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COOK (*MAGEIROS*) IN BYZANTIUM WAS THERE ANY FEMALE *MAGEIROS*?*

Abstract. The paper studies terms describing cooks and cooking activities that are preserved in Byzantine literature and draw their origins from the ancient Greek literature as well as from biblical and theological texts. Despite some development regarding the preference to the term *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* without ceasing to use the term *mageiros* for the male cook, as well as the term *demiourgos*, only the latter is used for women to signal solely the preparation of pastries. It is proved that the conceptualization and connotations of the term *mageiros*, which are presented in detail, prevented its attribution to women. Further proof on the use of feminised masculine nouns for female professions or occupations in literature and the more concrete evidence on the services recorded in the *typika* of nunneries display the absolute abiding of the conscious avoidance of the term for women's involvement in cooking.

Keywords: Byzantine *mageiros* and *mageirissa*, *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs*, butcher and cook, the art of cooking, *opsartytikē*, gendered cooking, women's culinary activities, feminized masculine nouns, *mageiros* in *Rules (Typika)* of monasteries and convents, female nouns for monastic duties

I

Did female cooks exist in Byzantium and to what extent were they involved with cooking? If women in Byzantium did cook, why is there no name for their occupation that corresponds to the male-gendered term for cook, *mageiros* (μάγειρος)? Clearly women did cook, thus the question is obviously rhetorical and rather predictive of the topic to be studied: the lack of a term defining women's culinary activity. This goes back to antiquity as outside the nuclear family – indeed, beyond the simple day-to-day domestic activities of the non-affluent – cooking

* For an extensive conceptual approach of the philological findings on *mageiros* in this article see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, M. LEONTSINI, *Gendering Cooking in Byzantium: The Case of Mageiros*, [in:] *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Sexuality in Byzantium*, ed. M. MEYER, CH. MESSIS (forthcoming).

as either social or ritual act and as service always involved men. Wealthy, noble households invariably had cooks in their service who were consistently men, working at times under the supervision and guidance of the female head of household. Typical examples start with the dwarf Khnumhotep commonly given in journalistic and popular articles on the history of cooking, attesting to the age-old absence of female cooks. Often claimed to be the oldest cook in history – although this has not been conclusively proven – he was the Pharaoh’s cook around 2300 B.C.E. and the only cook lucky enough to have a statue made of him. Women are also totally absent from various activities pertaining to food preparation in the depictions on the tomb of Ramesses III (1186–1155 B.C.E.)¹.

There are many more examples to be drawn from ancient civilisations as well as, of course, biblical references to cooks and chefs – high-ranking officials of the Pharaohs and Babylonian kings. Women were invariably cooking everywhere; in the Bible, the woman or hostess often prepared food, but in the Greek translation this role does not have a name; in other words, the term is missing, apart from one unique and problematic, as we shall see, case in which the Jewish *tabaha* is translated as *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα), literally a female cook². This is a Hebrew and Greek linguistic ancient and medieval hapax legomenon, apart from a single reference in the thirteenth century, albeit to a cooking utensil. The terms *tabah* and *sar ha-tabahim*, respectively translated as *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and *archimageiros* (ἀρχιμάγειρος) – literally chief cook, head slaughterer, butcher – have negative connotations for the Byzantines because of Potiphar, a eunuch and the Pharaoh’s official ‘chief of cooks’ whose wife harasses and then vilifies Joseph.

Yet there is an even more negative association that stems from the story of the Babylonian *archimageiros* Nebuzaradan, the eunuch and chief butcher sent by Nebuchadnezzar to burn down the temple in Jerusalem. As the Jewish terms *tabah* and *rav* or *sar ha-tabahim* refer to court officials’ service in the administration and army but also to the chief of the bodyguards, captain of the guard, and *tabah* butcher–soldier–exterminator³, the Greek translation of the Septuagint credits them with the offices and services well-known to Greek scholars and present in the courts of their time, such as eunuch, cupbearer chef, or simply cook. In the third century, Hippolytus mentions the biblical *archimageiros* Arioach, the chief

¹ M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, M. LAIR, *Grande et petite histoire des cuisiniers de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1989, p. 26–27. See also M. SYMONS, *A History of Cooks and Cooking*, Urbana–Chicago 2003 and the classical works for ancient and Byzantine gastronomy and cooking of Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. V, Ἀθῆναι 1952, p. 9–244; A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts. A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*, London–New York 1996; IDEM, *Flavours of Byzantium*, London 2003 (repr. as *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010).

² See *Biblical Hebrew Dictionary*, in Abarim Publications’ online: <https://www.abarim-publications.com/Dictionary/te/te-b-ht.html> [15 VI 2022]; see also S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros, Nahtom and Women at Home: Cooks in the Talmud*, JJS 56, 2005, p. 288.

³ S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 287.

butcher in Babylon; playing with the word (ἀρχιμάγειρος), he states that this title is used because this chief of sword or knife (ἄρχων τῆς μαχαίρας) was about to kill both Daniel and his three friends like a butcher, *mageiros*, kills and butchers all creatures, *mageireuei* (μαγειρεύει). In the Bible commentaries by ecclesiastical writers, *archimageiros* means chief magistrate of this world (ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου) apart from chief cook, while *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) describes the killing and cooking of animals as well as some chiefs' murderous behaviours⁴.

Philon of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.E.–40 C.E.) in *On Joseph* had already voiced objections to this translation, considering anything to do with eunuchs and chefs a moral paradox, extremely unreasonable (παραλογότατα), and used only for similar behaviours:

And, therefore, also, paradoxical though it may be, this eunuch is mated with a wife [...]. Very aptly too does Moses call him a chief cook, *archimageiros*; for, just as the cook (*mageiros*) is solely occupied in endlessly providing superfluous pleasures for the belly, so is the multitude, considered as politicians, in choosing what charms and pleases [...]⁵.

In fact, in his work *Change of names* he defines the *mageiros* as sacrificer or slaughterer of animals in line with the primary Greek meaning, and uses the Jewish term *tebah* or *tabbah*, (also *tabbaha*) for court official:

Potiphar the eunuch and *archimageiros* because in the way of a *mageiros* he slaughters living beings, chops and divides them up, piece by piece, limb by limb⁶.

⁴ HIPPOLYT, *Werke*, vol. I.1, *Kommentar zu Daniel*, II, 4, ed. G.N. BONWETSCH, M. RICHARD, Berlin 2000 [= GCS.NF, 7] (cetera: HIPPOLYTOS, *Commentary on Daniel*), p. 74.9–12, and English translation HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME, *Commentary on Daniel*, trans. T.C. SCHMIDT, 's.l. 2010, p. 49: ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἡ γραφή τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς μαχαίρας ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ μάγειρος πάντα τὰ ζῶα ἀναίρει καὶ μαγειρεύει, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἀναίρουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα μαγειρεύοντες αὐτούς. This passage reinforces Weingarten's argument, but she does not use it.

⁵ PHILON, *On Joseph*, section 60, [in:] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. IV, ed. L. COHN, Berlin 1902 (repr. 1962), p. 74.9–15 and English translation PHILO, *On Joseph*, [in:] PHILO, vol. VI, trans. F.H. COLSON, G.H. WHITAKER, Cambridge Mass. 1984 [= LCL, 289], p. 171–173: ὅθεν καὶ – τὸ παραλογότατον – γυνὴ τῷ εὐνούχῳ τούτῳ συνοικεῖ-μνᾶται γὰρ ὄχλος ἐπιθυμίαν, ὡσπερ ἀνὴρ γυναικῆ, δι' ἧς ἕκαστα καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει σύμβουλον αὐτὴν ποιοῦμενος ἀπάντων ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μικρῶν τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλων, ἠκιστα προσέχειν εἰθῶς τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ. προσφνέστατα μέντοι καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν καλεῖ- καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύει μάγειρος ἢ τὰς ἀνηνύτους καὶ περιττὰς γαστρὸς ἡδονάς; S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 288–289.

⁶ PHILON, *On the Change of Names*, section 173, [in:] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. III, ed. P. WENDLAND, Berlin 1898 (repr. 1962), p. 186.15–16 and English translation PHILO, *On the Change of Names*, [in:] PHILO, vol. V, trans. F.H. COLSON, G.H. WHITAKER, Cambridge Mass. 1988 [= LCL, 275], p. 231: μαγειροῦ τρόπον κτείνοντα τὰ ζῶντα καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατὰ μέλη κόπτοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα. S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 289. See especially the *mageiros* as butcher and seller of meat, G. BERTIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros. Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*, Leiden 1982 [= Mn.S, 70], p. 44–70.

It should be noted that this primary meaning of slaughterer for *mageiros*⁷ is repeated by the Byzantines in the *Lexika* and the *Commentaries* on Aristophanes's comedies, in which the cook is often satirised as being a boastful butcher; indeed, the *Lexika* equate *mageiros* with the *artamos* (ἄρταμος), defined as *kreourgos* (κρεουργός) or he who cuts up meat, the slaughterer, butcher, carver, killer, murderer⁸. But apart from Philon, ecclesiastical writers also speculate and do not particularly agree about the eunuch in these biblical passages. Eusebios of Emesa, for example, questions how Potiphar could have a wife if he was a eunuch and considers the label as merely the name of a service since in Syrian and Hebrew eunuch is the name given to a trusted servant⁹. But apart from the biblical cooks, what interests us is the sole disparaging use in the Septuagint's translation of the word *tabbaha* (החבת) as *mageirissai* (μαγειρισσαί in plural μαγειρισσαι) denoting a female cook. This word occurs only once in the Bible – and in plural – meaning in this case slave, servant, or concubine, when Samuel warns of the adversities the Jews will face if they accept someone as their king: *that their daughters will be taken by this king to be perfumers, cooks* (החבת, *mageirissai*, μαγειρισσαι), *and bakers*¹⁰. It is worth noting that החבת, *mageirissa* in Greek, is translated in the Vulgate as *focaria* – a word that also survives in Greek papyri as φωκάρια and means kitchen maid, cook, housekeeper, or concubine¹¹. In a very interesting approach to this biblical

⁷ M. DETIENNE, J.P. VERNANT, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979 (English trans. by P. WISSING, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989); J. WILKINS, *The Boastful Chef. The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*, Oxford 2000.

⁸ *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. I–II, (A–O), ed. K. LATTE, Copenhagen 1953 (vol. I), 1966 (vol. II); vol. III, (Π–Σ), ed. P.A. HANSEN, Berlin–New York 2005 [= SGLG, 11.3]; vol. IV, (Τ–Ω), ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, P.A. HANSEN, Berlin–New York 2009 [= SGLG, 11.4] (cetera HESYCHIOS, *Lexikon*) – HESYCHIOS, *Lexikon*, letter alpha 7479–7481: ἄρταμεῖν κατακόπτειν. Εὐριπίδης Πελοπίδης/ ἄρταμησαι· κρεανομησαι/ ἄρταμος μάγειρος. *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, ed. C. THEODORIDIS, vol. I, (A–Δ), Berlin–New York 1982; vol. II, (E–M), Berlin–New York 1998; vol. III, (N–Φ), Berlin–New York 2013 (cetera PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*) – PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*, letter alpha 2886: ἄρταμος κρεουργός, μάγειρος. τάττει αὐτὸ Σοφοκλῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φονέως. See also G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 12–14.

⁹ EUSÈBE D'ÉMÈSE, *Commentaire de la Genèse*, fragm. 71, ed. F. PETIT, L. VAN ROMPAY, J.J.S. WEITENBERG, Louvain 2011 [= TEG, 15]: Εἰ εὐνοῦχος ὁ Πετεφρῆς, πῶς εὕρισκεται γυναῖκα ἔχων; Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Σύρος μᾶ προσηγορία τὸν τε σπάδοντα καὶ τὸν πιστὸν ἄνδρα λέγει [τοῖς δεσπότηαις]· ὁ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἀληθῶς εὐνοῦχον. See also S.F. TOUGHER, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, London 2008 [= RMCS], p. 22–23, and Ch. MESSIS, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire*, Paris 2014 [= DByz, 14], p. 38.

¹⁰ *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart 1935 (repr. 1971) – 1Sam 8: 13, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν λήμψεται εἰς μυρεψοὺς καὶ εἰς μαγειρίσσας καὶ εἰς πεσσοῦσας, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 105, note 114.

¹¹ In Greek papyri bgu 2 614, 13, συμβιωσάσης μοι γυναικός φωκαρίας. In the Vulgate 1Sam 8: 13 was translated *Filias quoque vestras faciet sibi unguentarias, et focarias, et panificas*. On the meaning of *focaria*, S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.–A.D. 235). Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leiden 2001 [= CSCT, 24], p. 204–207. Probably the slave Luppicina was a *focaria*,

passage – the entire article concerns references to cooks from the Bible and the Talmud that are insightful – Weingarten¹² considers that the translation of the Septuagint is linked to what was saved by Athenaios from the comedian Pherecrates of the fifth century B.C.E.: *just as there are no male perfumers so there is no such thing as a female chef-mageiraina and a female fishmonger*¹³. The female cook is given in a hapax as *mageiraina* (μαγείραινα), although it is believed to be a word coined by the comedian and used only by him. We therefore find that throughout the Greek literature on women's involvement in cooking there are only two terms that are used disparagingly in both texts but never used again later.

So why were the use of the noun 'cook' *mageiros* and the verb 'to cook' *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) so prohibitive for women? Did it always carry the heavy etymological and sacrificial burden of 'butcher', an exclusively male occupation and, if so, did this not allow for the corresponding female to be identified as a *mageiros* because it was inappropriate for a woman? It has even been suggested that the word knife, *machaira* (μάχαιρα), is etymologically related to the word *mageiros*¹⁴. Is this because for everyone, even more so for a woman, *mageireuein* was considered disreputable work like that of keeping a brothel or playing at dice¹⁵? It should be noted, however, that according to a brief entry in the *Suda*, Claudius Aelianus speaks of women as *sphaktriai hiereiai* (σφάκτραι ἱέρειαι) slayers, murdering priestesses. This is one of the few accounts on priestesses with no reference to the word *mageiros*, and these priestesses are named only as slayer-women and never *mageirissai*: 'Σφάκτραι: ἱέρειαι, priestesses:

cook and concubine in the army of Justin I before she becomes empress and changes her name to Euphemia (518–524). Prokopios states that Luppicina was both a slave and a barbarian and became Justin's concubine (Λουππικίνη [...] δούλη τε καὶ βάρβαρος [...] παλλακίη), PROKOPIOS, *Secret History*, 6.17, ed. G. HAURY, J. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. III, Leipzig 1963, p. 41.6–10, and see also A.A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge 1950, p. 60–61.

¹² S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 286–288.

¹³ *Athenaei Naucratae Deipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. G. KAIBEL, vol. I–II, Leipzig 1887 (repr. Leipzig 1965); vol. III, Leipzig 1890 (repr. Leipzig 1966) [= BSGR] (cetera: ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*) – vol. III, p. 350.7–10: κατὰ μυροπωλεῖν τί παθόντ' ἄνδρ' ἐχρήν καθήμενον [...] αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μαγείραιναν εἶδε πώποτε, ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν. For the word *mageiraina*, see A. DA COSTA RAMALHO, *A questão do género gramatical em Grego e um fragmento de Ferécrites*, Eme 18, 1950, p. 42; V. EHRENBERG, *The People of Aristophanes. A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy*, ³New York 1962, p. 130 note 6; G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 31, 105 note 114.

¹⁴ HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter mu 6. PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*, letter mu 11: μαγίς μάχαιρα καὶ μάγειρος ὁ τὰς μάζας μερίζων. See H. DOHM, *Mageiros. Die Rolle des Kochs in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Munich 1964, p. 72–74; V. PISANI, *Una parola greca di probabile origine macedone: μάγειρος*, RIEB 1, 1934, p. 255–259; G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, section II and *passim*.

¹⁵ THEOPHRAST, *Charaktere*, 6.5.1–2, vol. I, ed. P. STEINMETZ, Munich 1960 [= WA, 7], p. 72.10–11: πορνοβοσκήσαι καὶ τελωνῆσαι καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι, ἀλλὰ κηρύττειν, μαγειρεύειν, κυβεύειν. On the *mageiros* and his knife, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 71–78.

All the mystically consecrated sacrificing-women, having been left behind with the sacred equipment and raising their naked swords, and having their hands full of blood and even their faces, but they had been anointed from the sacred offerings, en masse at one signal charged at Battos, so that they might remove him from still being a man¹⁶.

In any case, women in ancient Greece generally were not allowed to wield a sacrificial knife or make sacrifices; it is not surprising then that the *mageiros* was always a man and the verb *mageireuein* was originally associated with and related primarily to the sacrifice and only secondarily to cooking. The verb *mageireuein*, to cook, remains rarely used for women in Byzantine texts, with the act of cooking always described periphrastically or using verbs unrelated to the *mageiros*, as will be seen below. According to the research presented in this paper, the christianised use of the term *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and the absence of any such term for women in convents led us to our final conclusions on how the gender of the cook is handled in Byzantium. It is therefore worth first examining Early Byzantine and then Middle Byzantine texts. We will seek out the Byzantine views on the involvement of men and women in cooking and explain why women in cooking are never described as *mageiros* even though they do cook: in other words, we will examine whether this is a gender perception, a sexist discrimination.

As noted earlier, in the third century C.E. the Jew Philon, with his knowledge of Hebrew, considered the term and the occupation of cook to have negative connotations linked to the slaughtering or butchering; by contrast, during the same century, in the rabbinic Talmudic tradition of Palestine, the Greek term *mageiros* (μάγειρος) is used in the midrashs as *magirosin* in a completely positive way, denoting a connoisseur of cooking as well as a teacher and educator. Weingarten states:

The term *magiros*, סוריגמ, pl. סוריגמי which I have translated as “chef” appears a number of times in the Talmudic literature, and clearly comes from the Greek word *mageiros*, μάγειρος. In the Talmudic literature it has a generally positive connotation and appears to be used of people of some status¹⁷.

¹⁶ *Suidae Lexicon*, letter sigma 1714, vol. I–V, ed. A. ADLER, Leipzig 1928–1935 (cetera: *Suda Lexicon*): Σφάκτρια: ιέρεια. μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς ὄλαι τελούμεναι μυστικῶς σφάκτρια καταλειφθεῖσαι καὶ αἶρουσαι τὰ ξίφη γυμνά, καὶ αὐταὶ καταπλέας ἔχουσαι τοῦ αἵματος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα μέντοι, ἦσαν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρισάμεναι, ἀθροαὶ ὑφ’ ἐνὶ συνθήματι ἐπὶ τὸν Βάττον ἦξαν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀφέλωνται τοῦ ἔτι εἶναι ἀνδρα. See on the topic, M. DETIENNE, *Violentes “eugénies”: En pleines Thesmophories: Des femmes couvertes de sang*, AA.ASH 27, 1979, p. 109–133. See also the women in the sanctuary of Demeter in Aegila of Laconia who repulsed the Messinians with the knives and spits they used in the sacrifices of the sanctuary, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, IV.17.1, vol. I, ed. F. SPIRO, Leipzig 1903 (repr. 1967), p. 363.5–7: λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθουσιν, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἔπειρον ὀπτῶσαι, and English translation PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece*, vol. II, trans. W.H.S. JONES, H.A. ORMEROD, Cambridge Mass. 1926 [= LCL, 188], p. 263: *most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat*. G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 31.

