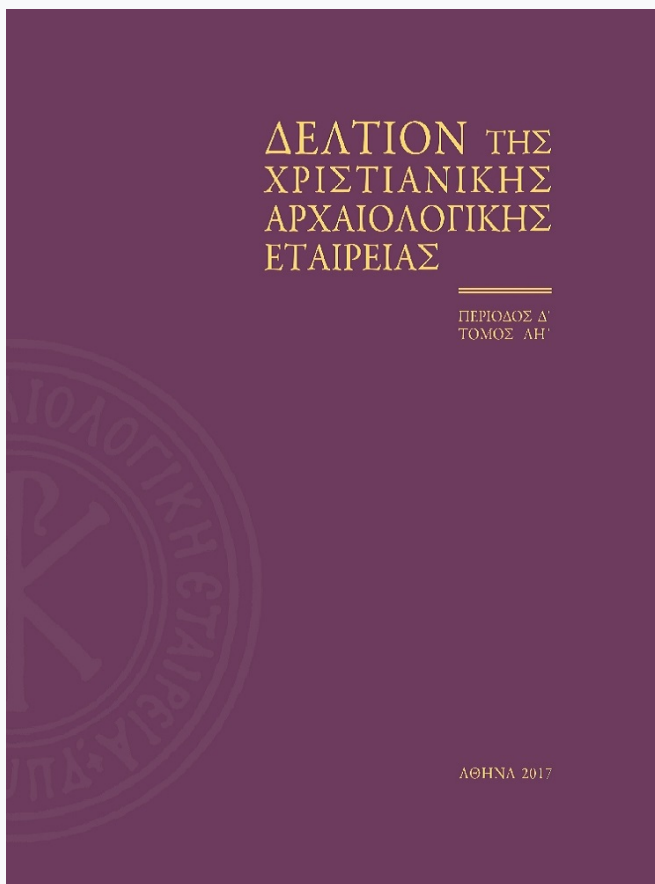


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Prodromos PAPANIKOLAOU (Πρόδρομος ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ)

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Prodromos Papanikolaou

CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION AND CONVERGENCE IN THE HOSPITALLER STATES. THE CASE OF THE CULT OF SAINT PANTELEEMON IN TELOS

Η μικρή λιτανική εικόνα από το μοναστήρι του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα της Τήλου, πιθανότατα έργο τοπικού εργαστηρίου, αξιολογείται σε συνδυασμό με άλλες καλλιτεχνικές ενδείξεις, τόσο ζωγραφικές όσο και αρχιτεκτονικές, υπό το πρίσμα της λατρείας του αγίου Παντελεήμονα. Η ανάπτυξη της λατρείας του στα τέλη του 15ου αιώνα πιθανολογείται ότι αποτέλεσε σημείο σύγκλισης μεταξύ Ελλήνων και Λατίνων στη Ρόδο.

A small processional icon from the monastery of Hagios Panteleemon of Telos, probably a product of a Rhodian painting workshop, is assessed along with other artistic evidence, both painting and architecture, under the prism of the cult of Saint Panteleemon. The emergence of his cult in the late 15th century is thought to have been used as a means of convergence of Greeks and Latins in Rhodes.

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Υστεροβυζαντινή ζωγραφική, 15ος αιώνας, μοναστηριακή αρχιτεκτονική, φορητές εικόνες, εικονογραφία, άγιος Παντελεήμων, κτητορικές προσωπογραφίες, κτήτωρ ιερομόναχος Ιωνάς, Ιωαννίτες ιππότες, μεγάλος μάγιστρος Pierre d'Aubusson, Ρόδος, Τήλος, μονή Αγίου Παντελεήμονα Τήλου.

Keywords

Late Byzantine painting; 15th century; church/religious architecture; panel icons; iconography; Saint Panteleemon; donor portraits; donor hieromonk Ionas; Hospitallers; Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson; Rhodes; Telos; monastery of Hagios Panteleemon in Telos.

Telos is a small island in the complex of the Dodecanese in the Aegean Sea, which lies midway between the two biggest islands of the complex, Rhodes and Kos. During the Late Byzantine period Telos followed the

fates of her sister islands as it became part of the Hospitaller states, which were gradually formed after the conquest of Rhodes in 1309/10 and successively included all the islands up to Leros, their northernmost sea border¹. Telos' artistic context showcases as rather idiosyncratic

* PhD Candidate in Byzantine Art and Archaeology, King's College London, prodromos.papanikolaou@kcl.ac.uk

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Antiquities of the Dodecanese, Dr. Ionna Bitha, acting director of the Research Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art of the Academy of Athens, Dr. Konstantia Kefala, archaeologist at the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, and PhD candidates Nikos Mastrochristos and Dora Konstantellou, for their numerous kindnesses and help during the preparation of this study.

¹ The island of Patmos and its islets were never conquered by the Order. The Hospitallers apart from the islands possessed two castles on the coast of Asia Minor in succeeding periods, the harbour and citadel of Smyrna (1344-1402) and the castle of Bodrum (1406/7-1523). On the Smyrna crusade see most recently M. Carr, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean 1291-1352*, Suffolk 2015, 74-77

due to a surprising number of more than 120 small churches, the majority of which can be dated in the 14th and 15th centuries². In terms of style this context presents in several cases the developments and trends of the Palaiologan period radiating from Rhodes and Kos in their provincial translation³.

Among the Telian monuments which stand out is the monastery of Hagios Panteleemon, built on a remote and steep slope of the mountain Kryallos in the westernmost part of the island quite far from any of its major settlements⁴. The monastery's founding history is

with earlier bibliography. On Bodrum, M. Heslop, "The Search for the Defensive System of the Knights in the Dodecanese (Part II. Leros, Kalymnos, Kos and Bodrum)", M. Piana – Ch. Carlson (eds), *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders, New Studies*, London 2014, 59-60, with literature. For the annexation of island of Leros by the Hospitallers see J. Dellaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitalliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre 1100-1310*, Paris 1904, 274, n. 2. Giacomo Bosio had suggested that Leros was included in the Hospitaller states by 1314, see G. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, Rome 1594, 35, while modern scholarship has proposed an earlier date, the year 1310, A. Luttrell, "Cos after 1306", G. Kokkorou-Alevra – A. A. Lemos – E. Simantoni-Bournia (eds), *Ιστορία – Τέχνη – Αρχαιολογία της Κω*, Athens 2001, 402.

² There is a dearth of historical and archival data for Tilos apart from the existing evidence provided by architecture and painting. For a brief overview see St. Mouzakis, "Βυζαντινές και Μεταβυζαντινές εκκλησίες της Τήλου, Έρευνα και προσθήκες στη δωδεκανησιακή εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική", *DodChron* 12 (1987), 145-213, and I. Bitha, "Ευρετήριο Βυζαντινών Τοιχογραφιών της Τήλου. Ένα ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα του Κέντρου Έρευνας της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής τέχνης της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών", *DodChron* 20 (2005), 119-140.

³ For a general outline of the stylistic trends in the island's churches and their artistic relation to other monuments in the sphere of the Dodecanese, see E. Kollias, "Ίχνογράφημα της Τήλου", *DodChron* 3 (1974), 13-44. A few of the monuments have received detailed studies of their paintings, see for instance A. Katsioti, "Παρατηρήσεις στις τοιχογραφίες του 14ου-15ου αιώνα στα Δωδεκάνησα. Ο ησυχασμός και οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου στα Χείλη της Τήλου", *AD* 54 (1999), I, Meletes, Athens 2003, 327-342, and A. Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Παύλου στα Λιβάδια της Τήλου", *DodChron* 20 (2005), 141-158.

⁴ Several brief articles and one monograph have appeared concerning the monastery of Telos. See D. Chaviaras, "Η ἐν Τήλῳ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος", *Mikrasiatikon Imerologion* 5 (1911), 5-11. Ch. Koutelakis, *Άγιος Παντελεήμονας Τήλου. Ένα μοναστήρι-μνημείο για τη νίκη των χριστιανών στην πολιορκία*

extremely interesting. The oral tradition speaking of a Cretan monk named Ionas was actually confirmed in August 1986, when the removal of a later reinforcing wall brought to light parts of painted decoration⁵. At the west half of the katholikon's south wall, next to the arched entrance the monumental donor portrait of a monk holding in his right hand the replica of the whole monastic complex and in his left a censer is inscribed as Ionas (Fig. 1)⁶. Yet certain details concerning the earlier history of the monastery, i.e. why and how the cult of Saint Panteleemon reached Telos and by whose agency, remain obscure and covered by the veil of the legend of the miraculous salvation of the castaway monks in Telos during their voyage to the Holy Land. The conservation work carried out on the small processional icon of the saint –considered as the *palladion* of the monastery– sheds new light on the cult of St. Panteleemon on the island as it offers the chance to revisit and scrutinise all available information concerning its foundation history. In what follows the artistic and architectural evidence of both the icon and the monastery of Telos are thoroughly assessed from all possible views in relation to the capital of the states, the city of Rhodes. Additionally, other archaeological and textual evidence

της Ρόδου το 1480. Ιστορική και αρχιτεκτονική διερεύνηση, Τήλος³ 1995. Δρόμοι του ορθόδοξου μοναχισμού. Μοναστήρια νησιών του Αιγαίου, 3, Κρήτη – Δωδεκάνησα – Νησιά ΒΑ Αιγαίου, Πολιτιστικός-Τουριστικός οδηγός, Athens 1999, 44-47 (E. Papavassiliou). E. Papavassiliou, "Το μοναστήρι του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα", *Τήλος, το νησί της Ήρινας*, Epta Imeres, *Kathimerini* (19 August 2001), 22-24. Ch. Koutelakis, *Τήλος νήσος άρωμα αμαράνινο: Η ιστορία του νησιού και των ανθρώπων του. Εξιστόρηση διά παραθεμάτων και τεκμηρίων*, 1, Athens 2008, 629-675, and recently, E. Papavassiliou, "Tilos", *Islands off the Beaten Track... An archaeological journey to the Greek islands of Kastellorizo, Symi, Halki, Tilos and Nisyros* (also in Greek) (Exhibition Catalogue), N. Chr. Stampolidis – Y. Tassoulas – M. Filimonos-Tsopotou (eds), Athens 2011, 248-249.

⁵ For the oral tradition, see A. Tarsouli, *Δωδεκάνησα*, 3, Athens 1950, 218-220. For the restoration works in the church, see *AD* 42 (1987), II2 Chronika, 660, pl. 374b (E. Papavassiliou).

⁶ The inscription is illegible due to extensive effacement. The legible parts probably read: *Ο ΩΚΙΟΤΑ[ΤΟC] ΕΝ ΙΕΡΩΜΟ[ΝΑΧΟΙΣ] Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΩΤ[ΑΤΟC] ΙΩΝΑΣ] ΚΤ[ΗΤΩΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ] [ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ (:)].* For a proposed reading see Papavassiliou, "Το μοναστήρι", op.cit. (n. 4), 23 and Koutelakis, *Τήλος νήσος*, op.cit. (n. 4), 747.



Fig. 1. Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon, south wall. Donor portrait of Ionas offering the monastery.

is also explored offering insights which concern the possible benefactor of the church of the monastery. This overall evaluation helps us to contextualise the religious configurations of such a development within the frame of the late 15th century.

The Revetment and the Icon

The processional icon of the monastery of Hagios

Panteleemon is a medium-sized panel icon measuring approximately 50×40×3 cm⁷. A silver revetment repre-

⁷ The dimensions are not the original as the icon has been cropped to fit the revetment, probably in the early 19th century restoration. The conservation of the icon was carried out in 2013 by Labros Maroulis, conservator of artworks, who I thank for providing me with a set of photos of the panel icon. Unfortunately, the treatment was executed in a short period of time as the icon



Fig. 2. Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon. The processional icon of Saint Panteleemon with the silver revetment.

senting the patron Saint in a full length portrait adorns the wooden carrier (Fig. 2). The Saint is set in front of an abstract scene with two pitchers to each side to denote the ground line. The upper half of the revetment is covered in tendril motifs and has on both sides of the figure's head two ornate frames with the *tituli* of the Saint, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΥΜΟΝΑΣ. The lower half represents a tiled floor rendered diagonally. Heart-shaped flowers with acanthus leaves frame the floor sides. In all four corners *putti* complete the pictorial decoration. The border of the revetment is filled with the same type of tendrils as those described above, emerging from each of the four corners and covering half of each side until they meet. The Saint is represented as a young man holding medical tools, the long cruciform

had to return for the feast day. Due to this there are no photos of the back side available, nor could the conservator recall any relevant information about that side or the wooden carrier .

handled spoon in the right hand and the open compartmented chest in the left. He is dressed in a sleeved robe extending to his feet and over it a short overtunic reaching to his knees⁸. On top of these, a cloak as long as the robe and fastened on his right shoulder covers his whole left side. The variant presented in the revetment should probably be seen as a combination of elements coming from two not too distant versions of the Post-Byzantine iconography of the Saint and could in all probability belong to the 18th century at least⁹.

