

Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

Τόμ. 10 (1981)

Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 10 (1980-1981), Περίοδος Δ'. Στη μνήμη του Ανδρέα Γρηγ. Ξυγγόπουλου (1891-1979)



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doi: [10.12681/dchae.909](https://doi.org/10.12681/dchae.909)

Βιβλιογραφική αναφορά:

VASSILAKES-MAVRAKAKES, M. (1981). Άγιος Φανούριος: Λατρεία και εικονογραφία (πίν. 49-60). *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 10, 223-238. <https://doi.org/10.12681/dchae.909>



ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

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ΑΘΗΝΑ 1981

SAINT PHANOURIOS:
CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY*

(PL. 49-60)

St Phanourios, celebrated on the 27th of August, is an enigmatic saint. He is commemorated in the *Synaxaria* of the nineteenth century¹, such as the *Neon Leimonarion*², the *Synaxarion* of Nikodemus Agioreites³, and the *Megas Synaxaristes* of K. Doukakes⁴, though he is not mentioned in such Byzantine *Synaxaria*, as the *Menologion* of Basil II, the *Synaxarion* of Symeon the Metaphrast or the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. He appears for the first time in a *Synaxarion* preserved in the cod. Vat. gr. 1190⁵, of 1542⁶. Even when he does appear, however,

* I would like to thank all those who, with their valuable criticism and suggestions helped me to minimize any errors in this paper, namely Mr M. Chatzidakis, Dr R. Cormack and Dr L. Bouras. My thanks are extended to Mr M. Borboudhakes, ephoros of the Byzantine Antiquities of Crete, who permitted me to publish the iconographic material on St Phanourios found in Crete and to Mr M. Michailides, director of Byzantine Antiquities, for the photo of St Phanourios' icon from Pholegandros. I always recall the discussion I had with Mr E. Kollias, ephoros of the Byzantine Antiquities in the Dodecanese, which greatly helped me at the beginning of this research. The contribution of † E. Eaton in the improvement of the english text was very important.

1. L. Petit, *Bibliographie des Acolouthies grecques*, Brussels, 1945, p. 236 - 239.
2. Νέον Λειμωνάριον, 2nd ed., Athens, 1873, p. 317 - 328.
3. N. Agioreites, *Συναξαριστής*, 3rd ed., Athens, 1914, p. 1 - 17.
4. K. Doukakes, *Μέγας Συναξαριστής Αύγουστου*, Athens, 1894, p. 337 - 397.
5. The cod. Vat. gr. 1190 consists of 1387 folios. It was offered to Pope Paul V by the Latin bishop of Sitia and Hierapetra, Alexandro Turriano, around 1594. M. Vogel - V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909, repr. Hildesheim, 1966, p. 174, A. Ehrhard, *Übelerieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 608 - 609, 870 - 871, R. Devreese, *Les fonds grecs de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, Città del Vaticano, 1965, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, p. 473, 480, B. Lourdas, *Κρητικά παλαιογραφικά*, Κρ. Χρ. 6 (1952), 50 - 51 and M. Manoussakas, *Ἡ χειροτονία ἱερέων τῆς Κρήτης ἀπὸ τὸν μητροπολίτη Κορίνθου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4 (1964 - 65), 319.

6. An inscription on fol. 819v of the Vatican manuscript gives the date of the codex,

there is no information given as to where and when St Phanourios lived and suffered martyrdom. Although my approach to the subject in this paper will be that of an art historian, the main question, which must be asked, is whether his life is a fact or a fiction. This study is divided into three parts; the first is a brief account of sources on St Phanourios, the second is concerned with the iconography of the saint and in the third some conclusions are proposed.

I. SOURCES ON ST PHANOURIOS

Our information about St Phanourios derives from two manuscripts and from the *Synaxaria* of the nineteenth century. The cod. Vat. gr. 1190, dated 1542, includes an account of miracles by St Phanourios (Pl. 49a). It was written in Crete and copies an earlier *Synaxarion*, probably also written in Crete. This account of miracles by St Phanourios, published in the *Acta Sanctorum* among the texts of saints celebrated on the 27th of May, is divided into two parts⁷. In the first, there is the story of a miracle by St Phanourios which, according to the text, caused his cult to spread from Rhodes, the only place where the saint was known, to Crete. It refers to four Cretan priests who, returning from the district of Coron to Crete, were arrested by the Turks. One was put to death immediately and the remaining three were taken to Palatia (the ancient Miletus) in Asia Minor and became slaves. After unsuccessful attempts to free them, the Cretan monk Jonas went to Rhodes to ask the help of a lord of the island, whom he knew personally. At that time this lord, George Petranis, was at Palatia and Jonas informed him of the case of the imprisoned Cretan priests and begged him to arrange their release. Petranis' answer was discouraging and Jonas, distressed by the reply, met Neilos the metropolitan of Rhodes, who advised him to go to the monastery of St Phanourios and seek the saint's help. The Cretan monk went to the monastery and, having prayed to the saint, met one Theodore, a former prisoner in Palatia, who had been recently set free and reported that the negotiations for the priests' release were making progress. Jonas attributed the good news to the intervention of St Phanourios and so, on leaving for Crete, ordered and took with him an icon of the saint. The account ends here without mentioning whether the priests were finally set free and returned to Crete, something implied

September 1542, the name of the scribe –the priest John Kodommenos, and the name of its owner –George Avramaios, bishop of Sitia. *L a o u r d a s*, op. cit. 50.

7. *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. 6, Venice, 1739, p. 37 - 43.

by the optimistic tone of the end of the text. The second part of the Vatican manuscript enumerates some of the miracles St Phanourios performed in Crete. In these, the saint features as helping the discovery of lost animals and objects and the cure of sick people and animals.

Dr E. Zachariadou has discussed the text of the first part and the date of the miracle⁸. She identifies Neilos, the metropolitan of Rhodes mentioned in the text, with the well-known hesychast Neilos Diasorenos⁹, who was ordained metropolitan of Rhodes in the fourteenth century. On account of the occupation of the island by the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem (1309 - 1522), Diasorenos would have spent the greater part of his service at Constantinople, but it appears that he went to Rhodes around 1357 because two Patriarchal letters of this year have been preserved, which were addressed to the inhabitants of Rhodes and the Cyclades on the occasion of the journey of the metropolitan of Rhodes to those islands¹⁰. As to whether Neilos finally went to Rhodes we have no evidence. The Vatican manuscript would provide the only evidence for the presence of Neilos in the island, which may be dated between 1357 (the year in which the Patriarchal letters were written) and 1366, when Neilos was appointed Patriarchal exarch¹¹. Within this period should be dated the miracle of St Phanourios, since it occurred when the metropolitan Neilos was in the island. The Vatican manuscript mentions also that when Petranis was at Palatia there occurred "many disputes and wars". Dr Zachariadou identifies these events with the war of 1360 between the Emirates of Aydin and Mendeshe¹². Her conclusion is that the miracle described in the cod. Vat. gr. 1190 can be dated around 1360¹³. Accordingly, the worship of St Phanourios in Crete began after 1360.