¹⁷ S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 285.

In a midrash, God himself is presented as *mageiros*, saying: *I am your magiros, and will you not let Me taste the dish prepared for you*¹⁸. Around the same time, Origenes chastens the heathen Kelsos as he wrongly believes that for Christians *God applies the fire like a cook*¹⁹! We could suggest that the Talmudic use of *magirosin*, which Weingarten describes as being used for people of status such as teacher and priest – namely a person with knowledge of secrets and who according to the midrashes guides the young – the subsequent involvement in cooking acquires later an instructional, albeit different, parallel: the ascetic test in the educational use of the occupation of cook for the novices or new monks, according to the Byzantine *Lives of Saints*. And in the Talmud, a *magiros*, priest or teacher, obviously could never be a woman.

Women are mentioned in relation to many other domestic but never public activities, such as kneading bread or making sweets; in each case there is a specific descriptive for the woman's labour but not for the cooking she does at home – that is, she performs a daily chore unworthy of comment. Besides, Athenaios mentions some ancient writers used *dēmiourgos* for men or women who made sweets and cakes and scolded the *mageiroi* if they became involved in matters outside their duties, and some note that today things are reversed as the *mageiros* makes cakes and the female *dēmiourgos* (ἡ δημιουργός), posted to rival him, roasted bits of meat. However, their duties had been separate, with women *dēmiourgoi* only looking after the cakes while the *mageiroi*, the cooks, were occupied only with the art of cooking, *opsartytikē* (ὄψαρτυτική)²⁰.

¹⁸ English translation *Pesikta Rabbati*, trans. W.G. BRAUDE, New Haven 1968, p. 18, and S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 290.

¹⁹ *Der Αληθής Λόγος des Kelsos*, 5.14.1–2, ed. R. BADER, Stuttgart 1940 [= TBA, 33]: ὁ θεὸς ὡσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ τῆς κολάσεως; ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum libri VIII*, 5.14.1–2, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Leiden 2001 [= VC.S, 54], p. 331.2 and English translation ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, trans. H. CHADWICK, Cambridge 1953 (repr. 1965 and 1980), p. 274; S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 291.

²⁰ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 72, vol. I, p. 386.17–20, 387.7–14: τοὺς δὲ τὰ πέμματα προσέτι τε τοὺς ποιοῦντας τοὺς πλακοῦντας οἱ πρότερον δημιουργοὺς ἐκάλουν. Μένανδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ καταμεφόμενος δὲ τοὺς μαγείρους ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ οἷς μὴ δεῖ φησιν [...] ἡ δημιουργός δ' ἀντιπαταταγμένη κρεάδι' ὄπτᾶ [...] ὅτι δὲ ἐκεχώριστο τὰ τῆς ὑπουργίας, πεμμάτων μὲν προνοουσῶν τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὄψαρτυτικῆς δὲ τῶν μαγείρων. It is highly interesting that the Byzantines also use the term *dēmiourgos* and *plastēs*, those, mainly women who *plassousin*, knead and mold/create breads and cakes (πλάσσουν ἄρτους καὶ πλακοῦντας, HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter pi 2430; [...] τινες πλακοῦντες [...] δημιουργοὶ πλάσσουν, *Suda Lexicon*, letter alpha 2082 line 4) and the same term for God who is the *Dēmiourgos* and *Plastēs*, the creator of the world. In 11th-century Byzantium, the young aristocratic ladies prepared elaborate sweets (Easter bread) in their household and were *dēmiourgoi* for the poets and God-like creators of a new world, but in pastry! Christophoros of Mytilene (ca. 1000 – after 1050) makes a witty comparison of the earthly impression of the starry sky depicted in a leavened confection prepared by his cousin (a confectioner, *ē dēmiourgos*, ἡ δημιουργός τοῦδε τοῦ νέου πόλου), decorated with duck eggs, representing the planets, to express an emphasis on the female gender capacity as part of the universal balance, CHRISTOPHOROS OF MYTILENE, *Poem 42*, [in:] *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mytilenaios*, ed. E. KURTZ, Leipzig 1903, p. 23–26, and English translation *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropus*, ed., trans. F. BERNARD,

Consequently, according to the ancient writers, a man *mageiros* could be also and *dēmiourgos* (confectioner), two completely different occupations and could be the two separately; a woman could never be a *mageiros* and when she was engaged in confectionery, she was called the woman *dēmiourgos* (ἡ δημιουργός). Thus, a woman's culinary or confectionery occupation never has a special title. There has thus never been a female cook who had a public standing and a profession – in contrast to the male cook, whose activity was private or public. The male cook, *mageiros*, who was involved with sacrifices and other rituals also served in mansions and at large gatherings with much food, such as weddings, even those of the poor. Artemidorus makes a clear reference to cooks, private or public (κατ' οἶκον καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ), clarifying: *For there is need of a cook at weddings. And for the poor and for those who have abundant provisions rely on a cook*²¹.

II

As we've noted, the cook's public and domestic roles and women's participation or absence in the public cooking process and food preparation – particularly of meat – has been subject to debate since ancient times, when in fact it was stated that 'there is no such thing as a female chef-*mageiraina*'. Byzantine scholars also shared this view, hence the absence of a woman *mageiros* from public activity. Plutarchos may have reminded scholars of this when he stated that in the past the Sabine women were not allowed to grind grain and therefore to make bread or even to cook:

Why in the early days did they not allow their wives to grind grain or to cook, *opsopoiein* (ὀψοποιεῖν)? [...] no Sabine woman should grind grain for a Roman or cook *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) for him²².

Ch. LIVANOS, Cambridge Mass. 2018 [= DOML, 50], p. 73–79; P. MAGDALINO, *Cosmological Confectionery and Equal Opportunity in the Eleventh Century. An Ekphrasis by Christopher of Mitylene (Poem 42)*, [in:] *Byzantine Authors. Literary Activities and Preoccupations. Texts and Translations dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, ed. J.W. NESBITT, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= MMe, 49], p. 1–6; Μ. ΛΕΟΝΤΣΙΝΗ, *Οικόσιτα, ωδικά και εξωτικά πτηνά. Αισθητική πρόσληψη και χρηστικές όψεις (7^{ος}–11^{ος} αι.)*, [in:] *Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7^{ος}–12^{ος} αι.)*, ed. Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, Τ.Γ. ΚΟΛΙΑΣ, Ε. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αθήνα 2011, p. 308–309.

²¹ ARTEMIDORUS DALDIANUS, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, III.56, ed. R.A. ΡΑΚΚ, Leipzig 1963 [= BSGR] (cetera: ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*), p. 228.8–10 and English translation D.E. HARRIS-MCCOY, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica. Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford 2012, p. 289: δὲ γὰρ ἐν γάμοις μαγείρου. καὶ τοῖς πένησιν οἱ γὰρ ἐκτενεῖς τροφὰς ἔχοντες, οὗτοι μαγείρω χρώνται. See also the cooks in weddings in antiquity, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 34, 106 note 134.

²² PLUTARCHOS, *Roman and Greek Questions (Αἰτίαι Ῥωμαϊκαί, Αἰτίαι Ἑλλήνων)*, 284F, [in:] *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. II.1, ed. W. NACHSTÄDT, W. SIEVEKING, J.B. TITCHENER, Leipzig 1935 (repr. 1971) [= BSGR], p. 321.28 – 322.4 and English translation PLUTARCH, *The Roman Questions*, [in:] PLU-

This information, although ascribed to the Sabine women after their abduction, has been studied and is considered *un épisode fondateur* regarding Roman women's ban from sacrificing or participating in meals in the past, the *incapacité sacrificielle des femmes* according to De Casanove²³. However, the interest in this information lies in the fact that women were not allowed to cook, *opsopoiein* and *mageireuein* (ὄψοποιεῖν and μαγειρεύειν), as this activity involved meat that, aside from being prepared for food, was primarily sacrifice on an altar. This ban on any possible relationship between a woman and the altar or sanctuary and chancel of a church sanctum due to the feminine gender and to views concerning a woman's purity is timeless and cross-cultural. It was also observed in Christian worship. The Holy Sanctuary, where the Holy Sacrificial Altar with the now bloodless sacrifice, is not accessible to women according to Councils. *On women not entering the sanctuary: That women should not enter the sanctuary*²⁴. Since antiquity the sacrifice has always been performed by the male priest; the woman may serve but does not participate²⁵. And since women could not perform sacrifices, they could not perform the duties or provide the service of a *mageiros* as the sacrificial butcher/chef, *sacrificateur* because *elles perdent du coup leur statut féminin et basculent du côté de la virilité*. Even at women's religious ceremonies, the sacrifice is performed by a man²⁶. It is precisely this ancient and Christian treatment of the *incapacité sacrificielle des femmes* that pervades Byzantine society and endorses in different ways, as we shall see, the views on the woman's role as a *mageiros* in Byzantine scholarly and popular terminology.

The Byzantines' names for the various roles and activities in cooking are traceable to ancient literature. Byzantines use the same terms – at least in scholarly texts – while at the same time creating new ones. Byzantium inherits many views from Late Antiquity on these occupations, adapting and christianising them and the woman's position, as regards her involvement in cooking, does not change; indeed, it generates difficulties in finding the appropriate name. Then why is a woman mentioned by the Byzantines as cooking (*mageireuein*) is not called

TARCH, *Moralia*, vol. IV, trans. F.C. BABBITT, Cambridge Mass. 1936 (repr. 1957 and 1962) [= LCL, 305], p. 131: Διὰ τί τὰς γυναῖκας οὐτ' ἀλείν εἶων οὐτ' ὄψοποιεῖν τὸ παλαιόν; [...] μήτ' ἀλείν ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ γυναῖκα μήτε μαγειρεύειν.

²³ O. DE CASANOVE, "Exesto". *L'incapacité sacrificielle des femmes à Rome (À propos de Plutarque "Quaest. Rom." 85)*, *Phoe* 41.2, 1987, p. 159–173; J.-M. PAILLER, *Une place pour elles à table: le cas de Rome*, *C.HFS* 14, 2001, p. 119–131; J. BOULOGNE, *L'utilisation du mythe de l'enlèvement des Sabines chez Plutarque*, *BAGB.LH* 59, 2000, p. 357–358.

²⁴ *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 44, [in:] *Discipline générale antique (IV^e–IX^e s.)*, vol. I.2, ed. P.P. JOANNOUNO, Grottaferrata 1962, p. 148.14–17: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἰσέναι εἰς ἱερατεῖον γυναῖκας. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας εἰς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέναι. See R.F. TAFT, *Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When – And Why?*, *DOP* 52, 1998, p. 32 specifically for the English translation of Canon 44.

²⁵ P. VISCUSO, *Purity and Sexual Defilement in Late Byzantine Theology*, *OCP* 57, 1991, p. 399–340.

²⁶ G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 30–31.

mageiros? It is perhaps because her involvement with cooking was never professional but mainly within the domestic sphere or family enterprise and usually under the supervision of a man – a husband, master, or boss. As we will see below, only scholars used *mageiros* to mean besides cook also ‘exterminator’ for those who massacred people, although the popular word *makelēs* from Latin, adopted by the Byzantines, is equated with the ancient *mageiros*, meaning mainly ‘butcher’ but never interpreted as ‘cook’.

Other terms Byzantine authors used in parallel with *mageiros* is *opsopoios* (ὄψοποιός), meaning one who cooks food or one who prepares a relish, and *opsartytēs* (ὄψαρτυτής), or one who prepares lavish and seasoned dishes, often with meat and fish. In antiquity the difference is emphasised by the authors compiled by Athenaios: the *mageiros* is generally in command, the one responsible for procuring supplies and preparations, while the *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* provide the kitchen labour for preparing the main and side dishes (ὄψα, *opsa*). Additionally, we find the terms *trapezokomos* (τραπεζοκόμος) and *trapezopoios* (τραπεζοποιός), which are often used interchangeably for those laying the tables and serving the food²⁷. Byzantine scholars and especially Byzantine *Lexica* continued using the terms *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* likening them to *mageiros* and sometime to *trapezokomos* and *trapezopoios*, although each one provided different services²⁸. It is revealing that in all of Theodoros Studites’s work, in fact in the *Typikon* and *Epitimia*, while *mageiria*, *mageireuta* (μαγειρευτά), and *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν), respectively cooked food and cooking, are mentioned, there is only one reference to *mageiros*; *opsopoios* is used almost everywhere as the term for ‘cook’ and is the only term used in some *Typika* that follow and copy Studites like *Typikon of Theotokos Evergetis* and *Typikon of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos*²⁹.

²⁷ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 70, vol. I, p. 383.25–26; 384.5–6; 384.13–14; English translation ATHENAEUS, *The Learned Banqueters*, vol. II, trans. O.S. DOUGLAS, Cambridge Mass. 2006 [= LCL], p. 321–323: τῶν δὲ μαγείρων διάφοροί τινες ἦσαν οἱ καλούμενοι τραπεζοποιοί [...] ζητητέον δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ τραπεζοκόμος ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ τραπεζοποιῷ [...] ἐκάλουν δὲ τραπεζοπιὸν τὸν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμητήν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας. ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IX, 69, vol. II, p. 383.3–4: [...] οὐκέτι μάγειρος, ὄψοποιός ἐστι δέ. οὐ ταῦτό δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πολὺ διήλλαχεν. See also G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 76–78.

²⁸ HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter delta 2340: δραστήρας τοὺς ὄψοποιούς, μαγείρους; ΡΗΟΤΙΟΣ, *Lexikon*, letter omicron 752, ὄψαρτυτής: μάγειρος, 754, ὄψαρτυτική· μαγειρική; *Suda Lexicon*, letter omicron 1071, ὄψαρτυτής: μάγειρος.

²⁹ For the only reference to *mageiros* while everywhere else is an *opsopoios*, see *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis*, catechesis 5.37, ed. E. AUVRAY, Paris 1891, p. 17: ὁ μάγειρος ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ. For the use only of *opsopoios* in his work we choose as example the *Magna Catechesis* and *Epitimia*: THEODOROS STUDITES, *Μεγάλη κατήχησις*, ed. A. ΡΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, St. Petersburg 1904, p. 44.20, 48.18, 109.16, 266.12, 335.13, 395.4, 401.13 and the most exemplary penalty, *epitimion* of *opsopoios*, D. ARNESANO, *Gli Epitimia di Teodoro Studita. Due fogli ritrovati del dossier di Casole*, B 80, 2010, *epitimion* 27. See also references to *mageiria*, cooked dishes but never to *mageiros*, *Typikon of St. John Stoudios*, [in:] *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, vol. V, ed. A. MAI, J. COZZA-LUZI, Rome 1849, p. 111–125 (repr. in *PG*, vol. XCIX, col. 1713–1716), trans.: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation*

Thus, regardless of whether their exact roles are sometimes confused, the *mageiros* is in command of the kitchen and responsible for its operation. In addition, the cook is clearly differentiated from the man who hosts a banquet, *hestiatōr* (ἑστιάτωρ), who invites and entertains the guest and provides the food. According to Athenaios, the *mageiros* presents himself before to the reclining *hestiatōr* at the banquet table to show him the written menu with the prepared dishes³⁰. This is an important description of those in charge of a feast in antiquity, from the cook to the host. However, we do not know if this procedure continued in Byzantium, without ruling out that, in fact, it did. The ordinary Byzantine cook (*mageiros*) is also an *opsopoios* (ὀψοποιός), the person who makes *opsa* (ὄψα), cooked or prepared foods; he cooks and probably also serves as required. Judging, however, by the service described in the sources as being offered both in the day-to-day by the average cook – as well as by those working in monasteries, mansion houses, and, above all, the palace – many clearly had more complex but also hierarchised roles at times.

The information available on Byzantine secular cooks is relatively limited. It is interesting to study cookhouses and refectories in Byzantine case law and the extensive archaeological material available, particularly on the monastic kitchen, *mageireion* (μαγειρεῖον). But neither offer anything with regard to gender, except maybe the facts that cooks are always male and their work was relatively underrated. Until the later eighth century, the word *mageiros* primarily meant butcher and cook simultaneously, while *choiromageiros* (χοιρομάγειρος) or *moschomageiros* (μοσχομάγειρος) in late Roman and early Byzantine papyri refers to breeder, butcher, and cook of pork and veal³¹. The clarification, probably in a Middle Byzantine text, that the seller of meat is called *mageiros* is characteristic of this dual usage³². The most typical case of a secular cook is that of the Indian cook in the residence of a bodyguard (σπαθάριος) during the time of Justinian II. The patrician Stephanos and his bodyguard Helias were sent to Kherson to impose order and install Helias as imperial governor; instead, they massacred the population and led

Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, ed. J. THOMAS, A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, with the assistance of G. CONSTABLE, Washington DC 2000 [= Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35] (cetera: *BMFD*), p. 109–111. For the *opsopoios* mentioned instead of *mageiros* in other *Typika* see *Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergetis*, ed. P. GAUTIER, *REB* 40, 1982, p. 73.1021, English translation and commentaries by R. JORDAN in *BMFD*, p. 459; *Typikon of St. John the Fore-runner of Phoberos*, [in:] *Noctes Petropolitanae*, ed. A.I. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 60.22, English translation and commentaries by R. JORDAN in *BMFD*, p. 872–953.

³⁰ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, II, 33, vol. I, p. 115.13–16.

³¹ See <https://papyri.info/> [15 VI 2022] search: p.oxy 14 1764, Oxyrhynchos 201 CE–300 CE. – sb 26 16561, Dionysias (Arsinoites) 201 CE–250 CE. – p.stras 1 47, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 48, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 49, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 50, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – bgu 1 3, Arsinoiton Polis 605 CE. – p.cair.masp 2 67141, Aphroditis Kome (Antaiopolites) 576–600 CE. – p.prag 1 72, Arsinoites 601–700 CE.

³² *La légende de S. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte*, ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, Louvain 1953, p. 118.3: Ἦλθεν δὲ ποτε τῶν κρεῶν ὁ πράτης ὄν μάγειρον καλοῦσιν.

a rebellion around 711. In retaliation, Justinian slaughtered Helias's children and forced his wife to take the household cook as a husband. This cook is described as ugly, very unsightly, and Indian – the equivalent of an Ethiopian, i.e., dark-skinned. The most interesting thing in this case is that as a degrading punishment Helias's wife was forced to take their own black cook as her erotic partner³³.

A household like Helias's, a diocese, or a town had many servants (Indians, Scythians, and later Slavs) in the kitchen and occupied several *mageiroi* in the cookhouse or in food preparation, mainly butchers providing meat and roasting it. For example, in Early Byzantine fourth-century Gaza there is talk of cooks in the market selling what they've prepared and whose pots and skewers were used to punish the Christians: *the cooks left their employment to pour boiling water on them, and to wound them with their culinary utensils*³⁴. In the fourth century, Synesios mentions:

Every house, however humble, has a Scythian slave. The butler, *trapezopoios* (τραπεζοποιός), the working in kitchen, *peri ton ipnon* (περι τὸν ἰπνόν), the water carrier, all are Scythians³⁵.

