11 – DINING HABITS IN LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE TIMES

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE PICTORIAL EVIDENCE AND THE WRITTEN SOURCES

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present a first and preliminary survey of the use of table equipment (pottery and cutlery) in Late Roman and Byzantine times. In doing so, I will use the two obvious sources of information: pictorial representations of dining scenes and textual sources on this subject from ca. the 3rd to the 15th centuries. The aim of this survey is to establish whether the pictorial and written sources can contribute to the understanding of post-classical dining habits in the Eastern Mediterranean, of their changes over time, and, consequently, of the changes in form and function of the ceramics found in Boeotia.

It is not my intention in any way to strive for completeness in this survey, but rather to establish whether this is a fruitful line of approach to explain long-term changes in the ceramics found in Boeotia. It remains for others to explore this field of research more fully in the future.

As far as the pictorial sources are concerned, I will look at dining scenes from religious and secular Byzantine art, and at pictures of the Last Supper scene in particular. Specifically, my attention will be focused on the depiction of the Last Supper in the Byzantine East as an actual meal (and not as a liturgical act) from the 5th century onwards. However, it is not my intention to discuss here all the known representations of the Last Supper scene in Byzantine art. I will concentrate my discussion upon those pictures in which the depicted scene has relevance for the understanding of the changes in shape and function of the ceramics found in Boeotia.

In relation to dining habits in Late Roman and Byzantine times, there is a wide range of textual sources available, but mostly with indirect evidence. Written sources relevant to the subject include, amongst others, lexicography’s and dictionaries, hagiographic sources, miracle stories, but also poems, cookbooks, medical treatises and manuals of ceremonies. For the Roman period, many of these sources have already been collected in 1864 in a slightly different perspective by Joachim Marquardt in his Das Privatleben der Römer (2nd ed. rev. by A. Mau in 1886); for the Byzantine period the same work has been done by Phaidon Koukoules in his fifth volume on Byzantine Life and Civilisation (1952, 136-69).

After the survey of the sources in this chapter, I will use the next chapter to compare this material with the general archaeological evidence on Late Roman and Byzantine dining habits in Greece. Thereafter, I will sketch briefly the pictorial and textual sources on wining and dining in Ottoman times. Finally, I will try to integrate the information derived from all the post-classical sources in an effort to reconstruct the broad outlines of the cultural history of eating and drinking in Greece. As said, the aim is to establish whether the changes over time in dining manners may help us to understand typo-chronological developments in the ceramics found in Boeotia.

11.2 Problems and possibilities in iconographical interpretation

11.2.1 Problems

Using representations of pottery in Byzantine art as a source of historical information may not be as easy as it would seem. When we look at a painted vessel on an icon or on a miniature as an object on a table, do we really see what we seem to see? Is it possible to draw any historical conclusions, formulate any hypothesis on the social meaning and historical context of the painted pots, or are we merely looking at formalistic religious schemes depicting fixed theological scenes?

Although it may sound dangerously close to a platitude, it is not entirely superfluous to note here that the Byzantines did not perceive the world around them in the same way as we do nowadays. Certainly Byzantine artists had no interest in depicting the everyday reality of their time as precisely as possible. Fundamentally, they were more interested in the representation of moral and theological problems. Indeed, nearly all Byzantine painting is religious in content and is based on the faithful reproduction of stereotyped compositions, that were prescribed by the rules of the Orthodox Church (cf.
Mango 1981, 50-51 and Dauterman Maguire & Maguire 1992, 2-3). For instance, in their faithful reproduction of formulas the Byzantine artists represented all biblical figures in clothes of the period of the Later Roman Empire (consisting of a tunic and chlamys); contemporary Byzantine costume was not used (Mango 1980, 272).

It has even been suggested that ceramics on Byzantine mosaics, miniatures or frescoes may have had no relation with actual objects, but had a purely symbolic meaning. According to this view, the seemingly realistic representation of the pot or vessel would be more or less coincident. If this is true (or partly true), one consequence would be that certain forms of vessels – real or imaginary – may have served for many decades as a standard example for a school of artists. Other pots may have been neglected by artists because the colour or form did not fit in their aesthetic and religious traditions.

11.2.2 possibilities
This is not the place to discuss extensively the problem whether Byzantine artists represented the reality of their own times, or repeated a standard repertoire (which may even have its origin in the Early Christian period). It suffices to note that the subject should be approached carefully. According to the British art historian Robin Cormack, what was seen as tradition and orthodoxy was by no means constant. He remarked that ‘images help to show not only the permanence of the amalgam [between church and state] over the centuries, but also the changes in character demonstrated by the way in which the uses and perceptions of art altered’ (Cormack 1985, 253).

The best way to proceed would be to formulate two basic questions: does the pictorial and written evidence indicate a clear development in the portrayal of dining scenes? And if so, do the depicted and described artefacts make anything clear about the cultural changes of dining manners?

I hope to show that it is possible to document, through art, certain aspects of the development of Byzantine and Medieval table manners. This is particularly feasible from Late Antique times onwards, as it is in this period that representations of dining scenes can be related to textual sources. In looking at the sources, I will be strictly focussing on the depicted vessels, beakers and cutlery, and will stay clear of the theological or iconographical implications of the dining scenes, (as well as of the possible symbolism of the depicted food).

As said, I will treat here in some detail the Last Supper scene in Byzantine art, trying to establish the evolution in the depiction of the table settings and attributes from the 5th century onwards. Now and then I will also use examples from other dining scenes from religious and secular art to illustrate my line of thought.

Pictures presenting Christ’s last meal can be found in the Orthodox East, as well as in the Latin West. In the East, the scene is frequently depicted on frescoes, in miniatures, in mosaics etc. Early presentations of the Last Supper in the Byzantine East are of two main types, which are strictly separated: the scene is presented as a meal (with Jesus and the Apostles seated or reclining around a table) or as a liturgical act (the Communion of the Apostles; cf. Dobbert 1891: 451-62; 1892, 507-27 and Wessel 1964).

One may wonder whether depictions of the Last Supper are suited as illustrations of changing dining habits, as some consider the scene to be the subject treated the most conservatively by Byzantine artists in their repertoire. However, a closer look at apparently similar looking depictions of the Last Supper from various periods reveal clear developments over time, in particular quite fundamental changes in key details in dining habits. As will be shown in this chapter, the scene of the Last Supper as a meal is not one of the most conservative depictions in Byzantine iconography as some scholars suggest (see also Dobbert 1891; Millet 1916; Wessel 1964 for this discussion). The Last Supper is of great interest, because it is the only dining scene in Byzantine art (especially in book-illustrations and miniatures) which can be seen with a high frequency over a long period of time, even in those centuries for which we have hardly any other pictures (such as the 8th and 9th centuries). Here, I will argue that we can indeed observe a clear long-term development of dining habits on the Last Supper scenes from Late Antiquity onwards. In doing so, I will also use other depictions of dining scenes in Byzantine iconography (among them ‘Job’s children’ or the ‘Hospitality of Abraham’) to support my arguments.

11.3 From Roman banquets to the Last Supper
Dining scenes of the Byzantine period seem to develop out of early Christian figurative art, which in its turn had
adopted the traditional Roman banquet scenes. Especially from the 3rd century onwards, banquet scenes were depicted in relief on marble sarcophagi covers and in simple paintings on plaster, which can be found in burial chambers and little subterranean chapels in Rome and Ostia (see in general, Dölger 1943, figs. 304-14 for the sarcophagi; Stevenson 1978 for the paintings and Jastrzebowska 1979 with references to the earlier literature).

11.3.1 At Christ’s Table
The catacomb paintings often show a communal meal, consisting of eating bread and fish and drinking wine (sometimes interpreted in a Eucharist or funeral sense). There are also various depictions of dining scenes from the New Testament, such as the ‘Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes’ (ca. 38 known examples) and the ‘Wedding at Cana’ (much less frequent), or of the ‘Banquet of the Blessed in Heaven’ (even less frequent). The prominent display in catacomb art of fish, loaves of bread and wine-vessels has often been regarded as a symbolic representation of the Eucharist, not of the actual diet (Baum 1944). Recently, this common opinion is beginning to be disputed, and I will argue below in a short survey that the picture is indeed more complex than formerly supposed.

The first publications of banquet scenes on wall paintings and sarcophagi appeared already in the 17th century (Jastrzebowska 1979 with further literature). Almost three centuries later, the artist/archaeologist Josef Wilpert collected a large number of these banquet scenes from catacomb paintings in his standard work Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms (Wilpert 1903). This was an important work, if only because the paintings were in immediate danger of decay through exposure. Later, Wilpert documented much material on dining scenes for his corpora on Early Christian sarcophagi, and on Early Christian mosaics and frescoes (Wilpert 1917; 1929-36). Although he has been severely criticised for his iconographical and iconological views on Eucharistic meals by the art historian Joseph Strzygowski and the historian Franz Joseph Dölger (cf. Deichmann 1983, 28-39), all three publications of Wilpert are still useful as works of reference.