The revetment is important for the historical information it provides, as according to its inscription it was a communal donation of the Telians during the abbacy of the abbot Makarios in the year 1839. The revetment was executed by Nikolaos the Rhodian, the silversmith (Fig. 3). The inscription reads: 1839 / ΗΡΓΙΡΟΘΙ Υ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΥΚΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΣΙΔΡΟ/ΜΙC ΠΑΤΟ. ΤΟΝ ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΥΤΟΥΜΕΝΕ/ΒΟΤΟC ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ Ν<Ι>Κ<Ο>Λ<Α>ΟΥ Ρ<Ο>ΔΟΥ¹⁰. It should be remarked here that the abbacies of many of the abbots of the monastery of Hagios Panteleemon of Telos in the 19th century were short-lived and many of them succeeded one another several times¹¹.

⁸ The short overtunic appeared in the iconography of Panteleemon from at least the early 14th century, see e.g. the fresco panel of the Saints Anargyroi from the monastery of Gračanica, B. Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting: The Age of Milutin*, Belgrade 1999, 332.

⁹ Some of these dressing units have appeared in Panteleemon's iconography from the late 15th century and early 16th century respectively. See e.g., A. Strati, "Honoring the Anargyroi in Kastoria", *Life is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium* (Exhibition Catalogue), Br. Pitarakis (ed.), Istanbul 2015, no 17 p. 224-225, and no 18 p. 226-227.

¹⁰ "1839. This icon was silver-plated at the expense of all the Christians during the abbacy of Makarios. By the hand of Nikolaos, the Rhodian". In contrast to what is written and displayed in the donor inscription, Koutelakis mentions that the revetment was acquired during the abbacy of Neophytos III, the predecessor of Makarios, see Koutelakis, *Άγιος Παντελεήμονας Τήλου*, op.cit. (n. 4), 127. On the revetment's inscription, see idem, *Τήλος νήσος*, op.cit. (n. 4), 758.

¹¹ The monk Makarios (Sykalis) served as the abbot of the monastery from 1839 and probably till 1842. He was succeeded by the monk Nikandros (Gianneskis), who served as abbot from 1842-1851 as stated by Koutelakis. But this duration of nine years which Koutelakis suggests is either inconsistent or his abbacy was with breaks, as later on a document of 1844 gives Makarios as abbot;



Fig. 3. Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon. The revetment's donor inscription (detail of Fig. 2).

When the revetment was removed a much different St. Panteleemon than the one described above was discovered. The painting, gesso layer on cloth and egg tempera, was in fairly good condition with the exception of just a few parts, including the edges of the upper corners and two large holes on the shoulders and lower parts of the torso where only a stripe of the painting has survived the effacement (Fig. 4). The losses were most probably caused by the revetment. The Saint is represented in a frontal half portrait, young, with his usual curly brown hair, and turning his torso slightly to the left. His head is encircled by a halo in ochre. Although the medical tools are repeated the same does not apply for his garments. Interestingly enough he is dressed in a manner which could be seen as resembling the appearance of a martyr, i.e. tunic and himation. The latter covers the torso and its right end is held by his left arm –which is also bearing the medical case– in a way that creates in front of his chest a series of super-positioned folds (Fig. 5). One noteworthy detail is that the salmon-red himation has a triangular cut under the right arm which allows the blue tunic to

thus Makarios seems to have resumed the abbacy again in that year. The same discrepancies are again attested in the year 1864, when the monastery had in the same year two abbots (!): Prokopios II who was anointed in July 1864 and Makarios, again, who succeeded him in November of the same year although Prokopios was still alive and would resume the abbacy from Makarios. See with reservations, Koutelakis, *Άγιος Παντελεήμονας Τήλου*, op.cit. (n. 4), especially 123-132, and passim.

project. Last but not least, the tunic has a crew neck with a border decorated with a barely-visible tendril pattern and sleeves with golden cuffs. Finally, the background on which the Saint had originally been set was a bluish one and the letters of the *tituli* were written in white.

From a strictly iconographic point of view the icon presents a variation that could be considered as a deviation from the established Byzantine norm in the iconography of this Saint. Judging from the existing data of the Dodecanese and the insular context of Rhodes one may deduce that the honours in memory of Saint Panteleemon were already in practice from at least as early as the 13th century. Nevertheless, the information provided by the artistic material culture of the Dodecanese proves that the iconography of the Saint presented several variations which are not attested to such an extent elsewhere in the former Byzantine territory under Latin domination¹². How can this variation

¹² As for example in Crete where the published fresco decoration of the island, although far from exhaustive, provides a relative image of the iconography of St. Panteleemon which remained unchanged. He has been depicted in several monuments but pictures were provided only for three of them. All are dated mainly in the 14th century and located in the countryside. See I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, 2, Mylopotamos Province*, Leiden 2010, 97-119 and fig. 123, 239-243 and figs 363, 364. Idem, *Byzantine Wall Painting of Crete, 4, Agios Basileios Province*, Leiden 2015, 145-154 and figs 366-367. There is also one more monument but the identification with St. Panteleemon is far from secure, see idem, *Byzantine Wall Painting of Crete, 1, Rethymnon Province*, Leiden 1999, 75-83,



Fig. 4. *Telos*, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon. The icon of Saint Panteleemon after the removal of the revetment.

be perceived? Is it the culmination of a series of changes which, in combination with the originality and creativity of the painter¹³, were setting a new trend in the Saint's iconography? Or is there another prism under which this change could be assessed? Before we proceed to answer these questions, it is important that we survey the basic points in the iconography of the Saint according to the pictorial evidence of Byzantine painting.

fig. 68. Last but not least, there survive on Crete four decorated programmes with cycles of St. Panteleemon although there is no mention whether there are any portraits of the Saint there too, see Arch. S. Koukiaris, "Εικόνα του αγίου Παντελεήμονος με σκηές του βίου του στη μονή Σινά", *DChAE* 27 (1996), 241-242.

¹³ On originality as an artistic perception, see A. Weyl-Carr, "Originality and the Icon: The Painted Panel Icon", and Th. Gouma-Peterson, "Originality in Byzantine Religious Painting (Mosaics and Frescoes)" A. R. Littlewood (ed.), *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, Oxford 1995, 115-124, 125-145, respectively.

The Iconography

Even from a relatively early date around the early 10th century in the church of Hagios Stephanos at Kastoria¹⁴ the iconography of the attires of St. Panteleemon displayed the basic elements that would crystallize in the typical form well established by the Middle Byzantine period, namely the medical robe often decorated with golden bands on the shoulders, and the pointed pallium or *phelonion* with an equally golden neckband that slips over the head and covers the torso¹⁵. Probably at some time near the middle of the 11th century the narrow bands were added to his attire¹⁶. The adoption of the latter as an essential part of the Saint's outfit was probably gradual as it made only a couple of appearances in his full-length portraits of the 12th century¹⁷. In contrast to the uniformity of his vestments, the medical instruments he carried display variety. The latter kept alternating between the ornate medical scalpel with pointed edge, which he holds most frequently, and the less common lancet in his right hand, and the surgical box or casket of tubular form with instruments, varying between a

¹⁴ N. Siomkos, *L'église Saint-Etienne à Kastoria. Étude des différentes phases du décor peint (Xe-XIVe siècles)*, Thessaloniki 2005, 61-62, fig. 15.

¹⁵ On the iconography of the Byzantine period in general, though with no special references to attires, see N. Passaris, "Η εικονογραφία του αγίου Παντελεήμονος του ιαματικού", *Diachronia* 7 (2009), 23-40.

¹⁶ This is probably first attested in the Moscow Menologion (Hist. Mus. Gr. 9/382) dated to 1063. But it should be noted that the depiction is quite unclear. See generally E. Deliyianni-Doris, "Ιστορημένα χειρόγραφα του μηνολογίου του Συμεών του Μεταφραστή. Ταξινόμηση των χειρογράφων – Εκδόσεις του Μηνολογίου", *Parousia* 1 (1982), 292, 299-300 fig. 7, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁷ See for instance a Sinai icon, G. and M. Sotiriou, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά*, 1 and 2, Athens 1958, 97, fig. 85, and the fresco painting at Nerezi, I. Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage*, Wiesbaden 2000, 66 note 254, figs XXXIV, XLXIX, 83. Let us note here that the bands are not present in two other contemporary monuments despite the fact that both are full-length portraits: the depictions of Hagioi Anargyroi at Kastoria, St. Pelekanides, *Καστοριά. I. Βυζαντινάι τοιχογραφίαι*, Thessaloniki 1953, pl. 26, and of Saint George at Kurbinovo, L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle*, Brussels 1975, 243-245, fig. 126.

closed or slightly-open one, or the less common rectangular box with or without vials held in his left hand¹⁸. The reason for this alternation in attributes might rely on textual influences, although there are none surviving for the miracles of St. Panteleemon. Nonetheless, it could be assumed that this influence could have evoked by the cult of other physician saints that were equally popular and miraculous like St. Artemios whose shrine in Constantinople was a pilgrimage centre¹⁹.

¹⁸ Cf. the ceramic plaque (ca. 1000) at the Walters Museum, where the Saint holds a scalpel in his right hand and a cylindrical box in his left, Sh. E. J. Gerstel, “‘Tiles of Nicomedia’ and the cult of St. Panteleimon”, D. Sullivan – E. Fisher – St. Papaioannou (eds), *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, Leiden – Boston 2012, 176, with earlier bibliography. Exactly similar are the mosaic depictions in two famous monuments of the 11th century, Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni of Chios, E. Diez – O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hosios Loukas and Daphni*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931, fig. 23. D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, Athens 1985, 165-167, pl. 71. In most cases of the 12th century, the Saint holds a closed or half-open casket, as in Hagioi Anargyroi of Kastoria, Saint George of Kurbinovo, and the Virgin of Arakos. For the latter, see D.-J. Winfield, *The Church of the Panagia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, Cyprus. The Paintings and its Painterly Significance*, Washington, D.C. 2000, fig. 258. The casket in the late 12th (?) century steatite icon of the saint with scenes of his life and the Deesis is also closed, *The Glory of Byzantium, Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era: A.D. 843-1261*, H. C. Evans – W. D. Wixom (eds), New York 1997, nos 330, 494-495 (M.-L. Coulson). In Nerezi, Panteleemon holds for the first time a rectangular box with an open lid, probably containing vials in the left hand, as is also the case in the early 13th century vita-icon from Sinai, *Glory of Byzantium*, op.cit., nos 249, 379 (N. Patterson-Ševčenko) with earlier bibliography, and the cameo plaque in the Canellopoulos Museum, *The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, N. Chatzidakis – C. Scampavias (eds), The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Foundation, Athens 2007, 97. The marble plaque in the Vienna Museum dated to the 13th century, although it reproduces the type of garment as exemplified by the mid-12th century, deviates in the medical kit as the saint holds a small rectangular case in his left hand for the lancet he is carrying in his right. On the marble icon of Vienna, see R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone*, Recklinghausen 1964, nos 22, 78-79.

¹⁹ On the shrine of St. Artemios, C. Mango, “On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople”, *Zograf* 10 (1979), 40-43. On the miracle account, V. S. Chrisafulli – J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium*,

However, in a handful of depictions deviating from the norm Panteleemon is presented dressed in a generic type, i.e. courtier-like dress. This small group²⁰ has examples in the medium of painting in monumental art, the frescoes of the chapel of the Physicians in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua (705-707)²¹, the old Tokali kilise (early 10th c.)²², and the church of Hagios Panteleemon at Mesa Mani (991/92)²³, in miniature painting, Psalter 61 of the monastery of Pantokratoros on Athos (9th c.)²⁴, in the minor arts, the enamel plaque (late 10th c.) from the Shemoqmedi monastery at Guria in Georgia²⁵, and in sculpture the relief marble icon of the Glyptheque of Munich (late 13th century)²⁶. Apart

Leiden 1997, miracle 22, where the Saint intervenes holding a surgical scalpel; miracle 41, where the Saint produces a golden medical lancet, and miracle 42, where the Saint appears in the guise of a physician holding his chest with medical instruments.

²⁰ This group is not a consistent one. It consists of isolated examples in time and space and each one of the depictions is set within its own different context. It is assembled here to note the deviation and how this iconography was considered unique, if not totally unfit for the Saint.