The seventh century *Life* of John the Merciful describes the presence of many cooks at the episcopal residence in Alexandria: *of my own kitchen/cook house [...] my own cooks*³⁶.

Yet wherever he was employed – in palaces, dioceses, or monasteries – the status of the cook was not generally appreciated, although the 'cook's sophistry', his dishes, were. An anecdote from the tenth century illustrates the disdain for the occupation of cook when an emperor was disparaged as a *mageiros*. Although the story probably originally intended to show the emperor's humility and popularity, it was used by Theophanes Continuatus to belittle Michael III (842–867), describing the emperor as becoming a *trapezopoios* and a *mageiros*, going to the tableless house of a simple woman just returning from the baths, laying the wet towel on the floor

³³ NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Short History / Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium historicum*, 45.54–56, ed. C. MANGO, Washington DC 1990 [= *CFHB*, 13; *DOT*, 10], p. 110, English translation, *ibidem*, p. 111: τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τῷ ἰδίῳ μαγείρῳ ζευχθῆναι ἠνάγκασεν, Ἰνδῶ τῷ γένει καὶ ὄλῳ δυσειδεῖ τυγχάνοντι.

³⁴ SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, V.9.4, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 [= *GCS*, 50], p. 204.23–25 and English translation *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen. Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440*, trans. E. WALFORD, London 1855, p. 215: καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς μαγείρων οἱ μὲν ὕδατι θερμῷ κοχλάζοντας τοὺς λέβητας ἐξαρπάζοντες τῶν χυτροπόδων κατέχεον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀβελίσκοις διέπειρον.

³⁵ SYNESIOS, *On Kingship*, 20.14–17, ed. N. TERZAGHI, *Synesii Cyrenensis Opuscula*, Rome 1944, p. 46: ἅπας γὰρ οἶκος ὁ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εὖ πράττων Σκυθικὸν ἔχει τὸν δοῦλον, καὶ ὁ τραπεζοποιός, καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸν ἰπνόν, καὶ ὁ ἀμφορεαφόρος Σκύθης ἐστὶν ἐκάστω.

³⁶ *Life of St. John of Cyprus, The Merciful*, [in:] LÉONTIOS DE NÉAPOLIS, *Vie de Syméon le Fou; Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, L. RYDÉN, Paris 1974 [= *IFAB.BAH*, 95], p. 367.3–4: τοῦ ἐμοῦ μαγειρίου· [...] οἱ ἐμοὶ μάγειροι.

as a tablecloth, and saying: *I who have an appetite for bran bread and dry cheese.* And the chronicler comments:

For we must use his words. And since the woman was speechless at the strangeness of the spectacle, wanting in everything, having neither table nor the things with which to lay it, Michael turned round faster than word can tell, took the towel, still damp, which she had brought from the bath, and used it instead of the fine cloth which lay upon the table. Taking the woman's key, he was everything: emperor, *trapezopoios*, *mageiros*, *daitymōn*³⁷.

Ultimately there is nothing positive, popular, or humble in equating the emperor with a cook. On the contrary, many references contrast the status of a king and a cook as characterised by opposite extremes, the splendour of the high office versus the degrading involvement with slaughterhouses, kitchen, smoke, and ashes. Leaders and kings known as slaughterers of people, such as Nebuzaradan, are presented as cooks, as we saw earlier. In the third century, Hippolytos states that

as a butcher (*mageiros*) kills all creatures and butchers them, in the same way also the rulers of this world kill men, butchering (*mageireuontes*) them as unreasoning animals³⁸.

According to Dio Chrysostom, the Persian kings were butchers, and he wonders

when Xerxes and Darius marched down from Susa driving a mighty host of Persians, Medes, Sacae, Arabs, and Egyptians into our land of Greece to their destruction, were they functioning as kings or as butchers (*mageiros*) [= their function was, literally, a *basilikon* or *mageirikon ergon*, βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔργον] in driving this booty for future slaughter?³⁹

Emperors and persecutors of Christians are also described metaphorically as *mageiroi* who use cooking utensils and slaughtering tools as implements of various

³⁷ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV*, 37.1–17, ed. J.M. FEATHERSTONE, J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, Berlin–Boston 2015 [= *CFHB*, 53], p. 282, 284 and English translation, p. 283, 285: ψωμοῦ πιτυρώδους ἔφεσιν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀσβεστοτύρου [...] αὐτὸς ἦν τὰ πάντα, βασιλεύς, τραπεζοποιός, μάγειρος, δαιτυμῶν. A similar cheese story about Charlemagne exists in western legends (article in preparation).

³⁸ HIPPOLYTOS, *Commentary on Daniel*, II, 4, p. 74.9–12, and English translation by T.C. SCHMIDT (HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME, *Commentary...*), p. 49: ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ μάγειρος πάντα τὰ ζῶα ἀναρεῖ καὶ μαγειρεύει, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἀναιροῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα μαγειρεύοντες αὐτούς.

³⁹ DION CHRYSOSTOMOS, *On Kingship*, 4.45, [in:] *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, vol. I, ed. J. VON ARNIM, Berlin 1893 (repr. 1962), p. 63.22–26, English translation DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *The Fourth Discourse on Kingship*, [in:] DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Discourses*, vol. I, trans. J.W. COHOON, Cambridge Mass. 1932 [= LCL, 257], p. 189: ὅτε γοῦν Ξέρξης καὶ Δαρείος ἄνωθεν ἐκ Σούσων ἤλαυνον πολλὸν ὄχλον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπολούμενον, πότερον βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔπραττον ἔργον λείαν ἐλαύνοντες κατακοπησομένην. See also J. MOLES, *The Date and Purpose of the Fourth Kingship Oration of Dio Chrysostom*, CA 2, 1983, p. 251.

forms of torture. Referring to the Emperor Maximian, Gregory of Nyssa describes the persecutors as those who *they sacrifice butchered birds being mageiroi of kings* (ἀντὶ βασιλέων γίνονται μάγειροι), *and examine the entrails of wretched cattle, sell meat stained with blood*⁴⁰. Emperor Leon I (457–474) is known as *Makellēs*, the corresponding Latin name of *mageiros*-butcher because of the massacres he led. He is thus described in a tenth-century etymology linking his name to a district of Constantinople, the market of *Dimakellin* or *Leomakellon*, meaning meat butcher market or the market of *leō* (λεῶ) of people:

The so-called Dimakellin received its name because Emperor Leo sold meat there and his wife plaited gut strings or the name *Makellēs* was given because he killed the Areians and makel in Latin means sphageus (i.e., slayer, butcher)⁴¹.

A final example of the correlation between the condemnatory behaviour of inhumane and cruel power and the work of the cook is given in a Byzantine chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) who states (in the same way as Dio mentions ‘βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔργον’) that some of us have a *mageirikē* soul (μαγειρικὴν ψυχὴν), not a royal soul (βασιλικὴν), *but that of a butcher, of a cook, and they take pleasure in spilling blood by killing* – an expression also reminiscent of the murderous and *mageirōdēs* soul (μαγειρώδης ψυχὴ) of some murderers in the years of Theodosios I, mentioned by the historian Eunapius in the fourth century⁴². Thus, in an official document from the eleventh century, *mageiros* and *mageirikos* (μάγειρος, μαγειρικός), the cook and the culinary job, continue to be used with their ancient meaning of butcher and killer.

⁴⁰ GREGORIOS OF NYSSA, *In Praise of Blessed Theodore, the Great Martyr*, ed. J.P. CAVARNOS, [in:] *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones*, pars 2, vol. X.1, ed. G. HEIL, J. CAVARNOS, O. LENDLE, F. MANN, Leiden 1990, p. 68.24–69: μαρῶ βωμῶ πλησιάζοντες, ἀντὶ βασιλέων γίνονται μάγειροι ὄρνεις θύοντες, καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀθλίων σπλάγχνα διερευνῶμενοι.

⁴¹ *Patria of Constantinople*, III, 101 and 104, ed. T. PREGER, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig 1907, p. 250.4–7, 17–19: τὸ Κουρατωρῖκιον ἐκτίσθη ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Λεωμακέλλη [...]. Τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον Διμακέλιν ἐκλήθη οὕτως, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ὁ Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας κρέατα ἐπώλει· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔπλεκε τὰς χόρδας. See also edition with the English translation we use here A. BERGER, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, Cambridge Mass. 2013 [= DOML, 24], p. 316 and note 115. For the massacres Leo carried out, see *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae Ope*, 607.14–16, vol. I, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= CSHB]: Μακέλλης δὲ ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν Ἄσπαρα καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον ὡς Ἀρειανούς ὄντας· μάκελ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖστί ὁ σφαγεὺς λέγεται. G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des “Patria”*, Paris 1984 [= BBE, 8], p. 318–319. For the butcher no longer doubling as a cook in Byzantium but as *makellarios*, A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts...*, p. 182.

⁴² Imp. Nicephori Botaniatae ne poena gladii intra XXX dies de sententia infligatur, et de aliis capitulis (1) [1080]. *Novellae et Aureae Bullae – Νεαραὶ καὶ Χρυσόβουλλα τῶν μετὰ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων*, Nov. 12 (coll. IV), vol. I, ed. I. ΖΕΠΟΣ, Π. ΖΕΠΟΣ (post C.E. ZACHARIA VON LINGENTHAL), Aalen 1962 [= JGR, 1], p. 285: ἴσως τῶν μεθ’ ἡμᾶς, μὴ βασιλικὴν ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ μαγειρικὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, αἱμάτων ἀνθρώπων ἐφῆδονται προχοαῖς. *Eunapii vitae sophistarum*, VII.6.6.5, ed. J. GIANGRANDE, Rome 1956: φονικὴν τινα καὶ μαγειρώδη ψυχὴν.

As far as the palace is concerned, apart from some almost anecdotal stories, there is no specific mention of cooks or their work, although it is certain that there were many cooks behind the *trapezopoioi*, butlers (τραπεζοποιοί) or *epi tēs trapezēs*, serving staff (ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης), namely those who prepared and supervised the table with the imperial meals and dinners⁴³. The odd lack of mention of cooks in the detailed descriptions of ceremonies and dinner preparations in the court is covered by the description of the emperor's entourage on his campaigns that included the imperial cooks or *basilikoi mageiroi* (βασιλικοί μάγειροι), who sought wood for the imperial kitchen, *basilikon mageireion* (βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον):

The imperial cooks prepare the food for the next day in the evening [...] when they find wood or trees lying in unpopulated areas the imperial cooks and the attendants should chop them up and take them to the imperial kitchen, each carrying a log⁴⁴.

Some recurring anecdotal stories further inform that the Emperor Julian expelled one thousand cooks from the imperial court along with the eunuchs. Eunuchs are often identified or associated with the cooks-slaughterers. An arcane bond also links them to barbers. The tasks performed by all three tasks associated with the actions of chopping, cutting, slaughtering; they radically intervene in human nature by undergoing castration surgery or cutting hair and shaving, thus transforming bodies just as the cook transforms material through elaborate cooking, serving only pleasure. Barbers, eunuchs, and especially the butcher-cook (*mageiros*) are treated disdainfully because of their relationship with the knife and pleasure.

Following Plato's thesis – particularly the Neoplatonic interpretation that cooking aims at producing pleasure⁴⁵ – it is said that in an attempt to purge and

⁴³ N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 28–29, 301 notes 89, 305–306.

⁴⁴ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *What Should be observed when the Great and High Emperor of the Romans goes on Campaign*, (C)525–526, 529–531, [in:] CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. J.F. HALDON, Wien 1990 [= *CFHB.SV*, 28], p. 126, 128 and English translation p. 127, 129: τὰ δὲ πρόφαγα ποιῶσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ. [...] καὶ ὅτε εὖρωσι ξύλα ἢ δένδρα εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους κείμενα, κόπτουσιν οἱ σύντροφοὶ καὶ οἱ μάγειροι, καὶ ἐπαίρουσι πρὸς ἓν ξύλον, καὶ ἀποκομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον.

⁴⁵ PLATO, *Gorgias*, 500b.3–5; F. NOTARIO, *Plato's Political Cuisine. Commensality, Food and Politics in the Platonic Thought*, A.ECD 17, 2015, p. 123–158. See the Byzantine reception of Plato's statements about cooking and cooks, F. ΚΟΛΟΒΟΥ, *Die Rezeption der Platonischen Opsopoiia in der byzantinischen Literatur*, [in:] *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. HINTERBERGER, E. SCHIFFER, Berlin 2007, p. 181–193. See also an interesting approach on literary 'cooking' in Byzantium with reference to Plato, P.A. ΑΓΑΡΙΤΟΣ, *Literary Haute Cuisine and its Dangers Eustathios of Thessalonike on Schedography and Everyday Language*, DOP 69, 2015, p. 225–241, and on Byzantine cooking and Agamemnon's Banqueting according to Plato, Athenaios, and Eustathios of Thessalonike, I. ΑΝΑΓΝΟΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *What is Plate and Cooking Pot and Food and Bread and Table all at the Same Time?*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary*

restore Roman authority, Julian expelled one thousand cooks (*mageiroi*), waiters (*trapezopoioi*), and an equal number of barbers and eunuchs from the Byzantine palaces where, according to Libanios, they hovered like flies around a sheepfold in summer – an Homeric loan regarding a throng:

on looking into the state of the imperial court, and seeing a useless multitude kept for no purpose, a thousand cooks, and hairdressers no fewer, cup-bearers yet more numerous, swarms of waiters, eunuchs (μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη τραπεζοπιῶν, εὐνούχους) in number beyond the flies around the flocks in spring, and of all other descriptions an indescribable lot of drones [...] he expelled them forthwith⁴⁶.

In a later version of the incident Julian sought out his predecessor's palace barber and cook and found them luxuriously dressed, almost like senators. He threw them out, after having first requested that they should be compared, especially the cook, to his own rather modestly attired staff, and asked those present to tell him who looked more like a cook⁴⁷. Therefore, even palace cooks, although they may occasionally have resembled the other court servants and officials, were obviously viewed differently and only thus accepted, as they came from various ethnic and social groups – black Indians, Slavs, eunuchs. Indeed, they are depicted as eunuchs in a late-ninth-century miniature of a noble table⁴⁸. Indian cooks represent

Approaches to Food and Foodways in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean, ed. S.Y. WAKSMAN, Lyon 2020, p. 225–241 and especially p. 220–221; M. ΛΕΟΝΤΣΙΝΗ, *Ο Πλάτων και ο Φιλόξενος ο Κυθήριος με το βλέμμα του Ιωάννη Τζέτζη: οι δημιουργικοί και παιγνιώδεις ορίζοντες μιας επιστολής*, [in:] *Homo sum: Humani nil a me alienum puto*, Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Νίκο Πετρόχειλο, ed. Κ. ΑΡΩΝΗ-ΤΣΙΧΛΗ, Αθήνα 2021, p. 261–289.

⁴⁶ HOMER, *Ilias*, 2, 469–471: Ἦυτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ/ αἶ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἠλάσκουσιν/ ὥρη ἐν εἰρινῇ ὄτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει; LIBANIOS, *Oration 18. Funeral Oration over Julian*, ch. 130, [in:] *Libanii opera*, vol. II, ed. R. FOERSTER, Leipzig 1904 (repr. Hildesheim 1997) [= BSGR], p. 291.15–21, 292.1–5: βλέψας εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν θεραπείαν καὶ κατιδὼν ὄχλον ἄχρηστον τὴν ἄλλως τρεφόμενον, μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη τραπεζοπιῶν, εὐνούχους ὑπὲρ τὰς μυίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐν ἤρῃ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστων ἔθνων ἀμυθήτους κηφίνας [...] ἐξέωσεν εὐθέως; SOKRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, III.50, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 1], p. 192.5–8: ἐξέβαλε δὲ τῶν βασιλείων εὐνούχους κουρεῖς μαγείρους, εὐνούχους [...] μαγείρους δὲ διὰ τὸ λιτῆ χρῆσθαι διαίτη· «κουρεὺς δέ, ἔφη, εἰς πολλοῖς ἀρκέσει».

⁴⁷ *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, vol. III, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn 1897 [= CSHB], p. 60.13–19: κουρέα τε ζητήσας, ὡς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου κουρεὺς πολυτελῶς ἐσταλμένος, κουρέα ζητεῖν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκλητικόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ μάγειρον δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπροτέρα τῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μετεπέμψατο μάγειρον κατὰ μάγειρον ἐσταλμένον· καὶ ἤρετο τοὺς παρόντας, πότερον αὐτῶν κρίνοιεν μάγειρον.

⁴⁸ Miniature from a 9th–10th century manuscript, National Library of Athens code 211, f. 56, A. ΜΑΡΑΒΑ-ΧΑΤΖΗΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, Χ. ΤΟΥΦΕΞΗ-ΠΑΣΧΟΥ, *Κατάλογος μικρογραφιῶν βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Ἀθήνα 1997, fig. 17; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, T. ΡΑΡΑΜΑΣ-ΤΟΡΑΚΙΣ, ...and Radishes for Appetizers. *On Banquets, Radishes and Wine*, [in:] *Βυζαντινῶν Διατροφή και Μαγειρεία. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας «Περὶ τῆς διατροφῆς στο Βυζάντιο»*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Μουσεῖο Βυζαντινοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ, 4 Νοεμβρίου 2001, ed. Δ. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑ-ΜΠΑΚΙΡΤΖΗ, Αθήνα 2005, p. 152.

the knowledge and use of various spices; Athenaios, repeating Megasthenes of the third-fourth century B.C.E., reports many elaborate Indian dishes on Indian tables⁴⁹.

In Roman times the Scythians, later identified with the Slavs by the Byzantines, served as cooks. As mentioned above, Synesios says every house had a Scythian butler and cook – which was also likely the case for the palace. It is possible that there were cooks among the hundred Slav eunuchs sent in the ninth century from Patras by Danelis to the Emperor Basil in Constantinople:

five hundred household servants, including handsome eunuchs, one hundred in number; for this powerful and wealthy old woman apparently knew that there is always room for these castrates in the imperial palace, and that they dwell there in number exceeding those of flies in a sheepfold in springtime⁵⁰.

Judging by the way this gift is mentioned in the *Life of Basil*, and which is nothing more than an expression borrowed from Libanios describing the eunuchs and cooks expelled by Julian, Danelis's eunuchs most likely included cooks and butlers. Her cooks and butlers wined and dined the then-insignificant Basil, the future emperor, when Danelis hosted him during his stay in Patras; a scene in Skylitzes's manuscript describes Danelis and Basil dining together⁵¹.

In any case, it is well-known that in Patras from the ninth century onwards there was a large group of Slavs, *Sclavenes*, who had been placed in servitude to the cathedral. The group cooks, butlers, and servants who were obliged to accommodate and feed at their own expense any passing ambassadors, dignitaries, and officials from the city:

Sclavenes who were set apart in the metropolis have maintained like hostages the military governors and the imperial agents, and all the envoys sent from foreign nations and they have their own waiters-*trapezopoious* (τραπεζοποιούς) and cooks-*mageirous* (μαγείρους) and servants of all kind who prepare food for the table (τὰ τῆς τραπέζης βρώματα)⁵².