11.3.2 Pictorial Representations
A well-known dining scene in Early Christian catacomb paintings is the so-called ‘fractio panis’ in the Capella Graecca, the little chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome (Wilpert 1895; 1903, pl. 15 left; Stevenson 1978, 95) (fig. 11.1). It is dated between the mid 2nd and the mid 4th century (Jastrzebowska 1979, 17, no. V prefers a later date). Seven persons are reclining behind a curved cushion (the so-called pulvinum). Before this cushion one can distinguish two plates and a small two-handled cup. The food, consisting of three small bread rolls and two fishes, is displayed prominently on the plates.

The scene strongly suggests a communal meal. One of the figures is shown in the act of breaking the bread. This has led Wilpert to the assumption that the painting was ‘the earliest representation of the Eucharistic sacrifice’ (Wilpert 1895). This seems mistaken, and the current view is that the catacomb artists were more concerned with the depiction of Early Christian funerary meals than with literally portraying liturgical practices (Milburn 1988, 36; Frend 1996, 161, n. 242; Jastrzebowska 1979).

Other painted banquet scenes from the 2nd to 4th centuries (both of Christian and secular character) can be found in the catacomb of Callistus, in the catacomb of the martyrs Peter and Marcellinus and on the tomb of M. Clodius Hermes under the basilica of St. Sebastian in Rome. On almost all these frescoes, the guests recline or sit repeatedly behind a small, round tripod table, on which are set out plates of bread and fish, and sometimes a cup of wine. An exception to this combination of fish, bread and wine can be found in the syncretistic catacomb of Vibia (second half of the 4th century), where a banquet of the ‘seven pious priests’ is depicted (fig. 11.2). The food of the seven diners consists of four cross-marked bread loaves, which lie next to four flat plates, containing a fish, ‘cake and a hare or rabbit’ (Wilpert, 1903, pl. 133; Stevenson 1978, 121 see also Ferrua 1991). Another example of a communal wining and dining scene in Roman secular art is the so-called ‘mosaic of gladiators’ from Thysdrus (El Djem) in Tunisia (fig. 11.3). It can be roughly dated to 220-250 AD (Salomonson 1960, 25-31, fig. 1; 1963, 42-4, fig. 19; Weitzmann 1979, 96-9). Five men are seated at a table, whose curving shape and columnar front suggest an arena. On the edge of the curving table is a green glass beaker on a ring foot. In the centre of the El Djem mosaic a slave hands a glass (filled with wine?) to the celebrants. Beside him, we can discern on a so-called repositorium two small one-handled jugs, and next to it a one-handled container for mixing wine and water.
11.3.3 SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

Analogous looking dining scenes are known from Late Roman and early Christian marble sarcophagi covers of the 3rd and 4th centuries (Wilpert 1929-36; Gerke 1940, 365-366, pls. 25-26; Dölger 1943, 391-540, pls. 304-315; Jastrzebowska 1979). The earliest group of these sculptural banquet scenes in Early Christian sculpture show open-air, communal meals with bread and wine; the later ones show similar dinner scenes with bread and fish. These last ones were apparently not only influenced by the catacomb paintings, but also by older carved banquet scenes from profane hunting scenes. These pagan meals were characterized either by the head of a ‘Caledonian’ wild boar on a flat plate between two loaves of bread, or either by a fish on a flat plate (cf. Gerke 1940, 110-151, pl. 25,1). This seems to show that the carved representation of a fish in communal meals was not the exclusive right of the Early Christians, but was already known in Roman profane art (Gerke 1940, 138; Dölger 1943, 604, n. 21-23; Jastrzebowska 1979).

11.3.4 INTERPRETATIONS

The most comprehensive research on these depictions is made by E. Jastrzebowska, who studied 144 banquet scenes (both Christian and secular ones) on wall paintings and sarcophagi of the 3rd and 4th centuries. Her conclusion is that these scenes draw rather upon pagan (mythological as well as public) prototypes in Roman art than upon biblical models, and that they represent real contemporary dining practices (such as a funerary meal) of the Early Christians (Jastrzebowska 1979, 71 and 88). Indeed, the food depicted could have been quite real: fish, bread and wine were also seen to be appropriate for Roman pagan meals (McGowan 1999, 133). Eventually, these ingredients took on a growing religious significance for the Christians, who adopted the theme of communal banquets in both catacomb paintings and sarcophagi (Snyder 1985, 21-25; see also Engemann 1997, 117-22).

After Christianity was recognized as one of the religions of the Roman state in 313 AD, the banquet scene remained common in Christian iconography. With the triumph of Christianity as the official religion, churches were built all over the Empire. The interiors of these churches were sumptuously decorated with mosaics, paintings, architectural relief’s, carved ivories etc. In addition, the churches were adorned with devotional painted representations from the Old and New Testament, which had to impress the pious illiterates. The character of these later pictures were often more stern and less joyous than the earlier catacomb paintings, but on all these Christian ornamental banquet scenes are common.

From the 5th century onwards, the most important dining scenes depicted were those referring to certain passages from the Gospels. Among the themes are ‘The Last Supper’ (Matt. 26:17-35; Mark 14:12-25; Luke 22:7-38 and John 13:1-38), ‘The Wedding at Cana’ (John 2:1-10), ‘Abraham’s hospitality at Mamre’ (Gen. 18:1-15) or ‘Christ’s Meal with Simon in Bethany’ (Matt. 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; with different men and incidents in Luke 7:36-50 and John 12:7-8).

Scenes of the Last Supper form the vast majority of the banquet scenes. In contrast to the ‘liturgical’ Last Supper scenes, the ‘historical’ Last Supper scenes seem more narrative: they show us more clearly how the food was served, how the diners’ seating was arranged and which vessels and utensils were used. Therefore, I will discuss here solely the aspect of the meal, and not the role of the Apostles. In the past, the emphasis has often been the other way around.

11.4 LAST SUPPER SCENES: THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

11.4.1 BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Interest in the iconography of Last Supper-scenes started at the end of the 19th century, especially among German scholars. Hermann Riegel wrote in 1869 his
Über die Darstellung des Abendmahls besonders in der toskanischen Kunst, using pictures from Byzantium to 19th century art (Riegel 1869). Two years later, Eduard Dobbert’s article ‘Die Darstellung des Abendmahls durch die Byzantinische Kunst’ (Dobbert 1871) contained severe criticism of Riegels treatment of the Byzantine examples. The article proved to be the start of a series of detailed contributions on the representation of Christ’s meal published by Dobbert in the journal Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft (Dobbert 1890; 1891; 1892; 1895).

Particularly noteworthy here are Dobbert’s 1891/1982-articles about ‘Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst bis gegen den Schluss des 14. Jahrhunderts’. In these two papers he studied Last Supper scenes in Byzantine art from the 5th till the 14th century, emphasising the treachery of Judas as well as the seating of Jesus and the other Apostles during the meal. Particularly important in Dobbert’s eyes were the roles of Judas and John in the compositions. One of his conclusions was that from the 6th century onwards the Byzantine artists portrayed Judas with a hand in a plate with fish, and that from the 9th century onwards they painted John reclining as a little child upon the breast of Jesus. The rest of the table setting on Byzantine pictures correlated very much with the composition of Early Christian catacomb paintings.

The research of Eduard Dobbert was continued by Curt Sachs in 1907 and by the Dutchman Frederik Adama van Scheltema in 1912. They wrote systematic studies on the existence of Last Supper pictures in (North)-Western Europe from the 15th to 17th centuries. Especially Adama van Scheltema assembled much information on this theme, exploring a wide area, comprising Tuscan Renaissance art, Leonardo da Vinci’s paintings, Venetian art and Dutch paintings of the 17th century. He tried to explain all these Last Supper pictures within the religious or philosophic context of their respective periods (for instance: he linked Giotto with humanism, Leonardo da Vinci with platonic ideas, and Dutch art with Protestantism).

In addition, the French scholar Gabriel Millet devoted a chapter on various Last Supper-scenes in his Recherches sur l'iconographie de l’évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles d’après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macedoine et du Mont-Athos (Millet 1916, 286-309). Like Dobbert, he was studying the portrayal of Judas and the seating of the Apostles in Last Supper scenes. However, Millet made a clear distinction between Oriental, Byzantine and Western traditions. He concluded that until the 13th century the West imitated a mixture of Oriental and Byzantine elements, but introduced innovations in the iconography in the 14th century. A new feature which was developed in the West was, for instance, that Jesus was sitting in the centre and some of the Apostles at the front of the round table.

The shape of the table in Eastern and Western iconography was, in particular, studied by Laura Hibbard Loomis, who tried to find a relationship between representations of the Last Supper table and those of the Round Table of King Arthur (Loomis 1927). She concluded that the table’s shape was an important clue in the differentiation of Last Supper scenes. Furthermore, she focussed her attention on the origin of the straight table in Last Supper scenes in Eastern and Western iconography. According to her, the earliest examples of the straight table type were found in Western religious art from the 10th-11th century onwards (Loomis 1927, 83-86 with references).

A special interest in the iconography of the Passion in Medieval Italian art (including an interesting chapter on Last Supper scenes from the 13th and 14th centuries) was given by Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà in the late 1930s, whereas K. Künstle paid attention to the Last Supper scene in his Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst and Karl Möller to its representation in Medieval German art (Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 199-217; Künstle 1926-28, 413-25; K. Möller in Schmitt 1937, 28-44).

