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## The Antimension (1620) of Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem\*

In 1978 during archaeological excavations in the Near Caves of the Kyiv Lavra there was found an antimension<sup>1</sup> consecrated in 1620 by Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1608-1644). This is one of the earliest antimensia from Ukraine, which has survived in good condition; after restoration it has been shown recently in various exhibitions<sup>2</sup>. It is made of silk, with images of the Man of Sorrows in the centre and the Evangelists in the corners, painted in

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1 An antimension is a rectangular piece of cloth, with relics sewn in, which is spread on the altar during the Eucharist. During consecration of the bread and wine, the paten and chalice were placed on it. At other times it is kept folded in a special cover. The name is believed to derive from the Greek »anti«, »instead of«, and Latin »mensa«, »table« or in this case »altar«. Early Christians used the antimension as a portable altar in periods of persecution. Even now the antimension can be used instead of an altar for special services in an army camp, on board a ship, and so on.

Patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops had the right to consecrate antimensia, which have an inscription giving details of who consecrated them, when, and for which church. Sometimes no particular church is named, the antimension is valid »in any place in the kingdom of the Lord«. They can also include the names of the ruler, the donor and the artist.

Antimensia are usually made from linen, silk or satin; but rarely wood was used. For example, the Kykko monastery in Cyprus has a wooden antimension of 1653, which includes a Byzantine ivory relief of St Paul from the 7th century, together with the relics of 24 saints, set into it. See Abbot Chrysostomos, *The holy, royal monastery of Kykko, Cyprus* 1969, pp. 43 & 65.

The text and images on antimensia were drawn in ink, painted in tempera, printed by woodblocks or engraved plates, or (more rarely) embroidered. Typical images consisted of the Cross, the Lamb, the Man of Sorrows, or (most commonly) the Entombment.

The primary sources for the history of antimensia are K. Nikol'skii, *Ob antiminsakh pravoslavnoi russkoi tserkvi*, SPB 1872, I. Goshev, *Antiminsüt; liturgicheskoe i tsürkovno-arkheologicheskoe izsledvane*, Sofia 1925, and J. M. Izzo, *The antimension in the liturgical and canonical tradition of the Byzantine and Latin churches*, Rome 1975.

2 National Historico-Cultural Reserve of the Kyiv Pecherska Lavra, inv. KPL-T-5224, silk, tempera, 35 x 49.5 cm. The central part is heavily worn, with loss of much of the pigment. Constant folding has resulted in horizontal and vertical lines of broken threads. Further damage has occurred above the relics sewn into the back. The antimension was restored by Inna Chornokaps'ka. For the exhibitions in which it was shown, see *Tserkovni starozhytnosti XVI-XVII stolit'*, Kyiv 1999, p. 33.

tempera by an unknown artist. It also has inscriptions in Greek and Slavonic, from which we learn that it was consecrated on May 25, 1620, during the Patriarch's stay in Kyiv. To understand the importance of this unique object, it has to be examined first as a document of church history, connected with the Patriarch Theophanes, whose visit to Muscovy and Ruthenia in 1617-1621 had long-lasting effects on the history of their churches; and secondly as an artistic object, created with great skill, which occupies an important place among other antimensia created at this time.

### Patriarch Theophanes and his Journey in 1617-1621

From the middle of the 16th century it became normal practice for the patriarchs of the Eastern church or their envoys to visit Moscow in order to obtain financial support<sup>3</sup>. Theophanes was born in about 1570 in Demetsana in the Peloponnese, and was christened Karakallos<sup>4</sup>. He first visited Moscow in 1603 as an archimandrite and head of the delegation sent by his uncle, Sophronios IV, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Boris Godunov, and received generous gifts. His second visit, now as Patriarch of Jerusalem himself, was at the invitation of the Russian ambassador in Istanbul<sup>5</sup>. His visit was supported by Timotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasios, Patriarch of Antioch, and Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the hope that he might be able to alleviate the problems of the orthodox population of Eastern Europe<sup>6</sup>. Theophanes bore a charter issued by the Patriarch Timotheos in Istanbul which appointed him as a plenipotentiary, and he was escorted by the exarch, archimandrite Arsenios<sup>7</sup>. He left Istanbul for Moldavia in March 1617, expecting to find there an escort sent by the Russians; this did not appear, and he took the risk of travelling through the steppes of Crimea, where he was imprisoned by the Tatars for nearly one and a half years. He was delayed again for half a year in the town of Tula because of the siege of Moscow by the army of the Polish Prince Wladyslaw, supported by the Cossack host under Petro Konashevych

3 N. Kapterev, *Snosheniia ierusalimskikh patriarkhov s russkim pravitel'stvom s poloviny XVI do kontsa XVIII stoletiiia in Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik*, SPB 1895, XV i.

4 G. Hofmann, *Griechische Patriarchen und Römische Päpste in Orientalia Christiana*, Roma 1933, XXX,1; *Θρησκευτική και ήθική έγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Athens 1965, VI, col. 370-373.

5 W. Medlin & C. Patrinelis, *Renaissance influences and religious reforms in Russia*, Geneve 1971, p. 38.

6 From Theophanes' account in his charter to the Kyiv Brotherhood of 26 May, 1620, see *Pamiatniki, izdannye vremennoi kommissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*, Kyiv 1846, II, pp. 68-69.

