

Mimesis in Byzantium

Notes toward a history of the function of the image

WILLIAM TRONZO

And what art thou, thou idol ceremony?
What kind of god art thou, that suffer'st more
Of mortal griefs than do thy worshippers?
What are thy rents? what are thy comings in?
O ceremony, show me but thy worth!
What is thy soul of adoration?
Art thou aught else but place, degree and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men?

Henry V, Act IV, Scene i

Generally speaking, there are two kinds of texts that document medieval ceremonies: prescriptive texts that purport to set out models for rituals, such as portions of the *De ceremoniis* by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–959) or the *Ordines romani* of the Roman papacy, and descriptive texts or narrative accounts in which ceremonies that have actually occurred are described, such as chronicles and letters.¹ The latter category must also include the texts of the hymns, acclamations, speeches, or sermons that were spoken or sung on such occasions. These documents, which are verbal accounts, often give pride of place to the words; but they also often bear witness to the visual dimension of medieval ceremonial, which embraced not only significant actions but also special vestments, objects, and settings, and of which, in the last three categories,

a certain number of examples have survived.² It is something of a pity, therefore, that only rarely can the two be put together, that is, can the surviving visual material be directly coordinated with textual accounts in order to reconstruct a medieval ceremony in three dimensions, at least for the Imperial and royal courts of the Middle Ages. The case for ecclesiastical ceremonies, however, is different. There, and for a variety of reasons beginning most notably with the relatively greater number of surviving buildings, decorations, and objects, the two accounts, verbal and visual, have been more successfully conjoined in historical studies that have elucidated some of the ways in which the two forms themselves were originally related.³ One might also say that these studies tend to operate within a frame of reference that is constructed from the center outward, that is, they have focused on the celebration of the Eucharist, which is the primary *raison d'être* for the church building in any case.⁴ But the church as an edifice also housed many other kinds of activities in the Middle Ages, ranging from the performances of the other sacraments and other kinds of occasional liturgies to the devotions of cults and other types of nonliturgical events altogether.

One of these peripheral activities was the ritual reenactment of the Washing of the Apostles' Feet by Christ, an event that occurred during the Last Supper on the night before Christ was crucified, as narrated in the Gospel of John, 13:3ff.:

Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going to God, rose from supper, laid aside his garments and girded himself with a towel. Then he poured water into a basin

I would like to express my gratitude to the scholars at Dumbarton Oaks and at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton who heard an earlier version of this paper and offered criticisms and comments. My thanks are also due to the editor and readers of *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* for their suggestions.

1. The *De ceremoniis* has been edited and translated in part by Albert Vogt, *Le Livre des Ceremonies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–40). For the *Ordines romani*, see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen age*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–61). Among the many contributions to the study of medieval ceremonial, mention may be made here of Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1956); Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981); Averil Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge, 1987), 106ff.; Michael McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 35 (1985): 1ff.

2. See, for instance, Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768–1250* (Munich, 1960).

3. For a recent survey of the literature with regard to the problem of the relationship between architecture and liturgy, see Sible De Blaauw, "Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Traditions and Trends in Modern Scholarship," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 33 (1991): 1ff.

4. A case in point is the study of Thomas Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, 1971).

and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel with which he was girded. He came to Simon Peter and Peter said to him, "Lord do you wash my feet?" Jesus answered him, "What I am doing you do not know now, but afterward you will understand." Peter said to him, "You shall never wash my feet." Jesus answered him, "If I do not wash you, you will have no part in me." Simon Peter said to him, "Lord, not my feet only but also my hands and my head."

The ritual inspired by this passage, called *mandatum* in the Latin West and *nipter* in the Greek East, was one of the most widely diffused and enduring ceremonies of the entire Middle Ages, doubtless due to the breadth and complexity of the subject, which combined themes of water and purification, humility and charity. When Christ washed the apostles' feet, in the words of John Chrysostom, he taught them "that humility is the mother of all blessings, since he declared that it is the beginning and the end of virtue."⁵

5. Saint John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist, Homelies 48–88*, trans. Sister Thomas Aquinas Goggins, S.C.H., *The Fathers of the Church* 41 (Washington, D.C., 1977), 254. See also John Climacus:

One of those ever memorable fathers who had great love for me according to God and was very outspoken, once said to me kindly: "If, wise man, you have within you the power of him who said, I can do all things in Christ who strengthens me; if the Holy Spirit has descended upon you with the dew of purity, as upon the Holy Virgin; if the power of the Highest has overshadowed you with patience; then like the man, Christ our God, gird your loins with the towel of obedience, and having risen from the supper of silence, wash the feet of the brethren in a spirit of contrition; or rather roll yourself under the feet of the community in spiritual self-abasement.

The Ladder of Divine Ascent, trans. Colm Luiheid and Norman Russell (New York, 1982), Step 4, sect. 36, 79f.

For Saint Basil, the primary lesson was also obedience:

Someone will say, is it not useless for Christians who do not keep all of the commandments to keep any one of them? In this connexion it is well to remember the blessed Peter who, although he had done so many good deeds, yet for one fault was told, "If I do not wash you, you will have no part in me." I need not say that the actual occasion showed no negligence or contempt, but was rather proof of his reverence and devotion.

Basil of Caesarea, *The Longer Rules, Preface* (London, 1925), trans. W. K. L. Clarke in *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil*, 147

On the foot-washing ritual, see Thomas Schaefer, *Die Fusswaschung im monastischen Brauch und in der lateinischen Liturgie* (Beuron, 1956); Johann Michel, "Der Sinn der Fusswaschung," *Biblica*, 40 (1959): 697ff.; Pierre Grelot, "L'interprétation pénitentielle du lavement des pieds. Examen critique," *L'homme devant Dieu. Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac* (Aubier, 1963), 75ff.; M.-E. Boissard, "Le lavement des pieds," *Revue Biblique*, 71 (1964): 5ff.

