EMPATHETIC VISION: LOOKING AT AND WITH A PERFORMATIVE BYZANTINE MINIATURE

ROBERT S. NELSON

At the moment a work of art is made, it is known just to its maker. Only after it is shown to others does it accrue social and aesthetic value. Quieter, less studied, but not less important are the ways in which the art object becomes entwined in the lives of those who see, use, or possess it, and thereby alters how they see themselves and are seen by others. Various social practices enable such transformations, but for medieval objects valued today as art, ecclesiastical rites are among the most important and, not irrelevantly, the best documented.

The present study relies upon church ritual and devotional vision to explore the performative meanings that arise from the display of a particular miniature in an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript in Florence, Bibl. Laur. Med. Palat 244.[1] The inquiry works with distinctions expressed in the first section of the title and what anthropologists have termed etic and emic culture.[2] The etic are those aspects that can be described or enumerated from the outside by means of categories that the investigator brings to the topic. The emic approximates the insights of the local or past world and expresses an internal perspective. For objects, the emic can be observed in moments of use and performance and requires the commentator to study and apply the local social codes, thereby assuming temporarily and vicariously a role within that society. Thus the emic demands an element of projection to recover or imagine the past.

Some approaches of art history – formal analysis, for example – are normally etic; others, like iconographical interpretations, might be either, but tend towards the etic. Erwin Panofsky in his classic essay,[3] for example, looked at a man lifting his hat and described three ways of understanding the gesture. Neither he nor anyone else has looked *with* this fictive gentleman and contemplated what it felt like to be observed by an art historian, converted into method, and discussed by countless art history classes over the years. By its nature, much iconographic analysis, and including 'readings', the latest manifestation of the approach,[4] transforms the work discussed into an object of art history.

As an art-historical datum and as the sum of other art-historical data – date, provenance, condition, dimensions, etc. – the art work obscures its past ontologies as gift or commodity and as hybrid object/subject ensconced within a dense social nexus. Lost also is the notion that art objects, like certain other types of things, 'both are and affect social relations . . . are a partner in them, and . . . mix

ART HISTORY · ISSN 0141-6790 · VOL 30 NO 4 · SEPTEMBER 2007 pp 489-502

3.1 *Christ Reading*, eleventh century. 338 × 270 mm. Florence: Bibl. Laur. Med. Palat. 244, f. 30v, Photo: Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

together chains of humans and nonhumans.'[5] Because art works were often cultural symbols in past societies, they once functioned as models *of* and models *for*, giving 'meaning, that is, objective conceptual form to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves'.[6] Reading a work of art as a model of a past event, custom, or belief is a standard process of history and art history. Understanding that object as a model for requires exploring its active agency and ventures in the direction of anthropology or sociology.[7]

The distinctions between etic and emic are encoded in the etymologies of the governing words of this issue, display and spectacle. The former carries the sense of unfolding, as 'unfolding to view', that is exhibiting and presenting, and it has a particular ornithological meaning.[8] Like a bird spreading its feathers in a mating dance, the display of a work of art is an unfolding, a setting out for viewing, for attracting interest. In the case of an illuminated manuscript, its museum exhibition involves opening the book and pinning back its pages, thus immobilzing a portable object that had a more dynamic life in the past that this study seeks to recover.[9] The modern display of a work of medieval art transforms from the outside, and in this sense is etic. But a manuscript may also be opened by someone for whom it was made and seen in the conditions proper to what J. L. Austin called a performative. In this case, the viewer can be changed by the active action of viewing, just as a participant in a performative ritual, for example a wedding, is changed by the pronouncement of certain words.[10]

Spectacle has similar general meanings as display, but a different etymology, deriving from Latin and Romance words for 'to look'.[11] In English, 'to look' is normally followed by the preposition 'at', but also 'on' or 'upon', each implying the etic. The 'looking with' in my title is not standard English, but its awkwardness serves to call attention to a type of vision that will be introduced below. Although spectacle in broader parlance can have negative associations, its senses of theatricality are relevant, because the Florence manuscript was made for public performance. What happens to viewers in display, spectacle and performance is the concern of this essay.