11.4.2 After the Second World War

After Millet and Loomis, there was a long period of apparent disinterest in the iconography of Last Supper scenes in Byzantine art among art historians and archaeologists. This relative silence lasted until the late 1950s/1960s. In that decade, the evolution of the scene was often described in dictionaries of Christian art and archaeology (e.g. Réau 1957, II, 2, 409-17; Aurenhammer 1959-67, 11-15; Schiller 1966, 2, 27v; Wessel 1966, 1-22; Kirschbaum 1968-90, 10-18). Klaus Wessel’s Abendmahl und Apostelkommunion appeared in 1964 as one of the last extensive studies on the theme. Wessel was professor in Early Christian and Byzantine art history at Munich, and in this small volume he paid attention to the history of the Last Supper as a meal (Abendmahl), as
well as a liturgical act (*Apostelkommunion*) from the Early Byzantine era until approximately the 16th century.

In general, the attention of all these scholars for the Last Supper scene was rather focused on the sequence of seating, the number of Apostles, and the role of the Apostles Judas and John, than on the significance of the actual table settings. Nevertheless, their conclusion about the evolution of Last Supper pictures from the Late Roman period onwards is noteworthy. The consensus seems to be that the Last Supper pictures as a meal showed a clear development over time. Dobbert remarked for example: ‘Although the Byzantine artist was tied to certain rules in the composition of his picture, he was at the same time free to show his individual talent and view’ (Dobbert 1891, 382). Millet, Loomis and Wessel clearly saw a change in the composition of the Last Supper meal through times. According to the last named, this proved that the representation of the Last Supper never belonged to the stereotyped standard repertoire, as was prescribed by the Byzantine Orthodox church. Wessel remarked that its transformation into new forms is especially evident in book-illustrations and miniatures, but less in monumental church frescoes (Wessel 1964, 46).

In short, by studying religious elements in Last Supper scenes these scholars concluded that Christ’s meal was not depicted as a fixed formal theological depiction in Byzantine art. However, detailed research on the profane pots and pans on the Last Supper table was beyond the scope of their investigations. In contrast to this tradition, it is my intention to ignore here the mainly art-historical and theological figures of Jesus and the Apostles for the moment, and to look only at the dining scenery of the Last Supper pictures: the tables, the tablecloth, and above all the plates, cups and knives. If the depiction of the Last Supper scene as a whole was transformed over the centuries, this may be also the case with the depiction of the tablewares, as illustration of actual changes in dining habits from Late Antiquity into Byzantine times.

### 11.5 Late Roman – Early Byzantine period

#### 11.5.1 Pictures of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period (ca. 5th-7th Centuries)

According to Dobbert, the oldest Last Supper meal in Byzantine art can be found on a 5th century ivory diptych in the Cathedral treasure of Milan (Dobbert 1891, 183, fig. 18; see also Volbach 1976, 84-5, pl. 63 with more literature on the diptych).[6] On the Milan diptych we can distinguish four persons reclining on a high, semicircular couch (fig. 11.4).[7] The couch has a crescent cushion or bolster on the front, and stands around a small, semicircular table.

At the centre of the table we can see a flat, wide-open plate with one fish. It remains uncertain, however, whether the artist was here following the Early Christian tradition which associates fish with the symbol of Christ, or was inspired by similar representations in Late Roman secular art (cf. Jastrzebowska 1979, pls. IV, 1, 3-4; VI, 2).[8] Around the communal plate one can discern five or six small, cross-marked bread loaves. There are no knives, spoons or individual plates on the table. It appears as if the second diner on the left is holding a drinking cup in his hand, but the image is not clear (see also Dölger 1934, 54-5). The person sitting next to him (Christ without a nimbus?) is reclining on the left side of the semicircular couch.

The shape of the round, cross-marked loaves looks quite analogous to representations of bread on Pompeian frescoes and Late Antique sarcophagi and mosaics, as well as to excavated examples from Pompeian bakeries (Dölger 1922, pl. 78, nos. 7-8; 1936, pl. 13). It has been suggested that, from Antiquity onwards, these loaves (the so-called *quadrae* or *artes quadратi*) were incised in four or eight parts to simplify the breaking of the bread during the meal (Dölger 1936, pls. 13-16; Blümner 1969, 88). Furthermore, the number of these *quadrae* corresponds each time (both in religious and secular art) with the number of diners, which seems to imply that each guest was served one loaf of bread during dinner (Dolger 1936, 208 with textual references).[9]

The scene on the Milan diptych shows many similarities with a contemporary dining scene on a miniature from secular art (fig. 11.5). The miniature can be found in the *Codex Vergilii Romanus*, which is roughly dated to the 5th century (Dölger 1943, 543-4; Weitzmann 1979, 227-8). This manuscript, kept in the Vatican Library in Rome,[6] has an almost complete text of Virgil’s *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, and is adorned with nineteen miniatures. The miniature (*Picturae 1902, no. 13, fol. 100v.*) shows Dido banqueting with Aeneas and an unknown
The diners recline on their left hand on a semicircular, cushioned sofa around a small table with slender decorated legs. The table bears a flat, large plate or dish (perhaps a niello *discus*, made of gold or silver)[8] with a fish in the centre. The large plate was probably intended for communal dining.

Below the three diners are two attendants: the left one is serving wine in a funnel-shaped beaker (a *calathus*)[9] from an one-handed jug with narrow neck (a *lagoena*).[10] One of the guests is also drinking with his left hand from a similar beaker. The right servant is holding an one-handed ewer with a pronounced rim (a *patera*.[12] or a water-basin?). It has been suggested that both these vessels were common objects at the end of the 4th century for washing hands during dinner (Dölger 1943, 549-50; Buckton 1994, 52).

There are two other Last Supper pictures of the 6th century which show the same characteristics as the one on the Milan diptych: a couch on which the diners are reclining, a crescent cushion, a semicircular table in front of the couch, one plate in the centre, etcetera. The first of these Last Supper scenes, which seems to have served as a classic prototype for later depictions, can be found on a mosaic in the Basilica of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (dated ca. 500 AD) (fig. 11.6). The second example is an illustration in the *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, a manuscript from Near Eastern or Constantinopolitan origin (Haseloff 1898, 22, pl. 5; Dobbert 1891, fig. 22) (fig. 11.7).[13]

Both pictures portray Jesus (with a nimbus around his head) reclining on his left elbow on the extreme left side of a raised, cushioned couch. The twelve Apostles are reclining on their left elbow as well. The semicircular table is covered with an embroidered tablecloth. In the centre of the table one can discern one communal dish, with some bread rolls around. On the Ravenna-mosaic the large dish has a broad flat base with curved wall and two fishes stick out of it. The shape of the dish looks quite similar to Late Roman Red Slip wares (such as Ware 1 found on the Boeotian sites).[14] On the Rossano-illustration, on the contrary, the chalice-like dish has convex walls on a high ring foot. Both pictures show no cutlery, no individual plates, and no individual beakers. The diners seem to eat their food from the wide-open, communal dish with their fingers.

Also interesting in this respect is another banquet scene from the 7th century (fig. 11.8). The scene is depicted in a full-page miniature about the Story of Joseph in the so-called Ashburnham (or Tours) Pentateuch in the National Library at Paris.[15] This manuscript was probably made during the late 6th or early 7th century (Weitzmann 1979, 471-2). The dining scene is a good example of communal dining without cutlery or individual plates. In fact, all diners, reclining on a cushioned couch around a semicircular table, are actually grasping with their hands into a single communal dish in the centre. The shape of the dish is difficult to see, but one can roughly discern a very large and flat plate.

Finally, one remark on the fish depicted in these scenes. Dölger rejected the view that in Last Supper scenes, as the one in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, the fish should be considered as a symbol of Christ (Dölger 1943, 601-610). Instead he cites a tradition, attested in ancient art, which employed fish as an elegant food to symbolize a sumptuous repast. He argues that the fish as a symbol of a formal meal became a convention in Christian art also, notably in representations of the Last Supper. Recent research on the use of fish in Early Christian meals has also shown that there is no persuasive evidence for a fish Eucharist (Snyder 1985, 25; McGowan 1991, 127-140). Indeed, fish was prized food for the well-to-do classes and was used on festive occasions from Antiquity into Byzantine times (Dölger 1943, 329-549 and 601-610).

11.5.2 Late Roman dining habits in the written (and pictorial) sources

Among the Romans the dining room was known as the *triclinium*, so called because it was common to arrange three couches around a single central table on three of its four sides. These couches allowed space for three diners each to take their meal. Roman writers refer to the standardization of the type, as well as to the social manners
during formal parties (cf. references in Marquardt-Mau 1886, 302-6).

The Roman dining table was relatively small, certainly in relation to the couches which offered space to several persons, and could be round or rectangular. According to the Roman writer Varro (Ling. 5.118), Romans had once used square tables but generally preferred in his time round ones. A more significant distinction, therefore, is that between moveable and immovable tables (Bradley 1998, 48). The folding table (repositorium) was not an item of furniture that was replenished with food as diners proceeded from one course to another; instead the practice among rich Romans was to remove the table altogether when one course was finished and to bring in another for the next (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 320-1).

Dining tables were sometimes equipped with elaborate salt-cellars (salina), vinegar stands (acetabula), sets of heated dishes or bowls to vomit into (vomitive) (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 318-9). The table was also furnished with plates and beakers, made either of metal, silver or from earthenware. Especially the silver ones were put on a display table (abacus) before dinner (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 319). Glass was much less common than pottery but included bowls, beakers, bottles and jugs usually of a pale greenish colour.