The ritual appeared quite early on, probably in the late third or early fourth century, and it was attested throughout the medieval period in a variety of functional contexts and with a number of different types of participants and constituencies. In one of its earliest manifestations, it formed part of the baptismal liturgy, with the officiating bishop in the role of Christ and the newly baptized playing the part of the apostles.⁶ It soon began to play a role in monastic life as well, as the *mandatum fratrum*, or the washing of the brothers' feet that often took place on Saturday night, or the *mandatum hospitum*, the washing of the feet of guests, for which, on occasion, it may even have had a special room set aside for it, as on the ninth-century monastery plan now in Saint Gall.⁷ It also served to commemorate the feast of Holy Thursday itself.⁸ In another one of the Byzantine prescriptive texts, a fourteenth-century treatise on Imperial ceremonies attributed to an author known as Pseudo-Kodinos, a ceremony is described for Holy Thursday in which the emperor washed the feet of twelve of the paupers of Constantinople.⁹ This ceremony may have been influenced by the more widely practiced monastic version of the ritual, which is attested in Byzantium considerably earlier.¹⁰

There is very little indication of where these ceremonies occurred, except for references like the one in the Saint Gall plan, or the last mentioned of these versions of the ritual, the monastic celebration of the Holy Thursday liturgy as it occurred in Byzantium.¹¹ The ritual is cited for the Holy Thursday liturgy in a number of monastic typika, the documents that customarily set out the rules governing a given

6. Hildegard Giess, *Die Darstellung der Fusswaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1962), 7ff.

7. Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* (Berkeley, 1979), 1:307f.; 3:34 (lj—the monks' parlor). The inscription on the plan reads: "Exitus et introitus unde claustrū ad conloquendum cum hospitibus et ad mandatū faciendū" ("exit and entrance to the cloister where the monks may engage in conversation with the guests and where the washing of the feet takes place"). See *Benedicti regula*, chap. 35 (*mandatum fratrum*), chap. 53 (*mandatum hospitum*).

8. For the practice in the West, see the *Corpus Cons. Mon.*, vol. 1ff. (Siegburg, 1963), s. v. "mandatum fratrum in cena Domini." The ritual does not appear to have been known in Rome prior to the thirteenth century; see *Ordo romanus*, 10, chap. 12; Andrieu, 2:464ff.

9. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. and trans. Jean Verpaux (Paris, 1966), 228f.

10. The ritual was also performed in Hagia Sophia; see Juan Mateos, ed., *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1963), 73ff.

11. See also the *Consuetudines farfenses*, 1, chap. 54, and 2:46 (*Cons. mon.*, 1:49f., 178f.), where the *mandatum hospitum* is placed in the cloister "juxta promptuarium," i.e., next to the cellar.

monastery, including its liturgical observances.¹² Moreover, in a portion of one of these typika from the early twelfth century, the Typikon of the Theotokos Kecharitomene in Constantinople, it is recorded that the foot-washing ritual was to take place "in the pronaos of the church where is represented the Washing of the Feet."¹³ In this case there is concrete evidence not only of a place but also of a connection to an image that is not attested for the ceremony, insofar as it can be determined, anywhere else.¹⁴

This connection is particularly interesting in light of three mosaic decorations from the late tenth and eleventh centuries in Greece, all belonging to monastic churches: Hosios Loukas in Phocis (late tenth/early eleventh century), the Nea Moni on the island of Chios (mid-eleventh century), and Daphni near Athens (late eleventh century).¹⁵ The decorations are among the most famous of the surviving examples of the monumental arts in Byzantium, partly because of their medium—mosaic—which is especially fragile and very poorly preserved from the Middle Byzantine period as a whole, and partly because of their supremely high quality (fig. 1). They are all also damaged in part, with important components missing, although these vary from site to site. But they all show the scene of the Washing of the Feet in the pronaos or narthex of the church, and in precisely the same location—on the north side of the narthex, on the upper part of the wall (figs. 2–4).

The connection bears scrutiny for two reasons. First, although the placement of subjects in church

decorations of the Middle Byzantine period was governed by a number of hard and fast rules, the pictorial narrative of Christ's life, of which the Washing scene is an episode, was handled with a considerable amount of flexibility.¹⁶ This is not to say that these scenes could occur anywhere in the church—far from it, in fact. The christological narrative formed a key component in the exposition of sacred history, which was one of the main points of the Byzantine decorative program; these scenes had a place in the fixed hierarchy that extended from the bust of the Pantokrator in the highest reaches of the central dome of the church, through the zones of angels, prophets, evangelists, apostles, and saints that descended downward and outward from it.¹⁷ Usually this place was in between the apostles and saints, in the squinches, conches, and flat surfaces that formed the upper reaches of the wall. But which scenes were chosen, how many, and where they were put within this general framework seem to have been decisions that were made on an ad hoc basis. At least there is no single case of the duplication of the choice and arrangement from church to church known. Nor is there even duplication with regard to a single episode—apart from such canonical uses as the Annunciation over the main altar and the Pentecost in a dome—except for the scene of the Washing of the Feet in these three Greek churches of the eleventh century. All three examples of the scene, in fact, are embedded in the sequence of the larger christological narrative in their respective contexts, but with different adjacent scenes:

12. See S. Petrides, "Le lavement des pieds le jeudi-saint dans l'église grecque," *Échos d'Orient*, 3 (1899–1900): 321ff. On the typika, see Raymond Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et Typika (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 22 (1964): 5ff.

13. Paul Gautier, "Le typikon de la Theotokos Kecharitomene," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 43 (1985): sec. 72, 125.

14. For an iconographic survey of the subject, see Giess, and with an emphasis on the late and post-Byzantine periods, Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1960), 310ff. The theme was also often depicted in the West; see, for example, Luigi Magnani, *Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici warmondiani* (Vatican City, 1934), pl. 14; C. R. Dodwell, Otto Pacht, and Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter)* (London, 1960), 88, pl. 25a.

15. For Hosios Loukas, see R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901); Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Loukas and Daphni* (Cambridge, MA, 1931); and below, n. 60. For Chios, see Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of the Nea Moni on Chios*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1985). For Daphni, see Gabriel Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899); Diez and Demus.

16. Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1947), is the fundamental study of the Middle Byzantine system of church decoration, and Demus's analysis has often been discussed in the subsequent literature; see André Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954): 189ff.; Suzy Dufrenne, "Les programmes iconographiques des coupoles dans les églises du monde byzantin et postbyzantin," *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, 10 (1965): 185ff.; Richard Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, *Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert, vol. 4 (Giessen, 1976), 14ff.; Annabel Wharton, *Tokali Kilise, Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 14ff.; Thomas Mathews, "The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration," *Perkins Journal*, 41 (1988): 11ff.; Ernst Kitzinger, "Mosaic Decoration under Roger II and the Classical Byzantine System of Church Decoration," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, ed. William Tronzo (Bologna, 1989), 147ff.