⁴⁹ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 39, vol. I, p. 347.14–15: ὄψα πολλὰ κεχειρουρηγμένα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς σκευασαίαις.

⁵⁰ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber V quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, 74.23–30, ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin 2011 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 42], p. 256; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Diet and Cuisine. In between Ancient and Modern Gastronomy*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. IDEM, Athens 2013, p. 58; Ch. MESSIS, *Les eunuques à Byzance...*, p. 255, 329.

⁵¹ V. TSAMAKDA, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden 2002, fig. 206, fol. 85r.

⁵² CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, 49.65–69, Greek text ed. G. MORAVCSIK, English trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington DC 1967 [= *CFHB*, 1; *DOT*, 1], p. 230, and English translation p. 231: οἱ ἀφορισθέντες Σκλαβῆνοι ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνων ἀποστελλομένους πρέσβεις ὡς ὀμήρους διατρέφουσιν, ἔχοντες ἰδίους καὶ τραπεζοποιούς καὶ μαγείρους καὶ πάντας τοὺς παρασκευάζοντας τὰ τῆς τραπέζης

So the *mageiroi* and *trapezopoioi*, butlers, or serving staff (ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης) mentioned undoubtedly worked together. It is worth noting the continuation of this custom when later, probably in the eleventh or twelfth century, Saint Daniel, a cook from the ‘castle of Patras’, is described as entertaining passers-by⁵³. The saint’s name is not random and refers probably to Danelis, who offered dinner to the future Emperor Basil when he was in Patras, as mentioned above.

Turning now to the search for the evidence of female cooks, women’s roles are seldom described in detail regarding their involvement in food preparation. This may be because such activities were part of the day-to-day in the organisation and economy of the family were obvious and ordinary – an almost banal occupation. Nonetheless, unlike men, women are never called *mageiros*⁵⁴ even though the verb *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) is used for women who cook. It is thus a challenge to investigate the reasons of this lack of a term for their occupation, which is described periphrastically. One of the few sources referring to this activity in a specific way is John Chrysostom, when discussing the pious women engaged in charitable deeds; he notes that these women wash the feet of the poor and the suffering and many even cook for them, *mageireuousin*, an act considered extremely degrading and extreme humble⁵⁵.

Some women in large noble families and businesses supervise the cooks and guide them, but their occupation does not have a name. A special case is that of the women in the family of Theodore of Sykeon who run the family’s inn business in Galatia, Asia Minor, during the sixth century – initially an inn and brothel according to the *Life of Theodore*. The women most certainly assist the pious and faithful Christian cook Stephanos to make the ‘well-prepared foods (ἐργαστὰ βρώματα)’ but no one is described as a cook. By one interpretation,

the brothel with his cook transformed into an inn, the first Christian restaurant, a Christian enterprise (*ergastērion*) that constitutes a landmark in gastronomic history⁵⁶.

βρώματα. See also Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, Α. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Μια περίπτωση εφαρμογής του βυζαντινού θεσμού του ασύλου στην Πελοπόννησο: Η προσφυγή των Σλάβων στο ναό του αγίου Ανδρέα Πατρών*, Συμ 14, 2001, p. 40–41.

⁵³ Π.Β. ΠΑΣΧΟΣ, *Άγνωστοι ἄγιοι τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, ΕΕΣΜ 6, 1990, p. 263–264, 279–280; Ι. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 58.

⁵⁴ Ε. ΜΑΡΤΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα γυναικών στο Βυζάντιο: συμβολή στη μελέτη για τη θέση της γυναίκας στη βυζαντινή κοινωνία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2000, [Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται, 29], p. 235–236.

⁵⁵ ΙΟΑΝΝΗΣ CHRYSOSTOMOS, *In epistulam ad Ephesios (Homiliae 1–24)*, Cap. 4, Homilia 13.100, [in:] PG, vol. LXII, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1860, col. 98: τὰς κλίνας βαστάζουσαι, τοὺς πόδας νίπτουσαι πολλαὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ μαγειρεύουσι.

⁵⁶ *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, 5, vol. I, *Texte grec*, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, Bruxelles 1970 [= SHa, 48], p. 5–6; A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts...*, p. 195–196; IDEM, *Flavours of Byzantium...*, p. 99; Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τροφικές δηλητηριάσεις στο Βυζάντιο. Διατροφικές αντιλήψεις και συμπεριφορές, 6^{ος}–11^{ος} αι.*, [in:] *Βυζαντινών Διατροφή και Μαγειρεία...*, p. 65–70; Ι. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 43–48, 58–59.

In the ninth-century *Life of Philaretos* it is the woman who cooks ‘pure, flawless foods (ἐδέσματα σπαστρικά)’ and sarcastically addresses her husband who has squandered his fortune, saying: *the way you have run your house you have not left a single hen to me; now you can prepare, mageireue (μαγειρεύε) wild plants*⁵⁷. In *Syntipas*, in the eleventh to twelfth century, a farmer’s wife cooks meat or fish, *mageireuei (μαγειρεύει)* and takes the cooked food, the *magereuma*, in the pot (μαγέρευμα μετὰ τοῦ τζουκαλίου) to her husband who is ploughing the fields according to the retractatio⁵⁸. In *Ptochoprodromos*, the cobbler’s wife prepares various *mageiriai (μαγειρίαί)* meals at home – boiled or fried dishes with garlic – while in another family business, the wife of the butcher, *makellarēs*, who prepares the entrails, intestines, and roasts bellies, livers, and lungs, is called *mast-orissa* – maitresse/mistress of intestines (κυρά μαστόρισσα, κυρά χορδοκοιλίστρα), which means both ‘wife of the master butcher’ (*makellarēs*) as well as a skilled woman who shows dexterity in her job⁵⁹. This particular butcher’s wife appears to prepare soups and roast plaited gut strings or prepare sausages – culinary activities also reportedly performed by the wife of the Emperor Makellarēs, Leo-makellēs, mentioned earlier. In all these cases, while the woman prepares cooked food – *magereuma (μαγέρευμα)* or *mageireuei (μαγειρεύει)* – and her work is often described by related verbs, she is never called *mageiros*.

A digression here is both useful and interesting to present the various popular views surrounding *mageiros* and *mageireuō*, whose false etymology is erroneously associated with *magos* and *magic*⁶⁰ because the cook’s hand stirs ingredients in a pot to prepare dishes much like a witch, a sorceress or a sorcerer, and healer mixes potions⁶¹. *Mageiroi* are often held responsible for poisonings or believed to possess the secret of life, especially immortality, like the cooks of Alexander the Great who hid the discovery of immortal water and were duly punished⁶². Indeed, the cooks of

⁵⁷ *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices*, 405–406, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 2002 [= SBU, 8], p. 84 and English translation, p. 85: ἐδιοίκησας τὸν οἶκόν σου ὅτι οὐδὲ μίαν ὄρνιν κατέλιπές με, μαγειρεύε ἄρτι ἄγρια λάχανα.

⁵⁸ MICHAEL ANDREOPULUS, *Liber Syntipae*, 57.16–17; 68.11–13, ed. V. JERNSTEDT, P. NIKITIN, St. Petersburg 1912 [= MAISSP.SPHP, 11.1] and English translation MICHAEL ANDREOPOULOS, *The Byzantine Sinbad*, trans. J. BENEKER, C.A. GIBSON, Cambridge Mass.–London 2021 [= DOML, 67], p. 97: εἰς τὸ χωράφιον [...] ἐκόμισε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς φαγεῖν [...] ἢ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτοιμάσασα ἐψητὰ μαγειρεύματα καὶ ὄρνιθα καὶ μελίπυκτον ἔδεσμα.

⁵⁹ Πτωχοπρόδρομος, Poem Γ’, verses 127–132 and manuscripts P and K verses 273.28–43, ed. H. EIDENEIER, *Iraklion* 2012 [= NgrMA, 5] (cetera: *Ptochoprodromos*), p. 191–192. For *makelēs* – *kreōpōlis* (unattested), E. ΜΑΡΤΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 283.

⁶⁰ M. POLLAN, *Cooked. A Natural History of Transformation*, New York 2013, p. 4; R. SCHMITT, “Méconnaissance” *altiranischen Sprachgutes im Griechischen*, *Glo* 49, 1971, p. 107; B. HEMMERDINGER, *Noms communs grecs d’origine iranienne, d’Eschyle au grec moderne*, *Bsl* 30, 1969, p. 19.

⁶¹ Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τροφικές δηλητηριάσεις...*, p. 76–77, 82.

⁶² *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β*, II.39–41, p. 132–134; II.39, *Anhang A* [39], p. 198–200, ed. L. BERGSON, Stockholm 1965. See also *Database Chrysothemis* (under preparation) entry ἰχθὺς.

kings and heroes are punished for various reasons. In the later prose version of *Digenēs Akritēs*, one of Digenēs's cooks becomes angry, prompting Digenēs to punch him in the face, blinding the cook for life⁶³.

Magic potions also mention cooks and cooked food, and in fact the invocations summon a cook *mageras* (μάγερας) as *the lame horseman* upon his slave to kill three good sheep:

flay them, grill some of them and cook the rest [...]. Let there come the Lady, queen Sybilias, together with her people. Let them take their seats, eat, drink, and rejoice⁶⁴.

The sorcerer-*mageras* is a horseman or knight who always slaughters and grills, mainly meat on the spit over charcoal, while the female sorcerer (like Medea and Circe see below) boils and cooks food in various pots. There is a gender difference in both cooking methods and utensils. Knives and spits are the tools of the male cook, *mageiros*, who can be a horseman, while the woman who prepares food is usually associated with a pot or any deep and round cooking utensil (μαγειρικόν σκεῦος), but mainly with the hearth. Photios's *Lexikon* states that genitals are like a utensil or vessel *skeuos* (σκεῦος), while *Suda*, copying Artemidoros, writes that

a hearth and an oven are like a woman in that they take in things that are useful for life. And the fire within them is divined as the woman being pregnant; for the woman then becomes hotter⁶⁵.

There are numerous references, mainly by ecclesiastical writers, to a cooking utensil (σκεῦος μαγειρικόν) or vessel and feeble, weak/sickly vessel (σκεῦος, ἀσθενὲς σκεῦος) for a woman and her body. John of Damascus says: *Love and have intercourse with your own vessel* (σκεῦος) *that is to say, your own woman*⁶⁶.

⁶³ Δ. ΠΑΣΧΑΛΗΣ, *Οἱ δέκα λόγοι τοῦ Διγενεῦς Ἀκρίτου*, Λαο 9, 1926, p. 362–363.

⁶⁴ *The Magical Treatise of Solomon (Traité de Magie de Salomon)*, [in:] *Anecdota Atheniensia, et alia*, vol. I, ed. A. DELATTE, Liège–Paris 1827, p. 433.9–10; 433.15–21 and *The Magic Recipes (Recettes magiques)*, [in:] *Anecdota Atheniensia...*, p. 593.20–29 and English translation *The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia*, ed., trans. I. MARATHAKIS, Kuala Lumpur 2011, p. 183: νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ κοτζὸς καβαλλάρης ὁ μάγερας [...] νὰ τὰ γδάρῃς, ἄλλα κάμῃς ὀπτά, ἄλλα μαγερευτά [...] γιὰ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ κυρὰ βασιλίσσα ἡ Συμπιλία ὁμοῦ μὲ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς νὰ καθίση νὰ φᾶ, νὰ πῖνῃ, νὰ εὐφρανθοῦν.

⁶⁵ ΦΩΤΙΟΣ, *Lexikon*, letter sigma 303: Σκεῦος: τὸ αἰδοῖον; *Suda Lexicon*, letter kappa 1800: Κλίβανος: ἡ κάμινος, ἔστια. καὶ κλίβανος ἔοικε γυναικὶ διὰ τὸ δέχεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐχρηστα. πυρὸς δὲ εἰσι δεκτικά; ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*, II.10, p. 116.21–24 and English translation D.E. HARRIS-MCCOY, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica...*, p. 171. See also the relation of ash and hearth to female genitalia, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *The Loaves of the King and the Loaves of Cinderella. Byzantine Tales of Bread in Silk and in Ash*, [in:] ...come sa di sale lo pane altrui. Il pane di Matera e i pani del Mediterraneo, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Matera, 5–7 Settembre 2014*, ed. A. PELLETTIERI, Foggia 2014, p. 115–122.

⁶⁶ JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Against the Manichees*, 60.8–9, [in:] *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. IV, ed. P.B. KOTTER, Berlin 1981 [= PTS, 22], p. 379: ἀγαπήσαι καὶ μιγῆναι τὸ ἴδιον σκεῦος, του-

According to Ahmet's *Oneirokritikon*, if a man dreams about peeing in a foreign vessel (σκευός), then he will have intercourse with a strange woman; if the vessel in his dream is his, then he will have intercourse with his wife⁶⁷.

Evidently it was always the male cooks who were involved with all types of cooking activities, making boiled, roasted, grilled, spit-roast, and oven-cooked foods, but a hero, a knight, as in this invocation only grills or spit-roasts, leaving his servant to do the rest. Already in Homer, the prevalent view from antiquity onwards was that the heroes ate only roast meat, therefore their cook prepared solely roasted or spit-roasted meat. The topic is particularly significant and its Homeric dimension and criticism by the ancients and the Byzantines has been extensively studied. The theme of the man who mainly cooks and eats only roast meat, like the Homeric heroes, can be found in Byzantine texts referring to the horseman-hunter who either himself as the great cook (*mageiros*) in the term's initial meaning, slaughters, grills or roasts, or brings home the meat of animals he has hunted. The most typical example of the hunter-cook hero is found in Niketas Choniates's description of a mosaic adorning the houses built by Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185) and which most certainly followed an ancient artistic tradition of heroic and noble hunting and roasting meat. It depicts Andronikos himself hunting and, with the use of a Homeric expression (ὤπτῃσάν τε περιφραδέως Homer, *Iliad* 1.466), is described by Choniates as diligently roasting deer and boar meat from his hunt over the charcoal:

There were also scenes of rustic life, of tent dwellers, and of common feasting on game, with Andronikos cutting up deer meat or pieces of wild boar with his own hands and carefully roasting them over the fire⁶⁸.

τέστι τὴν ἰδίαν γυναικα. See also IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS, *In epistulam I ad Corinthios (Homiliae 1–30)*, [in:] PG, vol. LXI, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1862, col. 222.48–49: Ἄλλ' ἐννόησον ὅτι γυνή, τὸ ἀσθενὲς σκευός, σὺ δὲ ἀνήρ.

⁶⁷ *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, section 47, ed. F. DREXL, Leipzig 1925 [= BSGR] (cetera: ACHMET, *Oneirocriticon*), p. 30.19–21. Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι οὖρησεν ἐν σκεύει τινί, εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἴδιον τὸ σκευός, τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ συνουσιάσει εἰ δὲ ἀλλοτρίῳ, ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνουσιάσει. For urination in utensils symbolizing the birth of a child in Arabic dreambooks see M. ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΙ, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002 [= MMe, 36], p. 376–379.

⁶⁸ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pars 1, ed. I. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1975 [= CFHB.SBe, 11.1] (cetera: NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*), p. 333.54–57 and English translation, *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1984 [= BTT] (cetera: *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS), p. 184: καὶ βίος ἀγροικικὸς καὶ σκηνήτης καὶ ἐστίασις ἐκ τῶν θηρευόμενων σχέδιος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρόνικος μιστύλλων αὐτοχειρὶ κρέας ἐλάφειον ἢ κάπρου μονάζοντος καὶ ὀπτῶν περιφραδέως πυρὶ, καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα, ὅποσα τεκμηριάζειν ἔχουσι βίον ἀνδρὸς πεποιθότος ἐπὶ τόξῳ καὶ ῥομφαίᾳ.

According to Choniates, Andronikos in the manner of Homeric heroes, *preferred meats roasted over the fire, and thus no one ever saw him belch*⁶⁹. Plato believes that Homer in the *Iliad* never refers to his heroes as eating relishes (ἡδύσματα) or boiled or cooked meats and fish, only roasted meat. Continuing Plato's interpretation of Homer, Byzantine scholars considered roasted meat as the healthiest food, not causing a heavy stomach or belching. This is likely repeated by Choniates as he describes Andronikos roasting and eating meat, noting in fact that nobody ever saw him belch⁷⁰.

In another incident, again according to Choniates, Andronikos, in the role of punisher, thinks of impaling Georgios Dishypatos, of skewering him like a suckling pig and sending him to his wife:

and the latter threatened to have him impaled through and through on spits, roasted over charcoals, and then to be brought before his wife. And, indeed, the corpulent Dishypatos should have been spitted like a suckling pig, roasted, placed in some capacious I dare say, basket, and, as a delicacy, brought in before the members of his household and placed in front of his wife⁷¹.

Here, the hunter Andronikos with all the phallic equipment – knife, sword, spear, skewer – is also a cook and an avenger, as well as a woman's macabre provider. Another example from the many we have of male providers and hunters is that of Digenēs, who hunts and brings the game to his beloved. It is worth noting that, in another case, Choniates calls Emperor Alexios III the executioner and butcher of people or *mageiros* of men (μάγειρος ἀνθρώπων). Choniates, speaking more generally, also comments that someone could be like

⁶⁹ NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 351.61–62: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς ἥρωας μάλιστα τοῖς ὁποῖς προσέκειτο τῷ πυρὶ, ὄθεν οὐδ' ἐρυγάνοντά τις αὐτὸν θεάσατο and English translation, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, p. 193–194.

⁷⁰ For this interpretation of the Homeric roast meat by Eustathios of Thessaloniki and by Niketas Choniates, see G. LINDBERG, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios. The Theory of Ideas and its Application in the Commentaries of Eustathios on the Epics of Homer*, Lund 1977, p. 225; R. SAXEY, *The Homeric Metamorphoses of Andronikos I Komnenos*, [in:] *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. SIMPSON, S. EFTHYMIADIS, Geneva 2009, p. 121; E. CULLHED, *Achaean on Crusade*, [in:] *Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. F. PONTANI, V. KATSAROS, V. SARRIS, Berlin–New York 2017 [= TCL, 46], p. 287–288 and note 15; on the Homeric heroes' consumption of boiled meat see G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 23–25. See also references to ancient, Greek and Latin, gastronomic habits and perceptions in the description by Eustathios of Thessaloniki of a recipe of a stuffed bird, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *What is Plate and Cooking Pot...*, p. 211–227.

⁷¹ NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 312.13–18 and English translation, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, p. 173: καὶ ὀβελίσκοις ἐμπείραι διαμπερὲς μελετᾶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ὀπτηθέντα τῇ τούτου παρεισενγκεῖν γαμετῇ. καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ πιμελώδης Δισύπατος κατὰ δελφάκιον διαπειρόμενος καὶ πυρρακίζων τὴν ἐπιδερμίδα καὶ ὡς ὄψον ἐπὶ κανοῦ τιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς κατ' οἶκον εἰσαγόμενος καὶ τῇ ὀμυεντίδι προτιθέμενος.

a *mageiros*, a man who eviscerates, tears to pieces, slices people (ἐκχορδευτής τε καὶ μάγειρος)⁷².

