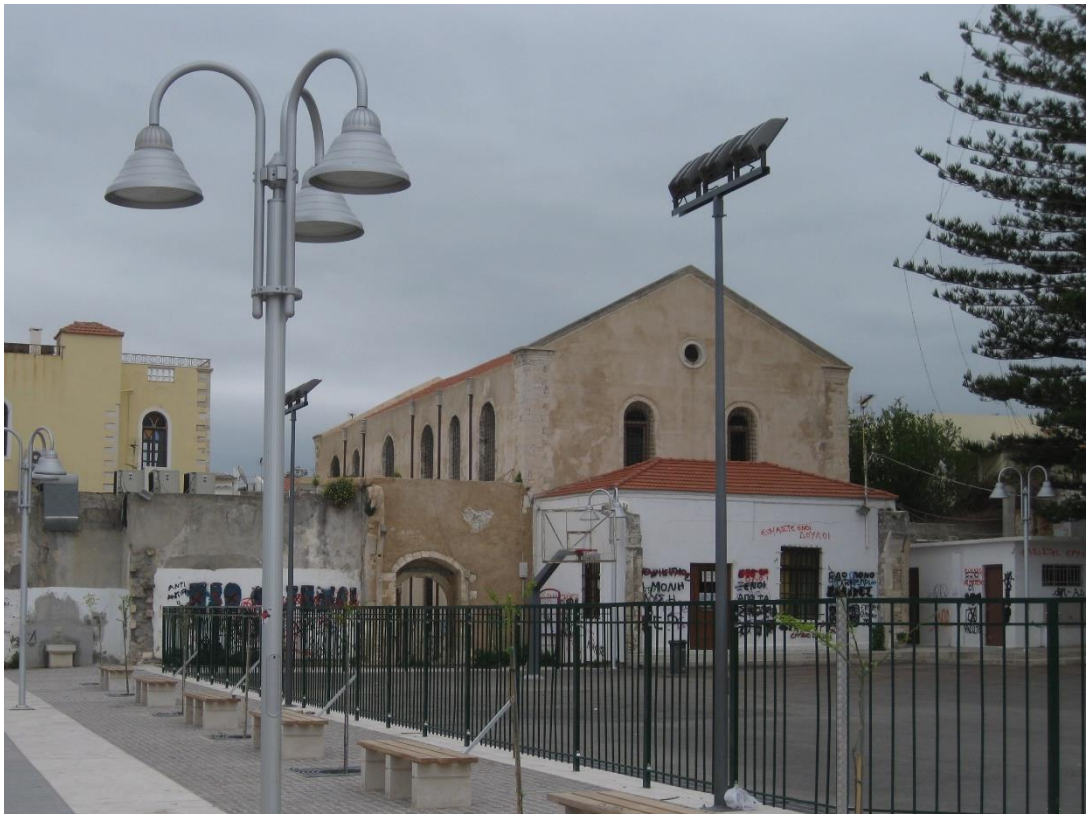
[54] MacGillivray, *Norman Douglas*, p. 5.

Photo C. Messier:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Θύρωμα_οδού_Βερνάρδου_30,_Ρέθυμνο_1399.jpg

- The beautifully preserved doorway of the Palazzo Clodio (30, Vernardou Sreet), with its fine inscription reading "A house resplendent with virtue" and dated the Kalends of June 1609, which now houses the workshop where Yorgos and Katerina Hatziparaschou prepare *kataifi* and filo pastry in the traditional way.[56] Rethymno still has many other fine Venetian doorways.

[55] The arch to the right of the fountain is what remains of a domed structure built in front of the fountain in Ottoman times; this work resulted in the destruction of the beginning and end of the Latin inscription (see St. Alexiou, *Ποικίλα ελληνικά* (Herakleion 2009), pp. 72-2). The photo of the fountain in Gerola IV 62 is very dark because the place was still roofed over in his day. Alexiou supposes that the reason why Gerola didn't published the inscription is that it was more or less inaccessible to him. The same may apply to Dawkins too.

[56] See also Gerola III 246 & 248, IV 233 & 355. Gerola gives the building's address as via Maomettani 25.



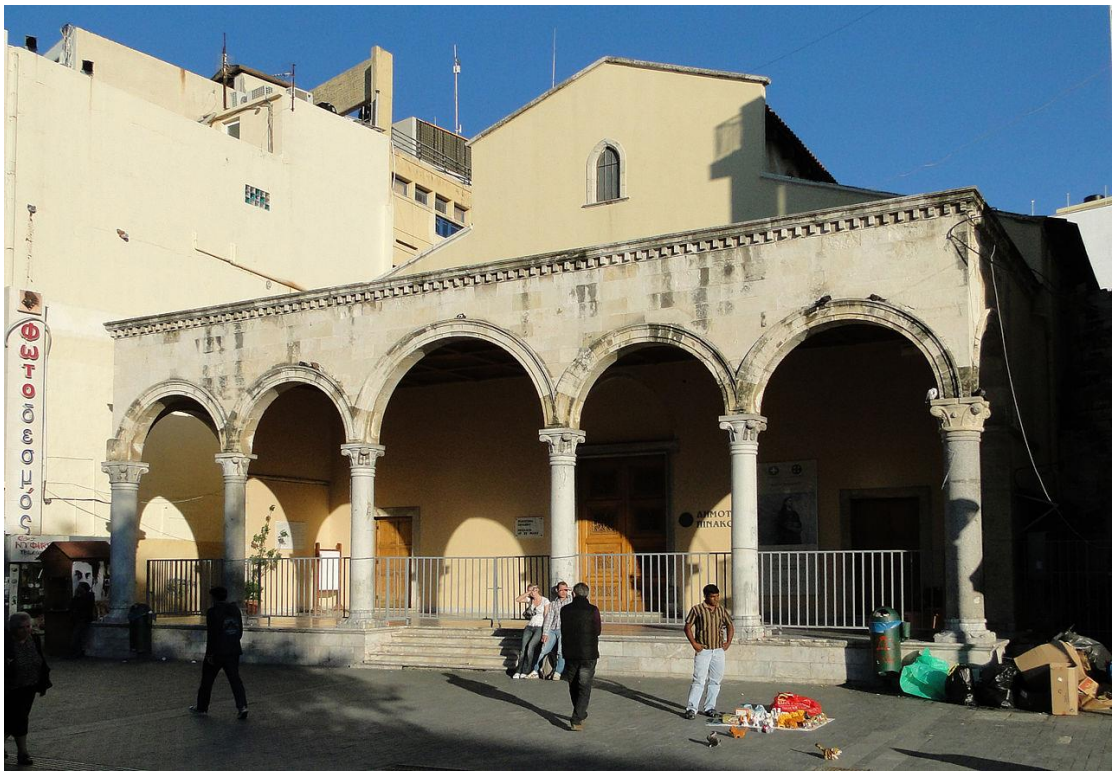
- The restored church of S. Francesco, which now houses the archaeological museum of Rethymno province. Gerola (IV 353) says it had completely disappeared in his time.

IMG_0373, 24 April 2009 S. Maria degli Agostani, showing the minaret during restoration (now completed) as well as the domes that were added in the Ottoman period.

- The church of S. Maria degli Agostani, which became the Hüseyin Paşa mosque in the Ottoman period but is known as the Neradzé and now houses a music school (corner of Mavrokordatou and Vernardou Streets).