The centre of his cult in Crete was the monastery of Varsamonero¹⁴

8. E. Zachariadou, 'Ιστορικά στοιχεία σ' ένα θαύμα του αγίου Φανουρίου, Άρχαιον Πόντου 26 (1964), 309 - 318.

9. H. - G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich, Munich, 1959, p. 787, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, vol. 11, 1st part, Paris, 1931, cols. 674 - 675 (V. Grumel) and Zachariadou, op. cit. 312.

10. F. Miklosich - J. Müller, Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, vol. I, Vienna, 1860, repr. Darmstadt, 1968, p. 363 - 365 and Zachariadou, op. cit. 312.

11. Beck, op. cit. p. 787, Dictionnaire, p. 674 and Zachariadou, op. cit. 313.

12. Zachariadou, op. cit. 314, 316 - 317.

13. Ibidem, 317 - 318.

14. G. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti dell'isola di Creta, vol. 2, Venice,

in the prefecture of Heraclion, where the chapel of St Phanourios was erected in 1426 and decorated with frescoes in 1431, according to the preserved dedicatory inscription¹⁵. If the chronology of Zachariadou is accepted, about seventy years elapsed before the saint acquired his own place of worship in Crete. It would appear more likely, however, for the chapel to have been erected in the first years of the saint's worship in Crete and under the impact of the miraculous release of the Cretan priests and the return of the monk Jonas with the icon of the hitherto unknown St Phanourios. The founder of the chapel was the abbot of Varsamonero Jonas Palamas, who cannot be identified with the monk Jonas on the chronology of Zachariadou.

The miracle of the liberation of the Cretan priests is also described in a second manuscript of which four pages have been preserved – now in the possession of N. Stavrinides¹⁶, the translator of the Turkish Archives in the Municipal Library of Heraclion (Pl. 49b). It can be dated in the first half of the seventeenth century¹⁷, and is, therefore, later than the Vatican text of 1542. The story of the miracle of St Phanourios in the Heraclion version is very similar to that of the Vatican manuscript but in the following cases new information is recorded:

(a) The monk Jonas, who achieved the Cretan priests' release, is identified with the abbot of Varsamonero Jonas Palamas, the founder of St Phanourios' chapel.

(b) After the Cretan priests had been set free, they went to Rhodes, where they met the abbot Jonas Palamas and they all returned to Crete.

(c) The icon, which was painted by order of the abbot Jonas, was conveyed to the monastery of Varsamonero.

(d) The chapel of St Phanourios was erected a few years after the return of the priests to Crete and in particular when the abbot Jonas Palamas was cured of a serious infection in his legs with the help of the saint.

Despite the later date of the Heraclion manuscript its information seems historically more likely than that of the Vat. gr. 1190. By identi-

1908, p. 285, S. Spanakes, *Ὁδηγὸς Κρήτης*, vol. I, Heraclion, p. 88 - 91 and M. Chatzidakis, *Τοιχογραφίες στὴν Κρήτη*, Κρ. Χρ. 6 (1952), 72 - 75.

15. S. Xanthoudides, *Χριστιανικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης*, Ἀθηνᾶ XV (1903), 139 and Gerola, *op. cit.* vol. 4, Venice, 1932, p. 539 - 540.

16. I would like to thank him warmly for his kindness to permit me the publication of the manuscript.

17. A date between 1600 and 1640, based on the lettering of the text was suggested to me by Prof. N. Panayiotakes, to whom I express my thanks.

fying the Cretan monk Jonas with the abbot of Varsamonero, Jonas Palamas, it transfers the story of the miracle to the first decades of the fifteenth century (with a *terminus ante quem* of the year 1426, when the chapel of St Phanourios was erected). This date seems more acceptable for the miracle, since it disposes of a long interval of seventy years between the miracle and the erection of St Phanourios' chapel. The author of the Heraclion text is well acquainted with the monastery of Varsamonero, and the stories he narrates about St Phanourios were presumably current at the monastery itself. Several expressions suggest that he was probably a monk at Varsamonero¹⁸.

The information summarized so far derives from the two manuscript sources, and now the further evidence from the nineteenth-century *Synaxaria* may be considered. These, apart from the information they give about the miracle of the Cretan priests' release, are important for an understanding of the origins of St Phanourios' cult. According to these texts, in the fourteenth century some workmen, while gathering building material for the restoration of the city walls from the ruins of houses outside the southern walls of Rhodes, came across a ruined church, which contained many icons. These were all damaged except one, which depicted an unknown military saint, whose name, St Phanourios, was read on the icon by the metropolitan of Rhodes, Neilos. The authors of the nineteenth-century *Synaxaria* probably copied this story from earlier hagiographical texts on St Phanourios, which have not survived or have not yet been located. As early as the fifteenth century there was an *Akolouthia* of the saint, from which a single verse has been preserved in the fifteenth-century codex of Lavra L 164 (folio 405)¹⁹. In the sixteenth century, Nikolaos Malaxos composed verses and chants for St Phanourios, which exist today in the codex Marciana gr. 140²⁰. In one of these verses Malaxos refers to the church discovered at Rhodes, which he attributes to St Phanourios²¹.

It seems that the story of the discovery of the church in Rhodes was

18. . . . εις τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς αὐτὴν (i.e. the monastery). . . . ὠκοδόμησαν ἐκεῖ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Φανουρίου καθὼς φαίνεται τὴν σήμερον. . . . ἐρχομένου ποτὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου κυρ-Ἰωάνᾳ τοῦ ἡγουμένου βασιτάζοντος καὶ μίαν εἰκόνα. . . φέροντάς την. . .

19. S. Efstratiades, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 1960, p. 457 - 458.

20. *Ibidem*, p. 458.

21. Φανούριος φῶς πᾶσι πιστοῖς παρέχει / κἂν εἰς σκότος δ' ἔκειτο τῆς γαίας μέγα. / ἔνθα σοι σηκὸς Φανουρίοε ζάθεος ἔνι.

known in Crete at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the chapel of St Phanourios at Varsamonero was erected and decorated with frescoes (Pl. 50a). On the north wall there is a damaged scene with the inscription: . . . [ΦΑ]ΝΟΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΝ (=discovering the building of Phanourios) (Pl. 50b). The obvious interpretation of the scene is a representation of the finding of the church in Rhodes.

If we accept the story of the discovery of the church as true, then we might attribute the scarcity of information about the life of St Phanourios to the fact that this saint had been forgotten and remained unknown for several centuries until the church with his icon was found in Rhodes in the fourteenth century. In that case we must accept that the icon of Rhodes comprised at that time the only source of information about the saint and it may even have been the only pictorial account of St Phanourios.

