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PUBLIC PORTRAITS, PRIVATE LIVES:
HUMAN IMAGES ON BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL CERAMICS FROM CYPRUS
(CA. 12TH/EARLY 13TH–15TH CENTURY)

(Taf. 53–62, Abb. 1–20; Table 1)

Abstract

This paper sets out to discuss human representations on glazed decorative pottery, dating from the Middle Byzantine period to Late Medieval times (ca. 12th–15th centuries). The material mostly originates from the Eastern Mediterranean region, in particular from Cyprus. Some aspects of these human representations that will be touched upon in this paper are gender representation and distinction, bodily representation, ornaments and appearance.

Introduction

‘It takes a long time for a man to look like his portrait,’ remarked the American-born artist JAMES ABBOTT WHISTLER (1834–1903), who lived, worked and died in Europe. He was right, of course, as far as the long time it takes to look like your portrait is concerned. That is perhaps the reason why archaeologists never recognized the importance of the enigmatic portraits on Byzantine and Medieval wares from Cyprus. It is not clear whether these images fall in the category ‘Private Portraits’, but it seems quite certain that they are quite unique in the entire range of representations of human figures in Byzantine and Medieval art. These human images on Cypriot pottery are as puzzling as they are simple. Depicted in the ‘incised sgraffito’ technique with alternating thin and thick incisions, following Byzantine and Islamic decorative styles but without much detail or artistry, these portraits were all but forgotten since their creation¹.

In this paper I present a first inventory and discussion of circa 91 images of these human representations on glazed decorative pottery produced on Cyprus and dating in Late Byzantine/Late Medieval times (ranging mostly from the late 12th/early 13th to the early 16th century). The material mostly originates from the Eastern Mediterranean region, in particular from grave contexts on Cyprus. The pottery finds are nowadays on display in several museum collections in Europe and in Cyprus (*e. g.* Leventis Collection, Pierides Collection). Some aspects of these images that will be touched upon here are bodily communication, gender representation and distinction, as well as differences in appearance through the use of clothes and objects through different centuries. It is the intention to compare the human depictions on the ceramics with contemporary art (such as wall paintings, miniatures, icons, metalware etc.).

¹ Vroom 2014, 90–91; see also Vroom 2005, 90–91.

Museum Collections

Because of my work for the TAESP Project (shortening for ‘Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project’), which yielded large quantities of locally made decorated fragments of the Late Byzantine and Late Medieval periods in central Cyprus, I became interested in the decoration and the iconographical aspects of these artefacts². For the study on human representations, however, I had to move from small survey fragments to more complete vessels. The most complete local products from Medieval Cyprus (with the most complete shapes and the most complete decorative designs) can nowadays be found in various museum collections.

Consequently, I have selected in this article published material from four collections: the Leventis collection in Nicosia, the Pierides collection in Larnaca, the E. von Post collection in Stockholm, and the Sèvres collection in Paris (Table 1)³. It concerns here a total of circa 244 vessels, which can approximately be dated between the 13th and the 16th centuries. We should keep in mind, however, that these well-preserved vessels in museums and private collections often come from clandestine excavations (such as robbed tombs)⁴. So, we have complete shapes and designs, but unfortunately no provenances, nor good archaeological contexts of these vessels.

If we zoom in into the pottery shapes from these four collections, it is clear that we are dealing here mostly with open shapes (such as dishes, bowls and goblets). The most common shape among the 244 vessels is the footed bowl. And among these most popular are footed bowls, which can be dated in the 14th century (Abb. 1). When looking at the motifs on these 244 vessels we may notice that these can be divided between designs with human figures, with animals (such as birds and fishes), with objects (such as keys and heraldic shields), as well as with vegetal and finally with (more abstract) geometric motifs (Abb. 2). Of these motifs, the vessels with vegetal motifs are most common, especially in the 14th century.

If we take the material from one collection – in this case, the vessels from the Leventis collection, for example, with a total amount of 97 published bowls – we may notice the same pattern, with a dominance of vegetal designs (in particular, floral designs) in the 14th century, followed by geometric motifs in the 14th century and thirdly by human beings and animals in the 15th century (Abb. 3). In addition, the most common motif within the repertoire of human figures of the published vessels from the Leventis collection is the portrayal of a single man, represented by 64 % of the total (Abb. 4). If we differentiate the amount of the depiction of the human figures in all four collections over the centuries, it is clear that the motif of a single man is most common among the published vessels of the 14th century (Abb. 5).

Although the iconography of these Cypriot glazed ceramics was already studied by other scholars (I mention, for instance, DEMETRA PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZIS, VERONIQUE FRANÇOIS and MARIE-LOUISE VON WARTBURG)⁵ I use here a different approach by first presenting an initial inventory of the full repertoire and then to try to combine these images with iconographic parallels in art (if possible).

In addition, I need to inform you that all the decorative glazed vessels from these four collections are locally produced. We know that there was pottery production in Cyprus from the 13th century onwards, because evidence was found at Enkomi, at Lapithos and in the Paphos area⁶. In addition, Soloi and Nicosia have been mentioned as production areas⁷. The archaeological evidence includes wasters (or refuse from the pottery making process) as well as potter’s tools, such as tripod stilts which were used for separating glazed pottery during firing in the kiln. The Cypriot products were distributed to Syria, Israel, Jordan, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and even to southern France⁸.

² *e.g.* Given *et al.* 2007; Given *et al.* 2013, vols. 1 and 2; Vroom 2013.

³ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004; Piltz 1996; Kontogianis 2003. I would like to thank DEMETRA PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI here warmly for allowing me to use the pictures from her catalogues of the Pierides Collection in Larnaca and of the Leventis Collection in Nicosia.

⁴ An exception are the ceramic finds from a Medieval well in Nicosia; see Flourentzos 1994.

⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a; François 1999; von Wartburg 2001a.

⁶ See in general, von Wartburg 2007, 422 f. with further literature.

⁷ See Flourentzos 1994, 2 f. for Nicosia.

⁸ Vroom 2014, 120 f.; see also Vroom 2005, 120 f.

Male Depictions

In this article I first present quickly some material, and towards the end I aim to give some observations and interpretations on the depictions. Apart from using published vessels from the already mentioned four museum collections, I also have added a few other published examples of Cypriot human representations in order to reinforce the existing patterns.

In the Cypriot pottery repertoire are various well-executed images of a single standing beardless and bare-headed male figure, depicted frontally on 13th century vessels⁹. One figure on a bowl in the Pierides Collection is surrounded by three birds or birds of prey (Abb. 7, left)¹⁰. All these 13th-century male images are either wearing a knee-length vertically striped or pleated skirt with a belt, and scale or mail armour on the upper body¹¹. Their hair is depicted either straight or curly, around chin length, and their eyes are large¹².