Nor does he mention the Venetian clock tower in Rethymno, the only proper clock tower in Venetian Crete, which was still partially standing (see Gerola III 71ff.) until it was demolished in 1945 to make the street wide enough for cars.

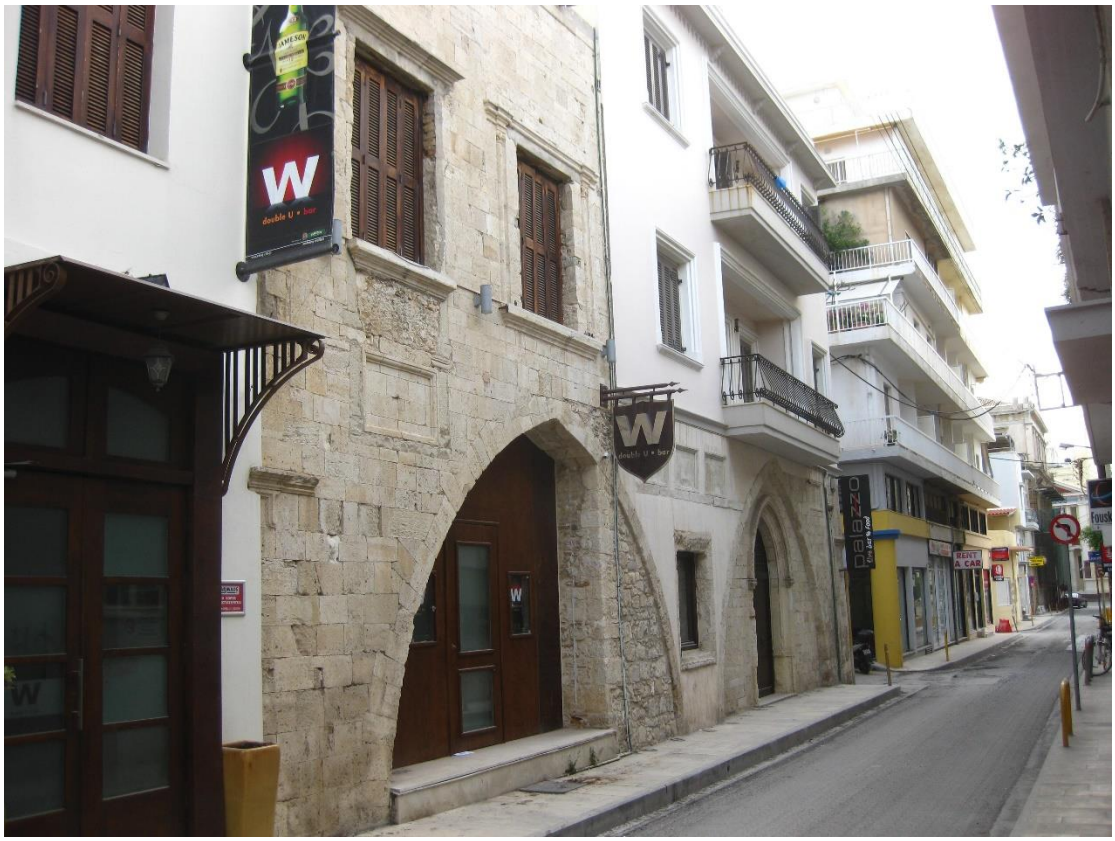
In Candia, Dawkins doesn't mention the fine Venetian cathedral of S. Marco (in "Lions Square").



S. Marco (photo Bernard Gagnon: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21992836)

Nor does he mention the so-called Palazzo Ittar in Candia, whose ornate doorway survived in Gerola's day, though the building has been considerably modified and simplified in the modern restoration.

The doorway of the Palazzo Ittar opposite the British telegraph office, Candia (Gerola III 208)



IMG_3226, 23 May 2011 The modernized remains of the Palazzo Ittar in Epimenidou St., Herakleion; the decorative mouldings, pilasters and capitals that surrounded the right-hand door (which Gerola describes as "perhaps the most beautiful of those [doorways] that survive in Candia") have disappeared.

Although his wartime travel log indicates that he visited the island of Gavdos on 1 November 1916, Dawkins says nothing about it in his draft text. In a letter to Xan Fielding (19 October 1953) he mentions that he has two juniper trees in his garden in north Wales, which he planted from seeds gathered on Gavdos, "one very flourishing but neither producing the aphrodisiac berries so highly valued locally; they might have cured the unhappy condition of Hitler and Goering and the rest of them" (to Fielding, 22 October 1954).

His material contains no description of Siteia, though it does contain a photograph of the town.

Some other sections of his material are very scrappy, relying almost exclusively on information already available in Gerola's and Xanthoudidis' publications. Notable among these are the sections on the churches of Kandanos (ch. 2) and on the churches of Kritsa (ch. 25), some of which are among the most remarkable in Crete. In the case of Kandanos and Kritsa, Dawkins can be excused because it would have been difficult to carry one of Gerola's weighty volumes with him on his travels, even if he possessed a copy of his own; he therefore had to mug up Gerola before his visit, then look back and check his own findings against Gerola's after the event. In addition, as I've already said, the fourth volume of Gerola's magnum opus, containing a large corpus of inscriptions, wasn't published until 1940 and was therefore unavailable to Dawkins when he was preparing his Cretan material.[57]

Among important aspects of Cretan culture that Dawkins doesn't mention are the following:

- Music (except passing mentions of a lyra at 9 and 20 and religious chanting at Angarathos monastery); note that in both references to the lyra he describes it as a "fiddle" and never mentions the violin, which is played in western Crete. He famously lacked an ear for music, but he did leave a remarkable unpublished notebook containing the words of almost 1000 μαντινάδες (rhymed fifteen-syllable couplets) that he transcribed from two informants at Palaikastro.[58]
- Dancing (except one description of a *zeybekiko* – which is in any case not a native Cretan dance[59] – in ch. 22, in which he misunderstands the meaning of the word, and a passing mention in ch. 9; also in ch. 24, which is a special case).
- The vendetta (except two cases of revenge killings between Christian and Muslim communities).
- The *agrimi* (the Cretan wild goat, *Capra aegagrus cretensis*, sometimes known as the Cretan ibex).

[57] It is perhaps significant that the fourth volume of Gerola is not to be found in the Bodleian Library, which possesses the first three volumes. None of Gerola's volumes is to be found in Dawkins' own library, which is currently housed in the Taylor Institution Library.

[58] "953 couplets from Palaikastro in East Crete: taken down on three evenings from the mouths of Constantinos Exapolytakis and Constantinos Mourakis, and transcribed in phonetic spelling; taken down spring 1904" (Dawkins Archive: ARCH.Z.DAWK.7(1)).

[59] Dawkins' lack of familiarity with the urban working-class culture (including the music) surrounding the *zeybekiko* – and the *rebetiko* music associated with it – is evident in his remark to Leigh Fermor, presumably in response to a request for information: "Of these *mangades* [*manges*] I have never really heard at all" (17 January 1952).

- Embroideries, despite the enormous importance of the rich collection of Greek island embroideries that he made in collaboration with A.J.B. Wace in 1906-1907 and donated to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1950;[60] the very few brief references to embroidery in the Cretan material are concerned exclusively with objects in Greek churches and monasteries.

He makes only passing references to a particularly significant aspect of Cretan culture, namely sheep-rustling.[61] In a letter to Fielding, however, he mentions having found vestiges of sheep-stealing: "exploring the hillside above Kamares cave we found an odd bottle-shaped pothole in the rocky surface, and it was full nearly to the top with the fleeces and bones of sheep; a record of many happy meals on stolen mutton" (19 October 1954).

