

# Flavours & Delights



ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΑΡΜΟΣ

TASTES & PLEASURES OF ANCIENT & BYZANTINE CUISINE

TEXTS BY ANDREW DALBY, ILIAS ANAGNOSTAKIS, CHRYSI BOURBOU, JOHANNES KODER, MARIA LEONTSINI • EDITED BY ILIAS ANAGNOSTAKIS

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Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine

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Edited by Ilias Anagnostakis

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## *Transliteration and pronunciation table*

The text of this book uses philological transliteration. In general terms the transliteration is meant to reflect the original orthography as closely as possible. As a guide the phonetic correspondences in Modern Greek are set out below in alphabetical order (based on the Latin alphabet), where an explanation is needed and the relevant words appear in the book. The aspiration is not given, except in the case of the initial *γ* (hyp-silon). Phonemes which are not given below are phonetically the same as in English. Words marked with an asterisk are modern Greek words (some loanwords or reborrowings through different languages are indicated with < Arab, Gr., Lat., Turk). Modern Greek words are mostly transliterated but some, especially proper nouns, are given in transcription, as they are better known in this script in the English language (Ayia Sophia, Digenis Akritas, dolmades, feta, Lefkada etc.)

a (α) = a as in calm

ai (αι) = e as in bed: *mageireiai* = mayirie (μαγειρεΐαι)

au (αυ) = av or af: *mauromatēs* = mavromatis (μαυρομάτης)

b (β) = v: *kollyba* = kolliva (κόλλυβα)

ch (χ) = h: *ōotarichon* = ootarihon (ώοτάριχον)

d (δ) = dh, th as in then: *hydnon* = idhnon (ύδνον)

e (ε) = e as in bed

ē (η) = i as in ship

ei (ει) = i as in ship: *mageireiai* = mayirie (μαγειρεΐαι)

eu (ευ) = ev or ef: *geuma* = yevma (γεϋμα),

*eukraton* = efkraton (εϋκρατον)

f, ph (φ) = f: *sphoggaton* = sfongaton (σφογγάτον)

g (γ + α, ο, ου, ω or consonant) = gh: *gala* = ghala (γάλα)



g (γ + αι, ε, ει, η, ι, οι, υ) = γ: *geuma* = γευμα (γεῦμα),  
*mageireiai* = μαγειρία (μαγειρεῖαι)  
gg, gk (γγ, γκ) = ng: *sphoggaton* = sfongaton (σφογγᾶτον)  
hy = i, see γ  
i (ι) = i as in ship  
o (ο) = o as in pot: *ōotarichon* = ootarichon (ώοτάριχον)  
oi (οι) = i as in ship  
ou (ου) = oo as in zoo  
ph (φ) = f  
ps (ψ) = ps as in apse  
th (θ) = th as in thing: *thynnomageireia* = thinomayiria (θυννομαγειρία)  
y, hy (υ) = i as in ship, *hydnon* = idhnon (ῥῥδνον)

## Preface

The words of Anthelme Brillat-Savarin “Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es” are (fortunately) not to be taken literally, but there is no doubt that nutrition can influence one’s health and state of mind as well. Therefore it was an excellent idea on the part of the editors of this volume to collect papers on food in Greek Antiquity and Byzantium, thus offering information not only about an important part of everyday life in the Eastern Mediterranean over a period of some two millennia between the fifth century BC and the fifteenth century AD, but also the level of civilization and the mentalities in this part of the world. In this respect a knowledge of the past, of history, is also helpful and necessary for a better understanding of everyday life today.

The authors who have contributed to this volume take their information from Greek, Latin, Arabic and Ottoman textual sources, from visual material in manuscripts, frescoes and mosaics and, most importantly, archaeological remains such as pottery or floral and faunal assemblages including human and animal skeletal remains. In the near future the results of the excavations in the Theodosian Harbour (Yenikapı) in Istanbul (with over 15,000 animal bones, taken from more than 30 Byzantine ships) will significantly expand this material. This multi-disciplinary approach allows new, more precise, and sometimes even exciting insights into the reality of the material cultures of times long past but still influential today.

The papers collected here demonstrate where we may find continuities from Greek Antiquity and Byzantium to the cuisine of today, and where we should see developments, which may be explained by changes of climate, especially of precipitation, but also by anthropogenic changes, whether the diet became poorer due to the disappearance of basic ingredients and changes in cooking (or eating) habits, or –more often– richer thanks to the influence of non-Mediterranean immigrants, such as Slavs, Southern Arabs, nomads from Central Asia, Turks, Crusaders and others, who brought not only new agricultural products, vege-

tables and fruits, but also new methods of preparing or refining food. An important aspect of differentiation in alimentary habits is also the geographical extent of the Byzantine Empire, which in the age of Justinian I encompassed nearly the entire coastline of the Mediterranean with extended hinterlands and by the end of the first millennium had again reached almost 1.3 million km<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, I would like to emphasize the successful combination of articles which range from presentations of the luxurious dining habits and possibilities open to the imperial court and the upper classes in Byzantium on the one hand to discussions of the modest and often difficult nutritional “normality” of staple foods for the masses, including soldiers and those who embraced the monastic life (at times up to 15 % of the overall population). The papers also demonstrate –as might be expected– that the highest levels of nutrition, i.e. upper-class food, always influenced, at least as an ideal, the demands and desires of the proletariat. In conclusion, I think that the present volume provides the reader with up-to-date information about Ancient and Byzantine gastronomy, which is both comprehensive and lively.