In Late Roman times, dinner (cena), the main meal of the day, was eaten in the late afternoon or evening. The cena (for the upper classes at least) was an important social occasion and divided into three main courses with dishes: it began with an entrée (gustatio) of pure roots, vegetables, fish and eggs; it culminated in the main course (cena), sometimes consisting of three to seven dishes; and it ended with desserts (bellaria), consisting of sweets, nuts and fresh fruits (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 323-7; Gowers 1993, 17).

According to Ovid (Ars Am. 3.755-56), there was an etiquette for the Roman cena: a ‘quiddam gestus edendi’ (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 318 n. 2; Bradley 1998, 39). Diners arriving at a host’s house changed their outdoor dress into a looser dinner costume (synthesis). Shoes were taken off by slaves, and replaced by sandals (solae) (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 322). The Romans ate a good deal of their food with their fingers, but it was important to know the correct number of fingers to use for different sorts of dishes. Plutarch (Mor. 95D) spoke of instructing children to ‘take their meat with the right
hand and hold their bread in the left’ (as cited by Bradley 1998, 41). Furthermore, hands had to be washed before and between courses (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 322-23).

Nevertheless, the Romans had cutlery in the form of spoons on the table. Spoons with an oval bowl (ligula) were used for eating soup, broths, soft foods and porridge; spoons with a small, round bowl and a long, pointed handle (cochlear) were used for eating eggs, snails, oysters and mussels (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 314-6). Table knives were unnecessary, as food was cut up in the kitchen, and forks were relatively unknown (Strong 1966, 129). It was essential for the guests to bring their own napkins (mappae) and to know how to use them (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 313-4).

One element of the protocol was that diners reclined to eat, with their left arm supported on a bolster, taking food from a serving table with the right hand. The custom was a mark of high status (Bradley 1998, 39). The diners during the cena were placed in a hierarchical order: the guest of honour, for instance, sat in a special place, the so-called ‘consul’s spot’ (locus consularis) (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 304).

Literary sources and pictorial representations show that different dining habits existed in Late Antiquity (Jastrzebowska 1979; Dunbabin 1991). From the 2nd-3rd century onwards, the fashion for a curved couch (the so-called sigma or stibadium) around a semicircular table prevailed in Late Roman and Early Christian art (Van der Meer 1983).[16] The sigma-couch, made of wood or stone and with a cushion or bolster (pulvinum) in the front, could not hold as many guests as the earlier three triclinia: normally there was space for a party of five to eight persons (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 307). The depiction of this type of couch in both catacomb paintings and sarcophagi suggests that the curved stibadium was initially intended for banquets in the open air (Dunbabin 1991, 132-3).

In Late Antiquity the sigma-couch, adorned with a decorated bolster on the inside, became the setting for formal and luxurious banquets, both in- and outdoors, with the first guest of honour usually reclining in the right corner (in dextro cornu) and the second one in the left corner (in sinistro cornu) (Marquardt-Mau 1886, 308-9).[17] The actual shape and size of such a sigma-couch can be seen in a 6th century miniature of the ‘Pharaoh’s Meal’ (Genesis 40,20-23) in the so-called Vienna Genesis (Wickhoff 1895, pl. A and XXXIV).[18] This is the only picture, on which one can distinguish the sigma-couch from the back (fig. 11.9). Its shape is that of a half circled sofa on several banisters-like legs, with a decorated bolster on its front.

The written sources seem to indicate that table habits from Late Antiquity were persistent into Byzantine times. This is especially visible in the earliest Last Supper scenes in Byzantine art. The above mentioned religious (and secular) banquet scenes of the 5th and 6th centuries seem to refer to dining habits in an ancient Roman style, when diners were reclining on a cushioned sigma-couch around a small, semicircular table.[19] On most Eastern pictures from the Early Byzantine period, Jesus is reclining, for instance, on the extreme right side of the couch (in dextro cornu), which is the guest’s place of honour in Late Antique times (the so-called consul’s spot). There are no individual plates, no individual beakers, no cutlery. The diners seem to eat their food from a centrally placed, communal dish with their fingers.

11.6 Middle Byzantine period

11.6.1 Pictures of the Macedonian Renaissance

(GA. 850-1050 AD)

In the 8th century the Empire was to enter into a turbulent period of civil strife, of which the central issue was the imperial imposition of a ban on figurative religious images. The Iconoclastic controversy started in 726 AD, with the public removal of the image of Christ from the gate of the imperial palace, and lasted until 843 AD. According to the art historian Robin Cormack, it is ‘the period not so much when icons were banned or destroyed as the time when people, whether emperors, clergy or the public, were forced to ask what were the functions of images in Christianity’ (Cormack 1989, Ad.not., 5). He rightly remarks that during the Iconoclastic period traditions continued and new influences from outside Byzantium (the Islamic world and the Carolingian West) were probably absorbed (Cormack 1985, 95-149; 1989, III, 8-9).

Once Iconoclasm had been defeated and the ban on religious images lifted, Byzantine art entered in the eyes of many recent scholars into a second glorious phase – the so-called ‘Macedonian Renaissance’, named after the
ruling dynasty which started with Basil I the Macedonian (867-886 AD). Many new churches were built, and their interiors demanded new religious art. The Macedonian Renaissance seems to be reflected mostly in the minor arts, especially in illuminated manuscripts and carved ivories, as well as in the church history (Mango 1980, 272). The Byzantine artists introduced in this period new iconography, styles and techniques. This is also evident in the Last Supper scenes.

A rare example of a Byzantine Last Supper scene from the 9th century can be found in a miniature of Gospel no. XXI in the Library of St. Petersburg (Dobbert 1891, fig. 23; Millet 1916, fig. 275). Jesus and the Apostles are reclining on a sigma-couch around a semi-oval table, covered with a tablecloth (fig. 11.10). A new feature in this composition is the figure of Judas sitting alone at the front of the table, and grasping with his hand into a centrally placed, communal dish with a fish. The wide-open dish has convex walls and a high ring foot, like the one on the miniature of the Codex Purpureus Rossanensis of the 6th century, although most of the previous dishes were depicted as flat plates.

The large dish could either be made of metal or of earthenware: it is difficult to see this from the picture. The shape of the vessel looks quite similar to the so-called ‘fruit stands’, made in Glazed White Ware (Ware 8), which were exclusively produced at Constantinople around that same time (see fig. 3.3). The use of these fruit stands suggests the careful presentation of food. Perhaps the fruit stands with their central medallions in relief decoration were imitating metal proto-types, which had a high ring foot and convex walls like a silver bowl found at Carthage (see Strong 1966, pl. 66a). On the semicircular edge of the table of the Rossanensis miniature there are only some bread rolls. Two large candelabra in the back refer to the nightly hour of the meal.

A similar arrangement can be seen in a miniature in the Chludov Psalter from the second half of the 9th century in Moscow (fig. 11.11), as well as in a 10th century Last Supper fresco in the San Bastianello in Pallara church at Rome (fig. 11.12). However, the Apostles are on both pictures sitting, instead of reclining, around the semicircular table. Remarkable is also the change in Judas’ position: he sits in front of the table, trying to grasp towards a centrally placed, communal dish, or putting food with his hand in his mouth. Knives or forks are not yet depicted on these Last Supper scenes.

The sudden appearance of large candelabra (standing lamps with arms and nozzles) in the background of the above mentioned three pictures is also noteworthy. It has been suggested that the presence of lamps, candles and candelabra on Last Supper scenes from the 9th/10th century onwards indicated the nocturnal hour of Christ’s last meal. A similar arrangement as on the Chludov example can, for instance, be seen on a later miniature in the Theodore Psalter from ca. 1066 AD (Dobbert 1892, fig. 32). Monastic inventories of the Middle Byzantine period, as well as existing models suggest that most candelabra were made of bronze (Bouros 1889–90). Furthermore, examples of jasper and rock-crystal are described in a late 14th century inventory of the Agia Sophia in Constantinople (Buckton 1994, 108).

All these pictures show that customs in the Empire were apparently beginning to change, at least for the well to do classes. The dining scenes showed that the guests, instead of reclining, sat upright on high-backed benches around larger tables. Sitting at table had since Antiquity been the normal practice only for those of inferior social position (wives and children) at ordinary meals, and in taverns. Also in the Roman peasant household men and women sat to eat their dinner (Bradley 1998, 47). We learn from 10th century written sources, however, that the tradition of reclining on the sigma-couch seems to have persisted longer during certain festive banquets at the Court than in the normal Byzantine household.

11.6.2 PICTURES OF THE COMNENAN ERA (CA. 1050-1204 AD)

Under the Comnenan dynasty, in the 11th century and most of the 12th century, there was a thriving intellectual and artistic life, which lasted until the conquest of
Constantinople by the Latins (or Crusaders) in 1204 AD (see in general, Evans & Wixom 1997).