In one of his letters to Leigh Fermor, Dawkins mentions witnessing an event he doesn't refer to in his Cretan material, namely the competition , on 6 January, between local men to retrieve a cross thrown into the sea by a priest or bishop: "I saw the Epiphany divers in the harbour of Candia; it was a fine sight; and it was a rare delight to see the bishop in full vestments blessing the naked boy when he brought in the Cross" (19 January 1955).

Despite what one might have expected of someone who very soon became a professor of Greek language and literature, Dawkins' drafts for his Crete book never mention Cretan literature, from Chortatsis and Kornaros in the 16th and 17th centuries to Kondylakis at the turn of the 20th – not even in passing when he talks about their birthplaces (Rethymon, Siteia and Viannos respectively). He possessed an 1890 edition of Chortatsis' tragedy *Erofili*, at the end of which he pencilled a note that he had finished reading it at Agios Nikolaos on 14 March 1918. His library also contains four different editions of Kornaros' long narrative poem *Erotokritos* (including the monumental first critical edition published in 1915 and inscribed to him by its editor, his friend Xanthoudidis), but there is no evidence in any of these copies that he read the poem.[62] Dawkins' library contains a copy of Kondylakis' highly entertaining comic novel *Patouchas*, published in volume form in 1916, but it is practically unmarked. It also contains a copy of Ioannis Damvergis' collection of stories entitled *Oi Krites mou* (1898).

Dawkins was more interested in the literary productions of folk culture: songs and tales. He saw himself, in contrast to travellers like Tozer and archaeologists such as Arthur Evans, who "never learned to talk more than the most rudimentary [Modern] Greek" (letter to Fielding, 28 January 1952), as one who loves the "people", the uneducated rural folk. When he was sent a typescript of the original Greek text of *The Cretan Runner*, the memoir of the resistance against the Nazi occupation by the barely literate George Psychoundakis, Dawkins was thrilled by the native brilliance of

[60] "Between them they collected over 1200 pieces of embroidery, which are largely still intact as collections. Dawkins bequeathed his entire collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in 1950": Ann French, "The Greek embroidery collecting of R.M. Dawkins and A.J.B. Wace", in Michael Llewellyn Smith, Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Eleni Calligas (eds), *Scholars, Travels, Archives: Greek History and Culture through the British School at Athens* (Athens: British School at Athens, 2009), p. 77. Dawkins' collection of embroideries seems to include very few, if any, objects from Crete: see the Victoria & Albert Museum's publication Pauline Johnstone, *A guide to Greek island embroidery* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

[61] See ch. 6, 12, 15, 24, and a note about sheep-stealers at Anogia in ch. 13, which he intended to develop but in the end failed to do so.

[62] Dawkins makes just one bibliographical reference to Xanthoudidis' edition, but it is to a linguistic point made in the editor's introduction rather than to the text of Kornaros' poem.

what he calls "George's masterpiece" (to Fielding, 29 November 1952). Dawkins translated a few pages of Psychoundakis' narrative and gave them to Neville Coghill, who was equally impressed. Dawkins wrote to Fielding that "really people like George Ps make one feel that all educational establishments, except for reading and writing and teaching manners, ought to be shut down; the fit ones pick it all up for themselves and the unfit can neither be taught nor are much worth teaching" (to Fielding 14 May 1952). After receiving an advance copy of Leigh Fermor's translation of *The Cretan Runner* he wrote to Fielding only one month before he died: "I am enchanted with it. George was one of those rare God-sent illiterates who pull off the thing by a sort of instinct. […] It ought to be a great success and Paddy has translated it wonderfully" (1 April 1955).

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When he came to type up his material immediately after the cessation of hostilities in the First World War (1918-19), Dawkins was no doubt struck by the unsystematic nature of his material, and by the fact that he wasn't able to go back and check up on queries he had left open. This may have been the chief reason why he eventually abandoned work on the book, even though he revisited the material and made some later additions. Some of the examples of oral history that he noted in his material were incorporated into his Presidential Address to the Folklore Society in 1930, entitled "Folk-memory in Crete".[63] He made some additions to his material in 1931, and again in or after 1941. He even added some typewritten notes based on his reading of Alexandros Hatzigakis' book on the churches of Crete, published in 1954, barely a year before Dawkins' death, a copy of which he borrowed from Gareth Morgan, who had studied Medieval and Modern Greek at Oxford and went on to serve for many years as Professor of Classics at the University of Texas. The second of these interventions may have been an attempt – inspired by what he had read about the patriotic heroism of Cretan monks at the time of the German invasion of the island in May 1941 – to write a new, self-standing text about Arkadi Monastery.

Dawkins lent his typescripts to the archaeologist John Pendlebury (1904-41), who wrote some neat and helpful little pencil corrections and additions on them, which have been incorporated into our edition.[64] Dawkins also added comments by Patrick Leigh Fermor in reply to certain questions.

The friendship between Dawkins and "the Great Paddy" (as Dawkins describes him to Fielding, 16 November 1953) began in March 1951, when the Oxford professor wrote to the travel writer to tell him how delighted he was by *The Traveller's Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands*, which Fermor had recently published. In this first letter Dawkins tells Fermor that "what you have achieved is not too common: a good balance between the things you have seen and your personal way of seeing them; the book is therefore neither a Baedeker nor a self centred series of impressions" (3 March 1951). Dawkins must have been painfully aware that his own book on Crete would have lacked one of the essential ingredients of a good travel account: the personal way of seeing things. Even before the two men

[63] R.M. Dawkins, "Folk-memory in Crete", *Folklore* 41.1 (1930), pp. 11-42.

[64] On graduating from Cambridge, Pendlebury won the Craven scholarship to the British School at Athens, as Dawkins had done before him. He became curator of Knossos for the 1929/30 season and remained for seven years, directing the excavations at Tell el Amarna in Egypt at the same time: see Brown, *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos*, p. 19. From 1936 he directed excavations on Mount Dikti in eastern Crete. He was murdered by German troops in April 1941. For more on Pendlebury see *John Pendlebury in Crete: comprising his Travelling hints and his First trip to Eastern Crete (1928) together with appreciations by Nicholas Hammond and T.J. Dunbabin* (Cambridge: University Press. 1948) and Imogen Grundon, *The Rash Adventurer: The Life of John Pendlebury* (London: Libri, 2007).

met, Dawkins was already recommending that Fermor write a book on Greece (23 April 1951). After their first meeting, in Oxford in November 1951, Dawkins writes offering to help Fermor by supplying material for his planned book (it's not clear what book Fermor was planning at that time). In the same letter Dawkins offers to send Fermor his material on Crete for the latter to pick out anything that might help him in his work. Of his Cretan material Dawkins writes: "this might have been towards a book which I shall never write and it would now be out of date". He goes on to tell Fermor: "You must write a book about your doings in Crete, or rather write a book about Crete in the war with your doings worked in." The most famous of Fermor's "doings" in Crete was the leading part he played in 1944 in the daring capture of the German General Kreipe, who was taken by submarine to Alexandria.[65] Dawkins urges Fermor to go to Crete and carry out some research; "but," he warns, "go soon or your constitution will no longer be able to stand the furious succession of hospitable gorges and the bewildering blinds [drinking bouts] you will have to endure" (27 November 1951). More than three years after they first met, Dawkins was still urging Fermor to write a book on Crete (19 January 1955).