Johannes Koder

## Introduction

*“Eat and drink, sirs, and I will tell you a tale about a young man hunting on the plain”.*

This is how some Greek folk songs, the *tragoudia tēs tablas* (lit. “songs of the table”), begin. Seated around a festive board, full of elaborate dishes and goblets being filled and emptied of plentiful wine the colour of blood, a family, a group of friends or a community celebrate, enjoying themselves and honouring the memory of their ancestors and heroes; they talk and sing as they eat and drink. The emblematic figures at heroic feasts, Alexander the Great, Digenis Akritas, Konstantinos, Yiannis, as well as many others ancient or Byzantine in origin, take a leading role in a multicultural field of action stretching from the Ionian Sea to Cyprus and the Caucasus, from the Danube to the Euphrates, as mapped out in narratives of various gastronomic escapades and popular songs. These heroes, whose exploits (heroic feats, battles, love affairs) were sung about at every opportunity by the people on all sorts of festive occasions, are presented as eating and drinking, seated at magnificent dining tables in noble halls or in well-tended gardens where aristocratic, military or romantic dinners and other meals were served. But there were also other supermen, whose excesses might be ridiculed, such as Krasopateras (“Old Soak”) and Porphyris, who dreamed of drinking or actually drank oceans of wine in wine glasses the size of small boats and ate whole batches of bread, bags of game and meat by the herd. This fantasy gastronomy (which often ends up as biting satire) is primarily a projection of desire, a notional inversion of the enforced frugality of the Mediterranean daily diet, which throughout the ages had been the counterpart of the abundance enjoyed by the nobility and the lot of the majority of the peoples of the wine-dark Mediterranean Sea.

Austerity and deprivation sharpen the appetite for fantasy, which invents myths or seeks out and eventually finds or creates

circumstances in which there can be heavenly, sybaritic feasts like the lavish *symposion* of the ancient Macedonian Karanos or the equally elaborate Byzantine dishes, where the inventiveness and variety of the tale vies with the sophisticated abundance of real food. The exoticism of "bird's milk", mentioned as far back as Aristophanes and current in modern Greek parlance, meaning a rare delicacy, sums up precisely this search for the height of nutritional and gastronomic perfection, the impossible, the miraculous but also the rare and choice item that may be found or created only by the skilful hunter heroes who, like the most creative cooks, discover the milk or cheese of the doe, the aphrodisiac dishes made with the innards of rare birds and the testicles of the hare, the golden fish and apples and the magic herbs. And though Plato banished cooks and their artifice from his ideal state, still the world of Alexander the Great sought them out, to give it not just the rare *makedonision*, or Macedonian herb, but their very own creations with all the riches of the Orient, that gastronomic miracle in the melting pots of their own realms.

It is perhaps not merely by chance that on two occasions an encounter between the Greek world and the gastronomic wealth of the Orient, involving the capture of a royal palace in Persia, marks the start of an era in two gastronomically distinctive millennia: in 331/0 BC with Alexander the Great and again in AD 628 with the Byzantine Emperor Herakleios. The first great age of some nine hundred years sees Alexander begin a new era, which will prove to be a watershed in dietary and gastronomic history, like the one more familiar to us nowadays that followed the discovery of America, when a host of new items were imported, and new gastronomic habits created. Thus Europe and the Mediterranean came into even closer contact with the abundance, the rumoured excesses, the traditions and the produce of the Middle East, Persia and India, which subsequently brought about the gastronomic syncretism seen in successive Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine incarnations. This era would be followed by a second age whose conventional starting point is in the seventh century of our era, considered the end of the ancient world and the start of the predominantly Christian Byzantine gastronomy when the Mediterranean trilogy of wine, oil and bread once again encountered the flavours of the Orient in the Persian capital just before the Arabs took control of these riches once and for all. Along with the

exotic birds and game in the royal gardens of Persia and the silks stored in the palaces, thanks to the campaign of Emperor Hera-  
kleios, the Byzantine conquerors counted among their trophies a whole host of flavours and spices, marvelling at quasi mythical items such as pepper, sugar and ginger. Thus began a new period of some eight hundred years in which Constantinople emerged as an interstitial gastronomic space, having created its own “culinary propositions” based on Late Antique traditions and all sorts of influences from East and West and having become established as the Christian capital of wine and gastronomic delights in the medieval world, though destined eventually to be overthrown in its turn by Western Christendom (1204) and the Islamic East (1453).

This rather schematic periodization of the history of a multicultural area, an area characterized by multiple local and religious gastronomic boundaries, will form the chronological and geographical framework underpinning the studies presented in this volume. Because the gastronomic history of antiquity has been more frequently studied and is perhaps better known, it has been chosen to lead the way in this volume and is presented by Andrew Dalby, someone with an in-depth knowledge of the subject, whose work comes highly recommended as a valuable and necessary aid to anyone wanting to know more about the gastronomy of the Greek world. However, the studies which follow on from his, presenting the cuisine of Byzantium, a world rather less well-known to the public at large, also make abundant reference to borrowings from and continuity with the gastronomic heritage of antiquity.

So “*eat and drink and I will tell you a story...*” (*Τρώτε, λοιπόν, και πίνετε και εγώ θα σας διηγούμαι*). Speech whether in song or storytelling, was always an inseparable part of the dining experience. And it is precisely this tradition that we have attempted to honour in this book: to narrate culinary history, selecting characteristic cases of gatherings around a table where conversation was king, to codify the history, the origins and distribution of foods, dishes and customs and finally to interpret depictions of gastronomy. And so, after the delicious clarity of Andrew Dalby’s contribution, and the brief notices on the “Macedonian herb” and diet and cuisine in-between ancient and modern gastronomy, we move on to a gastronomy that is fundamentally Byzantine with contributions from Chryssi Bourbou, Johannes Koder, Maria Leontsini and

myself. Our approaches are based on the findings of current research. By informing us not only about the luxurious dining habits of the imperial court and the upper classes in Byzantium but also the modest nutritional habits of the masses, this gives a new picture of a little known gastronomic period, though a crucial one for the peoples of Europe and the Mediterranean. The contributors to this volume have summarized this research and, focusing on some representative examples of dietary habits, they give us their own annotated descriptions of famous banquets. In some instances the insistence on the provenance and the variety of names given to various foods and dishes is not dictated by scholarly attention to detail, not relevant in a book such as this, but is only meant to show the journey made by foods and gastronomic customs through time and space and to underline the cultural exchanges between peoples in the course of their search for and discovery of taste. The index at the back of the book offers just such a gastronomic panorama. In these studies we have tried as far as possible to avoid scholarly footnotes, while still providing all the essential information for the curious reader. At the end of each chapter the authors suggests some specialist reading, which basically contains much of the information and opinions referred to in their text and at the end of the book there is a general bibliography with a list of abbreviations used for sources. A literary transliteration of the Greek words in the text was considered essential, and the phonetic rendering of their Modern Greek pronunciation is presented in a special table at the beginning of the book. The choice of illustrations was made by the editor and the pictures come for the most part from his own collection.