²¹ P. J. Nordhagen, “The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705-707) in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome”, *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (1968), 59-60, pl. LXXVIII.

²² A. Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise, Tenth Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (DOS 22), Washington, D.C. 1986, 61, fig. 42.

²³ N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης*, Athens 1995, 369, 371, pl. 91.

²⁴ For the manuscripts, St. Pelekanides – P. Christou – Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi – S. Kadas – Ek. Katsarou, *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*, σειρά Α΄, *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, παραστάσεις, επίτιτλα, αρχικά γράμματα*, 3, Athens 1979, 278, fig. 230. However, it is not clear that the Saint is wearing a chiton and himation since his attire is shown from the side. The possibility that he is wearing over his medical robe as an overgarment the *phelonion*, which is covering the front side of his torso and the back too should not be excluded. In the fresco from Nerezi it can be seen clearly that the *phelonion* covers both the torso and back, see Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon*, op.cit. (n. 17). Should such a hypothesis prove true, then the earliest of Panteleemon’s representations displaying the basic format of his attires would be extended by approximately a century.

²⁵ N. Kondakov, *Histoire et monuments des émaux byzantins: La collection de A. W. Zwenigorodskoï*, Frankfurt 1892, 144-146.

²⁶ *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Katalog der Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn, Paderbon 2001),

from the last example, which could relate to an older model, this “archaizing” iconography can easily be explained by the fact that it pertains to the earliest representations of him. In this view the rest two cases, that of Mesa Mani and Georgia, visualise the parallel and surviving –albeit obsolete– versions of the Byzantine official dress that was still generally in use for many types of saints along with St. Panteleemon.

Bearing in mind this roughly sketched overview of the Saint’s iconography in Byzantine art up until the end of the 12th century one would expect that the periphery of the Dodecanese would not deviate much from this norm. And indeed this is true for the earliest surviving frescoes of the Saint attested in the 13th century paintings of the countryside of Rhodes. The earliest example comes from the cave church of Hagios Niketas at Damatria, dated in the third quarter of the 13th century²⁷. There the full-length portrait of Panteleemon although it barely survives due to the poor state of preservation of the murals, it can be assumed –judging from the rectangular collar of his *phelonion*– that his iconography would have followed the fully developed type of the mid-12th century not only in terms of garments but of medical instruments as well, i.e. the pointed scalpel and the rectangular case to each hand. A similar prototype is followed by the last monument dated in the 13th century, the church of Hagios Georgios Vardas at Apolakkia, which is securely dated by inscription in 1289/90²⁸. The Saint is depicted in a half-portrait and the only thing missing from his exceptionally well-preserved painting is the medical box where the fresco is damaged. Nevertheless, the attires and lancet are repeated as would have been expected. The jewelled crown

with gems and pearls that he is wearing on his head, albeit uncommon, agrees with the persistent aristocratic character in the depiction of the Saints in the church in general²⁹. The co-depiction of Panteleemon with Saint George in the southeast conch of the church of Hagios Georgios at Zia Asphendiou in Kos is in all probability contemporary with the two aforementioned paradigms. There the saint in a full-length portrait wears the typical format of garments: a robe with sleeves and decorative bands at the shoulders, orarion-like bands, and a phelonion, its rectangular collar being decorated with pearls. The latter is tucked up on his right side and richly folded on the left, covering his whole arm. He is depicted holding the scalpel and a medicine box³⁰.

However, sometime in the 14th century a notable change is marked. In the church of Hagioi Theodoroi (1372) in the region of Archangelos village the Saint’s portrait is differentiated in one basic element, the phelonion³¹. The latter seems to have lost its previous sacerdotal appearance and looks as if it is being used more as a himation with a decorative character complementing the rest of his attire. Another deviation which should also be recorded for the first time is that the Saint holds the box with his hand covered under the phelonion, a rather rare detail of his iconography in Rhodes³². Taking a look at contemporary monuments for the use of the

Mainz am Rhein 2001, 106, fig. 1.22 (A. Effenberger). It is interesting that the medical instruments here are a box with phials in the right hand and a closed scroll in the left. These are also the instruments the Saint holds in the fresco of S. Maria Antiqua, an observation which corroborates with the assumption that the marble icon has influences from an earlier iconography related to St. Panteleemon’s shrine.

²⁷ On the church of Hagios Niketas, K. Kefala, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στις εκκλησίες της Ρόδου*, Athens 2015, 109-159, and especially 144-145 (eBook in the following link, <http://epublishing.ekt.gr/el/13869>).

²⁸ Kefala, *Τοιχογραφίες 13ου*, op.cit. (n. 27), 166-233, and especially 201 and fig. 108.

²⁹ It would be reasonable to assume that this detail relates to the possible status of the sponsor of Vardas. On crowns in the late Komnenian period see indicatively Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, op.cit. (n. 17), pls 102-104. This detail is again seen in the icon of Panteleemon from the collection of the Pushkin Museum at Moscow, which was vaguely dated in the 14th century, A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, Leningrad ²1985, nos 268, 320, fig. 268. However, judging from the technical features and its style a dating around the mid-15th century would seem more plausible.

³⁰ I. Bitha, “Ενδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες, αφιερωτές και βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στην Κω”, *ΧΑΡΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια*, 1, Athens 2004, 342, fig. 5.

³¹ Ch. Giakoumaki, “Πρώτη παρουσίαση των τοιχογραφιών του ναού των Αγίων Θεοδώρων στον Αρχάγγελο Ρόδου (1372)”, *DChAE* 35 (2014), 122-123, fig. 16.

³² The earliest, to my knowledge, appearance of this detail in Byzantine art is attested in the church of the Virgin of Arakos. From that point on its use is rather seldom, as is the case with the monastery of Olympiotissa, or the aforementioned icon in the Pushkin Collection.

phelonion, one can see that such a decorative character was not always the case, e.g. the panel icon of the saint from the Chilandar monastery, the Meteora icon of Maria Palaiologina with the Virgin and Child, or the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki, the church of the Virgin at Peć, or the monastery of Gračanica, to name just a few of the most prestigious monuments³³. The phelonion is still being used as a garment with a particular function, and the only change that can be observed so far is that it covers both shoulders and especially the left, where it extends down to cover the whole arm. Their difference with the Rhodian example is striking not only for the renewed character the former has, but also for the reversion of the covered shoulder as well. It would thus appear that the relation to the crystallized prototype for the image of St. Panteleemon was being partially dismissed and a new, slightly differentiated type was being introduced in the 14th century³⁴.

The visual evidence of the 15th century proves that more changes were being implemented in the iconography of Panteleemon, though the quantification is rather relative given that the published monuments of 15th

century Rhodes are limited in number. The earliest example, which straddles the late 14th-early 15th century, comes from the church of Hagia Aikaterini from the medieval city of Rhodes³⁵. The fragments of a Saint's portrait on the west wall next to the entrance identified with St. Panteleemon allow one to assume that it would have been a full-length one, with the saint perhaps clad in the traditional way. But the absence of a phelonion neckband suggests either its substitution by a himation or its application as such. The same is true in the depiction of the saint in the church of Panagia Parmeniotissa at Psinthos of the late 15th century³⁶. Again, the saint in a full-length portrait depiction is set on the west end of the south wall among a chorus of Saints under pointed arched frames. He wears –with successive sequence– a medical robe, orarion bands, probably an overtunic which is the one decorated with the neckband, and over it a himation which wraps around the shoulders³⁷ in the same decorative mode first encountered in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi. Last but equally telling is the example from the mural decoration of the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Phountoukli (ca. 1497)³⁸. The saint, *mutatis mutandis*, wears the same attires as in the Parmeniotissa church. One can see the robe, the orarion bands, the overtunic, probably a phelonion –with no neckband– which ends pointed in front of his torso as

³³ For the Chilandari icon, S. Radojčić, “Monuments artistiques à Chilandari”, *ZRVI* 3 (1955), 191-192, fig. 21, and quite recently, S. Petković, *The Icons of Monastery Chilandar*, Mount Athos 1997, 25, fig. 73. On the Meteora icon of Maria Palaiologina, *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, H. C. Evans (ed.), New York 2004, nos 24b, 51-52 (L. Deriziotis). It is interesting to note that the Cuenca Diptych of the same group does not follow the iconographic pattern for Panteleemon, but depicts him wearing a cape fastened in front of his chest, see *Faith and Power*, op.cit., nos 24c, 53-54 (A. Weyl-Carr). On the mural painting of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, A. Tsitouridou, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της παλαιολόγιας ζωγραφικής κατά τον πρώιμο 14ο αιώνα*, Thessaloniki 1986, 197, fig. 95. On the church of the Virgin at Peć, V. Djurić – C. Ćirković – V. Korać, *Pećka patrijaršija*, Belgrade 1990, fig. 103, and on Gračanica, see Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, op.cit. (n. 8).

³⁴ There is a similar case in the early 14th-century painting of the monastery of Panagia Olympiotissa, where the saint is wearing the whole outfit; robe, overtunic with decorated bands and *orbiculi*, and over them the orarion bands. The phelonion, on the other hand, is used as a mantle covering only the left side. Note also the hand holding a closed medical box with a peculiar conical lid, E. C. Constantinides, *The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Ellasson in Northern Thessaly*, 1 and 2, Athens 1992, 203, pl. 55a.

³⁵ Th. Archontopoulos, *Ο ναός της Αγίας Αικατερίνης στην πόλη της Ρόδου και η ζωγραφική του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα στα Δωδεκάνησα (1309-1453)*, Rhodes – Athens 2010, 137, 162-163, figs. 28, 30.

³⁶ The monument is unpublished. On its paintings, E. Kollias, *Δύο ροδιακά ζωγραφικά σύνολα της εποχής της Ιπποτοκρατίας. Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος στα Τριάντα και η Αγία Τριάδα (Ντολαπλί Μετζίντ) στη μεσαιωνική πόλη* (unpubl. PhD dissertation), Athens 1986, 221 and passim.

³⁷ The same garments are seen in the couple of the Anargyroi, Saints Cosmas and Damien, on the right of Panteleemon.

³⁸ Unpublished. The study of the mural decoration of the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Phountoukli is long overdue and is the subject of a PhD dissertation by Nikolaos Mastrochristos, to whom I owe many thanks for pointing out this image. The badly-efface murals were repainted during the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese. Many of the details are no longer discernible. For a brief presentation, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, “Οι τοιχογραφίες της οικογένειας Βαρδοάνη στον Άγιο Νικόλαο στο Φουντουκλί της Ρόδου”, *Θωράκιον. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη*, Athens 2004, 247-263.

in the Middle Byzantine paradigms, and again over it a himation-cloak fastened at the centre of his chest and covering his whole left side. He also holds what seems to be a spoon and something no longer visible on the left; presumably it was an open case with medicines.

Although these iconographic innovations presented are much more complex variations, the Telos icon differs in its “simplistic” format. But it is these local deviations in which such a differentiation can be understood, as an analogous “simplified” version appears once more in the realm of panel painting, the pole icon from the church of Hagios Thomas at Monolithos³⁹. In the latter the Saint’s vestments are presented in a similar manner to that of Telos. Saint Panteleemon is dressed in a sleeved tunic with collar and cuffs and a phelonion-like himation which is draped uniquely⁴⁰. The re-emergence of his covered left hand follows the 14th century example of the Archangelos’ church already noted. The saint also holds a cruciform spoon and a compartmented box with medicines⁴¹. When comparing the two Panteleemon icons one can see that the visual kinship between them is not that of an archetype and a duplicate, but rather that of an unknown prototype and its twofold reflection. They both share the “simplification” of attires as their main expressive vehicle, and make marked use of the new function of the phelonion as a himation with a profoundly decorative character, which, as described above, falls in an evolutionary scheme of Late Byzantine painting from Rhodes.

Summing up, it can be postulated that there were at least two iconographic traditions employed in the depiction of St. Panteleemon, one composite with examples in monumental painting and another one somewhat unpretentious with limited examples in panel painting.

³⁹ A. Katsioti, “Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία των αγίων στα Δωδεκάνησα”, *DodChron* 25 (2012), 670-671, fig. 3a. It should be kept in mind that the icon was probably transferred from Sianna where the church-shrine of Hagios Panteleemon is.

⁴⁰ Unpublished. This icon is the object of study of my dear friend and colleague Dr. Konstantia Kefala, to whom I am indebted for allowing me to use it for the purposes of this paper. For a reproduction of the icon see Katsioti, “Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία”, *op.cit.* (n. 39), 674, fig.2.

⁴¹ The appearance of the cruciferous spoon should be listed among the earliest such depictions in Late Byzantine painting, certainly the first in the Dodecanese.