7 For a Polish version of this charter, see M. Koialovich, *Litovskaia tserkovnaia uniiia*, SPB 1861, p. 317-318.

Sahaidachnyi, and finally arrived in the Russian capital in February 1619<sup>8</sup>. The file of documents (delo) concerning his visit, formerly in the main Moscow archive of the Foreign Ministry, has not survived<sup>9</sup>. In the great fire of Moscow of May 3, 1626 a mass of official documents were destroyed, including some relating to Theophanes<sup>10</sup>, and for his activities there scholars have to reconstruct fragments of documents and notes by other people. The most important event during his stay was the consecration of the new Patriarch of Moscow. Because of the long military conflict with Poland and Sweden, the Patriarchate of Moscow had remained empty for more than seven years, and it was very important for the image of Russia that this position should be filled. The favourite candidate was Metropolitan Filaret Nikitich, father of Mikhail Fedorovich, crowned on 11 July 1613 as the first Russian Tsar of the Romanov dynasty. Filaret had only recently returned from Polish captivity, and was regarded as a martyr who had suffered for his orthodox beliefs. On June 24, 1619 in the Uspensky Sobor of the Moscow Kremlin, Patriarch Theophanes, assisted by Russian church dignitaries, consecrated Filaret as Patriarch of Moscow, an occasion of great celebrations and much pomp<sup>11</sup>. Filaret in later years retained a great regard for Theophanes, who became for some time the best-known and most respected representative of the Greek Orthodox church for the Russians<sup>12</sup>.

It is also known that during his stay in Russia, Theophanes noticed some discrepancies in liturgical practice compared with that of the Greek church, and using his authority as Patriarch tried tactfully to correct them. He also intervened on behalf of Russian clergymen who had emended Russian books on the basis of Greek texts, and had been punished for this. According to the words of contemporaries, his advice was »do not abandon uniformity of thought, and adhere to the old laws of Greek orthodoxy and the ancient decrees of the four Patriarchates«<sup>13</sup>.

8 X. A. Παπαδοπούλου, *Οἱ πατριάρχαι Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγωγοὶ τῆς Ρωσίας*, Jerusalem 1907, pp. 43-44.

9 Makarii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, SPB 1882, XI ii, p. 7

10 For example, the original charter given by Theophanes to Filaret Nikitich in 1619 has not survived; the earliest source is a copy of 1629, see B. Fonkich, *Grecheskie gramoty rossiiskikh khranilishch. 5. Gramota ierusalimskogo patriarkha Feofana ob utverzhenii moskovskim patriarkhom Filareta Nikiticha in Cyrillomethodianum, Thessalonica 1989-90, XIII-XIV, pp. 46-47*. For a full list of 32 original Greek charters of Theophanes in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow), see B. Fonkich, *Ierusalimskii patriarkh Feofan i Rossiia in Ierusalim v russkoi kul'ture*, Moscow 1994, pp. 212-218.

11 Makarii (note 9), X, pp. 166-168; XI ii, pp. 2-6.

12 B. Floria, *K istorii ustanovleniia politicheskikh sviazei mezhdru russkim pravitel'stvom i vysshim grecheskim dukhovenstvom in Sviazi Rossii s narodami balkanskogo poluostrova*, Moscow 1990, pp. 10-11.

13 Kapterev (note 3), pp. 33-43.

After receiving many presents, Theophanes set out on his return journey in February 1620. His way lay through the territory of present-day Ukraine, which was then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The biggest problem facing the orthodox community in the Commonwealth at this time was the absence of their own hierarchy, since Mykhail Rohoza, Metropolitan of Kyiv and most of the bishops had accepted union with Rome at the Synod of Brest in 1596. Both clergy and laymen complained strongly that the king had prevented them from electing their Metropolitan as they had done for 600 years<sup>14</sup>. Numerous attempts by orthodox delegates at the Sejm to resolve the problem by legal means had failed, and the Ukrainian elite, supported by the Cossack army, decided to use the visit of Theophanes to restore the Metropolitanate, even without the official approval of King Sigismund III Vasa and the Sejm<sup>15</sup>. Travelling through Ukrainian territory, Theophanes stopped at the Trinity monastery in Hustynia near Pryluky. This is why his visit was recorded in the Hustynia Chronicle, a valuable source for Ukrainian history at this period: »the holy Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem ... rested at this holy monastery of Hustynia ... and from here went to ... the holy city of Kyiv, and a multitude of Cossack warriors and Hetman Sahaidachnyi – who was a very martial man, inspiring fear in all his enemies – escorted him. They delivered the most holy father Patriarch to the Brotherhood, within the city of Kyiv, and surrounded him with guards. As bees guard their queen, so they guarded the most holy father and pastor of human sheep against the hostile wolves«<sup>16</sup>.

Theophanes arrived in Kyiv on March 22, 1620, and remained there under the protection of the Cossacks until January 7, 1621. During his stay, he communicated with the orthodox dioceses, and issued several charters to brotherhoods in Kyiv, Vilnius, Minsk, Luts'k, L'viv and elsewhere, granting or confirming their independent status<sup>17</sup>. From the charter issued to the Kyiv Brotherhood on May 26, 1620, it is known that he was staying at the Epiphany Monastery of the Kyiv Brotherhood in Podil, and visited many monasteries in the city and the surrounding area; »the Monastery of the Caves ..., St Nicholas ..., St Michael of the Golden Domes (Zolotoverkhyi), the Holy Trinity Monastery (Kyrylivskiyi), the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Mezhyhir'ia ..., the Monastery of the Dormition in Trakhtemyriv, and various parochial churches in the city, starting with the Metropolitan Cathedral« and

14 Ia. Isaevych, *Preemniki pervopechatnika*, Moscow 1980, p. 49.

15 M. Hrushevskiy, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, Edmonton 1999, VII, pp. 335-337.

16 *Letopis' monastyrnia Gustinskogo in Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, Moscow 1848, VIII, pp.11-12.

17 *Akty, otносиashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii*, SPB 1851, IV, pp. 508-510; S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki*, Kyiv 1883, I, *Prilozhenie*, pp. 235-256.

also »the houses of many of the faithful, where ... [he] was made welcome with honour and generosity«<sup>18</sup>.

On the 25th of May Theophanes consecrated his antimension, which we will study in detail later. Here it is enough to say that it is very likely that this took place in the Epiphany church of the Brotherhood monastery, the same church in which, a few months later, he was to consecrate the new orthodox hierarchy.

At the same time preparations for the restoration of the Kyiv Metropolitanate were proceeding. Initially it seems that Theophanes was afraid to act, but he later received assurances for his safety from the Cossacks under Sahaidachnyi and agreed to proceed. A letter sent by Theophanes on August 13 to the orthodox communities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth subtly suggested that they should choose respectable men for the vacant bishoprics<sup>19</sup>. The general opinion is that matters were finally decided in the middle of August at the feast of the Dormition in the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, but this is not absolutely certain.