Dawkins' abiding interest in Crete is evidenced by the fact that he collected about forty drawings of the island by Edward Lear, which he kept in his house in North Wales. After Dawkins' death, some of the drawings were bought by Steven Runciman. Some or all of these are now in the National Gallery of Scotland, which received them in lieu of inheritance tax from the Runciman estate after Sir Steven's death in 2000.

6. Our experiences

I first went to Crete in the summer of 1966 while I was working for a travel company called the Aegina Club run by Spiro Spiromilio in Athens. In the summer of 1967 I drove around the island with my brother Ralph, taking in places from Kastelli in the west to Sphakia in the south and Vai in the east. In those days most of the roads were dirt unpaved. Subsequently Jackie and I went there many times, normally travelling about by bus. Rather belatedly, in 1988, we first discovered the pleasures of long-distance walking in Greece, when we walked across the Pindos mountains from Pyli near Trikala on the eastern side to Vourgareli (officially Drosopigi) in the west. In 1992 we went with Ralph on our first long-distance walking holiday in Crete, and from 1994 onwards on Jackie and I continued to explore the island almost every year, mostly on foot, usually just the two of us but sometimes with a friend.

One of the things that have greatly impressed us on our journeys has been to find religious buildings that in Dawkins' time were in a state of disrepair (if not devastation as a result of hostilities in the late 1890s) but have recently been restored, thanks to the devotion and generosity of donors at a time of economic austerity. The religious enthusiasm of the restorers is usually matched by a fine aesthetic sense and a respect for the history of the buildings.

[65] The abduction was futile from a military point of view, and it occasioned vicious reprisals by German authorities against innocent Cretans. The story of the abduction reached a wider public through William Stanley Moss's book *Ill Met by Moonlight* (1950), and especially through the 1957 film version, which starred Dirk Bogarde playing Fermor. Fermor's own account of the affair was published posthumously: *Abducting a General: The Kreipe Operation and SOE in Crete* (London: John Murray, 2014).

Nevertheless, as the late Gerald Thompson wrote: "A bulldozer can destroy in a day what the patient toil of man and beast have taken centuries to evolve, and time-honoured landmarks may disappear overnight by act of God or the will of man".[66]

The most striking instance of this destruction that we have witnessed is the Katre gorge, which was on the old north-south route between the north coast and Askyfou. Anyone who travelled by land from the north to Sphakia had to pass through there. This is why it was the site of decisive battles, during the revolt of Daskaloyannis in 1770, during the Greek War of Independence in 1821, and during the Cretan revolt of 1867. Hence Katre gorge was known as the "Thermopylae of Crete". Pashley records that when he passed through the gorge in 1834, the bones of Turkish troops from 1821 were still visible.[67] This is how the novelist Pandelis Prevelakis imagined it looked during the Cretan insurrection in the 1890s:

> The gorge was tangled with kermes oaks, holm oaks and female cypresses. Their branches had been floored by the winds that hurtle down from the surrounding mountains. Eagles and falcons floated with slow wing-beats, surveying the rocks in search of corpses. For generation after generation, these huge raptors had been fed by war. The bones from Mustafa Pasha's army, which had been massacred in this narrow passage in '67, still stood out white amongst the low-lying branches.[68]

We walked northwards through the Katre gorge with my brother in 1992 on our way from Komitades via the Imbros gorge and Asyphou to Emprosneros and Vrysses, and it was just as Prevelakis describes it – except that there was no sign of human remains! Sheep were grazing among the stunted trees. It was one of those paths in Crete that you feel must have been in use for thousands of years. We walked the same route four years later with a friend, and we were horrified to discover that, during works to widen the Vrysses-Sphakia road, which is high up the valley, the bottom of the gorge had filled with rubbles that had fallen down the slope as a result of dynamiting operations. We had to clamber on all fours over the huge, sharp-edged boulders, the physical discomfort being accompanied by a bitter taste left in our mouths by this horrific crime against nature and historical memory. I am constantly amazed by the way that Cretans, who are so proud of their heroic history, are quite happy to destroy the natural and man-made features which are living witnesses to that history.

7. Our edition

The material for this book consists chiefly of a typed draft of each chapter. It is kept in a cardboard box with the shelfmark F.ARCH.Z.DAWK.12. This was housed in the basement of 47 Wellington Square, Oxford, from 1981 onwards, but in recent years it has been moved to the Bodleian Weston Library.

The appearance of this material is typical of Dawkins' erratic typing, which he tended to blame on the machine rather than on his own problems of physical co-ordination (he was possibly somewhat dyslexic too). He made extensive use of the typewriter because his handwriting was so difficult to decipher, even for himself.

[66] Gerald Thompson, *A Walking Guide to Aegina* (Athens 2003), p. v.
[67] Pashley II 170-5. He doesn't name the gorge, but it is obvious that he is referring to Katre.
[68] P. Prevelakis, *Ο Κρητικός. Η πρώτη λευτεριά* (Athens: Estia, n.d. [1st edn 1949]), p. 69.

(Despite persistent efforts, Jackie and I have failed to decipher a number of words in the handwritten notes he added to his typescripts.) One of the recurrent problems for the reader of these typescripts is that it is often stated that such-and-such a place is "to the eest" or "wast" of another place, obliging us to discover whether he means "east" or "west" – quite apart from the fact that he frequently seems to be confused about the actual compass directions. He was often exasperated by the inaccuracy of his own typing, but he was sometimes amused by it, as when he recalls typing "pissprint" instead of "missprint" [sic!] in a letter to Xan Fielding (19 October 1953). A sample page of Dawkins' typing is reproduced at the end of ch. 24; readers should bear in mind that he was 83 years old at the time, but his more youthful efforts are only marginally more accurate.

I have sometimes felt that I'm engaged in the task of reconstructing Dawkins' text, which has suffered from the author's own unsystematic approach, his failure to mention some important and interesting phenomena, and his frequent lapses of memory.

My work on Dawkins' material is a bywork, not a scholarly edition. Our field trips to Crete have been carried out entirely at our own expense, and each of them has only lasted for a few days. Because of failing eyesight, I haven't included systematic referencing to Pashley, Spratt and Gerola, or even Spanakis' wonderful two-volume alphabetical descriptions of the town and villages of Crete.[69]

What you are reading is definitely not a critical edition of Dawkins' material. Jackie and I have made a lot of tacit corrections and a number of omissions, and we've sometimes spliced together two versions of the same description without explicitly saying so.

Dawkins' archive contains a number of photographs taken in Crete. I am unable to tell which were taken by Dawkins himself and which were taken by other photographers, whether amateur or professional. It is likely that some were purchased by Dawkins from local professionals.

One of these local professionals was Rahmizade Bahaettin, usually known as plain Behaeddin (1875-1951). Born in Candia to a family from Turkey (or, according to other sources, born in Constantinople to Cretan Muslim parents), he was the first ethnic Turk to work as a professional photographer in the Ottoman Empire. Following his studies in Paris, he set up a studio in Herakleion, where he printed the first picture postcards of Crete. He travelled throughout Crete photographing people, landscapes and events. Behaeddin assisted Gerola in his researches by developing and printing many of Gerola's photographs, although the Italian researcher took most of his photographs himself; Behaeddin also assisted him in dealing with difficulties in his relations with local Muslims.[70] "Mr Behaeddin" is also acknowledged in Dawkins' report of the 1913 Kamares excavation (p. 3) for his photos taken in Candia.