The metropolitan of Rhodes, Neilos, is recorded in both stories, i.e. in the account of the discovery of the saint's church and icon in Rhodes as well as in the miracle of the Cretan priests' release, though some years might have elapsed between them. The Heraclion manuscript mentions Neilos in spite of the fact that the liberation of the priests must have taken place in the first decades of the fifteenth century, since the abbot Jonas Palamas is mentioned, who lived at a time when Neilos was no longer alive. Can it be that Neilos is only connected with the discovery of the church and the icon in Rhodes and not with the miracle of the Cretan priests' release? In that case his name was connected with the miracle in an attempt to give authenticity and importance.

To sum up this interpretation of the textual sources: The saint was completely unknown before the fourteenth century, when his church was discovered in Rhodes with an icon of the saint in it. The metropolitan of Rhodes Neilos read the name of St Phanourios on the icon. The cult of the saint was fostered through the dedication of a monastery to him. His cult was spread to Crete at the beginning of the fifteenth century, after his role in the liberation of three Cretan priests imprisoned by the Turks. A significant part in the liberation of the priests and the spread of the saint's cult in Crete was played by the abbot of Varsamonero, Jonas Palamas, who brought an icon of the saint to the island and erected the chapel of St Phanourios in the monastery of Varsamonero.

II. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST PHANOURIOS

The nineteenth-century *Synaxaria* describe the icon of Rhodes as showing the saint in military uniform and holding in his right hand a cross, which supported a burning candle. Around the central image of the icon there were twelve scenes from the saint's martyrdom, which are also described in the *Synaxaria*. All the surviving representations of St Phanourios, known to me, were painted on Crete. In the chapel of St Phanourios at Varsamonero military saints were depicted on the east, west and north walls, as also on the soffit of the arch of the east wall. Their state of preservation is mostly very poor and those of the north wall have been completely destroyed. So there is no trace of any representation of St Phanourios in the most likely place to be chosen. Apart from the scene depicting the discovery of the saint's church in Rhodes, there are four unidentified frescoes, one on the upper register of the north wall and the rest on the east wall, which may depict episodes from the life or miracles of St Phanourios.

The earliest certain representation of the saint is in the wall-decoration of the church of St Constantine at Avdou Pediados, painted in 1445²². On the south side of the eastern apse is a depiction of St Phanourios as a deacon (Pl. 51a). The saint, dressed in the normal garb of a deacon, holds in his left hand, raised at breast-level, an incense-case. Curls behind his ears adorn his delicate youthful face, an iconographic feature which accompanies the saint in all his depictions. On the left side of the fresco is the inscription: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ.

St Phanourios is also represented in a group of seven icons, three of which are signed by the painter Angelos while the others might be assigned to him on stylistic grounds. The activity of the Cretan painter Angelos is normally dated around 1600²³. The first work to be considered here is a double-sided icon once in the templon of St Phanourios' chapel at Varsamonero (dim.: 0,875 × 0,655)²⁴. On one side of it St Phanourios converses with Christ (Pl. 51b). The saint, turned towards the left, wears military uniform and carries a spear on his left shoulder. In his right

22. Xanthoudides, *Christian Inscriptions*, 60, Gerola, *Monumenti*, vol. 4, p. 513 and M. Michailides, *ΑΔ 25 (1970)B¹ Χρονικά*, pl. 28b.

23. A. Xynopoulos, *Σχεδιάσμα ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την Άλωσιν*, Athens, 1957, p. 169-171 and M. Chatzidakis, *Εικόνες της Πάτμου*, Athens, 1977, p. 116-119.

24. E. Borboudhakes, *Βυζαντινά και Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Κρήτης*, Κρ. Χρ. 25 (1973), 505, pl. 27 and Chatzidakis, *Patmos*, p. 118.

hand he would have held the cross supporting the candle²⁵, of which a very small part can be distinguished. On the right we may read part of his name [ΦΑ]ΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ. Christ on the left is turned towards the saint. He holds a scroll in his left hand and with his right makes a gesture of speech. Three scenes with miracles of St Phanourios are depicted in a register on the upper part of the same side. On the right at the bottom there is the signature ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (by the hand of Angelos). On the other side of the icon, St Phanourios is almost frontally depicted (Pl. 52a). Dressed in uniform he holds a spear in his right hand passing diagonally in front of his breast. His left hand, resting on a shield, holds the cross with the candle. At the upper left corner the hand of God gives a blessing and on the upper right the name of St Phanourios appears faintly. The icon has been cut at the top and the bottom, and the lower part of the saint has been preserved only down to the middle of the leg, while of the dragon, on which he treads, survives only a small part. It can be suggested that this side of the icon was painted first, for, after it had been cut at the top and the bottom, the other side was painted, on which the representation is entirely preserved. On the grounds of style, both sides can be attributed to Angelos, although his signature is found on one side only. If we compare the unsigned side of the Varsamonero icon with that of St Phanourios in Patmos²⁶ (Pl. 52b) bearing the signature of Angelos, we see that they share several iconographic and stylistic affinities. They display the same iconography and follow the same method in the rendering of lights (thin, parallel white lines) on the forehead and the cheek-bones of the saint. At the beginning the icon was presumably intended to be on a stand but after its alteration it was to be placed in the templon; this change of function might explain why it was cut soon after the first side was painted.

In the monastery of Varsamonero there is a second icon of St Phanourios in military uniform, enthroned and crowned by an angel (dim.: 0,92 × 0,665) (Pl. 53a). The greater part of the representation has been

25. The cross supporting the burning candle might be interpreted as a cross-shaped candlestick, though it is without a base. This type of candlestick has been preserved in few sixth-century examples. Byzantine Art - European Art, Athens, 1964, p. 447, no 536, J. S t r z y g o w s k i, Koptische Kunst - Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Vienna, 1904, p. 287, no. 9126, fig. 319 and H. S c h n e l l, Christliche Lichtsymbolik in den einzelnen Kunstsepochen, Das Münster 31 (1978), fig. in. p. 25.

26. C h a t z i d a k i s, Patmos, p. 117 - 119, pl. 27.

damaged. The saint's name has not survived but that it is St Phanourios is deduced not only from the individual features of his portraiture but also by the fact that a later copy of this icon bears the name of St Phanourios (Pl. 53b). The saint holds a spear in his right hand passing diagonally in front of his breast. His feet tread upon a dragon. The saint's face is rendered with a close network of lights, which becomes more intense on the cheek-bones, the forehead and the chin (Pl. 54a); it has the same restrained and, in a way, cold expression as the face of St Catherine in a icon from Patmos depicting the Virgin and St Catherine, which is signed by Angelos²⁷ (Pl. 54b). On the basis of its stylistic resemblance with the above icon from Patmos, this icon of St Phanourios should be also assigned to Angelos.