By the 11th century, several miniatures in a Greek manuscript show Jesus and Petrus as the only persons reclining as guests of honour, in the right and left corners (figs. 11.14-15). The other Apostles are sitting around a large, oval table with embroidered tablecloth. Interesting is the repeated addition of two earthenware cups or chalices (for drinking) next to the usual wide-open, communal dish. The shape of these handled cups reminds us of similar looking examples in Glazed White Ware II, of which a fragment has been found on the Boeotian site of Thespiae (Ware 8; see also Morgan 1942, pl. XII b-c). The increased use of earthenware cups during this period perhaps reflects the decline of glass (more popular in the Late Roman period) at the table. The combination of one communal dish flanked by two ceramic cups can be seen on many Last Supper pictures of the Middle Byzantine period, among them the 12th century miniature in the Gospel of Queen Melisende (Millet 1916, fig. 279; Buchtal 1957, pl. 6a) (fig. 11.16).[27]

An 11th century miniature of Job’s Children from St. Catherine’s Monastery at Sinai even shows – apart from the one large communal plate and two communal cups – that five of the ten diners actually grasp with their hands towards and into the centrally-placed dish (Weitzman & Galavaris 1990, 37) (fig. 11.17).[28] The wide-open, shallow dishes of this period have some similarities with the shapes of the decorated tablewares of the 11th-12th centuries from Boeotia (Wares 9-11 and 15). These vessels have large rim diameters (up to 30 cm.), and must have been quite practical for communal purposes (see table 7.3).

The miniatures of this period also confirm the growing depiction of bread in Last Supper scenes. Pictures often show round cross-marked loaves and round or oval slices of bread (perhaps trenchers which were used instead of plates?) on the semicircular edge of the table. Also noteworthy is the appearance of profane looking bread ‘pretzels’ on the table.

Examples of this combination of bread rolls/trenchers and a bread ‘pretzel’ are, for instance, to be found on a 12th century enamel from the Pala d’Oro at the San Marco in Venice (Hahnloser & Palacco 1994, 29, no. 56, pl. 31) (fig. 11.18), as well as on a 12th century manuscript in a Tetraevangelion in the National Library in Athens (Delatte 1926, 82f.) (fig. 11.19). In one case, on an 11th century fresco in the Sophie Cathedral in Kiev, there is even bread in the shape of ’prosfora’ (bread for the Holy Communion) in the wide-open, communal dish instead of a fish (Dobbert 1892, fig. 44; Lazarev 1966) (fig. 11.20).

It has been suggested that there are also napkins on the Last Supper tables. There are, for example, three folded white napkins on the already mentioned enamel in the Pala d’Oro at Venice (fig. 11.18), and one napkin on an 11th century miniature from the Monastery in Gelati in Georgia (Dobbert 1892, fig. 37) (fig. 11.21).

In addition, a mid 11th century miniature in the Barberini Psalter in the Vatican Library shows at least two white napkins for the reclining figures of Jesus and Petrus (Millet 1916, fig. 278) (fig. 11.22).[30] Also noteworthy is the fact that there are even two asterisks on the same table. These metal objects were normally placed over the blessed bread during the Byzantine liturgy.

If we look at the 11th century ‘Last Supper’-fresco in the crypt of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia, we see just one large communal dish, placed centrally on the table (Chatzidakis 1997, 70-1, fig. 79) (fig. 11.23). This open dish is used for the main course by Christ and the apostles, who are sitting around a sigma-shaped marble table. There are no knives, spoons or forks on the table, which implies that all diners use only their fingers to eat from the shared plate directly. A long, snake-like folded napkin on the right side of the table is provided during the meal. Two ceramic cups, flanking the communal plate, are apparently also shared by all diners.
Most remarkable in this period is the sudden appearance of cutlery in Last Supper scenes. On a miniature of the 11th century Georgian Tetraevangelion from Djrouchi (fol. 68v) there is one knife discernable among the other dining equipment, which consists of some loaves of bread, four fishes, one dish and two cups (Millet 1916, fig. 270). More examples are displayed on an 11th century fresco from the San Angelo church at Formis in Italy (Sandberg-Vavalá 1929, fig. 159). Jesus is here reclining on a couch, the other Apostles are sitting around a sigma-shaped table, adorned with a tablecloth (fig. 11.25). The composition of the table equipment is quite rich on this particular fresco. Apart from the knives, one can also distinguish twelve bread rolls, a main dish with fish and two chalices.

Furthermore, the introduction of forks on Last Supper scenes in the East seems unmistakably have taken place in this period.\[31\] The forks have usually two points (fig. 11.18). A similar cutlery set (knife with matching fork) can also be seen on a 12th century fresco in the church of Panaghia Phorbiotissa of Asinou on Cyprus (Sacopoulou 1966, 30-37, pl. 8; Stylianou & Stylianou 1985, 121-22) (fig. 11.26). On a fresco from ca. 1200-1210 AD in Karanlik Kilise at Göreme in Cappadocia, one can even distinguish three sets of matching knives and forks on the table (Restle 1967, II, 235) (fig. 11.27).[32]

### 11.7 Late Byzantine/Frankish period

#### 11.7.1 Pictures of the Palaeologan Renaissance (ca. 1250-1453 AD)

In the year 1204 AD, the Latin troops of the Fourth Crusade, launched from Venice in 1202 AD with the aim of helping the remnants of the Latin Kingdom in Egypt, took and sacked Constantinople. Many of the Byzantine works of art that today embellish Venice were taken from the Eastern capital as loot (e.g. the *Pala d’Oro*). In spite of the disaster, artistic activities did not come to a sudden end in- and outside Constantinople. The last Byzantine dynasty, the Palaeologans, witnessed the final revival of Byzantine culture before the fall of Constantinople in 1453 AD.

Examples of Last Supper pictures become so frequent from the 13th century onwards, that I have to limit myself to the ones which are important for the discussion of changes in dining habits. Remarkable in this period is the sudden shift towards a greater variety and a larger amount of vessels, jugs and cutlery on the Last Supper table. One can distinguish the separation of food in several bowls, which were apparently shared by three or four guests at the table. A late 12th-13th century miniature in a *croce dipinta* in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa, shows, for instance, five bowls on the Last Supper table, which was laid with a white table cloth (Sandberg-Vavalá 1929, fig. 164) (fig. 11.28). In that way, Jesus and his Apostles were sharing one bowl between two or three men. The diners were therefore expected to eat together from the same bowl with their immediate neighbours. Furthermore, the food was eaten with a knife and with the fingers.

A late 14th century ‘Last Supper’-fresco at Mount Athos, shows also the separation of food into several bowls, as well as the use of jugs and even of glass beakers and glass wine jugs (fig. 11.29). The dishes with food and vessels of wine or water were not placed regularly on the table. The guests were apparently expected to share the dishes and knives between three or four men, but it seems as if they had one individual bread roll each. These rolls were perhaps used as a supplementary spoon to sop up sauces and gravies.
The long, sharp-pointed knives on this fresco were probably intended to cut food into manageable pieces which could then be picked up by hand, or their points could serve as spears for lifting food to the mouth. Three or four knives for all diners were often documented on Last Supper scenes of this period. A late 13th century enamel in a diptychon from Chilandar shows even three rectangular shaped knives with a broad blade after Western fashion (Huber 1973, pl. 9) (fig. 11.30). It seems as if the end of blade is equipped with a beard to pick up food more easily from the table.[33]

The depiction of glass cups or beakers is uncommon on 13th century Last Supper scenes from the East. The first glass beakers (actually in use!) can be detected in Western religious art at the beginning of the 14th century: on a Last Supper scene of Duccio in the Opera del Duomo in Siena from 1308-11 AD, for instance, and on a Marriage at Cana scene from Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua from 1305-7 AD (fig. 11.31). Interesting in this respect is also the sudden introduction of realistic looking tin-glazed earthenware, namely a blue-and-white painted Maiolica jug, on Duccio’s 14th century Last Supper scene.

In the same century, one can discern for the first time in the East similar blue-and-white painted jugs as well as glass vessels on a 14th century icon depicting the Hospitality of Abraham, now in the Benaki Museum in Athens (fig. 13.32). Furthermore, glass beakers in a Venetian style are also depicted on a 14th century fresco of the Last Supper in the church of Panagia Kera at Merambello, Eastern Crete (A. Lymberopoulou, pers. comm.).

On the tables of the Western well-to-do households and clergy a single glass often served all diners during the Middle Ages; only from the late 13th century onwards did drinking glasses occur on Medieval sites more often and in a variety of forms (Willmott 1997, 185). In the East, glass beakers and vessels became less exceptional in religious iconography from the 14th century onwards.

It is also obvious that the depiction of the dish with one fish undergoes a change after the 13th century.

Sometimes we discern a pair of fish, sometimes several vessels with fish, and in other cases the fish has vanished completely from the Last Supper table. A 12th-13th century miniature in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan shows, for instance, two dishes with the unprecedented amount of five fishes in each vessel (Wessel 1964; Cipriani 1967, 28) (fig. 11.33).[34]

Apart from fish and bread, meat is the other food most frequently represented in Late Byzantine religious art. In addition to its possible links to Jewish traditions (see below), roasted lamb, which was often served as a whole (with head) on a dish, exemplifies the growing importance of meat at banquets. On some religious dining scenes, though, such as the Feast of Herod and the Wedding at Cana, the most prized meat was poultry. On a fresco from ca. 1315 AD in the church of St. Nikita at Cucer in Macedonia, one can actually see the host cutting one chicken with a knife into eatable pieces for his guests (fig. 11.34).