Not many of the photos in the Dawkins archive are either intrinsically interesting or particularly relevant to Dawkins' text. An exception is a photo of the Priuli fountain in Herakleion, in which the wooden beam propping up the balcony of the Ottoman house at the left-hand edge is still there today. For this reason I have included both Dawkins' photo and my own side by side in ch. 17.

I have long thought that the target audience for our book might be described as "the discriminating traveller". I was delighted to find in the *Times Literary*

[69] Stergios Spanakis, *Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης*, 2 vols (Herakleion 1993).

[70] Most of the above information on Behaeddin is based on Curuni and Donati, *Creta Veneziana*, p. 71. The authors of that book note that all of Behaeddin's plates, numbering between 1500 and 2000, have been lost for ever, having been thrown into the rubbish by a person unknown in 1982.

Supplement (19 November 2010), a reference to the fact that Peter Stafford describes his book *Romanesque Spain* as "a book for the discriminating traveller".

When I'm asked why I decided to work on Dawkins' Cretan material, I'm often tempted to give the answer that George Mallory gave in 1923 to an interviewer who asked him why he persisted in wanting to climb Mount Everest: "Because it's there." From 1981 to the 2010s Dawkins' library and his archive of unpublished papers were housed in the basement of 47 Wellington Square, Oxford, and my office and teaching rooms were in the same building. (Unlike Mallory, I only had to walk down four flights of stairs to reach my goal.) Over the years that I worked in the building (1981-2003) I often had occasion to consult books in Dawkins' library, and I also spent time investigating some of the contents of his archive, including his autobiographical texts and his plans for various unpublished books. After Jackie and I had seen some Cretan tulips on 9 April 1994 while we were driving in the Amari district with David and Katy Ricks, I noticed that Dawkins had recorded a sighting of the same species in the very same place and on the very same date (9 April 1917). This coincidence was one of the factors that made me decide to try to publish Dawkins' material together with notes of my own referring to the present state of some of the places he describes. But it wasn't until after I retired at the end of 2003 that I could contemplate devoting any time to this project.

In early 2009 Jackie typed Dawkins' text on to a word processor, a task that entailed a good deal of decipherment and correction. In April of that year, armed with the whole of the text and a digital camera, we made the first of many trips during which we explored Crete in Dawkins' footsteps. By now, we had taken to hiring a car for the duration of our trips, and our walking became far less frequent.

Readers may be bothered by my frequent use of the word "apparently" in my notes. I do so because, not being an expert on either Cretan history or on ecclesiastical architecture (besides many other such things), I haven't always been able to check information authoritatively.

It would have been beyond my capabilities to provide GPS coordinates for the places that Dawkins mentions. However, I have occasionally provided references to the Anavasi atlas (see *Atlas Crete* in the Bibliography).

Note on forms of placenames and transliterations of Greek words

I have not attempted to standardize the spellings of names and things throughout Dawkins' text. Dawkins tends to use the Venetian forms of some of the Cretan place-names, which are now obsolete. Thus he writes Candia for Herakleion, Canea for Chania or Hania, and Retimo for Rethymno, just as English-speakers still use the Venetian names for three towns in Cyprus: Nicosia for Lefkosia, Famagusta for Ammochostos, and Limassol for Lemesos. He writes Hierapetra where most people would now write Ierapetra. He also tends to transliterate Greek χ as kh rather than ch. He is inconsistent in the way he transcribes combinations of letters such as ντ (Panteleimon and Pandeleimon both appear with about the same frequency) and μπ (Melambes and Melabes). He often transcribes initial τ and π as d and b, as in Dibaki (Τυμπάκι). This, combined with his frequent use of the accusative rather than the nominative form of Greek names, can lead to spellings such as Bashinamo (Παχύν Άμμο, the accusative of Παχύς Άμμος [Pachys Ammos], which has nowadays been replaced by the slightly archaized feminine form Παχειά Άμμος). He also writes

Stromboli for the name of the mountain near Herakleion, instead of Stroumboulas.[71] In some of these spellings he follows Pashley, who likewise writes Dibaki and Stromboli.

We have usually left these particular names as he wrote them, but in the case of other place names I have added (in square brackets) the official modern name where it is substantially different from the form that he uses. I have also usually used a single -s- where the word is spelled with a single -s- in Greek but Dawkins uses -ss-. He uses both the forms Agios/Agia and Ayios/Ayia 'Saint', but I have standardized these to Agios and Agia even though this corresponds less closely to the pronunciation. I have written Dawkins' abbreviations HP as Hierapetra and PK as Palaikastro throughout.[72]

I have tacitly expanded some abbreviations and corrected a large number of mistakes that are due to the effect of Dawkins' "fat finger" on his typewriter.

My endnotes and my use of square brackets within Dawkins' text

The material in square brackets within the text are my brief editorial interventions, except where it is marked "JW", in which case the note is Jackie's. These interventions are normally intended either to correct or to supplement Dawkins' text – for example, to add the usual modern form of a placename, as mentioned above. The footnotes (numbered with Arabic numerals) are Dawkins' own, whereas my longer comments are appended in the endnotes (indicated by Roman numerals).

SELECT GLOSSARY

demodidaskalos: village schoolmaster
doma (pl. *domata*): the flat roof of the traditional Cretan house
eikon: icon (portable painted image of saint)
hieromonk or *ieromonakhos*: a monk who has been ordained as a priest
kalderimi: traditional mule-track paved with stones
kelli: monk's cell
khalepa: stony and barren stretch of land
khorophylax: rural policeman
mandra: pen for animals
metokhi: outpost of a monastery
moni: monastery
Panagia: Virgin Mary
panagyri (dialect for *panigyri*): saint's day festival
stavropegion: a "stavropegiac" monastery, i.e. one owing canonical allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople
templon: iconostasis: the wooden or stone screen hung with icons and separating the main part of the church from the sanctuary (which contains the altar)
xenon: section of monastery accommodating visitors

[71] See ch. 1.
[72] Kiepert's map writes P.K. for Palaikastro, but also for Palaiokastro west of Herakleion.

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APPENDIX

JOURNEYS DURING THE WAR [text by Dawkins; material in square brackets and footnotes by Peter Mackridge]

Before this I knew Siteia region well and a lot of Lasithi and Mesara and all the land east from Candia; also Canea to Candia.

1916

May 7th. Candia – Thrapsanos – Viano
May 8th. Viano, Agios Vasilis, Kalami, Gdokhia [τα Γδόχια], Myrtos, beach to Hierapetra
May 14th. At Toplou
May 14th. By sea from Sitia to Suda
May 18th. Ag. Nikolaos from Suda
May 18th. Ag. Nikolaos – Kritsa, Bashinamo – Hierapetra
May 20th. Hierapetra, Myrtos – Arvi; at noon slept at Arvi by shore
May 21st. Arvi to Keratokampos by 8 am
May 21st. By trawler Keratokampos to Tsoutsouro and Maridaki by trawler and so by sea to Koudouma – Kaloi Limniones – Matala and then Zakro where I landed and went to upper village
May 22nd. Road Zakro to PK and Toplou, visiting Agios Andreas and towards Bai
May 24th. Toplou to Siteia
May 25th. Siteia
May 26th [?]. Siteia to Khandras night – Hierapetra night – Bashinamo night to Agios Nikolaos, back to Bashinamo
May 29th. To Hierapetra, leaving at 5 am. Then Hierapetra to Thriphti, Orno, Roukaka Ai Mama, Skordylo, Paraspori, Akhladies [Achládia], Piskocephala, Siteia at 10.30
May 31st. In Smith's trawler Siteia to Mokhlos; landed, then to Spina Longa, Ag. Nikolaos, Bashinamo, Hierapetra, all by sea

June 2nd. By sea Hierapetra – Keratokampos – Tsoutsouros – Koudouma, night to Agia Photia, landed and walked to Hierapetra (torn trousers)
June 4th. Sea Hierapetra to Keratokampos watch stunt all night[73]
June 5th. Sea from Keratokampos to Janni Kapsa, landed and then to Palaikastro and mule to Toplou and then to Siteia; slept there

[73] I don't know what this "stunt" consisted of.