What can be said in any case is that this rare iconography in the Telos icon is in all probability a glimpse of a process belonging in the frame of the 15th century and in the artistic context of the island of Rhodes.

Style

Similar indications for a 15th century date provide the stylistic features. The modelling of the face and the surviving bare parts of the body, the neck and the right hand, are covered with a light brownish underpainting over which a warm yellowish ochre mixed with light red is applied; the flesh becomes transparent and faints softly at the edges of the lit areas. Two more things are noteworthy here: firstly, how the flesh on the chin has turned to a light spot on the darker underpainting, which is also used as the ground for the fine white brushstroke, and secondly, how the outlines of the face intergrade within the shades, while those of the hand are left visible due to their calligraphic design (Fig. 5). The fine white brushstrokes surviving only on the hand are of two kinds, opaque where the light is intense, transparent where the light weakens. Furthermore, the classicizing form of curly hair modelled with illuminated curls at the front protruding from a brownish background while at the back breaking down to simple short brown and black hues, betrays the same aesthetics as the flesh in terms of light (Fig. 6)⁴². This artistic device works towards an impression of volume, plasticity, and an inherent sense of the relief. Besides, the cold blueish background which is juxtaposed to the warm salmon red of the himation enhances this aesthetic perception⁴³. The himation, on the other

⁴² See for instance the rendering of the hair on the icon of the Archangel Michael (first half of 14th century) at the Byzantine Museum of Athens, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens*, Athens 1998, nos 8, 36-39 and more recently, *Heaven and Earth: Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, A. Drandaki – D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – A. Tourta (eds), Athens 2013, cat. no and fig. 59, 139-140 (K.-Ph. Kalaphati), or the similar icon of the Archangel Gabriel (early 14th century) from Vatopedi monastery, *Heaven and Earth*, *op.cit.*, cat no and fig. 58, 138-139 (I. Tavlakis).

⁴³ The blue background has been related to products of the provincial workshops and most notably the insular ones. On this observation, see A. Katsioti – N. Mastrochristos, “Παλαιολόγια



Fig. 5. Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon. The icon of Saint Panteleemon after the conservation treatment.



Fig. 6. *Telos*, *katholikon* of Hagios Panteleemon. The upper half of the icon (detail of Fig. 5).

hand, covering the quite robust torso of Panteleemon is rendered in a much more linear manner with mainly angular and rigid folds which, nonetheless, retain a softness because of the warmth of the salmon red colour. The light on the drapes is only faintly present, blended with the main colour to form the lighter tones that are meant to contrast the parallel lines of darker colour marking the folds. White highlights both on the chest and the sleeve endow the tunic with a metallic essence.

εικόνα Παναγίας Ελεούσας από την Πάτμο», *Όλβιος άνερ. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Γρηγόρη Κωνσταντινόπουλου*, A. Giannikouri (ed.), Rhodes 2013, 307-308 with bibliography.

The style of the icon can be detected in a number of monumental painted decorations following the provincial expression of the prevailing Palaiologan artistic trends. It should be noted that these stylistic trends were in use in Hospitaller Rhodes almost throughout the 15th century, particularly after the middle of it, with various examples ranging from sophisticated and academic renderings to those with a stronger local idiom⁴⁴. In the realm of icon painting the *comparanda* used below, all

⁴⁴ Many of these monuments remain only partially published. For an artistic evaluation of some of the 14th-century painted decorations, see Katsioti, “Ο ησυχασμός”, *op.cit.* (n. 3), 331. Archontopoulos, *Ο ναός της Αγίας Αικατερίνης*, *op.cit.* (n. 35), 172 ff.

works of art attributed to Rhodian workshops, outline a frame where the contrast between light and shade is of structural importance following the aesthetics of the early 15th century as perceived by the local artists of the periphery.

The first work that sets off this frame is an icon from Patmos depicting saint Demetrius on horseback; the dating in the first decades of the 15th century is corroborated by the independent highlights, the great extent of the gradated flesh and the reduced dramatic effect of the shades, limited only to the contour of the face⁴⁵. In the 15th century the effect of the contrast between light and shade gradually takes over, and shading becomes broader. A good example of this process is the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria Gorgoepêkoos from the homonym church on Kos, probably closer to the second quarter of the 15th century, which presents both an accentuated stylization of the flesh's silhouette lit with a grid of fine transparent brushstrokes of warm ochre-red and a tonal contrast with the dark brown and greenish underpainting⁴⁶. But the flesh has not yet coincided with the light, nor has it turned from a structural to an auxiliary element where the highlights use it as their ground. In another work, which could be seen as approaching the fourth decade of the century, the double-sided icon of the Virgin/Crucifixion from Lardos, the images of Mary and John from the Crucifixion are built with the contrast between light and shade as their main characteristic. A certain dryness is present due to the fixed borders of the silhouettes of the flesh and the absence of transparency or the stylized and austere grid of linear white highlights, but the graded colour and the wide areas of the flesh help diminish the intensity of the contrast⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ The contrast between light and shade is merely present due to the soft transition and the graded paint, elements also present in the icon of St. Panteleemon from Monolithos. On the saint Demetrius icon, see N. Mastrochristos, "Ροδιακή εικόνα έφιππου αγίου Δημητρίου στην Πάτμο", *DChAE* 37 (2016), 125-136.

⁴⁶ On the first presentation of the icon and its dating to 14th-15th centuries, see *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη* (Exhibition Catalogue), Athens 1986, cat. no 89 and fig. 86-88 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou). Ch. Baltoyanni, *Εικόνες. Μήτηρ Θεού*, Athens 1994, 233 ff. For a dating in the 15th century, see Bitha, "Ένδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες", *op.cit.* (n. 30), 348.

⁴⁷ I am grateful to my colleagues Dr. Angeliki Katsioti and Nikos Mastrochiristos who kindly shared with me their paper on the

Notwithstanding the differences in the modelling of the face, the light on the drapery has a uniformly controlled luminosity. It is interesting to note that among the works attributed to Rhodian workshops the essence of the light on the clothes follows a different, more reserved and conservative path than that in the modelling of the face. Indeed, this arrangement of the light is marked even in some of the earliest or related works that date near the end of the 14th century, e.g. the double-sided icon of Nisyros, the double-sided icon of the Virgin Chrysopolitissa/Saint Symeon, and the icon of the Virgin at Gerokomeion of Patras⁴⁸. The light on the clothes in general seems of secondary importance and is merely present on the maphorion of the Virgin or the robe of St. Nicholas. The same can also be observed at the Panteleemon icon of Monolithos or at Virgin of Kos. On the latter the undergarment of the Virgin has a limited metallic allure, quite similar in its rendering to that of the Telos icon.

The stylistic affinities with this ensemble of works addressing the subject of light and shade elucidate artistic relationships and divergences. The different variations of this artistic vehicle indicate the parallel lines of subjectivity in the perception, ability and expression of each painter. The Telos icon was executed by a skilled painter well aware of contemporary trends in the capital of Rhodes, who was able to express himself in a more painterly manner. The subtlety of the brushstrokes, the transparency of the flesh towards the shade, the discreet presence of the outlines, and the shifting between the white and off-white highlights all convey a

two-sided panel icon of Lardos before its publication. See A. Katsioti – N. Mastrochristos, "Two-sided Icon of the Panayia Eleoussa/Crucifixion, formerly in the Church of Archangel Michael at Lardos, Rhodes", *Το Αρχαιολογικό έργο στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (Ρόδος, 27 Νοεμβρίου – 1 Δεκεμβρίου 2013)* (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ On the Nisyros icon, A. Katsioti, "Αμφίγραπτη παλαιολόγια εικόνα στη Νίσυρο", *DChAE* 25 (2004), 63-76. On the Chrysopolitissa icon from the Byzantine collection at the Palace of the Grand Master in Rhodes, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "Αμφιπρόσωπη εικόνα της Παναγίας Χρυσοπολίτισσας και του αγίου Συμεών στη Ρόδο", *Όλβιος άνεθ*, *op.cit.* (n. 43), 217-227. On the Patras icon, A. Mitsani, "Παναγία η Αληθινή: Μια νέα υπόθεση σχετικά με την επωνυμία και το πρότυπο της εικόνας στη μονή του Γηροκομείου Πατρών", *AAA* 35-38 (2002-2005), 259-269.

reminiscence of the echoes of the Palaiologan currents of the late 14th century⁴⁹. They also suggest that their manifestation in this panel, as well as their didactic departure from them, is the result of an afterglow of influences which could be placed approximately to the third decade of the 15th century.

The Western Factor?

Going back to the rare iconography of the Telos icon discussed in detail above, it should be stressed that it is not known under which circumstances these changes took place and why they were centred notably in Rhodes. One could take into account several factors which might have exerted some influence on the iconography of St. Panteleemon. It is well known, for instance, that the practice of medicine in Byzantium was an act of philanthropy and that it was not only administered by the central government or private doctors, but was closely related to the Church and its medicalized institutions⁵⁰. Hence, medical care, broadly conceived as

⁴⁹ The existence of Byzantine icons in Rhodes from at least the middle of the 14th century played a decisive role in the formation of the style in the island not only artistically as an influence on artists and for the dissemination of trends, but aesthetically too as it designated the aspirations and the demand for artistic quality by the upper class. On the icons, see M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, “Δύο αμφιπρόσωπες εικόνες του Χριστού και της Παναγίας στη Ρόδο”, *DChAE* 30 (2009), 199-214, and A. Katsioti, “The Double-Sided Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria and Saint Nicholas in Rhodes Reconsidered: Its influence on the Art of the Dodecanese in the Fifteenth Century”, *Griechische Ikonen. Byzantische und nachbyzantinische Zeit (Symposium in Marburg, vom 26-29.6.2000)*, Athens 2010, 139-150. There must have been similar influence from the gifts that Domenico d’Alemagna, admiral of the Order and a close friend of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, brought with him after his return from Constantinople in 1391, see A. Luttrell, “Το Βυζάντιο και οι Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες”, *Byzantina Symmeikta* 11 (1997), 200-201, and note 29. The gifts, although mainly relics and a steatite icon, could have included other religious artefacts of unique artistic merit which could have triggered and inspired workshops in the 15th century.

⁵⁰ This relation is discussed in a recent doctoral dissertation, see A. Kyriakos, *Η εικονογραφία των αγίων Αναργύρων Κοσμά και Δαμιανού στη βυζαντινή τέχνη* (unpubl. PhD dissertation), University of Athens, Athens 2015, 19-40 with previous literature. See also a recently-published catalogue with several contributions

social welfare, fell within the interests of both the State and the Church. Of course this interrelation could not have been the only one that determined the iconography of the physician saints and it lies outside the scope of this paper to investigate this any further. Nevertheless, the extend of the influences imbued from the religious sphere into the saint’s iconography is impossible to estimate⁵¹. Besides, later documents like the prohibition of medicinal practice by priests⁵², an indirect verification of an even closer relation to the Church, dates to a period, the third quarter of the 12th century, when the iconography of the Anargyroi had already been canonized and there was no actual impact on their depiction. The few cases of a different iconographic approach are encountered chronologically only in the Late Byzantine period and should be treated as isolated cases. It is thus evident that the iconography of St. Panteleemon was independent of any of the outside historical developments that had occurred. Instead it followed its own models and variations that should be read in their local context rather than in the wider one.

It is in these regional historic and cultural circumstances formed by the Latin conquest that differing developments were triggered, either as an appropriation in the artistic realm due to the exposure to Western art or as a reaction and self-contained attitude towards the

about medical care and the art of healing in the sphere of Byzantine culture: M.-H. Congourdeau, “Medical Arts, Erudition and Practice in the Byzantine Capital”, 90-103; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, “Contextualizing the Art of Healing by Byzantine Physicians”, 105-122, and B. Pitarakis, “Empowering Healing: *Substances, Senses, and Rituals*”, all three in *Life is Short, Art Long*, op.cit. (n. 9), 162-179.

⁵¹ It should be kept in mind that the early sources for the attire of the physician saints are inconclusive or lacking but in some of them it is stated that they resembled the attire of priests. See Kyriakos, *Η εικονογραφία των αγίων Αναργύρων*, op.cit. (n. 50), 35. Moreover, the physician saints were closely related to the liturgy and in many cases were depicted next to the sanctuary. It could be postulated that the importance of these two spaces, the liturgical and the sacred, was decisive for the merging of medicine and faith with the sacerdotal appearance of their attires.