The concept of 'looking with' is similar to but different from the ultimately Romantic notion of empathy that animated German psychology and art history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That discourse led to the first uses of empathy in English.[12] While Juliet Koss has shown the later demise of this initial concept of empathy, she also notes its persistence in different guises, for example, studies of spectatorship in film that are relevant for the present project.[13] Less useful is the empathy mixed with sympathy or compassion of popular discourse, for it implies a modern subjectivity and sentimentality; hence the utility of the more neutral 'looking with'. The latter depends more generally on the hermeneutics of interpretation applied to seeing and identifying with the performative display of a single image in a medieval Greek manuscript presently in Florence (plate 3.1).

ICON

Entirely written in gold ink, the manuscript has lections for twenty-two major feast days of the year.[14] Normal lectionaries have readings either for every day or for the Saturdays and Sundays of the year.[15] The abridgment of the Florence manuscript means that it was used only on the most august occasions. Its golden writing indicates significant expense, hence an elite clerical readership in a prestigious and well-endowed church. That institution was most likely the cathedral of Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. A note in the manuscript, to be discussed below, details rituals for that church. Moreover, a nearly identical manuscript in Moscow, State Historical Museum, Syn. gr. 511, once belonged to Hagia Sophia and in 1588 was given by the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Patriarch of Moscow.[16]

Both lectionaries have evangelist portraits and large ornamental headpieces, but only the Florence manuscript also includes a full-page miniature of Christ reading (plate 3.1). It introduces the lection for 1 September, the beginning of the Byzantine secular year. There Jesus turns towards the book on the stand and his audience, who are led by two men wearing white scarves, similar to a bishop's omophorion but without the latter's ubiquitous dark crosses.[17] Jesus is taller and more active than the two men and the crowd behind, if their ascending group of heads are understood as a convention for representing spatial recession. His hands touch the lectern and at the same time address the group. Raising his hands, the first of the bishop-like figures acknowledges the reader and the reading.

The lectern's vertical support bisects the miniature, reinforces the verticality of the composition, and draws the eye to the open book. The visually striking white book contrasts with the surrounding gold ground and connects the hands of Jesus to the two men with the white collars and the crowd beyond. The miniature's gold ground, axial design, spare composition and general solemnity are the hallmarks not of a narrative illustration in a manuscript but of an icon. For the Byzantines, an icon was a matter of subject matter and devotion, not medium. The single miniature in the Florence lectionary, as the following will argue, functions as an icon.

3.2 Detail of *Christ Reading*. Florence: Bibl. Laur. Med. Palat. 244, f. 30v.

The ostensibly simple visual design of the miniature supports a subtle and sophisticated iconography that may be seen in something as conventional as the traditional sacred names, *IC* and *XC*, inscribed on either side of the head of Jesus. The letters *XC*, signifying Christ, the anointed one, the Messiah, are placed directly above the book and on the critical central axis of the miniature. The text on the book, shown here rotated and enlarged (plate 3.2), records the words from Isaiah read by Jesus and affirms the general Messianic message of the scene: 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor.' Originally the text continued past this point, as indicated by the two erased lines at the end. They would have accommodated the next two Greek words, which in English are 'he has sent me.'[18] Not inscribed are their continuation and the further details of the mission: 'to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.'

The manuscript's scribe and/or illuminator carefully arranged the chosen words across the verso and recto sides of the depicted book (plate 3.2), as translated literally:

> Verso: 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me.'
> Recto: 'To preach good news to the poor he has sent me.'

The arrangement differs from the word division of English translations and the Greek edition upon which they are based.[19] In the latter, the clause 'to preach the

good news' is grouped with the preceding words and ends one sentence. 'He has sent me' begins the next sentence, thus 'The spirit of the Lord' . . . to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim . . ..' The division on the depicted book follows the actual punctuation of the lection a few pages later (f. 32r). Throughout the manuscript, crosses separate units of thought. In this section, a cross precedes the words 'spirit' and 'to preach' and follows the last 'me' of 'he has sent me.' The recto of the lectern book thus begins at the second cross. The break at this place stresses the anointing and works with the letters *XC*, the anointed one, that are placed above the book.