Because war between Poland and Turkey was becoming more and more imminent, the long stay in Kyiv of the Patriarch, a Turkish subject, who could stir up the Cossacks against Poland, was causing concern in Warsaw, and he had to write a letter to the King in explanation. In his reply of August 1, 1620, Sigismund reassured him, saying that he paid no attention to rumours and had a deep regard for the Patriarch, inviting him to visit Warsaw. In another letter from Stanisław Zolkiewski, the royal Hetman, Commissar Szczęsny Poczanowski was appointed to accompany the Patriarch and give him safe passage through Polish territory<sup>20</sup>.

At this point it is necessary to explain the role of the Cossacks in relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Turkey. As well as their normal raids on the Black Sea, in 1615 they attacked Istanbul. Despite negotiations with Turkey, the Poles made no real attempt to restrict the Cossacks, whose help they needed in their campaigns against Muscovy<sup>21</sup>. In July 1620 the Cossacks again burnt the suburbs of Istanbul: for the Turks this was the last straw, and at the end of the summer a huge Turkish army supported by the Tatars started to advance through Moldavia towards Poland. After some unsuccessful battles during September, the numerically inferior Polish army (without the Cossacks) suffered a heavy defeat on October 7 at Tutora, in which the Hetman Zolkiewski was killed and many nobles and common

18 Pamiatniki (note 6), pp. 62-66.

19 Golubev (note 17), pp. 256-261.

20 For the text of these letters see Koialovich (note 7), pp. 319-320.

21 S. Plokhyy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, Oxford 2001, p. 34.

soldiers were captured<sup>22</sup>. With all of these troubles the Polish government had no opportunity to check on what was happening in Kyiv.

At midnight on October 6, in the Kyiv Brotherhood monastery church, surrounded by the Cossack army, Theophanes, assisted by the Bulgarian metropolitan Neofit and Avramios, Bishop of Stagoi, consecrated Isaia Kopynskyi, abbot of the Mezhyhirskyi monastery, as Bishop of Peremyshl. On October 9, under the same precautions, with the windows obscured and accompanied only by the voice of the Patriarch's own cantor Gavriil, Iov Boretskyi, abbot of St Michael (Zolotoverkhyi), was consecrated as Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and all Russia<sup>23</sup>. During the autumn and winter of 1620/21 Theophanes consecrated five bishops as well as the Metropolitan both in Kyiv and on his return journey. As a result of this, the orthodox hierarchy was completely restored in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even if the recognition of the new bishops by the King and the Sejm was still a long way away.

Theophanes was escorted with great ceremony to the town of Busha on the frontier between Polish lands and Moldavia by a huge retinue comprising 3000 Cossacks under Sahaidachnyi, all the newly-elected bishops, nobles, pilgrims and others.

In one of his last edicts, he informed the Orthodox population of the Commonwealth about the election of the Metropolitan and bishops, and about a council which had been held with them and many other dignitaries. In this council Theophanes gave a list of the incorrect customs in the Kyiv Metropolitanate and announced that they were forbidden<sup>24</sup>. As in Russia, he tried to correct mistakes which had arisen in local liturgical practices.

News about Theophanes' activities in Ukraine and his consecration of a new hierarchy caused a furore in the Polish capital. From this time in official documents the Patriarch was known as a »Turkish spy« and a »pretender« who was acting illegally, but for the orthodox community he became one of the most highly honoured members of the church hierarchy. They expressed their faith by recognising and honouring the bishops who had been consecrated, and the Patriarch himself was venerated as a saint. This is confirmed, for example, by court records from 1624, in which the Vilnius Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit were accused of having a portrait of Theophanes painted like a saint on the outside wall of their building. They included his name in their prayers, and advised the congregation to place portraits of the patriarch in their homes. At the same time Eustrati Zialowski, a member of the Brotherhood took a portrait of Theophanes to the »German lands« and commissioned a

22 Hrushevskyi (note 15), pp. 342-345.

23 Παπαδοπούλου (note 8), p. 60.

24 Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, Kyiv 1872, V i, pp. 1-9.

print. Eustrati returned to Vilnius with a large edition of the portrait, which included the words »Apostolicae Sedis«, and sold them in the market as holy objects with enormous success<sup>25</sup>. The court documents give no further information about this portrait, but it very likely that it is the engraving made in 1622 by the Augsburg artist Lukas Kilian (1579-1637).

Kilian's portrait<sup>26</sup> shows the patriarch in an oval frame: above his head is a roundel showing the Descent of Christ into Hell, with the words in Slavonic 'БОСКРЕСЕНИЕ ГОСПОДА НАШЕГО ИС ХА', implying that the orthodox hierarchy had been 'resurrected' by Theophanes. In the top corners are putti with the tiara, the Catholic symbol of ecclesiastical authority, and the crozier of the orthodox hierarchs. The most significant feature, however, is the lower Latin inscription: »Hic legitimus, legitimae Sedis Apostolicae, Diuique Iacobi Apostoli successor; et viuifici Sepulchri Domini et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, vigilantissimus custos: Deo in Europam directus, Ecclesiam Orientalium Catholicam Anno 1620. visitauit, restaurauit, legitime ordinauit, et confirmauit etc.« (This is the legitimate successor of the legitimate Apostolic Seat, and of St James the Apostle; and the most vigilant guard of the life-giving Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sent by God into Europe, in the year 1620 he visited, restored, legally established and confirmed the Catholic Church of the East).

To summarize, it is clear that Theophanes and everything connected with him, his charters, letters, and in our case the antimensia consecrated by him were highly regarded and valued. We do not know whether it was the Patriarch or an assistant who decided on the design and the inscriptions of the antimensia, but it is certain that before the consecration he himself would have checked and approved them. Considering Theophanes' authority and his eagerness to correct faults which had crept into the liturgical practices of the Orthodox churches in Eastern Europe, it can be assumed that his antimensia were also intended to provide a correct pattern for future use.