On various Late Byzantine dining scenes, one can discern various types of food in the depicted vessels, such as soup-like substances. Noteworthy is also the appearance of a dish filled with small round balls (fruits?). The clearest depictions of such a dish can be seen on a 13th century miniature in the National Library in Paris (Wessel 1964, 49) (fig. 11.35),[35] as well as on a 14th century fresco in the church of St. Andrew, near Skopje in Macedonia (Bihalji-Merin 1960, 65) (fig. 11.36).

Another interesting feature on Late Byzantine Last Supper scenes is the presence of white roots lying among the tableware. This vegetable makes its sudden appearance on many religious and secular frescoes, icons and miniatures in Byzantine art from the 13th century onwards. If the roots are perhaps horseradish, which originates from Southern and Eastern Russia, they may refer to the maròr (the bitter flavours), which the Jews normally consume during their Seder (a ritual meal in which symbolic foods are tasted during the Jewish paschal meal or Pesach).[36]

The story of the Last Supper, which Jesus shared with his Apostles in a house in Jerusalem, was of course situated at the time of the Jewish feast of Passover. The document Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin et in Exodum described the Passover as a communal meal that required small male animals to be cooked and eaten together with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (maròr) in accordance with the prescriptions outlined in the
book of Exodus (Segal 1963, 30-32; Feeley-Harnik 1981, 121; see also Hachlili 1998, 347-60, table vii.2, pls. vi-9 and 14 for the depiction of Jewish ritual objects in Late Antique catacombs and tombs in Rome, for instance at Villa Torlonia).

On the other hand, the white roots appear so frequently on pictures in a non-Pesach context, that their presence may simply indicate a new ingredient for the dinner table – perhaps they were just refreshing for the mouth (Cf. Koder 1993, 88 and note 12). It has also been suggested that these white roots (in Greek called ranani) were used against intoxication during excessive wine-drinking (Agagnostakis & Papamastorakis 2002). On a Last Supper fresco in a 13th century church at Bojana in Bulgaria, one can even distinguish three different types of roots (Boschkov 1969, 111) (fig. 11.37). According to the German art historian Klaus Wessel, the addition of the roots on this particular fresco at Bojana could be regarded as a folkloristic element from the Balkans. He observed that on the same fresco the Apostles had a long white cloth on their knees, which was decorated with black stripes. Apparently, such a cloth is nowadays still used in Bulgaria during dinner as a napkin (Wessel 1964, 48; 1966, 10).

11.7.2 BYZANTINE DINING HABITS IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

The textual evidence indicates that in Byzantine times three meals a day were considered normal: breakfast (progeuma or prophagion), a midday meal (ariston or mesem-brinon) and supper (deipnon). Nicholas Mesarites, bishop of Ephesus from 1212 to 1220 AD, described the ariston as a noontime meal that included bread, wine, fish, meat and vegetables. Other Byzantine sources recommended a full meal at noon and only bread and wine for dinner, or no dinner at all.

Both the ariston as the deipnon were in ancient Roman style divided into three courses: an entrée was served first, often followed by a fish dish accompanied by a sauce (gakos) – an alternative could be some form of roasted meat – and the last course consisted of a sweet.

In his manual of the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus gave details about the protocol for an official dinner in the 10th century (De Caerimoniis I, 741 f.; II, 868). He referred to the ‘table of honour with nineteen places’ to recline on. He also explained that twelve guests should lie at the table with the Emperor, just as the apostles at Last Supper. A contemporary of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Liutprand of Cremona, described how the Byzantine Emperor during festive meals was lying down at the sigma table in a special hall (L. VI. Hist. c.3). All diners washed their hands before and after eating in a chemiboxesto, a clay or metal vessel intended for this purpose.

According to Kazhdan and Wharton Epstein, in 12th century texts the Byzantines seem to show a greater desire for sumptuous meals and an increased interest in food and consumption in that period ((Kazhdan & Wharton Epstein 1985, 81)). The poems of Prodromos, for instance, reveal both a concern with good dining as well as a greater availability of different foodstuffs (Poèmes prod.: no. 2.38-45). And especially, the letters of Eustathios of Thessaloniki show this new, Epicurean delight in exotic dishes (Eust. Opusc. 311.42-56; 80-93). At the same time, one can notice a change in more wine consumption after the 12th century (Kislinger 2003). However, one can also argue that as a result of an improvement in economic conditions in cities there are more people who can afford such food as well as wine and give expression to their new consumption pattern.

Vessels of many different shapes, sizes and materials were used as tablewares (see Koukoules 1952, 146-55 with references). The written sources mention, amongst others, round and flat plates or dishes, which were used for eating food and drinking water (pinakas, pinakia, pinaskous); deep bowls, which were used as food and...
liquid containers (missouria, missourakia) or for serving food (minsi, missi); deeper round plates for the table (scodella, skoutellia); cups for serving meat (koupes); communal dishes for the table (lekanis, lekania, lekanidas) and discs (diskos) which were used for serving sweets and all kinds of dried and fresh fruits. All these terms refer to the shape, the function or the fabric of these vessels. Some of them were either made of clay or wood, others of silver and gold.

Earthenware of average quality was a relatively cheap commodity, and used at all social levels. Among the upper classes, clay tableware was generally considered of a lower quality than a gold or silver vessel. The 14th century historian Nicephorus Gregoras (2:788.15-18) stresses this hierarchy of materials when he noted that the poverty of the imperial court required the replacement of gold and silver vessels by those made of ‘ceramic and clay’. (In Late Antiquity, Rabbula of Edessa, a 5th century bishop, is said to have ordered his clergy to sell their silver dishes for the benefit of the poor and replace them with ceramic ones.)

We just do not know the precise importance of earthenware within a normal Byzantine household. We may assume that vessels made of cheaper materials such as wood and leather almost certainly occupied a position at least as important as that of pottery. Where metal vessels were largely confined to aristocratic and upper clerical households, in humbler kitchens food could be prepared, cooked and served in vessels made from wood, basketry, leather or stone. An act of 1110 AD fixing the division of property between three brothers in Thessaloniki stated that the utensils in the house were made of ‘wood, iron, bronze, and other materials’ (as cited by Kazhdan 1997, 59).

The Byzantinist Nicholas Oikonomides has studied lists of household goods of middle- and lower-class households, living in the provinces. He concludes that, in contrast to the court in Constantinople, eating procedures must have been rather simple in the average Byzantine household. His conclusion is that ‘people often, if not always, ate with their fingers from a large serving plate and drank from a common cup or jar (made of clay)’ (Oikonomides 1990, 212). Table and furniture for seating were rare in these lists, as were spoons. Exceptions to the rule were monasteries (and hospitals), where flat individual ‘plates’ of earthenware or wood appeared, together with drinking glasses and spoons (the lists even mention twenty-four spoons in one monastery!). According to Oikonomides, the reason for this may have been that cleanliness and healthy habits were highly valued and formalized in these places.

As we have seen, the Byzantines normally ate with their hands on the Last Supper scenes, yet the written sources mention a variety in cutlery. Table knives were made of iron with bronze or bone handles, but the wealthy classes used also silver ones decorated with ivory handles (Koukoules 1952, 148 note 2).

Forks were invented in the East and probably introduced to the West by Italians who had learnt their use in Byzantium. Gregory of Nicaea remarked already in the 4th century that during dinner the upper classes used silver peronas or awls (not yet forks in a modern sense), which were elaborately decorated (PG 44, 752). However, according to Koukoules, no Early Byzantine texts mention forks. Only from the 11th century onwards, do Western chroniclers mention their usage at the Byzantine court (Koukoules 1952, 148 n. 6). In shape these forks seem to have been at first quite similar to holders with an awl (souphlia). Later these souphlia developed in (more modern looking) two-pronged or three-pronged forks. At the excavations in Corinth, such a two-pronged iron fork was found, which was roughly dated to the 11th century (Davidson 1952, 194, 1461, pl. 88). In the 12th century bishop Eustathios of Thessalonica even described five-pronged forks (Koukoules 1952, 149 and note 1).

The fork caused nothing less than a sensation, when introduced to Venice in the 11th century. The Byzantine princess Theodora came to marry the future Doge, Domenico Selvo, and at one of the celebrations she scandalized society by refusing to eat with her hands like any other mortal. Instead, after the food had been cut up into little pieces by her eunuchs, she popped them one by one into her mouth with a two-pronged golden fork. Peter Damian, hermit and Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, denounced the whole scene in a passage with the title: ‘Of the Venetian Doge’s wife, whose body, after her excessive delicacy, entirely rotted away’. According to Damian, the Byzantine princess rotted because of her excessive refinement in habits, to which the West was not used.