Also emphasized by the symmetrical format of these six-line texts is the 'me' at the end of both pages. Although the last word on the recto is mostly erased, the bottom of the letter and the uniformity of the script suggests that the missing word mirrored the facing page. The erasure also effaced the ends of Christ's fingers which once extended onto the page. In that position, they would have pointed to the 'me'. Seen in the full, unrotated miniature (plate 3.1), this hand also gestures to the right, an action that connotes speech in Byzantine art (see plate 3.4). Thus, the pointing, speaking gesture represents Jesus addressing these words, and especially the pronoun, to the audience before him. Visually and orally, he assumes the subject position of the first-person pronoun, just as the lector would in the oral recitation of this text.

The miniature thus distils the basic message of the lection (Luke 4:16–22a) that follows (ff. 31r-33v). On the Sabbath Jesus went to the synagogue at Nazareth and stood up to read. He was handed the book of Isaiah, opened it, and recited the text for the day. Closing the book, he sat down, and 'the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him.' (Luke 4:20) Jesus said to the congregation, 'Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing.' (Luke 4: 21) The people were amazed and wondered 'at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth' (Luke 4:22). As a result of his transformative, transcending performance, Jesus became for those present the annointed one whom Isaiah had foretold (61: 1–2).

Some sense of the miniature's significance and even originality, to evoke an anachronistic concept, may be gained through comparison with other contemporary lectionaries. The day that the lection was read, 1 September, received special attention in the Byzantine lectionary because it was the beginning of the Byzantine administrative year and the start of the immovable feasts, the second part of the lectionary. The saint commemorated that day is Symeon Stylites, and he is the focus of the illustration for this lection in an eleventh-century manuscript in the Dionysiou Monastery at Mt Athos.[20] Perched atop a dark-veined marble column with a delicate lattice, Symeon faces outwards. The same column appears after Symeon's death in another eleventh-century lectionary in the Pierpont Morgan Library (plate 3.3).[21] There monks gather around the saint's body on the funeral bier. The standing figure at the right looks and gestures to the beholder. Inclining his head to his right and towards the deceased saint, this monk connects the beholder to the image. The other monks provide subject positions for potential viewers and suggest ways in which they can visualize themselves grieving over the body of Symeon, someone who is meant to be as well known to them as he was to his colleagues at his death.

The left side of the Pierpont Morgan miniature illustrates Christ in the synagogue. He hands a book to an attendant in the synagogue in slight

contradiction of Luke's Gospel, which states that after Jesus had completed his reading, he gave the text back to the attendant and then sat down. The artist has emphasized instead the subsequent events at the moment when Jesus said that the prophecy had been fulfilled in the space of their hearing. In the miniature Jesus sits among four other men but occupies a more elevated, throne-like seat and rests his feet on a footstool, a sign of high status. To indicate further that he is the Messiah, Jesus is significantly larger than the other men, and his haloed head extends above the top of the seating and thus calls attention to itself.

At this version of the Nazareth synagogue, the congregants either look at Christ or discuss his teachings in amazement or consternation. Centrally positioned on his throne, Jesus presides as if he were a bishop in the taller, central seat of the synthronon, the semi-circular structure along the curved wall of the apse of a church. On Easter at Hagia Sophia, the patriarch would read the Gospel

3.3 *Christ Reading; Death of Symeon Stylites*, eleventh century. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 639, f. 294.

lection from this throne, and the deacon would repeat his words from the ambo.[22] The wooden structure that the congregants share also resembles post-medieval choir stalls in the monastic churches of Mt Athos and Mt Sinai and may refer to medieval structures. Such allusions to the everyday situate the teaching of Jesus inside a church and ground his lesson in the space of hearing and seeing of those present at the medieval retelling of the story.

The two possible themes for 1 September are combined in a twelfth-century lectionary in Paris (Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 27).[23] St Symeon and his column stand atop a framed miniature depicting an enthroned Jesus addressing not seated but standing elders, as in the Florence miniature. This variant follows the tradition of the extensive narrative illustration of the Gospels that is preserved in the eleventh-century Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 74.[24] There the account of Jesus in the Nazareth synagogue extends over two scenes. In the first, Jesus, seated on a throne and holding a book, speaks to a group of standing men; in the second, he stands and reads from a large book on a lectern. The miniature in the Florence lectionary merges the two events.