17. Ernst Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 36 (1988): 51ff.

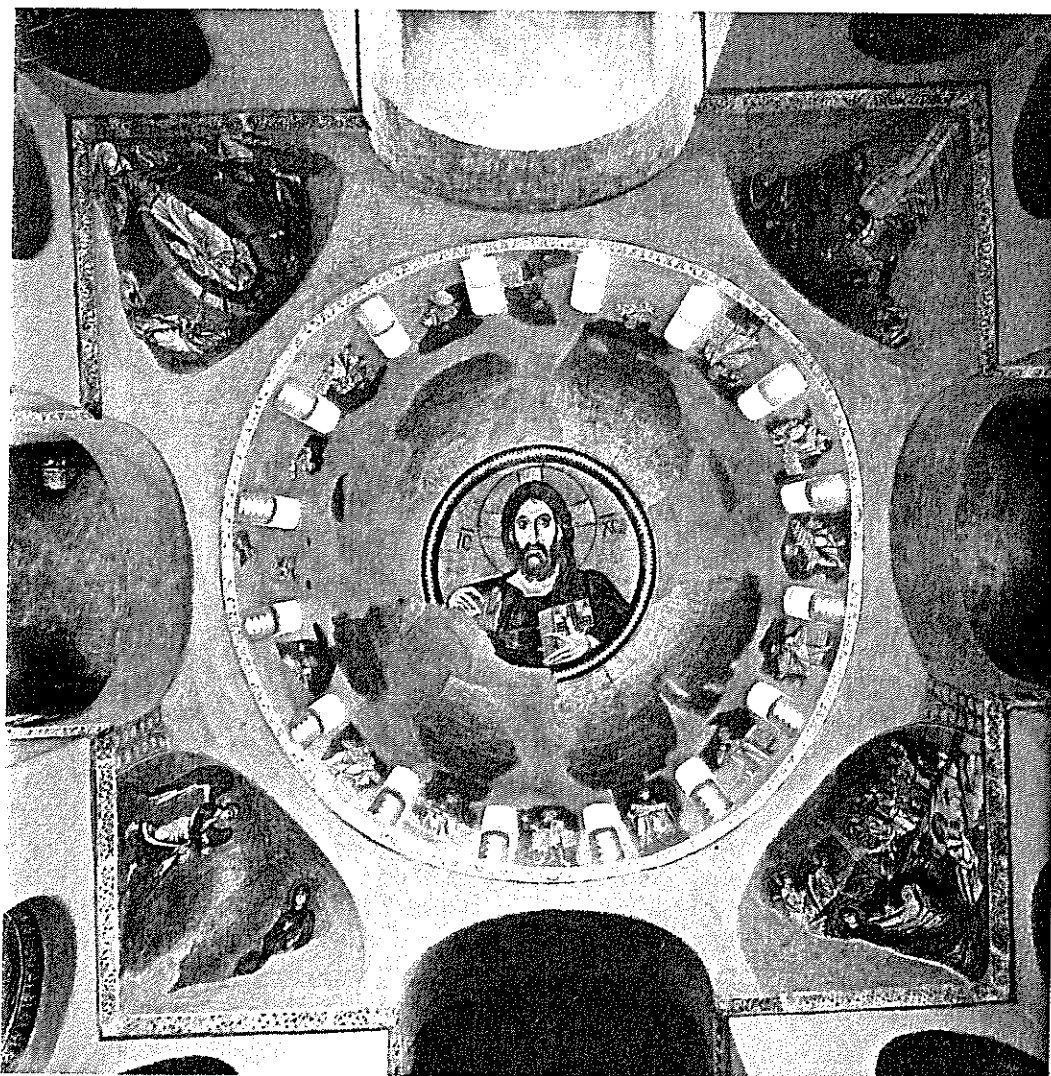


Figure 1. Mosaic decoration on dome, general view, late eleventh century, monastery church, Daphni. Photo: Courtesy of Josephine Powell.

in Hosios Loukas, the Washing scene is flanked by the Crucifixion and opposite the Anastasis and the Doubting Thomas; in the Nea Moni, it occurs beside the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem, and opposite Gethsamene, the Ascension, and the Pentecost (fig. 5); and in Daphni, it is situated between the Last Supper and the Betrayal of Judes (to mention only the immediate christological scenes).¹⁸

The second point concerns one of these cases in particular. All three versions of the Washing scene follow a widely accepted iconography—about which,

more presently—but the version in the Nea Moni also goes far beyond it.¹⁹ The mosaic in the Nea Moni shows the moment of Christ's encounter with Peter to a large extent in the customary way, with Peter seated, hand to head and foot raised. But directly above the scene are three other representations—vignettes really because they involve only one figure each—of Christ's preparations for the Washing (figs. 6–8).²⁰ These vignettes are unfortunately very fragmentary, and under other circumstances would be difficult to read, but they follow the Gospel text so closely—in fact, they are

18. Diez and Demus, figs. 9–11 (Hosios Loukas), and 63ff., figs. 95–98 (Daphni); Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, 1:80ff. and 2: pl. 90ff., 244ff.

19. See below, p. 72.

20. Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, 179ff.

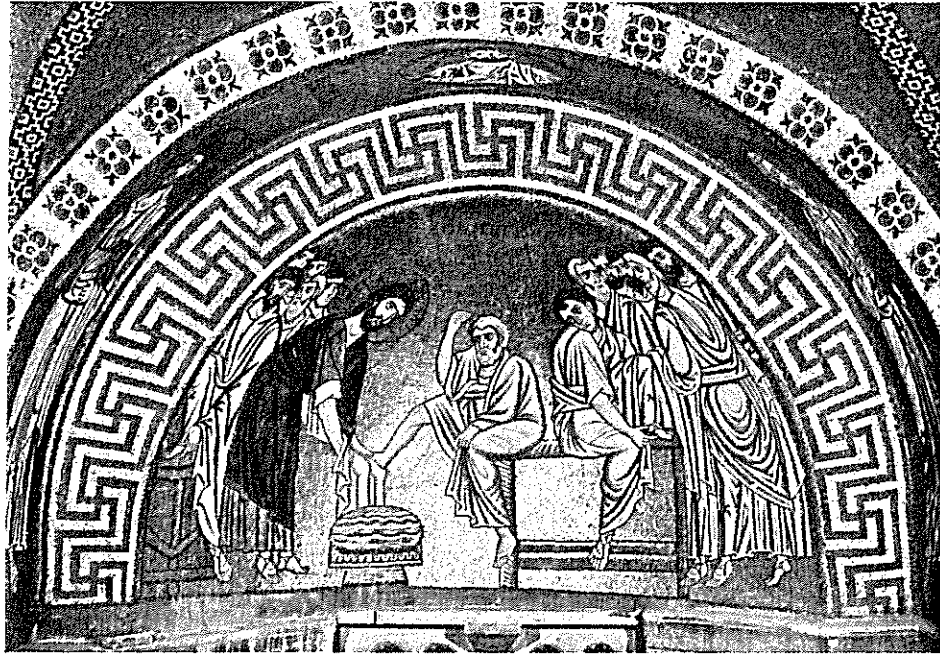


Figure 2. Mosaic decoration in narthex, Washing of the Feet, early eleventh century, Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, Phocis. Photo: Courtesy of Byzantine Visual Resources, © 1993, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Figure 3. Mosaic decoration in inner narthex, Washing of the Feet, mid-eleventh century, Nea Moni, Chios. From Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1985), fig. 254. Photo: Courtesy of the Commercial Bank of Greece.