Looking at the bodily postures on the 13th-century Cypriot bowls, it is clear that all single men are active and in movement, sometimes holding objects or a bird in their hands. One male figure is holding two birds and is surrounded by another third bird (Abb. 7, left)¹³. Three other depicted males seem to make music (with cymbals, castanets or a lute/*tambouras*?)¹⁴. One figure is wearing a large elongated object (maybe a shield or a sword?)¹⁵ and other figures appear to hold banners, liturgical fans or lances/spears in their hands (Abb. 8, left)¹⁶.

The images of a single standing male figure, depicted a century later, show a completely different picture. One may suddenly notice on 14th-century vessels heavily armoured men or soldiers with short curly hair, wearing knee-length (scale and mail armoured) garments with long sleeves (Abb. 9, left)¹⁷. All figures are in action, holding a sword and a shield in their hands in order to distinguish themselves in battles and tournaments¹⁸. One male figure has an additional bird on his left side¹⁹ and two others an extra shield or unrecognizable coat-of-arms²⁰.

Images of a single standing man with short curly hair are depicted again frontally on vessels of the 14th–early 15th centuries. This time we can distinguish next to the figure a spiral vegetal shoot²¹, a spiral vegetal shoot in combination with a bird²², or two birds²³. Whereas some male figures at first still have arms and

⁹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 70 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 a–b; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 45 and nos. 47–48; pl. 15 no. 73 (Benaki) and pl. 21 no. 106; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 51 (Leventis); Papanikola-Bakirtzi *et al.* 1999, 155. 161 no. 335 (Benaki), although described here as a female figure. See also Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. 4 no. 3, and Dikigoropoulos – Megaw 1958, 84 fig. 5.

¹⁰ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 70 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 a; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 45 (Pierides).

¹¹ An exception is the warrior depicted on a bowl from the Theatre excavations at Paphos (see Cook 2004, fig. 6 b). This male figure is dressed totally in chain mail (including his legs and feet). Furthermore, he is holding a western-style shield and sword in his hands.

¹² One may notice the same features (curly hair and large eyes) in the warrior depictions of the Byzantine frontier hero Digenes Akritas on 12th-century pottery; see Notopoulos 1964, 121.

¹³ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 70 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 a; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 45 (Pierides).

¹⁴ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 b; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 15 no. 73 (Benaki) and pl. 21 no. 106; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 51 (Leventis); Papanikola-Bakirtzi *et al.* 1999, 155. 161 no. 335 (Benaki). See also Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 nos. 47–48 for more male figures on 13th-century Cypriot vessels, and Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999b, 31 no. 9 for a warrior playing the lute on a Byzantine vessel of the second half of the 12th century.

¹⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 46.

¹⁶ Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. 4 no. 3; von Wartburg 1998, figs. 62–63 no. 26 (from “Grube” 30A in Palaiopaphos), suggesting that the depicted man is holding a liturgical fan (*flabellum*). See also Stern 2012, 61 fig. 4, 21 b; pl. 4, 44 no. 1 showing a 13th-century Cypriot dish with a male figure from the Knight’s Hotel in Akko (Israel). Are these images perhaps referring to the military saint of St. George?

¹⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 132 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 34 no. 1 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 55. 56. 58 (Leventis); Piltz 1996, 44 no. 27 (von Post).

¹⁸ As one can also find them on funerary slabs from this period of time; see Imhaus 2004.

¹⁹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 56 (Leventis).

²⁰ Piltz 1996, 44 no. 27 (von Post); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 55 (Leventis).

²¹ Flourentzos 1994, pl. 11 no. 22 (Nicosia well); Piltz 1996, 53 no. 36 (von Post).

²² Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 158 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 34 no. 2 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 37 no. 7 (Leventis).

²³ Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. 6 no. 16; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 34 no. 3.

hands, others are gradually keeping theirs underneath a decorative or embroidered cloak (Abb. 10, left). This gives them a rather stiff and rigid impression, although the feet and legs of all are still shown.

There exist many images of a single standing man with short curly hair depicted frontally on vessels of the 14th–15th/early 16th centuries²⁴. These figures all have their hands and arms hidden away underneath a decorative cloak with embroidered panel, or underneath a cloak with a more abstract herringbone motif (Abb. 10, left). They only have two spiral shoots or stylized ferns on both sides. All look immobile and inactive in this period. During the 15th century the male figures sometimes become more schematic and abstract²⁵.

Two Cypriot vessels show two men with short curly hair, depicted frontally on vessels of the early 15th century (Abb. 6, left). We may notice here the same pattern again as on the previous vessels, but this time the two men are portrayed underneath one large decorative cloak next to stylized ferns²⁶. Their two faces look towards each other (like in the Embrace of the holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul), but there is only one pair of feet turning to the right. This double silhouette looks stiff and immobile, and it looks as if the two men cannot be separated. One bowl from the Pierides collection, dated to the late 14th century, is even more complex, with five men portrayed as schematic figures without arms and hands around a small shield in the centre²⁷.

Female Depictions

We now turn to the female depictions on the published Cypriot ceramics. As far as I know, there exist no female depictions on 13th-century Cypriot vessels. We can start distinguishing various images of a single standing woman, depicted frontally on vessels of the 14th century (Abb. 11, left)²⁸. They are dressed in a foot-length decorative or embroidered garment, and they all wear a long embroidered veil which hangs almost to their feet. Furthermore, they have in their spread out arms and hands all kinds of objects, which can be related to drinking habits (such as jugs and goblets). One female figure has a bird next to her²⁹, two others have an added heraldic shield or coat-of-arms on one side³⁰. Another female image on a 14th-century bowl from the Pierides collection is wearing an embroidered napkin or scarf (*mandil*) at her left arm³¹. They all look very active and mobile (pleasure-bearing) figures, with active body movements.

We see the same pattern again on images of a single standing woman, depicted frontally on vessels from the 14th to early 16th centuries³². But this time these women have less objects in their spread out hands and arms. Furthermore, we see the female images in the early 16th century becoming more schematic and abstract³³. Nevertheless, they all look like very active and mobile figures, who were actively moving or perhaps even dancing. Only one woman on a 15th-century vessel has an object in her hand, although it is not clear what it exactly is (perhaps a jug?)³⁴.