### Antimensia before Theophanes

Even though the first mention of antimensia in Byzantine sources dates from the 8th to the 9th centuries<sup>27</sup>, only a very few early examples survive. This is

25 Koialovich (note 7), pp. 353-359.

26 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-1905-4982. See Hollstein's German engravings, etchings and woodcuts, Amsterdam 1976, XVII, p. 123, no. 441.

27 St Theophanes the Confessor (d. ca 817) in his Chronographia describes the coronation of the heir of Leo IV in which an antimension was used. For a detailed description of this event, and for other examples, see Nikol'skii (note 1), pp. 5-7, and Goshev (note 1), pp. 12-21.



1. Lucas Kilian, Patriarch Theophanes, 1622.

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partly due to the fact that although they were inevitably exposed to spillages during use, church law forbade their being washed, and so the fabric tended to decay. The treatment of worn-out antimensia varied; in the churches of Russia they could be folded and placed under the altar-cloth (srachitsa), or beneath the altar<sup>28</sup>, but in Serbia it was the rule to burn them, so hardly any Serbian examples have survived<sup>29</sup>.

The oldest-known antimension, from St George's cathedral in Iur'ev-Pol'skoi, dates from 1148/9, consecrated by Nifont, Archbishop of Novgorod during the time of Prince Georgii Dolgorukii<sup>30</sup>. It is made of linen, with a cross and inscription IC XC НИКА (Jesus Christ conquers), in the centre and an inscription around the edges, both drawn in red ink. This cross on antimensia derives from that on top of Byzantine altars<sup>31</sup> and symbolizes the Crucifixion, and the inscription »Jesus Christ conquers« or »The King of Glory« refers to the triumph of the Resurrection.

From the 15th and 16th centuries several antimensia survive from Greek, Russian, and Macedonian churches<sup>32</sup>. They are generally very simple, made of linen, with a cross and an inscription which may be in the centre or around the borders. Those from the Balkans also had in the corners circles containing the symbols, names, or symbolic words denoting the Evangelists. A few examples have modest decorations, such as the printed linen antimension of 1588/9, consecrated by Anastasios, Archbishop of Sinai (1583-1592)<sup>33</sup>. Here on either side of the central cross are placed stylised branches with flowers, and around the edges is a geometrical repetitive border.

A new iconographic type appears in an antimension of 1590 from the church of St Paraskeva from Skopje<sup>34</sup>. In the centre the cross is replaced by the Man of Sorrows, an image deriving from Byzantine times and used in many different

28 Nikol'skii (note 1), pp. 88, 100-107.

29 S. Dušanić, Antimins kao naučni objekat in Church calendar of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, Beograd 1947, p. 61.

30 State Hermitage, inv. ERP-907. See Nikol'skii (note 1), pp. 231-234, 293, plate A, and 1000-letie russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul'tury, Moscow 1988, p. 321., ill. 46. In a recent article, O. A. Prudnikov supports the dating of this antimension to 1149. See O. A. Prudnikov, Eshche raz o drevneishem russkom antiminshe in Kul'tura i iskusstvo khristian-negrekov, SPB 2001, pp. 56-57.

31 See the miniature in the Menologion of Basil II, Vatican Library Gr. 1613, leaf 61.

32 For descriptions and reproductions, see Nikol'skii (note 1), pp. 293-295, nos 2-4, plates B, V; Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου, Κεμήλια του οίκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου: πατριαρχικός ναός και σκευοφυλάκιον, Athens 1937, p. 58, plate 42; Treasures of Mount Athos, Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 490-491, no. 12.1.; and others.

33 Μ. Θεοχάρη, Ἀντιμῆνσια ἐκ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ in Πανηγυρικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 1400ῇ ἀμμετηρίδι τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ, Athens 1971, pp. 141-143, no. 1, ill. 1.

34 Goshev (note 1), pp. 94-97, plate V.

types of ecclesiastical decoration. The inscription is also unusual, being in both Greek and Church Slavonic, arranged as a small frame surrounding the central image. Both image and inscription are drawn in black ink on linen.

Even though antimensia are mentioned in Ukrainian church archives of the 15th and 16th centuries, no examples are known to have survived<sup>35</sup>. The earliest known is from 1603, consecrated by Mykhail Kopystens'kyi, bishop of Peremyshl (1591-1610) for the monastery of the Saviour near Saryi Sambir<sup>36</sup>. The design is traditional, with a cross in the centre, flanked by the spear and the reed with sponge; underneath are the skull and cross-bones of Adam, and in the corners the names of the Evangelists. But it is made of a more expensive material, silk, and is embroidered. The long inscription states that it was donated by Bishop Kopystens'kyi and embroidered by the noble lady Kateryna Kopystens'ka, by her own hands. Because so few objects have survived, nothing is known of developments between this and the antimension of Theophanes.