Figure 4. Mosaic decoration in narthex, Washing of the Feet, late eleventh century, Daphni, Monastery Church. Photo: Courtesy of Josephine Powell.

accompanied by direct citations from it—that there can be no doubt as to what they illustrate. Moving across the wall from left to right, first is the figure of Christ disrobing, illustrating verse four of John's passage, "He rose from supper and laid aside his garments" (ΕΓΕΓΕΙΤΑΙ // ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΘΗΣΚΙ ΤΑ ΙΜΑΤΙΑ), then the taking up of the towel also from verse four, "And took a towel and girded himself" (ΚΑΙ ΛΑΒΩΝ // ΛΕΝΤΙΟΝ ΔΙΕΖΩΣΕΝ // ΕΑΥΤΟΝ), and finally the pouring of water into a basin of verse five (figs. 6–8). Unfortunately the last inscription does not survive. The text then continues onto the main scene with the rest of verse five, "And he began to wash the disciples' feet and to dry them with the towel with which he was girded" (+ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΝΙΠΤΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΔΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΜΑΨΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΛΕΝΤΙΩ Ω ΗΝ ΔΙΕΖΩΣΜΕΝΟΣ).²¹

Both of these features, the three preparatory vignettes and the lengthy text citations, are absolutely without precedent pictorially, and one can only agree with Mouriki, the author of the recent and authoritative monograph on the mosaics, that they were probably the

independent creations of the artist or designer who worked in this church, or of his immediate source.²² That these vignettes were simply the result of an attempt to fill in an awkward and visually not very useful space—the portion of wall directly above the large rectangle of the main scene—as this same author too has suggested, however, is more doubtful, especially in light of evidence from the Euchologion, the celebrant's prayer book for the Byzantine liturgy, which describes the Holy Thursday liturgy as it must have occurred in monastic contexts in the eleventh century.²³ The text itself goes back at least to the second half of the eighth century.²⁴ The bulk of the relevant liturgy is a series of hymns and prayers, culminating in the actual foot-washing ritual. This ritual involved the superior of the monastery, the hegoumenos, as well as twelve monks, and proceeded by singling out four passages from John's account for

22. Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, 206.

23. Jacobus Goar, ed., *EYCHOLOGION, sive rituale graecorum* (Paris, 1647), 745ff.

24. Anselm Strittmatter, "The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 47 (1933): 329ff.

21. Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, 82f.

recitation, in which the hegoumenos was also instructed to follow the text (emphasis mine):

Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going to God, rose from supper, laid aside his garments (and here the hegoumenos removes his mandhyas), and girded himself with a towel (and here the hegoumenos puts on the sabbanon). Then he poured water into a basin (and here the hegoumenos pours water into a basin), and began to wash the disciples' feet and to wipe them with the towel with which he was girded (and here the hegoumenos begins to wash the feet of the brothers seated on both benches, starting with the porter, representing Judas, up to the steward, representing Peter. He dries them and kisses them, during which the priest repeats eleven times the verse of the sacred text. When the hegoumenos arrives at the steward, the reading continues (with the dialogue between Jesus and Peter which is recited by the two of them).²⁵

Even though there is no document from the Nea Moni in the form of an eleventh-century text, such as the Euchologion, based on the simple and perfect analogy between ritual and image outlined above, one may conclude that it was the ritual that inspired the unusual features of the mosaic. To put the matter in slightly different terms, it was the ritualized Gospel text that gave rise to an image that was meant to stand as a perfect and complete model and prototype, embracing both the visual and the verbal, for the reenactment of the event in real life; sacred past and liturgical present thus met.

Could the foot-washing ritual then be held accountable for the placement of the foot-washing subject in the three churches? In point of fact, there are two other activities that customarily took place in the narthex of monastic churches, which would also have had some special claim on the scene.²⁶ One of them was the recitation of the Hours, or the prayers that routinely punctuated the monastic day, one component

25. Goar, 748.

26. Given the penitential interpretation of the foot-washing ritual, it is interesting to note the following passage from the Typikon of the Convent of Constantine Lips: "From early morning he [i.e., the spiritual father of the convent] should sit in part of the narthex of one of the churches to receive the confessions of each nun" (sec. 6, chap. 11, p. 113, of Delehaye's edition of the Greek text). I have no indication as to how widespread this practice was, or whether images of any kind were involved. I would like to thank Dr. Alice Mary Talbot for bringing this passage to my attention, and for permission to cite her translation. The translation will be published in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. P. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, forthcoming).

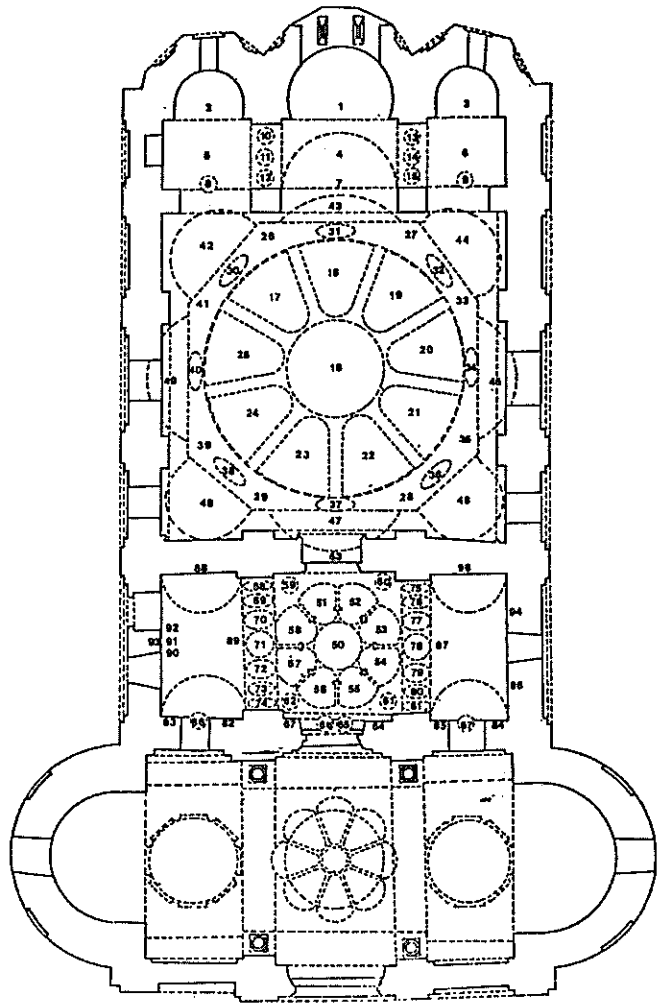


Figure 5. Plan of monastery church, Nea Moni, Chios. From Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1985), 39, fig. 4. Photo: Courtesy of the Commercial Bank of Greece.

of which, the midnight service or mesonyktikon (nocturns), featured the singing of Psalm 50.²⁷ The service and the psalm, for instance, are singled out for special mention in the twelfth-century Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, which prescribes their daily performance in the narthex of the church.²⁸

27. N. D. Uspensky, *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church*, trans. Paul Lazor (Crestwood, N.Y., 1983); Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, MN, 1986).

28. Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 32 (1974): 32ff.; also, idem., "Kecharitomene," 78ff.



Figure 6. Detail of figure 3, Nea Moni, Chios. From Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1985), fig. 255. Photo: Courtesy of the Commercial Bank of Greece.

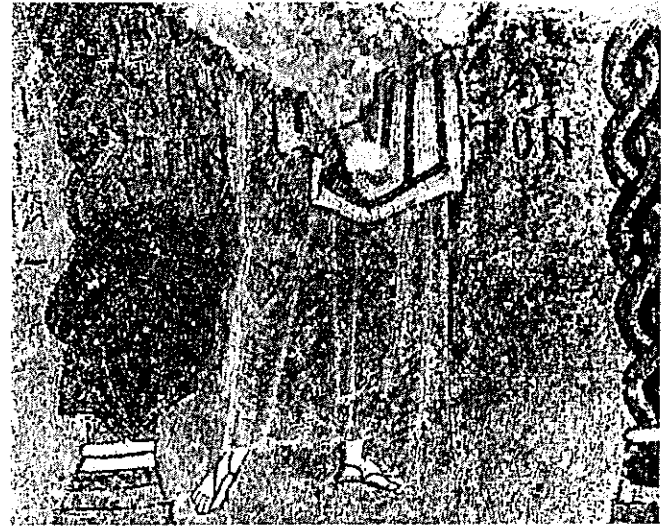


Figure 7. Detail of figure 3, Nea Moni, Chios. From Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1985), fig. 256. Photo: Courtesy of the Commercial Bank of Greece.

Psalm 50 is the great penitential prayer of David, in which he begs forgiveness from the Lord for the death of Uriah, which he had engineered. Thus it is filled with images of defilement and cleansing, one of which, in verse nine, is glossed in five of the marginal psalters of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods with the scene of the Washing of the Feet (fig. 9).²⁹ These psalters thus bear witness to a link between text and image in the Byzantine imagination, even if the content and *ratio* of this connection remain to be clarified. On an obvious level, the answer is clear: the Washing of the Feet, with its implications of humility and penitence, constituted a Christian fulfillment of David's plea in verse nine, "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow." It is possible and indeed probable that a monumental version of the Washing scene was meant to function in the same way as the pictorial gloss—that is, to bring to mind a notion of Christian purification and fulfillment—when it was depicted so prominently in a part of the church where Psalm 50 was sung everyday.³⁰

Another relevant activity was that of Baptism, a sacramental liturgy. The liturgy of Baptism, which was

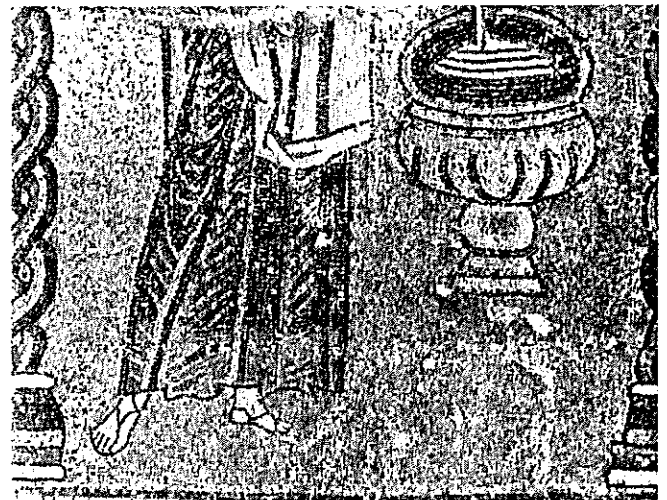


Figure 8. Detail of figure 3, Nea Moni, Chios. From Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1985), fig. 257. Photo: Courtesy of the Commercial Bank of Greece.

29. The five psalters are the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, gr. 129; ninth century), fol. 50v (M. V. Shchepkina, *Miniatjurny Hludovskoj Psaltyri* [Moscow, 1970]); the Pantokrator Psalter (Mount Athos, Pantokrator 61; ninth century), fol. 63r (Suzy Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age, I* [Paris, 1966], 25f., pl. 8); the Theodore Psalter (London, British Museum, Add. 19352; 1066), fol. 64r (Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*

des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age, II [Paris, 1970], 32, pl. 35, fig. 103); Vat. barb. gr. 372 (eleventh century), fol. 83r; and the Hamilton Psalter (Berlin, Kgl. Kupferst. 78A.9, thirteenth/fourteenth century), fol. 113r.

30. On liturgical themes in psalter illustration, see Anthony Cutler, "Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34/35 (1980/88): 17ff.

enshrined in Early Christian times in great edifices reserved for its performance alone, came increasingly to occupy the ancillary spaces of the church building, of which the narthex was an obvious choice; sources say that the baptismal liturgy was performed in the narthexes of Byzantine monastic churches.³¹ Recalling the fact that the foot-washing ritual formed a part of the Early Christian baptismal liturgy in some places, one might assume that the pictorial connection again here would have been a rather straightforward one to make. But this was not the case because foot washing was not part of the baptismal liturgy in Byzantium in the Middle Ages.³² If the baptismal liturgy were relevant to the pictorial depiction of the subject, it would probably have been in a less direct way.

Quite early on, the Washing of the Feet was called a sacrament, or *mysterium*, by Ambrose among others, who, following Origen, understood it as a representation of the forgiveness of sins.³³ The idea persisted particularly in the West in the Middle Ages. In Byzantium, on the other hand, the more common sacramental connection was with Baptism specifically, as Ernst Kantorowicz has shown in a study entitled, "The Baptism of the Apostles."³⁴ This theme itself, the Baptism of the Apostles, poses an interesting question: when, in fact, did it occur? It was an absolute prerequisite for the apostles' office and mission, and yet it was never mentioned explicitly in any of the Gospels. For some writers, like the fourth-century Syrian Aphraates, Christ's washing of his disciples' feet was precisely this event: "Our Saviour washed, also on paschal night, the feet of his disciples, which is the sacrament of Baptism."³⁵ It is thus possible that the



Figure 9. Psalter, MS 61, Washing of the Feet, ninth century, Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos. From Suzy Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1966), fol. 63r, pl. 8. Photo: Courtesy of A. and J. Picard, Paris.