The success of this publication is due in large part to the managing director of *Artifex* and *Terralecta*, Yiannis Tringas, who first thought of producing this book, an idea he enthusiastically brought to fruition after organizing the successful Symposium on “Ancient Greek and Byzantine Gastronomy” (7-8 May 2011, at the Lazarides Estate in Kapandriti, Attica), which all the authors in the present volume (apart from Chryssi Bourbou) attended. Our thanks go to George Chatziakovou of *Armos Publishers*, who showed great interest in the proposal put forward for this volume and agreed to publish it. Valerie Nunn’s knowledge of history and her feel for transla-

tion have helped ensure the successful translation of Greek texts and proofreading of the English ones. We are most grateful for her invaluable contribution. And last but not least our thanks go to Prof. Johannes Koder who willingly agreed to read all the texts and make suggestions as to how they might be further improved.

In the belief that this book may prove helpful to anyone seeking to understand and savour the gastronomic world of the past, which is still very much a part of the present, I would suggest that –wherever it comes from, from however far back in the past or whatever part of the world– anything truly *nostimos* (the Greek word for “tasty”) is also our own. The roots of the Greek word *nostimos* lie in the substantive *nostos*, which means homecoming in Homeric Greek, always an event to be savoured. The etymology of nostalgia, the yearning –or aching– for home or some lost past, can also be traced to the same root. But rather than creating some unfulfilled longing for the gastronomic experiences of a distant age, I hope this book will simply take the reader back to the truly *nostimos* food of an organic age.

Ilias Anagnostakis





Johannes Koder

## *Everyday food in the Middle Byzantine Period*

**I**n the twelfth century at crack of dawn in Ptochoprodromos's neighbourhood in Constantinople, his neighbour, a cobbler, would call his boy before starting work and say to him:

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*Now, lad, take a shilling for a brawn  
And bring me also a portion of Vlach cheese  
And give it to me, so I shall first eat and then go on resoling...*

*(Ptochoprodromos, III 117-119)*

Whether the average Byzantine citizen in the twelfth century was accustomed to a breakfast of cheese and bread with five glasses of wine, as Ptochoprodromos alleges, should I think be open to doubt for two main reasons: firstly the poet is exaggerating in order to amuse the emperor and stress his own need for financial support, and secondly, as we know from other evidence – the Byzantines (after the early period) were not in the habit of taking breakfast in the sense in which the word is used nowadays. They ate what they called *ariston*, the first meal of the day, not in the morning, as the ancient Greeks did, but around midday, and they sometimes also called it *geuma* (a meal or, more specifically, lunch). “Meal-time” or lunch-time could be any time from late morning to midday (“around the sixth hour”, meaning twelve o’clock).

In the same way monks ate when they had finished *orthros*, the equivalent of matins (and after the divine liturgy, as laid down in

the monastic *typikon*); once again *ariston* is the name used in the monastic *typika*. This was often the monks' only meal, especially on Wednesdays and Fridays and on fast days in general.

Ptochoprodromos's cobbler, however, stopped work again for a midday meal:

*and he says to his wife: My lady, prepare the table  
and serve me first the stew, but look that it is not too hot,  
and then the salt meat and afterwards the omelette.*

(Ptochoprodromos, III 127-129)

*Deipnon*, dinner, often the biggest and most expensive meal of the day, was eaten in the evening, but usually before sunset. Occasionally it was served earlier, in the late afternoon, which explains the existence of the term *aristodeipnon* (i.e. a combination of lunch and dinner). On the other hand some people ate very late – indeed one glutton is recorded as being in the habit of sitting down to dine in the very middle of the night: "He sat down at midnight and dined more than necessary" (Gregoras Nikephoros, *History* 1, 559). Regardless of the time of day when they were eaten, formal meals were sometimes called a *trapeza* (literally "board" or "spread", meaning a feast). Thus an Athonite document of 1247 (*Actes de Vatopédi* I, 156.27) specifies that on 21st November, one of the feasts of the Virgin, a sumptuous banquet (*polytelēs trapeza*) should be celebrated in suitably magnificent style.

Ptochoprodromos dreams of having wine and white bread in the evening and the famous "Byzantine bouillabaisse" or stew with slices of meat or some offal. But a Byzantine doctor's prescription recommends taking only two or three glasses of wine with a little bread, and Kekaumenos, a high-ranking official of the eleventh century, who was something of an intellectual, confirms: "If you do not wish to fall into the hands of doctors... then stay away from dinners and do not upset [your digestion] with stuff that sits on the stomach" (Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, ch. 3, 125). On the other hand, it seems strange that other medical advice suggests "one third for lunch and two thirds for dinner" (Aetios, 9.27 and 35). In the fifteenth century Michael Apostoles (*Collectio paroemiarum*, 3.74) recommends: "...have plenty for lunch, but little for dinner", while he notes that "this also applies to those who want to arouse themselves for sexual activities".

In conclusion we can say that, generally speaking, the first and main meal of the day was eaten around midday or a little earlier, while in the evening practices differed a good deal: some ate nothing at all, while for others that was when they ate their main meal, and they might even eat quite a lot. However, whether most people were really such light eaters that they made do with cabbage, as is suggested by that well-known man of letters Michael Psellos, must be open to doubt:

*Eat the breakfast (ariston) without filling  
and the dinner (deipnon) restricted to non-dining!  
Take only little from all vegetables and pulses,  
avoid any excess in fruits,  
cabbage and short rations is the order!*

(Psellos, *Poems*, 15)

## *Social conditions*

Before we discuss what the Middle Byzantines ate “on average”, we should have a look at two important elements in Byzantine society, on the face of it two distinct groups: soldiers and the large number of monks and nuns, which could sometimes amount to perhaps 10-15% of the total population, i.e. a lot of people. Nevertheless I think that the differences between them and the population at large can be put to one side for a variety of reasons. As regards the provisioning of the military, the only record of their receiving *particular* foods is in relation to campaigns, as can be seen from a list of foods, which Constantine Porphyrogennetos provided for troops on the march or fighting, a list which may be applicable to travelling in general. Monastery food was little different from that eaten by the greater part of Byzantine society, both the poor and the middle-classes, as is confirmed by the various types of monastic provisions (recorded in monastic *typika*).