⁵² The patriarch Lucas Chrysovergis (1115-1170) released a decree banning the practise of medicine by priests, see Kyriakos, *Η εικονογραφία των αγίων Αναργύρων*, op.cit. (n. 50), 36, 121 and passim.

possible or forthcoming perils of dogmatic content⁵³. Considering the available data from the insular context of Rhodes, to stay within the geographical boundaries of this study, one should mention another cult, that of saint Philemon as an example of an irregularity that was formed because of different circumstances. As it has been showcased saint Philemon was a relatively new saint introduced in Rhodes in the late 13th century⁵⁴. In his case, it is interesting to observe the evolution of his iconography from the “ancient” costume type of tunic and himation attested in his earliest depiction at the church of Vardas to a rather unusual appearance of the same articles of clothing in his despotic icon from the homonym monastery at Arnitha (Fig. 7)⁵⁵. One cannot

⁵³ On these cult issues, see A. Lampropoulou – E. Anagnostakis – V. Konti – A. Panopoulou, “Μνήμη και λήθη της λατρείας των αγίων της Πελοποννήσου (9ος-15ος αιώνας), E. Kountoura-Galaki (ed.), *Οι ήρωες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας. Οι νέοι άγιοι, 8ος-16ος αιώνας*, Athens 2004, 265-294. A relevant case is that of the introduction of new cults in Naxos in the late 13th century, see the paper by D. Konstantellou, “Naxos in the Thirteenth Century: Visual explorations of an Island’s Society and Devotion”, *23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Proceedings*, op.cit. (n. 1), 852. Equally telling is the case of Saint Romanos, a saint of possible Western origins who was “Byzantinised” in order to be depicted among the Orthodox saints of the Peloponnese, Serbia, and Crete. See the preliminary observations on the fusion of attributes of a Byzantine and a Western Saint Romanos, I. Anagnostakis – T. Papamastorakis, “St. Romanos epi ten sklepan. A Saint Protector and Healer of Horses”, I. Anagnostakis – T. G. Kollias – E. Papadopoulou (eds), *Animals and Environment in Byzantium (7th-12th c.)*, Athens 2011, 137-164; for another point of view leaning towards a fusion with the French Saint Elois, N. Ρυγγου, “Θεραπευτής και πεταλωτής: Νέα στοιχεία για τον Ρωμανό τον Σκληποδιώκτη από τη μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Κρήτης”, *DChAE* 34 (2013), 167-178.

⁵⁴ Saint Philemon’s cult could be inferred through a number of representations in two churches, one in Rhodes and one in Chalke, his devotional icon and his relics housed in the homonym monastery in the village of Arnitha, see analytically K. Kefala, “Ένας σπάνιος άγιος στα Δωδεκάνησα: Ο απόστολος Φιλήμων εκ των Εβδομήκοντα”, *Αφιέρωμα στον Ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο*, V. Katsaros – A. Tourta (eds), Athens 2015, 577-584.

⁵⁵ On his depiction in the church of Vardas, see Kefala, *Τοιχογραφίες 13ου*, op.cit. (n. 27), 225-232. The *omophorion* complementing his garments is a 13th century addition. It has been noted that the attire of the Evangelists or the Apostles from this period onward was equipped with an *omophorion*, a detail that has been interpreted as a symbol of the counter mission that the



Fig. 7. Rhodes, Arnitha, monastery of Hagios Philemon. Icon of Saint Philemon.

help noticing that the type of dress –the way the tunic is presented with vertical tubular folds, the belt at his waist, the cloak over it and its articulation with rounded edges on the right side– has visual affinities with the fashion of secular attires worn by Western laymen, as

Orthodox Church took against that of the Latin Church for conversion of the Greek Orthodox population, see S. Kalopissi-Verti, “Byzantine Responses to the Challenges of the Latin Church after 1204: The Evidence of Iconography”, *23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Proceedings, Round Table*, op.cit. (n. 1), 631-635. On the devotional icon from the monastery of Arnitha, Kefala, “Ο απόστολος Φιλήμων”, op.cit. (n. 54).



Fig. 8. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Sepulchral monument of a layman, ca. 1370-1380, Gray marble of Lardos.

attested on tombstones from the city of Rhodes dated in the last quarter of the 14th century (Fig. 8)⁵⁶. This kinship is instructive about how these elements made their way into religious iconography and shows in the most meaningful way that they were appropriated within the cross-cultural artistic climate of the mixed society of the island.

Is then a Western influence possible for the “simplified” attire of St. Panteleemon on both icons? If one

⁵⁶ G. Jacopi, “Monumenti di scultura del Museo Archeologico di Rodi”, *CIRh* 5 (1932), 44-45. Γ. Κωνσταντινόπουλος, *Μουσεία τῆς Ρόδου*, I, *Αρχαιολογικὸ Μουσεῖο*, Athens 1977, 30-31, fig. 22.

gathers what is known about the iconography of this saint in the West, s/he will be disappointed, as only a fragmentary picture can be put together, despite the fact that he was considered a popular saint⁵⁷. Indeed, one of the earliest surviving representations of him comes from a mixed context and dates from the Crusader period, the fresco from the Baptismal chapel outside the castle of Crac in Syria, heavily influenced by and dependent on the Byzantine tradition⁵⁸. However, in a purely Western fashioned context, his depiction seems quite different when taking into account the stained glass windows (ca. 1206) of the Cathedral of Chartres, where a version of his vita is represented⁵⁹. There the saint, clad in a long-sleeved tunic and himation extending down to his feet, looks somewhat similar to the Telos icon. It must be noted, however, that the glass panels from Chartres do not represent him in any formal costume, as the one used for frontal portraits where possibly the attire changes⁶⁰, so once more a bigger picture of his iconography remains unclear and vague. But this

⁵⁷ See generally for his cult in the West, C. Simon, S.J., “The Veneration of Saint Pantaleon (Panteleemon) in East and West with Special Reference to the Republic of Amalfi”, *Amalfi and Byzantium: Acts of the International Symposium on the eighth centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St. Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208-2008) (Rome, 6 May 2008)*, E. G. Farrugia (ed.) (*OrChrAn* 287), Rome 2010, 61-79. The spread of his cult in Germany was launched by the translation of his relics there in the 10th century to the monastery of Pantaleon, which after the death of Theophano, its second founder, was renamed to Panteleemon, K. Ciggaar, “Theophano: An Empress Reconsidered”, A. Davids (ed.), *The empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium*, Cambridge 1995, 59.

⁵⁸ J. Folda, “Crusader Frescoes at Crad des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle”, *DOP* 36 (1982), 191-194.

⁵⁹ On the stained glass windows of Chartres, Y. Delaporte – E. Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale des Chartres: Histoire et description*, Chartres 1926. On the dating of the stained glass, P. Frankl, “The Chronology of the Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral”, *ArtB* 45 (1963), 301-322. For the Christological narrative cycle, C. Manhes-Deremble, *Le vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale des Chartres: Étude iconographique*, Corpus Vitrearum, France, Études 2, Paris 1993. See also the following link for the stained glass panels, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/chartres/11_Pages/Chartres_Bay11_key.htm (last accessed 10.10.2016).

⁶⁰ This is suggested by the almost contemporary vita icon of Sinai which depicts him in the side scenes wearing a similar generic type of costume instead of the formal one he wears in the central panel.



Fig. 9. France, cathedral of Chartres, northeast absidiole, glass panel of the lower window with the life of Saint Pantaleon. Saint Pantaleon with the bird, ca. 1206.

“simple” format of the garments does provide a hint about the nucleus of the inspiration for the Telos and Monolithos icons, which could be thought to draw from a side representation of a vita cycle instead of a frontal portrait. Yet one minor detail that could, nevertheless, pinpoint some kind of alien dependence is the triangular cut the himation of Panteleemon has at its lower part. The garment of St. Pantaleon in the glass panel with the bird from the Cathedral of Chartres (Fig. 9) has an analogous rendering with triangular openings for the sleeves, a detail that, if nothing else, raises questions about the origin of the above detail in the Telos icon. Taking all the previous into account we could assert that the painter of the Telos icon intended to recall a specific model with the garments of Panteleemon, if not drawing inspiration from an unknown vita cycle of his which could have been latent on the island⁶¹.

⁶¹ Vita-icons or illuminated cycles of saints were believed to have been present on the island and used as inspiration for the representation of biographical cycles in mural painting, see for instance the cycle of St. Catherine in the homonym church in the medieval

Be that as it may, the degree of influences from Western art is a daunting task in artistic environments especially like that of the Eastern Mediterranean, where several cases of appropriation and acculturation have taken place, hindering any clearer approach to such issues⁶². Hence, the question of the Western factor, although it cannot receive a positive answer for these two variants of St. Panteleemon due to their isolation, does remain an attractive possibility⁶³.

The Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson and the Cult of Saint Panteleemon. A New “State Saint”?

Apart from St. Panteleemon’s typical inclusion in the painted programmes of Rhodes from as early as the third quarter of the 13th century, the actual worshipping of the saint was quite limited in the Dodecanese judging from the handful of churches consecrated to him and scattered in three of the islands, Kalymnos⁶⁴, Rhodes, and Telos.

city of Rhodes, Th. Archontopoulos, “Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της αγίας Αικατερίνης στην ομώνυμη εκκλησία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου”, *AD* 41 (1986), I, Meletes, Athens 1991, 85-100. Note also that more biographical cycles survive in churches of the Dodecanese, e.g. fragments of a cycle of St. Nicholas in a monastery of the medieval city of Rhodes, two more in Symi, one of St. Prokopios and one of St. Marina, and fragments of a cycle of St. Theodore in Karpathos. For the latter, N. Mastrochristos, “Ο ναός του Αη Θώρη στο Απέρι Καρπάθου και ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του αγίου Θεοδώρου του Στρατηλάτη (μετά το 1399)”, *Byzantina* 31 (2011), 147-171.

⁶² There was a similar fusion in the development of the iconography and cult of St. Mary Magdalene both in Byzantium and the West. On that, V. A. Foskolu, “Mary Magdalene between East and West: Cult and Image, Relics and Politics in the Late Thirteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean”, *DOP* 65-66 (2011-2012), 271-296.

⁶³ It is useful to remember another example of “unconventional” iconography which was adopted for the depiction of St. John the Baptist, who was also the patron saint of the Order. His representation in an eclectic panel icon, dated at least in the second half of the 15th century, is quite telling of the shared devotion practices. See K. Kefala, “Η εικόνα του αγίου Ιωάννη του Προδρόμου στην ομώνυμη εκκλησία της Ρόδου”, *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου*, 1, Athens 2007, 447-448.

⁶⁴ On the Kalymnos church dated to the early 14th century, Arch. S. Koukiaris, “Δύο ναοί στο μετόχι της Πάτμου, στο Άργος

The largest concentration of churches on Rhodes dedicated to St. Panteleemon is probably not irrelevant to the historical circumstances. It is well known that the victorious end of the great siege of 1480, achieved on the feast day of the saint on the 27th of July, was considered a landmark in the promotion of the saint's cult. This is corroborated by textual sources mentioning that the Grand Master, Pierre d'Aubusson ordered two churches to be built for the celebration of the Knights' overwhelming victory against the Turks; one for the Latin rite dedicated to Santa Maria della Vittoria and another for the Greek rite dedicated to San Pantaleone⁶⁵. The complex of the two churches was completed according to other archival documents between the years 1489-1495, a dating correlated by the latest archaeological finds which provide the year 1493 as a *terminus ante quem*⁶⁶. However, from the brief reference to the

decision of the Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson in 1489 to fund the Greek rite churches wrecked by the earthquake of 1481 it may be inferred that there was another pre-existing church of St. Panteleemon in the countryside of Rhodes. Of the two important cult-places, the Sianna shrine-church and the Monolithos one, the reference is most likely made to the former⁶⁷. The assessment of the evidence, the textual source, and the pole icon, which is believed to have originated from Sianna and whose significance is not to be underestimated as it points to an interactive liturgy in practicing the cult of St. Panteleemon in the community of the village, boils down to the existence of the Saint's cult in the southwest area of Rhodes from at least the beginning of the 15th century⁶⁸.

Conversely, the foundation of Hagios Panteleemon's monastery in Telos has been interpreted under the prism of a reflection of the great victory of 1480, which was seemingly imprinted in the communal memory of the Telian population residing temporarily in Rhodes, where they were transferred for their protection a little before the siege was laid⁶⁹. But there is no reference

Καλύμνου και ο άγιος Παντελέμων στο Βαθύ Καλύμνου”, *Κάλυμνος, Ελληνορθόδοξος Ορισμός του Αιγαίου*, Athens 1994, 170-182. On the Rhodian Panteleemon churches, see briefly Katsioti, “Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία”, *op.cit.* (n. 39), 670.

⁶⁵ Bosio, *Istoria*, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 337. For a possible identification of the place where the complex of the two churches were built, see E. Kollias, “Αναζητώντας τα χαμένα μνημεία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου”, *15 χρόνια έργων*, *op.cit.* (n. 63), 290-295.