Two icons from the monastery of the Virgin Hodegetria (located in the south coast of the prefecture of Heraclion), which are now in the Collection of Icons and Treasures of St Catherine at Heraclion, also depict St Phanourios. Both can be attributed to Angelos on stylistic grounds. The first icon illustrates Christ's appearance to the Holy Women above and a miracle of St Phanourios below (dim.: 1,15 × 0,63)²⁸ (Pl. 55). The name of the saint ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟC appears clearly. The way in which the face of St Phanourios has been painted is very similar to that of Christ conversing with St Phanourios in the double-sided icon of Varsamonero (Pls. 56a, b). Both faces have been rendered with characteristic white brush-strokes, which create a network of lights on the forehead, the cheek-bones and the neck. The nose has been rendered in the same way in both icons as also the shadows below the eyes. Both faces are distinguished by their nobility, the result of delicate modelling.

In the second icon from the same monastery St Phanourios is shown as a military saint (dim.: 0,90 × 0,51)²⁹ (Pl. 57a). He holds in his right hand a spear and in his left a shield and the cross of which only a part survives, because the icon has been cut at the bottom and on the right side. At the upper right corner appears the hand of God blessing and at the left Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟC can be read. The face of the saint has been painted with the same characteristic brush-strokes found in the icons signed by Angelos.

The two last icons of the same painter are unpublished. One is in the Aegean island of Pholegandros and is signed by Angelos (dim.:

27. *Ibidem*, p. 116 - 117, pls. 49, 127.

28. Τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ ὁ Νομός του, Heraclion, 1971, pls. 382, 383.

29. *Ibidem*, pl. 385.

0,795 × 0,497)³⁰ (Pl. 57b). The second is in a private collection in Athens and must be assigned to Angelos on account of style and resemblance to his signed icons (dim.: 0,84 × 0,335)³¹ (Pl. 58). In both the saint is shown in military uniform.

Apart from the icons painted by Angelos there is in Crete another icon of St Phanourios which has been already mentioned as copying the icon of the enthroned St Phanourios from Varsamonero (dim.: 0,90 × 0,60) (Pl. 53b). It bears the date ΑΧΠΗ (1688) and the inscriptions: ΧΕΙΡ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΥΒΑ (By the hand of the priest John Kolyvas) and ΔΕΗCIC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΒΥΓΛΑ ΕΝ ΜΩΝΙ ΒΑΡCΑΜΟΝΕΡΩ. (Prayer of the servant of God the priest-monk Parthenios Daviglas in the monastery of Varsamonero). It comes from the monastery of Varsamonero but is today found in the church of St Matthew in Heraclion.

Outside Crete I have been able to locate five icons of St Phanourios. They all seem to be of Cretan origin and date from the seventeenth and the eighteenth century:

(a) An icon at Sinai with a bust of the saint shown as a martyr³². (Pl. 59a). He holds before him in his right hand the martyr's cross, which supports the characteristic burning candle; his left hand is held out in a gesture of prayer.

(b) An icon in the Lavra monastery on Athos with the saint in military uniform³³ (Pl. 59b).

(c) An icon in San Marco in Venice with St George and St Phanourios, both in military uniform (dim.: 0,20 × 0,16)³⁴.

(d) An icon from the Collection of Icons of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice with St Merkourios, St Catherine and St Phanourios (dim.: 0,26 × 0,30)³⁵. The two male saints are in military uniform.

(e) An icon of St Phanourios in a Swiss collection (dim.: 0,383 × 0,26)³⁶. The saint is again in military uniform.

30. Chatzidakis, Patmos, p. 118.

31. Ibidem, p. 118.

32. Ibidem, p. 118.

33. I thank Mr M. Chatzidakis for the information and the photo.

34. A. Rizzi, Le icone bizantine e postbizantine delle chiese veneziane, *Θησαυρισματα* 9 (1972), no. 36, 274 - 275, pl. K. 1.

35. M. Chatzidakis, Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut, Venice, 1962, no. 138 (93), p. 153.

36. M. Chatzidakis, V. Djurić, M. Lazović, Les icônes dans les collections suisses, Geneva, 1968, no. 22, pl. 22.

Two of the icons painted by Angelos, which have been already mentioned, include scenes with miracles of St Phanourios. In the icon from the monastery of the Virgin Hodegetria the main feature is a ship sailing in a stormy sea (Pl. 60a). To the left stands St Phanourios as a martyr, and to the right end of the ship the Virgin in a posture of supplication. In the ship there are also three priests; two of them kneel in prayer and the third is busy with the sails of the ship, from which two winged demons are flying away. A fourth figure, dressed as a layman, kneels with his hand stretched towards the ship's anchor. The same miracle is illustrated in the middle of the three scenes in the Varsamonero icon (Pl. 60b). The poor state of its preservation permits us only to distinguish with difficulty the two praying priests, the hand and part of the body of the third, close to the mast, St Phanourios to the left, part of the Virgin to the right and one of the flying demons. From a worn inscription we may reconstruct the words: Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ, ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ and ΘΑΛΑССΑ.

Here a scene from the liberation of the Cretan priests and in particular their return to Crete may be illustrated. St Phanourios, by whose help they were set free, accompanies them to their return journey. The presence of the Virgin in the miracle as well as her depiction in the fresco of St Phanourios' chapel discovery, may be explained by a particular relation between St Phanourios and the Virgin: the transverse chapel of St Phanourios at Varsamonero was erected in the place of the narthex of the Virgin's chapel at the same monastery. St Phanourios and the Virgin appear together also in a story contained in the Heraclion manuscript.

From the first scene on the Varsamonero icon part of the Christ has survived on the right, and of St Phanourios only his cross supporting a candle has been preserved on the left (Pl. 61a). From the very few remains of an inscription on the left we may reconstruct the word ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ. Here, as in the central scene of the same side, Christ would have been shown conversing with St Phanourios (Pl. 51b). This conversation needs not refer to any particular event in the saint's life. Since military saints are considered first of all soldiers of Christ³⁷, the conversation of Christ with St Phanourios in the Varsamonero icon may perhaps emphasize this relation. Furthermore, saints act as mediators, interceding, that is to Christ for the salvation of the mankind. This may be the reference in the icon of Varsamonero with St Phanourios asking for the salvation of Christians³⁸.

37. St. Phanourios is called in his Akolouthies ἀθλητής τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀήττητος στρατιώτης, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀθλήσας etc.