²⁴ e. g., Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. 6 nos. 13–15; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 154–157. 160–169 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 3 b; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 35 nos. 4–6; pl. 36 nos. 7–8; pl. 37 no. 9; pl. 61 no. 77 and pl. 61 nos. 76–77; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 60–65 nos. 10–15 (Leventis); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 11 (Nicosia well); Piltz 1996, 14 fig. 5; 60–64 nos. 43–47 (von Post); Kontogiannis 2003, 318 nos. 1–5; 324 no. 14 (Sèvres).

²⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 162–165 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 35 no. 6.

²⁶ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 152 f. (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 59 no. 9 (Leventis).

²⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 130 f. (Pierides).

²⁸ e. g., Megaw 1968, 106 fig. 320; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 94–99 (Pierides); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 14 (Nicosia well); Piltz 1996, 54 no. 37 is because of the depicted garments not a male but a female figure (von Post); von Wartburg 2001a, pl. 71 nos. 2. 4. 5–7.

²⁹ Flourentzos 1994, pl. 14 (Nicosia well).

³⁰ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 94 f. (Pierides); Piltz 1996, 54 no. 37 (von Post).

³¹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 98 f. (Pierides).

³² Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 53 f. nos. 3–4 (Leventis); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 14 (Nicosia well).

³³ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 54 no. 4 (Leventis).

³⁴ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 53 no. 3 (Leventis). The object mentioned is perhaps a stylized depicted jug.

The images of two women portrayed together on 14th-century vessels look more mobile and active than the two men together (Abb. 6, right)³⁵. They are wearing very decorative, embroidered garments and long veils, having their arms and hand spread out. On one vessel from the Pierides Collection the women have a jug and an embroidered napkin or scarf in their hands³⁶. On another bowl, they are not portrayed frontally but towards each other with the hands up, as if they are dancing³⁷.

Couples and Others

Mobile and active also are the images of a couple, of a man and a woman portrayed frontally together on 14th-century published vessels (Abb. 12, left)³⁸. The men portrayed in the couples often wear festive looking clothes. The man is often holding a sword in his hands; only on one vessel he is holding a jug³⁹. Furthermore, there are occasionally added objects such as one bird, one shield and various heraldic devices shown next to the couples. The same pattern of decorated garments can be seen in the couples on the 14th-century vessels. The only exceptions are two images on Cypriot vessels, where we suddenly see the couple portrayed behind each other⁴⁰.

The images of human faces are also noteworthy, depicted in the centre of 13th- and 14th-century vessels⁴¹. They often portray an anthropomorphic sun or moon, borrowing this image from astrological imagery (Abb. 14, left). A bowl from the Pierides collection even shows eight women dancing around the sun or moon figure⁴². In this group one can also distinguish more realistic looking human faces on 14th-century vessels⁴³. They include a young man's face, a bearded figure and a double head (perhaps a kind of a 'grylle', a composite monster of the cephalopod variety)⁴⁴.

Finally, I show you some images, which are put in the category 'other'. They include fantastic mythical creatures (such as a hunting centaur surrounded by four dogs)⁴⁵ as well as a mounted saint dressed in chain mail⁴⁶ (Abb. 13, left) and a sitting male figure with a goblet and a sword in his hands⁴⁷. They are complex images, borrowing themes from magical astrological imagery, from traditional Greco-Roman themes, from Byzantine art and from Christian faith.

Wider Context

If we put the images of the human figures on the Cypriot ceramics in a wider context, it is clear that these depictions can be connected to similar looking contemporary images from various regions in the Mediterranean. It is, for instance, interesting to see how Late Medieval contemporary garments and realistic looking objects are depicted on the Cypriot ceramics. I would like to discuss a few examples here in relation to art, where the shown objects and clothes tell an interesting story.

³⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 88 f. (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 52 no. 2 (Leventis); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 15 (Nicosia well); Piltz 1996, 4, no. 25, because of the clothes this is a depiction of two women and not of a couple (von Post).

³⁶ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 86 f. 90–93 (Pierides).

³⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 52 no. 2 (Leventis).

³⁸ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 86 f. 90–93 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 4 b (Limassol); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 12 (Nicosia well); Piltz 1996, 43 no. 26; 50 no. 30 (von Post); Saladin 2001, 134 (wrongly dated).

³⁹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 90–93 (Pierides).

⁴⁰ von Wartburg 2001a, pl. 71 no. 8; von Wartburg 2007, fig. 4 no. 6.

⁴¹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 100 f. 124–129 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 11 no. 60 and pl. 12 no. 65; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 66 f. nos. 16–17 (Leventis); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 9 (Nicosia well); see also Violaris 2004, fig. 17 (Nicosia).

⁴² Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 100 f. (Pierides).

⁴³ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 124–129 (Pierides).

⁴⁴ François 1999, 71 f.; see also Baltrušaitis 1994, 17–73 on 'gryllen' in art.

⁴⁵ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 118 f. (Pierides). Cf. François 1999, 69 fig. 3 no. 3 and von Wartburg 2001a, 459 note 12, showing different interpretations on this hunting centaur. See also Notopoulos 1964, 118 f., Morgan 1942, cat. no. 651 and Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 168 no. 195; 177 no. 204 for Byzantine centaur dishes found in Corinth.

⁴⁶ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 120 f. (Pierides).

⁴⁷ Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. V no. 9; see also von Wartburg 2001a, 462 no. 1 pl. 71 no. 1.

The 13th-century male figure holding two birds and surrounded by a third bird (on a bowl from the Pierides collection) is probably a falconer (Abb. 7, left). The depicted birds are perhaps birds of prey (such as falcons or hawks), because one of them is shown with jesses⁴⁸. These last ones are thin straps, traditionally made from leather, used to tether a hawk or falcon in falconry. The image coincides very well with a contemporary miniature from the Latin treatise on falconry and ornithology *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* ('On the art of hunting with birds'), written around 1240 by Emperor FREDERICK II OF HOHENSTAUFEN (1194–1250) and now in the Vatican Library in Rome (Abb. 6, right)⁴⁹. The birds of prey on the 13th-century Cypriot bowls can be connected to western and eastern ways of actual hunting in that period of time. We may notice mounted falconers on Islamic 12th-century bowls from Egypt and Sicily, a mounted falconer on a Byzantine 12th-century dish from Corinth, as well as a huntsman struggling with an animal (a deer?) with a falcon on the shoulder on a Byzantine late 12th-/early 13th-century dish from Thebes⁵⁰.