This similarity is also due to the rules laid down by the church, which provided for at least 170 fast days per annum and applied basically to all Christians. On the whole the Byzantines took a different attitude to fast days from us, and kept them with even greater punctiliousness, as we can infer from some relevant

documents, e.g. a didactic poem on fast days by Patriarch Nikolaos of Constantinople (early twelfth century), who says characteristically:

*The holy apostles decree for these days  
namely a terrifying and great accuracy,  
to eat only bread with salt and vegetables!  
Also, only water shall be your drink!*

(Nikolaos Grammatikos, ll 172-176)

Fasting was normal, almost an everyday event: apart from Wednesdays and Fridays, which were observed as fast days almost all year round, there were four important periods of fasting, i.e. Christmas (40 days), Lent (40 days), Holy Apostles (5-25 days) and the Dormition of the Virgin (14 days). Monasteries had additional fast days and I imagine that fasting was generally stricter there. Moreover, the monks often observed fast days on Mondays and the eve of certain monastic feasts, in accordance with their *typikon*. This fact had a considerable effect on dietary habits and demand in the market-place, allowing for the abstinence from meat and poultry alone.

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### *Basic foods: bread, soups, cheese and olives*

So what did the Middle Byzantines eat? Firstly, cereals, but not the famous “*maza*” (barley cake) of the Ancient Romans nor gruel



or porridge; it was mainly bread, that was the staple of the daily diet. All the sources sing bread's praises; and once again as an example I point to religious texts on fasting, like the poem by Patriarch Nikolaos, as well as the chapter "On Bakers" in the *Book of the Eparch*, a handbook for the various guilds operating in Constantinople composed around 900. It is indicative that on one occasion Ptochoprodromos (ll 24-27) asked the emperor to supply him with more flour, because twelve *medimnoi* or *modioi* (1 *modios* = 103.4 litres or ca 85 kg) were not enough for four months. Consequently he must have consumed more than 0.7 kg a day (or 255 kg a year). This information corresponds to modern calculations, which have deduced that the annual per capita consumption of wheat was between 204 and 288 kg.

Despite their exaggerations the Ptochoprodromic poems also provide valuable information about the different kinds of bread: *prophournia*, fresh-baked ("first bread" or small test pieces) and *psōmin aphratitsin*, "foamy" bread were much in demand; the best bread was the *aspron*, white bread made with durum wheat flour, while *triptoutsikon* was only of mediocre quality and the half-white *mesokatharon* (lit. bread of "half purity") probably referring to a poorer quality flour, is denounced outright as the bread "of poverty". In one instance Ptochoprodromos contrasts the rich with the poor, saying:

*they eat baguettes, we get bread from bran,  
they eat the white bread, warm from the oven and sprinkled with  
sesame,  
we get it from the coarse-ground flour, coated with ashes.*

(*Ptochoprodromos*, IV 399-401)

It should be noted that in addition to fresh bread, the rusk-like *paximadion*, sometimes called *dipyros artos*, "twice-baked bread", played a vital role, not just in supplying ships and the military when there was a campaign, but as food for fasting monks in accordance with the *typika* and church regulations.

What were the basic foodstuffs for everyday consumption apart from bread? Many meals, especially for the poor, consisted only of dry bread and soup. The simplest form of soup had water, onions and just a little oil, seasoned with salt and savory; this soup is sarcastically called "horrible, disgusting soup for saints",

because only saints would be satisfied with such a dish.

More expensive versions of the soup were (correctly) labelled *monokythron* (a word derived from the ancient *kythra*, a clay cooking pot), a sort of gumbo or stew, which was cooked in an earthenware casserole. Ptochoprodromos speaks enthusiastically of a recipe for the "*monokythron* with slices of meat" (*Ptochoprodromos*,



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III 185-194), which consists of oil, wine, onions, eggs, curd cheese, various other cheeses, vegetables and spices and finally different types of meat or (probably the monastic version) fish, perhaps of varying quality:

*But, if you like, be informed about the hot-pot (monokythron):  
four cabbage hearts, big and white like snow,  
the middle belly steak of a beluga sturgeon and a piece of ray,  
the neck of a salt swordfish, dried carp,  
four big salted powans, glaukoi,  
some twenty good blue fish, eggs of the sturgeon,  
some fourteen eggs and Cretan cheese,*

twelve curd cheeses and a quarter of Vlach cheese,  
 a pound of oil, a handful of pepper,  
 twelve bulbs of garlic and fifteen onions,  
 some twenty salted and sixteen dried mackerels,  
 with a mug of sweet wine poured over at the end.

(Ptochoprodromos, IV 204-215)

The ingredients in this recipe are weighty and legion and, in my opinion, reflect, in somewhat exaggerated form, the fantastic dreams of a famished poet.

Students of the history of Byzantine food agree on the great importance of olives, oil and (sheep's and goat's) cheeses. For example, Vlach cheese and the (expensive) cheese sold by the Venetians were renowned. Cretan cheese was useful as an ingredient in cooked dishes, whereas it was probably not very popular on its own, because it "takes the skin off the throat", as we learn once again from Ptochoprodromos (IV 109-110) – probably indicating a very sharp, acidic cheese.

Other everyday dairy products were yoghurt or buttermilk; they were sold on the street by vendors known as *oxygalatades*, who, according to Ptochoprodromos, carried the buttermilk tub on their backs. Fresh milk was destined exclusively for babies and small children, especially the fatty goat's milk. In this context mention should also be made of *athēra* (or *groutē*), a gruel/porridge made with bulgur wheat and a little oil, and *trachanas\**, the porridge made from sheep's milk or yoghurt, onions and spices (obviously without tomatoes in this period). *Trachanas\** –or in Byzantium *chondros*, *tragos*, *tarchana*– is described in Byzantine texts as "a kind of milky cake" and was used in Byzantine (and Turkish) cooking after being dried and ground as the basis for soups and various types of porridge or gruel. *Trachanas\** was very common among nomads, because it could be kept for many months.