38. The mediating role of St Phanourios is underlined throughout his Akolouthies.

In the third scene from the same icon, St Phanourios is standing on a tower-like building (Pl. 60d). On the right is a tethered horse. A worn inscription on the right reads: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΩΝ . . . ΦΩΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΥΕΤΟΥ (St Phanourios protecting . . . phos from heavy rain). In the Vatican and the Heraclion manuscripts there are two miracles with St Phanourios giving protection from heavy rain. In the Vatican miracle the saint is said to have protected from heavy rain the dried figs of a certain George. In the Heraclion text St Phanourios protected from heavy rain Jonas, the abbot of Varsamonero who was returning from the city of Chandax (Heraclion) to the monastery of Varsamonero carrying an icon of St Phanourios. One of those miracles may be illustrated in the Varsamonero icon.

From the brief examination of the surviving icons with miracles of St Phanourios there is no indication that the artist Angelos, who painted them, had any other information about the saint's life beyond that contained in the Vatican and the Heraclion manuscripts. This reinforces the opinion that the first source of information about St Phanourios was the icon found in Rhodes, from which his iconography appears to have originated. The icon Jonas brought to Crete must have been a copy of the icon of Rhodes.

In the representations of St Phanourios, listed here, the saint is not shown only as a soldier, as for instance he was depicted in the icon of Rhodes, but also as a martyr saint and as a deacon. It was normal for military saints to be shown sometimes as martyrs³⁹. Instead of the normal martyr's cross, St Phanourios holds the cross supporting a burning candle. As for the illustration of St Phanourios in the form of a deacon, it is not clear if there is any theological reason or if it shows uncertainty about the biographical data of the saint⁴⁰.

The *Synaxaristes* mention that in the icon of Rhodes the military St Phanourios held a cross supporting a candle, and this iconographic attribute accompanied the saint in all his representations. But apart from the cross, the military St Phanourios is illustrated with a spear

39. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris, 1909, p. 5. For examples of military saints depicted as martyrs, G. and M. Soteriou, *Ικόνες του Μοντ Σιναι, I. Planches*, Athens, 1956, pls. 4, 6, 7, 47, 62, 64 etc.

40. It is interesting to note that St Demetrios was transformed into a military saint, though he was originally a deacon. C. Mango, *Byzantium the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 157. The case of St Phanourios is completely the opposite; he is mentioned in the textual sources as a military saint but he was transformed into a deacon in one of his depictions.

and a shield, which are the usual equipment of the military saints. The dragon, on which he treads in some icons, connects St Phanourios with the dragon slayers St George and St Theodore, with the exception that St Phanourios is not shown on horseback at the moment of slaying the dragon but on foot treading on him. This representation of St Phanourios reflects the symbolism of the subduing of evil, which the dragon represents, rather than any particular miracle performed by the saint. In no representation, known to me, does St Phanourios slay the dragon. St George and St Theodore are illustrated as dragon slayers not only on horseback but also on foot⁴¹. The iconographic scheme of St Phanourios enthroned, being crowned by an angel is found in representations of military saints: St George⁴², St Demetrios⁴³, St Theodore⁴⁴ etc. We see, therefore, that the iconography of St Phanourios conforms with the illustrations of other military saints. The cross with the candle, which is characteristic of St Phanourios only, could be interpreted with the help of the sixteenth-century verse of N. Malaxos mentioned above, which says that St Phanourios gives light to all the

41. St George is shown on foot slaying the dragon in a Cretan icon of the beginning of the sixteenth century from Patmos, *Chatzidakis*, Patmos, p. 76, pl. 26, in a seventeenth-century icon in the Benaki Museum, *ibidem*, fig. 205, in another of the same date in the Historical Museum of Heraclion, *Heraclion*, pl. 360 and in two icons in the Zante Museum of the seventeenth century too, *Chatzidakis*, Patmos, p. 76. The only representations of St Theodore on foot slaying the dragon, known, to me, are found in a thirteenth-century enameled icon in the Hermitage, *A. Bank*, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the Soviet Museums*, Leningrad, 1977, pl. 196 and in an icon from the Loverdos Collection painted by Angelos.

42. St George is depicted enthroned in a marble-relief of the beginning of the thirteenth century from San Marco in Venice, *R. Lange*, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone*, Recklinghausen, 1964, pl. 28, in a sixteenth-century icon from the Stavroniketa monastery on Mt Athos, *Ch. Patrinelles*, *A. Karakatsanes*, *M. Theochari*, *Μονή Σταυρονικήτα - Ιστορία - Εικόνες - Χρυσόκεντήματα*, Athens, 1974, pl. 52 and in a sixteenth-century icon from Plovdiv, *K. Weitzmann*, *M. Chatzidakis*, *K. Miatev*, *S. Radojčić*, *Frühe Ikonen, Sinai-Griechenland-Bulgarien-Jugoslawien*, Vienna, 1965, pl. 125.

43. St Demetrios is shown enthroned in a twelfth-century Russian icon in the Tetryakov Gallery, *D. T. Rice*, *Byzantine Painting, the Last Phase*, London, 1968, pl. 130, in a marble-relief from San Marco of the beginning of the thirteenth century, *Lange*, *Reliefikone*, p. 87 and in an icon of the end of the sixteenth century from Mykonos, *A. Xyngopoulos*, *Ὁ εἰκονογραφικὸς κύκλος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου*, Thessaloniki, 1970, pl. IV.

44. St Theodore is represented [enthroned] in a seventeenth-century icon in Skopia, *Razstava Ikon*, *Narodna Galerija*, Ljubljana, 1963, no. 54, pl. 30.

faithful. . .⁴⁵ It could be also explained by the saint's main attribute to bring things into light, to reveal things.

III. CONCLUSION

This study of St Phanourios has uncovered several affinities between him and St George. In view of those affinities it is necessary to examine whether St Phanourios ever existed or when and how he was invented. In the first of the miracles recorded in the Vatican manuscript, St Phanourios helped a woman called PHEME to find her lost ox. The text itself comments that this is similar to what the great St George did⁴⁶; St George helped a certain Theopistos to find his two lost oxen⁴⁷. In another miracle of the same manuscript St Phanourios healed the dying horse of the monk Theodoulos and the ox of a certain Nikolaos. We know that St George raised the dead ox of the farmer Glykerios⁴⁸ and the ox of the son of a woman called Scholasteke⁴⁹. According to the Vatican and the Heraclion manuscripts, St Phanourios liberated the Cretan priests; St George liberated a Paphlagonian youth abducted by the Saracens⁵⁰, and a Mytilenian boy abducted by the Corsairs of Crete⁵¹. The miracles performed by various saints often follow similar patterns including repetitions of the same events. Of the common miracles performed by St Phanourios and St George I have isolated only those, which are unique to them. These miracles mostly refer to animals connected with pastoral and farming occupations with which St George is especially associated and also to liberation of abducted people.