The use of forks was at that time not yet adopted in the West. When the 13th century French missionary William de Rubruck saw the Tartars using forks to eat
meat, he made a comparison with the odd European example with which pears and fruit cooked in wine were eaten (Herbst 1925, 14). From the 13th to the 15th centuries, richly decorated forks, which were used for eating sweetmeats and candied fruits, appear occasionally in Medieval inventories of the aristocracy (Gay 1887, 736). Forty-three forks are, for instance, mentioned in Florence in 1361, in the list of plate belonging to the Commune (Emery 1976, 39). In an inventory from 1435 of Jacoba of Bavaria’s valuables is named ‘een cristallen gavelhen tot den groenen genguer met gold beslagen’, or a gold-plated small crystal fork, which was used by her for eating green ginger (Forbes 1969, 66; Messen 1972, 1)

11.7.3 Dining habits in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period

The pictorial evidence of dining habits in Greek lands during the Palaeologan era (ca. 1250-1453 AD), discussed above, seems to corroborate the archaeological evidence now available from Boeotia and Corinth. They show a clear increase in the number of deeper dishes and bowls on the table, as well as a more common occurrence of knives as dining utensils (cf. Davidson 1952, 189 and Gerstel 1996). As we have seen in chapter 7, the shapes of the tablewares found in Boeotia change in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period quite clearly from relatively wide dishes into smaller and deeper bowls with a thick, vitreous glazed interior. The rim diameters of these bowls are generally much smaller than the shallow dishes of the Middle Byzantine period (see table 7.3). This change in form of the Late Byzantine/Frankish inhabitants of central Greece seems to indicate that table pottery was shared by lesser people at the table, precisely as suggested by the later pictures of the Last Supper scene (see figs. 11.28-37).

In addition, a more common use of knives as table utensils on the pictures of the Palaeologan period seems to be supported by further archaeological evidence from Boeotia. During recent excavations at the Late Medieval rural site of Panakton in Boeotia, for instance, a number of knives, including one with a bone handle, were found in combination with exactly the same types of sgraffito bowls as the ones found on the sites surveyed in the course of the Boeotia Project (e.g. Ware 16). All finds at Panakton were stratigraphically dated to the 14th century (Gerstel 1996, 148-49).

There is of course no simple and direct relation between changing historical circumstances and changing pottery shapes. However, it does not seem an extravagant conjecture to suggest that there is probably a link between the introduction of deeper bowls and more cutlery on the one hand, and the spread of affluence and new (and more complicated) table manners introduced during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period in Boeotia on the other hand.

Furthermore, the differences in vessel size may be interpreted as evidence for a change in specific types of food that required boiling and serving in suitable containers. This change to a different dining style in late Medieval Greece may have been influenced by a progressive trend to more watery dishes, cooked in their own juices which are known to have occurred also in North-Western Europe (cf. Paston-Williams 1995, 49-50 and 111-12). The shift from an emphasis on roasting to an emphasis on stewing could perhaps explain the introduction of deeper containers during this era. As we have seen, the bowls of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period in the Boeotian samples are notably deeper and glassier in appearance than the earlier dishes.

Although the actual effect may not have been immediate let alone all-pervasive, it may be that the Franks, as newcomers in the Byzantine world and the Byzantine kitchen, introduced their ‘Western’ diet, cooking traditions and dining habits to 13th century Greece. It is clear that in Corinth as well as on the Boeotian sites, a new type of deep-bodied ‘stew pot’ with a tall neck and slightly inturned rim appeared around the middle of the 13th century (see Ware 23 in Boeotia). This change in shape has been related to a change in diet, as the Byzantines ate mainly pulses and the Franks much more meat stews (Joyner 1197). According to the excavators at Corinth, this change happened as a direct result of the influx of Frankish refugees after the capture of Constantinople in 1261 AD (Williams & Zervos 1994, 36).

However, it should be emphasized that explanations in this field of research may involve a complex mosaic of factors. The historian David Jacoby has rightly argued that the number of Franks already settled in Greece was far more important than the number of refugees coming in after 1261 AD. Moreover, how could one explain that the Franks, who had lived in the Byzantine urban surrounding of Constantinople, should bring ‘new’
eating habits with them to central Greece? (D. Jacoby, pers. comm.).

Nevertheless, Medieval written sources contain clear references to the different eating styles and cooking habits between East and West. The Byzantine diet included, for instance, more sauces, olive-oil, fish, vegetables and fruit, whereas the Medieval Western elite tended to look down upon green stuff as inferior food (see for the use of vegetables among the Byzantines, Koder 1993). Liutprand, the German bishop of Cremona, complained already in the mid 10th century about the use of these ingredients in the Byzantine kitchen. Filled with horror, he mentioned that one of the prepared dishes of his Byzantine host contained lettuce, and another one was prepared with garlic, onions and leek. He also found the ‘Greek wine’, flavoured with pitch, resin and gypsum for preservation, undrinkable (Weber 1980).

On the other hand, when we change the perspective 180 degrees, one can see the same abhorrence uttered by the Byzantines about the ‘Western’ cuisine. One Byzantine source from the 12th century mentioned specifically the outright dirty and unclean Western cooking methods of the Crusaders. The Byzantine statesman and historian Niketas Choniates even ridiculed the Franks because they consumed ‘chine of oxen cooked in cauldrons’, and ate ‘chunks of pickled hog boiled with ground beans, and a pungent garlic

Table 11.1 Dining habits and pottery shapes: Late Roman – Early Byzantine to Late Byzantine/Frankish periods.
sauce mixed with other seasonings’ (Nik. Chon. 594.1-5). Of course, we must keep in mind that these qualifications were written by chroniclers from Constantinople who gave no less voice to ethnic stereotypes than their Western counterparts (Lock 1995, 275).

It is clear, though, that the food and the eating habits which the Crusaders encountered in the East were quite different from those to which they were accustomed to in Europe. Yet, at the same time some of them seem to have adjusted fairly easy to the Eastern style of eating. In Syria, for instance, a Frankish lord had in the 12th century an Egyptian cook preparing oriental food for him (Prawer 1972, 518 note 86).[39]

Evidently, the problem of the relation between changing dining habits and changing pottery shapes is not clear-cut. It is even quite obscure to what degree and at what pace the socio-political landscape in Greece changed as a result of the coming of the Franks, let alone at what pace the socio-political landscape in Greece not clear-cut. It is even quite obscure to what degree and changing dining habits and changing pottery shapes is among Franks and the Greek elite, as there is evidence of integration and acculturation on both sides (e.g. Jacoby 1973; Lock 1995, 266-309).

Probably, the changes in dining habits and pottery shapes during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period in Central Greece reflect not a sudden change, but a period of transition and gradual adaptation. Old dining habits die hard, especially in rural areas such as Boeotia, and it is also very gradually that the changes in vessel shape become apparent during the late 13th century, only to gather momentum during the 14th century, after which the ‘new’ more narrow shapes continued into the early 16th century (so well up into the Turkish period with its renewal of more communal dining, as we shall see in the next chapter).

I would suggest, therefore, that in Boeotia during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period there was a gradual transition from completely communal dining in the ‘Byzantine style’ to small-group dining in the ‘Western style’. This transition took place at a different pace in different parts of the region. Most sites at which bowls with the new deep and narrower shapes were sampled, seem to be situated near important land routes in Boeotia (e.g. the main route from Livadheia to Thebes).

It is probably safe to say that the Franks perhaps had only a limited impact when they first arrived in Greece, but that they opened up the region for a subsequent influx of Western influences and trade. And what came in their wake made the difference. Although the Franks were a comparatively small group in the Greek world, the gradual and slow impact of their economic, technological and cultural ‘luggage’ probably far exceeded their numerical importance (see in general, Lock 1995).[40]

### 11.8 Summary

This first and preliminary survey of the use of table equipment (pottery and cutlery) in Late Roman and Byzantine times leads to several observations. The written sources indicate that diet (e.g. bread, wine, fish, olive-oil) and table habits from Late Antiquity were persistent into Byzantine times, which seems to be supported by the pictorial evidence. This is especially visible in the slow and gradual changes in the Last Supper scenes in Byzantine art, which may be taken to represent to a high degree contemporary dining habits.

The religious (and secular) banquet scenes of the 5th and 6th centuries seem to represent dining habits which were almost identical to those of the Roman period. Diners were reclining on a cushioned sigma-couch around a small, semicircular table. On most Eastern pictures from the 5th to 7th centuries, Jesus is reclining on the extreme right side of the couch (in dextro cornu), which was the guest’s place of honour already in Late Antique times (the so-called ‘consul’s spot’ or place of the host). There are no individual plates, no individual beakers, no knives or spoons on the table. The diners apparently ate their food from a centrally placed, communal dish with their fingers. The shape of this dish looks quite similar to ones in Late Roman Red Slip Wares (or Ware 1 found on the Boeotian sites).

Around the communal dish (mostly with fish), one can often discern some loaves of bread, one for each guest, which could have been used as a sort of spoon or eating equipment. The illustrations of the Last Supper seem thus to confirm the abundance of bread in the Byzantine diet. The earlier pictures show round, cross-marked loaves on the edges of the table. The form of these loaves looks analogous to depictions of bread on
frescoes and sarcophagi, as well as to real examples of Roman loaves from the excavations at Pompeii in Italy.

The pictorial and textual evidence indicates that during the 8th-10th centuries customs in the Byzantine Empire were slowly beginning to change, at least for the well-to-do classes. The dining scenes from this period show that the guests, instead of the Roman habit of reclining around a table, were following the Western Medieval habit of sitting upright on high-backed benches at high square tables, sometimes laid with a white table cloth. (Sitting at the dinner table had since Antiquity been the normal practice only for those of inferior social position.)