## Meat

Fresh meat and offal –as found, for example, in *monokythron*– did not normally keep very long. The Byzantines roasted meat and fish on a grill over hot coals. They liked the (expen-



sive) “fatty lamb”, as we learn from Liutprand, a bishop from Cremona in Northern Italy, who writes rather sarcastically about the time he spent in Constantinople. What was not consumed by the Byzantines immediately after the animal was slaughtered was salted down. The sources refer to salt-cured, food *paston*, and a dish made with salt meat or fish, *pastomageiria*, more often than to fresh meat. In the tenth century army rations included: bacon (*lardin*), cured meat (*apoktin*) and salt fish (*Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 463ff). According to the *Book of the Eparch* (13.1) cured meat and fish, as well as smoked sausage were sold by a grocer, known as a *saldamarios*, and not the butcher. Ptochoprodromos was excessively fond of salt meat (*akropaston*), and more specifically a slice of well salted fillet steak (*akropaston, apakin*) with fatty bacon (*syllardon*).

The Byzantines ate lamb, goat and pork as well as hare, rabbit, various kinds of poultry, frogs and game. There is rarely mention of beef or veal as cattle and buffalo were above all used as draught animals in agriculture and pack animals by farmers and merchants alike.

Meat and poultry were not part of the everyday diet, and not only because in the summer months, in a hot climate, their consumption could entail risks, as meat went off quickly, but for a variety of other reasons too. Firstly, eating meat was obviously confined to those times in the year when there was no fasting, being forbidden and socially stigmatized during fasts. Secondly certain animals were sold, at least on the Constantinopolitan market, only at certain times (due to their reproductive cycle), for example lamb was available from Easter to Whitsun (*Book of the Eparch*, 15.5); and thirdly meat was expensive, especially good quality meats. Chicken, for example, was popular, but was considered an expensive luxury. The same was true of eggs – it is no coincidence that what for us is a light, everyday food, such as an omelette, was considered a luxury (*Ptochoprodromos*, III 129, IV 60).

As a result of the relatively low consumption of meat animal fats were used less frequently than vegetable fats. In the East sesame seed oil was the most prevalent, while in areas with a Mediterranean climate it was olive oil. But not everywhere: “We do not cultivate the olive; we have this in common with all the peoples of the East;... the place being high up”, says Leo of Synada (Letter 43). Oils were not only relatively expensive, but

also forbidden during certain fasts. Therefore various types of nuts (which have a high fat content), e.g. walnuts, pine kernels, almonds and hazelnuts, were substituted for them and were used in all sorts of dishes, not just in desserts.

## Fish

Fresh fish was expensive and prices changed from day to day; the *Book of the Eparch* (17.4) explains the pricing procedure in Constantinople: "Those who looked after the interests of the fishmongers came every morning at daybreak to the eparch, announcing what the overnight catch of white fish had been, so that they could trade with the citizens on the basis of that specification". First-class fish, the "white fish", such as grey mullet, "big sand-smelts", sea bass, dentex or sea bream, catfish and brill were also expensive. The prices of other fish were based on the daily rate for first-class fish. It is likely that fast periods affected the prices because, when meat was off the menu, the demand for fish increased.

Salt fish, like bacon, was sold by the *saldamarios* (*Book of the Eparch*, 13.1) and was cheaper than fresh, but poor Ptochoprodromos complains that he cannot even afford the worst quality fish or other seafood such as chub mackerel and other scombrids like "stinking" tuna (what he calls *thynnomageiria* or tuna cuisine) or *palamidokomata*, chunks of bonito and caviar – and his "friends" mock him as a "destroyer of fish eggs" (*chabiarokatalytēs*) and eater-of-salted-anchovies (*Ptochoprodromos*, IV 104-105, 236-240).



## Vegetables

For reasons mentioned above vegetables were very important and I would go so far as to say that, together with bread and soup, they were the most characteristic feature of the Byzan-



tine cuisine. Fresh vegetables, in particular, were exceptionally important, as a variety of texts throughout the Byzantine period attest. Ptochoprodromos confirms the centrality of vegetables to the everyday diet, but points out that he would prefer meat:

*I don't like locust nor do I like tops,  
I prefer greasy hot-pots (monokythron) and cooked salt meat.*  
(Ptochoprodromos, II 103-104)

However, in another poem he lists some fresh vegetables that he would gladly buy, if he had the money:

*celery, leek, salad, cress and endive,  
spinach, orache, turnip and aubergine,  
kale from Phrygia, kohlrabi and cauliflower.*  
(Ptochoprodromos, II 40-42)

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I should point out that spinach appears for the first time in the Byzantine sources in this text; it may have entered the Mediterranean region from Persia or Mesopotamia, where it was known at an earlier date. In Byzantine cooking of the Palaiologan period, after the thirteenth century (and in Ottoman cuisine) spinach was common; it was eaten with meat, cheese or rice or on its own.

For many fresh vegetables the Byzantines recognized two basic stages of consumption: the early stage of the first shoots, and another in which, depending on the various stages in the ripening process, leaves, bulbs, or even the roots of the plant itself were eaten.

Though many vegetables were available only in certain months or even weeks of the year, others could be stored and

transported. Some vegetables, such as cabbage (known as *krambē*), were stored in cool, dark basements or other suitable places without any special preparation. A seventh-century doctor, Paul of Aegina, tells us of the great value placed on preserved vegetables: “and the ones that have been cured with salt and vinegar to preserve them are wholesome and appetizing” (Paul of Aegina, 1, 76.23-24). Vegetables preserved in salt and vinegar are known nowadays as pickles or *toursia*\* in Greek (a word of Arabic origins). Pickles are mentioned in the Early Christian monastic *typikon* of Pachomios and they are especially widespread in Egypt to this day, but also more generally in all the Islamic countries of the Middle East.

Other vegetables were preserved by being dried, especially pulses; the sources attest broad beans, lentils, haricot beans, lupins (*thermia*) and finally white and black chickpeas. They were transported to urban centres, above all Constantinople, from the most distant regions of the Byzantine state. So there was no need to cultivate pulses and certain other vegetables in the suburbs of the cities.

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## Seasoning and sweetening agents

The most common seasonings were salt, garlic (which was immensely important, perhaps even more so than nowadays), cumin, cinnamon (known as *tripsidin*), *sysgoudon* (which could be either lavender or valerian) and –the expensive– pepper.