Most of the twelve scenes of St Phanourios' martyrdom, shown in the icon of Rhodes and described by the *Synaxaristes*, are paralleled in the martyrdom of St George. The accounts of saints' martyrdoms often present many common features. What is peculiar in the martyrdoms

45. See footnote 2.

46. . . . ὡς ὁ μέγας Γεώργιος . . .

47. *Miracula Sancti Georgi*, ed. J. B. Aufhauser, Lipsiae, 1913, p. 44 - 64 and *Collections grecques de miracles: Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits)*, Saint Georges, tr. et annotés par A. J. Festugière, Paris, 1971, p. 288 - 293.

48. For the textual sources of the miracle, T. M a r k - W e i n e r, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, New York University, Ph. D., 1977, p. 212.

49. *Ibidem*, p. 212.

50. *Miracula*, p. 13 - 39 and *Collections*, p. 276 - 287.

51. *Miracula*, p. 100 - 103 and *Collections*, p. 313 - 315.

of St Phanourios and St George is that they are almost identical⁵².

In Rhodes, where the worship of St Phanourios is first documented, St George was held in special honour with a large number of churches dedicated to him. On the other hand the only Byzantine church of St Phanourios⁵³, existing today in Rhodes, was dedicated to the saint very recently, after the liberation of the island from the Italian occupation, in 1948. The church had been transformed into a mosque during the Turkish occupation of Rhodes and subsequently became a store-house⁵⁴. Hence its original dedication to St Phanourios is a modern one. In its fresco-decoration there are no traces of any representation of St Phanourios, and its present dedication is unlikely to be the original one.

The name of St Phanourios is etymologically associated with the saint's main attribute to reveal lost objects and animals. In the Vatican manuscript are listed three miracles in which St Phanourios brought things to light. ΑΓΙΕ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΕ ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΕ ΜΟΥ (St Phanourios reveal to me) is a phrase quite often heard today in Greece. We have seen that St George showed Theopistos where he could find his oxen. St George also, according to the Greek popular tradition, which undoubtedly echoes older tradition, reveals lost children. St Theodore too is presented as having the same ability in a miracle cited in the *Vita* of Joseph the Hymnographer composed by John the deacon and dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century⁵⁵. According to the miracle, St Theodore helped a man to find his lost servant⁵⁶. In that miracle St Theodore bears the appellation ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ (revealer).

52. I cite from the Synaxaria some of the martyrdom scenes of St Phanourios in order to show this connection: a. The martyr was stretched out on the ground, scourged by two soldiers. b. He was tortured on a wheel. c. He lay on the ground with a heavy stone on his chest. d. He was buried in a lime-pit with his hands raised to heaven.

53. A. O r l a n d o s, Βυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία Ρόδου, ABME 6 (1948), vol. I, 86, fig. 78, vol. II, 164 - 173.

54. A. G a b r i e l, La cité de Rhodes, MCCCX - MDXXII, vol. 2, Architecture civile et religieuse, Paris, 1923, p. 193.

55. E. T o m a d a k e s, Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος, βίος καὶ ἔργον, Athens, 1971, p. 30 - 31.

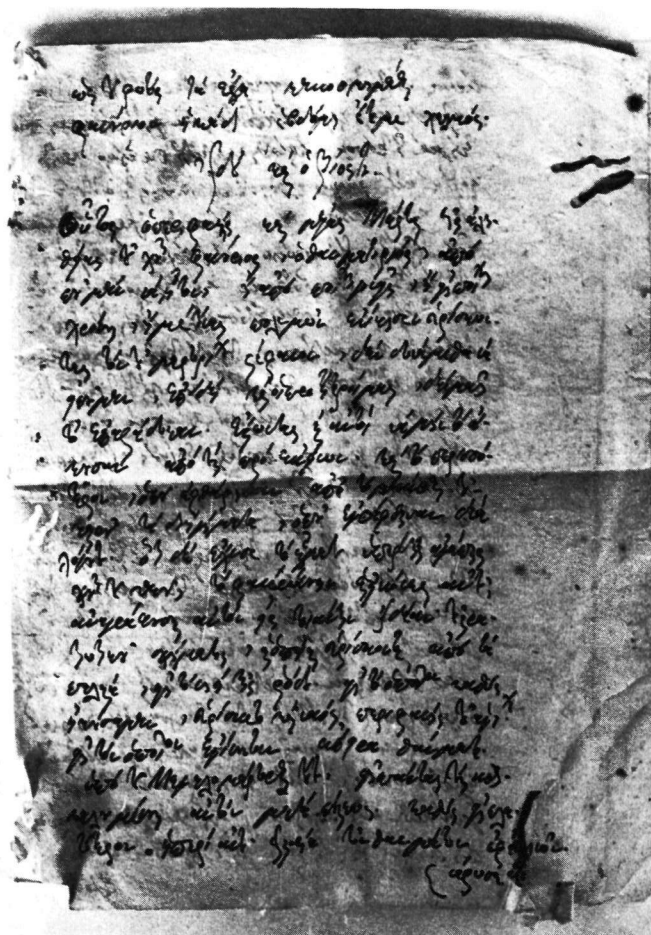
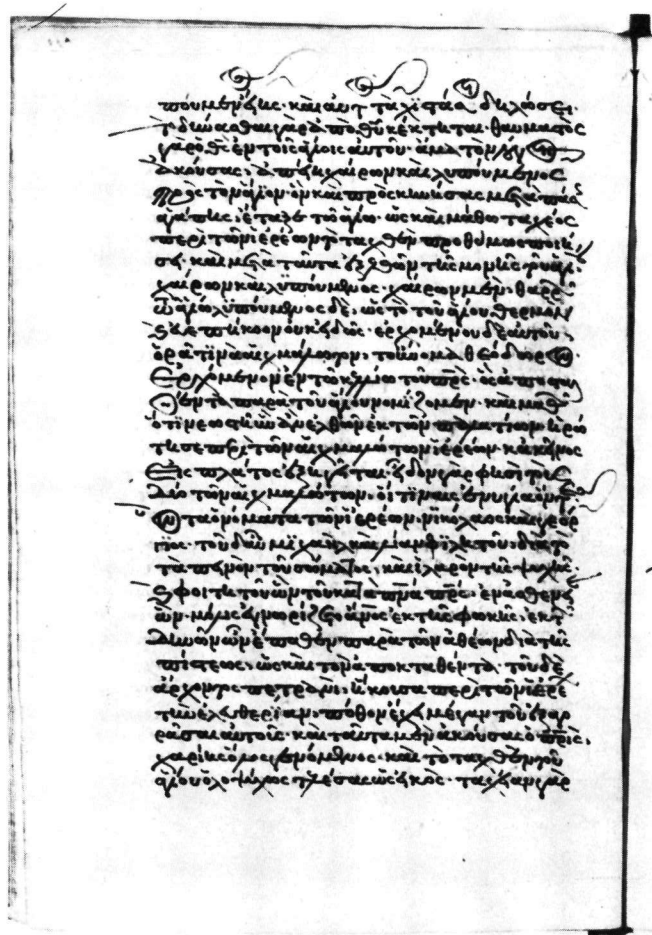
56. P.G. 105, col. 933: Ἐχων δοῦλον χρήσιμον, ἐπειπερ ὁ δοῦλος ἔφυγεν, ἀπελθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Θεόδωρον τὸν Φανερωτὴν, παρεκάλει αὐτὸν φανεράσαι τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ· προσμείνας δὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ μηδὲν μαθὼν ἐβουλεύετο ἀναχωρήσαι. Ὁρθρου δὲ ὄντος, καὶ λόγου ψυχοφελοῦς ἀναγιγνωσκομένου, μικρὸν ἀφύπνωσε, καὶ ὦρα τὸν μάρτυρα λέγοντα αὐτῷ· Ἴνα τί περίλυπος εἶ; Τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἰωσήφ κοιμηθέντος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί, ὀψικεῦθη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πάντων ἡμῶν, οὓς κανόσιν καὶ ὕμνοις ἐτίμησεν καὶ ἔσσυνοψίσθη εἰς Θεόν· καὶ νῦν πάρειμι πρὸς σέ. Τοῦ λοιποῦ τοίνυν δηλώσει. Ἄπελθε κατὰ τόνδε τὸν τόπον, τοῦνομα προσειπῶν, καὶ εὐρήσεις, ὃν ἐπιζητεῖς οἰκέτην σου.