3.4 *Christ Speaking*, late eleventh–early twelfth century. Athens: National Library cod. 2645, f. 166v.

Also relevant to its iconography is a lectionary in Athens dating from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Both lectionaries are decorated with evangelist portraits and only one additional illustration, a full-page miniature for 1 September.[25] Set on a gold field, the Athens Christ (plate 3.4) stands on a gilded footstool, twists his upper body to the right, and gestures towards the beginning of the lection on the facing recto. Formally, the figure is an odd pastiche. The upper half of the lecturing Christ, especially the right arm, resembles the lector in the Florence lectionary, but the lower body follows another tradition, seen, for example, in the early eleventh-century lectionary at the monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai, cod. 204.[26] The latter illumination is part of a suite of preliminary iconic images which, like the Athens miniature, depict a single figure on a gold ground.

Although the Florence illumination tells a story and thus differs from the preceding images, its design is similar. From the narrative tradition, the illuminator has taken the crowd and the standing, reading Jesus and rearranged these elements into a balanced, hieratic, iconic composition on a gold ground. At the visual and iconographic centre of the miniature is the tall, slender lectern and the open book with the Messianic message and the abbreviation *XC*. Narrative thereby becomes icon. As a result, medieval sources about visual piety can be profitably introduced, and the inquiry moved from the etic to the emic.

Like icons, the lectionary miniature has prominent *nomina sacra*, the abbreviated names of Jesus Christ, inscribed on either side of his head. Sacred names

become obligatory in iconic images from the ninth and the tenth centuries and have been credited to the debates over the legitimacy of religious images during the Iconoclastic controversy that ended in the mid-ninth century.[27] A label on someone who needs no identification does not have the same referential value as a caption beneath a photograph. Literate and illiterate alike would have recognized the meaning of letters *IC XC,* because they are inseparable from an image of Jesus Christ. Both signify visually.

Nomina sacra legitimated and sanctified the image. As the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) declared,

> many of the sacred things which we have at our disposal do not need a prayer of sanctification, since their name itself says that they are all-sacred and full of grace . . . . In the same way, when we signify an icon with a name, we transfer the honor to the prototype; and by embracing it and offering to it the veneration of honor, we share in the sanctification.[28]

Performative and referential, sacred names act, as well as represent, an inheritance of the magical force of prior sacred languages.[29] For this reason, the inscription *XC* positioned above the book on the lectern describes and sanctifies, as much as the Gospel passage inscribed on the book.

The icon offered immediate reference to the divine, as expressed most succinctly by St Basil: 'the honour shown to the image is transmitted to its model.'[30] That veneration extended beyond looking at the icon and included kissing and touching, or, if the panel was small, holding it in one's hands. This beholding created a spiritual relationship, a bond facilitated by dialogic texts that accompany icons[31] and by the widespread acceptance of the extramission theory of vision: that to see something was to touch it by means of optical rays emitted by the eye.[32] Seeing, especially devotionally, was another form of touching, an engaged, empathetic seeing, a looking with.

The meanings of all icons are completed in the space and the person of the pious beholder; hence the importance of what Otto Demus called 'the icon in space', images that envelope the beholder in the visual dramaturgy on the walls of the church and enfold all into the sacred drama and dogma.[33] In an illuminated manuscript, those spatial effects are more intimate. Every illuminated opening in the manuscript is potentially a devotional diptych. In the case of the lection for 1 September the verso miniature of Christ reading in the Florence lectionary communicates with and defines the text that Christ read and the lector reads on the facing recto. As Christ touches the text in the miniature and points to the word 'me', the lector touched the book with his hands and with his eyes and voiced that 'me'. The spatial icon merges text, image and reading and thereby creates a powerful mandate and obligation for the lector on 1 September.[34]

RITUAL

The ritual programme for this day, the *taxis*, is known from two sources: the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church, that is, Hagia Sophia, and an entry at the end of the Florence lectionary that was probably added later in the twelfth century.[35] The two texts agree in most but not all details. Chronologically, they bracket the creation of the late eleventh-century miniature and define a context of use. The Typikon, the simpler and shorter of the two texts, establishes the basic