For liquid seasoning various vinegars were used, as well as verjuice, the Byzantine *omphakion* (Lat. *defrutum*), the Modern Greek *aggourida*\*, a juice made from unripe grapes, popular in Ottoman cooking (*üzüm korağı*); verjuice has come back into fashion in European cooking in recent years (Fr. *verjus*). Another liquid condiment is the famous *garos* (Lat. *garum*), the well-known and widely used fish sauce made with fish innards and small fry, found in various versions in the Byzantine sources, especially mixed with wine, *oinogaron*, or vinegar, *oxygaron*. Modern experiments with this recipe have shown that this (fermented) fish sauce does not smell bad at all and keeps for months in sealed bottles.

Another important “seasoning” was honey. Like walnuts,



it was an ingredient not only in sweet dishes but also in other foods. The sources often mention *oinomeli*, honeyed wine, a thick liquid made of honey and the must from ripe grapes; honeyed wine could be preserved in plaster containers, as was wine.

The Byzantines sweetened their food not just with honey but also with raisins and other dried fruits as long as they had a high sugar content, such as for example dried figs or dates. Unlike in Arabic cooking, sugar cane – John Tzetzes calls it the “sweet reed which makes sugar” – was not in widespread use before the Fourth Crusade. Sugar was always expensive and used above all as a constituent in medicines; even the list of goods bought for the imperial court mentions it among the luxury goods, such as incense, mastic, frankincense, saffron, musk, ambergris, wet and dry aloeswood, true cinnamon and other such (*Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 468ff).

But there is another fruit which, judging from the sources, was arguably not one of the foods commonly found in Constantinople and its hinterland. I am referring to the *keration*, also called sweet *xylokeraton*, the fruit of the carob tree (from the Arabic *harūb*). The carob grows nowadays in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete and in the Middle East generally; its fruit is 69% sugar. On the one hand the impoverished population of certain areas of the Byzantine East evidently consumed carobs – as we read in the *Life of St Symeon Stylites the Younger* (ch. 216) : “...finding carobs along the way, we picked and ate them” – and in any case from the fifteenth century onwards the carob was a well-known item of trade (Doukas, *History*, ch. 36.7). On the other hand carobs were derided as animal fodder (especially for pigs) and considered unsuitable for people: “as a carob eater... he shared the diet of pigs” (Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 271). Nowadays a purée made with carobs, of similar consistency to the almond preserve known as *amygdalōto*\*, is used, especially in the Middle East, as the basis for sweets and liqueurs, as well as a non-alcoholic drink called *harūbiye* in Arabic (and Turkish).

## *Sweets and desserts*

We have little information about desserts. But Ptochoprodromos, asking the emperor for more financial support, mentions various treats he would like:



fresh almonds, cherries from Leukate,  
 gourds from Pegai, sugar melons from Plakai,  
 jujubes, medlars, chestnuts and figs,  
 early apples, honey apples and also quinces...



(Ptochoprodromos, II 65a-δ)

Apart from choice fruits he also dreamed of rice pudding with honey and various sweets with walnuts and quince. Another dessert was *lalaggia* (nowadays called *lalanga* in Turkey), also known as *kollouria*, a kind of fritter served with honey (Ptochoprodromos IV 402). Finally, in another part of his poems Ptochoprodromos mentions which ingredients he needs to prepare the boiled wheat dish *kollyba*:

Don't they need for the commemoration meal  
 almonds, pomegranates walnuts and pine kernels,  
 hemp seeds, lentils, chickpeas and raisins?

(Ptochoprodromos, II 43-45)

*Kollyba* was a popular dish on fast days, especially in monasteries, while Ptochoprodromos mentions it as a special meal for commemoration of the dead (which is the tradition to this day). We can deduce from his recipe that modern-day *kollyba* is very similar to the Byzantine version.

## Drinks

The Byzantines drank water, often boiled (for health reasons), spiced with fennel or aniseed and a little pepper (called *kyminothermin*). They also drank (boiled) water mixed with various fruit juices and syrups, e.g. juice made from dates, or mixed with honeyed wine, vinegar, honeyed vinegar (known as *oxyglyky*), with fig wine and verjuice; overall a selection of what were called *eukrata* ("well mixed drinks"), whose post-Byzantine equivalents are to be found in the sherbets (*şerbet*) of the Ottoman period. I also think it likely that the Byzantines drank various herbal tisanes (Ptochoprodromos speaks of the "herb that grows on the mountains", II 102, cf. what is now called in modern Greek "mountain tea", *tsai tou bounou*\*).

Wine was one of the most common drinks. The wines from Chios, Samos, Crete and Ganos (Mürefte) were famous. As may be deduced from the (Byzantine and Modern Greek) name, *krasi* (from *krasis*, mixing) they were usually diluted with hot water (*mixis oinou kai thermou*, see *Suda*, kappa 2328). The Byzantines frowned upon anyone drinking wine neat (*akratoposia*, see Constantine Manasses, *Moral Poem*, v. 581) or in large quantities: "Nor should you get drunk, because drunkenness leads man to sin", wrote Damaskenos Stoudites (*Homily* 18). Yet drunkenness was probably not uncommon, especially in the taverns, where heavy drinkers danced licentiously and/or brawled: "brazenly threw themselves into fights and acts of violence and so on" (Chorikios, 12.1.3; *Book of the Eparch*, 19.3).

## Fuel

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The Byzantines probably ate (at least) one hot (cooked) meal a day, usually the evening meal, just before sunset, at home or at an inn or a tavern. In both cases the supply of fuel was an important factor; the same applies, of course, to bakeries and various workshops. Firewood, even brushwood, and especially charcoal, were often in short supply (and thus expensive). Therefore the Byzantines also burned pine cones, bark, reeds, straw, [wal]nut shells and other such things (*Basilika* 2.2.162 = Digests 50.16.168). A fuel in common use was dried ox dung, known as *zarzakon*, as Leo Bishop of Synada attests in a letter to the Emperor Basil II: "instead of wood we use *zarzakon*, that is specially treated dung, an extremely disreputable and very evil smelling affair" (Leo of Synada, ep. 43). Moreover dried dung from oxen and camels (Turkish *tezek*) is still a widely used form of fuel in Asia Minor and in many Asian and African countries (e.g. Ethiopia) in general.