The falconer on the Cypriot bowl is light armoured and dressed in a vertically striped or pleated skirt with a belt, combined with a hauberk of chain mail on the upper body (Abb. 7, left). The same outfit can also be distinguished on eight more male figures depicted on 13th-century Cypriot bowls (see Abb. 7 and 8, left for two examples)⁵¹. The vertically striped or pleated skirt is known in the Balkans and Greece as *podea* or *fustanella*. This garment is represented by a male drummer on the early 14th century fresco of the Mocking of Christ in the Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki as well as by a male blowing a horn on a similar Mocking fresco in the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, near Platanistasa on Cyprus (Abb. 8, right)⁵². The *podea* or *fustanella* is a military outfit of the Byzantine army that was often worn in combination with a shirt of scale armour or chain mail by ceremonial military units or by mobile guerrilla-type of warriors⁵³. According to CHARLES MORGAN, this "characteristic garment of latter-day Greece was in common use as early as the twelfth century in Greek lands"⁵⁴.

One may notice the same features (chain mail hauberk, *fustanella*, curly hair and large eyes) in the male depictions associated with warriors of Akritic songs (among them, the Byzantine frontier hero Digenis Akritas) on Byzantine pottery of the second half of the 12th-century⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the Byzantinist ALEXANDER KAZHDAN remains cautious about the Digenis Akritas imagery on the ceramics: "while 35 plates have the warrior wearing the *podea* or pleated skirt (sometimes called a *fustanella*) attributed to Manuel I, the 'new Akrites', in a Ptochoprodromic poem, and 26 have him slaying a dragon, neither iconographic element is sufficient to identify the hero specifically as Digenes because both the skirt and the deed characterize other *akritai* named in the Akritic Songs"⁵⁶. It has been suggested that the male warrior images on pottery must have 11th-century illuminated manuscripts of the songs as their prototypes⁵⁷.

⁴⁸ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 70 f. no. 5; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 a; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 45 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2005, 52. Birds of prey are also quite common on Byzantine ceramics; see von Wartburg 2001b, 120 f. fig. 12, 12 and pl. 12, 2 (right) with further literature.

⁴⁹ Miniature from Vatic. Ms. Pal. Lat. 1071, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, after Levi Pisetzky 1964, fig. 175; cf. Volbach 1939; Wood – Fyfe 1955. See also Jacoby 1986, 164 and Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2005, 51 f. on references of Byzantine books or treatises written on hunting with birds.

⁵⁰ Lane 1953, 22 fig. 26 b (Cairo); Curatola 1993, 194 no. 82 (Palermo) with further literature to more examples of falconers in Islamic art; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999b, 27 no. 3 (Corinth); 57 no. 49 (Thebes); see also Armstrong 2006, 80 f. fig. 8.

⁵¹ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 70 f.; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1993, pl. 2 a–b; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 9 no. 45 and nos. 47–48; pl. 15 no. 73 (Benaki) and pl. 21 no. 106; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 51 (Leventis); Papanikola-Bakirtzi *et al.* 1999, 155. 161 no. 335 (Benaki), although described here as a female figure. See also Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, pl. 4 no. 3; Dikigoropoulos – Megaw 1958, 84 fig. 5; Stern 2012, 61 fig. 4, 21 b; pl. 4, 44 no. 1 showing a 13th-century Cypriot dish with a male figure from the Knight's Hotel in Akko (Israel).

⁵² Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, fig. 111 a. I would like to thank MARIA PARANI for drawing my attention to the Thessaloniki wall painting.

⁵³ Notopoulos 1964, 113–115.

⁵⁴ Morgan 1942, 133; see also Verinis 2005 for the more modern use of the *fustanella*.

⁵⁵ These refer to the so known *akritai*, the eastern frontier guards of the Byzantine Empire; see Notopoulos 1964, 121; Nicolle 1988, 657 no. 120.

⁵⁶ Kazhdan 1991, 47.

⁵⁷ Pélékanides 1956, 215–217; Notopoulos 1964, 112.

A century later (in the 14th century), the single man on various Cypriot vessels is becoming more heavily armoured. In fact, he is portrayed as a warrior in action with shield and sword (Abb. 9, left above)⁵⁸. Noteworthy is the ‘transitional’ warrior depicted on a late 13th-century bowl from the Theatre excavations at Paphos (Abb. 9, left below)⁵⁹. Although his head still has ‘Byzantine elements’ (large eyes, curly hair), this male figure is totally dressed in chain mail (in a long-sleeved hauberk and in mail chausses) and he is holding a western-style Crusader shield and sword in his hands. One can also find similar looking garments and attributes on contemporary Cypriot gravestones, on a 13th-century fresco in Angera, Italy, as well as on a wall painting with western elements in Anydroi on Crete (AD 1323; Abb. 9, right)⁶⁰. Whether these Crusader warrior presentations are perhaps connected to a new definition of knighthood in the Mediterranean in order to distinguish oneself in a battle or in a tournament, or perhaps to historical events, we do not know yet. We must, however, keep in mind that the generic shields or coat-of-arms shown on these bowls portray not only western elements, because the depiction of shields is also known in the Islamic world, especially during the dynasty of the Mamluks (mid-13th–late 14th centuries)⁶¹.

The decorative mantles with embroidered panels of the single standing man on many 14th–15th/early 16th-century vessels from Cyprus, on the other hand, look analogous to the compact style of Italian Renaissance male cloaks and capes, covering most of the arms and hands (Abb. 10, left and right above)⁶². One male representation on a Cypriot bowl in the ‘Cyprus Museum’ even wears a flat hat or cap (Abb. 10, left below)⁶³. We may distinguish similar looking headwear and hair styles on a wall painting of the early 16th century in the Church of Panagia, Kaminaria (Limassol district), where three male donors are depicted in western-looking 15th/16th-century costumes (Abb. 10, right below)⁶⁴. They wear flat-looking tricorn hats, with their long curly hair put in the fashion of that period.

Furthermore, we may notice on various wall paintings with female donors in Cypriot churches the same female outfits with long dresses, tight waists and long veils as the female garments depicted on the Cypriot vessels (Abb. 11, left). Of these supplicant representations (often depicted in a Western tradition) I would like to mention the three woman donors with embroidered long veils and high-waist long-sleeved gowns on a fresco in the Church of the Archangel Michael in Pedoulas (AD 1474), the veiled female supplicant wearing puffed long sleeves on an early 16th-century wall painting in the Church of the Virgin Mary, Kaminaria (Limassol district), as well as a woman donor in a dress laced by a cord in zigzag manner on a (partly missing) fresco in the Church of Panagia, Kourdali (Nicosia district) (Abb. 11, right)⁶⁵. They all stand or kneel in prayer with their hands raised and show western and Venetian influences in their gowns and headwear then in vogue on Cyprus⁶⁶.