#### The Inscriptions on Theophanes' Antimension & his Signature

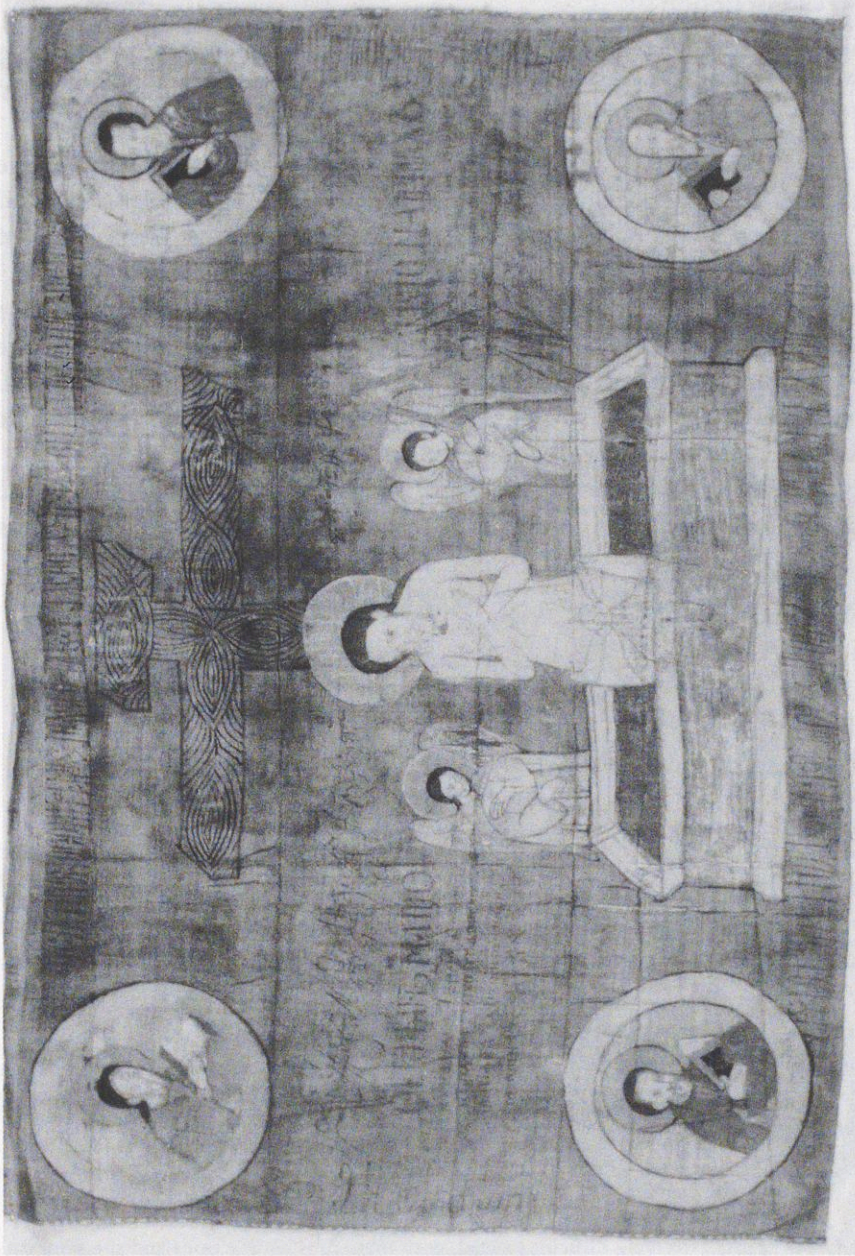
The main source of information about this object comes from its long and complicated inscription. There are three groups of inscriptions. The first is in Greek, in a calligraphic script, running round the edges of the antimension, starting at the top left. As Theochari noted, such calligraphic inscriptions formed an additional decorative element in Greek antimensia<sup>37</sup>. The second inscription, in Church Slavonic, is in five lines on both sides of the central image of the Man of Sorrows. Above this the third inscription contains the signature of Theophanes and the year in one line. Goshev, in his general study of antimensia, showed that Greek and Serbian antimensia normally had inscriptions running round the borders, while Russian, Ukrainian and Romanian examples had a solid block in several lines<sup>38</sup>. In the antimension of Theophanes both styles are combined.

35 For Ukrainian antimensia see V. Ladyzhyns'kyi, *Ukrains'ki antymynsy XVII-XIX st. in Notatky z mystetstva*, Philadelphia 1976, XVI, pp. 15-32; O. Sydor-Oshurkevych, *Ukrains'ka antymynsna hraviura XVII-XVIII stolit'* in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni T. Shevchenka*, L'viv 1994, CCXXVII, pp. 171-182; O. Yurchyshyn, *Antymynsy hravera Illi in Rodovid*, Kyiv 1995, XII, pp. 20-28; O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *Dated Ukrainian prints of the seventeenth century in Print quarterly*, London 2001, XVIII ii, pp.190-200; and others.

36 Ia. Pavlychko, *Antymynsy 1603 roku in Ukrains'ke sakral'ne mystetstvo*, L'viv 1994, pp. 133-135 and O. Yurchyshyn, *Antymynsy XVII stolittia epyskopiv peremys'kykh in Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej*, Lancut 1999, pp. 151-162, ill. 1.

37 Θεογράφη (note 33), p. 139.

38 Goshev (note 1), p. 76.



2. Antimension of Patriarch Theophanes, 1620. Reproduced by permission of National Historico-Cultural Reserve of the Kyiv Pecherska Lavra.

The Greek inscription is:

Θυσαστήριον θεῖον καὶ ἱερόν τοῦ τελείσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς θείας ἱερουργίας ἐν παντί τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας αὐτοῦ, καθιερωθὲν καὶ ἁγιασθὲν παρὰ μακαριωτάτου παναγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κυρίου Θεοφάνους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐν ἔτει, ζϞ'ζή' ἐν μῆνι μαΐῳ κε'.<sup>39</sup>

This can be translated: This divine and holy altar for the celebration of the divine liturgy by its means, in every place in his [God's] kingdom was sanctified and consecrated by the most blessed and holy patriarch, lord Theophanes of Jerusalem in the year 7128, on the 25th of May<sup>40</sup>.

This inscription consists of two parts: the top, right-hand and bottom borders contain the main part, in a very elaborate hand, while the left-hand edge which contains the month and day of consecration is in a different hand. Obviously the main text, the writing of which must have occupied a considerable time, was prepared in advance, the date being added later.