June 8th. Siteia to Bashinamo, night – Agios Nikolaos, night – Elounda – Spina Longa – Neapolis, night – Ag. Nikolaos, Kalohorio, Meselerous Hierapetra, night, till 12th then to Bashinamo
June 15th at Suda and trawler to Suda [??] and thence to Athens for WRH[alliday?]

June 24th. Trawler Suda to Candia
June 26th. Candia to Agia Barbara with WRH where we parted
June 27th. Ag. Barbara to Koudouma night; thence trawler to Kaloi Limniones, Matala, Tsoutsouros, Maridaki
June 29th. Myrtos, Tersa [Tertsa]
The Agia Barbara to Koudouma journey was by Kato Moulia, Gangeli [Γκαγκάλες], Vayoniá, Loúkia, Kapitaniana and Koudoumá
The trawler from Koudouma went to Kaloi Limniones, Matala, Tsoutsouros, Maridaki and on the 30th to Myrtos, Tertsa and Zakro. At Zakro I landed and rode to Siteia and slept there June 30th

July 1st. Siteia to Mesa Mouliana night – to Bashinamo night – to Agios Nikolaos night
July [4th? 5th?]. Trawler from Agios Nikolaos to Khersonesos and Candia, then to Bashinamo
July 6th. Landed at Bashinamo and rode to HP, sleeping at Agiasmenos
July 7th. To Myrtos and back to HP
July 8th. To Ag. Jannis and back (I suppose by Ag. Photia)[74]
July 8th. Evening to trawler and so to Matala , and on
July 9th to Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma, Tsoutsouros, whence I rode to Mesohorio and slept there
July 10th. Mesohorio to Ag. Barbara night – Candia
July 12th. Left Candia in Rose's trawler[75] for Ag. Nikolaos, Vrionisi, Siteia
July 14th. Afternoon to Marounia, night; to Hierapetra, a very long ride, details of which I don't remember; at HP ill and so to Suda hospital
July 20th. Trawler Suda to Candia, Agios Nikolaos and (July 22nd) to Elasa, Palaikastro and back to Siteia
July 23rd. Still on trawler to Koudouma, Tsoutsouros, Myrtos, in evening Hierapetra, and on 24th to Candia where I landed and stayed till the 27th
July 27th. Candia by bus to Peza and Arkalohori, night, by Viano to Agios Vasilis, night, to Hierapetra
July 29th. By trawler Hierapetra to Siteia, Agios Jannis and Candia
July 31st to August 6th at Candia

August 6th. Evening by trawler eastwards, Agios Nikolaos, Siteia, Hierapetra reached in a storm on the morning of the 8th (Rose's trawler)
August 9th. Left Hierapetra in trawler to Siteia, violent storm, stopped at Siteia
August 12th. Siteia to Palaikastro and back on mule
August 13th. On mule Siteia to Bashinamo, night; Kritsa to Neapolis, night; Neapolis to Candia
August 17th. Left Candia in trawler; on the 18th at Elasa, then Agia Photia and Hierapetra; left at night and so to Matala, Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma, Treis

[74] John Pendlebury queries this and adds "by sea?"
[75] The other trawler was Smith's: see 31/5/16.

Ekklesies; on the 19th at Tsoutsouros. Then on 20th early at Gaidaronisi, then Tsloutsouros, place near Treis Ekklesies, Tsoutsouros again, and on 21st to Elasa and Palaikastro
August 21st. Rode with Commr [Stephenson] PK to Toplou, night, Siteia and on 22nd to Candia
August 24th. Candia to Rogdia and back by boat
August 25th. By trawler to Agios Nikolaos, night; left Agios Nikolaos by carriage and then mules to Panagia Kroustallenia
August 27th. In Lasithi; from Kroustallenia to Agios Giorgios, Agios Konstantinos, Psykhro Plati, Tzermiado, night; to Peza and Candia
August 30th. Evening to trawler; morning at Spina Longa, Agios Nikolaos, Siteia, Elasa

September 1st. Cruised round Kouphonisi and to Hierapetra, and
September 2nd. To Kaloi Limniones; landing at Matala impossible
September 2nd [?]. Rode Kaloi Limniones to Moires, night; to Kharakas near Pyrgos, night; to Alagni and Peza and thence by carriage to Candia
September 7th. Left Candia in trawler, Khersonesos, Kakodiávato below Milato (man who swam out for rope, Agios Nikolaos; then on 8th to Hierapatra, then Elasa and Siteia and on 9th Candia, then to Hierapetra, Tsoutsouros, Elasa and on 12th to Candia
September 14th. Trawler to Retimo, Suda on 15.IX.16, midday, Friday
September 15th. Evening in trawler from Candia to Agios Nikolaos
September 16th. Agios Nikolaos by bus to Neapolis and next day back to Agios Nikolaos
September 17th. Evening, trawler Agios Nikolaos to Kalohorio, Candia, Retimo and Suda
September 20th. By trawler to Canea, after dark Kissamo Kastelli, Selino and Sphakia
September 21st. At Selino Kasteli
September 22nd. At Sphakia and walked up gorge on Vamos road and back
September 23rd. Left Sphakia by trawler to Plakia below Myrthios, walked up to Myrthios and embarked again and to Agia Galini
September 24th. Left Agia Galini in trawler, landing impossible at Matala, Kaloi Limniones, Koudouma impossible to land, Tsoutsouros for night; storm, and to Agios Nikolaos on morning of 25th; in evening to Neapolis; thence by road to Khersonesos and by trawler to Candia
September 28th. Trawler to Suda
September 30th. Afternoon Suda to Retimo and next day to Candia

October 3rd. Early from Candia by trawler to Sisi (and I suppose back to Candia)

October 16th. By trawler to Bashinamo, slept at Seager's;[76] by mule to Kalohorio
October 18th. Mule Kalohorio to Kritsa, night; to Malles, night; and on 20th to Krousta and Agios Nikolaos
October 21st. Trawler Suda to Candia
October 24th, 25th. At Candia
October 26th. Candia to Suda
October 27th. Suda to Candia, and 28th early at Agios Nikolaos and late at Siteia
October 29th [??]. Siteia to Agios Nikolaos, Candia, Retimo, Suda on the 30th

[76] The American archaeologist R.B. Seager.