Returning to the magic concoctions and foods in Byzantium, sorcerers and poisoners, but mainly witches are linked to the preparation of magical or poisoned foods. Emblematic witches, clearly only for scholars, were the drug-preparing, *pharmakos*–*pharmakourgos* or the sorceresses, witches, *pharmakis* (φαρμακός, φαρμακουργός or φαρμακίς), Circe and Medea – the former turning people into wild animals and the latter preparing magic potions that Byzantine commentaries on ancient texts, and especially *Lexica*, relate to *aphepsō* (ἀφέψω) – boiled down⁷³. Byzantine iconography, based on older models, depicts Medea cooking over a pot in which, according to the myth, the *pharmakis* is boiling a ram in potions and herbs to turn it into a lamb and thus persuade the daughters of Pelias to do the same to rejuvenate their elderly father⁷⁴. Medea is also credited with boiling off (ἀφέψησεν) Dionysos's nurses to make them young again, but as stated she did not succeed and killed them instead: *by boiling them she intended to turn old men to young; it seems, however, that she never made anyone younger, and that she killed the one she cooked*⁷⁵. This theme is exploited by the court poet Philes in a poem about Medea and the youth she offered with her medicines. The begging poem is probably addressed to Andronikos II Palaiologos (reign 1282–1328), and in it the poet asks the emperor to rejuvenate him with imperial benevolence like Medea⁷⁶.

Having mentioned all these cases, in a few selected sources such as the *Lives of Saints*, *Syntipas*, folk narrations, magic invocations, and poems like *Ptochoprodromos*, we should also note some texts influenced by the West, such as the fourteenth-century satirical poems by Stephanos Sachlikes, in which women, actually prostitutes (*politikes*, πολιτικές), supposedly form trade unions, frequent taverns, drink, become intoxicated, cook and eat – although a woman cook is never mentioned. Reference is made, of course, to the term *mastorissa* (μαστόρισσα), which, as in *Ptochoprodromos*, apart from the wife of the *mastoras* (butcher, cook), could

⁷² NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 548.9: μάγειρος ἀνθρώπων γινόμενος; NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Oration 8*, [in:] *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. I. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1972 [= CFHB.SBe, 3], p. 81.22–23: καὶ γίνη τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἀνεπαισθήτως ἐκχορδευτής τε καὶ μάγειρος.

⁷³ *Suda Lexicon*, letter alpha 3110; *Scholia in Equites (scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii)*, Prolegomena de comoedia 1321b, [in:] *Prolegomena de comoedia. Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, ed. D.M. JONES, N.G. WILSON, Groningen 1969 [= SchAr, 1.2].

⁷⁴ *Pseudo-Oppian's Cynegetica, Marcianus gr. 479*, ed. I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice, Codex Marcianus graecus Z 139. With 242 Illustrations*, Leiden 2004, 47r, fig. no 99.

⁷⁵ *Palaephati Περί ἀπίστων*, § 43, 64, ed. N. FESTA, Leipzig 1902 [= MGr, 3.2]: ἀφέψουσα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους νέους ἐποίηι, οὐδένα δὲ δεικνυται νέον ποιήσασα ὃν δὲ ἤψησε πάντως ἀπέκτεινε.

⁷⁶ PHILES MANUEL, *Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὅτε ἐζήτει τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς περὶ τὴν Μήδειαν οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ*, no 50, [in:] *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, ed. E. MILLER, Paris 1857, p. 91–93.

also mean the cunning one⁷⁷. There is also a reference, most likely influenced by the West, to the chief of cooks, *maïstora tōn mageirōn* (μαῖστορα τῶν μαγειρῶν) in Calabria⁷⁸.

One final and quite typical case is that of the noblewoman who cooks for the poor. According to Demetrios Pepagomenos, writing in 1433 the Monody for Cleofa Malatesta–Palaiologina, wife of Theodore II Palaiologos, Despot of the Morea, uses commonplaces about charity and humility that we saw previously mentioned by John Chrysostom about women who cook. Cleofa herself gathers wood, lights fires, and her hands do the work of cooks, of *mageiroi* (τὴν τῶν μαγειρῶν ἐνεργοῦσαι δουλείαν)⁷⁹. The woman in this case does the work of male cooks according to the text and at the same time engages in low-level, dirty work – proof of charity, philanthropy, and humility for a noblewoman. Besides, as we have seen, the Byzantines believed that the work of a cook (*mageireiou diakonia*, service, ministry of kitchen, μαγειρείου διακονία), is considered the worst only for those who do not know, but as service it is the best: *for the ignorant, it is considered as the least significant but for the knowledgeable, its importance by exercising it, is considered the greatest of all*⁸⁰.

III

The *Typika* (*Rules*) of female convents provide decisive evidence regarding the lack of references to a woman designated as *mageiros*, when in fact there are numerous feminised masculine nouns for women's occupations that correspond to the male titles. *Mageiros*, or any other cook name for a woman, does not appear in any text, whilst in male monasteries this job is frequently mentioned,

⁷⁷ STEPHANOS SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*, verse 309, [in:] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΣΑΧΛΙΚΗΣ, *Τὰ ποιήματα. Χρηστική ἔκδοσις με βάση καὶ τὰ τρία χειρόγραφα*, ed. Γ. ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΗΣ, Ν. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Αθήνα 2015 (cetera: SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*), p. 150; *Ptochoprodromos*, Poem Γ', 273.34 manuscript P, p. 191.

⁷⁸ *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina. Enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile (XI^e–XIV^e s.)*, no. 13.16–17, ed. A. GUILLOU, Palermo 1963 [= TMon, 8], p. 116.

⁷⁹ *Eine bisher unedierte Monodie auf Kleope Palaiologina von Demetrios Pepagomenos*, 142–146, ed. G. SCHMALZBAUER, JÖB 20, 1971, p. 227–228: Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν χείρας θρηνοῦσιν αἱ τῶν πενήτων γαστέρες, αἱ τοῦτο μόνον εἰργάζοντο διὰ βίου, τὸ πένητας τρέφειν οὐ λόγῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὡς ἐχρῆν δι' ἐτέρων τοιαύτη γε τῇ δεσποίνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν μαγειρῶν ἐνεργοῦσαι δουλείαν, συλλέγουσαι μὲν ὄθεν ἐχρῆν ξύλα καὶ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσαι, ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν πενήτων ὀπτοῦσαι τροφήν καὶ διαδιδούσαι τοῦτοις γε ὀσημέραι καὶ τρέφουσαι. See D.G. WRIGHT, *The Brides of 1420: Men Looking at Women's Bodies*, [in:] *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, ed. B. NEIL, L. GARLAND, London–New York 2016, p. 147–148 and in note 61, she wonders *But where did a Malatesta learn to cook?* Compare with *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737), see below note 85, and *Life of St. Eupraxia* (BHG 631m) note 86.

⁸⁰ *La vita di san Fantino il Giovane*, 6.3–6, ed. E. FOLLIERI, Brussels 1993 [= SHa, 77], p. 406: τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν κοινήν ἦτοι τοῦ μαγειρείου ἐχειρισθῆναι διακονίαν, ἥτις τοῖς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἐσχάτη πέφυκε, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ὕψος πρακτικῶς εἰδῶσι μείζων πάντων καθέστηκε.

according to the *Typika*. Were there no kitchens and cooking activities for women in these convents? Clearly there were and this service, which is unnamed apart from one special case that we shall discuss, is the work of women servants or those who have services like refectorian (*trapezaria*) or cellarer (*kellarea*). We have chosen therefore to cite for comparison examples from the *Typika* of male and female monasteries in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries with relatively short excerpts and their English translation (see Annex)⁸¹ in which the services and *diakoniai*, including that of cook, are highlighted in bold type.

However, we believe that before discussing the names of male and female services – and specifically the cooking activities and cooks mentioned in the *Typika* – a very brief overview of references to cooks and kitchens in the monasteries in general, according to *the Lives of Saints*, is essential. It should also be noted that Byzantine archaeology offers considerable information concerning monastic kitchens and refectories that is not included in this paper, which mainly discusses cooks and gender in Byzantium.

Perhaps here we should first reiterate the complete absence of references in the sources to the term and occupation of cook (*mageiros*) for nuns because cooking is always mentioned periphrastically when performed by them. As a nun's occupation, cooking is cited in very few cases but always as an activity and not a service that takes place in the *mageireion* or as a job similar to that of male *mageiroi*. In the fourth-fifth century, Palladius in his *Lausiac History* relates: a holy fool nun, a *salē* (σαλή),

was occupied with everything concerning the kitchen, *mageireion* (μαγειρείον), she was doing all sorts of services [...] cleaning up crumbs with a sponge and washing pots [...] inside, in the kitchen⁸².

In the *Life of Theodore of Edessa* in the eleventh century, an abbess is described as simply 'dealing with food'⁸³. In the *Life of Theodora of Thessaloniki* the nun cooking, *mageireuoussa* (μαγειρεύουσα) mentioned in the ninth-century original version in the *vita retractata* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries becomes she did the work done by male cooks, *mageiroi* (τὰ μαγείρων), while the remark in

⁸¹ *BMFD* especially on Founders' *Typika*, p. 1696–1716. See also the third part (*À la table des moines*) of the study of B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015 [= *CFM*, 46], p. 241–302.

⁸² PALLADIO, *La storia Lausiaca*, 34.4–5; 34.12–14; 34.33, ed. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Verona 1974 (cetera PALLADIOS, *The Lausiac History*), p. 162, 164: ἀνὰ τὸ μαγειρεῖον πᾶσαν ἔποιεи ὑπηρεσίαν [...] τὰς ψίχας σπογγίζουσα τῶν τραπεζῶν καὶ τὰς χύτρας περιπλύνουσα [...] ἔνδον ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ.

⁸³ *Житие иже во святых отца нашего Феодора, архиепископа Едесского*, § 64, ed. И.С. ПОМЯЛОВСКИЙ, Санкт-Петербург 1892, p. 63: Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐντολήν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ λαβοῦσαι ἐψητοῦ καὶ ἐλαίου μετέχειν [...] ἢ προσεστῶσα [...] παρεκάλεσε τροφῆς μνησθῆναι ὃ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντες τραπέζης.

the original, that she had never done this work before has been deleted⁸⁴. Anyway, the Saint *mageireuoussa* (μαγειρεύουσα) did the work done by male cooks (τὰ μαγεῖρων):

she performed by herself almost all the work of the convent: grinding grain, making bread with her own hands, and cooking (τὰ μαγεῖρων), the work of *mageiroi* which she had never done before. And in addition to this, she used to carry out another responsibility, going to the marketplace and somewhere far outside the city for the abundance of goods for sale; and she used to walk through the marketplace carrying a huge load of wood or something else on her shoulders. And sometimes she used to raise up her scapular and carry such things in it⁸⁵.

In Joannes Zonaras's *Life of St. Eupraxia*, Eupraxia is repeatedly described as being occupied with cooking, but she is never called a cook, i.e., as a woman *mageiros*: she is either 'occupied in the kitchen, *mageireion*' or 'cooking in the kitchen' or 'serving in the kitchen'⁸⁶. In the *Typikon* of Christ Philanthropos, a nun is mentioned as merely 'preparing food in her private cell'⁸⁷. We thus see in all these cases cooking is an activity and not a service and the verb *mageireuein*, without being completely avoided, is not preferred by the authors and the act of cooking is mentioned periphrastically and instead of slaughtering and cooking meat, *mageireuein* already means simply cooking, boiling, stewing, or any culinary activity involving the use of a pot.

Cooks and bakers were mainly the monks' manual workers in the monasteries, toiling laboriously at collecting wood for the hearth, washing utensils, and tending to the fire or the oven amidst ashes and smoke in a transient hell of heat and flames.

⁸⁴ *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1738) – *Das Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der Hl. Theodora von Thessalonich, nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios*, 23.9–12, ed. E. KURTZ, St. Petersburg 1902 [= MAISSP, VIII^e serie, 1], p. 14: διετέλει νῦν μὲν ἀλήθουσα καὶ ταῖς οικειαῖς χερσὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἐργαζομένη νῦν δὲ τὰ μαγεῖρων ἐπιδεικνυμένη, καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀναδεχομένη φροντίδα, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξιούσα καὶ φορτίον ξύλων δυσβάστακτον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρουσα.

⁸⁵ *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737) – *Ὁ Βίος τῆς Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας (Εἰσαγωγή κριτικὸ κείμενο-μετάφραση-σχόλια)*, 23.12–18, ed. Σ.Α. ΠΑΣΧΑΛΙΔΗΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991 [= KAM, 1], p. 112, English translation *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, trans. A.-M. TALBOT, Washington DC 1996 [= BSLT, 1], p. 184: καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου μόνη ἐπετέλει ὑπηρεσίαν· ἀλήθουσα, καὶ ταῖς οικειαῖς χερσὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἐργαζομένη, καὶ μαγειρεύουσα ἄπερ οὐδόλως αὐτῇ διεσπούδαστο πρότερον. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διωκονόμει φροντίδα, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξιούσα [...] καὶ μέγα φορτίον ξύλων ἢ τινων ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρουσα.

⁸⁶ IOANNES ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia* (BHG 631m) – *Τὸ ἀγιολογικὸ καὶ ὁμιλητικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἰωάννη Ζωναρά*, 20, p. 516.260–261, 25, 518.337, 27, 518.355–356, 36, 521.456–457, ed. Ἐ. ΚΑΛΤΣΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ, Θεσσαλονίκη 2013 [= BKM, 60] (cetera: ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia*): [...] ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ [...] ὑπηρετήσεν οἱ καὶ ξύλα κλῶσα, ἐπὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἐκόμιζε οἱ περὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἀσχολουμένη, οἱ ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ ἐψούσης αὐτῆς.

⁸⁷ *Bruchstücke zweier typikā kητητορικά*, ed. Ph. MEYER, BZ 4, 1895 (cetera: *Typikon of Philanthropos*), p. 48–49.27: ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κελλίῳ ὄψα ποιοῦσα. See also the translated excerpts of some *Typika* in the Annex.

The cooks were often novices on probation or chosen from among the servants and those assigned to the church (δουλευταί, ἀφωρισμένοι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ)⁸⁸. Along with the cellarer (*kellaritēs*) and the refectorian (*trapezarios*), the cooks were answerable to the abbot regarding supplies, materials, carelessness, and waste; they were subject to penalties (*epitimia*); the special penances imposed on cellarers and cooks can be found in various monastery documents, specifically in the *Epitimia* of Theodore Studites for his monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople⁸⁹. In many hagiographic texts, abbots and cooks are blamed for the inordinate and excessive amount of food prepared, for the improper use and breakage of cooking utensils, whose shards were hung round the cooks' necks by the abbots as punishment⁹⁰. The abbots were blamed for their special treatment in terms of food and the quality of the food, with cooks naturally indirectly investigated by their fellow monks for the watery and tasteless food they were served, for too much or too little oil, and the green poison (*ios*) floating in the soup, which was probably cooked in a copper cauldron⁹¹, as well as the non-existent or damaged, as they comment, fish burnt in the fire⁹². There are reports of protests concerning the timely supply of basic types of wine, oil, pulses, as well as competition in the quality of food preparation, such as that of fish sauce, *garum*⁹³. But there are also monk-cooks who, in a play on words, declare their humility and lack of interest in becoming bishops (*episkopos*, ἐπίσκοπος) as they are already *episkopos* in taking care (*episkopō*, ἐπισκοπῶ) of kitchens (*mageireia*, μαγειρεῖα), taverns, tables, vessels, and the pot when cooking and dressing the food by adding salt⁹⁴. Or like Euphrosynos, a humble peasant

⁸⁸ *Laudatio S. Pauli Junioris*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] *Der Latmos. Milet 3.1*, Berlin 1913, p. 138.11–12: ἔπειτα τούτω τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐγχειρίζει τοῦ μαγειρείου κατ' ἔθος τῶν εἰσαγομένων τοῖς ἀσκουμένοις πρὸς γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς. For cooks drawn from the ranks of servants, see in the Annex, *Tyrikon of Christ Pantokrator*: Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δουλευτῶν οὐκ ἀρτοποιοὶ καὶ κητωροὶ καὶ μάγειροι μόνον γενήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρεκκλησιάρχαι καὶ παροικονόμοι καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι. Ὁ μέντοι ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ οἱ σκευοφύλακες καὶ οἱ χαρτοφύλακες καὶ ὁ νοσοκόμος καὶ ὁ ξενοδόχος ἀπὸ (545) τῶν ἀφωρισμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

⁸⁹ D. ARNESANO, *Gli Epitimia...*, p. 25–30 and for *epitimia* of *opsopoi* § 27–32, p. 27.

⁹⁰ *Life of St. Nil of Rossano* (BHG 1370) – *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, § 7, § 28, ed. G. GIOVANELLI, Grottaferrata 1972, p. 53, 75; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Le manger et le boire dans la Vie de Saint Nil de Rossano: l'huile, le vin et la chère dans la Calabre Byzantine X^e–X^f siècles*, [in:] *Identità euro-mediterranea e paesaggi culturali del vino e dell'olio*, ed. A. PELETTIERI, Foggia 2014, p. 191–192; H. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τὰ ευτελή στη βυζαντινὴ τράπεζα καὶ διατροφή*, [in:] *Το Βυζάντιο χωρὶς λάμψη. Τὰ ταπεινά αντικείμενα καὶ ἡ χρῆσή τους στον καθημερινὸ βίον των Βυζαντινῶν*, ed. Α.Γ. ΓΙΑΓΚΑΚΗ, Α. ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αθήνα 2018, p. 333–334.

⁹¹ *Ptochoprodromos*, Poem Δ', verses 361–390, p. 218–220.

⁹² *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres X–XVI*, XV.60, ed. J.-C. GUY, Paris 2003 [= SC, 474], p. 324–326.

⁹³ *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, Vita B, 47, ed. J. NORET, Turnhout–Leuven 1982 [= CC.SG, 9], p. 183; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Le manger et le boire...*, p. 187.

⁹⁴ PALLADIOS, *The Lausiaca History*, 35.84–90, p. 174: Εἰς τὰ μαγειρεῖα, εἰς τὰ καπηλεῖα, εἰς τὰς τραπεζὰς, εἰς τὰ κεράμια· ἐπισκοπῶ [...] ὁμοίως ἐπισκοπῶ καὶ τὴν χύτραν, καὶ ἐὰν λείπη ἄλλας ἢ τι τῶν ἀρτυμάτων βάλλω καὶ ἀρτύω, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐσθίω. Αὕτη μοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπισκοπή· ἐχειροτόνησε γὰρ με ἡ γαστριμαργία.

who becomes a monk and serves in the monastery kitchen, unsuspecting of his holiness claims to visit paradise to supply his fellow monks with fragrant apples from Paradise and is sanctified⁹⁵; or a similar account of a monk preparing a bean soup in his cell with the help of a pleasant angel-*mageiros*, cook (ὁ ἥδὺς μάγειρος) watching over and seasoning it so it becomes a divinely-inspired dish⁹⁶.