3.5 Sébah & Joaillier, *Divan Yolu and the Column of Constantine*, late-nineteenth century. Private Collection.

sequence of rites.[36] During the evening service before the first day of the year, the liturgy began in Hagia Sophia with the patriarch present, then moved to the nearby church of St Mary Chalkoprateia, and, as the sun was setting, concluded back at the Great Church with the reading of the life of St Symeon Stylites. After matins the next morning, the patriarch descended to Hagia Sophia from his nearby apartments, entered by a lateral door, and performed various liturgical rites. The choir sang from the ambo and continued to chant as they joined the patriarch, other clergy and the congregation in processing from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine, a distance of about a half a kilometre.

The assembled would process through the colonnaded Mese, the principal ceremonial avenue of Constantinople, to the circular Forum, a public space bounded by porticoes and decorated with an array of ancient sculpture. At its centre stood a porphyry column, surmounted until the early twelfth century by a statue of Constantine the Great (plate 3.5). The relics from the life of Christ, placed at or beneath the column, further enhanced its prestige.[37] The column still stands, though damaged by fire. Because a trolley line presently runs down the middle of the Ottoman equivalent of the Mese, the column is better viewed from a late nineteenth-century photograph that gives some sense of how the column would have appeared – less the mosque and minaret – to a procession approaching from Hagia Sophia. The column's pedestal has been altered, and its lower parts obscured by the rise of approximately 2.5 m in the level of the city.

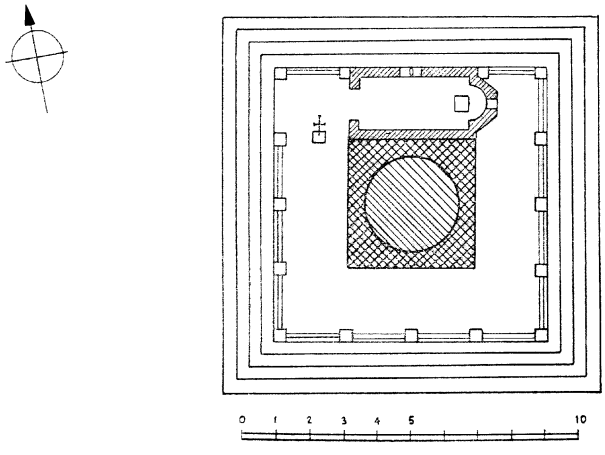
Originally its seven porphyry drums and the marble pedestal rested on a stepped base that opened to a plinth at the top broad enough for a small chapel on one side dedicated to St Constantine (plate 3.6).[38]

In medieval Constantinople, religious processions were frequently seen on the streets of the city, and many passed through the Forum of Constantine.[39] When those walking from Hagia Sophia on 1 September reached the Forum, they heard psalms 1, 2, and 64 intoned. After the third psalm, the Patriarch pronounced 'the usual prayers' that are unspecified in the Typikon. Then followed the Epistle lection, Colossians 3:12–16, that urged the faithful to lead a pious life:

> Brothers, Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, and patience, for bearing one another and, if one has a complaint against another, forgiving each other; as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive. And above all these put on love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony. And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in the one body. And be thankful. Let the world of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God.

The Gospel lection from Luke (4:16–22a) followed. Afterwards the procession moved to the church of St Mary Chalkoprateia for more readings and returned to Hagia Sophia for the liturgy and the recitation of the same Gospel lection once again.

The *taxis* in the Florence lectionary matches one found in a manuscript in Kiev that was first published by Dimitrievskii and again by Mateos.[40] Neither knew of its existence in the Florence lectionary. The Kiev manuscript has a longer, more descriptive title; the Florence version is simpler: 'the order (*taxis*) that takes place on September 1 in the Forum'. It adds that a similar procession occurs on the birthday of the city, 1 May. That date is an error. The scribe probably dropped a digit, as Constantinople celebrated its founding on 11 May. The Kiev manuscript describes only the rites at Hagia Sophia and the Forum; the Florence lectionary follows the procession to the Chalkoprateia and Hagia Sophia, as described in the tenth-century Typikon.