On one of the Cypriot bowls from the Pierides Collection with the depiction of an embracing couple, the decorative costume and the pointed footwear of the male figure are noteworthy (Abb. 12, left)⁶⁷. Such footwear reminds us of sabatons ending in a tapered point (in French called ‘à la poulaine’) and spurs of the knight’s armour of a cavalry man. In fact, the whole costume looks quite analogous to a 15th-century portrayal of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448) riding a horse, painted by Benozzo

⁵⁸ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 132 f. no. 35 (Pierides).

⁵⁹ Cook 2004, fig. 6 b.

⁶⁰ Fresco with scene of Catture di Napo della Torre, Rocca Viscontea, Angera, after Levi Pisetzky 1964, fig. 140; wall painting with scene of St. George in conversation with the Emperor, St. George Church, Anydroi, Crete, AD 1323, after Spatharakis 2001, 63–66 pls. 57–58; see also Tsamakda 2012, 108; late 13th-century incised effigial slab of Sir Brochard de Charpignie from a church in Larnaca, Musée Nationale du Moyen Âge (inv. Cl. 18842), Paris, after Nicolle 2002, XIII 41; see also Imhaus 2004 and Catling 2001 for more gravestone examples from Cyprus.

⁶¹ See in general, Mayer 1933; Leaf – Purcell 1986.

⁶² Vocino 1952, costume trecenteschi.

⁶³ Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, 8 pl. 6 no. 13, who also mention comparisons on 14th-century tombstones in Cyprus.

⁶⁴ Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, 345 f. fig. 206; Dometios 2007, 122.

⁶⁵ Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, 332 fig. 196; 345 f. fig. 206; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 46; Dometios 2007, 122, 138. Veiled female supplicants (with a western identity) also appear on icons in this period of time, such as on the Saint Sergius icon from the Monastery of Saint Catherine; see Immerzeel 2004, 41 no. 20 pl. 5.

⁶⁶ Tsamakda 2012, 99; see also Emmanuel 1995 for female headdresses in Byzantium.

⁶⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 86 f. no. 12.

Gozzoli on a fresco in Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence (Abb. 12, right above)⁶⁸. In addition, we see the same cavalry garments and boots back on a coin of King James II of Cyprus (ca. 1440–1473), where he is mounted with his sword out (Abb. 12, right below)⁶⁹.

The beardless horseman on another bowl from the Pierides Collection, however, is rather the portrayal of an equestrian saint (this could be either the portrayal of Saint George, Saint Sergius or Saint Bacchus) (Abb. 13, left)⁷⁰. The image on the bowl follows closely the attributes of a mounted saint (probably Saint George) on a Cypriot icon of the first half of the 13th century (Abb. 13, centre below)⁷¹. We see on both images the same round shield (partly hidden from view behind the saint's body), the same coat of mail, the same white horse and the same decorated bridles and reins⁷². This type of equestrian saint first appeared in Syrian Orthodox and Melkite churches and icons in Lebanon and Syria, often with symbols associated with the Crusaders – as we may notice on the Crusader icon of Saint Sergius, now in the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai but probably of Lebanese origin (Abb. 13 right below) – and undoubtedly moved to Cyprus in the second half of the 13th century after the Mamluk conquest⁷³. It clearly displays the artistic interaction between indigenous Christians and Westerners living in the Crusader territories.

Furthermore, the equestrian warrior saint is depicted on glazed ceramic dishes (also known as 'Zeuxippus Ware') found in Chersonesos in the southern Crimea⁷⁴, which were undoubtedly cheaper imitations of more prestigious metalware. In fact, two 12th-century Byzantine silver dishes from Bulgaria show an engraved central medallion with the same mounted figure of Saint George dressed in coat mail and bearing a round shield (Abb. 13 right above)⁷⁵. The silver dishes were described by ANNA BALLIAN and ANASTASIA DRANDAKI (of the Benaki Museum, Athens) as 'products of the common aesthetic and the mixed iconographic vocabulary which developed in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century'⁷⁶.

From equestrian saints we turn to images of human faces, depicted in the centre of 13th- and 14th-century Cypriot vessels⁷⁷. The ones portraying an anthropomorphic sun or moon are the most striking, borrowing their characteristics from astrological imagery (Abb. 14, left). This is shown on metal vessels of the Mamluk period, as well as on 13th-century Turkoman coins of solar disks with facial features from Mardin (Abb. 14, right)⁷⁸. Apparently, representations of the Sun in a crude and stylized manner with an exaggerated round face appear as regularly on copper coinage of the Artuqids as those of the Moon on Zenghid coins⁷⁹.

Finally, jugs and goblets made in glass, metal and earthenware of this period from Syria and Cyprus can be distinguished in similar shapes on the Cypriot ceramics (Abb. 15). It is thus interesting to see how realistic the Late Medieval objects, added objects and garments are depicted on the Cypriot ceramics. When looking at the overview (Abb. 18), we may distinguish in the Cypriot ceramics a gender distinction in objects, with differences between male and female associated objects throughout the centuries.

The men are connected to typical masculine objects, whereas the 14th-century single woman and two women are decoratively dressed, carrying jugs, goblets and napkins with them. They show courtly pleasure such as dancing, in combination with objects related to wine drinking. The couples have a mix of male and

⁶⁸ Luchinat 1994, 118. 127. 181.

⁶⁹ Metcalf 2000, 157 pl. 20–23. I would like to thank YANNIS VIOLARIS for drawing my attention to this coin.

⁷⁰ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 120 f. no. 29.

⁷¹ Durand – Giovannoni 2012, 287, cat. no. 125. I would like to thank MAT IMMERZEEL for his comments on the potential equestrian saint on this bowl, drawing my attention to this similar looking late 13th-century Cypriot icon with the possible portrayal of St. George.

⁷² Immerzeel 2004, 34.

⁷³ Immerzeel 2009, 131 pl. 110 with further literature; see also Immerzeel 2004, 49–53 no. 20 pl. 5.

⁷⁴ Jakobson 1979, fig. 77, 1; see also Armstrong 2006, fig. 1.

⁷⁵ Ballian – Drandaki 2003, figs. 1 a–b; 3, who also show in their fig. 10 b, a third mounted figure of Saint George that can be seen on a 12th-century silver bowl from Beriozovo, now in The State Hermitage Museum.

⁷⁶ Ballian – Drandaki 2003, 68.