All these monastic culinary stories feature the male cook, *mageiros*, in a leading role and we almost never come across a similar culinary anecdote spotlighting a woman. It is a world that is exclusively male, whether praised and sanctified or criticised and punished.

The only possible remaining place to search for information about women cooks is in the *Typika* of convents, but these are few and fragmentary⁹⁷. Is there any reference to a female cook in convents, where apart from a few cases all the services (*diakoniai*) are performed exclusively by women described by feminised masculine nouns? We believe that it is justified to submit, as useful digression within the article, this new female naming of services in convents, its comparative study with the male form (see Annex), as well as a table showing related feminised masculine nouns in the *Typika* and elsewhere.

The excerpts from the *Typika* (with the services⁹⁸ underlined) in the Annex reveal what we call the strange and unusual names of the feminised masculine nouns in convents. These are names that are not related to exclusively male professions or services like those performed by the priest, whose presence in female monasteries is necessary and obligatory because there are no female priests. The same is true for stewards (usually eunuchs or old men), or physicians – although in the Pantanassa Holy Convent in Vaionia and the Bebaia Elpis there are female stewards⁹⁹ who are mentioned without feminised masculine nouns. After all, in a nunnery the priest could only be a man who officiated, *inevitably* as Galatariotou points out, but the physician and his assistants were also men¹⁰⁰. In both male or female monastic communities, references are made to male stewards, physicians,

⁹⁵ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi)*, Septembris 11, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1902 (repr. 1985) [= AASS, 62], col. 33/34.59, 35/36.52; F. HALKIN, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Bruxelles 1969 [= SHA, 65], no 628–628d, p. 71; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 59.

⁹⁶ *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, 15, vol. II, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995 [= SBU, 4.2], 932, p. 74, 955–971, p. 76, English translation, p. 75, 77; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Delicacies*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights...*, p. 96–98.

⁹⁷ C. GALATARIOTOU, *Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Typika*, JÖB 38, 1988, p. 263–290. See also the previous bibliography by L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?": *Family Life in Byzantine Monasteries*, [in:] *Questions of Gender...*, p. 29–55.

⁹⁸ On diaconia, see P. MAGDALINO, *Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople*, [in:] *Church and People in Byzantium. Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester 1986*, ed. R. MORRIS, Birmingham 1990, p. 165–188; B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres...*, p. 223–238.

⁹⁹ E. ΜΑΡΤΑΦΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁰ C. GALATARIOTOU, *Byzantine Women's Monastic...*, p. 286.

and eunuch priests, especially in convents (καὶ ἱερέας εἶναι δεῖ περὶ τὴν μονὴν δύο, μοναχούς, εὐνούχους, *Typikon* of Kecharitomene). In all *Typika* the service of *mageiros*, however, is exclusively for men and mentioned only in male monasteries, with one interesting exception: the Lips Convent to which we shall refer below in greater detail. However, some *Typika* which, like Heliou Bomon, copy other *Typika* that do mention a cook, omit the reference to the *mageiros*¹⁰¹.

Administrative services in convents, such as the service of steward, are staffed only by men or eunuchs, and the Lips Convent is the only female monastery where reference is made to a male cook who is not inside the convent but at the newly built hospital hostel adjacent to it. Physicians, nurses, pharmacists, male phlebotomists, *poimentarioi* (π(ο)υμεντάριοι), and a male cook are allowed in this hostel. Thus, while a male presence is totally forbidden in the convent itself, it is allowed a male cook in the hostel, perhaps because this is of little interest to the *Typikon* and to the founder who wrote it, as scholars have observed obviously because it is a hospital next to the convent, where even the nuns' confessor can exceed a stay of three days. It is precisely here, in the relatively detached hostel (*xenōn*, ξενών¹⁰²), the hospital, where we find the only reference in a *Typikon* to the presence of a *mageiros*, a male cook, in a convent compound. In addition, the presence of males is totally forbidden in Kecharitomene and Lips Convents, where even chanters are expressly forbidden inside the church due to the potential for contact with the nuns¹⁰³. Let it be noted that according to the very short extract that survives from the *Typikon* of the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople dating back to c. 1345, the nuns share a common refectory and common kitchen (*mageireion*,

¹⁰¹ Although convent *Typika* omit the reference to a *mageiros* there are mentions to a *mageireion* (kitchen) and *mageireuta* or *mageiria* (cooked dish), obviously prepared by an existing common female cook, see below Annex.

¹⁰² For a male innkeeper (*xenodochos*, ξενοδόχος) see below in Annex the *Typikon* for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople. A female counterpart, *xenodochissa* (ξενοδόχισσα), is not mentioned in the *Typika* probably due to the lack of such service in the nunneries, but the term is repeated many times in the Roman *Livistros and Rodamne*, and in *Scholia in Aristophanes*, meaning female innkeeper, see *Livistros and Rodamne*, line 2862, p. 223, line 3083, p. 229, *passim*, ed. T. LENDARI, Athens 2007 [= BNB, 10]; *Scholia in Plutum*, 114bm p. 22. scholion plut verse 426 line 1, [in:] *Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas, Ranas, Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, ed. M. CHANTRY, Groningen 2001 [= *SchAr*, 3.1b]: πανδοκεύτριαν, ξενοδόχον, ξενοδόχισσαν, καπήλισσαν.

¹⁰³ See below Annex, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné*, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 43, 1985 (cetera: *Typikon of Kecharitomene*): (75) οε' lines 1959–1963, Περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ψάλτας συγκαλείσθαι ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἀλλ' ἄβατον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτοις τὴν μονὴν. Ἄνδράσι δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σεμνεῖον τοῦτο εἰσελευσιν, ὡς ἡδὴ δεδήλωται, παντοίως ἀπαγορεύουσα, οὐδὲ ψάλτας ἐν ἡμέρα τυχὸν ἑορτῆς εἶτε μνημοσύνων εἰσερχεσθαι ὄλωσ βούλομαι ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ;. (39) νζ', 1571–1572: τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ τινα ἰατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνούχον ἢ γηραιόν. Also in *Typikon of Lips*, ιστ' (16).1–4, [in:] *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLC, SS, 8] (cetera: *Typikon of Lips*), p. 128: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψάλτας συγκαλεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ. Ψαλτωδούς δὲ τοὺς οὐτωσί πως καλλιφῶνους καλουμένους ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐπιχωριάζειν διακελεύομαι.

κοινήν ἔχειν τράπεζαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν μαγειρεῖον), and nuns are punished for preparing food in their private cells (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κελλιῷ ὄψα ποιοῦσα). In this case, a common kitchen and a common cook or cooks, surely nuns, existed but there is no title for those performing these tasks or even a mention of such a service in contrast to what happens in the *Typika* of the male monasteries. It is worth noting that the convents of Kecharitomene and Philanthropos were double monasteries, an ancient institution that reappeared in the twelfth century, each with separate male and female sections, built adjacent to each other and coexisting under a single superior¹⁰⁴, probably with their respective cooks, male and female, independently preparing food.

From the list of services in the Annex excerpts, it can also be seen that according to *Typika*, while most services and duties in female monasteries are cited with the female equivalent of the male, *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα female cook) from *mageiros* is never mentioned unlike the female forms of corresponding male names such as σκευοφυλάκισσα, χαρτοφυλάκισσα, ἐκκλησιάρχισσα and παρεκκλησιάρχισσα, οἰκονόμισσα, ὑπουργισσα, ἐπιστημονάρχισσα, and by analogy to βασιλεύς-βασιλίσα, αὐτοκράτωρ-αὐτοκρατόρισσα, σεβαστοκράτωρ-σεβαστοκρατόρισσα, ἄρχων-ἀρχόντισσα, ἱερεὺς-ἱερίσσα¹⁰⁵.

For some services the existing masculine noun is used also by the *Typika* of the nunneries – an appellation belonging to both genders but determined by the article

¹⁰⁴ A.-M. TALBOT, *Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries*, DOP 52, 1998, p. 118–119; E. MITSIOU, *Frauen als Gründerinnen von Doppelklöstern im byzantinischen Reich*, [in:] *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. L. THEIS, M. MULLETT, M. GRÜNBART, G. FINGAROVA, M. SAVAGE, Vienna 2011–2012 (= WJK 60/61), p. 333–343.

¹⁰⁵ See also the names of officials' wives in the 9th–10th centuries, CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, 49, vol. II, *Livre I, chapitres 47–92 et 105–106*, ed. B. FLUSIN, trans. G. DAGRON, *Livre I, chapitres 93–104*, ed., trans. D. FEISSEL, coll. M. STAVROU, Paris 2020 [= *CFHB*, 52.2], p. 23–25 with French translation: ΜΘ' (Μ') Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ἐπὶ στεψίμῳ Αὐγούστης [...] Καὶ εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται τὸ σέκρετον τῶν γυναικῶν· βῆλον α', αἱ ζωσταί· βῆλον β', αἱ πατρικία· βῆλον γ', αἱ πρωτοσπαθάρια καὶ σπαθάρια· βῆλον δ', ὑπάτισσαι· βῆλον ε', στρατώρισσαι· βῆλον ς', κομήτισσαι, κανδιδάτισσαι· βῆλον ζ', σκριβώνισσαι, δομεστικίσσαι· βῆλον η', βεστητήρισσαι, σιλεντιάρισσαι· βῆλον θ', μανδατώρισσαι βασιλικάι, κομήτισσαι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, τῶν ἱκανάτων· βῆλον ι', τριβούνισσαι, κομήτισσαι πλοίμων· βῆλον ια', προτικτώρισσαι, κεντάρχισσαι. Εἰσέρχονται κατὰ τάξιν, προσκυνοῦσαι τὰ δύο γόνατα τῶν δεσποτῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς αὐγούστης. For more, see E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, a very useful study on names and titles of women in the hierarchy of the court, Church, and on the public and life in Byzantium. On the female occupational designations, being 'terms real or phantom', see J. DIETHART, *Weitere Berufsbezeichnungen auf -πώλης, -πῶλος, -ὀπωλις sowie auf -πράτης und -πράτισσα aus byzantinische Zeit*, *MBAH* 24.2, 2005, p. 193–212. See also IDEM, "Der mit den Hamsterbacken". *Lexicographica Byzantina*, [in:] *Byzantinische Sprachkunst...*, p. 35–48; IDEM, *Von Stinkern und Seelenverkäufern. Einige metaphorische Berufsbezeichnungen auf -πώλης, -πράτης und anderes im klassischen und byzantinischen Griechisch*, *MG* 8, 2008, p. 145–157. In contrast there is no name for the women or daughters who inherited an economic privilege like a *pronoia*, from their husbands or fathers the *pronoiaroi*, T. MANIATH-KOKKINΗ, *Γυναίκα καὶ ἀνδρικό οἰκονομικὰ προνόμια*, [in:] *Κλητόριον in Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. ΦΛ. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΑΤΟΥ-ΝΟΤΑΡΑ, T. MANIATH-KOKKINΗ, Αθήνα–Θεσσαλονίκη 2005/2006, p. 403–470.

preceding the nouns, for example the female gatekeeper (ἡ θυρωρός, ἡ πυλωρός, ἡ φρουρός, see Annex)¹⁰⁶. The same is true for the steward, *oikonomos* (οἰκονόμος), which in the *Typika* is used for both women and men; in some nunneries the gender is not clear and some studies may wrongly identify them as men or women. This is also found in other texts such as *Lives of Saints* with reference to monastic services, for example at a convent in Asia Minor's Latros¹⁰⁷. The feminised title of *oikonomos*, *oikonomissa* (οἰκονόμισσα), is rarely used and not confirmed in the *Typika*¹⁰⁸; nor is *deuteraria oikonomissa* (δευτεραρία οἰκονόμισσα)¹⁰⁹. Of particular interest are duties with names such as the female refectorian, *trapezaria* (τραπεζαρία < τραπέζαριος), and *epitrapezaina* (ἐπιτραπέζαινα < ἐπὶ τραπέζης)¹¹⁰, and the female wine steward or wine-pourer, *oinochoē* (οἰνοχόη < οἰνοχόος), when the word *oinochoē*, apart from a vessel for taking wine, denotes – albeit rarely – a service meaning the woman who pours the wine (female cupbearer) and is mentioned by Septuagint (Eccle, 2: 8) and later in the fourteenth century by Stephanos Sgouropoulos¹¹¹. Several female job titles created from male ones (see list below), such as the female work organiser, *ergodotria* (ἐργοδότρια), female trader, *pragmateutria* (πραγματεύτρια), female archivist, *chartophylakissa* (χαρτοφυλάκισσα), female provider, *hōreiaria* (ὠρειαρία), female disciplinary official, and *epistēmonarchissa* (ἐπιστημονάρχισσα) are all hapaxes or only mentioned in the *Typika* of convents¹¹². By contrast, *hypourgissa*, female assistant (ὑπούργισσα), is found

¹⁰⁶ *Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonia en Crète (1400)*, ed. S. PÉTRIDÈS, *ΙΡΑΙΚ* 15, 1911, p. 108.8–10, but this is a special case because a cell was built at the outer gate of the convent courtyard, where in the post of *thyroros* two pious and trustworthy elderly women lived to guard the gate.

¹⁰⁷ *Vita S. Nicephori*, 25, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] *Der Latmos. Milet 3.1...* (cetera: *Life of St. Nikephoros of Latros*), p. 168.29–31, where mention is also made of a feminised name of cellarer, a nun *kellaritis*. Two nuns *oikonomos* are mentioned in *Typikon of Nil Damilas*, ed. S. PÉTRIDÈS, p. 108–109. On the gender of *oikonomos* in some nunneries, see objections and relevant bibliography E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 239 and notes 17, 24.

¹⁰⁸ For *oikonomissa*, see *Νέον Μητερικόν. Άγνωστα και ανέκδοτα πατερικά και άσκητικά κείμενα περι τιμών και άγιών Γυναικῶν*, section 16 line 63, ed. Π.Β. ΠΑΣΧΟΣ, Αθήναι 1990. E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 208 mentions also a δευτερεύσα the wife of a priest and δευτερεύοντος. In addition, in a letter Psellos mentions a rural service δευτερία, MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Epistulae*, no. 221.4, vol. I–II, ed. S. ΠΑΡΑΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ, Berlin–Boston 2019 [= BSGR], p. 588: ὑπηρεσίαν χωριτικὴν (δευτερίαν οὗτοί φασι ταύτην).

¹⁰⁹ See E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 184–188 and in addition the late *Porikologos*, *Porikologos. Einleitung, kritische Ausgabe aller Versionen, Übersetzung, Textvergleiche, Glossar, kurze Betrachtungen zu den fremdsprachlichen Versionen des Werks sowie zum Opsarologos*, redactio A Line 46, ed. H. WINTERWERB, Cologne 1992 [= NgrMA, 7], p. 140.

¹¹⁰ E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 107–108 (ἐπιτραπέζαινα), 250, 234, 183, 197, 266 (τραπεζαρία); J. DIETHART, “*Der mit den Hamsterbacken*”..., p. 39–40.

¹¹¹ Τ. ΠΑΠΑΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΔΗ, *Άνέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου*, *ΑΠο* 19, 1954, p. 262–282; E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 241.

¹¹² *Ergodotria* looks colloquial, like *pragmateutria* and perhaps *diakonētria*, deaconess, from the corresponding masculine nouns, while *ergatēs* (ἐργάτης) gives the most often in scholarly texts female

in *Typika* and used for duties in both male and female monasteries (Pantokratoros and Kecharitomene); *iatraina*, female doctor (ιάτραινα), is also a hapax found only in the *Typikon* of the male monastery of Pantokratoros, yet frequently appears in sources and inscriptions as *iatrina* or *iatrinē*, *archieiatrēna* (ιατρίνα, ιατρίνη, ἀρχιειάτρηνα)¹¹³. Lastly, *diakonētēs–diakonētria* (διακονητής–διακονήτρια), which essentially means male and female servants or assistants, are widely used but mainly in *Typika* and could pertain to monks and nuns or laymen working in the monasteries¹¹⁴.

In some cases, the title sounds strange or is probably not commonly known or widespread and is accompanied by the clarification: ‘and so we are used to calling her *kellaritin*’¹¹⁵ or ‘she will also be called the *docheiaria*’¹¹⁶ or ‘it is customary to call these the *docheiaria* and the *skeuophylakissa*’¹¹⁷ or the nun ‘whom we call the *pylōros*’¹¹⁸. In all likelihood the strangeness of these new female nouns for monastic duties, some of which are hapaxes, led to their being abandoned in a *Typikon* of the fourteenth century and a different, periphrastic wording was proposed – a change that as far as we know has not been detected to date. The *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the female monastery of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople, dated 1327–1352, instead of using feminised nouns describes duties periphrastically: for example, the nun in charge of the convent is called the nun keeper or supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion* and not *ekklēsiarchissa* as in the *Typika* of other female monasteries; the nun of stewardship as *koinēs oikonomias* and not *oikonomos* or *oikonomissa*; the nun responsible for the communal

ergatis (ἐργάτις) like *kellaritis* (κελλαρίτις). See also the hapax *kritria* (κρίτρια), fortune teller, used by BALSAMON, *Syntagma – Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμεων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων*, vol. IV, ed. M. ΠΟΤΑΗΣ, Γ.Α. ΡΑΛΛΗΣ, Ἀθήναι 1854, 232 (see Ch. MESSIS, *Le corpus nomocanonique oriental et ses scholastes du XI^e siècle. Les commentaires sur le concile in Trullo (691–692)*, Paris 2020 [= DByz, 18.1], p. 364–371), and the vernacular hapax *kritra* and *kritharistra* (κρίτρα, κριθαρίστρα) fortune teller, SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*, verses 136–137, p. 144. Margarou commenting on the following feminised nouns, notes that these are mentioned only by the *Typika* and some even only in the *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 224–226 (ἐπιστημονάρχισσα, ἐργοδότρια), 249 (χαρτοφυλάκισσα), 254 (ὠρειαρία), 299–300 (πραγματεύτρια).

¹¹³ E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 197–198, 223–226, 256–257, 271–274; K. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Η γυναικία στη Μέση Βυζαντινή εποχή. Κοινωνικά πρότυπα καὶ καθημερινός βίος στα αγιολογικά κείμενα*, Ἀθήνα 2005, p. 287–293.

¹¹⁴ On these female services, see E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 208–210 (διακονήτρια), 250–251 (ὑπούργισσα), 273–277 (ιάτραινα, ιατρίνη).

¹¹⁵ *Life of St. Nikephoros of Latros*, p. 168.31: Οὕτω γὰρ εἰώθει κελλαρίτιν ταύτην ἀποκαλεῖν.

¹¹⁶ *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 883; 887–888 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 682: Περί τῆς τῶν δοχειαριῶν διακονίας [...] καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ δοχειαρία ὀνομασθήσεται.

¹¹⁷ *Typikon of Lips*, 12.17, and English translation *BMFD*, p. 1272: δοχειαρίαν σύννηθες αὐτὰς καλεῖν καὶ σκευοφυλάκισσαν.