3.6 Reconstruction of base of Column of Constantine (after Cyril Mango).

The basic outline of the rites in the two manuscripts follows the practices already established in the tenth century. After matins, the Patriarch, choir and congregation process to the Forum of Constantine. There the same three psalms are chanted, but not in their entirety. More details are supplied in the manuscripts. The order highlights certain verses and intersperses refrains. For Psalm 1, the refrain is 'Save me, Lord.' It follows the first verse, 'Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly.' (Psalm 1:1a) For those walking to the Forum, the passage would have constituted a gloss on the procession they had just undertaken. The second verse recited is usually translated 'and in the way of sinners' (Psalm 1:1b). However, the Greek word for 'way' (ὁδῷ) has both a metaphorical and a literal meaning, thus way and road, so that this verse can also be read phenomenologically. The next two verses express the same duality: 'For the Lord knows the way of the righteous' (Psalm 1:6a) and 'But the way of the ungodly shall perish.' (Psalm 1:6b)

The verses selected from Psalm 2 would have resonated with the political context of their performance, a site where military triumphs were staged before the emperor and court[41] and a public space dominated by the Column and Chapel of Constantine the Great. The refrain of Alleluia separated the following verses:

> 'Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?' (Ps 2:1); 'The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered themselves together' (Psalm 2:2); 'Serve the Lord with fear' (Ps 2:11); and 'Blessed are all who trust in him' (Psalm 2:12b).

Of the verses from the concluding Psalm 64, the one most relevant for the occasion is the last: 'You will bless the crown of the year' (Psalm 64:5a). Read on 1 September, it offers the promise or the hope that God will bless the year to come.

After the conclusion of the three psalms, the Patriarch came forward. He likely spoke from the top of the steps of the platform surrounding the porphyry column, for it afforded a view over the Forum. The emperor stood there on other occasions.[42] Pronouncing those 'usual prayers', now identified in the Florence and Kiev manuscripts, the patriarch prayed for the Church, the 'very pious emperors, for their court and their army, and for the people who love Christ', and for 'our city', Constantinople, and all cities and the country. Once more the words would have had special significance for the elite of Constantinople gathered in this space. After the patriarch blessed the people three times, someone, presumably the deacon, read the epistle lection from another manuscript brought to the Forum.

In the Kiev-Florence *taxis*, the Epistle changes to I Timothy (2:1–7), which has a different character to that of the passage from Colossians quoted above. I Timothy acknowledges those 'in high positions', validates the author/reader, and introduces the theme of mission that will be continued in the Gospel lection that is emphasized in the Florence manuscript:

> First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way. This is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all, the testimony to which was borne at the proper time. For this I was appointed a preacher and apostle (I am telling the truth, I am not lying), a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth.

After a few more verses from psalms the deacon said, 'Wisdom' and the archdeacon commanded, 'Listen standing to the holy Gospel according to Luke.' Once the people had become calm, the patriarch blessed them three times, intoned 'Peace to you', and began the lection (Luke 4:16–22a). As the Patriarch read, a deacon repeated after him in a loud voice, suggesting the presence of a large assembly crowded into the Forum. As noted above, the same procedure of the Patriarch reading and the deacon repeating was followed on Easter Sunday at Hagia Sophia.

At the moment of its performance, the reading of the lection by the Patriarch was both public and private, or at least more intimate. The Patriarch assumed the voice of Jesus upon whom the Spirit of the Lord had fallen, and like Jesus in the synagogue, he addressed the assembly. There the correspondence ends, however, because the Patriarch was not Jesus, and his audience was not as attentive as that described in the Gospel of Luke. If they had been, it would not have been necessary a few minutes earlier to quiet the crowd before the Patriarch began to read. Most people gathered in the Forum followed the reading indirectly, as amplified by the deacon. Only the higher clergy gathered around the Patriarch heard him directly. That group presumably included bishops wearing omophoria, similar to the leaders of the congregation in the Florence miniature. Some clerics would have stood on the lower steps of the column base, as did the lesser-ranking members of the imperial court when the emperor occupied the upper platform.[43]