⁷⁷ Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 100 f. 124–129 (Pierides); Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, pl. 11 no. 60 and pl. 12 no. 65; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 66 f. nos. 16–17 (Leventis); Flourentzos 1994, pl. 9 (Nicosia well); see also Violaris 2004, fig. 17 (Nicosia).

⁷⁸ See the contribution of ULRIKE RITZERFELD on metalware with similar iconography in a forthcoming volume on Medieval Cyprus, as well as Spengler – Sayles 1992 and Sikkeler 2009, 34 f. For Artuqid and Zenghid figural coinage; see also Baltrušaitis 1994, 174–177 for sun and moon faces in Medieval art. Morgan 1942, fig. 101, shows an anthropomorphic sun or moon and small human faces on Byzantine vessels from Corinth.

⁷⁹ Spengler – Sayles 1992, 152 f.

female orientated objects. In the end, all the human depictions on the Cypriot vessels show a lifestyle (or an aspired lifestyle) of well-to-do classes.

First Observations

Although the garments and objects of the male and female depictions on the Cypriot bowls look very realistic, it is all at once clear that the human images themselves are generic, perhaps idealistic, but certainly highly stylized and simplified. A chosen image does not necessarily represent the truth. In fact, we are not dealing here with ‘private portraits’ of specific characters or real persons, in which faces and their expressions are predominant. Furthermore, we cannot detect any names in relation to the human representations on the vessels⁸⁰.

Instead, it rather seems that we might be looking at a kind of idealized romantic picture of a specific social class, surely the local wealthy elite, with whom the buyers of this incised pottery wanted to identify themselves. We can distinguish various archetypical, stereotyped types of real-life occupations related to the upper-class (such as falconers, knights or dancers). In addition, we seem to see only one age group depicted, as children or old people are notably absent on the Cypriot bowls. Apart from this, we do not know whether any real persons or scenes from the private lives of specific persons were depicted on these ceramics. Some elements and clothes of the depicted human beings certainly look quite specific (see the couple in Abb. 12, left), but it is quite possible that the potter just used fragments of his memory here and not a free artistic design. But if these are real persons who are depicted on these bowls, in a more general way, we may never know whether any of the human figures on the bowls is a representation of a real person, as it seems impossible to identify anyone without some sort of outside source of information. It may just be impossible for archaeologists in the far future to identify depictions or the cultural meaning of well-known persons of our age (say Madonna or Che Guevara) on plates, mousepads or posters without the support of written information.

If we put all the evidence of the bodily postures together, I would like to suggest that the 13th-century standing single man has a heraldic active appearance, connected to hunting and music making (Abb. 16 and 17). The 14th-century single man is also presented in a heraldic way, but with a more ostentatious military appearance (Abb. 16 and 17). The single man and the two men of the (late) 14th to early 16th centuries, however, have no gestures or the use of hands at all, they look in fact inactive and stiff noblemen (Abb. 16 and 17)⁸¹.

The single woman and the two women of the 14th to early 16th centuries, on the contrary, look very active with hands spread wide out – as if they are moving or dancing – (Abb. 16 and 17). The 14th-century couples are portrayed lively as well, with hands spread out in combination with embracement (Abb. 16 and 17). These vessels with the depiction of embracing intertwined couples are sometimes connected by scholars to marriage customs, to wedding presents or to love couples from episodes in French Medieval chivalric literature (such as the “Roman de Troie”, translated from a French original) and in 12th–13th-century Byzantine poems (such as the Digenis Akritas epic, or the story of Libistros and Rodamni as well as of Belthandros and Chrysantza)⁸².

It has been suggested that the human figures on Byzantine ceramic vessels stem from the literary or the oral epic or both⁸³. They could have epic illustrations or miniatures from illuminated manuscripts as their prototypes, going back to the 11th century, as has been mentioned above⁸⁴. From the 12th century onwards, there starts to appear in Byzantine literature some romance novels, dealing with love stories between young couples according to the conventions of the western “amour Courtois” (among these are Belthandros and

⁸⁰ An exception is the name ‘Annota’ (a diminutive of the name Anna) incised in Greek on the exterior surface of a solely glazed chalice; see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 176 f. no. 56 (Pierides). In addition, inscriptions of good wishes occur in one or two cases.

⁸¹ See also Vroom 2015, 245–275.

⁸² *e.g.* Jouanno 1998; Jacoby 1984; Jacoby 1986; François 1999. See also Frantz 1940–41; Morgan 1942, no. 1685 pl. LII; Notopoulos 1964, 129–132.

⁸³ Frantz 1941, 9–13; Notopoulos 1964, 118–133.

⁸⁴ Pélékanides 1956; see also Notopoulos 1964.

Chrysantza, Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe or Libistros and Rodamni)⁸⁵. In fact, these narratives undoubtedly belong to the era of the Crusades, reflecting the culture, customs and beliefs of that period of time. They show a knightly culture in a multicultural society with a blend of French, Italian and Greek elements, with an emphasis on personal relations and with a growing interest in an individual's own feelings. In addition, they focus on regional history, especially on areas where the Franks were living.

According to the historian DAVID JACOBY, by AD 1200 chivalry in the Eastern Mediterranean “had become an ‘order’ with its own specific rituals, morals and obligations shaped by custom, as well as by courtly literature”⁸⁶ – this last one originating especially from northern France. He suggests that from the 12th to the 15th century “social contacts, the use of French as a common language and the circulation of books provided them with an intimate knowledge of social and institutional developments in the West and the Eastern Mediterranean”, leading ultimately to the renewal of knightly values in the East expressed visually through book illustrations and wall paintings⁸⁷. The role of French Medieval literature in the diffusion of knightly values (such as jousting, dancing, hunting and hawking) is a subject that has already been picked up by VÉRONIQUE FRANÇOIS in combination with the human images on the Cypriot ceramics⁸⁸. Nevertheless, we should not exclude the Byzantine literature (mentioned above) in this respect.

In addition, the objects, added attributes and clothes connected to the human figures on the Cypriot vessels tell – as social markers – an interesting story (Abb. 18). We see that the 13th-century standing single man is light armoured, holding birds and (possibly) musical objects (Abb. 18). He is nicely incised and painted in a style which shows similarities to contemporary Byzantine ceramics. A century later (in the 14th century), the single man is more heavily armoured (Abb. 18). In fact, he is portrayed as a Crusader warrior in action with a western-style shield and sword, as one can also find them on gravestones in this period of time. Whether this last presentation is perhaps connected to a new definition of knighthood (in order to distinguish oneself in a battle or in a tournament), or perhaps to historical events, we do not know yet.