¹¹⁸ *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 1018–1019 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 684: ἦν καὶ πλωρὸν ὀνομάζομεν.

storeroom as of *koinou docheiou* and not *docheiaria*; and the nun responsible of the cellar as *kellariou* and not *kellarea* or *kellaritis*. Only once is the noun of convent guard and gatekeeper used with the feminine article *phrouros* and *pylōros*¹¹⁹. This periphrastic designation of the services, most certainly the work of the author of the *Typikon*, does not mean that the nuns did not use the known female nouns. Unfortunately, this very important difference is not transferred to the translation of the *Typikon* (see Annex) and the feminised titles that each duty bears in other *Typika* were used in the text – for example *ekklēsiarchissa*, instead of the supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion*¹²⁰.

In various studies of the *Typikon* in question, the feminised name of duties known in the other *Typika* is used rather than their periphrastic designation, creating a false picture of titles like *ekklēsiarchissa*¹²¹, which is never mentioned in the *Typikon* in question but only as keeper or supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion* (ἡ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαρχείου ἐπιστάτις τε καὶ διάκονος ὁρ εἰς τὸ ἐξάρχειν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν). However, this differentiation, if not more conservative or purist in style or even more respectful of the older male monasteries' *Typika*, may be significant with regard to the acceptance or rejection of feminised nouns by this *Typikon*'s author, Theodora Synadene, who is considered 'the most authoritarian' of all female founders¹²². It has even been argued that the frequent reading by all nuns in the convent of this particular *Typikon* is a *gendered reading enjoined upon the nuns* and together with *reading of the Lives of female saints reinforced the gendered ideology*¹²³. However, with the exception of the positive reference of the *Typikon* to the female founder, we now see in it more a negative gender ideology with adverse implications for women when the *Typikon* abandons the feminised nouns and *repeatedly reminds the nuns of the inherent weakness of their sex* and continues doing through the Late Byzantine years in a different way with the perception of *infirmetas sexus-velleianum* (Βελλιάνειον δόγμα) for women¹²⁴. Moreover, it has been argued that in Late Byzantium *women's donations, sales, foundations and patronage are structurally identical to those practised by men*¹²⁵. And when *the positive characteristics possessed by these imperial women are*

¹¹⁹ *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, (13) ιγ', [in:] *Deux typica byzantins...* (cetera: *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*), p. 59.11: Τίς ἡ φρουρὸς τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ πυλωρὸς.

¹²⁰ Translator A.-M. TALBOT, [in:] *BMFD*, p. 1522–1568 and *ecclesiarchissa*, p. 1522, 1537.

¹²¹ L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 46–47. Something similar is found in other studies where modern terms are adopted or terms from other sources irrelevant to the text studied, see *mageirissa*, E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 235–236.

¹²² L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 41.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

¹²⁴ C. GALATARIOΤΟΥ, *Byzantine Women's Monastic...*, p. 289. See also H. SARADI-MENDELIVICI, *A Contribution to the Study of the Byzantine Notarial Formulas: The Infirmetas Sexus of Women and the sc. Velleianum*, BZ 83, 1990, p. 72–90; K. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, E. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ, *Οἱ ἀντιλήψεις τῶν Βυζαντινῶν γιὰ τὴν ἀσκηση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ γυναῖκες (780–1056)*, Σύμ 13, 1999, p. 49–67.

¹²⁵ D. ΣΤΑΘΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, 'I seek not my own': *Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?*, [in:] *Female Founders in Byzantium...*, p. 396.

*masculinised*¹²⁶ in combination with the peculiarity of this *Typikon*, we believe it is evidence, if not of its negative gendered ideology, then at least of a form of expected inequality and discrimination faced by women during this period.

Feminised (f.) masculine (m.) nouns of monastic services and occupations
(BMFD translations but not their transliteration)

chartophylax, m., *chartophylakissa*, f., archivist
diakonētēs, m., *diakonētria*, f., church or convent official
docheiarios, m., *docheiaria*, f., cellarer, see also *kellaritēs*
ekklēsiarchos, m., *ekklēsiarchissa*, f., ecclesiarch, responsible for the church
 (*parekklēsiarchēs*, m., *parekklēsiarchissa*, f., *synekklēsiarchissa*, f., assistant ecclesiarch)
epistēmonarchēs, m., *epistēmonarchissa*, f., disciplinary official
ergodotēs, m., *ergodotria*, f., work organiser
hypourgios, m., *hypourgissa*, f., assistant
hōreiaros, m., *hōreiaria*, f., provider, provisioner
iatros, m., *iatraina*, f., doctor
kellaritēs, m., *kellaritis*, *kellarea*, f., cellarer
 (*parakellaritēs*, m., assistant cellarer)
oinochoos, m., *oinochoē*, f., the wine steward, wine-pourer
skeuophylax, m., *skeuophylakissa*, f., sacristan
trapezarios, m., *trapezaria*, f., refectorian
pragmateutēs, m., *pragmateutria*, f., trader, businessman, businesswoman

How can one explain the fact that in convents, where this plethora of feminised masculine nouns are used, no feminised noun from *mageiros* or *opsopoios* is ever mentioned and the same throughout Byzantine literature? Did the *mageiros*, regardless of whether the meaning is now simply that of cook, continue as a title and a service closely, inextricably linked to the masculinity of the butcher and therefore to be avoided by female convents? If so, is the nun-cook, as any female cook, then preferably always periphrastically defined as a woman working, cooking in the kitchen, *mageireion*¹²⁷ or preparing food¹²⁸, the nun in the *diakonia*, in the service of the kitchen¹²⁹, and consequently never called cook (*mageiros*) or by any other feminised form of this name as we have found to be the case with many other services in nunneries.

¹²⁶ L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 44.

¹²⁷ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ, PALLADIOS, *The Lausiak History*, 34.33, p. 164; περὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἀσχολουμένη, ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia*, 27, p. 518, 355–356.

¹²⁸ ὄψα ποιούσα, *Typikon of Philanthropos*, p. 49.4.

¹²⁹ ἥτις τῷ τοῦ μαγειρείου προσανέχει διακονήματι, *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, p. 58.10. Margarou comments on this excerpt in the entry μαγειρίσσα of her book, correctly stating that the term is not used by the Byzantines although she herself uses it in italics thus creating the false impression that it was in use. E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 235–236.

As can be seen in the convents, anything provocatively male or violent (let alone anything related to slaughterhouses and meat) had to be excluded; it was even preferred that the priest, physician, and steward were eunuchs and old men:

It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick and bringing means of healing appropriate to the diseases¹³⁰.

Consequently, the *mageiros*, whose knife and violent occupation and phallic status, as we saw above in Byzantine sources, could not be present in a convent even in a feminised masculine noun, and a male cook was only allowed in the hostel or hospital, alongside male priests and physicians. Furthermore, the word *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα) was impossible to use because it always referred to the slave, housekeeper, and concubine, a negative reference.

But maybe things are simpler. In all the monasteries, ecclesiastically speaking the cook was not one of the prominent, important services (*diakonia*), it was just a denigrated and underrated service, a practice of novices and other monks or laymen, and the cook was chosen from among the servants or from those assigned to the church (δουλεπτῶν and τῶν ἀφορισμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ). Did the Christian condemnation of gluttony and gastronomy and the avoidance of eating meat ultimately contribute to the cautiously limited use of the word *mageiros* always related to blood and gastronomical excess by some social groups such as monks? But even if this is the case, is what we have thus far mentioned enough, especially concerning the meaning and gendered character of *mageiros*, to explain the absence of the term and the service from nunneries? And why is also not the case for the male monasteries regarding the meaning of *mageiros* as butcher, slaughter of animals, given that the consumption of meat is also forbidden there? It is, however, highly indicative that in some cases already mentioned the use of *mageiros* is avoided, as for example by Theodoros Studites, while in some *Typica* only the term *opsopoios* is used¹³¹. Maybe the lack of mention of this service in the nunneries is just accidental? And if it could be argued that this peculiarity of not naming women cooks is only of the Greek-speaking world and its scholars, how can we explain the continuing difficulty in the Western world? Furthermore, how can we explain the fact that in Byzantine daily life, there is no word for a female cook and that in later years *magerissa* (μαγέρισσα) or *mageirisa* (μαγείρισα) refers to a cooking utensil¹³²?

¹³⁰ τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ τινα ἰατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνοῦχον ἢ γηραιόν, *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 1571–1572 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 696.

¹³¹ See note 29.

¹³² *Assizes of Jerusalem and Cyprus*, vol. VI, ed. K.N. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Venice 1877, p. 243.21, 494.20.

Perhaps we could conclude that the involvement with cooking (as a job related to slaughtering, skinning large animals, cutting and roasting their meat) was ultimately never a profession for women. The female cook was restricted to the home and the household cooking pot – a family occupation usually under the supervision of a man, husband, master or boss, and thus never named or promoted like the noun describing the male cook. Just as the pagan term priestess, *hiereia* (ἱέρεια), could not have existed in the Christian community, despite existing and being in wide use in antiquity and in the ancient religion, the same probably happened to the term for female *mageiros* which always carried the burden of his pagan sacrificial and exclusively masculine character. Even seeing herself as a priest in a dream (ἱερατεύειν or ἱερέυς) was considered a bad omen and believed to foretell great calamities. According to Artemidoros, a woman who dreamt she was a priest would be condemned to death, while according to Ahmet, the dream signalled that her husband would divorce her and that she would become a prostitute¹³³. It was, however, permissible for priest's wife to acquire the colloquial *papadia* (παπαδία) from her husband's profession, *paras* (παπάς) meaning religious father or, in the vernacular, simply priest. As previously noted, many women's appellations reflected their husband's profession or office, such as the general's wife (στρατήγισσα) and the same with priest's wife (παπαδία); a woman's name could also reflect her social status or a particular feature of her life, such as *gērokomitēsa* (γηροκομίτησα), the woman resident in a home for the elderly¹³⁴. Consequently, a woman could be addressed only in colloquial as a *papadia* (παπαδία), priest's, *papa's* wife, but never as *hiereus'* wife (ἱερέυς), *hiereia* (ἱέρεια). The same applied to the *mageiros'* wife, *mageirissa*, as both referred to pagan practices and mainly to female functions that did not officially exist in Byzantium. It is perhaps because of religious-sacrificial and social discriminatory reasons that a woman could not even dream of a profession that in life she was not allowed to practice or carry as a female noun derived from *hiereus* or *mageiros* terms however preserved only for men!

¹³³ ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*, II.30, p. 153.13–14: ἐὰν ὑπολάβῃ γυνὴ ἱερατεύειν ἢ ἄρχειν, θάνατον αὐτῇ προαγορεύει; ACHMET, *Oneirocriticon*, section 139, line 4: εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἑμαυτὴν ὡς ἱερέα (or ἐγένετο ἱερέυς). For this interpretation that appears in three Arabic dream-books and the "ultimate source of this probably Artemidoros" see M. MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation...*, p. 296–297.

¹³⁴ For παπαδία, *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, Appendice A 150.23 and 150.30 (γηροκομίτησα); *Actes d'Iviron III. De 1204 à 1328*, Document 75.180, Document 79.157, ed. V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, H. MÉTRÉVÉLI, N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D. ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΣΑΝΘΟΥ, Paris 1994 [= AAth, 18]. For στρατήγισσα, *Digenes Akrites (versio G)*, II, 26, 31; III, 282, IV, 59, 611, 602 *passim* – *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferata and Escorial Versions*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Cambridge 1998 [= CMC, 7].

In a male-dominated society some occupations and professions resisted – and to this day still resist – the creation and prevalence of their female version with the most typical examples being the official and professional *η μάγειρος* in Modern Greek, although commonly now called *mageirissa* (μαγείρισσα) and the French *chef*, which female French cooking professionals are frantically trying to institute, at least in writing, as *cheffe*¹³⁵.

Conclusion

The gendered history of the word *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and the occupation of cooking are ultimately very complex. For reasons of multiculturalism, primarily sexist and religious, the woman as a cook failed to obtain an equivalent title for her involvement with cooking to the appellation of the male cook, *mageiros*. And although the cook's resourceful mind has been considered equal to that of the poet since ancient times, in this particular case the creative imagination conjured by *mageiraina* and *mageirissa* did not help establish these nouns for women. It is said by Athenaios that *The cook, mageiros, and the poet are just alike: the art of each lies in his brain* (Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει· ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἔστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη)¹³⁶, but despite his creative and poetic mind, we find that for many centuries he failed to impose a name of female cook. The above saying itself even grammatically contains our conclusion as in the Greek language, creation/poetry (ποίησις) and art (τέχνη) are female yet both emanate according to the saying from the male mind (νοῦς) – and the mind of the male cook (μάγειρος) and male poet (ποιητής) alike are always dominant.

¹³⁵ V. FRÉDIANI, E. PAYANY, *Cheffes. 500 femmes qui font la différence dans les cuisines de France* (préface Anne-Sophie Pic), Paris 2019.

¹³⁶ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 13, vol. I, p. 16.6–7, quotes verses from Euphron, the New Comedy poet of the third century BC; H. ΔΟΗΜ, *Mageiros...*, p. 131.

Annex

Typika and gendered duties

The gendered name is written in bold in translations; where it is not clear, the *f. female* is added to indicate the use of female article in Greek original. In the Greek original, only references to the cook, *mageiros*, are in bold and the periphrastical names of services in the *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis. We use the translations with the transliteration from the *Typika* in the *BMFD* version except for the cases where we add transliterated Greek terms in parentheses.

Petritzonitissa. *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Backovo. Date: December 1083.

Βούλομαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μοναζόντων ἕως τοῦ πενήκοντα εἶναι, πρὸς οἷς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καθηγούμενον, (641) ἔστω ἐκ τούτων σκευοφύλαξ καὶ δοχειάριος, πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τὴν φροντίδα ἔχων καὶ τὴν διατήρησιν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν πανταχόθεν συναγομένων λογαρίων ἀπὸ παντοίων εἰσόδων τὴν δοχὴν ποιούμενος (669) [...]. Καὶ ἄλλος λυχνάπτης ἔστω, τῷ ἐκκλησιάρχῃ ὑπήκοος (671) [...]. Ἐτερος δὲ ἔστω κελλαρίτης, ὃς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι τανουτέρης ὀνομάζεται [...]. Ἐτερος δὲ ἔστω οἰνοχόος, ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ τὴν δουλείαν ταύτην ἐμφρόνως διαπρατόμενος. Ἄλλος δὲ ἔστω τραπεζάριος, τὴν τούτου τάξιν συνήθως ἀποπληρῶν [...]. **Ἄλλος δὲ ἔστω ἀρτοποιός, καὶ ἕτερος μάγειρος, καὶ ἄλλος πυλεωνάριος.** (695)

Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 42, 1984, p. 19–133.

I wish the number of the monks to be up to fifty and the superior to be in addition to them [...]. Out of this number of fifty-one, one is the superior [...]. Another of them should be **sacristan and treasurer/cellar** (*skeuophylax, docheiarios*), having the care and keeping of all the sacred treasures of the holy church, also controlling the receiving and paying out of money gathered from everywhere from all kinds of revenues [...]. Another should be a lamplighter, under the ecclesiarch (*ekklesiarchos*), dispensing the incense, the oil, the candles, the wine of the offering, and the flour from which the offering of bread is usually made [...]. Another should be a **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*), called *tanouteres* by the Georgians [...]. Another should be a **wine-steward** (*oinochoos*) carrying out this service prudently in the fear of God [...]. Another should be a **baker** (*artopoiios*) and another a **cook** (*mageiros*) and another a **gatekeeper** (*pyleēnarios*), each of these carrying out his service prudently, carefully and with pious diligence.

Pantokrator. *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople. Date: October 1136.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δουλευτῶν οὐκ ἀρτοποιοὶ καὶ κηρωροὶ **καὶ μάγειροι** μόνον γενήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρεκκλησιάρχη καὶ παροικονόμοι καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι. Ὁ μέντοι ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ οἱ σκευοφύλακες καὶ οἱ χαρτοφύλακες καὶ ὁ νοσοκόμος καὶ ὁ ξενοδόχος ἀπὸ (545) τῶν ἀφωρισμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γινέσθωσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ δοχειάριοι καὶ οἱ ὠρειάριοι [...]. ἰατροὶ δύο, ὑπουργοὶ ἑμβαθμοὶ τρεῖς

καὶ περισσοὶ ὑπουργοὶ δύο καὶ ὑπρέται δύο. Ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν ὑπουργῶν ἐκάστη ἑσπέρα παραμενοῦσι τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ὑπουργοὶ τέσσαρες καὶ ὑπούργισσα (940) μία, ἤγουν εἰς ἕκαστον ὄρδινον εἷς, οἱ καὶ ἐξκουβίτορες καλοῦνται. Τῷ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ὄρδινῳ ἰατροὶ μὲν ἔσονται δύο, παρακολουθήσει δὲ καὶ ἰάτραίνα μία καὶ ὑπούργισσαι ἔμβραθοι τέσσαρες καὶ περισσαὶ δύο καὶ ὑπρέτριαι δύο. [...]. Τῷ δηλωθέντι τάγματι τῶν ἰατρῶν, ὑπουργῶν καὶ λοιπῶν προστεθήσονται καὶ οὗτοι· ἐπιστήκων εἷς, πημεντάριοι ἔμβραθοι τρεῖς καὶ περισσοὶ δύο, ὀστιάριος εἷς, σαπωνίστριαί πέντε, λεβητάριος εἷς, **μάγειροι δύο** (998) [...] **τοὺς δύο μαγεῖρους** σὺν τῷ ὀψωνιάτορι ἀνὰ νομίσματα ὁμοία τρία σὺν τῷ προσφαγίῳ (1240).

Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 32, 1974, p. 27–131.

There will not only be **bakers, gardeners, and cooks** (*artopoioi, kēpōroi, mageiroi*) among the servants but also helpers for the ecclesiarch and assistants to the steward (*paraekklēsiarchai, paroikonomoī*) and other such people. However the **ecclesiarch, the sacristans, the archivists, the infirmarian, and the guestmaster** (*ekklēsiarchos, skeuophylakes, chartophylakes, nosokomos, xenodochos, hōreiaroi*) [...] two **doctors** (*hiatroī*), three certified assistants (*hypourgoī*), two auxiliary assistants, and two orderlies. However, each evening four **male assistants** (*hypourgoī*), and one **female assistant** (*hypourgissa*), from the assistants (*hypourgoī*) will remain with the patients, that is one to each ward, and they are called watchers. There will be two **doctors** (*hiatroī*) for the women's ward, and they will be accompanied by one **female doctor** (*hiatraina*), four certified **female assistants** (*hypourgissai*), two auxiliary female assistants, and two female orderlies [...]. To the aforementioned group of doctors, **assistants** (*hypourgoī*), and others these also will be added – one chief pharmacist, three certified druggists, and two auxiliaries, one doorkeeper, five **washerwomen** (*sapōnistriai*)¹³⁷, one man to heat water, **two cooks** (*mageiroī*) [...]. The **two cooks** (*mageiroī*) along with the caterer should receive, including their food allowance, three similar *nomismata* each, thirty similar *modioi* of grain each, and four trachea *nomismata* each every month.

Mamas. Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople. Date: November 1158.