Rituals such as these are a special form of communication, and as Edmund Leach has noted,[44] their senders and receivers are often the same people, who say things to and for themselves. At the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, symbolically and physically, and the centre of the ceremony at the Forum on 1 September was only one person, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and as he began to read, he looked at the miniature in this manuscript most likely made for his cathedral. The icon he saw identified the original speaker of these words as Jesus, the anointed one, the Messiah, and at the same time recast the event as a medieval liturgy for the benefit of the patriarch and clergy. Powerfully legitimating at the moment of performance, the miniature would have continued to bear these meanings for those who saw the miniature during the late eleventh century. Those privileged enough to have access to the manuscript in the Patriarchal library or the treasury of Hagia Sophia would also have likely been present at the ceremonies for 1 September and have remembered the Patriarch's role. Someone from that community in the next century added the *taxis* for this day to the end of the Florence lectionary, thus recording a ritual use that had existed since at least the tenth century.

This and other miniatures of the period served as models of and models for performance and subjectivity. At the Forum, the Patriarch read from the manuscript now in Florence and looked at an image whose iconic simplicity made it an object of veneration and a means for projection and identification. Opening and displaying the Florence lectionary on 1 September in the Forum of Constantine was part of a great public spectacle in medieval Constantinople, but it also constituted a private encounter between the Patriarch and his manuscript. At that moment, looking with was a performative act.

Notes

I am grateful for the editorial suggestions of the editors and for the careful reading of the liturgical and religious aspects of this paper by Fr Robert Taft and and my colleague Christopher Beeley.

1 On the concept of the performative and further literature, see Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument*, Chicago, 2004, 5, n. 17. In the present essay, the word performative refers to the linguistical and philosophical concept, developed by J. L. Austin, *How to do things with words*, Cambridge, MA, 1975, and extended to ritual studies, especially by Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, 'A performative approach to ritual', in his *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*, Cambridge, MA, 1985, 123–66. As such, performative in the present essay differs from the more informal sense as an adjective from performance that is used in Bissera V. Pentcheva, 'The Performative Icon', *Art Bulletin*, 88 2006, 631–55.

2 E.M. Melas, 'Etics, Emics, and Empathy in Archaeological Theory', Ian Hodder, ed., *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, London, 1989, 137–55. I thank my colleague Milette Gaifman for this reference.

3 Erwin Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts,* Garden City, NY, 1955, 26–8.

4 Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas, *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object,* Ann Arbor, 2002.

5 John Frow, 'A pebble, a camera, a man who turns into a telegraph pole', *Critical Inquiry*, 28, 2001, 279.

6 Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, 1973, 93.

7 Hence, the book of Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, New York, 1998.

8 'Display, v.', *Oxford English Dictionary,* http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/BOOK_SEARCH.html?book=t140&authstatuscode=202, accessed 11 December 2006.

9 As I discussed once before in this journal: Robert S. Nelson, 'The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now', *Art History*, 12:2, 1989, 145.

10 Austin, *How to do things with words*, 5–7. I am not considering here the many ways in which museum displays can be performative, a theme that is at the heart of Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, New York, 1995.

11 Less useful for the medieval contexts of this essay is the work of Guy Debord, who has used display and spectacle to refer to production and consumption in capitalist and post-capitalistic systems: Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, New York, 1995. See also the introduction by Peter Wollen to Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen, *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*, Seattle, 1995, 9–13.

12 According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'empathy' is the translation of the German 'Einfühlung' and is first attested at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Oxford English Dictionary,* on-line edition. On the German context and the formative role of Robert Vischer, see the introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ilonomou to *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893*, Santa Monica, 1994, 17–29.

13 Juliet Koss, 'On the Limits of Empathy', *Art Bulletin*, 88, 2006, 139–57.

14 Most recently on the manuscript, see Robert S. Nelson, in Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New Haven and London, 2004, 542–3.

15 On illustrated Byzantine lectionaries in general, see Jeffrey C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, University Park, 1992, 1–12; Mary-Lyon Dolezal, 'Illuminating the liturgical word: Text and image in a decorated lectionary (Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)', *Word & Image*, 12, 1996, 23–60. Dr Dolezal's dissertation ('The Middle Byzantine lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual', University of Chicago, 1991) is particularly informative about lectionaries of the later eleventh century and is available on-line at http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=0&did=743820041&SrchMode=1&sid=2&Fmt=1&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1176247955&clientId=13766, accessed 5 December 2006. More generally on the Greek lectionary, see the bibliography cited in Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine rite: A short history*, Collegeville, Minn., 1992, 49–51, n. 17.