It is clear, though, that from the late 14th century onwards the standing single man is primitively sketched as a stiff nobleman and restricted to a simple cloak in combination with simplified vegetal ornaments such as stylized ferns (Abb. 18). We have to keep in mind, though, that this artificial impassivity and this absence of gestures or movements was often a sign of imperial majesty and dignity in Byzantium and in the West⁸⁹. It is possible that we see therefore the portrayal of dignified noblemen.

Towards the late 15th and 16th centuries the human depictions on the Cypriot bowls become more and more abstract and simplified (Abb. 18). Some questions therefore turn up: is this simplification perhaps related to quick mass-production of these Cypriot decorative vessels, or rather to the disappearance of the potter's craftsmanship in Cyprus, or perhaps to the import of other pottery types in Cyprus (like the high-quality Maiolica from Italy penetrating the market at that time). Again, we cannot answer yet these questions, but this needs further study.

The single woman and two women of the 14th century, on the other hand, are decoratively dressed, carrying jugs, goblets and napkins/scarfs (*mandil*) with them (Abb. 18). They show courtly pleasure such as dancing, in combination with objects connected to wine drinking⁹⁰. In short, we may distinguish in the Cypriot ceramics a difference between male and female associated objects throughout the centuries. Figure 19 shows this gender distinction in attributes and human figures even more strongly. It is further interesting to notice in this graph that the 14th-century couples have a mix of male and female-associated objects.

⁸⁵ Jeffreys – Mango 2002, 297; see also Beaton 1996; Jeffreys 2012.

⁸⁶ Jacoby 1986, 159.

⁸⁷ Jacoby 1986, 159; see also Jacoby 1984.

⁸⁸ François 1999.

⁸⁹ Maguire 1989, 222 and note 25; Brubaker 2009b, 38; see also Vroom 2015, 245–275.

⁹⁰ According to von Wartburg 2001a, 462 and note 29, iconographical elements of this courtly lifestyle are also depicted on art and objects from the Islamic repertoire, such as from the Syro-Iranian region, Egypt, Sicily and Spain.

Discussion

It is evidently interesting to observe that suddenly so many human figures were depicted on Cypriot ceramic bowls between the 13th and the early 16th centuries. At first, in the 13th and 14th centuries, these images were well executed, but they became more sketchy and abstract towards the 16th century – when we start to see a sort of Picasso-like though quite uninspired human depictions (Abb. 20). Before and after this period human figures are quite unknown on Cypriot pottery.

In assessing the artistic value of the human figures, we have to keep in mind that we are dealing with daily-life objects which permitted only a restricted repertoire. The potters and decorators were limited to a small area in the interior of open vessels (such as footed bowls with a small rim diameter) for cutting and painting the designs. In addition, these vessels were local products for a local market, so it was also the task of the potter or a middleman to relate to local customers who were to consume food or liquids from these bowls. In short, the mechanisms of taste and demand, of fashions in design and manners of consumption, were functioning here. It is therefore very well possible that the potters were carefully copying images from incised depictions in silver ware (as in the case of the depiction of Saint George), from wall paintings, from coins or from illustrations in epic literature⁹¹. In the case of the couples, for instance, it seems that these depictions were inspired by episodes in French Medieval literature and in Byzantine poetry.

Furthermore, we must also not forget that these vessels were found in archaeological contexts connected to graves. So, these bowls could have been used as religious gifts for important occasions during one's lifetime and later placed in graves as an accessory for the afterlife. Or perhaps they were used for burial and libation ceremonies and then placed in or around the graves⁹².

The use of a new ambiguous iconography on these portable objects remains intriguing. Surely, the vessels had not only utilitarian but also decorative purposes. We see a mixture, a melting of Byzantine Orthodox, Western European, Armenian, Eastern Christian and Islamic decorative motives from various parts of the Mediterranean and the Near East. These range from heraldic symbols and Western and Eastern elements of chivalry to Byzantine and Western romantic epic traditions, Islamic astrological and mythological images, symbols of Christian faith and scenes of a privileged courtly life (including hunting, hawking, drinking and dancing).

In his 2004-article 'On Sāqīs and ceramics: Systems of representation in the Northeast Mediterranean', SCOTT REDFORD suggested that easily replicable and widely diffused objects, such as glazed ceramics, propagated from the 12th century onwards ideas about and a taste for a certain kind of courtly life between Christian, Armenian Cilician and Muslim states, whose artistic production has usually been considered separately⁹³. I think his perspective would be fruitful with respect to understanding the Cypriot ceramics discussed in this paper.

This pottery seems to reflect a sort of supra-regional identity, representing a shared ideology and a common artistic ground based on the exchange of motives, styles and ideas. In this cross-cultural iconographical koiné, the potters on Cyprus were easily copying, borrowing and merging elements from surrounding cultures. In doing so they developed a complex imagery on portable objects as a kind of non-verbal communication, the exact content of which we are only beginning to comprehend⁹⁴. Major influences in this process were apparently the Italian-dominated maritime trade and traveling craftsmen.

It is clear that several iconographical elements are still unknown to us and need further study. After the 13th century the Cypriots came in contact with a new visual style for pottery decoration, which included the depiction of human figures in various body postures unknown to them. This new visual language was probably introduced by the influx of heterogeneous groups of immigrants (including artisans) who came to Cyprus since the late 13th century from the Syrian and Cilician mainland⁹⁵. The archetypical – even stereotyped – human depictions surely transmitted new messages through their various bodily postures, which

⁹¹ See also Notopoulos 1964; Jacoby 1986, 169–172.

⁹² Vroom 2009, 167.

⁹³ Redford 2004; see also Georgopoulou 1999 for the mechanisms of the multi-ethnic markets of the Levant.

⁹⁴ See also Vroom 2011, 410–412.

⁹⁵ Jacoby 1989; Weyl Carr 2009, 129 and note 10 with further literature; see also Imhaus 2004 for an inventory of Frankish, Greek and Syrian funerary slabs found on Cyprus.

may very well be related to social interaction and new social configurations, to shifts in economic and political power, to the growth of a new shared taste, as well as to a cultural transformation and diversification of Late Medieval society in general⁹⁶.

The bodily postures on the Cypriot vessels may even help us to understand gender roles (whether or not unconsciously accepted by them – and us), which were emphasized by clothes and attributes associated to traditional male and female behaviour. The female way of dancing on the pottery seems to be a way of distinguishing oneself as feminine by ways of movement, with pleasure-bearing women spreading their arms out in a graceful manner⁹⁷. In addition, the presence of ‘elite’ attributes, such as harmful weapons for the man *versus* harmless goblets for the women, seem to influence the way the figures perform certain bodily movements. However, it remains doubtful whether these images represent the realities of Cypriot society as they were. Perhaps the depictions show Cypriot realities rather ‘as they were supposed to be’. In this perspective, the pottery would reflect the aspirations for new social values by the target group, that is to say, the customers who bought and used these vessels, and perhaps rather dreamed of knightly life than actually lived the courtly life.