⁶⁶ These two churches probably started after Innocent's VIII permission granted on the 31st May of 1485 and were finished between the years 1489 and 1495 according to two bulls of the Grand Master and the accounts of the travelers, see J.-B. de Vaivre – L. Vissière, *Tous les deables d'enfer. Relations du siège de Rhodes par les Ottomans en 1480*, Geneva 2014, 115-117. The excavation carried out at the site brought to light two important sepulchral monuments from a chapel attached to a church which was left unexcavated; the tombstone of Jeanne de Perrier, a noblewoman from Britain and the tombstone of a Basque privateer, Martinus de Rossca. The first of the two slabs is used as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of construction work on the chapel and consequently of the first church at least, as it dates precisely to the 16th of September of 1493. On the slabs, A.-M. Kasdagli – Y. Katsou, “Η κοινωνική διάσταση στα επιτύμβια”, O. Gratziou (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοική στη λατινική Ανατολή, 13ος-17ος αιώνας*, Herakleion 2007, 93-97. As far as the coexistence of the two churches is concerned, travellers' accounts could be interpreted as recounting phases of the work, when they were still under construction; e.g. Jean de Tournai in 1488, when writing about the churches of the city of Rhodes, mentions as church only that of S. Maria della Vittoria and Saint Panteleemon as its chapel, see Vaivre – Vissière, *Tous les deables*, *op.cit.*, 789. However, from the

excavation it is clear that there were two separate, though equal in size, churches, one of which had a chapel. The church with the chapel has been identified with S. Maria della Vittoria due to the findings mentioned above, while the other can be identified with S. Pantaleimon, Kollias, “Αναζητώντας τα χαμένα μνημεία”, *op.cit.* (n. 65).

⁶⁷ Bosio, *Istoria*, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 413: “E dall'istesso Capitolo fu data autorità, e faculta al Cardinal Gran Maestro [...] di poter instituire, fondare e a modo suo dotare [...] in altre chiese greche dell'isola di Rodi nell'oratorio di San Pantaleone, della Madona di Lindo, e di Polona, terredi dett'isola”. As is noted in 1489, the Chapter General and the Grand Magister Pierre d'Aubusson decided to include within a vast building programme the wrecked churches of both rites, the Latin and the Greek Orthodox. Among the list of the churches the reference to an “oratorio di San Pantaleone” cannot be the church in the city of Rhodes as by 1489 it was not yet finished, nor could it have been damaged by the earthquake of 1481 as it had not existed. One has to think that Bosio's reference was meant for one of the other two known churches and most probably that of Sianna, where according to the local tradition a relic of the saint was housed. On the Saint's veneration in Sianna, see Katsioti, “Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία”, *op.cit.* (n. 39), 671.

⁶⁸ This date is implied by a preliminary assessment of the processional icon. See notes 39 and 40 above.

⁶⁹ Bosio, *Istoria*, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 319.

these people ever returning to their island, so as to be the instigators of such an initiative. Are there other reasons upon which the foundation might rest? Before we can turn to these reasons, we first need to raise the basic question of why and by whose agency the cult of St. Panteleemon was transferred to Telos. Since no information survives on the scope of this initiative, one has to revisit the archaeological evidence available.

On the one hand, there is the architectural type of the monastery, whose ground plan can be described either as a transept basilica with domed crossing or a single aisled cross-in-square of the contracted variation with an extended western bay⁷⁰. As noted at the beginning of this study, the church is unique in the Telian context; the one thing that connects this building with the previous architectural tradition is its scale. The katholikon looks miniaturessque in size conforming itself to the available space, but the impression of the interior is drastically different because of the merged pillars of the dome on the north and south walls, creating a spacious hall. As far as the morphological elements are concerned the monument distances itself from the Telian context again. Its external appearance with the careful construction and the combined rubble and ashlar masonry, the moulded frames of the door and window of the south façade and their horizontal marble lintels decorated with a small carved cross, the more elaborate moulding of the relieving arch over the portal with the bevelled fillet crown and the muqarnas frieze, the stone cornice at the apse and dome, the slightly pointed windows in the dome and apse and the same shape of the skylight of the east cross arm, the five-sided apse, and finally the rather low rising eight-sided drum with the hemispherical dome, all take their cue from Hospitaller Rhodian architecture (Fig. 10)⁷¹.

⁷⁰ In its first publication the plan of the church was misinterpreted due to the slight obliquity of the south wall of the extended western bay from the vertical axis and it was considered as a later addition functioning as a narthex, Koutelakis, *Άγιος Παντελεήμονας Τήλου*, op.cit. (n. 4), 108-112. After the restoration works which made the masonry of the building visible this initial view was revoked by the same author, Koutelakis, *Τήλος νήσος*, op.cit. (n. 4).

⁷¹ The view that the architectural and morphological elements of the katholikon are the product of a 17th-century survival based only on the muqarnas' presence is quite problematic as it ignores the one and only architectural phase of the church and the archaeological data of the painting. Furthermore, this interpretation



Fig. 10. Telos, monastery of Hagios Panteleemon. The east side of the katholikon; view looking West.

The architectural type used is one with which the countryside of Rhodes is littered in its eastern part, the greater Lindos area⁷². Analogous architectural vocabulary

does not take into account the more complex historical and artistic context of the Hospitaller period, as it is known that Muslims were residing in the city of Rhodes by the second half of the 15th century, see N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*, Paris 1994, 33-34, and that Islamic influences have been recognised in the painting of the period, e.g. the painted tiles in the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Phountoukli, Sh. E. J. Gerstel, "Crossing Borders: The Ornamental Decoration of St. Nicholas at Phountoukli at Rhodes", S. Brodbeck – A. Nicolaïdēs – P. Pagès – Br. Pitarakis – I. Rapti – Él. Yota (eds), *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy (TM 20/2)* (2016), 157-169. It is reasonable to suppose that such influences would also have been introduced in architecture. Nevertheless, see (with reservations) G. Ntellas, "Οι επιρροές της ιπποτικής και οθωμανικής στην εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική της πρώτης περιόδου της τουρκοκρατίας στα Δωδεκάνησα (1523-1750)", *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την Άλωση (1453-1850)*, 7, Athens 2013, 161-162.

⁷² Many of the churches in the Lindos area are known for their



Fig. 11. Rhodes, Lindos. Panoramic view of the village looking West. At the centre the church of the Dormition of the Virgin.

that strongly suggests contemporaneity is evident in the central church of the village of Lindos, that of the Dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 11). Although its plan is different, a cruciform one, this does not affect the conception of

fresco decoration, but few for their architectural features. To confine myself only to published or well-known monuments I shall refer here to the church of St. Georgios Pachymachiotis, see I. Bitha, “Σχόλια στην κτητορική επιγραφή του Αγίου Γεωργίου Παχυμαχώτη στη Λίνδο της Ρόδου (1394/5)”, *DChAE* 30 (2009), 159 and with certain reservations note 2, as some of the churches mentioned there belong to the domed single aisled basilica plan, a different.

space and massing in the interior. Moreover, on the exterior the elaborate moulded portal and moulded relieving arch with the bevelled crown over it, the gabled endings of the cross arms, the same slightly-pointed windows,

yet closely-related type to the single aisled cross-in-square. Also belonging to the latter type is the katholikon of the monastery of the Archangel Michael at Kamyri, though referred as a cruciform type instead, Ch. Giakoumaki, “Ενεπίγραφο βυζαντινό επιστύλιο από τη μονή του Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στο Καμυρί Ρόδου”, P. Triantafyllidis (ed.), *Σοφία άδολος. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Χρ. Παπαχριστοδούλου*, Rhodes 2014, 195.

the ample width of the apse, the exact same dome, and the overall heavy proportions which give the building a bulky appearance are distinctive. These architectural style affinities consequently should have a chronological implication, if not an affiliation with the same atelier. That being said, the date of the church of the Dormition of Lindos has not been established firmly and the only date ever proposed in the 13th-14th century⁷³ cannot be accepted given the existing textual and epigraphic evidence.

As mentioned above, in Bosio's chronicle the decision to fund the wrecked churches included the *Madonna di Lindo*⁷⁴. The archaeological data which could correlate this information about the church is not visible due to the plastered walls and the mural paintings. However, the painted decoration of 1779 has preserved important information which has been unexplored so far. Over the south entrance there is an inscription of eleven lines. Lines 5-7 read: 'Ετελειόθη ὁ θεῖος κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου(ου) τῆς ἐν Λίνδῳ ἐν ἔτει σ(ωτη)ρ(ί)ω: ΑΔΛ⁷⁵. The year of the inscription was characterised as incomprehensible by Orlandos who first recorded it, and it was left without any commentary⁷⁶. Its incomprehensibility is based on the grounds that it is rewritten mistakenly⁷⁷. Nevertheless, two readings were proposed for the inscription, one as 1490 and another one as 1094. The first was rejected as improbable, while the second was thought to refer to the date of the first building⁷⁸. Revisiting the facts, and bearing in mind other known examples where an older inscription had been transcribed and maintained in the later decoration, one has to reassess the dating of 1490 as the one referring to the actual historic reality⁷⁹. Indeed, this seems to

correspond to most of the morphological features of the church, already mentioned, which are very often found in churches of the 15th century in Rhodes. Of course it cannot be estimated if the church had undergone a massive restoration in 1490, or a complete reconstruction due to the quakes of 1481, which had caused a great deal of damage to the infrastructures of the whole island⁸⁰. In any case this makes the reading of the year 1490 as the only plausible suggestion. What should be kept in mind here is the interest of the Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson in restoring the most important church of Lindos to its former glory. A relevant indication of the high esteem it enjoyed among the Latins is the later addition of a rib-vaulted narthex, which according to the coat of arms immured in its south wall over the arched entrance must be a donation of the castellan of Lindos Jacques Aymer dated to 1502-1503 during the mastership of Aubusson⁸¹.

On the other hand, there is the portrait of the hieromonk Ionas who is thought to have been the donor of the monastery. In a closer inspection of the latter's portrait one is amazed by the detailed account of the buildings of the monastic complex (Fig. 12). The painter

Nicosia ²1997, 354, or that of the church of Panagia Katholiki at Gastouni, Elis, D. Athanasoulis, "Η αναχρονολόγηση του ναού της Παναγίας της Καθολικής στη Γαστούνη", *DChAE* 24 (2003), 68-69. Yet mistakes in the transcription of a dating were not uncommon even in other medium, as in the case of the panel icon of the Virgin from Patmos, see Katsioti – Mastrochristos, "Παλαιολόγεια εικόνα Παναγίας Ελεούσας", *op.cit.* (n. 43), 313.
⁸⁰ N. Vatin, "Les tremblements de terre à Rhodes en 1481 et leur historien Guillaume Caoursin", E. Zachariadou (ed.), *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire*, Rethymnon 1999, 153-184.

⁸¹ In all probability the addition of the narthex is not the only structural work that could have been executed. One should also note the buttressing arches under the north and south bay arches. Similar arches can be found in the katholikon of the monastery of Thari, which were dated around the year 1500. See M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Στο Θάρι της Ρόδου. Ο ναός και οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής του Ταξιάρχη Μιχαήλ*, Athens 2006, 31. On the career of Jacques Aymer in Rhodes, J.-B. de Vaivre, "Jacques Aymer, commander des Hospitaliers et bâtisseur", *Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 21 (2009), 4-71 with earlier literature. It would also seem possible that the annexes to the north and the south were contemporary additions of the 16th century to the church, especially the northern one which looks as if it was meant to function as the residence of an important personality.

⁷³ For a dating in the 13th-14th century, see I. Volanakis, *Ο ιερός ναός της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου Λίνδου Ρόδου: Αρχιτεκτονική, τοιχογραφίες*, Rhodes 1998, 38.

⁷⁴ See above note 67.

⁷⁵ Volanakis, *Ο ιερός ναός*, *op.cit.* (n. 73), 37, pl. 7.

⁷⁶ A. Orlandos, *Archeion Byzantinon Mnimeion tis Ellados*, 6, Athens 1948, 201 note 2.

⁷⁷ The date should either read ϞϣϠ' or ΑΥΛ' in order to correspond to the right numeric.

⁷⁸ Volanakis, *Ο ιερός ναός*, *op.cit.* (n. 73), 37.