Washing of the Feet, when represented in a place that was also used for the baptismal liturgy, served as a visual reminder of an ancient and supremely important performance of the ritual.

In any case, there is one sense in which all of the aforementioned uses posited for the scene of the Washing of the Feet were synonymous. As already observed, the scene itself formed part of a densely woven pictorial fabric that was the decoration of the church as a whole, and what the different uses may be presumed to have done is to have singled this one scene out. They would have trained a spotlight on it, so to speak, isolating it from its context, in much the same way that the portable icon stand—the *proskynetarion*—typically served in the Byzantine church to frame and present for special devotion the relevant feast image in the form of a special icon—the Nativity on December 25, for instance—on the day of the celebration of the feast.³⁶ It can only be assumed that other subjects depicted on the walls of the church also functioned in the same way, with the implication that the church

31. Charles Delvoye, "Baptisterium," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, (Stuttgart, 1966), 1:460ff.; Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *Baptisteria* (Rome, 1980); M. Arranz, "Évolution des rites d'incorporation et de readmission dans l'Église selon l'euchologe byzantin," in *Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques* (Rome, 1978), 31ff.

32. Giess, 7ff. On the other hand, one of the moments at which baptismal instructions were issued was the Holy Thursday feast; see Thomas M. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom* (Washington, D.C., 1967), 72.

33. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1965), 17ff.; John H. Erickson, "Penitential Discipline in the Orthodox Canonical Tradition," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 21 (1977): 191ff.; John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology, Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1987), 191ff.

34. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Baptism of the Apostles," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9/10 (1955/56): 203ff.

35. Aphraates, *Homily XII* ("On the Pasch"), chap. 6, as cited in Kantorowicz, 211f. and n. 21.

36. André Grabar, "Une source d'inspiration de l'iconographie byzantine tardive: les ceremonies du culte de la Vierge," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 25 (1976): 143ff., esp. 145.



Figure 10. Fresco on apse, Communion of the Apostles, eleventh century, Saint Sophià, Ohrid. Photo: Courtesy of Josephine Powell.

program was constantly being reconfigured under the impact of daily use.

But it is also possible to make a distinction between these uses. In whatever way the image was meaningful to the recitation of the Hours or the performance of the baptismal liturgy, it could not have been directly in terms of present-day actions. The foot-washing ritual was not performed for any of these events. But with the

Holy Thursday liturgy, the situation was different. This liturgy involved the actual reenactment of the event depicted, so that in juxtaposition the two would have stood in a mirror relationship to one another. This must have been a powerful experience for both participants and audience in the Middle Ages; even Jacobus Goar, the editor of the *Euchologion*, was still struck by the performance of the ceremony as late as the seventeenth

century.³⁷ This liturgy, however, was not unique. Although in an entirely different context, the scene of the Communion of the Apostles found in the lower zone of the apse of the church must have functioned in the same way. One example is the eleventh-century fresco in the church of Saint Sophia in Ohrid, which is different primarily in the fact that the image is drawn not from the Gospel text that describes supper at a table but from the liturgy itself (fig. 10).³⁸ The point must have been essentially the same: to depict an episode of prototypical sacred history that was to be taken as proof and legitimation of the efficacy of the ritual act—in this case, Communion.³⁹ The apostles approaching the altar mirrored the present-day recipients of the Eucharist, as Christ did the priest. In both cases, furthermore, the ritual acts were expressly instituted by Christ: "Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me," Christ instructed the Apostles at the Last Supper (1 Cor. 11:24), and at the Washing of the Feet, "For I have given you an example [hypodeigma], that you should also do as I have done to you."

One cannot be certain when the foot-washing ritual first began to be a part of the Holy Thursday liturgy in Byzantium, or when it began to be performed by monks under the image of the event in the manner specified by the Kecharitomene Typikon, but a date in the early Middle Byzantine period would probably be safe to assert. It is thus interesting to observe that the iconography of the Washing scene seems to have undergone an important change at this time. Earlier versions of the scene, as in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels for instance, tend to be fairly unified affairs (fig. 11): a central and very prominent place is given to Christ washing the feet of Peter, who often gestures in surprise, as he does here, or points to his head, while the other apostles arrayed around the pair look intently on.⁴⁰ In later versions of the scene, as on a tenth-century ivory plaque in Berlin, this unity is shattered



Figure 11. Gospel Book, fol. 3r, detail of Last Supper and Washing of the Feet, sixth century, Biblioteca Arcivescovado, Rossano. Photo: Courtesy of William Loerke.

(fig. 12).⁴¹ Christ and Peter still engage one another, but only a few of the apostles now look on; others do not. They seem to talk to one another or stare off into space, or to occupy themselves most ostentatiously with removing their sandals. Diversity as opposed to unity, or, more accurately, a change in emphasis—from the central and riveting interaction between Christ and Peter to the miscellaneous movements of the apostles—all probably meant to be understood as preparations for the washing. All three of the mosaics cited earlier belong quite clearly to the later version of the scene, although they range from a relatively compact rendering (Hosios Loukas, Daphni) to an extravagantly

37. Goar, 753.

38. Vojislav J. Djurić, *The Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid* (Belgrade, 1963), figs. 1 and 3.

39. A similar argument could be made about the depiction of the Baptism of Christ in the Orthodox and Arian Baptisteries in Ravenna; see F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 1:130ff., 209ff.; *Kommentar*, 1. Teil, 2:15ff., esp. 31ff., 251ff., esp. 253ff.; Annabel Jane Wharton, "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistry in Ravenna," *The Art Bulletin*, LXIX (1987): 358ff.

40. Antonio Muñoz, *Il coldice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense* (Rome, 1907), 4, pl. 5; see also William G.

Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin*, 43 (1961): 171ff., fig. 2. Unfortunately, the facsimile of the Rossano Gospels was unavailable to me.

41. Kurt Weitzmann, "A Tenth-Century Lectionary. A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance," *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes*, 9 (1971): 626f., and id., "Ivory Sculpture of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Kolloquium über frühmittelalterliche Skulptur*, 1970 (Munich, 1971), 2, pl. 2.



Figure 12. Ivory plaque, Washing of the Feet, tenth century, Kunstgewerbesammlung, Berlin. Photo: Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York.

expansive one (Nea Moni), in which every apostle is presented as a participant in his own right.