My research on this locally made Cypriot group of pottery is still on-going. In particular, I will focus further on the clothes and the artefacts depicted on these ceramics, if possible, in combination with related archaeological and art-historical evidence or with other examples from the ceramic repertoire. I hope that in this way it will be possible to obtain more information about these intriguing human figures on the Medieval Cypriot vessels.

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⁹⁶ See also Schmitt 1991, 67.

⁹⁷ According to Burke 1991, 77 and note 21, dancing was a ‘festive mode of inculcating discipline’ in Renaissance Italy.

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Abbildungen

Abb. 1: Four museum collections: total of main shapes of the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels by century (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, passim)

Abb. 2: Four museum collections: total of main designs on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels by century (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, passim; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, passim)

Abb. 3: Leventis Collection, Nicosia: total of main designs on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels by century (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, passim)

Abb. 4: Leventis Collection, Nicosia: total of main human depictions on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, passim)

Abb. 5: Four museum collections: total of main human depictions on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels by century (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, passim)

Abb. 6: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: early 15th-century bowl with depiction of two men (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 59 no. 93); right: Medieval Castle, Limassol: 14th-century bowl with depiction of two women from Nicosia (after Florentzos 1994, pl. 15 no. 28)

Abb. 7: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 13th-century bowl with depiction of a single man with birds (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 71 no. 5); right: 13th-century miniature with falconer, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, Pal. Lat. 1071, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (after Levi Pisetzky 1964, fig. 175)

Abb. 8: Left above: 13th-century bowl with depiction of a single man (after Florentzos 1994, 21, fig. 7, 2); left below: 13th-century dish with depiction of a single man from Akko (after Stern 2012, pl. 4, 44 no. 1); right above: early 14th-century fresco of the Mocking of Christ, St. Nicholas Orphanos Church, Thessaloniki; right below: fresco of the Mocking of Christ, Holy Cross of Agiasmati, Platanistasa, Cyprus (after Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, fig. 111 a)

Abb. 9: Left above: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 14th-century bowl with depiction of a single man (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 133 no. 35); left below: late 13th-century bowl with depiction of a single man from Paphos (after Cook 2004, fig. 6 b); centre above: AD 1323 wall painting with scene of St. George in conversation with the Emperor, St. George Church, Andydroi, Crete (after Spatharakis 2001, 63–66 pls. 57–58); centre below: 13th-century fresco with scene of Capture di Napo della Torre, Rocca Viscontea, Angera (after Levi Pisetzky 1964, fig. 140); right: late 13th-century incised effigial slab of Sir Brochard de Charpignie from Larnaca, Musée Nationale du Moyen Âge, inv. Cl. 18842, Paris (after Nicolle 2002, XIII-41)

Abb. 10: Left above: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 15th-century bowl with depiction of a single man (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 167 no. 52); left below: 15th-century bowl with depiction of a single man (after Du Plat Taylor – Megaw 1951, 8 pl. 6 no. 13); centre and right above: Italian Renaissance male cloaks and capes (after Vocino 1952, costume trecenteschi); right below: early 16th-century fresco with three male donors, Church of Panagia, Kaminaria, Cyprus (after Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, fig. 206)

Abb. 11: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 14th-century bowl with depiction of a single woman (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 97 no. 17); centre above: AD 1474 fresco, Church of the Archangel Michael, Pedoulas, Cyprus (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004, 46); centre below: early 16th-century fresco, Church of Panagia, Kaminaria, Cyprus (after Stylianou – Stylianou 1985, fig. 206); right below: dedicatory fresco, Church of Panagia, Kourdali, Cyprus (after Dometios 2007, 138)

Abb. 12: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 14th-century bowl with depiction of a couple (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 87 no. 12); right above: 15th-century fresco of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (after Luchinat 1994, 118, 127, 181); right below: 15th-century coin of St. James II of Cyprus (after Metcalf 2000, 157 pl. 20–23)

Abb. 13: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: early 15th-century bowl with depiction of a horsed saint (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 121 no. 29); centre and right above: 12th-century silver dishes with engraved warrior saints from Bulgaria, Benaki Museum, Athens (after Ballian – Drandaki 2003, figs. 1 a–b and 3); centre below: 13th-century icon with warrior saint from Cyprus (after

Durand – Giovannoni 2012, 287 cat. no. 125); right below: late 13th-century icon with Saint Sergius, Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, Egypt (after Immerzeel 2009, 131 pl. 110)

Abb. 14: Left: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 14th-century bowl with an anthropomorphic sun or moon face (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 101 no. 19); centre and right above: 13th-century Turkoman coins with solar faces from Mardin (after Sikkeler 2009, 34 f.); centre and right below: 13th-century Artuqid coins with solar faces (after Spengler – Sayles 1992, 153)

Abb. 15: Left above: 14th-century dish with depiction of a single woman from Nicosia (after Flourentzos 1994, pl. 14 no. 27); centre and right above: 13th-century glass beakers from Syria (after Saladin 2001, 191 no. 204 and Carboni – Whitehouse 2001, 123 no. 40); left and centre below: late 12th/13th-century jug from Syria, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Norma Jean Calderwood Collection of Islamic Art, Cambridge MA; 14th-century jug from Cyprus, Department of Islamic Arts, Louvre Museum, Paris; right below: Pierides Collection, Larnaca: 15th-century ceramic goblet from Cyprus (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, 139 no. 38)

Abb. 16: Representation, use of hands and appearance of human depictions by century on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels from four museum collections (Photo: JOANITA VROOM)

Abb. 17: Standard appearance and variations of appearance of human depictions by century on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels from four museum collections (Photo: JOANITA VROOM)

Abb. 18: Objects, added objects and clothes of human depictions by century on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated vessels from four museum collections (Photo: JOANITA VROOM)

Abb. 19: Male and female associated objects and added objects of human depictions on the Medieval Cypriot glazed decorative vessels from four museum collections (Photo: JOANITA VROOM)

Abb. 20: Overview with details on various vessels with human depictions from the Pierides Collection in Larnaca and from the Leventis Collection in Nicosia (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2004)

Table 1: Four museum collections with Medieval Cypriot glazed decorated complete vessels from Cyprus (JOANITA VROOM)