Still, also in this period one can discern one communal large pedestal dish (either made of metal or of earthenware) on the table, which was shared by all diners. The shape of this dish with a high ring foot and convex walls looks quite similar to the so-called ‘fruit stands’ of Glazed White Ware (Ware 8), which were exclusively produced at Constantinople at that time. It is possible that these fruit stands with their typical interior medallions in relief decoration were ceramic imitations of metal vessels. Their use perhaps suggests the careful presentation of food.

It is noteworthy that chafing dishes (Ware 7) are not depicted at all on these pictures, although archaeologists and historians suggested that they were meant as table equipment to keep sauces warm at the table (their absence could perhaps indicate that they were rather used in the kitchen). Instead, one can notice realistic looking standing lamps (candelabra) in the background of the dining room, indicating the nightly hour of the meal (but probably not giving much light on the table).

In dining scenes from the Middle Byzantine period, open shallow ring-footed dishes (without a lip) dominate the pictures, often flanked by two ceramic drinking cups. Centrally placed on the table, these large dishes were obviously used communally by all diners for the main course. In short, the communal character of the meal persisted, and cutlery was not yet depicted. The wide-open dishes have some similarities with the shapes of the decorated tablewares of the 11th-12th centuries found on the Boeotian sites (wares 9, 10, 11 and 15). These thick-walled, open vessels have large rim diameters, and must have been quite practical for communal rather than individual purposes. It is highly probable that the inhabitants of Boeotia consumed the food in these communal dishes with their hands rather than with cutlery, just as the well-to-do on the pictures with dining scenes.

It is equally noteworthy that there always two ceramic drinking cups next to the communal bowl depicted on the pictures, perhaps made of Glazed White Ware (of which one fragment was found in Boeotia as Ware 8). The increased use of glazed drinking cups, made of earthenware, perhaps reflects another substitute for drinking glass (which is more typical for the Roman period) at the table.

During the 12th-13th century, knives and forks suddenly made their appearance on the Last Supper pictures as instruments for taking food from the communal dish. From this time on, there is often at least one knife depicted on the table. Sometimes there is just a single large knife when it is the only one available for all the guests. Sometimes there are several small knives, often shared by three or four diners.

From the late 12th century onwards, the Last Supper scenes as well as secular dining scenes show a clear increase in the variation of tableware and food. This seems to suggest a change in consumption, which is also supported by the written sources. Several types of bread appear on the table, as well as several dishes with fish and meat, while roots are now introduced apparently as a sort of side-dish. The table equipment definitively becomes more refined, and napkins make their debut on the Byzantine table. Still, there are major differences with contemporary dining scenes from Western Europe. On the Byzantine pictures there are no spoons, no salt cellars, nor an aquamanile (water jar), all of which are so omnipresent in Western depictions of meals.

Apart from this progressive change in eating styles, a process of fragmentation of the communal eating manners seems apparent during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period (at least from the 14th century onwards). On later Last Supper scenes, one can see a trend toward the separation of food into more bowls (shared by two or three diners). Glass beakers and jugs appear, as well as Maiolica and a variety of vessels. All this suggests the spread of wealth, consumerism and a smaller group eating style with more food in several smaller bowls on the table. This seems to be reflected in the ceramics found in Boeotia, where the rim diameters of the Late Byzantine/Frankish wares (wares 16-24) are much smaller than their Byzantine predecessors.

Summarizing, it may be concluded that the pictorial
evidence and the textual sources corroborate the clear trend in the archaeological evidence from the Boeotia survey, that there was a change from shallow, open vessels in the Late Roman – Middle Byzantine periods to smaller, deeper bowls in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period. I would suggest that in Boeotia (at least) there seems to be evidence that there were gradual changes from exclusively communal dining in Late Roman-Byzantine times (more focused on sharing food together) to a more Western form of non-communal, small group dining in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period (the possible beginning to personal consumerism). There was probably no sudden, clear change in habits nor in pottery forms, but a slow but clear transition, which lasted from the 13th to the early 16th centuries.

NOTES

1. The shape of the round table was connected with the Holy Grail by Barb (1956).

2. Most art historians and archaeologists (e.g. Dobbert 1891, 183; Wilpert 1917, 846; Smith 1918, 137 and Dölger 1943, 569) agree that this picture on the Milan diptych is a Last Supper meal. However, Millet (1916, 287, n. 1) considers it as a Wedding at Cana-scene.

3. The restriction of large groups to four or five persons because of shortage of space was often done in Early Byzantine art. Cf. Wilpert (1917, 846) and Dölger (1934, 571-574) for more examples.

4. According to Wilpert (1917, 846), the Last Supper scene was from the beginning regarded as a symbol of the Eucharist meal. However, Dölger (1943, 329-340 and 601-610) shows convincingly that a meal with a fish was already present in ancient texts and in ancient secular art, representing a luxury dish for the well-to-do classes.

5. Cf. for this distribution of bread rolls for each guest, Dölger (1936, 208).


7. According to Dölger (1943, 547), this unknown person with Phrygian cap is Ascanius. Loomis (1927, 76), however, wrongly suggests that Aeneas is dining with two women: Dido and Anna.


9. Cf. Hilgers (1969, 42-3, 128-9, figs. 14-6 with further literature); and Isidorus Hispalensis, Origines XX 5,3, ’calices et calathi et scalae poculorum genera, antea ex ligno facta’, who mentions wooden ‘calathi’ as being used as drinking vessels in the 7th century.

10. Cf. Marquardt (1964, 649) and Hilgers (1969, 61-5, 203-5) with further references for ‘lagoena’ as a serving jug for wine and other liquids.

11. Cf. Marquardt (1964, 649) and Hilgers (1969, 83-6, 298-300, fig. 77) with further references for ‘urce(ol)us’ as a serving jug for wine and water (in the last case: for washing hands).


14. See, for instance, Hayes (1972, 107-11, forms 62-64, figs. 17-18, form 181, fig. 35).


16. The term sigma for a couch was used by Martial in his Epigrammaton libri (XIV, 87, 1). In modern literature the term was used for the first time by A. Bosio in his 1632-publication of the Roman catacombs.

17. The first textual source mentioning this hierarchy of right and left corners on the sigma-couch is Apollinaris Sidonius, a Gallo-Roman of noble family, who was describing the official banquet of Emperor Majorian (457-461 AD) in his Epistulae I,11.


19. The use of the sigma-couch or triclinium (with reclining diners) in later (ca. 16th-18th centuries) European art has been studied by Blunt (1938-39).

21. Moscow, Historical Museum *Add. gr. 129* Chudlov Ps. Kondakoff (1886, 170) and Dobbert (1892, 362, fig. 31) date this Greek psalter from the Chludov collection in the 9th century. See also Cormack (1989, IV, 2, n. 5) on the 9th century date.

22. There seems to be some confusion about the provenance of this fresco. Dobbert (1891, 201, fig. 24) presents the same scene as a copy of a destroyed fresco in the church of San Sebastiano (alla Polveriera) in Rome. He dates this fresco in the 8th century. The copy (actually a water colour of a 17th century artist) is now kept in the Vatican, Bibl. Vaticana *lat. 9071* (fol. 237). Millet (1916, fig. 276) is describing the copy as a 10th century fresco coming from the San Bastianello in Pallara church.


24. Wilpert (1917, 846-847) suggested about the disappearance of reclining on Last Supper scenes: ”Als diese Sitte ausser Brauch kam und damit auch das Verständnis für ihre bildnerische Veranschauung verloren ging, verschwand sie aus der Kunst.’

25. Cf. Dölger (1943, 601, n. 18) who is referring to passages about reclining guests in the texts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-59 AD) and Liutprand of Cremona.

26. Paris, Bibl. Nationale *gr. 74* Tetraevang. The miniatures of this Tetraevangelion have been published by Omont (1908).


28. Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery *gr. 3* (fol. 17v).


30. Vatican, Bibl. Vaticana *Barb gr. 372* Barberini Ps. (fol. 68r).

31. In Western religious iconography, the fork had apparently less appeal. A rare early example of a fork is shown in a Last Supper scene from the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrade von Landsberg, a 12th century manuscript from the Alsace. But this scene has so many ‘Byzantine’ elements in its composition (such as Jesus reclining on the right side of a couch around a semi-circular table), that one can doubt its Western origin.

32. Weigand rejected in two articles in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1935: 1936) a Byzantine dating for the rock-cut churches in the Göreme Valley, instead explaining the paintings as archaizing post-Byzantine works under Western influence. His dismissal was based on iconographical study of the tableware and cutlery in Last Supper scenes, which he described as inconceivable luxuries for remote Cappadocian monks in the Byzantine period. Weigand’s research method, however, was shown to be inapplicable by Chatzidakis (1939).

33. It has been suggested by Forbes (1969, 19) that this beard was used to stir, or perhaps spear, pieces of food in the plate.

34. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana *D67 sup.* (fol. 79v).


36. I would like to thank Prof. Johanna Maria van Winter for this suggestion. See also Reinhardt (1991, 293), who mentions that horse radish (or *cochlearia armoracea*) originally came from Southern and Eastern Russia.

37. Cf. Overbeeck (1865, 172, 14-18) and Blum (1969, 43).


39. I would like to thank Prof. David Jacoby of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for this reference.

40. According to Ken Dark (2001, 99), this ‘Westernization’ is also shown in the appearance of figures in ‘Western’ Medieval dress (wearing longer hair and short kilts instead of tunics or trousers) on 13th century and later pottery.