Perhaps one clue to the meaning of the change lay in the figure of the sandal remover, who was one of the most striking additions made to the later iconography of the scene. Ever since Christian antiquity, sandals had been understood as an image of man's earthly nature, of uncleanness and of sin because they were made of leather, that is, dead skin, and because they covered the humblest part of the body that constantly touches the ground, the feet.⁴² To quote Gregory of Nyssa:

"Sandaled feet cannot ascend the height where truth is seen, but the dead and earthly covering of skins, which is placed around our nature at the beginning when we

42. Giess, 14. See also F. J. Dolger, "Das Verbot des Barfussgehens und der kultisch reine Schuh der Tauflinge in der

Oktav der Taufe," *Antike und Christentum*, 5/2 (1936): 109ff.; Johannes Quasten, "A Pythagorean Idea in Jerome," *American Journal of Philology*, 63 (1942): 207ff. On the image of the foot in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, "Baiaurum Grata Voluptas," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 57 (1989): 41ff.; id., "Ipsa deae vestigia. . . Footprints Divine and Human on Graeco-Roman Monuments," *Journal of the Roman Archaeology*, 3 (1990): 85ff.; W. Krause, "Planta nuda: Metamorphosen eines antiken Motivs in der früh und hochmittelalterlichen Kunst," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 33 (1980): 17ff.; Doula Mouriki, "The Theme of the 'Spinario' in Byzantine Art," *Deltion tes christianikes archaiologikes hetaireias*, 6 (1970-72): 53ff., esp. 56f.

were found naked because of disobedience to the divine will, must be removed from the feet of the soul."⁴³ The removing of sandals may thus have been construed in this context as the removal of sin, which would have been in keeping with one of the main themes of the subject, purification. But the sandal remover is presented in a way that suggests another connection be made.

The sandal remover actually occurs in two distinct types, often in the same composition—one standing with his foot raised and the other seated with his leg drawn up—although both would seem to reflect an earlier model from precisely the same narrative episode

43. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, trans. Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson (New York, 1978), 59.

(figs. 13–14).⁴⁴ The model is the figure Moses at the Burning Bush, who was also typically shown in the act of removing his sandals both standing and seated (figs. 15–16).⁴⁵ Kurt Weitzmann first made the connection between the sandal remover in the Washing scene and the figure of Moses; he interpreted it essentially in aesthetic terms, that is, as an attempt on the part of the later artist to enliven or vary his composition with

44. Of the three mosaics in discussion here, both types occur in Hosios Loukas and the Nea Moni.

45. Weitzmann, "Tenth-Century Lectionary," 626f. For the figure from Mount Sinai illustrated here, see George Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor, 1973), pl. 126. For a discussion of this episode, see also Theologos Chr. Aliprantis, *Moses auf dem Berge Sinai* (Munich, 1986).



Figure 13. Detail of figure 2, Hosios Loukas, Phocis. Photo: Courtesy of Byzantine Visual Resources, © 1993, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Figure 14. Detail of figure 2, Hosios Loukas, Phocis. Photo: Courtesy of Byzantine Visual Resources, © 1993, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.



Figure 15. Mosaic decoration on apse arch, Moses at the Burning Bush, sixth century, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai. Photo: Courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

active figures.⁴⁶ But the Moses figure also conveyed, if only by implication, another meaning:

An awe inspiring theophany occurred at high noon, a light brighter than sunlight dazzled his eyes. . . . [Moses said] "I will go up and see this great sight." As soon as he said this he no longer received the marvel of the light with his sight alone, but, which is most astonishing of all, his hearing too was illuminated by the rays of light. The light's grace was distributed to both senses illuminating the sight with flashing rays and lighting the way for the hearing with undefiled teaching.⁴⁷

One need only recall the earlier interpretation of the scene as the Baptism of the Apostles to sense a possible logic in all of this. Baptism was illumination par excellence:

46. Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons* (Princeton, 1976), 91ff. (in reference to a panel from an eleventh-century iconostasis).

47. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, 34f.

Being baptized, we are illuminated; illuminated, we become sons of God; being made sons, we are made perfect; being perfect, we are made immortal. . . . This work is variously called grace and illumination, perfection and washing: washing by which we cleanse away our sins; grace, by which the penalties accruing to transgressions are remitted; and illumination, by which that holy light of salvation is beheld, that is, by which we see God clearly.⁴⁸

"On this day the Apostles were illuminated," runs the opening line of the Holy Thursday liturgy. One may strongly suspect that the artist who first took up the Moses figure as a model for the sandal remover, and indeed insisted on it by using it twice, did so precisely in order to make the point that the apostles at the Washing were having an experience similar to the one that Moses had had at the Burning Bush, namely, enlightenment.

The theme of enlightenment, of course, has a long tradition in the history of Christian literature, especially as it was worked out in the play between physical and spiritual illumination.⁴⁹ But it seems to have taken on a new and pointed significance in the work of one writer situated in a monastic context and roughly contemporary with the three churches under consideration here. Symeon the Theologian (circa 949–1022), at one time a monk of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople, whose turbulent life proved no impediment to the composition of catecheses, treatises, and hymns, produced an impressive body of work.⁵⁰

48. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* I, 6, PG 8, 308C, as cited by Casimir A. Kucharek, *The Sacramental Mysteries. A Byzantine Approach* (Allendale, NJ, 1976), 79. See also, Finn, *passim*, and J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology, Its Origins and Early Development* (Nijmegen, 1962), esp. 173ff.

49. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Light of the World: A Basic Image in Early Christian Thought* (New York, 1962); Hans H. Malmede, *Die Lichtsymbolik im neuen Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1986).

50. Symeon has been called the "greatest mystic of the Orthodox church and one of the most outstanding personalities of the Byzantine world and literature"; Basil Krivocheine, "The Writings of St. Symeon the New Theologian," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 20 (1954): 298ff. See also Karl Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum: Eine Studie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Leipzig, 1898); Walter Volker, *Praxis und Theoria bei Symeon dem neuen Theologen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Mystik* (Wiesbaden, 1974); George A. Maloney, *The Mystic of Fire and Light. St. Symeon the New Theologian* (Denville, NJ, 1975); esp. 83ff.; Basil Krivocheine, *Dans la lumière du Christ* (Chevetogne, 1980); B. Fraigneau-Julien, *Le sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Symeon le Nouveau Theologien* (Paris, 1985). With regard to the larger context of Symeon's writings, see Karl Holl, "Über das griechische Mönchtum," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 94 (1898), 407ff.; *Il monachesimo orientale. Atti del convegno di studi orientali, Aprile, 1958*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 153 (Rome, 1958); Louis Bouyer, "La spiritualité byzantine," in *La spiritualité du Moyen Age* (Vienna, 1961), 662ff.



Figure 16. Detail of Moses at the Burning Bush, Cod. Reg. gr. IB, Leo Bible, fol. 45v, tenth century, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome. Photo: Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.