The Church Slavonic inscription is partly illegible, because of damage to the central area of the fabric from use and constant folding. It should be read as follows:

ФЕОФАНЪ МЛТІЮ	БЖІЕЮ ПАТРІАРХЪ
СТАГО ГРАДА ІЕРЛІМА ...	ОБОИ ПОЛЪ
ІОРДАНА И ВСЕЯ ПАЛЕСТИНЫ	ОСТИСЯ СЕИ БЖЕСТВЕН
	... АНТИМИС
НА ВСЯКО МЕСТО ПОДВИЖНЫЙ	В ЛЕТО ЗРКН
... ІС ХА АХК	МЦА ... ЯК... ДНЯ

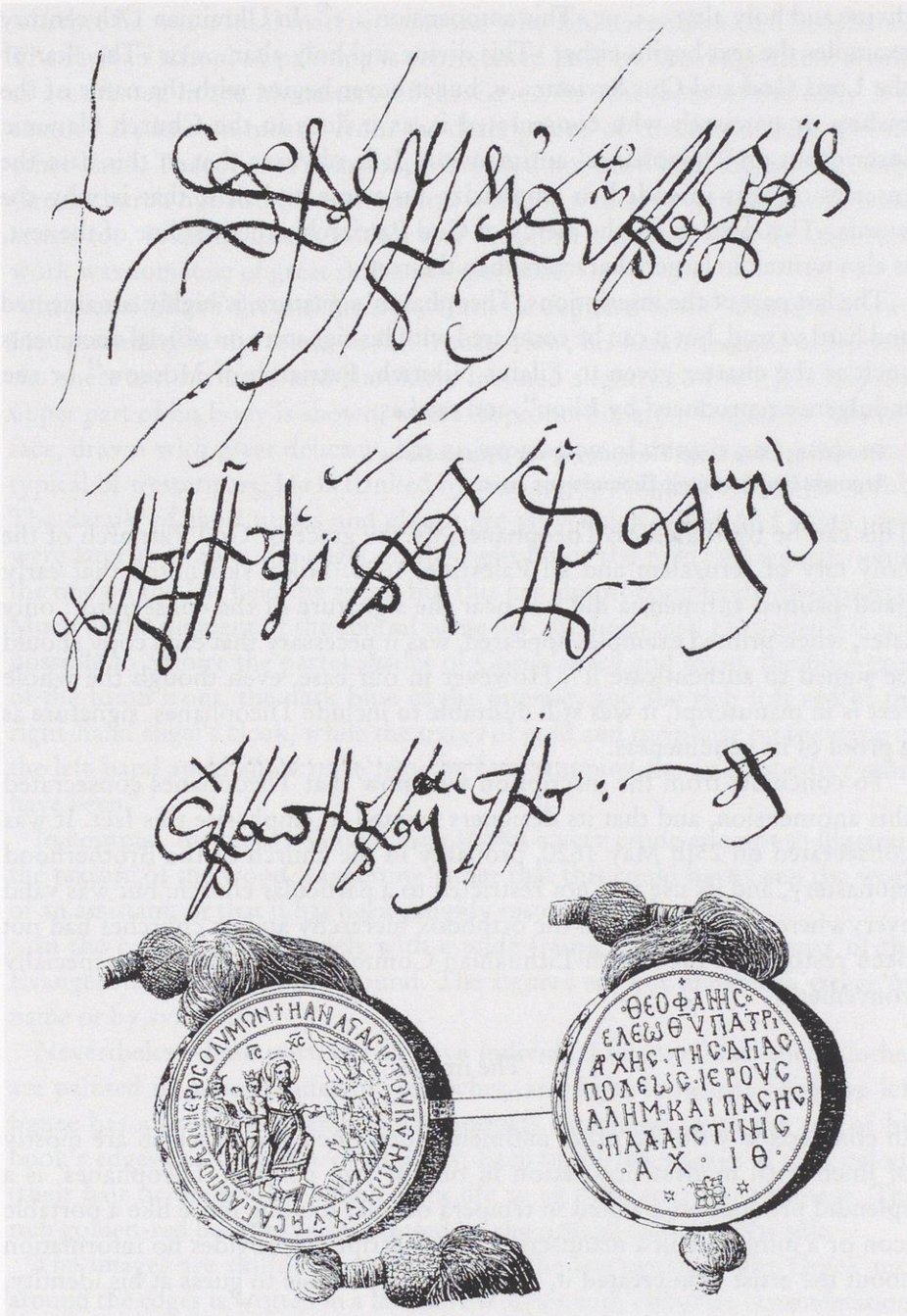
This can be translated: Theophanes, by the mercy of God Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, [Holy Sion, Syria, Arabia, Cilicia, Georgia, Canaa and Galilee,] both sides of the Jordan and all Palestine consecrated this divine antimension, movable in every place, in the year 7128 ... of Jesus Christ 1620, in the month ... the day 2 ...<sup>41</sup> In the bottom left corner the Church Slavonic version of the year is repeated.

In all orthodox churches the wording of the inscriptions on antimensia varied; there was no single canonical form. Goshev stated that they should begin either »In the year ...«, or »This altar was consecrated ...«, or »This

39 The Greek text is extremely difficult to read, with numerous contractions and special forms of the characters; what appears here is my attempt to reproduce the inscription, aided by Professors Shevchenko and Cleminson, to whom I am most grateful.

40 In my article Development of Byzantine iconographic tradition in Ukrainian antimensia of the XVIIth century in *Byzantinoslavica*, Prague 1998, LIX, p. 322, I gave the date as 20th of June, relying on the much damaged Cyrillic text. But it is clear from the Greek text that it should be 25th of May.

41 The text within [ ] is illegible, but can be reconstructed on the basis of Theophanes' charters.



3. Signature and seal from Theophanes' charter to Filaret Nikitich, 1629.  
From Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, Moscow 1822.

divine and holy altar ...«, or »This antimimension ...«<sup>42</sup>. In Ukrainian 17th century examples the text begins either »This divine and holy altar ...« or »The altar of the Lord God and Our Saviour ...«, but it never begins with the name of the bishop or patriarch who consecrated it, as it does in the Church Slavonic inscription on Theophanes' antimimension. It is obvious that in this case the inscription was intended to emphasize his name and title; that is why the words »Theophanes, by the mercy of God Patriarch«, the first line of the text, is also written in larger characters than the rest.

The last part of the inscriptions, Theophanes' signature, is highly ornamented and hard to read, but it can be compared with his signature on official documents such as the charter given to Filaret Nikitich, Patriarch of Moscow<sup>43</sup> or the indulgence reproduced by Eliou<sup>44</sup>, and read as:

Θεοφάνης ἐλεῶ Θεοῦ Πατριάρχης τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως  
Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ,αχ'κ'.