16 A. V. Zacharova, 'Греческое Евангелие-апракос из Государственного исторического музея. История, кодиколгия, текст и декоративное оформление', *Художественное наследие*, 20 (50), 2003, 7–19. I thank Dr Zacharova for kindly bringing her study to my attention.

17 *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York, 1991, 1526.

18 Άπέσταλκέ με.

19 Kurt Aland et al., *The Greek New Testament*, Stuttgart, 1975, 217, with references to the punctuation in other editions.

20 Dolezal, 'Illuminating the liturgical word', fig. 14.

21 Kurt Weitzmann, 'The Constantinopolitan lectionary, Morgan 639', in Dorothy E. Miner, ed., *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, 368–9. See also the catalogue

entries in Gary Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1973, 118–20; and Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, New York, 1997, 105–107.

22 Juan Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine: étude historique*, 143; Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*, vol. 2, 94–7.

23 Henri Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale du VIe au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. XCVIII,3.

24 Henri Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1908, pl. 101.

25 Anna Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol. 1, Athens, 1978, 139–49.

26 Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, eds, *Icons from Sinai: Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*, Los Angeles, 2006, 136.

27 Karen Boston, 'The Power of inscriptions and the trouble with texts', in Antony Eastmond and Liz James, eds, *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, Burlington, VT, 2003, 35–57; Robert S. Nelson, 'Image and Inscription: Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion', in Elizabeth James, ed., *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, Cambridge, forthcoming.

28 Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 15, Graz, 1960, col. 269; *Icon and logos: Sources in eighth-century iconoclasm*, trans. Daniel J. Sahas, Toronto, 1986, 99; Boston, 'Power of inscriptions', 43–4.

29 Naomi Janowitz, *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity*, University Park, 2002, xx, 23–4; David Frankfurter, 'The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic', *Helios*, 21 1994, 211.

30 Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972, 47, 169.

31 Nelson, 'Discourse of icons', 147–8.

32 Robert S. Nelson, 'To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium', *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, New York, 2000, 143–68.

33 Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*, Boston, 1955, 13–14.

34 The Lukan passage remains important. As this essay was being written Katherine Jefferts Schori was invested as the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, the first woman to lead an Anglican province as chief bishop. The text from Luke and its quotation from Isaiah were the basis of her homily that day.

35 The black ink of the note contrasts with the gold of the main text. The note is written in a less exalted style than the formalized, ceremonial hand of the lectionary proper. Scribes did employ different writing styles and might use a more ordinary script for commentaries and liturgical tables, so that that the entry could be contemporary with the main text. Yet, on balance, it is more likely written somewhat later.

36 Mateos, *Typicon de la grande église*, vol. 1, 2–11.

37 On the Forum of Constantine, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1977, 255–7. On its sculpture and relics, see Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, New York, 2004, 188–208.

38 Cyril Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine', *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologike Hetaireias*, ser. 4, vol. 10, 1980–81, 107–108.

39 The Forum of Constantine, according to the Typikon of the Great Church, figured in liturgical processions on fifty days of the year: Mateos, *Typicon de la grande église*, vol. 2, 273. On religious holidays and processions generally, see James C. Skedros, 'Shrines, Festivals, and the "undistinguished mob"', in Derek Krueger, *Byzantine Christianity*, Minneapolis, 2006, 81–3.

40 Aleksej Dimitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej*, 1, reprinted Hildesheim, 1965, 152–4; Mateos, *Typicon de la grande église*, vol. 2, 200–203. The fundamental study of stational liturgy in Constantinople is John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987, 205–226. See now also Robert F. Taft, *Through their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines saw it*, Berkeley, 2006, 30–60.

41 See especially the description of the ritual subjugation of an Arab emir, as described in Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*, New York, 1986, 161–5.

42 Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column', 105.

43 Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column', 105.

44 Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected,* Cambridge, 1976, 43. The bibliography on ritual is vast, and most work, like this essay, consists of case studies, as, for example, the informative, recent volume edited by Nicolas Howe, *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-modern Europe*, Notre Dame, Ind., 2007.