There is substantial evidence for the conclusion that St Phanourios is an invented saint, who was created from a mingling of other saints, a process which can be paralleled in other cases⁵⁷. The name ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ would have been created from the appellation ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ either from its use for St Theodore or for St George (in the latter case the term, though appropriate, is not documented).

The process of assimilation of saints suggested in this paper could be best understood on the basis of the following hypothesis: the icon found in Rhodes actually depicted either St George or St Theodore. Whichever saint it was, his name was accompanied by the appellation ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ. The hagiography of St Phanourios makes it more likely that the icon illustrated St George and twelve scenes from his martyrdom and miracles; this saint was the most popular on Rhodes. The representations of St Phanourios have facial characteristics in common with St George: both have youthful beardless faces and short hair. On the other hand St Theodore normally was bearded. It seems that the appellation of St George as ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ had been forgotten by the fourteenth century, as was the case with the same appellation of St Theodore. It seems also that in the icon of Rhodes the name of the saint had been worn and that is why only an educated person, such as the metropolitan Neilos, could read it. Therefore, if the proper name of St George had been destroyed from the icon of Rhodes and only few letters from his appellation ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ had survived, these have been interpreted as the proper name ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ thus creating a new saint completely unknown till then. That is they gave to the word ΦΑΝΕΡΩΤΗΣ and ending (ΟΥΡΙΟΣ) known from another military saint, St Merkourios. This means that St Phanourios was created from the misreading of an icon's inscription and that he never existed previously. The fact that no icon of St Phanourios has been preserved in Rhodes may indicate that the confusion regarding the saint soon became known in the island and the saint was suppressed. In Crete, however, his cult was widespread and survives to this day. In present times St Phanourios is one of the favourite Greek popular saints. He is worshipped and honoured all over Greece as the saint who reveals lost objects.

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57. This is the case between St Theodore Tyron and St Theodore Stratelates (Delehaye, *Saints militaires*, p. 15 - 16), as well as between St Nicholas of Myra and St Nicholas of Sion (Mango, *Byzantium*, p. 156 - 157).



a. Vat. gr. 1190. Folio 1093 v (photo Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana). b. The Heraclion Manuscript. Fol. 1.



Moni Varsamonerou (Crete). a. South-east façade. b. The discovery of St Phanourios church, fresco.



a. Avdou (Crete), St Constantine. St Phanourios, fresco. b. Moni Varsamonerou (Crete). St Phanourios, icon.

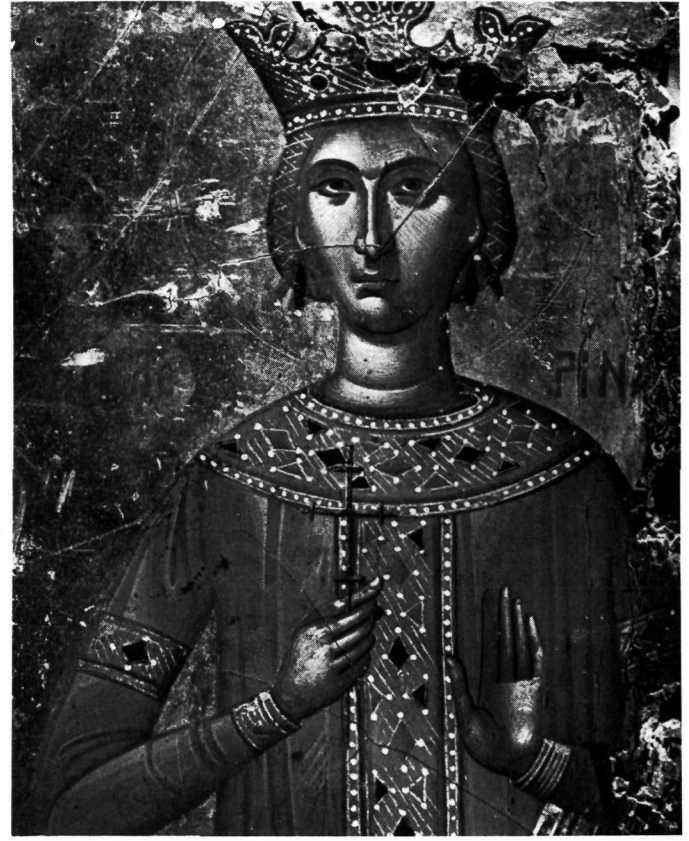


a. Moni Varsamonerou (Crete). St Phanourios, icon.
b. Patmos. St Phanourios, icon (photo Nat. Bank of Greece).