⁷⁹ See the relevant examples from the monumental decoration, e.g. the Enkleistra of Neofytos at Cyprus, where the layer of 1503 transcribes the initial dating of 1196, A. Stylianou – J. A. Stylianou, *The painted churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*,



Fig. 12. *Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon. Detail of the model of the katholikon offered by the donor Ionas (detail of Fig. 1).*

with a masterful perspective view has provided every single feature of it. With an emphasis on the diagonal axis for depth and notion of the third dimension to the viewer, one can see the rectangular shape of the enclosure walls, the defensive tower which draws attention by being in the foreground and its peculiar diagonal roofing, the detailed rendering of the entrance's door jambs with the relieving arch over it, the circumference of the ramparts of the walls, the two-storey buildings with different-sized windows, and last but not least even a small auxiliary entrance on the south wall. Equally interesting is the monochromatic rendering of a tubular form

at the back of the tower which seems to be located on the floor and to have a semi-spherical open fabric at its top. From the monumental topography of the monastery it can be inferred that what we are looking at is a chimney-like structure which corresponds to the location of the kitchen and the *photanama*⁸². In that case,

⁸² It has been noted that the *photanama* at the Telos monastery was on the floor. See St. Mouzakis, "Τα φωτανάματα στα βυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά μοναστηριακά συγκροτήματα. Συμβολή στη μοναστηριακή αρχιτεκτονική", *Byzantinos Domos* 2 (1988), 101-102.



Fig. 13. Telos, *katholikon* of Hagios Panteleemon, South façade. The marble lintel of the window.

apart from a masterful *realia* view of rarely-depicted equipment, the decoupling of Ionas as the donor of the church comes naturally and the attribution of the rest of the monastic buildings to him backs up and particularizes the oral tradition⁸³.

This being the case, the quest for the anonymous donor continues. An indication for the possible sponsor of the church is given by the marble lintels of the door and window of the south façade (Fig. 13). As noted earlier, the lintels are decorated with a small cross at their rear surface in order to overlook the openings. The place where this cross is could be thought to feature

⁸³ The portraiture of the donors in Byzantine painting has always been very specific when it comes to their offerings. On the Rhodian material, see I. Bitha, “Ενδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (14ος αι.-1523). Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση”, *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (Ρόδος 24-29 Οκτωβρίου 1993), *Πρακτικά*, 2, Athens 2000, 432-433, figs 1b, 1e, 1f, 2ia, 2ic, 2ie.

the place where most commonly the coat of arms of the donor is to be found. However, similarly-positioned crosses at voussours of pointed doorways are known in at least two instances in the Frankish Peloponnese, the church of Panagia at Geroumana and the church of Hagios Georgios at Geraki, both of which have been attributed and related to the Hospitaller presence there in the years 1379-1382, when Joanna I, queen regnant of Naples, leased the Principality of Achaia to the Order for five years⁸⁴. In the case of Telos, the pattern used for the crosses, an incised and moulded periphery with flattened edges, roughly resembles the cross formée with ‘v’s cut into the ends like those depicted on the dresses of the knights in Caoursin’s work, fitting well in the time frame of the late 15th century. Moreover, another hint which does not seem coincidental is the relationship between the two buildings, the church and the tower (Fig. 10)⁸⁵. The close arrangement of the tower, which is not only touching the extended western bay but also constitutes part of its masonry, should recall the analogous

⁸⁴ On the Geroumana church, see A. Louvi-Kizis, “Η Παντάνασσα της Γερούμαναζ. Ένα μνημείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών”, *Symmeikta* 16 (2003-2004), 359, 363, fig. 8. The author identifies a cross in high relief with a Malteze cross. It should be noted here that the cross should best be described as a cross formée. On the church of Hagios Georgios at Geraki and its sepulchral monument, see eadem, “Το γλυπτό ‘προσκυνητάρι’ στο ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου του Κάστρου στο Γεράκι”, *DChAE* 25 (2004), 111-126. Here as well the cross just above the north entrance of the narthex is a variant of a cross formée with rounded edges. For a historical outline of the period, see P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, London – New York 1995, 132-133.

⁸⁵ This relationship is also indicated by the same rubble masonry used in the lower levels of the tower and the walls of the extended western bay. Moreover, the visible north gable is also built with the same rubble masonry, as are parts of the foundations seen on the south wall and the apse. In contrast, the selective placement of yellowish sandstone in only the prominent parts of the church, dome, apse, and south facade wall betrays an intentional effort to follow the Rhodian architectural trends. The tower must have had a defensive character for the monastery and was probably used as an observatory for the whole southwest side of the island which it overlooks. It could be seen as participating in the defensive network of Telos. On that, M. Heslop, “The Search for the Defensive System of the Knights in the Dodecanese (Part 1: Chalki, Symi, Nisyros, and Tilos)”, H. J. Nicholson (ed.), *On the Margins of Crusading. The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, London – New York 2011, 147-153.

relationship which the conventual church of the Order had with its tower, similarly arranged at its south-west corner. The same is also true for the Dormition of Lindos⁸⁶. In that case this returning format would suggest a deliberate planning choice.

Additionally, the absence of any building activity in Telos that could postdate the year 1430 and the circumstances after the siege affirm that the following years were difficult for the island due to the destitution of its inhabitants, for whom the Grand Master not only spared taxes but also ordered grain distribution from the state warehouses⁸⁷. It would thus seem probable that the sponsor of the church could have been the Grand Master himself, a view that is supported by the architectural affinities between the katholikon and the church of Lindos and by the fact that d'Aubusson had been the founder of several Greek Orthodox rite churches in the countryside as well as in the medieval city of Rhodes⁸⁸. He emerges, regardless of his rite, as the outstanding and *par excellence* benefactor and patron of a series of churches⁸⁹. This building activity was not random of course, as it presupposes a certain degree of prosperity and a healthy state at the countryside. In brief, the situation in Rhodes was very much improved despite physical hardships and continuous Turkish aggression. The good terms on which both Latin and Greeks were living in the island of Rhodes, the almost equal relationship enjoyed by both churches, and the flourishing economy ensured by Hospitaller and local fleets were attractive conditions for a promising future⁹⁰.

⁸⁶ Although the bell tower of Lindos is a 19th-century work, the substructure looks older and it might have been added in the last restoration phase of the church in the 16th century.

⁸⁷ Only three churches belong to the first half of the 15th century, see Katsioti, "Ο ησυχασμός", *op.cit.* (n. 3), 338. On the historical information, see Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Η Ρόδος και οι Νότιες Σποράδες στα χρόνια των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών (14ος-16ος αι.)*, Rhodes 1991, 55.

⁸⁸ His support could have been expressed in multiple ways by facilitating the building, ensuring the necessary amount of sandstone or even providing the means, such as the ship, the workers or the master builder.

⁸⁹ For an overview of d'Aubusson's extensive building activity in churches of both the medieval town and the countryside, see I. Christoforaki, "Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204-1522)", *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια*, *op.cit.* (n. 83), 450-453.

⁹⁰ On historical information about the social and economic situation, see Tsirpanlis, *Η Ρόδος και οι Νότιες Σποράδες*,

Consequently, the Cretan monk Ionas should not be treated as an unfortunate castaway on Telos, since in another reading he could be seen as searching for a new "promised land" where he could break free from Venetian suppression⁹¹. The timing could not have been better for both, as the boost that St. Panteleemon's cult had gained by that time, and the indirect fostering of his cult under the auspices of the Grand Master, who was promoting it to the Latins⁹², show a favourable effort to establish

op.cit. (n. 87), 254-286, 287-330, 341-412. *Idem*, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών*, Rhodes 1995, 133-153, 204-216.

⁹¹ This suppression is securely recorded in the first half of the 15th century, but there is little evidence for the situation in the second half of the century. Nonetheless, the flight of Jonah could be used as a proof that things were not much improved. On the situation see N. B. Tomadakis, "Οι ὀρθόδοξοι παπάδες ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας καὶ ἡ χειροτονία αὐτῶν", *KretChron* 13 (1959), 39-72. *Idem*, "Ἡ θρησκευτικὴ πολιτικὴ τῆς Ἑνετίας ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔναντι τῶν ὀρθόδοξων Κρητῶν ἀπὸ τὸν ΙΓ' ἕως τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος", *Epistimoniki Epeteris Philosophikis Scholis Panepistimiou Athinon* 20 (1969-1970), 21-38. M. Manoussakas, "Μέτρα τῆς Βενετίας ἔναντι τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπιρροῆς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατ' ἀνέκδοτα βενετικὰ ἔγγραφα (1418-1419)", *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960), 85-144. Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικούς τῆς Βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1439-17ος αι.)*, Thessaloniki 1967, 33-34. Let us note that Cretan presence on Telos was not uncommon. One example of such presence is the name of Nikolaos Vlastos, who in 1423/1424 dedicated the paintings of the church of the Saviour at Messaria. The name could in all likelihood belong to a branch of the Cretan family of Vlastos. On this, see N. Mastrochristos, "The Church of the Saviour at Messaria, Tilos and its Dedicatory Inscription (1423/24)" (forthcoming).

⁹² The site where the great battle against the Turks was won had been turned into an important pilgrimage site by being included in the city tour for Western travellers. The promotion of St. Panteleemon's cult among the Latins is suggested by the writings of some of those late 15th-century pilgrims who visited the city of Rhodes and recounted only the church of St. Pantaleone/Panteleemon. It is obvious from this that the cult of the Saint had overshadowed that of the Virgin, see Vaivre – Vissière, *Tous les deables*, *op.cit.* (n. 66), 811. Such a development hints at the possible cross-religious relations of the Latins of Rhodes with the Orthodox cult of St. Panteleemon. Similar practices were well known in the Eastern Mediterranean especially in the 15th century, see M. Mersch, "Churches as 'Shared Spaces' in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century)", G. Christ – F. J. Morche – R. Zaugg – W. Kaiser – S. Burkhardt – A. D. Beihammer

a new “state saint”, which the Greek population had honoured long ago and were quickly embracing again as their protector and mediator.⁹³ Another potent case in point is the Monolithos church which is also known to be dedicated to St. Panteleemon. As discussed above, this church could not be the one in the 1489 historical reference, given its unknown importance by then. We would have to assume then that its consecration to St. Panteleemon postdates the Sianna shrine. Furthermore, the location of the church in the castle precinct⁹⁴ and the latter’s administration by a Hospitaller garrison can be used as evidence amplifying the notion about the undertaking of a “state saint”. Hence, any possible agency of Pierre d’Aubusson in Telos signifies the importance with which the cult of St. Panteleemon was vested as a collective symbol of both communities. Its spread on Telos was a mark of a new era for the ravaged island by the Turks and the erection of new monastery with a “state cult” would be a lucrative business for the islanders as it would attract supplicants, pilgrims, and devotees and at the same time help the locals start prospering again, as they would have the most prominent protector residing on their land.

It must be obvious by now from bringing together the surviving, albeit fragmentary, evidence highlighted

(eds), *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Rome 2015, 461-484. Note also that his devotion to Saint Panteleemon followed him until his late years. In the painting he commissioned for a chapel in the cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa he is depicted in front of the Virgin with Christ flanked by the patron Saint John the Baptist on the left and Saint Panteleemon on the right. See with details Vaivre – Vissière, *Tous les deables*, op.cit. (n. 66), 117-118.

⁹³ State saints or state cults were attractive policies as means of convergence for populations in lands under Latin dominion. Such was the case with Saint Catherine’s cult adopted by the Lusignan kings of Cyprus as protectors of the realm. On this, see L. Calvelli, “Cypriot Origin, Constantinian Blood: The Legend of the Young Saint Catherine of Alexandria”, T. Papacostas – G. Saint-Guillain (eds), *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, Nicosia 2014, 361-390.

⁹⁴ The Monolithos castle was rebuilt in 1479. It is not known if the church pre-existed it or was a later addition after the rebuilding of the castle. On the Monolithos castle, see A. Triposkoufi – A. Tsitouri (eds), *Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες ιππότες. Δίκτυα οχυρωματικής αρχιτεκτονικής: Πειραματική ενέργεια ARCHI-MED*, Athens 2001, 204-205 (A. Stefanidou), with bibliography.



Fig. 14. Telos, katholikon of Hagios Panteleemon, fresco decoration of south wall. Detail of the donor Ionas (detail of Fig. 1).

hitherto about the donor of the katholikon and the pattern of its patronage that the new possible dating for the church is in the last decade of the 15th century, since one *terminus post quem* is set by the peace treaty with the Turks⁹⁵, which granted the Hospitaller states seventeen years’ –1483 till 1499– respite from hostilities, and another one by the church of the Dormition of Lindos dated to 1490. Moreover, the style of the painting of Ionas supports such a dating: the modelling of the face, striking naturalism of the portrait, spatial perception, use of perspective in the replication of the monastery, and even monochromy as an artistic device all bespeak of a talented painter from Rhodes fully aware of artistic developments in monumental painting and upper class tastes (Fig. 14)⁹⁶. Finally, when the foundation of the

⁹⁵ For an in-depth discussion of the treaty and seventeen ensuing years, see Vatin, *L’Ordre de Saint Jean*, op.cit. (n. 71), 181-239.