## Summary

The diet of a large part of the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire was based above all on bread and dishes made with wheat, combined with fresh and preserved vegetables and fruits, and, to a lesser extent, on dairy products and cured meat, fish and other seafood; fresh fish and meat were in short supply. The Byzan-



tines usually ate twice a day. Provisioning worked quite well, as long as the climatic and political conditions were normal. Generally speaking the results of our research are deemed provisional for the following reasons:

1. There are few written sources on the diet of the Byzantines, and the archaeological evidence still needs to be worked through and properly evaluated.
2. Consequently research is on-going, and the results may be subject to many changes.
3. As in other spheres of life too, the differences between the social classes with respect to food were significant.
4. Comparisons with modern recipes and dietary habits, especially in Greece, often seem understandable and sensible, but caution is recommended because sometimes the similarities are deceptive, especially where there is a desire to demonstrate unbroken continuity from antiquity to the present day.

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- Page 42: Banquet held in the House of Job. Detail of miniature of illuminated manuscript of the Book of Job, 11th c., Mount Sinai, Saint

Catherine's Monastery, cod. gr. 3, f. 17v. Source of photograph: George Galavaris, *Byzantine Manuscript Illuminations*, Athens 1995 (in Greek) [= Ζωγραφική βυζαντινών χειρογράφων, Ελληνική Τέχνη], 110, fig. 104.

- Page 45: The Wedding at Cana. Detail of wall painting of 1310-1320, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Thessaloniki. Source of photograph: Charalambos Bakirtzis et al. (ed.), *Agios Nikolaos Orphanos: the Wall Paintings*, Athens-Thessaloniki 2003 (in Greek and English) [= Αγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός, Οι τοιχογραφίες], 60-61.

- Pages 46-47: The Last Supper. Wall painting, mid-11th c., Karanlık Kilise, Göreme, Cappadocia (Photo by Dick Osseman, [www.pbase.com/dosseman/image/41566364](http://www.pbase.com/dosseman/image/41566364)).

- Page 51: Rural activities, inc. olive harvest, cheese making, beekeeping, producing wine and slaughtering a goat. Miniature from the Venice Codex of Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, ca 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f. 62r. Source of photograph: I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice. Codex Marcianus graecus Z 139* [for 139, read 479], Leiden 2004, fig. 128.

- Page 52: Model of an ancient ship loaded with amphoras. The Museum of Wine at the Lazarides Estate "Oinotria Ge" in Kapandriti, Attica (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).

- Page 54: The Spreading of the Feast, "the table for the meats which the cooks were preparing". Detail of miniature of illuminated manuscript, late 9th/early 10th c., Athens National Library, cod. 211, f. 56. Source of photograph: Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol. III. *Homilies of the Church Fathers and Menologia 9th-12th century*, Athens 1997, fig. 17.

- Page 55: A chalice in red agate, commissioned, according to the inscription, by the Patrikios Sissinios (10th c.), Constantinople. Source of photograph: *Le trésor de Saint Marc de Venise* (Exhibition catalogue), Paris 1984, 188.

- Pages 56-57: The banquet given by the Byzantine governor of Edessa to the Saracen chiefs. The Arab warriors are hidden in the chests being offered to the governor. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. Vitr. 26-2, f. 212va. Source of photograph: *The Miniatures of the Madrid Skylitzes, Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Vitr. 26-2, Colour facsimile, Militos Publishers, Athens 2000.

- Page 58: Chalice, known as the "jasper" chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos, despot of Mistra, 2nd half of 14th c., Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos. Source of photograph: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition - History - Art*, 2 vols, Mount Athos, 1998 [and

in Greek, *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου, Παράδοση-Ιστορία-Τέχνη*, vol. 2, Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery 1996], 476.

- Page 59: St Euphrosynos, patron saint of cooks.
- Page 60: A glazed, ceramic bowl with a low base, late 13th/14th c., Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (BXM 001307). Modifications in the shape of dishes are apparent in this period; the influence of the Franks had probably brought about changes in the eating habits of the Byzantines. Source of photograph: Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.
- Page 64: The edible, "clean" animals and birds according to the Bible. Detail of miniature from manuscript of the Octateuch, 13th c., Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, cod. 602, f. 263v. Source of photograph: *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 4, Athens 1991, 69, fig. 91.
- Page 67: Fish as an edible, "clean" animal. Detail of illustration from manuscript of the Octateuch, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, cod. 602, f. 263v., as above.
- Page 70: Courgette flowers and mint leaves (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).
- Page 74: Flowers and tender shoots of caper (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).
- Page 75: *Mantilides*. Yellow (and some white) crown daisies.
- Page 76: Fisherman roasting crabs. Detail of illustration of the Venice Codex of Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, ca 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f. 61r. Source of photograph: I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica, op.cit.*, fig. 126.
- Page 78: Meat on a large serving platter. Detail from the Hospitality of Abraham, wall painting from the narthex of monastery church of Vlacherna, Arta (end of 13th c.). Source of photograph: *European Heritage Days-Europe, a common heritage. Let's eat: culture at the table*, 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Ioannina 2006 (in Greek) [=και κουλουρτζής στην Πόλη. Ιστορίες διατροφής από τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή Ήπειρο. Ευρωπαϊκές Ημέρες Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, 8η Εφορία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Ιωάννινα 22-24 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006 - Βυζαντινό Μουσείο], p. 10 (Photo from the archives of 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).
- Page 79: The sorceress Medea cooking an old ram in a cauldron with magic herbs that 'rejuvenate' people. Detail of illustration of the Venice Codex of Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, ca 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f. 47r. Source of photograph: I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica, op.cit.*, fig. 99.