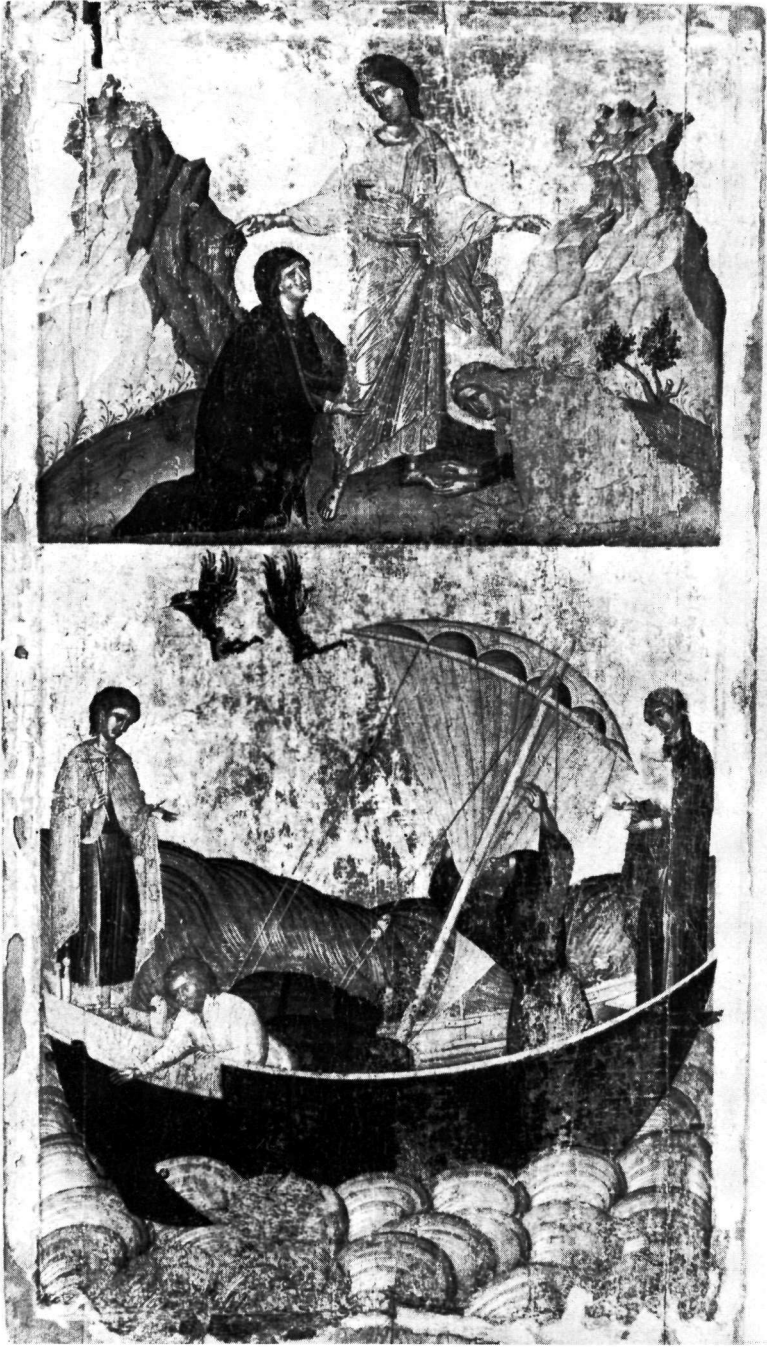




a. Moni Varsamonerou (Crete). St. Phanourios, icon. b. Heraclion (Crete). St Matthew, St Phanourios, icon.



a. St Phanourios, detail of Pl. 53a. b. Patmos, St Catherine. Detail of an icon.



Heraclion (Crete), Collection of St Catherine. Icon.



a. St Phanourios, detail of Pl. 55. b. The Christ, detail of Pl. 51b.



a. Heraclion (Crete), Collection of St Catherine. St Phanourios, icon. b. Pholegandros. St Phanourios, icon (photo G. Masto-



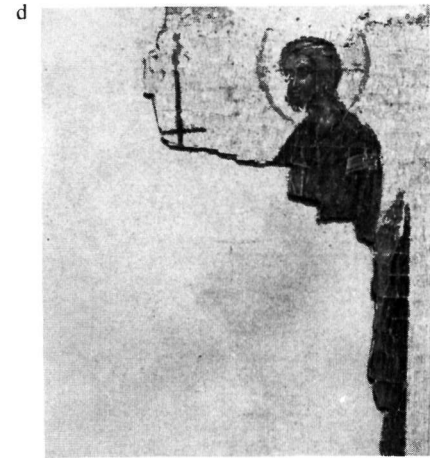
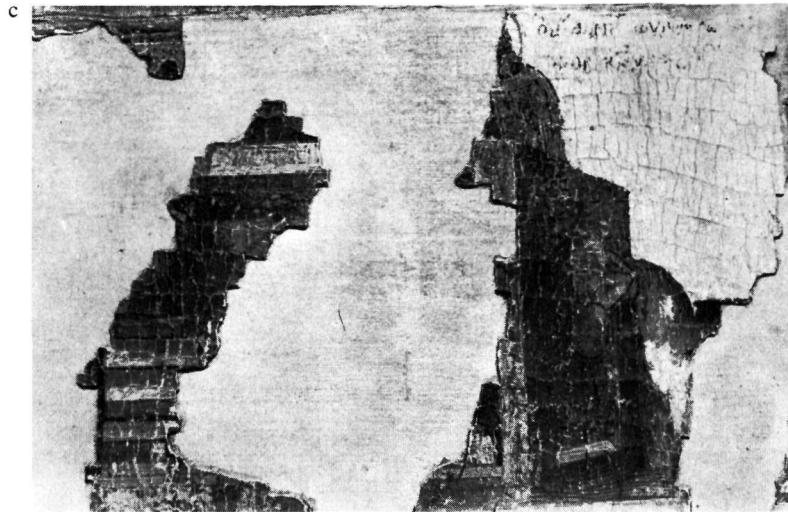
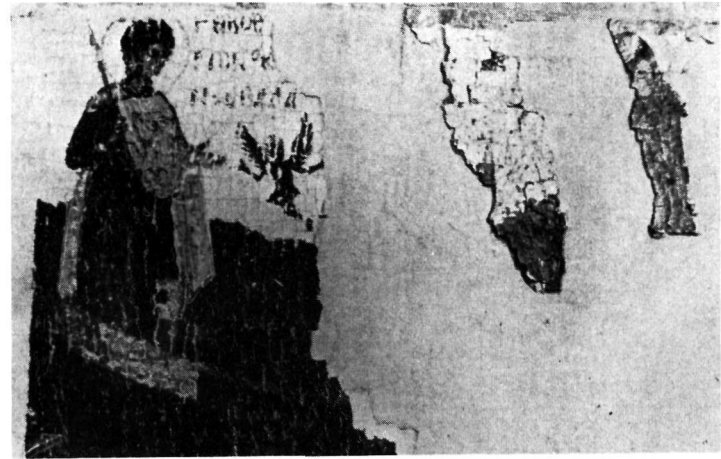
Private Collection, Athens.
St Phanourios, icon;
by courtesy of the
owner Mrs R. Andreades



a. Mt Sinai. St Phanourios, icon.

b. Mt Athos, Grand Lavra. St Phanourios, icon (photo Nat. Bank of Greece, by courtesy of Mr M. Chatzidakis).





Miracles by St Phanourios. a. Detail of Pl. 55. b, c, d. Details of Pl. 51b.