[Then 3rd to 30st repeated, but with slight differences. I've incorporated additional info. in the above. But there are discrepancies: "October 30th at Candia"; "October 31st trawler Candia to Suda"]

November 1st. Trawler to Selino Kasteli from Suda; went to Gavdo
November 2nd. Back at Selino and rode to Sklavopoula with Commr [Stevenson/Stephenson]
November 3rd. Sklavopoula to Selino, and trawler to Sphakia
November 4th. On to Keratokampos and walked up to Viano with Commr. I slept at Viano and next day rode to Peza and carriage to Candia.
November 9th. Left Candia by trawler and on 11th off Cavo Sidero; landed at Palaikastro and so to Toplou where I slept
November 12th. Toplou to Siteia, the trawler to Bashinamo and slept at Seager's
November 13th. Bashinamo to Hierapetra and back
November 14th. Bashinamo to Kalohorio and Agios Nikolaos
November 15th. Trawler to Candia
November 17th. Trawler Candia to Retimo and on 20th to Suda
November 25th. Suda to Candia
November 27th. Crete to Thera and Amorgos, Naxos etc. and Syra.[77]

1917

March 4th 1917. Leaving Syra for Suda. On 5th reached Suda
March 6th. Trawler to Retimo
March 8th. Retimo to Candia
March 12th. Trawler Candia to Agios Nikolaos and 13th carriage to Neapolis
March 14th. Neapolis – Kritsa – Bashinamo, night; and on 15th Bashinamo to Hierapetra
March 16th. By trawler Hierapetra to Maridaki and so to Agios Vasilis
March 17th. Agios Vasilis to Hierapetra
March 19th. Hierapetra to Agios Nikolaos and next day trawler to Siteia
March 21st. Siteia to Hierapetra by way of Roukaka by old road, passing south of Akhladia, Skordylo and going by Agios Mamas
March 23rd. Hierapetra to Neapolis and next day Neapolis to Candia
March 24th to 29th. At Candia
March 29th. Mule Candia to Pyrgos
March 30th. Pyrgos to Treis Ekklesies and back on foot. 2 ½ hours there
March 31st. Pyrgos to Moires, night; to Agia Galini, night, to Melambes and back, night at Agia Galini

April 3rd. Agia Galini to Arkadi
April 4th. Arkadi to Retimo; arrived 10.15 and left at night with post for Vamos; reached Vamos 5 am and carriage to Suda on Thursday the 5th

April 11th. Trawler to Retimo and next day to Candia

[77] From now on there are more gaps in his log: see his spacing. He also seems to be travelling less by trawler and more by land.

April 26th. Trawler Candia to Eremopoli[78] on morning of 27th then to Palaikastro and back to trawler at Eremopoli
April 28th. Eremopoli to Toplou
April 30th. Toplou to Khantra[79] and next day Khantra – Siteia, night

May 1st. Trawler to Eremopoli and then to Suda
May 6th. Suda to Candia by steamer
May 11th. Left Candia at night for Agios Nikolaos to see Venizelos[80]
May 14th. Rode from Agios Nikolaos to Bashinamo and Hierapetra
May 16th. Hierapetra to Kroustallenia, I suppose by Prina Kroustas and Kritsa
May 17th. Kroustallenia to Candia
May 23rd. Candia to Anoyia, night; Anoyia – Garazo – Arkadi, with difficulty
May 25th. Arkadi to Asomato, night; Asomato – Spili – Preveli, night
May 27th. Preveli – Plakia – Myrthios
May 28th. Myrthios to Rodakino and back
May 29th. Myrthios to Retimo, night; Retimo to Vamos, night; Vamos to Suda for breakfast on May 31st

June 1st. Trawler Suda to Candia
June 6th. Candia to Khersonesos and Neapolis by night with post mule and to Agios Nikolaos by 10 am next day
June 8th. Agios Nikolaos to Hierapetra
June 15th. Hierapetra to Pefkos, night; Pefkos to Viano, night
June 17th. Viano to Peza and carriage to Candia
June 21st. By trawler Candia to Eremopoli – Toplou – two days at Eremopoli, then Toplou, Siteia
June 27th. Siteia to Bashinamo. Fever and next day trawler Bashinamo to Suda

July 4th. Trawler Suda to Candia
July 12th. Candia to Agia Barbara (went to Axendi [?])
July 13th. Agia Barbara – Parmaras [Apomarmás: Pendlebury) – Rouphás – Voroi, night – Voroi to Agia Galini, night – Agia Galini – Ardhakhtos – Preveli, night
July 18th. Preveli – Plakia – Myrthios, night
July 19th. Myrthios – Frangokastello – Hora Sphakion, night
July 20th. Hora Sphakion – Askyphou, 2 nights
July 22nd. Askyphou – Prosnero – Vamos, night – Vamos to Suda on 23rd
July 28th. Trawler Suda to Candia

August 1st. Candia – Avdhou and Kroustellenia
August 2nd. Kroustallenia to Plati [Πλάτη] and back
August 3rd. Kroustallenia – Malles – Anatoli, Hierapetra
August 7th. Hierapetra – Bashinamo – Phaneromeni midday and night
August 8th. Phaneromeni to Agios Nikolaos
August 9th. Agios Nikolaos to Spina Longa, visited island, then by Kardamoutsa to Aréti, night

[78] The site of ancient Itanos.
[79] He has typed '? Karydi' over the top, but this doesn't make sense.
[80] Characteristically, Dawkins doesn't describe this meeting with Eleftherios Venizelos, who was to become prime minister of the whole of Greece a month later.

August 10th. Aréti to Neapolis and rode all through the night to Candia
August 16th. Candia – Rogdia – Savvathiana – Phodele – Agios Pandeleimon, night
August 17th. Agios Panteleimon – Galini – spring col [?] plane trees – Bali port, night
August 18th. On foot up to Bali monastery, evening to Melidoni, night
August 19th. Melidoni cave – Margarites – Eleutherna – Prines – Margarites – Panormos, night
August 20th. Panormos to Retimo
August 22nd. Retimo – Armenoi – Angoustaliana – Myrthios, night
August 23rd. Myrthios to Rodakino, where built tomb
August 25th. Rodakino – Skaloti – Kallikrati, 2 nights
August 27th. Kallikrati – Asphendou – Askyphou – Vryses – Vamos, night
August 28th. Ride Vamos to Suda arriving noon

September 4th. Trawler Suda to Retimo – Bali – Candia
September 13th. Candia – Gouves – Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Vrakhasi – Neapolis, night
September 15th. Neapolis by carriage to Agios Nikolaos
September 16th. Agios Nikolaos – Mesa Lakonia – Goulas – Kritsa, night
September 17th. Kritsa – Krousta – Prina – Meselerous – Hierapetra, night
September 19th. Hierapetra – Makriyalo – Lithines – Ethia – Khantras, night
September 20th. Khantras – Katalionas (half-deserted Turkish village) – Sitanos – Karydi – Magasa, night
September 21st. Magasa – Palaikastro – Vai – Eremopoli – Toplou, night
September 22nd. Toplou to Siteia, night; Siteia to Palaikastro, night; Palaikastro to Siteia on evening of 24th
September 29th. Siteia – Eremopoli – Toplou, night; Toplou to Siteia

October 6th. By trawler Siteia – Eremopoli – Zakro – Hierapetra
October 14th. Hierapetra – Meselerous – Kalokhorio – Agios Nikolaos, night
October 15th. Agios Nikolaos to Plaka, night
October 16th. Walked Plaka – Vrokhas – Selles – Plaka
October 17th. Sailed Plaka to Agios Nikolaos
October 18th. Agios Nikolaos to Bashinamo
October 19th. Trawler Bashinamo – Spina Longa – Candia
October [probably 24th or 25th]. By steamer Candia to Suda