- Page 80: The Spreading of the Feast. Detail of miniature of illuminated manuscript, late 9th/early 10th c., Athens National Library, cod. 211, f. 56. Source of photograph: Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou, op. cit. as above.
- Page 85: Itinerant grocer selling caviar. Detail of wall painting from narthex of monastery church of Vlacherna, Arta (end of 13th c.) (inscribed: *o chazarēs poulōn to chabiari*). Source of photograph: *European Heritage Days-Europe, a common heritage. Let's eat: culture at the table*, 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, op.cit., p. 8 (Photo from the archives of 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).
- Pages 89-91, 151: Spoon sweets of citrus, quince and figs (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).
- Page 98: An angel over the cooking pot: "With the tip of the staff that was in his hand, the angel of the Lord touched the meat and the unleavened bread. Fire flared from the rock, consuming the meat and the bread. And the angel of the Lord disappeared", Judges 6.21. Illustration from Octateuch manuscript, 13th c., Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, Vatopedi cod. 602, f. 417a. Source of photograph: *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 4, Athens 1991, 94, fig. 156.
- Page 102: *Kollyba* (Photo by I. Papadakis).
- Page 104: The Wedding at Cana. Detail of miniature from Octateuch manuscript, 13th c., Athos Iviron cod. 5, f. 363v. Source of photograph: *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 2, Athens 1975, 52, fig. 38.
- Page 106: *Gararion* or *saltsarion* of 7th–8th c. (a device for keeping sauces hot, like *garum*, a sauce made with fish), Archaeological Museum of Aegina–Kolona. Source of photograph: Dimitra Papanikola-Bakirtzi (ed.), *Everyday life in Byzantium*, Catalogue of the exhibition *Byzantine hours - works and days in Byzantium*, Thessaloniki, Oct. 2001-Jan. 2002), Athens 2002 (in Greek) [=Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Κατάλογος Έκθεσης, Θεσσαλονίκη, Λευκός Πύργος Οκτ. 2001-Ιαν. 2002], 328, fig. 362.
- Page 107: Detail of The Last Supper. Wall painting, mid-11th c., Cappadocia, Karanlık Kilise (Photo by Dick Osseman, [www.pbase.com/dosseman/image/41566365](http://www.pbase.com/dosseman/image/41566365)).
- Page 108: Personification of February (as an old man at table, who needed much wine and meat in wintertime). Illuminated manuscript, of 1346, Mount Athos, Vatopedi cod. 1199, f. 134v. Source of photograph: *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 4, Athens 1991, 166, fig. 318.
- Page 110: Chicken roasted with lard (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).
- Page 111: *Ofto\** or *Antikrysto\**, an ancient speciality among Cretan shep-



herds. The meat is cooked facing the fire (*antikrysta\**) rather than over the flames and then turned every half an hour. Source of photo: [creta-gastronomy.maich.gr/lang/el/2010/11/arniantikristo/](http://creta-gastronomy.maich.gr/lang/el/2010/11/arniantikristo/)

- Page 112: Fowling scenes, miniature from the Venice Codex of Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, ca 1060, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z 479, f. 13r. Source of photograph: I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica*, op.cit., fig. 22.

- Page 115: Quail on the spit. Detail of miniature from an illuminated Psalter, end of 9th c., Mount Athos Pantocrator cod. 61, f. 105a. Source of photograph: *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 3, Athens 1979, 144, fig. 213.

- Page 117: Basket of eggs in a miracle of Sts Cosmas and Damian. Detail from wall painting of 1270-1285, Saint Demetrios, Mystras, Peloponnese. Source of photograph: M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantine Wall-paintings*, Athens 1994 (in Greek) [= *Βυζαντινές Τοιχογραφίες*], 119, fig. 95.

- Page 127: *Tsoureki\**, a.k.a. *lampropsōmo\** or *lamprokouloura\**: sweet Easter bread served with Easter eggs dyed deep red to represent the blood of Christ. Source of photograph: Myrsini Lambraki and Engin Akin, *Greece and Turkey at the same table*, Athens 2002 (in Greek) [= *Ελλάδα-Τουρκία στο ίδιο τραπέζι. Γευστική περιήγηση στις δύο χώρες*], 277.

- Pages 128-129. Chopped fried chicken, partridge and rabbit (Photo by Ilias Anagnostakis).

- Page 138: Last Supper. Detail of a wall painting (1312) in the exonarthex of the katholikon, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos. Source of photograph: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition - History - Art*, vols 1-2, Mount Athos 1998 [ in Greek= *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου, Παράδοση-Ιστορία-Τέχνη*], vol. 1, 256, fig. 218.

- Page 147: Brown and green sgraffito ware bowl, probably the product of a workshop in Paphos, Cyprus, mid-13th century. Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, B/2003/070.

- Pages 151: Spoon sweet of figs (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).

- Page 156: Heavenly Ladder. Detail of a wall painting in the exonarthex of the katholikon, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, 1312. Source of photograph: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition - History - Art*, op.cit., vol. 1, 275, fig. 231.

- Pages 158-159: Heavenly Ladder. Detail of a wall painting, as above.

- Page 163: Banquet in the House of Job. Detail of miniature of illuminated manuscript of the Book of Job (Scribe: Manuel Tzykandyles), 1362, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 135, f. 18v. (<http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>).

- Page 164: St Theodore Tiro. Detail of wall-painting programme in the Protaton Church, Mount Athos, 1295.
- Page 166: *Kollyba* on *Psychosabbato* or the Orthodox All Souls' Day, Saturday 18 February 2012 that happened to be a day after the feast of St Theodore Tiro 17 February 2012, in the Church of Saint Nicholas, Pefkalkia, Athens (Photo by I. Anagnostakis).
- Page 168: Procession of the Magi, middle king represented with the features of Emperor John VII Palaiologos, fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli, 1459-60, Chapel, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence.
- Page 174: One more banquet in the House of Job. Illuminated manuscript of 1362, Scribe Manuel Tzykandyles. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 135, f. 9v (<http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>).
- Page 175, 177: Glazed clay vessel for condiments *Saltsarion* and cooking pots, 12th century. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.
- Page 178, 179: Frying pan and cooking vessel from Byzantine Palestine, 6th century, A. Vincenz, The Pottery, in Y. Hirschfeld (ed), *En-Gedi Excavation II*, Jerusalem 2007, 234-427, Pl. 70: 12.
- Page 181: Ancient cooking vessels, T. L. (Jr). Shear, The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973-4, *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 346-361 and Maria Thermou, in the journal *To Vima*, *Politismos*, 28-11-2010.