This can be translated as: Theophanes, by the grace of God Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine, 1620. Nikol'skii noted that early hand-painted antimensia did not bear the signature of the consecrator; only later, when printed examples appeared, was it necessary that each copy should be signed to authenticate it<sup>45</sup>. However in our case, even though the whole text is in manuscript, it was still desirable to include Theophanes' signature as a proof of its genuineness.

To conclude, from the inscription we know that Theophanes consecrated this antimimension, and that its designers wanted to emphasise this fact. It was consecrated on 25th May 1620, probably in the church of the Brotherhood monastery, and its use was not restricted to a particular church, but was valid everywhere. At a time when the orthodox hierarchy and its churches had not been restored in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, this was especially convenient.

### The images

In comparison with the other antimensia described above, which are mostly of linen with modest decoration in one or two colours, Theophanes' is a splendid production, painted in tempera on silk, looking more like a portable icon or a miniature in a manuscript. The inscription provides no information about the artist who created it, and it is only possible to guess at his identity,

42 Goshev (note 1), pp. 76-77.

43 Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, Moscow 1822, pt III, p. 207-8.

44 Φ. Ἡλιοῦ, Συγχωροχάρτια in Ἱστορικά, Athens 1983, I, p. 48.

45 Nikol'skii (note 1), p. 254.

whether he was a local man or someone who had accompanied Theophanes. The Kyivan school of painting is represented later by the magnificent works of art created in the Monastery of the Caves, but the icons of the early 17th century are known mostly from the descriptions of contemporaries. On the other hand, Theophanes' entourage included not only high dignitaries of the Greek church but also his own cantor; it might well have included scribes and artists too. In either case it is clear that the chosen artist of such an important work was someone of great skill and experience.

In the middle of the antimension, Christ is depicted as the Man of Sorrows. He is standing in the tomb, in full frontal view, his hands crossed in front of the chest and his head and shoulders inclined slightly to the left. Only the upper part of his body is shown, with a disproportionately long torso. Christ's face, drawn with great delicacy, has an expression of despair and grief, more typical of western art. He is flanked by two angels standing behind the tomb. The details of their tunics and cloaks are very much worn, and some parts were later re-drawn; the angel on the right holds the reed and sponge, while the one on the left held the spear, but this has almost completely disappeared. Much of the pigment of the central scene has also been lost. However it is still possible to admire the pastel shades of Christ's face and torso, the blue-grey of the tomb front, the dark blue of the interior, and the rich soft red of the right-hand angel's cloak, while the traces of gold and turquoise on the wing of the left-hand angel allow us to imagine how stunning the original effect must have been.

In contrast, the cross behind Christ shows a very crude attempt to illustrate the texture of the wood, suggesting either that this could have been the work of an assistant, or that it has been roughly restored at a later date.

In the corners are roundels with a wide frame, showing the busts of the Evangelists on a gold background. The figures are not identified, either by name or by symbol.

Nevertheless these portraits all have individual features, and their clothes are painted in pastel shades of red, ochre, and light terracotta. The top left figure has a greenish cloak, which contrasts excellently with the red of his book's edges and the white of its pages. Each figure has an area of dark colour (their hair or the books) which gives life to an otherwise muted image. The rich golden-red background is created by the natural colour of the silk.

The images are skilfully combined with the inscriptions. The Greek text around the edges is written in a tall narrow script with elaborate ornamentation, and acts as a decorative border. The Slavonic version fills the otherwise empty areas on either side of the central figures, uniting the whole composition.

From the iconographic point of view, our antimension provides one of the

earliest known examples of an image which later became very popular in Ukrainian antimensia, the Man of Sorrows. This image has a deep symbolic meaning; its main liturgical idea is the life-giving nature of Christ's body and blood, spilt for the sins of mankind, in which believers partake during the Eucharist. Thus it is an image which is especially appropriate for an antimension.<sup>46</sup> It was common in the 12th and 13th centuries in frescoes, icons and miniatures of the orthodox world, and also in the West, particularly amongst Florentine and Venetian painters of the 14th and 15th centuries<sup>47</sup>. There are several icons of the Man of Sorrows painted by or attributed to Nikolaos Tzafouris (d. ca 1505), a famous artist of the Italo-Cretan school<sup>48</sup>. In Lazarev's opinion, this image achieved its final form in the Serbian lands<sup>49</sup>.

A Serbian icon of the 16th century, now held in the National Museum in L'viv, provides the closest iconographic parallel to Theophanes antimension<sup>50</sup>. Christ stands in the tomb, with two angels behind him, and the Evangelists in the corners. In the Macedonian antimension of 1590 mentioned above, and in later Greek antimensia with the Man of Sorrows, such as those of Seraphim, Bishop of Ierissos (1664), Clement, Bishop of Skiathos (1714), Androuses Theodosios, Bishop of Elis (ca 1734-1753), and the anonymous antimension (1689) from Sinai, some elements are different: Christ is shown either alone, or flanked by the Virgin and St John, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners<sup>51</sup>. In Greece and Romania another variant of The Man of Sorrows appears, in which Christ is standing in the chalice, but this was not known in Ukrainian examples, which remained very close to Theophanes' original.

The design of Theophanes' antimension was followed with only minor changes by the hierarchy consecrated by him, including those of Iov Boretskyi, Metropolitan of Kyiv (1627)<sup>52</sup>, Iosyf Kurtsevych-Koriatovych, Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest (1620s)<sup>53</sup>, and Paisii Cherkavs'kyi, Bishop of Kholm and

46 Goshev (note 1), p. 83.

47 Yurchyshyn-Smith (note 40), with sources.

48 M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, Athens 1985, pp. 79,88-89; *id.*, "Ελληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την Αλώση", Athens 1987, I, pp. 292-294.

49 V. Lazarev, *Kovalevskaia rospis'i problema iuzhnoslavianskikh sviazei v russkoi zhivopisi XIV veka in Russkaia srednevekoviaia zhivopis'*, Moscow 1970, pp. 246-249.