(11) ια'. Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἐδώδιμα εἰσοδιάζοντος καὶ ἐξοδιάζοντος διακονητοῦ ἦτο Κελλαρίτου. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν τὰ εἰσοδιαζόμενα πάντα τῇ μονῇ βρώσιμά τε καὶ πόσιμα εἰσοδιάζοντά τε καὶ ἐξοδιάζοντα διακονητὴν, ὃν καὶ Κελλαρίτην ὀνομάζομεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ γενήματα πάντα καὶ ὄσπρια εἰσοδιάζειν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τούτων ποιεῖσθαι προστάξει τοῦ καθηγουμένου καὶ παντοίως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τούτων ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἀμελείας τυχὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν τι ἀπόλλυται ὁ αὐτὸς ὀφείλει φροντίζειν καὶ τὴν τῆς τραπέζης τῶν μοναχῶν ἑτοιμασίαν **καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τοῦ μαγειρείου ὀφείλων ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτὸν παρακελλάριόν τε καὶ μάγειρον**.

Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος, ed. S. EUSTRATIADIS, Hll 1, 1928, p. 256–311.

Concerning the official who takes in and issues the food, that is, the **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*). Likewise, also an official who takes in and issues all food and drink in the monastery, whom, in fact, we call **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*). Besides that, he must receive all the crops and legumes and issue them on the

¹³⁷ This is the only reference in the monastic typika, but in *De ceremoniis* we also find the masculine form σαπωνιστής (σαπωνισταί τοῦ βεστιαρίου), CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le livre des cérémonies*, II, 15, vol. III, *Livre II*, ed., trans. G. DAGRON, à l'exception de chapitres II, 42, 44–45 et 51, ed., trans. D. FEISSEL, B. FLUSIN, C. ZUCKERMAN, coll. M. STAVROU, Paris 2020 [= CFHB, 52.2–3], p. 117.

instruction of the superior, and take care of these in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect. The aforesaid ought to see also to the preparation and care of the table (*trapeza*) of the monks, as well as the kitchen (*mageireion*), being obliged to have under his authority both an **assistant cellarer** (*parakellarion*) and a **cook** (*mageiros*).

Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople. Date: 1110–1161.

(14) ιδ'. Περὶ τοῦ οἰκονόμου δεῖν εἶναι ἐν τῇ μονῇ εὐνοῦχον καὶ σεμοῦ βίου [...] (15) ιε'. Καὶ ἱερέας εἶναι δεῖ περὶ τὴν μονὴν δύο, μοναχοῦς, εὐνούχους [...] (19) ιθ'. Περὶ τῆς σκευοφυλακίσης [...] Ἡ αὐτὴ οὐ σκευοφυλάκισσα μόνον ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρτοφυλάκισσα [...] (20) κ'. Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησι-
αρχίσης. [...] (22) κβ'. Περὶ τῆς οἰνοχόσης. (23) κγ'. Περὶ τῆς ὠρειαρίας [...] (24) κδ'. Περὶ τῆς τῶν
δοχειαριῶν διακονίας [...]· δύο γὰρ δοχειαρίας τυποῦμεν εἶναι ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ὧν τὴν μὲν μίαν κρατεῖν
τὸ κιβώτιον τῶν τῆς εἰσοδοεξόδου νομισμάτων, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν κρατεῖν τὸ βέστιον τῶν ἐνδυμάτων,
καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ δοχειαρία ὀνομασθήσεται [...] (25) κε'. Περὶ τῆς τραπεζαρίας καὶ τῆς ταύτης διακονί-
ας. Μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διακονητριῶν ὧν οἶδε δεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν κοινοβιακῶς ζώντων διαγωγῇ, προχει-
ριεῖται ἢ ἡγουμένη καὶ τραπεζαρία, διακονοῦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσαπερ ἢ κελλαρέα αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψει
[...] (26) κς'. Περὶ προχειρίσεως ἐπιστημοναρχίσης καὶ τῆς διακονίας αὐτῆς [...] (27) κζ'. Περὶ τῶν
ἐργοδοτριῶν [...] (28) κη'. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βεστίῳ δοχειαριῶν [...] (29) κθ'. Περὶ τῆς πυλωροῦ. Ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὴν τὰς κλείς τοῦ πυλῶνος κατέχειν ὀφείλουσαν, ἣν καὶ πυλωρὸν ὀνομάζομεν...Γραῦς μέντοι
ὀφείλει εἶναι ἢ εἰς ταύτην τὴν διακονίαν προβαλλομένη [...] (57) νζ'. Περὶ τοῦ παραβάλλειν ἱατρὸν
ἐν τῇ μονῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν προνοίας. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ
τινα ἱατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνοῦχον ἢ γηραιὸν [...].

Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômenè, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 43, 1985, p. 19–155.

14. Concerning the fact that the **steward** (*oikonomos*) in the convent must be a eunuch of godly life [...] 15. Concerning the priests. There must be two priests around the convent; they should be eunuchs and monks, venerable in their way of life, gentle [...] 19. Concerning the **sacristan** (*skeuophylakissa*) [...]. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*) [...] 20. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*) [...]. 22. Concerning the **wine-steward** (*oinochoē*) [...] 23. Concerning the **provisioner** (*hōreiaría*) [...] 24. Concerning the office (*diakonia*) of the **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) [...] there should be two treasurers in the convent, one of whom should control the box for monetary income and expenditure and the other should control the storeroom for clothes; for she will also be called the **treasurer** (*docheiaria*) [...] 25. Concerning the **refectorian** (*trapezaria*) and her office (*diakonia*). Along with the other officials (*diakonētria*), which the way of life of those living in a community obviously needs, the superior will appoint a **refectorian** (*trapezaria*) also, who serves whatever the **cellarer** (*kellarea*) supplies her [...] 26. Concerning the appointment of a **disciplinary official** (*epistēmonarchissa*) and her office (*diakonia*) [...] 27. Concerning the **work organisers** (*ergodotria*) [...] 28. Concerning the **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) in the storeroom for clothes. The treasurers of the storeroom for the clothes of the nuns – for these also will be called **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) [...] 29. Concerning the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.). Furthermore, the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we call the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.) [...]. Moreover, the one appointed to this office must be an old woman [...] 57. Concerning the fact that a **doctor** (*hiatros*) should call at the convent and concerning the care of those who are sick. It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick.

Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople. Date: 1294–1301.

(3) γ'. Περὶ τοῦ πόσας δεῖ εἶναι τὰς μοναχάς [...]. Εἰς πενήκοντα βουλόμεθα καὶ οὐ πλείους ἀπάσας ἠριθμηθῆσαι τὰς μοναχάς, ὧν τὰς μὲν τριάκοντα τῷ θεῷ θέλομεν ἑνασχολεῖσθαι σιῶν [...]. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἰκόσιν εἰς διαφόρους διακονίας διαμερίζεσθαι [...]. (4) δ'. [...] καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέσσαρας ἱερεῖς ἑναποτετάχθαι τῇ μονῇ [...]. (6) ς'. Περὶ τοῦ ἓνα πάσας πνευματικὸν ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς ὀφείλει οὗτος παραβάλλειν ἐν τῇ μονῇ [...] Κατὰ δὲ μῆνα τάττω φοιτᾶν, τρεῖς καὶ οὐ πλείους ἡμέρας προσκαρτερεῖν, τοὺς ἐν ξενῶνι ἀποτεταγμένους οἰκίσκους εἰς καταγωγὴν ἔχειν [...]. (8) η' [...] Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὶς παρὰ τὴν μονὴν φοιτῶσιν αἱ πύλαι παντάπασιν ἐπιζυγοθήσονται οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλως βασιλέως χωρὶς καὶ τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ μετρίων τούτων καὶ ἐκκρίτων ἀνδρῶν τὴν μονὴν εἰσελεύσεται [...] εὐνοῦχοι δὲ μόνοι ἢ καὶ γυναῖκες χρόνου πλήρεις συνεισελεύσονται· εἰ δ' ἐνσκήψει τι νόσος βαρεῖα, προσίοι δὲ μήτηρ ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἢ καὶ τῶν τις ἄλλως προσηκουσῶν ἀδιάβλητος τὸν τρόπον μεμαρτυρημένη καὶ τὴν βιοτήν, ἀνενεγκούσα τῇ καθηγουμένη διὰ τῆς πυλωροῦ τὴν εἴσοδον προτραπήσεται καὶ εἰσιούσα συνδημερεύσει μὲν τῇ καμνούσῃ, ἑσπέρας δὲ ἀπελεύσεται. (12) ιβ'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς προχειρίσεις τῶν διακονητριῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκκλησιαρχίσης, σκευοφυλακίσης καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διακονητριῶν. Χρῆ δὲ ἴσως καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς διακονίας προβαλλομένων ἐρεῖν· τὰς μὲν δὴ τὰς πρώτας πιστευομένας τῶν διακονιῶν, οἰκονομίαν, ἐκκλησιαρχίαν, κειμηλιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν φυλακὴν – καὶ τὴν τῶν πυλῶν προσθήσῃ συντήρησιν· ἀξιόλογον γὰρ καὶ τὴν θυρωρὸν οἶμαι δεῖν ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τηρεῖσθαι τὴν μονὴν θέλουσα. Ἐκάστη δὲ τούτων καὶ ἐγκαταγεγραμμένον κατ' εἰδὸς τε καὶ ποσότητα λαμβάνειν ὀφείλει τὸ πιστευόμενον σημεῖον εἶναι τὸ ὅσον γε καὶ οἶον παρέλαβεν, ὡς καὶ λόγον αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἐν καιρῷ λογοποιῖας εὐρίσκεσθαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν σκευῶν πιστευομένη τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τῶν χρεωδῶν τὴν εἰσκομιδὴν – δοχειαρίαν σύνθητες αὐτὰς καλεῖν καὶ σκευοφυλάκισσαν – ἑκατέρω δ' αὐτῶν δύο συνέσονται ὑπ' αὐταῖς μὲν ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ταύταις συνίστορες [...] Ὅφ' αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαρχίσην ἔξει, πρόβλησιν μὲν ἐκ τῆς καθηγουμένης λαμβάνουσαν, ταύτης δὲ δεομένην σκευῶν τε χάριν τῶν ἐν χρήσει τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ βίβλων ψαλλομένων τε καὶ ὑπαναγινωσκομένων σκευῶν [...] Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔσται παρέχουσα ἢ σκευοφυλάκισσα τῶν ὑπὸ ταύτῃ δυοῖν συνειδυῶν· δύο γὰρ ταύτας εἶναι ταύτῃ συνίστορας βούλομαι· ἢ δοχειαρία δὲ ταῦτα· ἔξει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπ' αὐτῆς συνεκκλησιαρχίσην, πάντ' εἰδυῖαν, πάντα ταύτῃ συμπράττουσαν, οἰκονομία δὲ πάση ἄλλῃ τῶν ἐνδοθι τῆς μονῆς ἢ δοχειαρία ἐνέξεται (13) ιγ'. Περὶ οἰκονόμου [...] εἴτε δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη οὗτος εἴτε τῶν εὐνοῦχων, οὐ διαφέρομαι [...] (20) κ'. Περὶ τοῦ ξενῶνος καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφηθον εἰρηκυῖα τὸν ἐχόμενα τῆς μονῆς νεουρρηθέντα μοι ξενῶνα ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι τῆς μονῆς [...] Πρεσβύτερος δ' ἔσεται τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ λειτουργῶν [...] ἰατροὶ τρεῖς [...] ὀπίων [...] νοσοκόμος [...] ἐπιστήκων [...] ὑπουργοὶ ἕξ [...] ποιμεντάριοι δύο [...] φλεβοτόμος [...] δουλευταὶ τρεῖς [...] **καὶ μάγειρος** [...].

Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLC, SS, 8], p. 106–136.

3. Concerning the requisite number of nuns [...] 4. [...] It is my wish that the total number of nuns come to fifty and no more, of whom thirty should concern themselves with the divine sanctuary [...]. The remaining twenty should be assigned to different household duties [...] 4. about the assignment of four priests to the convent [...] 6. It is my wish that all the nuns be subject to one spiritual father [...]. I order that he come every month for a stay of three days and no more, and that he should reside in the small rooms assigned for this purpose in the hospital. 8. [...] Thus the gates will be completely shut to those who approach the convent. No one except the emperor and the respectable and eminent members of the emperor's retinue are to enter the convent [...] may enter only eunuchs or women of mature years. If one of the nuns should be stricken with a serious illness, then she may

be visited by her mother [...]. After sending to the superior through the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.) a petition to enter, she is to be admitted [...] 12. [...] Concerning the procedure for appointment of the officials (*diakonētria*); and about the duties of the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*), the sacristan (*skeuophylakissa*), and other officials (*diakonētria*). Perhaps I should speak about those nuns who are appointed to offices. Some are entrusted with the most important offices: the stewardship, responsibility for the church, the security of the treasures and sacred vessels (and I will add the guarding of the gates. For I think it is important that a **gatekeeper** (*thyrōros*, f.) be chosen, since I wish to keep the convent secure [...]. Subordinate to her will be the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*), who receives her appointment from the superior; she is to ask the **sacristan** (*skeuophylakissa*), however, for the vessels [...]. The sacristan (*skeuophylakissa*), will provide these services with the assistance of her two subordinates; for I wish her to have two assistants. The **cellarer** (*docheiaria*) will provide [the following] services: she will have beneath her an **assistant ecclesiarchissa** (*synekklēsiarchissa*), who is privy to all her knowledge, and joins her in every action. The **cellarer** (*docheiaria*) will be responsible for all the other administration of the interior of the convent. 13. Concerning the **steward** (*oikonomos*) [...]. It makes no difference whether he is a eunuch or not [...] 20. Concerning the hospital, and its priest and other staff. Since I have already said that the hospital which is next to the convent and newly built by me is to be inseparable from the convent... There is to be a priest to perform church services [...]. Three doctors [...] assistant [...] a nurse [...] a head pharmacist [...] six attendants [...] two chief druggists [...] blood-letter [...] three servants [...] a **cook** (*mageiros*).

Philanthropos: Typikon of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople. Date: ca. 1307.

βούλομαι καὶ σφόδρα ἐφίεμαι ἐν κοινοβιακῇ διαγωγῇ τε καὶ καταστάσει τὰς μοναζούσας ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου μου σωτήρος διαζῆν, καὶ μὴ μόνον **κοινὴν ἔχειν τράπεζαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν μαγειρεῖον** καὶ κοινὸν ἐργόχειρον ἀπάσας [...] ὡς ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὰς εἶναι κατὰ μοναζούσας καὶ μὴ πραγματευτρίας καὶ χεῖρους τῶν κοσμικῶν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν μοναζουσῶν φωραθεῖ ἴδιον ἐργόχειρον ποιούσα, ἢ ἐν τῷ **ἰδίῳ κελλίῳ ὄψα ποιούσα**, ἐπιτιμάσθω καὶ κολαζέσθω σφοδρῶς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀποπεμπέσθω, ἄχρισ ἂν διορθωθεῖ ὅποια καὶ εἴη.

Bruchstücke zweier typikā kτητορικά, ed. Ph. MEYER, BZ 4, 1895, p. 48–49.

I very much wish and desire that the nuns in the convent of my Philanthropic Savior should live in a cenobitic order and way of life and not only should they all have a common refectory, but also a common **kitchen** (*mageireion*) and the same handiwork [...] thereby they behave like nuns and not like **businesswomen** (*pragmateutriai*) and even worse than laymen. If one of the nuns should be caught doing her own private handiwork, or **preparing food** in her private cell (*opsa poioussa*), she should be severely censured and disciplined, and banished from the church and the refectory until she mends her ways, no matter who she is.

Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople. Date: 1327–1335.

ς'. Τίς ἡ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαρχεῖου ἐπιστάτις τε καὶ διάκονος καὶ ὅποιον τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς, [...] 50 εἰς τὸ **ἐξάρχειν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν** ἀπάσων ἐκλεγήσεται παρά τε τῆς ἀφηγουμένης αὐτῆς παρά τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ κρείττων καὶ διαφέρουσα κατὰ τε σύνεσιν καὶ εὐλάβειαν [...] ζ'. Τίς ἡ τῆς κοινῆς **οἰκονομίας διάκονός τε καὶ ἐπιστάτις** καὶ τί τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆ [...] ια'. Τίς ἡ **διάκονος τοῦ κοινοῦ δοχείου καὶ ἐπιστάτις** καὶ τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς [...] ιβ'. Τίς ἡ **διάκονος τοῦ κελλαρίου**

καὶ ἐπιστάτις καὶ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον τῆς διακονίας αὐτῆς [...] Ταῦτη καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἀδελφῶν συμπαροῦσαι συνεργοὶ ἔσσονται εἰς τὴν διακονίαν αὐτῆς·συνεργήσουσι δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ **γε ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ** παρισταμένη καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένη, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνουσα τὰλλα τε δρῶσα, ὅσα εἰς τὴν τῶν καθημένων ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ εὐαρέστησίν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν. 70. Οὐκ αὐτὴ δὲ μόνη συνεργὸς συμπαρέσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαις ἔργον τὸν κοινὸν ἄρτον οἰκονομεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν·οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἥτις τῷ τοῦ μαγειρείου προσανέχει διακονήματι** ὧν αἱ μὲν τὸν σίτον, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἀπὸ **τῆς ἐν τῷ κελλαρίῳ ἐπιστατούσης** πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν λαβοῦσαι συνήθως καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ποιησάμεναι καὶ προσήκον πάλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀποδώσουσι τὰ ληφθέντα καὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἄζημια. **Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ κελλαρίου** δὲ αὐτὴ πολλὴν ποιήσεται πρόνοιαν [...] ιγ’.**Τίς ἢ φρουρὸς τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ πυλωρὸς** καὶ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς.

Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLe, SS, 8], p. 18–105.

[VI.] Concerning **the ecclesiarchissa** (*ekklēsiarchiou diakonos* f. *kai epistatis*) and her duties [...] 50. The superior and the other sisters should choose as **ecclesiarchissa** the best nun, who is distinguished for her wisdom and piety, [VII.] Concerning the **steward** (*oikonomias diakonos*, f.) and her duties. XI.] Concerning the **keeper and supervisor** of the communal storeroom and her duties. [XII.] Concerning **the cellarer** (*diakonos tou kellariou*, f.) and her duties [...]. Other nuns should assist her in her duties. Of necessity she will be assisted by **the nun in charge of the refectory** (*en tē trapezē paristamenē*) and waiting on the sisters, who will serve the dishes and remove them again, and perform other services for the pleasure and refreshment of the nuns seated in **the refectory** (*en tē trapezē*). 70. She will not be the only assistant, but also the nuns who have the task of making and distributing the communal bread, as well as **the cook** (*mageiriou diakonēma*). The former will usually take the wheat, the latter the foodstuffs they need from **the cellarer** (*kellariō epistatousēs*), and after doing everything necessary and appropriate to them they will return the foods to her all prepared and without anything missing. **The cellarer** (*epi tou kellariou*, f.) is to be very careful to maintain equal compassion and patience towards all the nuns [...] XIII. Concerning **the guard and gatekeeper** of the convent and her duties (*phrouros*, f., *pylōros*, f.).

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