November 1st. Suda to Canea hotel, night; [2nd] Canea – Gonia, night; [3rd] Gonia to Kissamo, night; [4th] Kissamo – Sphinari – Kephali, night; [5th] Kephali – Stomio – Sklavopoula, night; [6th] Sklavopoula – Palaiokhora, night; [7th] Palaiokhora – Kantanos, night; [8th] Kantanos – Souyia, night; [9th] Souyia – Skines, night; [10th] Skines or Skhineas to Canea and Suda, November 11th
November [*prob. 16th*]. Suda – Vamos, night; Vamos – Georgioupolis – Episkopi – Roustika, night
November 18th. Roustika – Retimo; at Retimo till 21st
November 21st. Retimo – Perama, night; Perama – Damasta – Candia
November 28th. Candia – Arkhanes – Khrysospiliotissa – Epano Siphi, night
November 29th. Epano Siphi – Damania – Kolena – Gandales – Agioi Deka – Moires, night
November 30th. Moires – Galia – Agios Phanourios – Vrondisi – Zaros, night

December 1st. Zaros – Yeryeri – Agia Barbara – Valianos [Μονή Παλιανής] – Candia
December 9th. Candia – Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Peapolis – Agios Nikolaos
December 11th. Agios Nikolaos – Hierapetra
December 12th. Hierapetra – Agios Nikolaos
December 14th. Agios Nikolaos to Kasos and Karpathos, arriving Suda December 17th
December 28th. Trawler Suda – Candia, where with boils till January 22nd 1918

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January 22nd. Trawler Candia – Agios Nikolaos – Siteia – Suda morning of 24th [?]

February 1st. To Syra and Athens – Melos – Suda on February 19th
February 23rd. Trawler Suda to Candia

March 2nd. Candia – Kato Vathia – Elaia – Anopolis[81] – Episkopi – Angarathos
March 3rd. Angarathos – Sabas – Sophoros – Thrapsino – near Rossokhoris and Nipiditos – Emporos – Viano, night
March 4th. Viano – Amiras – Pefkos – Mournes – Mythoi – Malles
March 5th. Malles – Anatoli – Kaloyerous – Hierapetra
March 7th. Hierapetra to Khantra going along the sea and then leaving Lithines on left
March 8th. Khantras – Katoliones – Sitanos – Karydi – Magasa midday and evening at Toplou
March 9th. Toplou to Eremopoli and back
March 10th. Toplou to Agios Andreas and back
March 11th. Toplou to Siteia
March 12th. Siteia – Tourloti –Bashinamo, night
March 13th. Bashinamo – Agios Nikolaos
March 14th. Agios Nikolaos to Neapolis by carriage
March 15th. Neapolis to Khersonesos, night; Khersonesos – Candia on 16th
March 22nd. Candia – Agios Myron – Gorgolaini – Agia Barbara, night
March 23rd. Agia Barbara straight to Candia
March 24th. Candia – Agia Barbara – Voroi
March 25th. Voroi – Dibaki – Asomaton[82]
March 26th. Asomaton – Retimo
March 27th. Retimo to Suda by carriage (this journey with Major [Anstey] to find aerodrome site)

April 4th. Suda – Vamos, night
April 5th. Vamos to Retimo by old road along the sea
April 6th. Retimo – Monopari – Myrthios
April 7th. Myrthios – Karavos – Preveli, night
April 8th. Preveli – Gorge – Spili – Asomaton, night; [9 April] from Asomaton visited Thronos and Meronas; second night at Asomaton
April 10th. Asomaton – Monastiraki[83] – Agia Galini, night
April 11th. Agia Galini – Pitsidia – Matala – Hodigitria, night
April 12th. Hodigitria – Kaloi Limniones – Pigaidakia – Apezanes, night

[81] Pendlebury suggests the last three places should be in reverse order.
[82] In ch. 10 he says he was at Asomato on 27 March.
[83] In ch. 10 he says he was at Monastiraki on 11 April.

April 13th. Apezanes to Pyrgos by plain, night
April 14th. Pyrgos – Epano Siphi, night; Epano Siphi – Kanli – Kastelli – Candia; reached Candia 15th
April 22nd. Candia – Kastelli – Pediada, night; Kastelli – Panagia – Kroustallenia, night; Kroustallenia – Neapolis, night
April 25th. Neapolis – Agios Nikolaos, night
April 26th. Agios Nikolaos – Bashinamo – Hierapetra, nights
April 29th. Hierapetra – Agia Photia – Mavrokolympos and up valley to Stravodoxari, night; Stravodoxari – Siteia, night

May 1st. Siteia – Toplou – Eremopoli
May 2nd. Eremopoli – Toplou for Easter
May 7th. Toplou – Siteia
May 8th. Siteia – Bashinamo
May 9th. Bashinamo – Hierapetra
May 10th. Hierapetra to Myrtos by the sea
May 11th. Myrtos – Arvi – Amiras – Viano
May 12th. Viano – Skhinias – Drapeti – Tepheli – Epano Siphi
May 13th. Epano Siphi – Kanli – Kastelli – Candia
May 20th. Candia – Anoyia, night
May 21st. Anoyia – Khalepa – Perama – Panormos, night
May 22nd. Panormos – Drakonero church – Retimo
May 23rd. Retimo – Georgioupoli – Canea
May 24th. Canea – Suda
May 29th [?]. ?? by trawler Suda – Candia

June 3rd. Candia – Agia Barbara
June 4th or 5th? Agia Barbara – Voroi, night; Voroi – Agia Triada – Dibaki – Agia Galini, night; Agia Galini – Saktouria, near village – Kerame – Preveli, night
June 8th. Preveli – Plakia – Sellia – Phoinikia, Rodakino, night
June 9th. Rodakino – Komitades – Khora Sphakion, night
June 10th. Khora Sphakion – Anopoli, night
June 11th. Anopoli – Agia Roumeli, night; Roumeli – gorge – Samaria – Xyloskalo – Omalo, night; Omalo – Kantanos, 2 nights
June 14th. Saw churches at Kantanos
June 15th. Kantanos – Paliokhora and back
June 16th. At Kantanos, saw Agia Anna and Ai Stratigos
June 17th. Kantanos – Nea roumeli – Alikianou – Canea
June 18th. Canea – Suda
June 27th. Trawler Suda – Candia

July 3rd. Trawler Candia – Suda
July 18th. Steamer Suda – Retimo
July 19th. Retimo to Candia

August 1st. Candia by Kaki Rakhi to Angarathos
August 2nd. Angarathos to Kroustallenia
August 3rd. Kroustallenia to Malles
August 4th. Malles – Myrtos – Hierapetra
August 9th. Hierapetra – Roukaka

August 10th. Roukaka – Siteia, night; Siteia – Khantra, night
August 12th. Khantra – Roukaka – Bashinamo, night; Bashinamo – Agios Nikolaos
August 14th. Agios Nikolaos – Khersonesos, night
August 15th. Khersonesos – Candia
August 16th. Candia to Suda

Stayed at Suda

December 7th. Suda to Candia and 11th Candia to Suda
December 20th. Suda – Agia Triada – Tsangarolo – Gouverneto, night
December 21st. Gouverneto – Suda
December 27th. Walk with Major to Kampos, Nerokourou, Suda

Stayed at Suda till sent home in HMS Superb at beginning of April and demobilised in London the day after arrival from Sheerness on April 20th 1919.