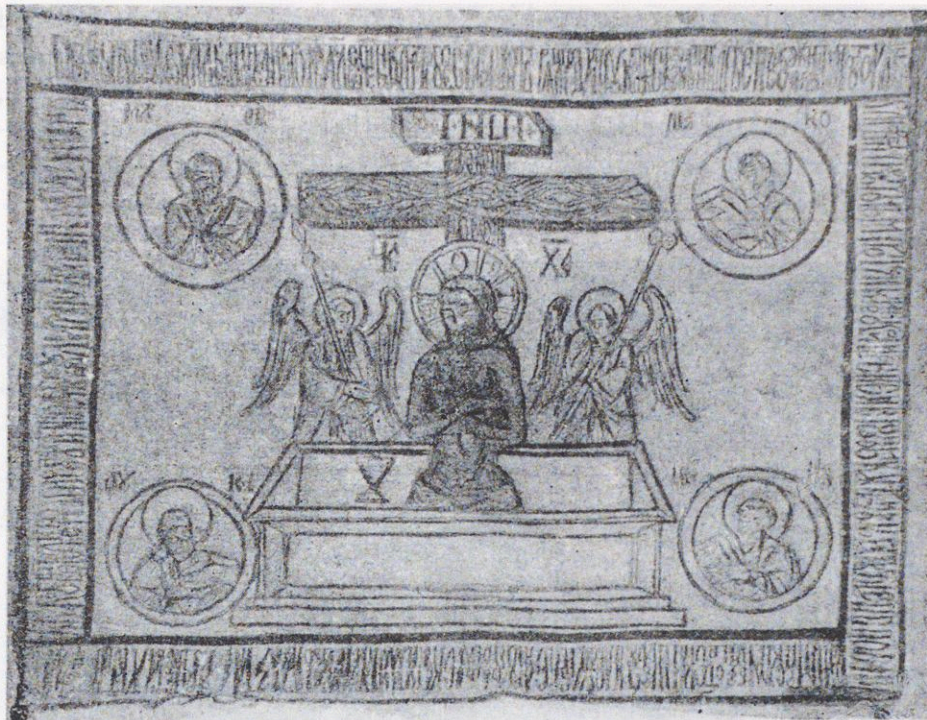
50 National Museum in L'viv, inv. I-1570; Yurchyshyn-Smith (note 40), ill. 1.

51 *Treasures* (note 32), pp. 492-494, no. 12.2; E. Θεοδώρου, "Αντιμήνσιον in Ορθοπευτική και ήθική έγκυκλοπαιδεία", Athens 1963, II, col. 872, ill. 2; Θεοχάρη (note 33), p. 145, no. 6, ill. 4; Θ. Προβατάκης, "Ανέκδοτα βυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά κειμήλια της Ί. Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας", Thessaloniki 1976, pp. 133-4, fig. 85.

52 State Russian Museum, inv. DR/R/gr.59. Nikol'skii (note 1), p. 156, ill. 1., and Yurchyshyn-Smith, *A rare Ukrainian antimension from the State Russian Museum in Verbum*, SPB 2000, vyp. 3, *Vizantiiskoe bogoslovie i traditsii religiozno-filosofskoi mysli v Rossii*, pp. 491-492.

53 The present whereabouts of this object is unknown. See P. Popov, *Ksylohrafichni doshky lavrs'koho muzeiu*, Kyiv 1927, vyp. I, p. 5.





4. Antimension of Iosyf Kurtsevych-Koriatovych, Bishop of Volodymyr and Brest (1620s).  
From P. Popov, *Kslyohrafichni doshky lavrs'koho muzeiu*, Kyiv 1927.

Belz (1627)<sup>54</sup>; and also by a large number of later church dignitaries, such as Afanasii Puzyna, Bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih (1640)<sup>55</sup>. One reason for this was undoubtedly the high regard in which Theophanes was held, and the wish of the Ukrainian hierarchs to follow the proper pattern<sup>56</sup>.

At present we do not possess enough comparable material to establish the authorship of Theophanes' antimension. It is difficult to link its style with the Kyiv school of painting, because so few objects of the latter's production from this period are extant. Compared with the recently discovered early 17th century icon of St Nicholas from the church of St Nicholas on the Bank in Kyiv<sup>57</sup>, or the miniatures in the 1632 *Sluzhebnyk* revised by Iov Boretskyi<sup>58</sup>,

54 National Museum in L'viv, inv. GD-179.

55 National Museum in L'viv, inv. GD-93.

56 The same thing happened with a later antimension of Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv (1633-1646), containing an unusual representation of the Entombment, which was widely copied in both professional and amateur versions.

57 L. Miliaeva, *The Ukrainian icon*, Bournemouth 1996, pl. 153.

58 National Vernadskyi Library, Kyiv, inv. F. 312, no. 60; H. Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn; davnia knyzhkova miniatiura XI-XVIII stolit'*, Kyiv 1974, pp. 165-168, plates 53-56.

the antimimension seems more archaic, and closer to the icons of the 15th and 16th centuries<sup>59</sup>. However, even if the question of its attribution remains unresolved, the antimimension of the Patriarch Theophanes, with its classical, balanced composition, detailed rendering of the figures and refined soft colouring is one of the best painted examples of the 17th century which has survived<sup>60</sup>.



5. Antimimension of Afanasii Puzyna, Bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih, 1640.

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59 H. Lohvyn, L. Miliaeva, V. Svetsits'ka, *Ukrains'kyi seredn'ovichnyi zhyvopys*, Kyiv 1976.

60 From the inventory of the church of the Dormition in L'viv it is known that in 1692 this one church had eight painted linen antimensia consecrated by patriarchs. See V. Aleksandrovykh, *Obrazotvorchi napriamy v diial'nosti maistriv zahidnoukrains'koho maliarstva XVI-XVII stolit'* in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni T. Shevchenka*, L'viv 1994, CCXXVII, p. 73.