⁹⁶ The status of Ionas is indirectly suggested by the extent of his

new monastery was completed, it was imperative for it to be inaugurated by a powerful cult-image⁹⁷, which would intensify the place's sacredness and would thus shape the shrine's aura⁹⁸. To this end the donation of the icon of St. Panteleemon from its unknown old sacred space housing it in this new one as the icon of the patron saint is an act revealing even further this perception of the holy and it is inferred that it must have been by then an icon highly praised, worshipped and in the main focus of devotional life by its former Christian

donation. Moreover, the artistic output and visual kinship in the aesthetics and the rendering of the face of Jonah with that of St. John from his panel icon from the homonym church at Rhodes is telling. This observation would limit the icon's dating to the last quarter of the 15th century. On the panel, Kefala, "Εικόνα του αγίου Ιωάννη", op.cit. (n. 63), 445-452. Moreover, the marked difference in the execution of the rest of the decoration in the katholikon of Telos looks problematic. This would either mean that two painters worked together and the most talented painted the portrait of Ionas or that the one and only painter applied to the portrait of the donor the eclectic style, as an important commissioner and member of a high ranking class. Let us note here also that the three-line inscription over the arched south entrance of the katholikon is identical to lines 2-4 of the inscription of the south entrance of the Dormition of Lindos. This similarity offers one more supporting statement for a dating after 1490 and perhaps suggests that the same workshop had also worked on the now lost paintings of the late 15th century of the Lindos church.

⁹⁷ As has been postulated, when the monastery of Spiliani on Nisyros was renovated by the owner of the island at that time, Dragonetto Clavelli, a replica of a popular cult-object of Rhodes, the double-sided icon of the Virgin and St. Nicholas was offered to it as a holy icon. See Katsioti, "Νίσυρος", op.cit. (n. 48), 74.

⁹⁸ This aura was built by the legend of the divine dream that guided Jonah to the specific location where the monastery is. The fact that this site was also next to a spring which would be used as an *hagiasma* suggests that it met the necessary features of a shrine. For the tradition of the dream, Tarsouli, *Δωδεκάνησα*, op.cit. (n. 5). For another version of this divine legend, see Koutelakis, *Τήλος νήσος*, op.cit. (n. 4), 629.

congregation. The power to meet its spiritual and material benefits reiterates its function as the *palladion* in its new shrine⁹⁹. This function and the undiminished intensity of its veneration could be held responsible for the irreversible wear that damaged the face and led to its renovation, causing it to lose its old beauty to a new face and a silver revetment.

In conclusion, the cult of St. Panteleemon, which was not alien to either Greeks or Latins, emerged into broad visibility in the last quarter of the 15th century and both communities seemed to have responded to this emergence¹⁰⁰. The instigation of his cult should be ad-measured along with the number of events that laced the populace of the island together. Although it offered a unique chance for a new public cult to be established as a point of unity and shared fate of both audiences, the cessation of this venture from the successors of Pierre d'Aubusson left a few, fragmentary but elegant, albeit far from ostentatious, monuments.

⁹⁹ The latter can be assumed rather safely from the fact that the icon was renovated upon its donation by the late 15th-16th century. To this renovation we ascribe the golden background and the *tituli* of the saint in red, the extension of the halo over the existing one, the abrupt black lines of the drapery, and probably the red frame line seen in a few parts.

¹⁰⁰ Similar responses to cross-cultural and cross-religious appropriation phenomena were common in the 15th century. See for instance the cult of Kykkotissa in Cyprus, A. Weyl-Carr, "The Holy Icons: A Lusignan Asset?", D. H. Weiss – L. Mahoney (eds), *France and the Holy Land; Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, Baltimore 2004, 313-335.

Provenance of the figures

Figs 1, 10, 11, 13, 14: Prodromos Papanikolaou. Figs 2-6: Photographic Archive of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese. Fig. 7: Kefala, "Ένας σπάνιος άγιος", op.cit. (n. 54), fig. 2. Fig. 8: Κωνσταντινόπουλος, *Μουσεία της Ρόδου*, op.cit. (n. 56), fig. 22. Fig. 9: http://www.medievalart.org.uk/chartres/11_Pages/Chartres_Bay_11_Panel_04.htm. Fig. 12: Ioanna Bitha.

ΔΙΑΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΛΙΣΗ
ΣΤΟ ΙΠΠΟΤΙΚΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ. Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΛΟ

Στο πρώτο μέρος εξετάζεται η λιτανική εικόνα του αγίου Παντελεήμονος από το ομώνυμο μοναστήρι της Τήλου, μικρών σχετικά διαστάσεων, 50×40×3 εκ., που συντηρήθηκε πρόσφατα στα εργαστήρια της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Δωδεκανήσου. Η ασημένια επένδυση του έργου συνιστά μια σημαντική ιστορική μαρτυρία, καθώς αναφέρεται στη δραστηριότητα της ασήμωσης, συλλογικής χορηγίας των Τηλιακών κατά την ύστερη Τουρκοκρατία. Η αφαίρεσή της για τις εργασίες συντήρησης αποκάλυψε ένα άγνωστο μέχρι τώρα έργο με ιδιότυπη εικονογραφία, από το οποίο διακρίνονται δύο στρώματα, ένα σύγχρονο με την επένδυση που εντοπίζεται μόνο στο πρόσωπο, και ένα παλαιότερο που είναι και το αρχικό σε όλη την υπόλοιπη επιφάνεια, καθώς και μια επιζωγράφηση που εντοπίζεται στο χρυσόωμα του βάθους και σε άλλες λεπτομέρειες, η οποία πιθανολογείται ότι δεν είναι πολύ μεταγενέστερη της αρχικής ζωγραφικής. Η αναλυτική παρουσίαση της εικονογραφίας του αγίου, όπως αυτή είχε διαμορφωθεί στη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο, και οι αποκλίσεις που παρουσιάζει σε ροδιακά τοιχογραφημένα σύνολα της περιόδου του 14ου και του 15ου αιώνα, αποκαλύπτει την άγνωστη πτυχή μιας επιρροής ή μιας εξελικτικής διαδικασίας. Η εξέλιξη αυτή δεν είναι διαπιστωμένο αν βασίζεται απαραίτητα σε εικονογραφικά αντιδάνεια από τη δυτική τέχνη, ωστόσο ο εντοπισμός της την περίοδο της Ιπποτοκρατίας ειδικά στο νησί της Ρόδου είναι ιδιαίτερος ενδιαφέρουσα. Παράλληλα, η διαδομένη λατρεία του αγίου Παντελεήμονος στον ελληνικό πληθυσμό του νησιού και οι ισχνές εικονογραφικές μαρτυρίες για τη μορφή του αγίου στη δυτική τέχνη δεν επιτρέπουν άλλες ακριβέστερες μέχρι τώρα διαπιστώσεις.

Η έμφαση στην ανάλυση των ενδυματολογικών μονάδων του αγίου από την εικόνα της Τήλου παρέχει ένα διπλό πλαίσιο ανάγνωσης, ένα χρονολογικό που προσεγγίζει τον 15ο αιώνα, και ένα καλλιτεχνικό στο οποίο εγγράφεται και είναι αναμφίβολα αυτό του νησιού της Ρόδου. Άλλωστε, οι τεχνοτροπικές συγκρίσεις

διαφωτίζουν περαιτέρω αυτή τη διαπίστωση και φανερώνουν ότι ο καλλιτέχνης της εικόνας της Τήλου ήταν ενήμερος για τη δομική λειτουργία που έπαιξε ο σκιοφωτισμός στο πλάσιμο του προσώπου και των γυμνών μελών του σώματος. Παράλληλα, οι ενδείξεις αυτές συνδέουν το έργο με εκφράσεις της ύστερης παλαιολόγειας τέχνης, όπως αυτή διαμορφώνεται στη Ρόδο ως αντανάκλαση των επιρροών της υψηλής τέχνης που φθάνει στο νησί από την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Η συνεξέταση του έργου με σύνολα που αποδίδονται σε ροδιακά εργαστήρια εικόνων παρέχει τις ενδείξεις για μια στενότερη χρονολογική τοποθέτηση που προσεγγίζει στην τρίτη περίπου δεκαετία του 15ου αιώνα.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος εξετάζεται η άνθιση της λατρείας του αγίου Παντελεήμονος και γίνεται προσπάθεια να ενταχθεί σε ένα ειδικότερο συγκείμενο, όπως αυτό διαμορφώνεται από τις ιστορικές συνθήκες και συγκυρίες αλλά και από τις πολιτικές επιλογές του Τάγματος, πολιτικού διοικητή των νησιών. Η ξεχωριστή ανάπτυξη που έλαβε η τιμή στον άγιο Παντελεήμονα κατά το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 15ου αιώνα και η διαδοχική της διάδοση στο νησί της Τήλου θεωρείται πως συνιστούν δείγματα μιας οργανωμένης προσπάθειας από την πλευρά της κρατικής αρχής να υιοθετηθεί μια κοινή λατρεία ως μέσον σύγκλισης για αμφοότερες τις χριστιανικές κοινότητες στο νησί της Ρόδου και ευρύτερα. Η αναλυτική εξέταση των αρχαιολογικών μαρτυριών λειτουργεί ως δείκτης εντοπισμού αυτής της προσπάθειας. Υπό το πρίσμα αυτό εξετάζονται οι αρχιτεκτονικές ομοιότητες του καθολικού της μονής του αγίου Παντελεήμονα με την εκκλησία της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου της Λίνδου, ομοιότητες που δεν είναι τυχαίες, όχι μόνο λόγω της κοντινής τους χρονολογικής απόστασης, αλλά και πιθανότατα λόγω του κοινού χορηγού τους, παρέχοντας ταυτόχρονα και ένα *terminus post quem* για την ίδρυση του πρώτου. Το ίδιο προκύπτει και από την προσεκτική εξέταση της προσωπογραφίας και του προπλάσματος που φέρει ο κτήτωρ

και ιερομόναχος Ιωνάς, που εικονίζεται στο καθολικό, επί του νότιου τοίχου, δίπλα από την τοξωτή θύρα. Από αυτήν προκύπτει τελικά ότι δεν πρέπει να υπήρξε ο ιδρυτής της εκκλησίας αλλά μόνον των λοιπών κτηρίων που απαρτίζουν το μοναστήρι. Εξάλλου, η απεικόνιση του φωτανάματος του μοναστηριού είναι μια σπάνια όψη ρωπογραφικής λεπτομέρειας, άγνωστης από αλλού στην ύστερη βυζαντινή τέχνη.

Η πρόταση ότι πιθανώς η χορηγία του καθολικού να κατευθύνθηκε από τον μεγάλο μάγιστρο Pierre d'Aubusson δεν είναι χωρίς έρεισμα, και προς επίρρωση αυτής έρχονται όχι μόνο οι ιστορικές μαρτυρίες αλλά και η παρουσία ενός ανάγλυφου σταυρού σε αμφότερα τα μαρμάρινα ανώφλια της θύρας και του παραθύρου της νότιας πρόσοψης. Πιθανολογείται ότι στο πλαίσιο της συμβίωσης Ελλήνων και Λατίνων στο νησί της Ρόδου, μετά τα γεγονότα της πολιορκίας του 1480, υπήρξε μια συντεταγμένη προσπάθεια υπό τη

μαγιστρία του d'Aubusson για τη δημιουργία ενός σημείου σύγκλισης μεταξύ Ελλήνων και Λατίνων με την υιοθέτηση ενός «επίσημου» αγίου που θα λατρευόταν στα νησιά. Έτσι, διαφαίνεται ότι επιχειρήθηκε αυτή η σύγκλιση όχι μόνο σε θρησκευτικό αλλά και σε κοινωνικό επίπεδο. Η διάδοση της λατρείας του αγίου στην Τήλο υπό το πρίσμα αυτό υποδηλώνει τον προγραμματισμό και το ενδιαφέρον της κρατικής μηχανής για τη σταδιακή ανασυγκρότηση των νησιών, και εν προκειμένω της Τήλου, με την ίδρυση του μοναστηριού του Αγίου Παντελεήμονος. Ο καθαγιασμός του τελευταίου έγινε με την εικόνα που ήρθε πιθανώς από εκκλησία του νησιού της Ρόδου και έγινε το *παλλάδιο* της μονής.

*Υποψήφιος διδάκτωρ
Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης,
King's College London
prodromos.papanikolaou@kcl.ac.uk*