Many of these texts were directed specifically to monks, wherein, on occasion, even the episode of the Washing of the Feet figured as a lesson: "But if you hear him saying 'If I do not wash you, you have no part in me,' then eagerly offer him your whole body to be washed in order that you may learn from what happens to you the great sublimity of the humility that makes us divine."⁵¹ Far more pervasive, conceptually elaborated, and deeply felt, however, were the meditations on light, whose contemplation, for Symeon, was also the culmination of all things:

You have shone, You have manifested as light of glory the inaccessible light of Your essence, Savior, and You have enlightened a soul plunged in darkness, or rather, which was darkness, in consequence of its sin for it had lost its natural beauty, for You have granted it to see the light of divine day and to be enlightened by the rays of the sun and to become light, O great marvel!⁵²

Or again: "You appeared as light, illuminating me completely from Your total light. And I became light in the night, I who was found in the midst of darkness."⁵³

51. Symeon the New Theologian, *The Discourses*, trans. C. J. de Catanzaro (New York, 1980), 234, no. XX, "The Ideal Spiritual Guide," sec. 4.

52. Hymn 21, Athanasios Kambylis, *Symeon Neos Theologos. Hymnen* (Berlin, 1976), 168ff. Translation by George A. Maloney, *Hymns of Divine Love by St. Symeon the New Theologian* (Denville, NJ, 1976), 95.

53. Hymn 25, Kambylis, 226ff.; trans. Maloney, *ibid.*, 136.

These images fill Symeon's texts, and together with the also frequently employed images and metaphors of purification, washing, the material body, and sin, may be said to constitute a constellation of concepts that had a resonance in the new iconography of the Washing of the Feet.

A direct connection between Symeon's writings and the iconographical development of the Washing scene has not been found, and indeed it is doubtful that one exists. Given this fact, as well as the imprecise nature of this picture of the situation in any case especially with regard to chronology, the weight of evidence is hardly sufficient to argue for a causal relationship. One cannot exclude the possibility that the new version of the Washing scene was created for other (and as yet unknown) reasons and then taken up in a monastic context because it was susceptible to a reading that was relevant to the monastic concerns of this time. On the other hand, one can raise the possibility that the opposite was the case, that the new iconography was created in a monastic context to serve as the setting for a ritual that flourished in this context, and in a way that gave the depiction of the event an inflection that was expressive of certain contemporary monastic themes or preoccupations. The fact that the new iconography placed such emphasis on the apostles, with whom the monks of the monastery would have identified, even to the extent of differentiating them as individuals in the case of the Nea Moni, seems to support the latter hypothesis.

The foregoing observations suggest two areas for further research. The Eucharist was a sacrament, that is, a ritual "believed to continue the mystery of Jesus' saving presence and action in his church through the Holy Spirit," and expressly instituted by Christ to be performed in the way that Christ performed it.⁵⁴ The parallelism between image and ritual noted here, the mimetic nature of the ritual act, may be explained in these terms. The number and identity of the sacraments professed by the Byzantines varied from time to time and place to place; the present-day canon of seven was not accepted until quite late.⁵⁵ Among the lists, the profession of monasticism is numbered on occasion, including the list of the Theodore of Stoudios (759–826);⁵⁶ indeed it is also spoken of as a second Baptism. Given the mimetic nature of the foot-washing ritual of Holy Thursday, one wonders whether there was not some further meaning here. In this regard it would be useful to study the Byzantine sacramental liturgies as *performances*, and especially with reference to the form and meaning of the different parts of the body that were involved. In the present instance the feet, head, and hands were brought into play, and although insofar as it has been possible to determine, no Byzantine attached significance to this, one wonders whether there were any theological implications to the foot/head reversal. Yet the mimetic connection here would hardly have been as pellucid as it was in the case of the Eucharist. There is no indication that the profession of monasticism ever took place under an image of the Washing of the Feet.⁵⁷

A second point has to do with the decoration of the Byzantine church. One of the most distinctive achievements of the Middle Byzantine period was the creation of a decorative program for the domed, centrally planned church based on the image of the Pantokrator surrounded by hierarchically arranged rings of holy figures and narrative scenes (fig. 1).⁵⁸ This program was so widely employed in Byzantium that it has been called "classical" by scholars; indeed it was

one of the few total pictorial views of the church building that the Middle Ages as a whole propounded. To take up the spatial metaphor employed earlier here, one might also say that scholars have tended to study this phenomenon from the top down, that is, in terms of the larger ideas of theology and politics that held the whole together.⁵⁹ Thus the "Classical Middle Byzantine System" has seemed a rather abstract entity, and quite distant from the beholder spiritually, as it often is physically. Recently, however, this view has begun to change under the impact of studies like those of Carolyn L. Connor and Henry Maguire on Hosios Loukas, which have probed the place and meaning of cult in the form of the church.⁶⁰ Such work may be said to proceed from the bottom up, from the local, idiosyncratic, and occasionally even ephemeral activities and concerns that shaped the use and in turn the form of the Byzantine church on a daily basis.⁶¹ It is in such a context, ultimately filled out for the Middle Byzantine period as a whole, that the mimetic ritual of foot washing analyzed here should be viewed.⁶²

59. See above, n. 16. See also Hans Belting, *Bild und Cult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), 185ff.; Henry Maguire, "The Mosaics of the Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," in *Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 46, ed. Anthony Cutler and Simon Franklin (Washington, D.C., 1992), 205ff.

60. Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium. The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, 1991), passim and 234ff. on the decoration of narthexes. Alexander Kazhdan and Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991): 16ff.

61. See also the remarks of Robin Cormack, "Patronage and New Programs of Byzantine Iconography," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Washington, D.C., 1986. Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), 609ff., esp. 620.

62. One place to begin would be the narthex of the church in the Middle Byzantine period, on which a certain amount of attention has already been focused; see the remarks of Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, 21 and 25f.; P. Amber and L. Berg, "The Narthex in Sant'Angelo in Formis," *Acta Archeologica*, 29 (1958/1959): 105ff.; Hamann MacLean, *Grundlegung*, 176ff.; Zaga Gavrilović, "Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretation of the Theme in Medieval Serbia; Narthex Programmes of Lesnovo and Sopocani," *Zograf*, 11 (1980): 44ff.; Athanase Papageorgiou, "The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus," *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (1982): 473ff., esp. 474f. on the uses of the narthex; Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, 199; Svetlana Tomeković, "Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XIe-première moitié du XIIe s.)," *Byzantion*, 58 (1988): 140ff.

54. Alexander Kazhdan, et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), 3:1825.

55. P. de Meester, *Studi sui sacramenti amministrati secondo il rito bizantino* (Rome, 1947); R. Hotz, *Die Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West* (Guterloh, 1979).

56. *Theodori Studitae Epistolae*, ed. Georgios Fatouros, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, XXXI/1 and 2 (Berlin, 1992), 1:445 on the date of the letter; 2:719ff., esp. 720.

57. Odo Casel, "Die Mönchsweihe," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 5 (1925): 1ff.

58. See above, p. 63.